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Part I.

THE ORDINANCES OF SOME SECULAR GUILDS
OF LONDON, 1354 TO 1496.

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[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, 13th February, 1871.]

THOUGH the history of the old trade guilds of London is sufficiently known through the works of Maitland, Herbert, and others, the rules and ordinances which governed the internal economy of those interesting institutions are, I may venture to say, a sealed book.

Herbert indeed intimates that the more ancient records of the guilds (now better known under the name of Companies) have perished in the conflagrations which from time to time have devastated the metropolitan city.*

If this destruction has really occurred, it is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as the same casualty would seem to have overtaken even those transcripts of them which by the 12th Richard II. were ordered to be returned into Chancery.†

Of the returns made under that authority, the copies of the charters

* *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, Advertisement, p. vii.

† No transcripts of rules of the trade guilds of London are extant at the Record Office.

only seem now to be in existence, and these, it is obvious, do not supply the information and particulars which the rules would have given.

Some of these missing rules have, however, been recently discovered in a place of legal custody little anticipated even by the accomplished antiquary who unearthed them.

In prosecuting a research amongst the records of the court of the Commissary of London, our esteemed member J. R. Daniel Tyssen, esq., F.S.A., was agreeably surprised to find duly recorded in that venerable depository the entire English texts of the rules and ordinances of four secular Guilds of London,* and of two German fraternities established in the same city.

The London Guilds whose rules have thus reappeared are of those of the Glovers, the Blacksmiths, the Water-bearers, and the Shearmen. †

* In especial reference to the discovery made by Mr. Tyssen, I cannot forbear remarking that the stores of archaeology dormant in the registers and other records of the ecclesiastical courts of London are incalculable. They pre-eminently deserve to be abstracted and published by authority. A few years ago I called attention in the *Athenæum* to the fact (*known* by me) that the whole of the inventories of the seventeenth century, filed in the Prerogative Court by the representatives of all deceased persons, were in existence, though inaccessible to the curious. At the instance of Lord Stanhope, *President of the Society of Antiquaries*, Lord Penzance ordered these and other inventories of prior date to be looked up, with a view to their being indexed. The order was, I believe, nominally obeyed for a few weeks, and was then disregarded. To demonstrate the interest of these inventories, at least those of the seventeenth century, it is sufficient to say that amongst them *must* be the inventory of the personal estate and effects of William Shakespeare, and therein, perhaps, may be found some mention of his copyrights.

† It is unnecessary to say that every guild was entirely isolated and independent of all others of the same description. This is traditionally said to have been the true constitution of the guilds of Freemasons, now called lodges. Originally they were, like other guilds, distinct communities, neither affiliated to nor dependent upon any other association of the same craft. At the beginning of the present century (perhaps at the end of the last), through extraneous influences, a hierarchical system was introduced into Freemasonry, and all the independent lodges (or guilds) submitted themselves to one lodge, in London, as their chief, at the same time surrendering to the latter their royal charters (or licences), and their ordinances. These were probably all destroyed by the central authority at the time of the surrender. Copies of the charters, however, will possibly be found in the *Record Office* amongst the returns made under the 12th Richard II. (see *ante*), and Mr. Tyssen's discovery

The German fraternities are those of St. Katharine and of the Holy Blood of Wilsnach in Saxony.

Of the guilds themselves I will observe, that the Glovers and the Blacksmiths are old fraternities still amongst us.* The Shearmen also still exist, though under their later and better-known appellation of Clothworkers, and are one of the twelve great Companies.† The Water-bearers are, however, entirely unknown to fame, Maitland and Herbert making no mention of them.

The same oblivion has come over the two German guilds. Maitland, Herbert, Riley, and Dr. Lappenburg (*Geschichte des Hansischen Stalhofes zu London*) have left them unnoticed. Dr. Pauli also, the latest writer upon London from a German point of view, ignores them.

At the same time it is possible that these last-mentioned guilds may have severally belonged to the two establishments of Germans trading in London, those of Cologne and the Hanse.‡

The rules thus discovered by Mr. Tyssen are, as I have said, all in the English language. As they range in date from the year 1354 to the year 1496 they represent the vernacular in its progress towards fixity and consolidation. They have an obvious worth, therefore, as texts of our language, besides their intrinsic value as illustrations of the machinery and inner working of those most powerful institutions of the middle ages—the trade guilds.

Their interest also does not stop there. Having by their means complete details of these fraternities, we are now in a position to compare them with those more ancient institutions preceding the Norman Conquest which first assumed the name of guilds in this country, and these latter may, in their turn, also be subjected to a further comparison, viz. with those *collegia privata* of the empire which were the precursors of them all.

As no one would expect to see these rules in the place where they shows it to be more than probable that the rules and ordinances are registered in some of the ecclesiastical courts, where they will be discovered whenever a search shall be made for them. When they shall be found we may assure ourselves that Von Hammer's hypothesis of Baphomet and the Templars will not hold good, still less will Mithras (another and a later theory) stand a chance of being accepted.

* Maitland, *History of London*, vol. ii. pp. 1242, 1247.

† Herbert, vol. ii. p. 650.

‡ Riley's *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, Introduction, p. xcvi.

now are and have always been, it will not be superfluous to ascertain upon what principle of law and for what legal object they were thus registered in the court of an ecclesiastical judge.

We shall find by the rules themselves that this registration was not ministerial only, but that in each case there was either expressly or by implication a preliminary confirmation of the rules by ecclesiastical authority. In other words, the rules were *certified*, to use a term of our own time, which is exactly applicable.

The proem to the rules of the Shearmen registered in the Court of the Commissary of London 27 February, 1452, states that they have been submitted to the official of the Consistory of London, and contains his confirmation of them in the following words: "*Et quia nos Johannes officialis antedictus, per nonnulla documenta aliasque probationes legitimas, evidenter invenimus et comperimus præmissa apunctuamenta sive ordinationes ex causis veris rationalibus et legitimis fuisse et esse confecta et ordinata; igitur dicta apunctuamenta sive ordinationes, tanquam juri consona, in quantum possumus de jure et debemus, auctoritate qua supra confirmavimus et auctorizavimus, prout ea sic tenore præsentium confirmavimus et auctorizavimus, ipsaque appunctuamenta sive ordinationes omnia et singula per omnes et singulos dictarum artis et fraternitatis fratres et liberos homines ac eorum successores imposterum observanda et perimplenda fore sub pœnis in hujusmodi appunctuamentis sive ordinationibus plenius descriptis decrevimus et decernimus per præsentem.*"

At the conclusion of the rules of the Water-bearers, registered 20th October 1496, in the Court of the Commissary of London, we find the same Commissary confirming them "as far as in him is."

The rules of the German guild of St. Katharine, registered in the same court on the 25th October 1495, are confirmed also by the Commissary of London.

We further find, by the evidence of the rules themselves, that the object and intention of this confirmation and registration was to facilitate the suing in the Ecclesiastical Court for the *quarterages* and penalties contained in them.

The rules of the Glovers contain this provision: "Also it is ordeyned that if any brother of the same fraternitie of the crafte of glovers be behynde of paiement of his quarterage by a yere and a day, and his power the same quarterage to paie, and if he that do maliciously refuse, that thenne he be somened tofore the officiall

(i.e. the official of the Consistory of London) and by the wardens for his trespass and rebelness of such manner, duly for to be chastised or ponyssed, and to paie the fine aforesaid, and her (i.e. their) costs of the court, as in here (their) account tofore all other brethren of the same craft wellen answer."

So the rules of the Shearmen provide, that if a brother "breke his othe he shall be punysshed by the lawe of our moder holy chirche," and "that the said wardens do make certification unto the officers of the Bishop of London * * * to the intent that thay by the lawe spiritual compel the said person so being rebel and disobedient for to pay and satisfy the said fine."

The rules of the brotherhood of St. Katharine in the same strain provide that "the names of all persons, transgressors and rebels, being brethren of the fraternity, be presented unto the judge ordinary of the Lord Bishop of London."

The principle of canon law by which an ecclesiastical court could enforce payment of the quarterages and fines of a Livery Company has so long passed out of existence that I may be excused for entering into some particulars concerning it.

In all cases of the infraction of an oath or solemn promise to pay, the ecclesiastical court could enforce performance. The canonist Lyndewode describes the pleadings in a suit of this nature (styled *pro lacione fidei*) in a manner which throws light upon the clauses in the rules which I have recited. He says, "A libels B that the latter, by interposition of his faith or by his oath, promised and bound himself that on a day named he would pay, &c., but has since *minus canonice* refused to fulfil his promise, in violation of his oath, which by the divine and canon laws he is bound to perform under pain of mortal sin; wherefore the complainant prays that, on proof of the facts, the judge will decree and compel the defendant to observe his promise and engagement by canonical censures."*

The rules of these guilds being thus confirmed and registered by full legal authority, it is impossible to conceive a record more authentic than those transcripts the discovery of which we owe to the penetration of Mr. Tysen.

We have, accordingly, no reason to regret the more than probable

* Lyndewode's *Provinciale*, lib. v. tit. 15 *de pœnis*. See Ducange also, sub voce *Curia Christianitatis*.

loss of the originals themselves. The authenticity of all these rules being thus placed beyond doubt, I will abstract the regulations of the oldest set, in order to facilitate a comparison of them with the provisions of those other guilds which, as we shall see, preceded the Norman Conquest.

The first in date are the ordinances of the *GLOVERS* (A.D. 1354).

They purport to be made by the masters and keepers (or wardens) of the craft of Glovers of the City of London and the brethren.

1. Every brother shall pay sixteen pence a year, by quarterly payments, towards providing two wax tapers to burn at the high altar of the chapel of Our Lady in the new church-haw beside London, and also to the poor of the fraternity who well and truly have paid their quarterage so long as they could.

2. If any brother be behind of payment of his quarterage by a month after the end of any quarter he shall pay sixteen pence, that is to say, eight pence to the old work of the church of St. Paul of London, and the other eight pence to the box of the fraternity. Also as often as any brother be not obedient to the summons of the wardens, or be not present in the "hevenys that folk be dead," and in offering at the funeral of a brother, and in attendance at church with the fraternity on the feasts of the Annunciation and Assumption and others, he shall pay sixteen pence in like manner.

3. Every brother shall come to *Placebo* and *Dirige* in the "hevenys of dead folk," in suit or livery of the fraternity of the year past, and on the morrow to mass, and there offer, in his new livery or suit, upon pain of sixteen pence.

4. If a brother be behind of his quarterage for a year and a day, and though it be in his power to pay it he maliciously refuse, he shall be summoned before the official of the Consistory of London, &c. (see *ante*).

5. If any brother or sister be dead within the city, and have not of his (or her) goods him (or her) to bury, he (or she) shall have burning about his (or her) body five tapers and four torches, at the cost of the brethren, provided the deceased have continued seven years in the fraternity, &c.

6. All the brethren be clothed in one suit, &c.

7. The masters, wardens, and brethren shall attend and hear mass on the feast of the Assumption, &c.

8. Every brother shall keep his livery for four years, &c.

9. Settles the fee for entrance into the fraternity, and also the form of oath.

10. On the day of the feast when the brethren have eaten they shall go together to the chapel of our Lady before-mentioned, and there continue the time of *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and on the morrow shall attend mass of *Requiem*, and from thence come together to their Hall, on pain of sixteen pence.

11. If any brother revile another he shall be fined six pence or eight pence, &c.

12. All the brethren, with their wives, shall go together to their meat the Sunday next after Trinity Sunday, &c. &c.*

13. A trade regulation concerning the admission of apprentices.

14. Settles fines for "contrarying" against the rules.

15. Settles further penalties for disobedience to the rules, and regulations as to apprentices.

Twenty-nine brethren have signed these rules. At the same time they were sworn (*fidem fecerunt*) well and faithfully to keep and fulfil them.

The ordinances of the BLACKSMITHS come next (A.D. 1434).

They are made by the masters and wardens and the whole company of the craft, "in the worship" of St. Loy.

They are *in pari materiâ* with the preceding rules.

These rules, as registered in the Commissary's Book, are subscribed

* Upon the admission of females to the companies' dinners, Mr. Herbert makes the following quaint remarks (vol. i. p. 83). "This curious, we had almost said indecorous, custom, but which must at the same time have greatly heightened the hilarity, occurred in consequence of the companies consisting, as we have seen, of brothers and sisters; and which practice they seem on their reconstruction to have borrowed from the religious guilds. Not only did widows, wives, and single women who were members join the joyous throng, but from the Grocers' ordinances of 1348 we find the brethren could introduce their fair acquaintances on paying for their admission; and that not, as in modern times, to gaze in galleries, the mere spectators of good living, but as participants. There is an amusing simplicity in the ordinances alluded to of the Grocers on these points. They enjoin that every one of the fraternity, from thenceforward, having a wife or companion, shall come to the feast, and bring with him a damsel, if he pleases. If they cannot come from the reasons hereinafter mentioned, that is to say, being sick or big with child and near delivery, they are then, and not otherwise, to be excused."

by sixty-five brethren and by the wives of two of them, the original signatures appearing on the record.

The rules of the SHEARMEN follow next (A.D. 1452).

Their proem states that "the wardens and freemen of the craft for the more encrease and continuance of brotherly love and good example unto the honor of God, our Lady St. Mary, and all saints, by license of the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London, form a religious brotherhood amongst themselves for the sustentation of a perpetual light of thirteen tapers to burn in the church of the Augustinian Friars in London before the image of Our Lady."

The ordinances refer to the guild generally as well as to this interior fraternity, and need not be repeated here, though the extreme particularity of the details, including the oath of the brotherhood, make them exceedingly interesting.

The rules of the WATER-BEARERS of the City of London are the last of our English series.

They bear date A.D. 1496, and purport to be made by the wardens and the whole fellowship of the brotherhood of St. Christopher of the Water-bearers founded within the Augustine Friars.

The three remaining guilds are of Germans residing and trading in London. Their objects are good fellowship, and, where need might arise, the succour of the poor members of the guilds. As they do not directly concern English antiquities, I abstain from making any comment upon them, save to observe that, from the stringency of the provisions against loss of temper and strife, it is clear that there is ancient authority for the proverbial *querelle d'Allemand*.

We have in the old English rules now published full details of the inner life and working of our guilds. Their origin, however, is as mystical as it was before, and we must go beyond even these rules to trace it. Luckily, materials for this research do not fail us. We have references to English secular guilds existing long before the Norman Conquest, and, what is still more valuable, we have the texts of the rules of three of such associations, of the date respectively of the tenth century.

The guilds whose rules we thus possess are of London, Cambridge, and Exeter.

The rules of the London guild, perhaps the first in date, contain the fullest details of them all.*

The proem states that the text contains the constitution of the guild, which is composed of thanes and ceorls, (gentlemen and yeomen,) under the perpetual presidency of the bishop and port gerefa of London.

It also declares that the rules are made by common consent of the brethren, in addition to and furtherance of the stringent provisions against robbery of the acts of the witenagemot therein specified,† and for the better comprehension of the object of the guild, it invokes into the rules the enactments themselves.‡

The object of the guild is the recovery of stolen stock and slaves, wherever that recovery is practicable, and where that cannot be effected,

* Mr. Thorpe (Preface to *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, p. xvii.) calls this "A deed of incorporation by the prelates and reeves of the Londoners for the repression of theft and maintenance of the public peace, which in its provisions is closely akin to the later institution of frithborg, or as it is mistranslated frankpledge." This is a strange misconception of the meaning of a very plain instrument. Equally strange is the confusion in Mr. Thorpe's mind between frankpledge, which is security, and the object of the London guild, which is indemnification by mutual assurance.

† "Þis is seo gerædnis þe þa biscopas and þa gerefan þe to Lundenbyrig hyrað gecweden habbað, and mid weddum gefæstnod on urum friðgegyldum, ægðer ge eorlisce ge ceorlisce, to eacan þam domum þe æt Greatanlea, and æt Exanceastre gesette wæron, and æt þunres felda." (Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutions of England*, vol. i. p. 229.)

‡ "Þæt we ewædon þæt ure ælc scute IIII præg to ure gemæne þearfe binnan XII monðum, and forgyldon þæt yrfe þe syððan genumen wære þe we þæt feoh scuton, and hæfdon us ealle þa æscean gemæne, and scute ælc man his scylling, þe hæfde þæt yrfe þæt wære xxx pænig wyrð, buton earinee wudewan þe nænne forwyrhtan næfde, ne nan land." Mr. Thorpe corrects "scylling" by "pænig," the equivalent of which appears in Brompton's translation. *Forwyrhta* is the literal translation of the Latin *procurator*. See Ranks, Thorpe's Laws, p. 192.

Ibid. p. 230. "Þæt we tellan a x menn togædere, and se yldesta bewiste þa nigena to ælcum þara gelaste þara þe we ealle gecwædon, and syððan þa hyndena heora togædere, and ænne hynden man þe þa x mynige to ure ealre gemæne þearfe, and hig xi healdan þære hyndene feoh, and witan hwæt hig forðsyllan þonne man gildan sceole. And hwæt hig eft niman gif us feoh arise æt urum gemænum spræce, and witon eac þæt ælc gelast forð cume, þara þe we ealle gecweden habbað to ure ealra þearfe be xxx pæn, oþþe be anum hryðere, þæt eall gelæst sy þæt we on urum gerædnessum gecweden habbað, and on ure fore spræce stænt."

then the indemnification of the loser by *pro rata* contributions of the brethren.

2. Each of the brethren shall contribute yearly four pence to the common behoof; the brethren shall pay for the stolen property so soon as the contribution is made. They shall make the search for it in common. Every man who has property to the value of thirty pence shall contribute his penny. The poor widow who has neither a friend who will contribute on her behalf, nor land of her own, is exempted.

3. The guild shall be subdivided into bodies of ten men, one of those ten being its chief.

Further, these bodies of ten men or tithings shall be united into a body of one hundred men (or *hynden*),* and over this last-mentioned body shall be appointed an officer, called a *hynden man*, who shall direct the other ten, to the common benefit of the guild.

These eleven shall hold the money of the *hynden*, and will decide what they shall disburse when a payment must be made, and what they shall receive when there is anything to receive, and when money shall be payable to the brethren at their common suit.

The brethren are to take notice that there must be forthcoming every contribution which has been ordained to the common behoof, at the rate of thirty pence, or an ox, so that all may be fulfilled which has been ordained, and which stands in the agreement of the brethren.

4 and 5 contain directions for commencing and prosecuting the searches after stolen stock.

6.† Is a rule respecting the payment of the policies on the stolen

* Mr. Thorpe (*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. ii. Glossary, *sub voce*) explains "hynden" to be "an association of ten men." The context shows that this is not so, and etymology supports this contrary view. Dr. Leo made the same mistake in "Die angel-sæcsische dorpverfaszung." *Rectitudines*, p. 176. Even Dr. Bosworth has accepted this as the meaning of the word.

