Section V: The Rise of Capitalism and the National State to 1500

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2. The Rise of Towns and Town Life

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2. The Rise of Towns and Town Life

Abstract
Towns as centers of a population devoted to commercial activity or as communities endowed with legal entity hardly existed anywhere in medieval Europe before the eleventh century. Some towns had survived the disorder of the Dark Ages, since societies require meeting places for religious purposes, to administer justice, and to muster military forces. These early centers were often located in old Roman towns where bishops resided, along well-established trade routes over which a trickle of commerce still passed, or on high ground which afforded some defensive advantage against the lawless bands of rovers or foreign invaders. Many early town were fortresses as well as episcopal residences. Walled and protected by deep moats, the town surrounded a castle in the center which served both as the home of the territorial lord and as a place of refuge for the neighboring population. In France these fortresstownes were called bourgs, and in Germany and England they were known as burgs and boroughs respectively. During the Dark Ages towns and town life constituted but a minor part of life and involved relatively few people. Nevertheless, towns and bourgs were the steppingstones in the development of European cities. [excerpt]

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Comments
This is a part of Section V: The Rise of Capitalism and the National State to 1500. The Contemporary Civilization page lists all additional sections of Ideas and Institutions of Western Man, as well as the Table of Contents for both volumes.

More About Contemporary Civilization:

From 1947 through 1969, all first-year Gettysburg College students took a two-semester course called Contemporary Civilization. The course was developed at President Henry W.A. Hanson’s request with the goal of “introducing the student to the backgrounds of contemporary social problems through the major concepts, ideals, hopes and motivations of western culture since the Middle Ages.”

Gettysburg College professors from the history, philosophy, and religion departments developed a textbook for the course. The first edition, published in 1955, was called An Introduction to Contemporary Civilization and Its Problems. A second edition, retitled Ideas and Institutions of Western Man, was published in 1958 and 1960. It is this second edition that we include here. The copy we digitized is from the Gary T. Hawbaker ’66 Collection and the marginalia are his.

Authors

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2. The Rise of Towns and Town Life

Towns as centers of a population devoted to commercial activity or as communities endowed with legal entity hardly existed anywhere in medieval Europe before the eleventh century. Some towns had survived the disorder of the Dark Ages, since societies require meeting places for religious purposes, to administer justice, and to muster military forces. These early centers were often located in old Roman towns where bishops resided, along well-established trade routes over which a trickle of commerce still passed, or on high ground which afforded some defensive advantage against the lawless bands of rovers or foreign invaders. Many early towns were fortresses as well as episcopal residences. Walled and protected by deep moats, the town surrounded a castle in the center which served both as the home of the territorial lord and as a place of refuge for the neighboring population. In France these fortress-towns were called bourgs, and in Germany and England they were known as burgs and boroughs respectively. During the Dark Ages towns and town life constituted but a minor part of life and involved relatively few people. Nevertheless, towns and bourgs were the steppingstones in the development of European cities.

After the eleventh century, towns shared in the general growth of population in Europe. Not much is known of the origins of the townsfolk, although in the beginning they were
probably men without land in a society where the possession of
land conferred status. Many of them were the younger sons of
peasant families who left the manorial home to escape the eco-
nomic pressure brought on by a rising price level and increas-
ing land scarcity. Some of them, beginning as itinerant ped-
dlers, settled permanently in towns and became merchants. After
roaming from town to town, many other persons settled where
greater economic opportunity or social freedom beckoned. In
the coastal cities they found employment as laborers, loading
and transporting merchandise, rigging and equipping boats,
manufacturing carts, casks, chests, and performing other nec-
 essary services. Other migrants were attracted by the need for
more bakers, brewers, carpenters, masons, and smiths.

As the newcomers arrived in the towns they found the
living space within the walls no longer sufficient for the
growing population and hence they congregated just outside in
suburban communities called faubourgs. While the contrast
between bourg and faubourg should not be overstated, the town
community now began to develop two distinct groups with differ-
ing economic life. Within dwelt the castellani, subject to the
lord of the castle and dependent upon the peasant population of
the adjacent countryside for sustenance. The inhabitants of the
faubourgs, however, participated in commerce and industry.
Soon new towns -- new bourgs -- appeared along old trade routes,
at the junction of navigable streams, and at the head of estu-
aries. In the Middle Ages all who dwelt in or near the bourg
were called bourgeois to distinguish them from the nobles and
peasants who still lived on the manor. The adjectival term,
bourgeois, is applied to the urban and mercantile culture which
they developed.