† *Ibid.* p. 232. "Embau urne ceapgild. Ilors to haelfan punde, gif hit swa, god sy, and gif hit mætre sy, gilde be his wites wyrðe, and (supple ne) be þam þe se man hit weorðige, þe hit age, buton he gewitnesse habbe, þæt hit swa god wære swa he secge, and hæbbe þon afer eacan þe we þar abiddan. And oxan to mancuse, and cu to xx and swyn to x. and sceop to scell. And we cwædon be nrum þeowum mannum þa menn þa men hæfdon gif hine man forstælc, þæt hine man forgilde mid haelfan punde. Gif we þonne gild araerdon, þæt him man yhte

property. A horse shall be paid for at the maximum rate of half a pound, if it be so good. If it be inferior, it shall be paid according to its value. An ox shall be compensated for at a mancus, a cow at twenty pence, a hog at ten pence, and a sheep at a shilling.

The money required beyond what shall be in hand shall be raised by a call amongst the brethren.

A theowman (*i. e.* a slave) shall be compensated for at the maximum rate of half a pound, or according to his value, the money to be raised by a call, as before mentioned. If he has stolen himself (*i. e.* has run away from his owner),* he shall be stoned, and every brother who has a slave shall contribute either a penny or a halfpenny according to the number of the brotherhood. If the slave shall make good his escape he shall be compensated for according to his value.

7. The brethren shall avenge each others wrongs, and shall be all as in one friendship so in one enmity.

The brother that shall openly kill a thief shall have a reward of twelve pence out of the common fund.

The owner of property insured shall continue the search for it until he be paid, and he shall be recouped the expenses of the search out of the common fund.

8.† The hyndenmen and those who preside over the titlings shall meet together once in every month and ascertain what business has been done in the guild.

ufon on þæt be his wites weorþe, and hæfdon us þone ofereacan þe we þær abædon. Gif he hine þonne forstalede þæt hine man lædde to þære torfunge, swa hit ær gecwædon wæs and scute ælc man, þæt man hæfde, swa pænig swa heafne be þæs geferscipes manio, swa man þæt weorð up aræran mihte. Gif he þonne oðseoce þæt hine man forfulde be his wites weorðe.

* This phrase is very suggestive. It is altogether Roman (see Cod. vi. tit. 1). "*Servum fugitivum sui furtum facere . . . manifestum est.*" A happier or more philosophical definition of the crime of a fugitive slave, who, by his flight robs his owner, cannot be conceived. The same phrase was applied to the *colonus* also who left his farm. (See *Neglected Fact in English History*, p. 51.)

† *Ibid.* p. 234. "þæt we cwædon dyde dæda soþe dyde, þæt ure ealra teonan wræce, þæt we wæron ealle swa on anum freondscype swa on anum feondscype, swa hwæþer hit þonne wære, and se þe þeof fülle beforan oðrum mannum þæt he wære of ure' ealra feo xx pæng þe betera for þære deade and for anginne and se þe alite þæt yrfe, þe we foregildað, ne forlæte he þa æscean be ure oferhyrnesse, and þa, mynegunge þarmid, oþþæt we to þam gilde cuman, and we þonne eac him his geswincas geðancedon of urum gemænum feo, be þam þe seo fare wurðe wære, þy læs seo mynagung forlæge."

These eleven men shall also have their dinner together *à discretion*, and shall give away the remains of the dinner, for the love of God.*

Every brother shall help another, as it is ordained and confirmed by oath.†

If a sworn brother of the guild die, each brother shall give a loaf for his soul, and shall sing or procure to be sung fifty psalms within thirty days.‡

Every brother who has lost stock and intends to claim the amount of his insurance shall notify his loss to his neighbours within three days. But the search shall be proceeded with notwithstanding, for the guild will pay only for stolen, not unguarded, property; and many men make fraudulent claims.§

The regulations and provisions of this guild command our unqualified respect. They are irrefutable evidence of a high state of civilization. We have in them a scheme of mutual assurance, with all the appliances for carrying it out, combined with thorough comprehension of the true principles upon which such schemes are founded, and can alone be supported. For the guild not only satisfies itself that the claim is honest, but repudiates payment of it whenever the claimant has shown himself to have been contributory by his negligence to the loss of which he affects to complain. And, lastly, the guild, in order to secure the society against claims of unlimited and overwhelming amount, establishes a maximum rate of compensation.

The rules of the Cambridge Guild are as follows : ||—

The proem states that the instrument embodying these rules con-

* *Ibid.* p. 236. "Þæt we us gegaderian a emban ænne monað, gif we magon, and æmtan hæbban, þa hyndenmenn and þa þe tcoðunge bewitan, swa mid bytt fyllinge, swa elles swa us to anhagic, and witan hwæt ure gecwyðrædeune gelæst sy and hæbban þa xii. (*lege* xi.) menn heora metscype togædere, and fedan hig swa swa hig sylfe wyrðe munon, and dælon ealle þa mete lafe Godes pances."

† *Ibid.* p. 236. "And eac þæt ælc oðrum fylste, swa hif gecweden is, and mid weddum gefæstnod."

‡ *Ibid.* p. 236. "And we cwædon eac be ælcum þara mænna þe on urum gegyldscipum his wedd gescald hæfð, gifhim forðsið gebyrige, þæt ealc gegilda gesylle ænne gesufelne hlaf for þære saule and gesinge an fiftig; oþþe begite gesungen, binnan xxx nihtan."

§ *Ibid.* p. 238. "Þonne beode we þæt binnan iii. nihtum he his neoburan gecyðe, gif he þæs ceap gildes biddan wille, and beo se æsse þeah forð, swa hit ær gecweden wæs, forðan we nellen nan gymeleas yrfe, forgyldan, buton hit forstolen sy. Mænige men specað gemahlice spræc," &c.

|| These rules were first published by Dr. Hickes in his "Thesaurus Lin-

tains the constitution which the society had determined upon in the guild of the thanes of Cambridge.*

guarum Septentrionalium, in his "Dissertatio Epistolaris ad Bartholomæum Showere," pp. 20, 21. They have been often republished; but, as the originals were destroyed in the fire of the Cotton Library, the text, as given by Dr. Hickes (in some respects faulty, as we shall see), now admits of no emendation, save by conjecture. The MSS. were formerly in Tiberius, E. 5, and at present they are "burnt to a crust," says the catalogue.

* Her is on þis gewrite siu geswitlung þære gerædnisse þe þius geferræden geræd hæfð on þegna gilde on granta bryce—

1. Þæt is þonne ærest þæt ælc oþrum að on haligdome sealde soðre heldrædenne for gode and for worulde and eal geferræden þæm a sylste þe rihtost hæfde.

2. Gif hwile gegilda forðfære, gebringe hine eal gegildscepe, þær he to wilnie. And se þe þærto ne cume gylde syster huniges. *And se gildscepe hyrfe be healfre feorme of þone forðfæredan.*¹ And ælc scoote twegen penegas to þære ælnessan. And man þær ogebrynge þæt arise æt see Æðeldryðe.

3. And gif ðonne hwylcum gyldan þearf sie his geferena fultumes, and hit gecyð wyrðe þæs gildan niðstan gerefan, butun se gilda sylf neah si, and se gerefa hit forgyrneleasi gegyldean pund. Gif se hlaforð hit forgyrneleasie gylddean pund, buton he on hlaforðes neode beoððe lægerbæra.

4. And gyf hwa gyldan ofstlea, ne si nan oðer butun eahta pund to bote Gif se stlaga ðonne þa bote oferhogie, wrece eal gildscepe þone gildan, and ealle beran. Gif hit þonne an do, beran ealle gelice.

5. And gif ænig gilda hwylcne man ofstlea, and he neadwraça si, and his bismær bete, and se ofstlagena twelfhende sy, fylste ælc gegylða healf mearc to fylste. Gif se ofstlagena ceorl sy twegen oran. Gif he wylysc si anne oran.

6. Gif se gilda þonne hwænne mid dysie and myð dole stlea, bere sylf þet he worhte.

7. And gif gegilda his gegylðan þurh his agen dysi ofstlea bere sylf wið magas þæt he bræc; and his gegylde eft mid eahta pundum gebyrge, oððe he þolie à geferes and freondscipes.

8. And gif gegilda myð þæm ete oððe drince þe his gegildan stlog, butun hit beforan cýninge oððe leodbisceope oððe ealdormen beo, gilde an pund, butun he ætsacan mæge mid his twam gesetlun þæt he hine myste.

¹ The words in italics Mr. Kemble has translated: "and let the gildship inherit of the dead half a farm." (Kemble's History of the Saxons in England, vol. i. App. 513.) This is simply absurd. The original words are so corrupt and ungrammatical that it is impossible to give any meaning to them. Mr. Thorpe has left them untranslated (Diplomatarium Anglicum, 611), and following so excellent a leader I have done the like. Dr. Hickes has made a very clever guess, but it is only a guess. His translation is "Et sodalitas alteram partem sumptuum accommodabit quæ ad justa solvenda in silicernio, seu epulatione funebri impenduntur." (Thesaurus Ling. Septent. Dissertatio epistolaris ad Bartholomæum Showere, p. 20.)

1. Each gave to other upon the holy Gospels an oath of true fidelity as regarded God and as regarded the world, that he would ever give all fellowship to him that had most right.

9. Gyf hwile gegilda oðerne misgrete, gylde anne syster huniges:—

And gif hwa oðerne misgrete, gylde anne syster huniges, butan he hine mid his twam gesetlun geladie.

10. Gif cniht¹ wæpn brede, gild se hlaforð an pund; and hæbbe se hlaforð æt þæt he mæge, and him eal gildscipe gefylste þæt he his feoh of hæbbe.

11. And gif cniht oðerne gewundie, wrece hit hlaforð, and eal gylðscype on an, sece þæt þ he sece, þæt he feorh nebbe.

12. And gif cniht binnan stig² sitte, gylð anne syster huniges.

And gif hwa fotsetlan hæbbe, do þæt ylee.

¹ The meaning of this word "cniht" has been strangely misunderstood, though nothing can be plainer. Ælfrie, in his *Abstract of the Old Testament*, translated *miles*, in the Apostle's expression *miles non portabit gladium*, by "cniht." The ballad on the death and last exploits of Byrhtnoth the ealdorman or eorl of East-Anglia calls him "cniht."

"Be þam man mihte oncnawan,
þæt se cniht nolde
wacian æt þam wige,
þa þe he to wæpnum feng."

The eorl was the King's cniht, because he was a King's thane, that is, he had taken his oath of homage to the King and was his man. On the other side, and for the same reason, the same appellation is applied by the poet to the eorl's own *men*.

"Hun be healfe stod
hyse unweaxen.
Cniht on gecampe."

To a charter of the tenth century we find, after the mention of several attestants, these words "and mænig god cniht to eacan þysan." (Hickes' *Thesaurus*, præf. vol. i. p. xxi.) Oswald (Bishop) in a diploma A.D. 969, gives certain land "sumum cnihte, þam is Osulf nama." (Kemble's Cod. Dipl. vol. iii. 557.) And in another document of the same period Oswald (Archbishop) makes a similar grant, "sumum cnihte, þam þe is Wulgeat nama." (*Ibid.* Dipl. 680.) Ælfhæd's will, of no date, but referrible to the tenth century, has the following "Ic geann Brihtwolde minum cnihtæ," &c. (*Ibid.* Dipl. 684.) Ætheling Ætheling, in a charter of the eleventh century, says "Butan þam VIII hydum þe ic Ælmære minum cnihte geunnan hæbbe. And ic geann Æthelwine minum cnihte þæs swyrdes þe he ær me sealde." (*Ibid.* Dipl. 722.)

² *Stig* is wholly unintelligible, and can only be an error of the copyist. Mr. Kemble translates it *spence* (History of the Saxons in England, vol. i. p. 514); but in this the interpreter is at least as hard to understand as the original. Mr. Thorpe leaves the whole phrase untranslated. (Diplomatarium Anglicum, p. 613.) A reference, however, to par. 2 of the rules of the Exeter Guild (p. 17)

2. If any brother die, the whole guild shall bring him to the place where he has wished, and he that comes not thereto shall pay a *sextarius* of honey; and each shall pay two-pence towards the alms (viz. at the offertory), and what is befitting shall be delivered to St. Ætheldrith.*

3. If any brother be in need of the aid of his comrades, and it be made known to the land steward of the nearest brother, unless the brother be himself at hand, and if the steward neglect it he shall pay a pound. If the lord neglect it he shall pay a pound, unless he be compulsorily engaged on his lord's business, or confined to his bed by sickness

4. If anyone slay a brother, let fully eight pounds be exacted for the compensation. If the slayer neglect to pay the compensation, let all the guild avenge the brother, and bear the feud. If one do it, let all bear alike.

5. If any brother slay any man, and he be an avenger by necessity of repairing his outrage, and the slain man be a thane, let each brother pay half a marc in aid. If the slain man be a ceorl (*i.e.* a yeoman), let him pay twelve oras. If the slain man be a Welsh man, let him pay one ora.

6. If the brother slay any one out of wantonness or malice, let him himself bear the consequence of what he has done.

7. If a brother slay his guild brother through his own foolishness,

13. And gif hwilce gegilda ut of lande forðfere, oððe beo gesycled, gefeccan hine his gegildan, and hine gebrungan deadne eððe cucene, þær he to wilne, be þæm ylcan wite þe hit gecweden is.

14. Gif he æt ham forðferð and gegilda þæt lic ne gesæcð; and se gegilda þe ne gesece his morgen¹ space, gilde his syster huniges.

* See note, p. 13.

will throw light upon the meaning of the provision itself. That paragraph contemplates a guild brother's cniht sitting with his lord in the banqueting room of the guild, in which case, as the cniht cannot be expected to be abstemious, he, as his lord, is required to contribute something towards the increased consumption. It must be borne in mind that the cniht would be of the same social standing or birth as the lord, and therefore without offence to the other guild brethren he could sit at table with them. Dr. Hickes mistakes the sense of the passage by translating it thus, "Si famulus in via cuiquam insidietur, &c." (Dissertatio epistolaris, p. 20.)

¹ We have a hiatus here; but the sense of the passage may be arrived at notwithstanding without difficulty. "Morning" or "morrow speech" is an expression which continued to be used very late in the middle ages for the general meeting of a guild. (See *passim* in Mr. T. Smith's Old English Guilds.)

let him himself bear, as regards the relatives, what he broke (*i.e.* the consequences of his infraction of the law) and also redeem his fellowship with eight pounds, or lose for ever fraternity and friendship.

8. If a brother eat or drink with him that slew his guild brother, except it be before the king, or the ealdorman of the shire, or the bishop of the diocese, let him pay one pound, unless he can disprove by the evidence of the two persons who sat on each side of him at table that he knew him not.

9. If any (brother) revile another, let him pay one *sextarius* of honey, unless he can clear himself by the evidence of the two men who sat at each side of him at table.

10. If a *cniht* (*i.e.* an armed retainer of a brother*) draw his weapon let the lord pay one pound and detain what he can (of the servant's effects) and let all the guild assist him in recovering his money.

11. If a *cniht* wound another (*cniht*) let the lord avenge it, and all the guild together, wherever he may seek refuge, (effect) that he have not his life.

12. If a *cniht* take his seat indoors (*i.e.* in the banqueting room of the guild†) let him pay (*i.e.* contribute) one *sextarius* of honey.

And if any brother have a servant to sit at his foot let him do the same.

13. If any brother die out of the country, or fall sick, let his guild brothers fetch him and bring him, dead or alive, to where he wishes, upon the penalty aforesaid.

14. If he dies at home, and a brother does not repair to the body, and the latter does not excuse himself at the morning speech (*i.e.* the general meeting of the guild), let him pay his *sextarius* of his honey.

The rules of the Exeter Guild are as follows:

The proem states that this Society is assembled in Exeter for God's love and their soul's profit, both in regard to the prosperity of this life and the future, which we wish for ourselves in God's judgement. ‡

* See note, p. 14.

† *Ibid.*

‡ þeos gesamming is gesamnod on Exanceastre for godes lufun and for usse saule þearfe, ægðer ge be usses lifes gesundfulnesse, ge eac be ðæm æfteran dagum, þe we to godes dome for us sulfe beon willað.

1. þonne habbað we geƿeden, þæt ure myttung si þriwa on xii monðum, ane to Sce Michaelæs mæssan, oðre siðe to Sce Marian mæssan ofer midne winter, þridan siðe on eal hæligna mæsse dæg ofer easton.

1. There shall be three meetings in the year, the first at Michaelmas, the second at the feast of our Lady after midwinter, and the third at the feast of All Saints after Easter.

2. Each brother shall contribute two *sextarii* of malt, and each cniht one and a portion of honey.

3. The priest shall celebrate two masses, one for the living friends, the other for the dead, at each meeting; and each brother of lay estate shall recite two psalters, one for the living friends, the other for the dead. This altogether (says the rule) will make six masses and six psalters, there being three general meetings.

4. At each expedition ordered by the king every brother shall contribute five pence.

5. At a house burning each brother shall contribute a penny.

6. If any brother neglect an appointment for a meeting, on the first occasion he shall pay for three masses, on the second occasion for five,

2. And hæbbe ælc gegilda ii sesteras mealtes, and ælc cniht anne and sceat huniges.

3. And se mæssepreost à singe twa mæssan, oðre for þa lyfigendan frynd, oðre for þa forðgefarenan æt ælcere mittinge; and ælc gomænes hædes broðer twegen salteras sealma, oðerne for þa lyfigendan frynd, oðerne for þa forðgefarenan; and eft forð siðe ælc monn vi messan oððe vi sealteras sealma.

4. And æt suð fore ælc ¹ mon v peningas.

5. And æt husbryne ælc mon anne pen.

6. And gif hwylc man þone andagan forgemeleasige, æt forman cyrre iii. mæssan, æt oðerum cyrre v. æt ðriðdan cyrre ne scire his nan man, butun hit sie for mettrumnesse, oððe for hlafordes neodde.

7. And gif hwylc monn þone andagan oferhabbe æt his gesceote bete be twifealdum.

8. And gief hwylc mon of þis geferscipe oðerne misgrete, gebete mid xxx. peningum, þonne biddað we for godes lufun, bæst ælc mann þæs gemittinge mid rihte healde, swa we hit mid rihte gerædod habbað god us to þæm gefultimige.

¹ For "suð fore," which means nothing, I read "utfare," the expedition ordered by the King's *geban*. This reading is supported by a practice of the burgesses of Colchester before the Norman Conquest. Ellis says (Introduction to Domesday, p. 113), "Six pence a year was paid out of every house, which might be applied either for the maintenance of the King's soldiers, or for an expedition by sea or land. This payment, it is said, did not belong to the King's ferm." The contributions are analogous. In the one case the burgesses subscribe among themselves for the behoof of their brother burgesses going to the war. In the other case the guild brethren subscribe much the same sum for the same purpose.

and on the third occasion no allowance shall be made for the neglect unless it be through infirmity or his lord's business.