Soon new bourgs appeared throughout western Europe. Many
historians today accept the theory that some of these urban com-
munities evolved as commercial centers which were born in the
expansion of trade and passed through an intermediate state of
economic development provided by the medieval fair. The local
markets of previous times had served merely local needs and
were primarily intended to provide goods for the neighboring
manors. Fairs differed in that they facilitated the exchange of
commodities from a far distance, offered a greater quantity of
wares, enjoyed special legal protections, and were usually held
annually or semiannually. They flourished especially in the
era of "peripatetic commerce," a time when itinerant peddlers
offered articles for sale which could not be produced on the
nearby manors. Like their modern counterparts, the fairs com-
bined business and entertainment and attracted peddlers from
far and near. Among the earliest and most celebrated were the
fauxers of Champagne, in northeastern France, where tributaries
of the Rhine, Seine, and Loire Rivers furnished transportation
facilities to Flanders, Paris, London, western France, and even
far-off Italy.

Fairs were located according to the movements of trade and
the inducements provided by territorial lords. Since they were
a source of income to the lord, he was usually anxious to encourage them. In return for the fees and dues paid him the lord promised those merchants who congregated there safe passage through his territory, permitted them to ignore the canonical prohibitions against money-lending at interest, and granted them the right to administer their own laws. Some fairs were known for particular products, such as the one at Boston in eastern England, the center of a flourishing woolen industry.

By the fourteenth century fairs were declining in economic importance as towns grew in size and goods became available at all times of the year. As merchandising grew more sedentary some fairs became a permanent part of town life. The lords themselves contributed to the decline of the medieval fair when they greedily raised the fees charged and when it was no longer profitable for traveling merchants to display their wares. In retrospect it is obvious that fairs not only grew with the revival of commerce but that they contributed to it and instructed merchants in practices mindful of the new business techniques which were the roots of capitalism. In addition, their special merchant courts, under the jurisdiction of the "lord of the fair," introduced the beginnings of a common mercantile law. This body of law, at first largely unwritten, grew by custom from the needs of the merchants and it varied but little from one country to another. In England these special tribunals were called "pie powder courts" as a corruption of the term pied poudreux, a name derived in turn from the dusty-footed merchants who sought justice before them.

The appearance of the medieval town was usually dominated by the church edifice and later by the increasingly elaborate townhalls and guildhalls. Since it was built to be worked in, the town was completely functional in its plan. Three- or four-storied buildings bordering narrow streets, only a few of which were paved, housed workshops, merchant stalls, and living quarters. As long as walls were needed for protection, town limits were sharply defined and, since walls were expensive to construct, towns were likely to become crowded. Medieval towns were not as dirty perhaps as is usually thought, but they all faced serious hygienic problems created by the difficulty of disposing of sewage and garbage and obtaining good water. Business in the towns was transacted almost entirely by day. No honest man traveled the dark streets at night unless it was absolutely necessary. On the other hand, the bustling activity of the daylight hours seemed intense and exciting to the peasant and it lured young men from country homes to seek their fortunes.

Two important questions remain regarding the rise of towns and town life in the midst of a predominantly feudal and agricultural society. First, what was to be the status of these towns and their inhabitants, and second, how were they to acquire this status? The few towns which existed earlier had had to operate within a system in which the population was divided into three social orders or estates. The clergy, those who prayed, comprised the first estate. The feudal nobility, those
who did the fighting, made up the second estate. All others, including the peasants who tilled the soil, constituted the third estate. Merchants and artisans, who were neither noble nor peasant and who were not bound to the land, were almost interlopers in this system. Town dwellers constituted a new social element with problems and yearnings which officials accustomed to administering feudal law failed to understand. For example, commercial disputes did not lend themselves to settlement in manorial courts by men who knew little or nothing about commercial practices.

It can be said that the townsmen aspired to be free, but we must remember that, as medieval man viewed it, freedom did not mean the absence of restraint or even the existence of equality. Rather, it meant the right to do that which others could not do and it was usually thought of as privilege. Privilege was one of the things which conferred status, and it was this that townsmen lacked in the medieval hierarchy. As towns grew more powerful, the lords who controlled them were prevailed upon to exempt their inhabitants from the customary obligations and restraints associated with feudalism and manorialism. Kings and other feudal magnates concluded that it was to their advantage to grant them rights and privileges, in return for stated sums of money or attractive annual income -- often both. Many magnates realized that a flourishing town was a valuable asset in terms of population and wealth. Consequently, some of them founded towns themselves and sought to lure people away from neighboring manors.

The townsmen wanted recognition of their right to a degree of political autonomy. They desired to hold their own courts, collect their own taxes, and select the officials who would govern them. The magnates met this desire by granting them charters which often merely recognized the privileges which the townsmen had already gained for themselves. Succeeding lords were often prevailed upon to confirm these privileges, sometimes by reissuing charters. In the charter following, issued sometime between 1154 and 1161, King Henry II of England (1154-1189) conceded to the citizens of Wallingford, a town on the main road between London and Gloucester, "all their liberties and laws and customs...just as they had them" in previous reigns. It will be seen that this charter does not include an enumeration of specific rights and privileges.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou [to the justiciars, sheriffs, barons, officers and all his faithful, French and English, of Wallingford, greeting]. I command you that my burgesses of Wallingford shall have my secure peace through my whole land of England and Normandy, wherever they may be. And know that I have given and conceded to them forever, all their liberties and laws and customs well and honorably, just as they had them best and most honorably in the time of King Edward [1042-1066], and in the time of my great-grandfather King William [1066-1087], and
of his son, the second King William [1087-1100], and in the time of King Henry [1100-1135], my grandfather; that is to say, that they should have freely the gild merchant with all its customs and laws, so that neither my bailiff nor any justice of mine shall meddle with their gild; but only their own alderman and officer. And if my officers or any justice shall have brought suit against them in any plea or for any occasion or shall have wished to lead them into a suit, I forbid it, and require that they should not make defense in any manner, except in their own proper portmote. And if the reeve himself shall implead them on any occasion without an accuser, they shall not respond, and if on account of any transgression, or by a right judgment any one of them shall have made forfeiture by a right consideration of the burgesses, to the reeve he shall pay it. I forbid, moreover, and require that there shall be no market in Crow-marsh, nor any merchant, unless he is in the gild of the merchants; and if anyone goes out from the borough of Wallingford and lives from the merchandise of the same Wallingford, I command that he should make the right gild of the merchants with the same burgesses, wherever he may be, within the borough or without. (Know moreover, that I have given and conceded forever to all the men of Wallingford full quitance from my yearly rent, which they were accustomed to pay from the borough of Wallingford; that is to say, from that which pertains to me in the borough. All these laws and customs and liberties and quitances I give to them and concede forever, and all others which they are able to show that their ancestors had, freely, quietly, and honorably, just as my citizens of Winchester ever had them at the best; and this on account of the great service and labor which they sustained for me in the acquisition of my hereditary right in England. I concede to them, moreover, that wherever they shall go in their journeys as merchants, through my whole land of England and Normandy, Aquitaine and Anjou, "by water and by strand, by wood and by land," they shall be free from toll and passage fees, and from all customs and exactions; nor are they to be troubled in this respect by any one, under a penalty of £10. I forbid, moreover, and require under the same penalty, that the reeve of Wallingford shall not make any fine of scotale or New Year's gift from any one, and that he shall not establish any custom in Wallingford which shall injure the burgesses of the town. Of this grant and concession, the witnesses are Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury and others. Given at Oxford, the first day before the Ides of January.

1 - i.e. The citizens of Wallingford shall be tried only in their own court.
2 - A royal official.
* Reprinted from Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History (Philadelphia, 1902), II, No. 1, 8-9.
The generalizations just made, it should be remembered, do not apply to the whole of Europe and especially not to Italy and Germany. In the former, town life and municipal independence had never completely died out during the Dark Ages. Feudalism sat lightly on northern Italy and did not extinguish the memory of the great municipal experiments of the Roman Empire. The Italian cities were able to withstand the attempts of emperor and pope to control them. From the eleventh century they began to develop into virtually independent city-states. As we shall see, a somewhat similar development took place in Germany.