7. If any brother neglect the appointment for paying his subscription or contribution, let him compensate for it two-fold.

8. If any man of this fellowship revile another, let him compensate for it with thirty pence.

In conclusion the document prays "for God's love, that every man of this assembly justly observe what we have justly ordained. God assist us therein."

Though these three secular guilds are the only associations of that kind whose rules we possess, our knowledge of the existence of guilds amongst the Anglo-Saxons goes back to a much earlier date.

They are mentioned generally in the seventh century, viz. in the laws of King Ine.*

In A.D. 860-866 there was a guild of *cnihts*.† A similar guild would appear to have existed in London at a date long anterior to the Norman Conquest.‡ Domesday also speaks of a guild of clerks possessed of considerable house property at Canterbury.§

As that great record could only refer to institutions possessed of real property, and as the city was exempted from its range, its silence is in no way conclusive, either against their having been other guilds in England unendowed, or against there having been guilds in London both with and without estate.

After the Norman Conquest we find guilds in abundance in London. These, or many of them, we have every right to consider to have preceded that great event. They are called by their old Anglo-Saxon name of "gild;" they are governed by an official of like Anglo-Saxon nomenclature, and their word for a great meeting of the associates, viz. morning speech,|| we have already seen in the association of Cambridge.

In a short space of time succeeding the Norman Conquest the guilds became in England, as upon the Continent, a power in the boroughs,

* Thorpe, vol. i. p. 112.

† Kemble's Cod. Dipl. vol. ii. 293. A signature to a defaced charter of Ealhere is "*cniahta gealdan*."

‡ Herbert's History, vol. i. p. 27.

§ Ellis's General Introduction to Domesday, p. 115. Earlier than this date similar guilds of clerks are alluded to in the canons enacted under King Eadgar. (Thorpe's Laws, vol. ii. p. 246.)

|| See *ante*.

and above all in London. In that city they had by the time of Edward II. overturned the old burghal constitution. Herbert says, "By one of a number of articles of regulation, ordained by the citizens for their internal government, which articles were confirmed by the King, and incorporated into a charter, it was provided that no person, whether an inhabitant of the city or otherwise, should be admitted into the civic freedom, unless he was a member of one of the trades or mysteries, or unless with the full consent of the whole community convened; only that apprentices might still be admitted according to the established form. Before this no mention occurs of any mercantile qualification to entitle the householder to his admission to the corporation."

The next reign saw greater changes still.

"The reign of Edward III. (says Herbert) gave birth to an entire reconstruction of the trading fraternities, which, from now generally assuming a distinctive dress or livery, came to be called Livery Companies." He adds, "The alterations under this reconstruction were numerous. Amongst the principal may be reckoned their change of name from guilds to crafts and mysteries, and the substituting for the old title of alderman that of master or warden, * * *. A more important change for the interest of the companies was their being at this time generally chartered, or having those privileges confirmed by letters patent which they had before only exercised through sufferance, and the payment of their fermes."

These changes led to the further aggrandisement of the companies. Norton says, "In 49 Edward III. an enactment passed the whole assembled commonalty of the City, by which the right of election of all city dignitaries and officers, including members of parliament, was transferred from the ward representatives to the trading companies."*

All our rules come under the reconstruction mentioned by Herbert. They are not however the less interesting, for though the institutions to which they refer are no longer called guilds, they are still such in fact and in spirit.

Finding thus a succession of guilds in England from the seventh

* The same strange assumption of power on the part of the guilds had already taken place on the Continent. In 1297 Dante became a member of the Company of Physicians and Apothecaries at Florence (the *sesta* of the *arti maggiori*), to enable him according to the existing laws to take office under the government. (See Dr. Barlow's *Divina Commedia*, p. 491.)

century to the present era with nothing to show that they received their creation from King Ine of Wessex,* we may naturally ask, to what origin are we to refer these fraternities of our land?

This has been a topic much discussed both at home and abroad. As might be expected, the opinions expressed upon the subject have been various and contradictory.

Lappenberg traces our English guilds to the sacrificial feasts of the Teutonic tribes. This is perhaps the strangest theory of all. For what connection can reasonably be supposed between a rendezvous of uncivilized Pagans and an association of Christian men combining for schemes of mutual benefit?

Dr. Brentano rejects this hypothesis, and supports a view of his own in the following manner. He says, "Neither Wilda, the principal writer on guilds, nor Hartwig, who has made the latest researches into their origin, is able to discover anything of the essential nature of guilds, either in what has just been related about the old family and its banquets, or in the sacrificial assemblies; and it is only as to the one point of the custom of holding banquets on the occasion of anniversary festivals that Wilda is inclined to derive the guilds from them. But of the essence of the guild, the brotherly banding together in close union, which expressed itself in manifold ways, in the mutual rendering of help and support, he finds no trace. The banquets were either casual meetings, to which every one, as he thought proper, invited his friends, or which several people prepared in common, and which did not produce any more intimate relationship than that already existing from the actual bond of the family, or state, or neighbourhood, or they were meetings in which every one of the nation was able, or was obliged to take part. There appears in them nothing of any closer voluntary confederacy of the members within or by the side of the union caused by the state or religion. Hartwig considers these objections of Wilda conclusive, and believes that from the continued existence of Pagan ceremonies, even amongst the religious guilds, and from the custom of holding feasts, nothing whatever can be deduced which is essential to the guilds."

Dr. Brentano, having thus disposed of an opposite theory, goes on to attribute the guild to the family, *i.e.* the Teutonic family, the guild being an instance of that union for mutual support which existed in

* See *ante*.

that Teutonic family, and he sums up as follows: "The family appears as the first guild, or at least as an archetype of the guilds. Originally its providing care dispels all existing wants, and for other societies there is therefore no room. As soon, however, as wants arise, which the family can no longer satisfy—whether on account of their peculiar nature or in consequence of their increase, or because its own activity grows feeble—closer artificial alliances immediately spring forth to provide for them, in so far as the state does not do it. Infinitely varied as are the wants which call them forth so are naturally the objects of these alliances. Yet the basis on which they all rest is the same. All are unions between man and man, not mere associations of capital, like our modern societies and companies," &c.

It is not very difficult to dispose of the theory to which the fervid Teutonic genius has led Dr. Brentano.

This theory proves too little in one sense and too much in another. It is wholly illogical to deduce from the natural obligation of the family an institution which is not only voluntary and optional, but which can only begin outside of that family. In this respect, therefore, Dr. Brentano's theory falls short.

Again, if the guild be derivable from the family, every other association of freemen must be equally so derived, and should Dr. Brentano's arguments prove his contention, the army, the navy, the civil government of a country have all claims to that origin. But this is to prove more than is proposed.

Mr. Toulmin Smith was of opinion that "none of our guilds were founded upon a Roman basis." Miss Smith adds "and, when a reference to early Roman history was suggested," he replied "there is not the shadow of an analogy (misleading as even analogies are) between the old Sabine *curies* and our old English guilds. We trace ours back to the old Saxon times."

As I am free to confess that I do not understand the allusion in this, I must leave it, with all its mystery, uncommented upon, except to observe that it may mean that English guilds are of English origin.

In the various hypotheses which I have referred to the propounders all agree in one point, viz., in ignoring the past history of Britain. They seem to have forgotten that England was a Latin country for four centuries, and during that period as she received Latin colonists so she received also Roman laws and institutions.

Amongst the latter the *collegia privata* were planted here, at the infancy of the Conquest. The *collegium fabrorum* which dwelt in the *Civitatis Regnorum*, when Claudius and his successors were Emperors, is known to all antiquaries.*

The colleges remained in this country throughout the imperial rule, and with the provincial inhabitants survived the Anglo-Saxon occupation of Britain. They were subsequently, through that marvellous imitativeness † which distinguished the German in the early stages of his national life, adopted by him also.

That this is the true origin of the English guild it will not be very difficult to demonstrate.

Under the empire and before it private colleges (*collegia privata*) were corporations composed of men voluntarily bound together for a common lawful purpose.‡

They were established by legal act,§ either a *senatus consultum* or a decree of the emperor.

The number of the *sodales* could not be less than three. It might be any larger number, unless it was restricted by the authority which gave the college existence.||

In its constitution the college was divided into *decuriæ* and *centuriæ*—bodies of ten and a hundred men.¶

* Horsfield's History of Sussex, vol. i. p. 41, gives the inscription in its existing state, and see Horsley's Britannia Romana, p. 332 *et seqq.* for an ingenious restoration by the celebrated Roger Gale. Whatever may be thought of this restoration in the whole or in part, we have in the original (as it now exists,) the words "gium fabrorum," which can only be read "collegium f." These colleges were amongst the few "antiqua et legitima" left undissolved by Augustus. (Suet. in Aug. c. 32.)

† See the acute and philosophical remarks of Dr. Rolleston, who discusses the "imitative tendencies" of the Teutonic race in vol. xlii. Archæologia, p. 422.

‡ See J. F. Massman's *Libellus Aurarius*, under the heading *collegia*, p. 76 *et seqq.* See also Dig. 50, 16, 85, and 3, 4.

§ *Ibid.* p. 75. Massman says, "Inde frequens illa formula, quibus ex S. C. coire licet." (Gruter, 99 i. 391 i.; Murator, 472, 3, 520 3; Orelli, 4075, 4115, 1467, 2797.) See also Sueton. in Augusto, c. 32."

|| Fabretti, x. 443, Marini, Fratres Arvales. (Quoted by Massman, p. 75.) Dig. de verb. signific. Pliny's Epistles, x. 42.

¶ "Collegia divisa erant in decurias et centurias," says J. F. Massman, quoting Muratori, 518, 4; Fabretti, 73, 72; Marini, Fratr. Arv. 174a; Orelli, 4137.

It was presided over by a *magister* and by *decuriones*—a president and a senate.*

It had a *quæstor* and *arcarius*—a treasurer and sub-treasurer.†

It was a corporation, and could hold property as such.‡

It had a common cult and common sacrifices at stated times. It had its priests and temple.§

It had its *lares* and its *genii*.

It had a *curia* (or meeting-house) where the *ordo collegii* (its senators) met to consult and to determine.

At the same *curia* also the whole sodality met at their general meetings and to feast.

There was a common *arca* (or chest) to contain their revenues, their contributions, and their fines.

Each college had its archives and its banners.

It had a *jus sodalitii* or full power over its members.

To each candidate on his admission was administered an oath peculiar to the college.

The *sodales* supported their poor brethren.

They imposed *tributa* or contributions to meet their current and extraordinary expenses.

They buried publicly deceased brethren, all the survivors attending the rite.

A common sepulchre or *columbarium* received the brethren.

Each college celebrated its natal day, a day called *caræ cognationis*, and two other days called severally *dies violarum* and *dies rosæ*.

We may guess the intention for which the natal day and the day *caræ cognationis* were appointed, viz. to carry out the general purposes of the college; but for the *dies violarum* and *dies rosæ* there were other purposes. On those two days of charming nomenclature the *sodales* met at the sepulchres of their departed brethren to commemorate their loss, and to deck their tombs with violets and roses, an offering (if not a sacrifice) pleasing to the spirit of the *manes*.||

* See the authorities (derived from epigraphs) for these and for varying names of the same officers in Massman, p. 80.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Dig. 47, 22, 3.

§ *Ibid.* p. 81. For all the ensuing assertions the reader is referred to Massman and the authorities quoted by him.

|| Massman, in reference to these days, says only that the *dies caræ cognationis* was in the month of February, that the *dies violarum* occurred

Each college could hold property.

Of trade colleges epigraphy has preserved an infinity of examples; but, as I have intimated, the private colleges were not of craftsmen only; any persons could combine and form a college, if the common purpose of it were lawful.

Men could combine themselves into a religious college if the religion were tolerated by the State;* and De Rossi has shewn that colleges *funerum causâ*, or for the purpose of holding land wherein to bury the *sodales*, were rife in Rome both before and after the rise of when the violet began to blow, and that the "*dies rosæ*" was on the 10th day before the calends of June. (*Ibid.* p. 83.) This, however, gives only part of the information. It omits the objects for which such days were appointed. As regards the two floral days the information, however, is at hand. Violets and roses were strewn or hung in garlands upon tombs in commemoration of the dead, and to sooth the ever wakeful and mischievous spirit of the *manes*. As to the employment of these flowers, see Orelli, 4419, 4107, 4070, 3927, and Marini, *Fratres Arvales*, 580, 581, 639. Suetonius (Nero, c. 56) says, that after the burial of that emperor "non defuerunt, qui per longum tempus vernis æstivis que floribus tumultum ejus ornarent"—persons strewed his tomb with violets and roses. Byron's allusion to this fact is amongst the best known passages of his *Childe Harold*. Before then Augustus had acted similarly in regard to the remains of Alexander the Great. (Suet. August.) "*Corona aurea ac floribus aspersis veneratus est.*" M. Antoninus Pius (Capitolinus, c. iii. vol. i. p. 46, Peter's edition) so honoured his *magistri* that after their death "*sepulchra eorum floribus semper honoraret.*" A graceful poem (*Anthologia Latina*, 4. 355), thus alludes to the same custom—

"Hoc mihi noster herus sacrauit inane sepulchrum,

Villæ tecta suæ propter ut adspicerem;

Utque suis manibus flores mihi vinaque sæpe

Funderet et lacrimam quod mihi pluris erit."

This scattering of violets and roses upon tombs was commonly known by the quaint names of *violatio* and *rosatio* (see Orelli), and Henzen has gone very fully into the subject of the mischievous powers of the *manes*, and of the consequent necessity for propitiating them. (See *Annali di Roma* for 1846). He quotes the following inscription preserved in the Villa Panfilì: "*Quamdiu vivo, colo te: post mortem nescio; parce matrem tuam (sic) et patrem et sororem tuam marinam, ut possint tibi facere post me solemnia.*" (See also a paper by the same author in the *Annali* for 1849, p. 77).

In the *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 31, is recorded an inscription found at Hispellum of the same tenor; "*Viridi requiesce viator in herba; fuge si tecum cæperit umbra loqui.*" The phrase "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*," (if it be ancient) refers to this property of the *manes*. It is not a lesson of generosity, as it is now taken to be; but a counsel not to rouse the anger of an irritated ghost by speaking too freely of his past actions in the flesh.

* Dig. 47, 22, 1.

Christianity.* In fact, it was the glorious destiny of this order of colleges, as the creators of the catacombs, to preserve our nascent and struggling faith. Under cover of a Roman burial club the scheme of man's redemption was carried out.

Though a glance over the preceding pages will have shewn the identity of the English guild (through the Anglo-Saxon institution) with the Roman college, it may perhaps assist the reader if I place their resemblances in stricter juxtaposition. In doing so I will refer, where I can, more particularly to the guild as found in the Anglo-Saxon period of our history.

The *collegium* was an association of men, combined for a common lawful purpose, and cemented together by admission into a *sodalitium* and an oath of fellowship.

The Anglo-Saxon guild was identical in these respects.

The *collegium* had a complete self-government of master and officers.

Though we have no full information upon this in the Anglo-Saxon guild, the old English guild is constituted in a manner similar to the *collegium*.

When the *collegium* was large it was divided into *decuriæ* and *centuriæ*.

We have seen this identical division in the Anglo-Saxon guild of London.

The *collegium* and the guild had a special cult. In the old English

* A very interesting paper of the Cavaliere de Rossi's in the *Revue Archéologique*, vol. xiii. N.S. p. 295 *et seqq.*, and entitled "Existence légale des Cimitières Chrétiens à Rome," contains a *resumé* of his discoveries upon this and cognate points treated from time to time in the *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* and *Roma Sotterranea*. I refer the reader to this paper, p. 240 *et seqq.* The Cavaliere thus sums up his discoveries (*ibid.* p. 240): "Aussi les Chrétiens, en leur qualité de possesseurs de cimitières communs, ont-ils formé *ipso jure* un collège de ce genre (*i.e. funerum causâ*); et pour leur ôter le bénéfice du *senatus-consulte* on devait prouver qu'ils tombaient sous le coup de cette restriction de la loi: *dummodo hoc prætextu collegium illicitum non coeat*. À la constatation de ce délit équivalait chacun ees édits spéciaux de persécution, où l'on interdisait aux Chrétiens l'usage de leurs cimitières; et ces édits sont en effet du *iii^e* siècle, époque où l'histoire et les monuments témoignent que les fidèles possédaient des tombeaux en qualité de corps constitués. Après la revocation de l'édit le privilège rentrait en vigueur; et alors les empereurs restituaient aux évêques comme représentants du corps de la chrétienté la libre possession avec l'usage des cimitières."

form this is uniform and prominent, and it shews itself in the Anglo-Saxon guild of Cambridge in the reference to S. Ætheldryth.*

There are fixed general annual meetings of the *collegium* for business.

We have seen the same in the Anglo-Saxon guild.

The *collegium* and the guild have also severally their *réunions*, at which to feast and disport themselves.

The *collegium* and the guild subsist through the contributions of their members. Their business and their pleasures depend upon these exactions.

The *collegium* and the guild correct their disobedient members by mulcts and fines.

They both have a common chest, and they both may and do hold landed estate.

The *sodales* of the *collegium* are brethren as well as contributories.

Nothing is better defined than the same feature in the guild also.

The *sodales* supported their poor and comforted their sick brethren.

We have seen this in the guild.

The *collegium* and the guild could make bye-laws for their respective regulation.

When a *sodalis* died the surviving brethren followed him to the grave or to its Roman equivalent.

The same kindly spirit is enforced in the Anglo-Saxon as well as in the old English guild.

The *collegium* was a corporation.

The guild was unequivocally the same. In the dearth of words of precision which followed upon the disuse of the Latin language in this country the word was assumed and continued to late days to express a *commune*—the same thing.†

* Mr. Toulmin Smith is anxious to exculpate the guilds from the charge of being religious. He says, "These were not in any sense superstitious foundations, that is, they were not founded, like monasteries and priories, for men devoted to what were deemed religious exercises." (Old English Guilds, Introduction, p. xxviii.)

† See Glanville, v. c. 5. Domesday, in speaking of Canterbury, says that the burgesses held certain land "in gildam suam," *i.e.* in their aggregate capacity. (See Ellis's Introduction, p. 115). At Dover the burgesses had a "guild hall." (*Ibid.* p. 105.)

We have found also in one of the Anglo-Saxon guilds mention made of the brotherhood suing in the aggregate.

Lastly, as the pagan sodalities met on the day of violets and the day of the rose to commemorate the death of brethren in the manner which has been mentioned, so the Christian guild at all times of its history in this country met similarly on stated days for an analogous commemoration of those who had preceded them with the sign of faith, to use the words of the old office of *memento*.

I think that these resemblances are so striking and so nearly connected with the essence of each that the common similarity can mean nothing less than the identity of the two institutions—the *collegium* and the guild.

And it does not, I think, conflict with this conclusion that the *collegium* could not be constituted without authority, while it is more than probable that no such difficulty existed in regard to the Anglo-Saxon guild.* But any authorisation, besides not being of the essence of the institution, would be out of the question in those days of irregular liberty which succeeded the dislocation of Britain from the empire.

Still less does it affect that identity for which I have contended, that amongst all the purposes for which *collegia*, so far as we know, were instituted there is no mention made of mutual assurance. For, as it was the machinery and system which made a college, whatever the object might be, the institution was still a college, being like the sun in Horace, "*aliusque et idem*."

* The proems of the Anglo-Saxon rules seem to prove this. In addition thereto is the inference to be drawn from a fact related by Herbert, vol. i. p. 24, who says that in the reign of Henry II. certain guilds in London were amerced as being adulterine or set up without the King's licence. In other words these were probably old guilds which followed the old custom. The Normans had introduced the licencing of these fraternities.

TEXT OF THE ORDINANCES.

ARTICLES AND ORDYNANCES undirwrite by the MAISTRES and
KEPERS or WARDEYNES of the FRATERNITIE of the CRAFT of
GLOVERS in the Cite of LONDON. In the Chapel of OURE LADY
in the Newe Chirchawe beside London. Acknowledged before the
Commissary of London 1354, 28 Edward III.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro
"Prowet," fo. C.lxxxxvj^o.) Dated A.D. 1354. 28. Edw. iiij.]

xj^o 7 xij^o.

In the Worshiþe of the holy and the hye Trinite fadir and sone and holy
Goost And in the Worshiþe of the blessed and Glorious Virgyne Mary Moder
of oure Lord Godde Jhesu Crist Maistres and Kepers or Wardeyns of the
Fraternite of the Craft of Glovers of the Cite of London and alle of the same
Fraternite brethren with oon consente and assent in the worshiþe and solempne
festes the Nunciacion and in especiall the Assumpcion of the blessed Mary
Virgine they have doon ordeyned and ymade alle the Articles and Ordynaunces
undirwrite by hem and either of hem and here successours for evirmore wel
and truly to be kepte to be holde and fulfilled upon the peynes in the same
Articles here aftir specified.

First it is ordeyned that every brothir of the same Fraternite the which for
the tyme beyng and here successors for here tymes paieth or doth to paye
yerey to fynde ij. Tapres of the wight everych of hem of x li. wax brengyng
in the Chapel of Oure Lady ysette in the Newchirchawe beside London atte
the Hye Auter of the same Chapell in the worshiþe of the Blessid Virgine
Marye xvj d. to be paid that it is to wete every quarter of the yere iiij d. to
the fyndyng of the forseid light and to the pore of the same Fraternitee the
whiche well and trewly have paid here quarterage as longe as they and to here
power have done.

Also it is ordeyned that if any brother of the same Fraternite of the Crafte
of Glovers be behynde of paiement of his quarterage by a monyth aftir the
ende of any quarter that thanne for defaute of paiement of soch quarterage he
shal paie or do to be paid xvj d. st. that is to wete viij d. to the olde werk
of the Church of Seynt Poule of London and other viij d. to the Boxe of the
same Fraternitee of the Craft of Glovers And so as oftetymes as it happeth
any brothir be behynde in paiement of his quarterage any quarter of the yere
or be not obedient to the somounce of the Wardeyns or be not present in the
heuenys that folk ben dede and in offerynges for to be doon as in beryng of the
bodies of the brethren of the same Fraternitee of Oure Lady that is to wete
the Annunciacion and Assumpcion specially and in alle othir tymes in the

which brethren of the same Craft of Glovers togedyr owen for to be And that for every defeaute he paye xvj d. in maner and forme as is above expressed And that the Maistres Kepers or Wardeyns of the same Fraternitee which for the tyme ben such sommes of money for everych defeaute so ygadred shul do to rere or doon to be rered othir elles an othir that the same Maistres Kepers or Wardeyns a fore said for the same defeautes of here owen proper godes shal make satisfaccion and yelde accompte ther of of the same sommes in the endes of the yerres of thike Kepers or Wardeyns that is for to say as for ij yere.

Also it is ordeyned that every brother of the same Fraternitee shul come to *Placebo* and *Dirige* and in the heuenys of dede folk in sute or in here lyverey of the same fraternite of the yere last passed and in the morowe atte Masse and there for to offer alle suych brethren in here newe lyverey or sute atte suych offerynges for to be doon owen for to be upon the peyne of xvj d. to paie in maner and fourme above seid.

Also it is ordeyned that if ther be any brother of the same Fraternite and of the same Craft of Glovers be behynde of paiement of his quarterage by a yere and a day and his power the same quarterage to paie And if he that do maliciously refuse that thenne he be somened to fore the officiall and by the Wardeyns for his trespas and rebelnes of suche maner duly for to be chastised or ponyssed and to paie the fyne afore seid and her costes of the court as in here account to fore alle othir brethren of the same Craft wellen answer.

Also it is ordeyned that if any brothir or suster of the same Fraternite if have be of the Craft of Glovers and be dede withynne the endes and the lymytees of the citee of London and have not of his owen godes hym for to berye he shal have abowte his body v. tapres everych of the wight of x lb. beryng and iiij torches upon the costes and expenses of the brethren of the same Fraternite if it have be that he by vij yere contynuyng in the same Fraternitee so long hath duelled and his quaterage wel and truly aftir his power ypayde.

Also it is ordeyned that alle the brethren of the same Fraternite ben clothed in oon sute onys every ij yere ayeys the ffeste offe Assumpcion of oure Lady. And that all soch brethren that is to wete of the forseid Crafte of the Werk of Glovers in the same fest of Assumpcion atte the forseid chapell of oure Lady in the Newe Chirchawe beside London ysette for thanne togedir personlich togedir shul neighberly and there here offerynges shul doon as the maner afore hath ben And if any brothir that day be absent but if a cause resonable hym doth lette that thenne for his absens of the same he pay xvj d. for to be paid in maner and fourme above seid.

Also it is ordeyned that the Maistres Kepers and Wardeyns of the Fraternite afore seid of the Craft of Glovers of the Cite of London the which for the tyme shul be and alle othir brethren of the same Fraternite and of the same Craft of Glovers for here tymes in the feste of Assumpcion of the blessyd Virgyne Marie atte the aforeseid Chapell of Oure Lady in the Newe Churchawe beside London ysette personally shul neighe and come by vij of the klokke to fore the oure of ix. And therefore to be in syngyng of masses and ther her offerynges for to do after the maner of longe tyme passed and ther of forto contynue and abyde and remayne from the same oure of vij vuto the our of viij fullich

fulfilled but if they have cause resonable hem for to lette upon the payne of xvj d. to be paid in maner and fourme abovesaid.

Also it is ordeyned that every brothir of the same Fraternite that is to wete of the Craft of Glovers her lyvery of the same Craft by iiij yere holde next sewyng aftir that he it receyved hole and faire shal it kepe and the same in no maner withynne thiike iiij yere shal not leve it ne selle it ne aliene it upon the payne of xl d. to paie therof xx d. to the olde werk of the Church of Seynt Poule of London and the othir xx d. to the boxe of the Fraternite of the same Craft.

Also it is ordeyned if any brothir of the forseid Fraternite of the Craft of Glovers aforseid absent hym from his mete and he be withynne the Cite of London butte if it be that he holde with grete sikenes or any othir cause resonable hym doth lette that thanne for his absens of the same he shal paie xl d. that is to wete xx d. to the olde werke of the Church of Seynt Poule and the othir xx d. to the box of the same Fraternite.

Also it is ordeyned that he or they the which hath be resceyved or shalbe resceyved here aftir into a brothir of the same Fraternite if it so hadde be that he or they have ben or hadde ben of the Craft of Glovers of the forseid Cite of London paieth or dooth to paie everych of hem for his in comynges xl d. or elles as the Maistres Keepers or Wardeyns of the Fraternite aforseid and othir iij. brethren of the same Craft and Fraternite to gedir mow accorde. And also it is ordeyned that he and they that so have be resceyved or have ben resceyved into a brother or a brotherhood of the same Fraternite and everych of hem shal be sworn on the boke so helpe hem God and Holydom that he and they well and truly shal kepen holden and fulfille in alle the ordynnances and articles of the same Fraternite of the Craft of Glovers of the forseid Cite of London keepyng upon the peynes in the ordynances and articles aforseid above specified.

Also it is ordeyned that the day of the feste that every brothir whenne that they have eten shal go to the forseid Chapell of oure Lady in the Newchurchawe beside London i set personlich to gedir an ther to ben and contynue the tyme of *Placebo* and *Dirige* for alle the brethren and sistren of the Fraternite and on the morow aftir atte the oure of viij to be at Masse of *Requiem* and fro thens to come to gedir to her halle in payne of xvij d. to ben paid in maner and fourme above seid and so that Sonday twellmoth as the yer commeth about to that thanne be mad a quarter day and so the *Dirige* to be kept yerly in manner and form above said.

Also it is ordeyned that if any of the same Craft or Bretherhood of what degre he be revyle any man of the same Lyvery with any foule langage as thus lying falsyng or sclaunderyng or with any word unfeully violently and ther he made compleynt to the Wardeyns and therof be atteynt by recorde that thenne anone he be warned by the Clerk of the Craft that he come tofore the Maister and Wardeyns of the Craft therto be examyned and therto make a fyn of vj s. viij d. di. to the olde werk of the Church of Seynt Poule and the othir di. to the box of the same Craft of Glovers.

Also it is ordeyned that alle the Brethren of the same Fraternite the Sonday next folowyng aftir Trinite Sonday to here mete to gedir shull goo and that

every brothir of the same Fraternite of the same Craft be warned atte that mete to come by the Maistres Keepers or Wardeyns of the same Fraternite the which for the tyme ben or by her servants other her familiaries or elles here deputies due tymes and that every brothir and sister paie to his mete xx d. that is to wete for hym self xij d. and his wyfe viij d. and on the morow aftir for hym self iiij d. and thagh his wife come nomore and if more that day be spende falle upon the Maistres for that tyme beyng as the maner is and that the Maistres or Wardeyns the which for the tyme shulbe in the same Sonday in the which afore seid to gedir owen for to etc. and on the morew aftir thenne sewyng without any lette of the resseittes by hem for alle the ij yere afore tofore alle the Brethren of the same Craft shull make a trewe accompt and yelde other elles that they be redy of here accompte with ynne xv daies aftir othir elles that every Maistre Keepers or Wardeyns for the tyme beyng paie for suche defaute eithir of hem in xiiij s. iiij d. that is to wete xx d. to the olde werke of the Church of Seynt Poule and the othir xx d. to the box of the same Fraternite.

Also it is ordeyned that no maner person of the Crafte of Glovers presente to fore the Chamburlayn of London no man to make hym free lesse thenne he be presented to fore the Maistres or Wardeyns of the Craft of Glovers upon peyne of vj s. viij d. to be paid xld. to the Church of Seynt Poule and xld. to the box of the same Craft of Glovers.

Also if any of the same Craft of Glovers be founden contraryng to do ayens the poyntes a fore seid or arayeys any of hem thanne that he be somoned by the office atte the sute of the Wardeyns of the same Craft for the first defaute he to paie xld. the on half to be paid to the olde work of the Church of Seynt Poule and the othir di. to be paid to the box of the same Craft of Glovers and atte the secounde defaute vj s. viij d. and atte the thirde defaute x s. and so forth fro tyme to tyme til he wol obeie to the good rules and ordinaunces of the Craft of Glovers and for to be rered in maner and fourme a fore seid.

Also it is ordeyned if any maner man of the forsaid Craft of Glovers of what degre he be disobeye any rules ordynances or articles lawfully made by the goode ayys of the Maistre and Wardeyns that ben for the tyme and othir vj Brethren of the same Craft of Glovers that ben nedeful and profitable for the comen welfare of the seid Craft and also to the gode profite to alle the Kynges lege pepull be not denyed upon the peyne of xiiij s. iiij d. that is to sey vj s. viij d. to be paid to the olde werk of the Church of Seynt Poule of London and vj s. viij d. to the box of the same Craft of Glovers atte the first defaut and atte the secounde defaut ij marcs and atte the iij^{de} defaut x s. to be rered and paid in maner and fourme above seid.

Also that noon apprentice of the same Craft in the ende of his terme be made freman lasse thenne the Maister and Wardeyns of the seid Craft for the tyme beyng with his Maister or his lawfull depute presente hym able afore the Chamburlayn and that no man of the seid Crafte selle ne alien the terme of his prentice without the ayys and counceille of the Maister and Wardeyns of the seid Crafte for the tyme beyng and that no man of the seid Crafte teche or enfourme any foreyn or straunger in the seid Crafte in hyndryng of the same upon payne of vj s. viij d. as ofte as any be founde defectyf to be paid in maner and fourme above said.

Anno Millesimo ccc^{mo} lliij^{to} et anno regni Regis Edwardi Tercii post Conquestum xxvii^o per ordinacionem fratrum subscriptorum.

Qui quidem Fratres de Arte Cirothec' videlicet:

Symon Spenser	Petrus Haberdassher
Willielmus Derby	Johannes Roger
Willielmus de Pilton	Willielmus Sprygge
Johannes de Cornewaille	Robertus Martyn, White Tawier
Ricardus de Banbury	Thomas Crowcher
Johannes Grundhill	Walterus Gosgrove
Johannes Elmestow	Johannes Yanceslee
Johannes Coke	Johannes White
Symon Haverhille	Stephanus le Burner
Robertus de Preston	Johannes Derneford
Adamus de Thurston	Walterus de Bedelle
Galfridus de Salisbury	Willielmus de Burton
Johannes Guygge	Willielmus Bissshop
Petrus de Preston	Robertus de Chesterfeld
Johannes de Ratford	

Fidem fecerunt bene et fideliter tenere et adimplere omnes ordinaciones antedictas.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSEN, 14 May, 1852.]

ORDEYNANCE ARTICULIS AND CONSTITUCIONES ordeyned and graunted by the WORSHYFFULL MAISTRES and WARDEYNES in the *Worship* of the Bretherhed of SAYNT LOYE att the Fest of Ester with alle the hole company of the Crafte of BLAKSMYTHES who assemble in SEYNT THOMAS of Acres and thence to the GREY FRERES in London. Founded and ordeyned atte the Fest of Ester 1434—12 Henry VI.

[Liber 3 More. 1418—1438. f. 455. (1435.)]

In the worship of almyghtte Gode oure Lady and all the holi company of bevene and in the worship of Seynt Loye atte the fest of Ester in the yer of Kyng Henry the vj^{the} after the Conqueste the xij^{te} The Worshypfull Maistres and Wardeynes with alle the hole company of the Crafte of Blaksmynes of London bathe ordeyned and graunted to the servantes of the seyd Crafte that they shul come in to the brethered of the sayd Saynt Loye as hit was of olde tyme and thei to kepe trewelie and deweli al the ordynance articulis and constituciones the whiche is ordeyned be al the worthi compani of the seyd Crafte.

Firste they byn accorded and graunted be the seyd company that every

servant syngulerly shal pay a quarter ij d. to his Bretherhed and everi suster j d. And if ther be eny newe cliant will come into the Bretherhed to be a brother he shal pay for his yncomyng ij s.

Also they byn acorded hennesfortheward that if hit soo be that any strangere other alyant come to London to have a servyse in the Crafte he shalbe reseyyved in to the Crafte to serve ij wokes and after that he to make his covenant iij yer, he to have for his saleri be yer xls. And whanne the seyde servant shal make his covenant thanne at that tyme shal be the wardeyne the wheche is asyued be the yere that he may here witnesse of the covenant and thet the seyde wardeyne may reherce to the seyde servant al the governance of the Crafte he forto treweli and deweli to kepe hem.

Also they byn acorded that the seyde servantes schal not doo no maner thyng the wheche that perteyneth to the seyde Crafte and of here Bretherhed of articules constitucionys and ordynances withouten thet they have to conseyll of the same wardeyne thet is chosen to be here governour upon the payne of xiiij s. iiij d.

Also they byn acorded that ther schal no servant of the seyde Crafte susteyne ne socour noo neweman that cometh newe to toun to have servyse be noo maner crafte ne collusioun but in the forme aforeseyde.

Also they byn acorded that no master of the seyde Crafte shal not susteyne ne socour noo servant otherwyse thanne the seyde constituciones and ordynance afore seid specefie.

Also thei byn acorded that from hennesfortheward whenne eny stranger cometh to London to have a servise oni of the servantes knoweth that he will have a servise he shall brynge him to a mastir to serve and to warne the wardeyne that is here governour that he may be at the covenant makyng.

Also they ben acorded that the seyde servantes shal come and geder into the place the wheche is nessesari to hem at sevene of the bell in here clothyng of here Bretherhed soo that they mai come to Seynt Thomas of Acres be ix of the bell to goo fro thennes before the Maistres of the Crafte to the Grey Freres to here here mas in the worshup of the holy seynt afore seyde upon the payne aforeseyde.

Also they byn acorded that the seyde articles be treweli and duely ikepte upon the payne of xxs. And that the same persone that is founden in ony defeaute he to be corrected be the wardeyne that is here governoure and be the wardeynes of the Bretherhed of yomen to stonde at here discrecioun in alle maner degre. Also he that cometh nat at all maner of somons the wheche is worship and profit to the seyde Bretherhed of yomen shall pay at everi tyme a pounde of wax but if he have a resonable excusacioun.

Also thei ben acorded that there schall be a bedell of the yomen and the seyde bedell to take for his salari be the quarter of every brother of the seyde Bretherhed ob.

And wanne eny distaunce other thyng that perteyneth to the seyde Bretherhed the wheche that is profit and worship to the seyde Bretherhed he to have for his labour j d. ob. And whanne eny brother other sister be passed to God the seyde bedell to have for his traveyle ij d.

Also they byn acorded that if hit soo be that any servant hennesfortheward be founden false of his hondes or in eny other degre at the first defeaute he to be

corrected be the oversseer that is ordeyned to the Bretherhed of yomen and be the wardeynes of the same. And at the secounde tyme he that is founde in such a defeaute schalbe put oute of the Crafte for evere. And at the firste defeaute hoo that is founde in that degre shal make a fyne to the Crafte that is to seye iiij s. halfe to torne (*sic*) to turne to the box of the Maistres and halfe to the box of the yomen.

Also they byn acorded that they shull chese newe Mastres at the fest of Seynt Loy. And that the olde Maistres yeve up here acountes to the newe at the fest of Cristemasse. And thenne that to be here quarter day. And the newe Maistres be bounde to the olde. And that this artycul be treweli and deweli to be kepte apon the peyne of xij s. iiij d.

Also ther shal not on brother plete with another at no maner place withouten leve of the wardeynesse and xij^e of the bretheren in the peyne of xij s. iiij d.

Also if ther be eny brother that forsaketh here clothyng schal paye to the boxe of the seyde yomen xij d.