Town government often evolved as a branch of the merchant guild, a confraternity of men acting together in a corporate type of organization similar to the Church, the university, and the manor. Guild members were able and willing to assume control of town affairs. Kings and other magnates encouraged them, since the existence of the guilds made it easier for them to supervise the town population in general.

The early merchant guild was primarily engaged in vending goods rather than in manufacturing. As it evolved it resembled in some ways the trade association or chamber of commerce of our own day. Its objective was to control trade within the town, particularly to regulate imports and prohibit trade practices which it considered unfair and unethical. The monopoly which resulted was maintained by controlling town government (in which guild leaders often functioned as municipal magistrates) so as to put into practice their theory that the interests of the guild monopoly and the municipality were identical. Ordinarily but one merchant guild operated within a town and its members comprised a nascent urban aristocracy.

At first the guilds were composed of merchants and artisans, who were frequently the same persons, but as the crafts developed and became more specialized, as early as the twelfth century, the craftsmen began to organize their own guilds. The craftsman began his career as an apprentice, bound out as a boy to an established craftsman for a period of years, depending on the difficulty of the skill to be learned. In return for his labor, the apprentice received food, clothing, lodging, and supervised education in the particular craft. For the period of apprenticeship the boy was under the control of the master. After completing his training he became a journeyman. As such he was free to seek employment wherever it seemed to his advantage, but he sacrificed the security of the apprentice for the hazards of possible unemployment. He now worked by the day (thus, from the French journee, the term "journeyman") and received wages for his toil. Eventually those whose skill and application warranted it accumulated money and became masters, full-fledged members of the guild who could open shops of their own and take on apprentices.

The primary purpose of the craft guild was economic. The guild sought, within the presumptions of medieval society, to prevent competition between members that might result in one
individual's forging ahead of his fellows. There are many examples of this. The guild often fixed prices, and to the extent that it was guided by any principle, it was the principle of the "just price" with its reliance on maintaining one's customary station in life. The guild also regulated hours. Craftsmen were often forbidden to engage in night work lest by overtime labor they gain an advantage over other guildsmen. They were not permitted to advertise or to take on more than their share of apprentices. In addition to efforts to protect its members, the guild also tried to protect the consumer.

Work had to be performed at an open window to expose it to public scrutiny. Another reason for this prohibition on night work was that the poor light would tend to lower the quality of the finished product. The guild punished those who violated its regulations by fine or, in extreme cases, by expulsion, which meant that the offender was henceforth barred from engaging in his craft in the city. As may be seen, the craft guild was unlike the labor union of today in that it was composed of employers and employees alike. Wages and hours were not determined as a result of bargaining between them. At the same time, there is a similarity. The craft guild, like the modern labor union, tried to establish an economic egalitarianism among its members.

The guilds, both merchant and craft, had other than economic functions. The manor had provided a degree of economic and social security, cooperative religious activity, social status, and recreational opportunity for the countryfolk. The lack of such in the towns of the early Middle Ages the guilds sought to remedy. Their social and religious functions included operating schools for their children, caring for the poor members, and conducting religious ceremonies in honor of the guild's particular patron saint. As fraternal organizations they provided much of the color and amusement, as well as social security, in medieval town life. Whatever the type of guild, its members were welded together by strong bonds of fellowship, mutual interest, and corporate responsibility.

The two guild documents which follow illustrate the general form and rules which governed the functions of these organizations. The "Ordinances of the Merchant Guild of Coventry" were incorporated into the charter granted in 1340 by King Edward III of England (1327-1377):

**Ordinances of the Merchant Guild of Coventry**

First: the bretheren and sisteren of the gild shall find as many chaplains as the means of the gild can well afford; and shall enlarge or lessen the number of chaplains according to the more or less flourishing state of the gild; saving to the bretheren and sisteren of the gild who are fallen into poverty the finding of their means of living, according as need may be, as is hereafter said; and also saving the reasonable costs and charges of the gild. And such chaplains, if the gild can keep them, shall be wise and fit...
men, of honest and chaste life, and shall be chosen by
the Master, bretheren, and sisteren of the gild; and they
shall read, pray, and chaunt, for the welfare of holy
church, for our lord the King, the Queen, Archbishops,
Bishops, and other prelates and clergy of the realm, for
dukes and duchesses, earls and countesses, barons, and
baronesses, and all other good men, and for the commonalty
of the realm of England, and for all the bretheren and
sisteren of the gild, and for all the good-doers to them.
And if these chaplains, or any of them, misbehave, they
shall be removed, and other fit persons shall be put in
their stead.