Also they byn acorded whosoever be wardeyne withoute the gate he schall not have the box in kepyng nother the wex in governance but he shall have a key of the box and another of the wex. Also they byn acorded if therbe eny brother that telleth the counseyle of the seyd Brethered to his master prentis or to eny other man he shall paye to the box ij s. halfe to the Maistres and that other halfe to here oune box. And the seyde money to be reysed of the Mastres.

Also they byn acorded if therbe eny brother that revylet the wardeyns or eny of here brethren he shal pay xij d. halfe to the master box the tother halfe to ther oune box.

Also if the wardeyns be mys governed ayenest ony brother the foreseyd brother shall playne to the Master of the Crafte and the Mastro forto correcte the foreseyd wardeyns.

Also a remembrance that in the tyme that William Ferour was wardeyne of blakesmythes and governour of yomen of blakesmythes in that tyme John Water, John Specer, Jheferey More, and John Lamborn, Mastres of the yomen *aforeseyd* and xij^e of the same company: We have ordeyned that every brother shall pay the firste dai vj d. and everi wif of the seyd bretheren iij d. and also at the quarter day everi man and his wif iij d. And also if eny of the seyd bretheren or here wyves be absent fro oure comon dyner or elles fro oure quater dai schall pai as moche as if he or sho were present.

Also we be fulli acorded that he that hath byn wardeyn of the yomen he shall not be chose within vj yere next foloyng aftur, and thei that chese hym til the vj yer ful passed thei shall pai vj s. viij d. to the box.

Also we byn acorded that thei that byn wardeynes of the foreseyd yomen thei shal abyde ther in ij yere.

Also we byn acorded that the wardeyns that byn choson for the yer shal geder up here quarterage clere before the tyme that they go out of her offis.

Also the bretheren be acorded that fro Mychelmas fortheward everi brother shal pay for his quarterage j d. and for that is behynde thei shall gedre hit up as hit was before.

Also at the quarter dai we will have baken conys as hit was be gonne, and

what Master that breketh this ordynance everi pece shall pay vj s. viij d. halfe to the Mastres box and halfe to oure box.

Johannes Lamborne
 Johannes Peyntur
 Galfridus More
 Johannes Water
 Willielmus Johnson
 Willielmus Wodryse
 Stephanus Manne
 Johanna Uxenisdenne
 Ricardus Abbot
 Jacobus Barton
 Johannes Fantard
 Johannes Sylvester
 Willielmus Walpoll
 Rogerus Holdernesce
 Willielmus Breteyn
 Johannes Trefelweth
 Johannes Lynne
 Thomas Kelen
 Johannes Criste
 Johannes Hermes
 Petrus Leyre
 Willielmus Mapull
 Elizabeth uxor ejusdem
 Johannes Broune
 Robertus Edward
 Robertus Rose
 Johannes Fraunces
 Johannes Tachon
 Johannes Coventre
 Egidius Fauderle
 Thomas Lemmeryk
 Thomas Foxe
 Stephanus Clampard
 Johannes Stone
 Willielmus Syxsumby

Johannes Kyng
 Johannes Wolston
 Thomas Klerk
 Willielmus Rolston
 Johannes Hille
 Petrus Patrik
 Willielmus Baudewyn
 Robertus Penmore
 Johannes Harvyce
 Johannes Baron
 Robertus Edward
 Holiverus Broune
 Reginaldus Brombey
 Henricus Smyth
 Hugo Robard
 Willielmus Mors
 Willielmus Langwyth
 Robertus Caton
 Johannes Warner
 Willielmus Frebody
 Johannes Hayne
 Martinus John
 Johannes Goddesfaste capellanus
 Johannes Newerk
 Willielmus Warde
 Stephanus Priour
 Andreas Dericsoun
 Johannes Aylewyn
 Thomas Cristemas
 Willielmus clericus apud Sanctum
 Zacarie
 Petrus Ryley
 Willielmus Bolivere.
 Rogerus Clerk.

[Examined, 14 May, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN.]

RULES AND ORDINANCES of the BROTHERHOOD of the CRAFT of SHEARMEN of the City of London.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro
 "Sharp" fol. 101 b.) 27 Feb. 1452, 31 Hen. VI.]

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes Litteræ sive præsens publicum
 instrumentum pervenerint sive pervenerit et quos infrascripta tangunt seu tan-

gere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum Johannes Druelle utriusque juris doctor Officialis Consistorii Episcopalis Londonie salutem in Domino ac fidem indubiam presentibus adhibere. Ad vestrae universitatis notitiam deducimus et innotesci volumus per presentes quod discreti viri Willielmus Bette, Johannes Hungerford et Johannes Baker, cives civitatis Londini, Gardiani Artis vocatae in Anglicis Shermencrafte civitatis Londoni, necnon

Johannes Whitefeld	Johannes Trewynnard
Willielmus Butte	Henricus Phillippe
Willielmus Spaldyng	Ricardus Harford
Robertus Topclif	Johannes Stanlake
Johannes Gadde	Johannes Hopkyn
Ricardus Herberd	Johannes Biforde
Willielmus Baldewyn	Thomas Mersshe
Willielmus Kee	Thomas Draper
Thomas Gronde	Johannes Bronde
Johannes Fissher	Thomas Hoddesdon
Ricardus Partriche	Johannes Hopton
Johannes Dewyke	Johannes Broun
Johannes Phillipp	Johannes Blakborn
Johannes Nottingham	Willielmus Basele
Johannes Harry	Thomas Fraunceys
Thomas Overey	Johannes Scottys
Laurencius Picot	Willielmus Colman
Ricardus Daunce	Thomas Flete
David Kyrie	Hugo Hilkot
Willielmus Hariot	Stephanus Martyn
Henricus Kyng	Johannes Essex
Robertus Angevyn	Henricus Warer
Robertus Northland	Willielmus Benett
Willielmus Thomlynson	Robertus Lenyse
Johannes Davy	Johannes Traves
Johannes Daunson	Ricardus Clerk
Johannes Plunket	Thomas Bedford et
Willielmus Dixon	Johannes Bolton
Johannes Laundesdale	

Cives ac liberi homines ejusdem artis et Civitatis ac fratres Fraternitatis Beatae Mariae Virginis in domo fratrum Augustinensium ejusdem Civitatis London' majorem et saniozem partem in duplo omnium Civium et liberorum hominum ac fratrum dictarum artis et Fraternitatis ut asseruerunt facientes coram nobis officiali antedicto in quadam aula superiori vocata Lambardeshall infra dictam domum fratrum situata pro tribunali sedente personaliter comparuerunt. Et ex consequenti praefati Willielmus Bette, Johannes Hungyrford et Johannes Baker gardiani praedicti tam nominibus propriis quam omnium aliorum singulorum supradictorum quaedam appunctuamenta sive ordinationes in Anglicis scripta de eorum expresso consensu et per ipsos ad Dei laudem et honorem dictae Beatae Virginis ipsiusque artis et fraternitatis incrementa et sustentationem pauperum ut asseruerunt facta et ordinata tunc ibidem exhibuerunt coram nobis.

Unde nos Johannes officialis antedictus in hac parte ulterius legitime procedentes præmissa appunctuamenta sive ordinationes omnia et singula in præsentia dictorum gardianorum ac omnium aliorum et singulorum suprascriptorum per Magistrum Thomam Marvyell notarium publicum scribam nostrum et per nos in hac parte assumptum et deputatum distincte et aperte perlegi mandavimus atque fecimus. Quibus quidem appunctuamentis sive ordinationibus sic ut præmittitur lectis et intellectis suprascripti gardiani ac alii omnes et singuli fratres et liberi homines dictarum artis et fraternitatis tunc præsentés assenserunt et affirmarunt hujusmodi appunctuamenta et ordinationes ex eorum certa scientia et notitia processisse atque emanasse nobis humiliter supplicantes et supplicarunt quatenus ipsa ordinationes sive appunctuamenta auctoritate qua fungimur in hac parte confirmare et auctorizare dignaremur juxta juris exigenciam. Et quia Nos Johannes Officialis antedictus per nonnulla documenta aliasque probationes legitimas evidenter invenimus et comperimus præmissa appunctuamenta sive ordinationes ex causis veris rationabilibus et legitimis fuisse et esse confecta et ordinata Igitur dicta appunctuamenta sive ordinationes tanquam juri consona in quantum possumus de jure et debemus auctoritate qua supra confirmavimus et auctorizavimus prout ea sic tenore præsentium confirmavimus et auctorizavimus Ipsaque appunctuamenta sive ordinationes omnia et singula per omnes et singulos dictarum artis et Fraternitatis fratres et liberos homines ac eorum successores imposterum observanda et perimplenda fore sub pœnis in hujusmodi appunctuamentis sive ordinationibus plenius descriptis decrevimus et decernimus per præsentés consequenter quidem tunc ibidem præfati Willielmus Bett, Johannes Hungerford et Johannes Baker et alii omnes et singuli dictæ artis et Fraternitatis suprascripti personaliter constituti coram nobis tactis per eos et eorum quemlibet Sacrosanctis Evangeliiis ad ea jurarunt et quilibet ipsorum juravit hujusmodi appunctuamenta sive ordinationes omnia et singula sub pœnis in eisdem limitatis debite et fideliter adimplere et observare. Proviso semper quod licebit majori et saniori parti artis et Fraternitatis prædictæ et suis successoribus hujusmodi appunctuamenta sive ordinationes corrigere emendare aut reformare eisdemve addere sive ab eisdem detrahere prout utilitati et commodo artis et Fraternitatis prædictæ magis videbitur expedire, hujusmodi nostris confirmatione et auctorizatione sive discreto ac aliis præmissis per nos et coram nobis gestis atque factis in aliquo non obstantibus.

Verus tenor dictorum appunctuamentorum sive ordinationum sequitur et est tale :—

In the name of the Blessid Trinity Father Sone and Holy Gost, owre blessyd Lady Seint Marie Moder of Jesu Criste and of all the holy compani of Heven, We William Bette, John Hnngirford and John Baker citezeins of the Citee of London Wardeyns of y^e Craft called Shermeneecraft of the Citee of London, and John Whitefeld, William Butte, William Spaldyng, Robert Topclef, John Gadde, Richard Harberd, William Baldwyn, John Trewynnard, Harry Phillypp, Richard Herford, John Stanlake, John Hopkyn, John Byford, Thomas Mersshe, William Kee, Thomas Gronde, John Fyssher, Richard Partrich, John Devyke, John Philypp, John Notingham, John Harry, Thomas Overey, Laurans Picot, Richard Daunce, David Kyrie, William Harriott, Harri King, Robert Angewyn, Robert Northland, William Tomlynson,

John Davy, John Daunson, John Plunket, William Dixon, John Laudedale, Thomas Draper, John Brounde, Thomas Hoddesdon, John Hopton, John Broune, John Blaborn, William Basele, Thomas Fraunceys, John Scott, William Colman, Thomas Flete, Hugh Hilcot, Stewyne Martyn, John Essex, Harry Warer, William Benett, Robert Levyse, John Traves, Richarde Clerke, Thomas Bedford, and John Bolton citezeins and Fremen of the Crafte and Mistere of Shermen of the Citee of London for the more increas and continuans of brotherly love to be had among us and oure successours goode ensample from this tyme forthwards unto the honour of Almyghty God oure Lady Seint Marie and all seintys above sayd and unto thentente that there schalbe founde a perpetuall lyght of xiiij tapers in the chyrche of Frere Austeyns in the Citee of Londoe beforesaided afore the ymage of oure sayd Lady for to brenne there unto hyr worship by licence, auctorite and power to us yeven in this behalf of the Maire and Communalte of the sayd Citee begynne erecte ordeyne and make of oure silfe a Fraternite or yelde amonges us and of us and of other of the seyde Mistere or Crafte as havynge affeccione to the same Fraternite to be callyd the Brethyrhede of oure Lady of the Craft of Shermen of London for the sustentacion perpetuall of the seyde lyght and for the correccion reformacion and good rule and gouvernaunce of the same Crafte or Mystere for ever hereafter to be had and continued in oure dayes of three wardeyns and of the brethern and sustren hereafter atte all tymes to be had receyved and admittyd in to the same Fraternite successifly for ever more after the ordinances of appunctuamentis here after wryten in the seyde Crafte be us and oure successours to be kept in fourme as followyth.

Ferst we ben accordid and ordeyne that every persone of the seyde Fraternite be bounde for to susteyne and mayntene the seyde lyght of xiiij tapres of waxe to brenne before the sayd ymage of oure Lady in the seyde Chyrche of the Frere Austeyns for the prosperite and welfare of alle brethern and sustren of the seyde Fraternite beyng on lyve and for the sowlys of all them of the same Fraternite that be passyd oute of this mortal lyfe or here after schal so passe and for the sowles of all cristen after imposicion as the wardeyns of the same Crafte and twelve counsellors to them to be ordeyned in fourme hereafter more playnly rehersyd schall charge or the more partie of the seyde nombre of xv^{ne} schall do, charge and ordeyne.

Also that the brethern and sustren of the seyde Fraternite every yere the Sonday nexte after the Feste of the Assumpcion of oure more blessyd Lady Seynt Marie assemble in ther clothyng att wat place that the wardeyns shall assigne unto them wythin the seyde citee and fro that place goo honestly and worshipfully unto the chyrche of the Frere Austyns and there here masse by note praying specially for the goode spede and welfare of all the brethern and sustren of the seyde Fraternite beyng on lyve and for the sowles of the same Fraternite that ben passyd oute of this mortall lyf and for alle cristen sowles and than there every brother and sustyr offre att the masse j.d. and that the same brethyrn and sustren come the same day at after none to the seyde chyrche of freres to *Dirige* and so on the morowe to the Masse of *Requiem* and every brother and susten offre j.d. and from thens to goo honestly togyddyr unto theyr dener where as the wardeyns assygnetb them and ther to make theyr eleccion of iij wardeyns whyche schalbe aswell wardeyns of the seyde Crafte or Mistere as

of the seyd Fraternite to rule and governe the same Craft or Mistere and the same Fraternite during a yere next folwing and in cas that any of the seyd wardeyns passe oute of thys mortall lyf whithyn that yere hys ij felawes schall occupye and kepe the charge of that ocupacion for that yere withoute ony eleccion of any othyr into ys place to be made in ony wise and then on the Tuesday folwing to come to theire brekefaste unto the same place aforeseyd and there and thanne every brothyr to paye for hys dyner aforeseyd and yf eny brothyr in the seyd citee without cause lawfull absent him from thes masses *Dirige* and dyner he schalle pay for ys absentyng vnto the seyd lyght iij s. iiij d. and thanne with ynne xiiij dayys aftyr the same tyme the seyd wardeyns schall do call all the seid brethern and sustren and they there schall make their eleccion of xij persones discrete sad and welavised for the noble and worthi of them for to assiste keepe and counsell the seid wardeyns in all thinges concernyng the rule and governaunce of the seid Bretherhede Crafte and Mistere as the ordinaunces ther vpon made schall require after the forme tenure and effect of the same ordinaunces and the same day the seyd newe wardeyns schall take the charge of the olde wardeyns wythynne hem selfe for the charges that perteynyd or may perteyne of the seyd Bretherhede Crafte and Mistere and he that is electe and chosen for a wardeyn and warnyd in thys partie and absenteth him withouten resonable cause determinable by the othe of hym that ys absente to be made and sworne before the wardeyns withouten fraude and male engyne schall pay vnto the seyd lyght and Bretherhede and for sustenaunce of the poure men xls.

Also that the wardeyns that be for the yere chosyn and chargyd kepe iijij quarter dayes that ys for to sey withyn a fouretenyght after Mighelmasse the first day and thanne the olde wardeyns of the yere before to brynge yn theyre accompt to the newe wardeyns and to theyre Felawschyp in peyne xx s. to the use of the same Crafte to be payd and the ij day withyn xiiij daies aftir Cristmas and the iij day withyn xiiij dayys aftyr Ester and the iiijth daye withyn xiiij days aftyr Midsummyr and thei schall at eche of thes quarter daies do call all their felawship and there to do rede and declare all the poyntes and articles belonging unto the seyd Crafte and Fraternite to all the felawshyp that they may wel undirstond them and kepe them that they falle notte in the peynes conteyned in the same and than yf yt may be founde that ony of the felawship have forfetyd in any of thys articles afore declaryd or aftyr folwyng he to be punysshed aftyr the same paynes and that the wardeyns that be for the yere kepe wel and trewly alle thes quarter dayys and rules that lyeth in them to be don upon peyne above rehersed and if so be that ony of the wardeyns kepe not there quarter dayys and rules aforeseid or be found fawty in any of these articles be the seid xij persones or the more partie of them that he thanne renne on peyne of xls. to be payd unto the boxe to the susteynyng of oure Lady Lyght and of the poure men and the peynes and forfetis so doon to be resid be the wardeyns nexte yere folwyng well and trewly to be doon be the othe that they have made or ellys the same wardeyns to pay the same summe and that every housholder enfranchisyd of the seid Crafte paye every quarter ij d. and that yt be payed at the iijij quarter dayes afore rehersed in peyne of dubling unto the seyd lyght.

Also that all the brethern of the seid Fraternite be clothid in oon sute at suche tymes as the wardeyns for the tyme beyng shall orden and appoynte that ys to

wyte every secunde thirde or fourthe yere. And that no persone be admitted to have the same clothyng withoute thassent of the same wardeyns and of the said xij persones or the more partie of them. And for the worship of the seyd Crafte every man of the seyd Fraternite shall kepe ys clothyng clenly and honestly iiij yeres whether it be gowne or hode. And that receiveth gown or hode to kepe them honestly the tyme above rehersed withoute ony gyfte of them to hys apprentyse or ony other persone in peyne of forfeiture to the Crafte the valow of the same clothyng. And that no man of the seyd Crafte or Mistere doo make or countyfete in any wise neither gown nor hode lyke unto the clothyng of the seyd Crafte withouten licence of the wardeyns for the tyme being in peyne of paying unto the seyd lyght suche a fyne as wardeyns shall deme and appoynte. And that every man that hath receivyd any clothyng of hys wardeyns of the seyd Craft that ys for to sey either gown or hode that he pay for hyt by the feste of Mighelmasse aftyr that they have so received it in peyne of doublyng of the same somme.

Also that every man that hereafter shalbe received into the seyd Fraternite be received by the avise and assent of the seyd wardeyns and of the seyd xij persones or the more partie of them and that no man be received into that Fraternite but yf he be knowyn a goode man and of goode name and fame and of goode condicions and that he be perfith and able werkman of the seyd Crafte and therto admittid by the seyd wardeyns and be the seyd xij persones or the more party of them and in none nothyr wyse upon peyne xls.

Also if any of the seyd Crafte that ys enfraunchesyd be lye or fals despite or repreve ony othyr that ys in the seyd clothyng of the same Craft he schall pay unto the seyd lyght xx d. And that no man of the seyd Crafte schall take accion by the law upon anothyr wer the mater may be endid by trefy or compromyse unto the tyme that he hath asked the wardennys leve wyche that ben for the yere and that the same wardeyns shall trefwly examyn bothe parties and that ech of hem schall chese a man or twoo men wythyn the seyd Crafte and thei for to sette them atte corde if they can. And yf so yt be they cannot than that it shalbe leffull to both parties aforsaid for to goo to the commune lawe. And who so dothe the contrarie shall pay unto the seyd lyght vj s. viij d.

JOHN MAYE.

Also that no man of the Crafte hire no man of the seyd Crafte oute of hys house for malyce nor malygne nor be noon othyr sotyll meane nor be procuracion to any othyr straunger of the seyd citee so to be doon and if it may be founde so doo by ony of the seyd Crafte he renne in peyne to pay to the seyd lyght xls.

Also if so be that ony of the foresaid Fraternite and of the clothyng wiche that hath be of good rule fal into poverte than he shall be the assent of the wardeyns and of the seyd xij persones or the more partie of them be refresshyd with the almesse of the commune godes of the seyd Fraternite aftyr discrecion of the seyd wardeyns and xij persones councelors or the more partie of them. And if any man of that clothyng die inn poverte than than the wardeyns with the whole felawshyp of the clothyng do brynge him in erthe in theyre clothyng on the costes on the seyd Crafte. And who so of them be warnyd thereto and cometh not he schal paie unto the seyd light jli. of wex.

Also that there be a commune chest and box with iij keyys to ben in the

keeping of the wardeyns ordeyned and made for to kepe yn all that remaynyd in store yerely unto the seid Fraternite in golde, silvyr or othyr joyall or thyng saufley to be kepte unto the use of the same Fraternite And the same cheste for to stonde in suche place as the wardeyns and the seid xij persones with the more partie of the seid Fraternite shall be apoyntyd and assnyed and that there be in the same cheste a registre booke for to engroce thereyn the names of the brethern and sustren, theire othys theyre peynes and forfeitures the dettys accomptes of the wardeyns and all othyr thynges necessarie and in any wyse apperteynyng unto the seid Crafte or Mistere and Fraternite abovseid.

Also that no man of the seid Crafte take noon apprentice into the Crafte but if he be freborn and clene of body and of lymmes and that he be not disfigured in any maner wise and that be the next quarter day that the seid apprentice be bounde unto ys mayster and that than hys maister presente him to the wardeyns and they for to see his Indenture and do write the terme of his apprenticehode in theire boke and there the maister to pay xx d. for the interyng thereof unto the helpe of owre Lady Lyght and of the poure almes men and who so othyr wyse doth to renne in the peyne of payyng vj s. viij d. to the same lyght and that no man of the seid Crafte hereafter occupie over the nombre of iiij apprentices doyng him service attounys butt hee that hath moo than iiij apprentices before the tyme of this ordinaunce made which so havynge we woll that he enjoye them and them kepe and occupie tyll they be weryd into the nombre of iiij apprentices and than he to take the iiijth if him liste and if any man enfraunchysed of the seid Crafte after this oure ordinaunce made and publisshid take moo than iiij apprenticis atte oons in hys craft boundyn to hyme he shall paye to the seid lyght a fyne of xl s. and that every maister having apprentice whan hys apprentys hath servyd him hys yerres of hys apprenticehode withyn iiij dayes after that terme finisshyd do warne ys wardeyns for the tyme beyng of suche apprentice and than the wardeyns shall sende for him and lette hem knowe the goode persones of the seid Crafte and hereto for to be sworne as othyr men enfraunchesed of the seid Crafte beith and what maister othyrwyse doth shall thenne pay unto the said lyght vj s. viij d. and if the apprentice refuse that othe he shall not be admittyd to werke with any man of the said Crafte upon peyne to be limittid by the wardeyns and the seid xij. persones or the more partie of them upon hym that contrarie receiveth hym.

Also that if any man of the seid Crafte or ys apprentice shere any clothe but yff it be truly wette he shall make unto the wardeyns unto the use and behove of the same Crafte a fyne arbitrarie bi the advise of the seyd wardeyns and of the seid xij persones or the more partie of them as ofte as he so doeth.

Also if any man of the seid Crafte take any manner chaffer of eny Lumbard or straunger or of any othyr man of hys workyng in the ocupacion of hys crafte but onely coyned money on lesse that hyt be to hys owne propre use for hymself hys wyfe and ys servantes withoute any othyr maner of colour he shall paye unto the seyd lyght and to the sustentacyon of the poore men of the said Fraternitie as ofte as he so doth x li. of sterlinges.

Also that no man of the seid Crafte receive any foren man withouten licence of the wardeyns and the xij. persones or the more partie of the xij. upon peyne xl. s. to be payde unto the seid lyght as ofte tymes as suche man of the Crafte shall

be founde fawty thereyn and than the seid wardeyns with the seid xij. persones or the more partie of them schall see the foreseid foren werke and concienely sette ys salary betwixte hys maister and hym and there to be bounde iiij. yeres in covenant after the rule of the Crafte and to all othyr goode rules of the seid Crafte.

Also that every man of the seid Crafte take for the barbyng of a yerde of clothe ob. and if it be twys barbyd j.d. and for sheryng of scarlettys and all othyr engreynid clothe every yerde ij.d. and for sheryng of fyne whites every yerde ij.d. and all othyr maner clothes what so evyr they be yf they be barbid ob. for a yerde and for the sheryng a j.d. every yerde and for the sheryng of fine redes murreyes and blues and Essex clothes and also Sowthfolke clothes every yerde j.d. and for all othyr clothes course and Ludlowys every clothe xvjd. and for all maner clothes foldes and takkys in Jenewey maner ij.d. and for foldes and takkys a dosen streytes in Jeneweye maner vjd. and for foldes and takkys of kerseyes for every carsey j.d. and for foldes and takkys of xij streites in Venycien maner viij.d. and for foldes and takkys of all westrons and bastardes every clothe iiij.d. thus to be doon undyr thys forme to all maner straungerrys that ys to sey Lumbardys, Jauneys, Venycians and all othyr whatso evyr they be upon payne of xls. to paye at every tyme that any of the seid Crafte be founden fawty and culpable thereyn.

Also we the seid bretheren before named be assentid agreed and fully acordid that for the observyng as well of the seyde ordinaunces made as of all othyr ordinaunces hereafter to be made of us and every othyr part shall be received in to the seid Fraternitie in tyme to come att is admission and receivyng swere and make hys othe here folwyng be fore the seid wardeyns forthe tyme being undir forme I N. shall be faithful and trewe unto oure Souvereigne Lord Hery Kyng of Inglonde and to hys heyers and successors Kynges of Ingland I schall not do nor consent unto any tresons or felonyes nor any offenses agayn hys pees but that suche of them as I know I shall truly do beknow unto the Maire of London or unto others having his poure or more I schall also be obedient unto the wardeyns of the Crafte of Shermen of the same citee for the tyme beyng in all thinges concernyng and tochyng the same Crafte and Brothyrhede and come duely unto theirre sommaunce but if I be lawfully lettyd under the payne of a pounde wexe and to be contributorie to all maner costes and charges doon by them upon and abowte the same Crafte and Brethirhede and al the ordinaunces now made and hereafter to be made for the commune well of all persones of the seid Crafte and Fraternite I schall well and trewly do my powre, obeye, observe and kepe and noon of them to discovre nor of them speke but onely to men of the same Crafte in like wyse sworn. So God me help and the Holy Evangelies.

Also we ben acordid and ordeyne that if any man of the seid Fraternite sworne in the forme above seid breke his othe wilfully or any part thereof he shall renne in to a payne arbitrarie unto the seid wardeyns and xij persones chosen in the forme abovesaid and that whan any of the seid Fraternite and Crafte shall make hys seid othe in the fourme abovesaid that there be there thanne present atte the costes of the seid Crafte a notarie for to witnesse the makyng of the same othe to th'entente that if he breke his othe he shall mowe be punysshid by the lawe of oure moder holy cherche.

Also if there be any discord or stryff be twixte eny man enfraunchised of the seid Crafte and his servaunt the parties shall notifie it unto the wardeyns of the same Crafte and thei shall here the mater and grevaunce oon both sides and put the mater undir rule. Any suche man or servaunt woll not obeie their rule in that partie the seid wardeyns schall thanne do warne everyman of the seid Crafte that noon of them sette not the seyd servaunt a werke unto the tyme that he have agreed with ys seid maister and obeied hym unto the seid wardeyns and unto the rules of the seid Crafte and who soever othyr wyse doth the contrarie shall paie unto the seid lyght vjs. viij d. and if the maister be founde in the fawte that he be punysshed aftyr the discrecion of the wardeyns and xij counceylours or the more partie of them.

Also if any man enfraunchised of the seid Crafte have iij jorney men in hys hous and a nodyr man enfraunchised have noon and have nede to have oone that than the wardeyns shall goo to hym that hath the seid jorneymen and schall take oone of them suche as the goodman of the hous may beste forbere and delyver hym to hym that hath noon and hath nede to have as is abovesaid.

Also we ordeyne and fully ben agreed that in caas that any persone of the seid Crafte be rebell and dissobeisaunt ageyns the rules conteyned in the articles abovesaid or ageyns eny of the poyntes conteyned in the same articles and woll not in any wyse obeie unto the wardeyns abovesaid that than the same wardeyns with the good avisement of the seid xij persones or the more of them shall sette upon hym that so ys rebell and dissobeissaunt double as grete a fyne as he whas sette att be fore to be payde the oon moyte thereof unto the olde werkes of the Cathedrall Chyrche of Powlys and the other moyte unto the Chambre of London and of that fyne the seid wardeyns to make certification aswell unto the officers of the Bisshope of London as unto the Chambyrleyn of London for the tyme beyng withyn the nexte quarter day upon payne of xls. to be payd unto the seid lyght of Oure Lady to that entent that they shal be the law spirituall and temporalle compelle the seid persone so beyng rebell and disso-beisaunt forto paie and satisfie unto the seid fyne.

Also for all othyr ordinaunces to be made in this behalve for the rule, governaunce and owirsight of the seid Fraternite, Crafte or Mistere for shortness of tyme and lak of leyser, We the foreseid William Bette, John Hungirford, John Baker, John Whitefeld, William Butte, William Spaldyng, Robert Topelyf, John Gadde, Richard Herberd, William Baldewyn, John Trewynnard, Henri Philipp, Richard Herford, John Hopkyn, John Stanlake, John Bigord, Thomas Mersshe, William Kee, Thomas Gronde, John Fisser, Richard Paritche, John Devike, John Philipp, John Notyngham, John Harry, Thomas Overey, Laurence Picot, Richard Daunce, David Kyrie, Willyam Hariot, Henri Kyng, Robert Angevyn, Robert Nortland, William Tomlynson, John Davy, Johan Daunson, John Plunket, William Dixon, John Laudesdale, Thomas Drapier, John Bronde, Thomas Hoddesdon, John Hopton, John Broun, John Blacborn, William Basele, Thomas Fraunceys, John Scottis, William Colman, Thomas Flete, Hugh Hileot, Stewyn Martyn, John Essex, Henri Warer, William Benet, Robert Leuyse, John Traves, Richard Clerke, Thomas Bedford, and John Bolton citezennys and fremen of the seid Crafte and brethren of the Fraternite aboverehercid yeve and graunte our power and autorite unto the wardeyns of the seid Fraternite and Crafte that now be or here

after shall be and unto the seid xij persones of the same and to their successours with thassent of the more worthi part of the seid brethren for to adde amenuse chaunge and undo all maner of ordinaunces made and here after to be made in this party so that the same makying amenusyng addyng and undoyng be not ageyns the comon lawe nor any hurt or prejudice unto the common ryght and wele of the seid Crafte in any wyse.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium præsentēs litteras nostras sive præsens publicum instrumentum exinde fieri et per præfatum magistrum Thomam Mawell publicari et subscribi ejusque signum apposuisse ac nostræ officialitatis sigilli appensione mandavimus et fecimus fideliter communiri. Data et acta sunt hæc prout suprascribuntur et recitantur anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo indicione prima Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Nicholai Divina Providencia Papæ quinti anno sexto mensis vero Februarii die penultimo in dicta aula de qua supra fit mentio et anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti trigesimo primo.

Et ego Thomas Maywell clericus Bathoniensis et Wellensis Diocesis Publicus auctoritate apostolica notarius venerabilis viri Magistri Johannis Druell utriusque juris Doctoris Officialis Consistorii Episcopalis Londonii scriba assumptus et per ipsum dominum Doctorem et officialem in hac parte deputatus suprascriptorum appunctuamentorum sive ordinationum hujusmodi exhibitorum ac discretorum virorum Willielmi Bette, Johannis Hungirford et Johannis Baker gardianorum et aliorum omnium et singulorum Fratrum et liberorum hominum dictæ artis et Fraternitatis tunc ibidem existentium ut præmittitur juramenti præstatione cæterisque omnibus et singulis dimisit ut præfertur sub annis Domini et Regis Indictione Pontificatu mense die et loco de quibus supra fit mentio coram præfato Magistro Johanni Druell officiali et per ipsum agebantur et fiebant personaliter interfui ac ea omnia et singula sic fieri vidi (et) audivi ideo præsentēs litteras sive hoc publicum instrumentum de mandato ipsius Domini officialis fieri et per alium scribi feci publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redegi hicque me manu propria subscripsi ac signo et nomine meis solitis et consuetis una cum appensione sigilli officii dicti Magistri Johannis Druell officialis ut prædicitur signavi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum. Et constat mihi notario antedicto de rasura dictionum theme sexto superius in præsentē instrumento publico facta. T. M. + +
 Deo gracias + Et ego Thoma.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 20 July, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSEN.]

RULES AND ORDERS of the Brotherhood of THE HOLY BLOOD of
 WILSNAK in SAXONY. CRUTCHED FRIARS. 1 April 1459.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro
 "Sharp" fol. 404b.)]

In Dei nomine Amen. Per præsens publicum Instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter quod anno ab Incarnatione Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo

quingagesimo nono Indictione septima Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris et Domini nostri Domini Pii Divina Providencia Papæ secundi, anno primo Mensis Aprilis die quartadecima ante horam nonam ejusdem diei in domo habitationis mei notarii subscripti in vico vocato Thamisesstrete in parochia Sancti Dunstani in Oriente Londonii situato In mei notarii præsentia et testium subscriptorum præsentia personaliter constituti discreti viri Dominus Johannes Johnson capellanus, Dedericus Hunter, Bertramus Johnson et Conradus Molle, nominibus fratrum et sororum Fraternitatis Sanctissimi Sanguinis Jesu Christi vocati Almus Sanguis de Wilsnak in Saxonia in Ecclesia fratrum ordinis Crucis Civitatis Londoniæ ut asseruerunt fundatæ et ordinatæ jurarunt et quilibet eorum juravit ad Sanctæ Dei Evangelia per ipsos et eorum quemlibet tunc ibidem corporaliter tacta quod ipsi et eorum quilibet bene et fideliter observabunt ordinationes et foundationes ejusdem Fraternitatis omnes et singulas et quamlibet particulam in hujusmodi contentam juxta ipsorum et cujuslibet eorum posse et facultates: quæ quidem ordinationes et foundationes et quælibet particula earum fuerunt et fuit eisdem Fratribus tunc ibidem in vulgari Anglicano lectæ et expositæ prout et sicut in una papyriedula huic ibidem ostensa et perlecta plenius continetur cujus quidem cedulæ tenor sequitur et est talis :

In the name of God that is Almyghti and of our Lady Seynt Mary his Moder and for the blessid blode of hir sone Jesu Christ which is by all Cristen people wurshipped at Wilsnak and opynly called the Holy Blode of Wylsnak and of all the Seyntes of Hevyn the xiiijth day of Aprill the yere of our Lord God Ml.cccc.lix and the yere of Kyng Henry the Sixt xxxvij. A Fraternite in the speciall honour of the seid Holy Blode of Wylsnak and of all the Holy Seynts of Hevyn is ordayned founded and devised in the Chirche of the Crossid Freres of London for to norish encrece and engender love and peas amonge gode Cristen people in the fourme sewyng that is to weten.

First hit is ordeyned that no maner of person shall come in the same Fraternitie but with good will of all the Brethern as well of the most as of the lest and shall pay at his entre xx. d. to the use of the same Fraternite and he shall be of good condicions and conversacions.

Also if any Brother or Suster of the same Fraternite have any accion ageyn any brother and suster of the forseid Fraternite the pleyntiff shall compleyn hym to the masters of the same Fraternite beyng for the tyme and they shall make an ende reste and peas between them as good fay and conscience asken and who that will nought stonde to the accorde and warde of the same maysters shall pay a lb. wex for to be arrered of hym by the same maysters to the use of the same Fraternite and who that will nought do so shall be put oute of the same Bretherhede and never have no maner good longyng ther to.

Also what maner brother or suster disklaundereth or defameth other of the same Bretherhede in wurdis of malice or other wise in unhonest maner that hit be proved and verified on hym with good and trew men with oute fraude or male engyne shall shall pay ij lb. wex to be arrered of hym to the use of the same Bretherhed within xv. dayes sewyng withoute any lenger respite and he that will not pay so if he be funde gilte in the maner aforesyd shall be pute oute of the Bretherhede for evermore.

Also yf any brother or suster of the same Bretherhede desese greve or dis-

claunder other on the day of the Bretherhede holden of the seid Holy Blode of Wilsnak which shall be yerely on Holyrode day which is the iiij^{de} day of May by any grevous wurdes what they be fonde in defaute shall make amendes hey and lowe after the awarde and jugement of the maistris beyng that tyme uppon the peyne of ij lb. wex or elles to be pute oute as it is aforesyd.

Also yf any of the same Bretherhede greve or decesse with grevouse and evill wurdes the Maistris when they go a boutte to gadyr mony and duettes longyng to the Bretherhede what may be founde in defaute shall pay a lb. wex within xv dayes sewyng.

Also by oon assent of all the brethern of the same Bretherhede every yere shall be chosyn ij or iij sufficiant and honest men of the same Bretherhede for to be maystris for the yere sewyng for to rule and governe well and trewly the same Bretherhede, the which maystris shall be bound in a certeyne somme for to kepe good rule and govern all maner constitucions and ordenances to the same Bretherhede belongyng And for to yelde and geve att the yeris ende good and trowe rekenyng and accomptes of all maner receytes and paymentes by them y do duryng theyr yere and all the bretherne shalbe at the same rekenyng and who that will not comme therto and he be warned shall pay at every time at his absence a lb. wex, but if he may resonable excuse hym.

Also when any brother or suster of the same Bretherhede is dede he or she shall have iiij torchys of wex of the Bretherhede to bryng the body in erthe and every brother and suster shall come to his masse of *Requiem* and offer a j d. and a byde still in to the tyme the body be buried uppon payne of a lb. wex yf he or she be with in the Cite [but] yf he or she cane resonable excuse them.