Also, if any man or woman of the gild, who has been
helpful to the gild according to his means, has, by mis-
hap, and not by any fault of his own, fallen into poverty,
the gild shall lend him a sum of money, to trade and make
gains with, for one year, or two, as they think well, with-
out taking anything for the loan. And if any man or woman
of the gild becomes so feeble, through sickness or old-age,
that he can neither work nor trade for himself, he shall
be maintained, at the cost of the gild, in such a manner
as befits his need.

No man nor woman who has been openly reputed or charged
as guilty of any shameful crime, shall be taken into the
gild. And if any one, after he has been taken into the
gild, falls into any such crime, he shall be put out from
the gild.

Every year, on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady,
there shall be a gathering of the Warden, bretheren, and
sisteren, to celebrate the feast; and to look over and
examine the affairs of the gild, and all that concerns
them.

Once every quarter there shall be a gathering of the
Master, bretheren, sisteren, and chaplains, to pray and
chaunt for the welfare of the noble King Edward, the Queen
Isabella his mother, the Queen Philippa his wife, our lord
the Prince, son of our noble lord King Edward; for the
welfare of all the bretheren and sisteren of the gild;
for the souls of the dead; for the souls of the bretheren
and sisteren of the gild; and for the souls of the good-
doers to the gild, and of all Christians.

No one of the gild shall raise a quarrel, or uphold
any wrong-doers, in the name of the gild, or to the dis-
credit of the gild, on pain of being put out from the gild
for ever.

When any brother or sister of the gild dies, each of
the chaplains shall chaunt for his soul, by his name [and
surname of baptism], for a whole year next following; and
the said name and surname of baptism shall be written on
a tablet, and put on the altar, in the place where the
chaplains chaunt.

If any brother or sister of the gild dies and is buried
outside the city, so soon as the Master knows it, he shall
call together all the chaplains of the gild, the "clerks," and
the other good men of the gild, and they shall fulfil watch,
dirige, mass, and oblations, as if the body was present; and the "bedeman" shall pray for the soul of the dead, and for the souls of all Christians, at the cost of the gild.

If any brother or sister of the gild, at the time of his death, is so poor that he leaves not enough wherewith to pay for his burial, he shall be honorably buried, as becomes a brother or sister of the gild, at the cost of the gild.

Which articles aforesaid, the Master, bretheren, and sisteren have ordained shall endure for ever, according to the purport thereof. And the gild has continued and been managed according to those ordinances.

Moreover, the said Master and bretheren shall be sworn that they will, in good faith, uphold and put in force the articles aforesaid. And the Master shall be sworn that he will well and loyally keep and expend the goods and chattels of the gild; and that he will render a true account thereof, at the end of every year, before auditors chosen by the bretheren.

The Master, bretheren, and sisteren of this gild have divers goods; that is to say, master tankards, vessels of pewter and brass, and napery, worth 20 pounds, and the gold and silver in the treasury, to the sum of 20 marks.

And they have also chalices, vestments, liveries, and other ornaments of holy chuch, for the use of the chaplains in divine service, worth 15 marks, 6 shillings 8 pence.

Also, certain well-wishers to the gild now hold certain lands, houses, and rents, worth 37 pounds, 12 shilling, 4 pence a year; which they wish to make over to the gild in mortmain, if they can get the license of our lord the King, and of the other [middle] lords of whom the said lands, houses, and rents are held.

And the Master and bretheren of the gild, with the consent of those who now hold the lands, houses, and rents aforesaid, find every year four chaplains; who have, for their yearly salary, 32 marks; the bretheren and sisteren finding such vessels and napery as are needed, worth 40 shillings.

Out of the rest of the profits of the lands and houses aforesaid, and out of the goods and chattels of the gild, they find means of living for thirty-one men and women, who are unable either to work or to gain their own living; and the charge of this amounts to 35 pounds, 3 shillings a year.