Also if any brother or suster of the same Bretherhede by fortune shall [fall] yn naturall sikenesse by visitacion of God so that he nor she mought labore and travel to helpe them selfe the same foke by warnyng to the Maysters for the tyme beyng the same day of the sekenesse comyng, or on the morow at forthest, shall have xx d. every wike sewing unto the same seke be recovered of the sekenesse and that trewly be payed at every wikes withoute any longer delay.

Also every brother and suster of the same Fraternite shall have every yere a hode of lyverey the which shall be kepped ij yere sewyng, and every brother and suster when eny of the same Bretherhede be dede shall be there in his hode of lyvery to bryng him in erthe as it is aforesyd. And every brother and suster shall kepe hys hode the fyrst yere after hit be ordeyned for holydayes and who that workyth in his hode the werkydayes or werke havyng on the same of the same yere shall paye ij lb. wex. And what brother or suster of the same Fraternite that is behynde unpaid of the quarterage by iiij d. ob. shall not opteyne the right of gylde withoute amendes makyng bi the discrecions of the maistres for tyme beyng.

Also there shall no brother ne suster go oute of the Brotherhede withoute speciall licence of all the hole Fraternite and to pay iij s. iiij d. for the lycence to be hadde.

Also every brother and suster of the same Brotherhede shall be sworn to be good and trewe and to perfourme and to fulfill to his poure all maner good condicions and ordinances longyng to encrece and profit of the same Brotherhede and there upon an instrumente shal be made and every brothirs name entred in

record of a notari for to fulfill the condicions a foresayd and that every brother and suster shall be of good conversacions and good condicions.

Super quibus omnibus et singulis prefatus Johannes et predicti Dedericus, Bertramus et Conradus, ut magistri dictæ Fraternitatis ut asseruerunt, requisierunt me notarium publicum subscriptum sibi conficere publicum instrumentum. Acta sunt hæc, prout superius scribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, mense, die et loco in principio præsentis Instrumenti publici specificatis, præsentibus discretis viris Ricardo Barton pannario Cive Londonii et Johanne Pumfret literato. Testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis subsequenterque anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, ac quintodecimo die, mensis, in principio præsentis instrumenti publici specificatis post horam prandii ejusdem quintodecimo diei in Refectorio dictorum fratrum Ordinis Sancti Crucis in parochia Sancti Olavi juxta Turrin Londonii in meo ejusdem notarii et testium retroscriptorum presencia personaliter constituti discreti viri Johannes Bull, Petrus Hugenson, Johannes Johnson de Swolley, et Gysbritus de Acon' fratres ut asseruerunt dictæ Fraternitatis juraverunt et quilibet eorum juravit ad Sancta Dei Evangelia per ipsos et eorum quemlibet tunc ibidem corporaliter tacta quod ipsi et eorum quilibet bene et fideliter observabunt et observabit ordinationes et fundationes ejusdem fraternitatis omnes et singulas et quamlibet particulam in eis contentam juxta eorum et cujuslibet eorum posse et facultatem. Quæ quidem ordinationes et fundationes et quælibet particula earum fuerunt et fuit eisdem fratribus tunc ibidem in vulgari Anglicano lectæ et expositæ prout et sicut supra plenius expressum. Super quibus omnibus et singulis præfati Dedericus, Bertramus, Conradus, magistri prædicti requisierunt me notarium publicum subscriptum sibi conficere publicum instrumentum. Acta sunt hæc prout suprascriptum sub anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, quintodecimo die et loco proximo superius specificatis præsentibus discretis viris Gerordo Johnson, Hans Hane, Johanne de Moleyn, Johanne Harryson, Petro Boeykyn, Willielmo Michelson, Jacobo Evettisson, Johanne de Horst testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et ego Johannes Ecton clericus civis Civitatis Londonii publicus auctoritate imperiali notarius præmissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut præmittitur agerentur et fierint una cum prænominatis testibus præsens ac personaliter interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audiavi aliundeque occupatus per alium scribi, feci, publicavi et in hac publica forma redegi signoque meo solito et consueto signavi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum. Et constat michi de Rasura harum dictionum "and shall pay" in undecima linea a capite.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 7 March, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL TYSSEN.]

RULES AND ORDERS of the Brotherhood of the HOLY BLOOD of WILSNAK in SAXONY. 8 December 1490. AUSTIN FRIARS.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro "Sharpe" fol. 406b.)]

In Dei nomine Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter quod anno ab Incarnatione Domini Millesimo CCC^o. XC^o. primo,

Indictione decima, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Innocentii Papæ octavi anno octavo, mensis vero Decembris die tercio-decimo, in domo officii Commissariatus Londonii juxta Paulys Cheyne infra parochiam Sancti Gregorii Civitatis London ibidem situata in mei notarii publici subscripti et testium infrascriptorum præsencia personaliter constituti discreti viri Edwardus Rohe, Lodowicus van Brig, Tankardus Hewson, Petrus Adrianson, Johannes Johnson, Vincentius Rute, Johannes van Water, Stephanus Sprynkehelle, Oliverus Weste, Cornelius Goodrede, Erasmus Sukande et Petrus Fase, fratres Fraternitatis Sanctissimi Sanguinis Jesu Christi vocati Alnus Sanguis de Wilsnake in Saxonia, in ecclesia fratrum Ordinis Augustinensis Civitatis Londonii, ut asseruerunt fundatæ et ordinatæ, nominibus omnium fratrum et sororum Fraternitatis prædictæ, jurarunt et quilibet eorum juravit ad Sancta Dei Evangelia per ipsos et eorum quemlibet tunc ibidem corporaliter tacta, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet bene et fideliter observabunt ordinationes et fundationes ejusdem Fraternitatis omnes et singulas et quamlibet particulam in eisdem contentam juxta ipsorum et cujuslibet eorum posse et facultates. Quæ quidem ordinationes et fundationes et quælibet particula earum fuerunt et sunt eisdem fratribus tunc ibidem in vulgari Anglicano lectæ et expositæ prout et sicut in una papiri cedula tunc ibidem ostensa et perlecta plenius continetur; cujus quidem cedulæ tenor sequitur et est talis.

In the name of God the Fader, the Son, of the Holy Goste, and in the honor and worship of the holy blode of Wilsenake, We bretherene in our Lord God, in whiche present instrument our names and surnames are subscribed, considering that herein in this mortall and wreched worlde we be not stablissed to lyve evere and as whos say dayly awaytyng after the owre of our dethe; Therefore of oon assent and comon accorde for the helthe and salvacion of our synfull sowles and for pease loue and charite to be kept with our even cresten, have proposed to holde maynten and to kepe a Fraternyte within the chirch and cloyster of the Freres Austyn within the Cite of London in the worship and honor of the forsaide holy blode of Wilsenake wheruppon wee the foresaid bretherne be sworne every of us in particuler upon the holy gospell to susteyne perfourme and holde in all goodnesse loue and charite the forseid Confraternyte accordyng to the wordes of the prophete saying Howe good and howe holsom it is to be brethern togedir lyvyng in charite.

And Firste whosoever wille come and entre the saide Confraternite to be a brother of it he shall pay xx d. at his commyng in and so therat he shal be receyved if he be knownen of the moste partye of the brethern for a good man and a true and if eny broder wolde say there geynst there shalbe founde a good meane be tweene theym and a paixe and soe he shalbe receyved and not forsaken.

Also who soever in this forsaid Confraternyte is entred or hereafter shal entre if he have any question or angre or that makethe eny debate or strife with any of his bretherne the wardeyns gouvernours and maistres of the said Confraternyte shall com unto them to make a paix be twix them and who soever of the said bretherne saith ther against he shall ranne to the forfayttor of a lb. wex to the behouf of the said Confraternyte alweys the Kinges and the Lordis right upon the same reserved. And if so be that he will not be greable to do soe he shall abyde the saying of the hole felawship of the said bretherne upon the same.

Also what soever brothere that belieth an other with ungoodly wordis spoken

the one agaynst that other he shall pay a lb. wex and he that smytteth shall forfaitte ij lb. wexe and all this to the said Brotherhoodes behouffe whiche forffairt must be contented and paid within xiiij. daies thereafter.

Item also whatsoever of the said brothers or his wif upon the day the feste is kepte that is to witt the Sonday next after Corpus Christi day and the next daye folowyng com not to the masse of the feest and secondlye to the Masse of *Reguyem* the said day folowyng they shall forfaitte to the same Brotherhodes behouff a lb. of wex. Also if any brother or suster or eny of our brother wives speke any evill the one to the other they shall pay iij lb. wex to the said Confraternyte behouff.

Also atte eny tyme that the said governours and maistres shall goo aboute to gader the dute belonging to the said Bretherhod yf eny resayveth or saith to them otherwise then reason requiereth and saith and that they therof do complayne he or she that so entreateth them ungoodly shall renne unto the payne of lb. wax to be paid withoute eny lenger delay within xiiij. daies thereafter.

And also the forsaid maistres shall yelde and shewe their accomptes bifore all the forsaid brethern foure tymes in the yere that is to witte at every quarter ons and for this cause every of the said brethern shall com to suche a place as where the saide governours and maistres shall send for them and if they com not so shall they forfaitte a lb. of wex but if they can lay for theym a lawfull excuse.

Also when eny gildebrowther or his wif is decessed oute of this worlde all the bretherne of the same Brotherhid shall com to the Masse of *Requiem* that shalbe don for hym or hir that is dede and ther they shall ofre jd. and they shall abide till that the corps be brought and buried under the erthe and that all the servys be doon and whosoever faileth herof shall paye a lb. of wex to the said Confraternyte behouff but if it wer so that he wer forthe of the towne or ellys aboute som syngler bysynes wher by he myght lawfully excuse hymselfe.

And also whan eny of our brethern happith to fall sike of som sikenesse that comith of Godis hande and not by no fawte of good governaunce and good gydyng he shall have for his sustentacion after that he hath lien vij dayes xxd. every weke as long as he lieth sike and this benefacte and charite shall perseyve as moche the moost as the lesse to thend that this charite and almosse be not mynysshed be no wise and whatsoever brother of the same Brotherhod that shall owe to the same as moche as cometh to more money then iij d. ob. he shall not have nor perceyve the forseyd benefacte and charite of the said Brotherhod.

And also where our forsaid Confraternyte shall have neede of councell or of eny maner of thyng that shall belong to the same there shall then be made an enquiry aboute upon the same. And so after the saying of the moost of an opynyon it shalbe ordeyned and made. And thereupon shall the hole felawship of the said brotherhod abide by.

And whosoever shalbe clerke of our Bretherhod he shall not paye no quarter money and also he shall goo scott free at the day of our said feest. And he with the same shall take and perceyve that that the said maisters and he can agree. Also he that oweth no thing of his duety to the said Brederhod shall not com to the quarter day but he wille but if it wer nedfull for som other thyng.

And also noon of the said Brethern shall nether medle nor say towchyng that

that concernyth the said Confraternyte but if he first have paid all that he is behynd of dutee therunto.

Also every brother and suster of this forsaid Brotherhod at every quarter shall paye for his quarterage viij d. and j d. to drynke and this to be paid within xij daies upon payne of a li. wex.

And whoo so evere will departe oute of our said Confraternyte he shall com to the forsaid maisters of the same. And to them he shall paye all that he is behynde of dute due to the same Bretherhod. And also with the same for his goyng oute of it xliⁱⁱ penys. And whansomever he will com in ayen he shall entre in it with halfe money. But and if he departe with angre or eny rancor from the said Felawship and Bretherhod he shall first paye all that he owith to hit and not com in it ayen but only as a stranger.

Also when any of our brethern shall dye if his wif wille abide as on of our susters she shalbe resayved therinthe as long as she shall paye the right due unto the forsaid Bretherhod. And if she hap to wedde ayen than shall hir husbond com in hir plase and if he wille not do soo she shall not be no more no suster.

And upon the day of the feest shall a dyner be made wherat shall every man com with his wif and they shall pay as the forsaid maisters shall set them unto. And if he be oute of the towne then shall he pay but halfe money.

Also whan we shall make lyveray than shall the said maisters have j d. for their labor and the clerke j d. for beryng home the said lyveray.

And if it be so that there be eny of our seid brethern or susters fallen in poverte or sore in age so that they can not get their lyvyng but muste begge their brede from dore to dore he shall have and perceyve of the said Bretherhod x d. every weke so that it be founde that he have be a brother of the same Confraternite the (*sic*) of vij yere. And for this to be had and paid unto the said pore brother every brother and suster shall geve a verdyng every weke.

Also where no dyner shall not be made so shall the forsaid maisters have vij s. oute of the box.

And also when the said maisters wille chuse other maisters ther shall no man saye there agaynst upon payne of x lb. of wax.

Also we have every wyke a Messe for our bretherne and susters soules and for all cristen soules upon suche day as Corpus Christi day falleth to with as many moo masses as we may paye thrughe the yere. And to thend this be performed and kepte ther shalbe overscers that shall see that it be doone.

And that day that the masse of the feest is doon than shall every brother and every suster offre there that is to witte every man a peny and his wif an half peny.

Also our susters shall paye like as a brother doeth paye atte eny quarter daye when they shalbe sent for or at eny other tyme to the offrynge upon peyne of a lb. wax.

And also when ony of our bretherne or susters hapen to dye then shall som body of their frends com for to warne the clerke that he goo aboute for to warne our bretherne and susters for to com to the offryng. And so they shall geve iiij d. to the clerke to a tokyn.

Also if eny of our said bretherne or susters happen to dye out of the towne and have paid theire duetye to the said Bretherhod thenne shall they have the rightes of the same like as they that dye within towne soo that the clarke be warned as it is saied in the next article afore. And soo shall the bretherne come to the masse of *Requiem* and not to faylle therof upon payne of a lb. of wax.

And who so evere the day of the feest be not at the begynnyng of the Masse that is to witt afore that the preest have torned hym ones he shall paye a lb. of wax.

Also noon of our bretherne shall not make another of the same Felawship to be attached nor arrested for dette but that the some be above xl^{es}. with the oute he have licence to doo it of the said maisters. And this upon payne of x lb. of wax.

And whan our *Confraternite* is to his above in all thynges (*sic*) than shall there be a comon asking aboute of the bretherne for to wit and understande whither they shall doo make eny hodes or noo. And this shall be taken and doon after the moost of one opynyon.

Also ate all offerynges where the forsaid maisters of the said Bretherhod shall sende for the bretherne and susters to com offer every of the said bretherne and susters shall com therat with theire token in sight upon the payne of a lb. of wax to the behouffe of the said *Confraternyte*.

And also when we shall have eny of our bretherne or susters sike than shall every brother and suster geve an half peny every wyke to the sustentacion and kepyng or the said sike.

Also we have v masses of *Requiem* in the yere that is to wit the first upon the Monday next folowyng after the day of our said feest. The second upon the Monday after Lammasse day. The iij^{de} upon the Monday folowyng next after Alhalowen day. The iiijth upon the *Hoppe* Monday. And the vth Masse upon the Monday next folowyng after Candilmasse day. And there at every of the said Masses every Brother and Suster shall come and offre there an half peny. And who so ever faileth therof he shall forfaite a lb. of wax to the said *Confraternyte* behouffe.

And also it is ordeyned by the consent of the holle felisship that in the forsaid *Confraternyte* noon shall not be receyved but if he be boron beyonde the see And if eny of the said bretherne paie not all such duetes as they shall owe unto the said Bretherhod within the xiiij daies as it is specified above and that they happen to fall sike so shall they be barred from the right that a sike brother shuld have by as many daies as they have owed their dueti to be paid unto the same without it be so that they have afore accorded of their said duety with the forsaid maisters and rewlars of the same.

Also it is graunted of the said Felawship of brethern forsaid that viij men shal be chosen every yere for to com to suche place as the said maisters sendeth for them to holde and kepe theire love daies that is to wit to redresse all that is wronge betwixt party and party. And the party that will not be agreable as the said viij men shall ordeyn thenne shall they pay as the said viij men shall sett them. The on halfe to the behouffe of the said Brotherhod and the other parte to the behouffe of my Lord the Bishop of London.

Super quibus omnibus et singulis dictis constitutionibus requisierunt me notarium publicum subscriptum sibi conficere publicum instrumentum. Acta sunt hæc prout suprascribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini, indictione, pontificatu, mense, die et loco prædictis. Presentibus discretis viris Ricardo Mayler cellario et Johanne Turtilton mercer civitatis Londonii litteratis testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 7 March, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN.]

RULES, ORDENANCES, AND STATUTIS made by the RULERS and WARDENS of the Bretherhed of the FRATERNITY of SAINT KATHERYN founded and ordeyned by DUCHEMENNE iiij^{xx} yeres passed in the CROSSE FRYERS in the CITE of LONDON and acknowledged before RICHARD BLODYWELL Doctor of Law and Commissary of London. 25 October 1495, 10 Henry VII.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (*E Libro "Harvey"*—fo. lxxxxviii.)

[Dated 25 October, A.D. 1495.]

In the Name of God Amen.

We Richard Blodywell Doctor of Lawe and Commissary of London to alle Cristene peopille to whome this presente wryting shall come or shall here of know, sende greting in our Lord God. And wher it is soo that of late the rulers and wardens of the Bretherhed of the Fraternite of Saint Katheryn founded and ordenyd by Dychmenne iiij^{xx} yeris passid in the Crosse Fryers in the Cite of London and the bretheren of the same Fraternite, that is to say, Rolland Jonson, Herry Percy, nowe being Rewlers and Wardens of the saide Fraternite; Gerard Wygarson, Jamys Edward, Cornelys Walter, Cordelys Jamys, John Cornelis, John Jonson, Peter Andrew, Peter Jonson, Thomas Herryes, Henry (*sic*) Wyssyll, Peter Arnoldson, John Harryson, Gilbard Arnoldson, Reynolde Frederykson, William Williamson, Jamys Lambert, Poles Husman, John Bacon, Peter Bell, Leonard Herryes, John Tomson, John Vansanton, Cornelys Knyspard, John Godfrey, Leonard Higbarson, Mathew Jonson, John Jonson, Deryk Bruer, Raynkyn Egbarson, Barnard Egbarson, John Cleve, John Arnoldson, Gyles Clayson, Mathew Godfrey, and John Kyrchynson being all or the more parte in doble of the Fraternite aforesaid have with good mynde and to thentent of good rule to be had and kept in the saide Fraternite in tyme comyng with grete instancis had in this party presented unto us alle suynche rules, ordenaunces and statutis within written mekely beseching and desyryng us the Commissary aforesaide to ratefy stabelishe auctorise and conferme the saide rules, ordenaunces and statutis: We therfor Richard Blodywell Commissary aforesaid considering that the said beseching and desyre benne resonable and consonant to good lawe and consciens with the consent of the saide rulers wardens and bretherne ratefy stabelyshe auctorise and conferme as fer as is in us all and singuler rules

ordenaunces and statutis within written effectually charging the saide rulers masters and bretherne all and eche of theme that they and eche of theme doo dewly and trewly obbey observe and kepe all the saide rules ordenaunces and statutis as it to theme and eyther of theme concernyth and to theme perteyneth under payne of the grete curse and other paynes expressed in the same statutis ordenaunces and rewlis And for the more feyth and credence to be gevyn to this presente wryting We the said Commissary have put to this wrytinges rules ordenaunces and statutis our seale of office the xxv day of the monyth of October the yere of Our Lord God a M^{cccc}lxxxv^{tene}.