Moreover, one of the houses before-named is kept as a lodging-house, with thirteen beds, to lodge poor folks coming through the land, on pilgrimages or any other work of charity, in honour of God and of all saints. And there is a Governor of this house, and a woman to wash their feet, and whatever else is needed. The yearly cost hereof is ten pounds.

The bretheren and sisteren, on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, are clad, some of them in livery suits...
at their own cost, and others in hoods at the common cost of the gild. And the poor whom they provide for, are every year clad in gowns and hoods worth 10 pounds and more. *

Craft guilds seldom had charters. They operated under articles formulated by their leaders and sanctioned by town authorities. The "Ordinances of the London Spur Makers" (1345) demonstrate the regulative nature of guild activities as they existed in fourteenth century England:

Ordinances of the London spur makers

Be it remembered that on Tuesday, the morrow of St. Peter's Chains, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward III, the articles underwritten were read before John Hammond, mayor, Roger de Depham, recorder, and the other aldermen; and seeing that the same were deemed befitting, they were accepted and enrolled in these words.

In the first place, that no one of the trade of spurrers shall work longer than from the beginning of the day until curfew rung out at the church of St. Sepulcher, without Newgate; by reason that no man can work so neatly by night as by day. And many persons of the said trade, who compass how to practice deception in their work, desire to work by night rather than by day; and then they introduce false iron, and iron that has been cracked, for tin, and also they put gilt on false copper, and cracked. And further, many of the said trade are wandering about all day, without working at all at their trade; and then, when they have become drunk and frantic, they take to their work, to the annoyance of the sick, and all their neighborhood, as well by reason of the broils that arise between them and the strange folks who are dwelling among them. And then they blow up their fires so vigorously that their forges begin all at once to blaze, to the great peril of themselves and of all the neighborhood around. And then, too, all the neighbors are much in dread of the sparks, which so vigorously issue forth in all directions from the mouths of the chimneys in their forges. By reason thereof it seems best unto them that working by night should be put an end to, in order such false work and such perils to avoid; and therefore the mayor and the aldermen do will, by the assent of the good folks of the said trade, and for the common profit, that from henceforth such time for working, and such false work made in the trade, shall be forbidden. And if any person shall be found in the said trade to do the contrary hereof, let him be amerced, the first time in 40d., one half thereof

to go to the use of the Chamber of the Guildhall of London, and the other half to the use of the said trade; the second time, in half a mark, and the third time in 10s., to the use of the same Chamber and trade; and the fourth time, let him forswear the trade forever.

Also that no one of the said trade shall hang his spurs out on Sundays, or any other days that are double feasts; but only a sign indicating his business; and such spurs as they shall so sell they are to show and sell within their shops, without exposing them without, or opening the doors or windows of their shops, on the pain aforesaid.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall keep a house or shop to carry on his business, unless he is free of the city; and that no one shall cause to be sold, or exposed for sale, any manner of old spurs for new ones, or shall garnish them or change them for new ones.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall take an apprentice for a less term than seven years, and such apprentice shall be enrolled according to the usages of the said city.

Also, that if any one of the said trade, who is not a freeman, shall take an apprentice for a term of years, he shall be amerced as aforesaid.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall receive the apprentice, serving man, or journeyman of another in the same trade, during the term agreed upon between his master and him, on the pain aforesaid.

Also, that no alien of another country, or foreigner of this country, shall follow or use the said trade, unless he is enfranchised before the mayor, alderman, and chamberlain; and that, by witness and surety of the good folks of the said trade, who will undertake for him, as to his loyalty and his good behavior.

Also, that no one of the said trade shall work on Saturdays, after None has been rung out in the City; and not from that hour until the Monday morning following. *

Although the guilds declined with the Middle Ages, in some places the craft guild persisted as an influential organization until the 1700's. The basic weakness of the guild system was that it depended upon a static society in which price changes and technological progress had a small part and upon a non-capitalistic society in which the profit motive was subordinated. As trade and industry developed, the guild's increasing rigidity, exemplified by its high degree of selectivity in admitting journeymen to full membership, and its inability to compete with new capitalistic practices which were developing outside the guild regulations spelled its eventual doom.

* Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History (Philadelphia, 1902), 11, No. 1, 21-23.