First that no maner persone nor persones fro hensforth be admitted or receyvid into the said Fraternite but with the good will of *all the Bretherne of the Bretherne (sic)* of the same Fraternite or of the senior and sanior parte of theme and that he or they soo admitted and receyvid pay at his entre ij li. of wex to the encesse of the light of the saide Fraternite and opynly to be sworn to kepe and observe the ordenaunces statutis and determinacions here after folowing.

Also that no brother nor sister of the saide Fraternite from hensforth fray not missay ne pyke bate nor quarell one with a nother nor have eny slaundersous or rebukful wordis or disfamacions one ageynst a nother uppon payne that he or she that is provid in the defeaute and will not abyde the rules sayingges and a warde in that behalfe of the governors for the tyme being forfeit as often x li. of wex or ellis gyff for every pounde vj d. of money to be leved and applyed half therof to the use and behoof of the werkes of Poules and that other half to the use of the saide Fraternite.

Also that every broder of the saide Fraternite from hensforth faythfully and trewly pay theyr quarteragis and dewtis longyng to the said Fraternite as of olde tyme accustomed it hath benne used And he that is behynde by iij d. and woll not pay it within the space of vij dayes after that he is therto lawfully required forfett as often ij li. of wex to be leved and applyed to the uses maner and forme above saide.

Also that every persone and persones of the said Fraternite for the tyme being from hensforth honestly as well in theyr wordis as in theyr dedis demeane and behave theme sylfe anenst the rulers and governors of the saide Fraternite for the tyme being whanne they go aboute to gadder quarteragis fyns and other dewtis longyng to the saide Bretherhed uppon payne that he or they that doo the contrary forfett as often v li. of wex to be levid and applyed to the uses aforesaid.

Also wher as often tymes at the assembles and drinking to gidders of the saide bretherne and specially uppon Saint Katheryns day certeyne misavysed and evill disposed bretherne of the saide Fraternite brall and chyde togidders with gret revyllis and rebukefull wordis and sum whylle the same misavysed persones rebuke the rulers for the tyme being and other sadd and wele avysed persones of the said broderhed wherby grete wrath ire and devysyon have benne often provoked among the saide bretherne to the grete grugge and trowbill of all the good folke of the saide Fraternite Therfor to kepe a good order and rule amonge theme by way of penaltys for reformation and scilence of all snych froward and seducious peopill it is ordeynde that what persone or persones of the said Fraternite that from hensforwardis at any snych assembles or drinkyns or

uppon Saint Katheryn day that soo ungoodly demeane and behave theme sylff and at the commaundmentes and biddinges of the rulers and governors of the saide Fraternite for the tyme being woll not kepe silence nor be in peas forfet for the first tyme v li. of wex for the ij tyme x li. of wex for the iij tyme xvi li. of wex and for the iiijth tyme xx li. of wex; and so as often as the saide rebellis of theyr malicious frawardnesse disobbay the saide commaundments and biddinges of the saide rebellis, to be leved without redempcion and applyed to the uses abovesaid.

Also that no persone nor persones being bretherne of the said Fraternite from hensforwardys maytene nor support ne bere oute in worde or dede eny of the saide rebellis or transgressours in theyr ungoodly demenours ayenste the said rulers and governours for the tyme being or ayenste eny good brother of the said Fraternite being of good and honest demenor uppon payne that he or they that soo doone forfet as often x li. wex to be leved and applyed to thuses aforesaid.

Also that the rulers and governours of the saide Fraternite for the tyme being shall every yere from hensforth xiiij dayes afore the Feste of Saint Katheryne the Vergyn and Martt call unto theme the iij. olde bretherne of the saide Fraternite that were rulers and governors in the yere next before passid. And they all vj togidders with one will and consent within the saide xiiij dayes shall chose betwix theme selff of the feloshipp of the saide Fraternite iij new rulers bretherne to governe the same feloshipp for the yere folowing the which iij newe rulers bretherne soo chosen uppon the day of Saint Katheryn shalbe openly presented and shewed unto all the bretherne ther and thenne being presented. And ther and thenne being they shalbe sworene discretly to rule the said Brethered in good love peas and condicion to theyr powers and to make levey of the fyns quarteragis and dewtis growing and longing to the same Brethered for the yere folowing. And in case be that iij or v of the said vj persones in chosing of the saide new rewlers agre togidder and ether ij or j of theme of his or theyr obstynacy and frowardnesse woll not consent to the same agrement that thenne those ij persones or that one persone that soo of his or theyr wilfulnesse disagre shall eyther of theme or that one forfet and pay v li. of wex to be leved and applyd to thuses aforesaid and yet those iij bretherne which the said iij or v chosyn into newe rulers and governors shall stande in force and strength for the said yere And over that in case be that the said iij olde rulers and governors that were in the yere passid as afore is sayde or eny of theme refuse and wilnot come to the said eleccion whanne they therto benne required and callid in forme abovesaide that thenne they or suych of theme as so refusith and will not come shall pay and forfeit every of theme as often v li. of wex to be levid and applyed to the uses abovesaid without a lawfull impediment or cause proved.

Also that the olde rulers and governours of the saide Fraternite which for the yere passid alway have benne within xxj dayes after the presentacion and shewing of newe rulers and governors in forme abovesaid to be electe and presented shall gye unto the same newe rulers and governors a lawfull rekenyng and accompt for theyr tyme that is to say what they have receyvid and takyn upp and what they have paid and gevyn out, and in all thinges what remayneth to the use of the saide Fraternite as trew and feythfull governors ought to doo without conceling or hyding of eny point therof uppon payne that

every of the saide olde rulers and governors forfett xxli. of wex, to be leved and applyed to the uses aforesaid.

Also that all other ordenaunces, actis, constitucions and rules made among the saide Bretherhed by their owne free willis and consencions specyfyed and declared in Duych tong wherof a copy in a cedula to these presentis is annexed by the said rulers and governors and theyr successours for the tyme being and by all the bretherne and sustrene of the seid Fraternite that nowe benne and alle those that hereafter shalbe and everych of theme from this tyme forwardis be faythfully holden kepte performed and inviolably observid upon the paynes therin comprysed and written to be leved and applyed half therof to the use of the said werkis of Poules and that other half to the use of the said Fraternite.

Also that the rulers and governors of the saide Fraternite for the tyme beyng from hensforth truly presente without favour or excuse unto the Juge Ordinary of my Lord Bisshopp of London for the tyme being the names of all maner persones transgressours and rebellis being bretherne of the said Fraternite that offend in eny point or article of the premisses and woll not be reformed by the said rulers and governors within the space of xv dayes after theyr offencis and trespasses committed and no manne spare contrary to trouthe and yf the saide rulers and governors or eny of them for eny mede favour or love lete spare or woll not truly presente suyche transgressours and rebellis and say trowth in that behalf forfett he and every of theme as often as he or they be founden in faute x li. of wex to be leved and applyed to the uses aforesaid.

Provided alway that yf eny of the said transgressours being bretherne of the said Fraternite fortune to be of suych povertye and insufficientnes so that he is not able to pay the said hoole fyns and forfeitures or ellis yf eny other consideration or remorse of consciens or pitty canne be thaught in suych losses and forfeitures that conscience and pitty wolde not that they shulde not be hoole leved that thenne by the advyse of the said Ordinary Juge and of the said rulers and governors of the said Fraternite for the tyme being the said fyns and forfeitures by grace shal be mittigated and lessid as the case shall require after theyr discreciouns.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 18 May, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN.]

RULES, ORDENAUNCES, AND STATUTES made by the RULERS, WARDENS, and the hoole FELISHIP of the Brotherhed of SAINT CRISTOFER of the WATERBERERS of the CITIE of LONDON, founded and ordeyned in the FRERE AUGUSTYNYS of LONDON and acknowledged before THOMAS BRENT Doctor of Law and Commissary of London; the See then being void. 20 October 1496, 12 Henry VII.

[Extracted from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London. (E Libro "Harvey" fo. c.xxxviii.) The Statutes of the Brotherhod of the Waterberers. [Dated 20 Oct. A.D. 1496, 12 Hen. 7.]

Theese been the Statutes that beth made by the wardens and the hoole Feliship of the Brotherhed of Saint Cristofer of the Waterberers founded withyn the Friars Augustines in London as folowith.

First hit is ordeyned that ther shall no man chese the wardens of the seid Fraternite but onely they that have been wardyns and they that bith for the yere.

Also hit is ordeyned that there shall no brother nor sister arrest none of hys seid brothers nor sisters without licence of the wardens that be and the wardens that have been byfore tyme undre the payne of vj s. viij d. to the boxe.

Also hit is ordeyned that if ther be eny man or woman of the seid Brotherhed that wil not obbey the statutes that been made in this behalf but frowardly wille disobbey them he for to pay iij s. iiij d.

Also it is ordeyned that if ther be any man or woman of the seid feliship that revileth any of them that beth wardens or have been wardens of the same Feliship and callith them otherwise than they owght to doo be it brother or sister then if it be a man that so doth he for to pay iiij li. wex and if it be a woman she for to pay ij li. wex as oftentymes as it may be provid eny of them so offendith this statute.

Also it is ordeyned that if ther be eny brother or sister of the seid Brotherhed that dieth withyn the franchises of the said Citee of London than that persone that so deceaseth shal have the torches and the tapers of the seid Fraternite if so be that they do ther diety to the seid Brotherhed as they shold doo.

Also it is ordeyned that they that beth wardens of the Feliship for the yere shall do no correccion without they do first take counsell of them that hath been wardeyns afore tyme that thann the seid wardens that have been before tyme shall stond by them in all that is rightfulle and lawfull and they forto ber with them their mony like as they doo and if the seid wardens for the tyme being wille not doo as is aforeseid eche of them for the yere beyng shall paye v li. of wex as often as they so offendith.

Also it is ordeyned that if the seid wardens that have been byfore tyme wilnot stande by them that beth wardens for the yere in all ryght when they calle them then they for to pay a peece vj li. wex as often as the wardens for the yere being calle them.

Also it is ordeyned that if there be eny brother of (*sic*) sister of the Fraternite aforeseid that remeveth out of the seid Cite of London that he shalbe don for if he decease and have doon his diety than he shal have his Masse and his *Dirige* with the torches and tapers as a brother shuld have or a sister that deceaseth in the forseid Cite of London.

Also if there be any man or woman of the seid Fraternite warned to come to the byrring of any brother or sister that dieth withyn the Cite of London and come not if that he have no lawfull excuse he or she so faylyng for to pay j li. of wex as often as he or she is warned and so fayleth.

Also if ther be eny brother or syster that takeyth eny custemar owt of eny brothers handys without so be that the parties that he serveth wille no lengar have his service and that the seid brother seith that he be content of his diewe that he shold have or ellis he to take no mannys custmyer owt of hys bands under the payne of vj s. viij d. be hit brother or syster.

Also it is ordeyned that if there be eny brother or syster that heryth eny of our counsell withyn our selfe and uttereth it and will not kepe it wythyn our selfe that they shall pay iiij li. wex as often tymes as it may be knownen and

lawfully proved so that the seid counsell be not contrary to the lawes of the Chirch nor prejudiciall to the Kyng and this realme of England.

Also it is ordeyned that if eny brother or syster of the seid Fraternite take into ther service eny persone not beyng a brother of the same Fraternite that then the seid persone shalbe presentid byfore the wardens for the tyme beyng withyn iij dayes after he shall so be set a werk. And to paye at hys presentment j li. of wex to the use of the seid Fraternite. And this to be doon uppon the payne of forfayture of ij li. wex. And costys and charges of every such brother so doying to the contrary to be convertid to the seid use.

Providid alwey that if any of the seid transgressours beyng a brother or a sister of the seid fraternite fortune to be of such povertie and insufficientnesse that he or she is not able to pay the seid hole ffynes and forfeitures or ellis if eny other consideracion or remorce of consciens or pite canne be thought in suche losses or forfeitures that conscience or pite wolde not that they shulde not be hole levied that then by the advise of the undrewiten Ordinary Juge or his successors and of the seid rulers and governors of the seid fraternite for the tyme beyng the seid fynes and forfaitures by grace shalbe mitigat and lessid as the case shall require after ther discrecions.

In the name of God Amen. We Thomas Brent Doctor of Law and Commissary of London the see ther being voied to all Christen people to whome this present writing shal come or shall hereof know send gretying in our Lord God. And where it is so that of late the rulers and wardens of the Bretherhed of Seint Cristofere foundyd and ordeyned by Waterberers of the Cite of London in the Frere Augustyns of London aforesaid and the Brethern of the seid Fraternite that is to sey William Johnson, John Kerver and John Parker now beinge rulers and wardens of the seid Fraternite, John Gregori, Thomas Johnson, John Raynoldson, Robert Savage, Robert Digonson, John Baker, Richard Payn, John Bager, John Lesby, Thomas Mores, John Smere, John Cakes, Elis Brian, Thomas Lambe, Jeffrey Blake, William Smyth, David Breupine, Jacobe Offzand, Simond Wryght, Richard Payne, John Maston, Richard Trowyll, Harry Barbour, William Aylmer, William Cornyshe, Robert Long, John Goodfeld, John Browne, Thomas Payne, John Bland, John Watson, John Byckys, Thomas Somer, Thomas Nepecker, and Nicholas Thomson being alle or the more parte or greter parte of the Fraternite aforesaid have with good mynde and to thentent of good rule to be hadde and kepte in the seid Fraternite in tyme comynge with gret instances had in this party presentid unto us all suche rules ordinaunces and statutes as bith above wryten with one statut folowing in the end mekely besechyng and desyryng us the Commissary aforesaid to ratify, stabilish, auctorise and conferme the seid rules, ordinaunces and statutes :

We therfore Thomas Brent Doctor and Commissary aforesaid considering that the seid beseeching and desire been resonable and consonant to good law and consciens with the consent of the seid rulers, wardens and brethern ratify, stabilishe, auctoryze and conferme as fer as is in us all and singler rules and ordinaunces and statutes above specified especially charging the seid rulers, wardens and brethern all and eche of them that they and eche of them doo duly and truly obbey, observe and kepe all the seyd rules, ordinaunces and statutes as it to them and ether of them concernith and to them perteynithe undre payne of the

grete curse and other paynes expressed in the same statutes, ordinaunces and rules and for the more feith and credence to be given to this present writinge we the seid Commissary have putt to this writinge, rules, ordinaunces and statutes our seale of office the xx day of Octobre the yere of our Lord God M^cccccxxxvj and in the xij yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the vijth.

Also hit is ordeyned that no brother nor syster of the seid Fraternyte shal have at the condyte at onys to his owne use above one tankard uppon the payne of li. of wex to the use of the lyght aforesaid to be applyed.

WM. FOX, Registrar.

[Examined, 14 May, 1852, JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN.]

NOTE.

A curious trace of the Company of Waterbearers of London is afforded by the report of a recent case before the Master of the Rolls ("Merchant Taylors' Company *v.* Attorney-General," *Law Reports*, 11 Eq. 35.) Robert Donkin, citizen and merchant taylor of London, and deputy of the ward of Cornhill, by his will dated 1 Dec. 1570, besides various charitable bequests to his own company, which were the subject of the recent litigation, left the following:—

"That ys to saye ffirst all that my messuage or howse wth all singuler commodities and appurtenances thereto belonging which the ixth daye of Octobre in the yeare of our Lorde God 1568 I purchased of the Companie of *Waterbearers* in London, beinge now rented at fowre poundes by the yeare, I give and devise unto the p[']son and churchwardens of the p[']ishe church of Sct Michaell in Cornehill in London for the tyme beinge and to theire successors Persons and Churchwardens of the said p[']ishe Church for ever, To this intent that the p[']son, churchwardens, and p[']isheners of the said p[']ishe or some of them shall wth the profytts thereof p[']vide and give every weeke wekely on the Sondaye for ever one dozen of peny breade wth the vantage* in the Church to and amonges the poorest howseholders of the said p[']ishe where most neade shall appere. And two shillings, the rest of the rente, I give to the churchwardens for there paines. And the whole rest of the rent I will shalbe reserved to the maintenance of the rep[']ac[']ions of the said howse." Signed and sealed the 1st December in the yeare of our Lorde God a thousand fyve hundreth threscore and tenne and in the 13th yeare of Elizabeth (1570).

12th March, 13th Elizabeth, Roll No. 256, Mem. 26. †

In a list of deeds, evidences, &c. belonging to the parish of St. Michael's, and preserved in the "Great barred Chest" in the vestry the 8th of February, 1582, appear the following notices of Waterbearers' Hall:

"Item six pieces of evidences, two obligacons and a quyttance concernyng the howse somtyme the Waterbearers Hall‡ and of the ten'tes and gardeyns w[']out Bishopsgate gyven by Robert Donkyn to the parish.

* Surplus, excess.

† Records of the Hustings Court, Guildhall.

‡ Now Numbers 143 and 144 Bishopsgate Street Without, between Lamb Alley and Angel Alley.

"Item a Counterpayne of Ticknes lease of yt in 1591.

"Item a Counterpayne of a lease made to Evan Davy baker of his dwelling house called somtyme Waterbearers Hall." Great Book of Accounts 193.

1st December 1588.

"Item first the Churchwardens to viewe the estate and rep'acions of the hous called the Old Water Bearers Hall."

Sonday 8th of December 1588.

"Item it is agreed that John Olmestid first agreing for the old leas graunted by Mr. Dunkin of Old Water Bearers Hall shall have a leas of the same made in his own name for xxx yeres from Mighelmas last paying p'ntely for a fyne to the p'ishe vj^{li} xiii^s iiij^d and oth^r rent and rep'acions accordinge to the newe leas in reversion w^t oth^r resonable devise an the p'ishe shall devyse the said old leas and oth^r leas in rev'cion ffyrst surrendred unto the p'isshe handes."

20th September ano 1590. "It is also ordered that the Churchwardeins or two of them acco'panyed w^t Mr. Kevall, Mr. Bull and Mr. Cowp' p'ntelie shall vewe ov' the leass or lessees of o^r hous called Waterbreres Hall geven by Mr. Dunkin and to take order by their best discretion eyther y^t the house nowe in ruyn and abused may be p'ntelie in good order repayred or elles to take the adv'ntage of the hous or lessees to the use of the p'ysh."

We are indebted for these extracts from the Minute Book of the Vestry of St. Michael's Cornhill (1563 to 1697) to Mr. W. H. OVERALL, F.S.A. They show that the Brotherhood of Waterbearers existed at least seventy-two years after their rules were certified. How much longer remains to be ascertained; probably Sir Hugh Myddelton and his New River (which was opened Sept. 29, 1620) were the cause of their dissolution.
