

11/27/95

Early fourteenth-century London Apprentices

From 1309 to 1312, the City of London recorded both ^{lc}Freemen admissions and apprenticeship enrollments (see Letter Book D). The court records and wills include much information concerning apprentices as well. Many historians have used these records anecdotally to understand both guild history and the role of apprentices in that history. To my knowledge, however, no one has used these sources for a prosopographical study of early fourteenth-century apprentices in London. Not only is such a study warranted on its own merit, but it is also appropriate in the light of historiographical debate concerning apprenticeship and guilds at large.

The nature of the evidence which survives at London allows for the three related methods of this study. First, the wealth of data lends itself to statistical analysis. Second, there is ample evidence in the form of guild records, court records, and wills to place anecdotal flesh on the statistical bone of my analysis. Last, the wealth of information about apprentices from other towns, particularly Bristol, and the early modern period, paired with a strong historiographical tradition ^{will} allow the study I propose to contribute to larger historical debates.

~~Before discussing the historiography, it is appropriate to expand upon the three approaches stated above.~~ The statistical analysis of the apprenticeship records will be more comprehensive than past attempts. For instance, with respect to the ^{lc}Freemen's record, Williams calculates that of the 896 people admitted to the freedom 250 were admitted by apprenticeship and 646 were admitted by redemption. Hanawalt makes similar types of calculations, all of which are useful. A more comprehensive approach toward this type of statistical analysis will yield enormous possibilities for the interpretation of this data. The best way to demonstrate the range of the material is to analyze a sample entry. 14 September 1311, William de Dullyngham, former apprentice of Richard de Walyntone, was admitted to the freedom for the price of half

*never announce what you are going to do because like tops...
 you may mean 'quantitative' since I doubt you are going to use real statistical analysis.*

a mark because he was not previously enrolled. Three witnesses, all fishmongers, testified before the mayor and alderman to the fact that he completed his 7 year apprenticeship.¹

This entry provides a wealth of information about a former apprentice now freeman. The date itself can often be extremely important. For instance, Williams refers to occasions when groups of people of certain guilds would be registered in blocks. The freeman's locative surname identifies him as a potential immigrant from Dullingham in Cambridgeshire. His price for entry is a half a mark because he was never enrolled as an apprentice. This monetary value can be quantified because there are many instances of these fines during admissions to the freedom. Usually a clear trade designation is made but in this case scholars can identify the freeman as a fishmonger because each of witnesses belonged to that trade. We also know the duration of his term of apprenticeship. Last, his gender is an element that can be quantified. These elements therefore are quantifiable and can yield a surprising amount of data: date, place of origin (where applicable), fee (in this case a penalty for not enrolling), guild membership/ primary trade designation, duration of term, and gender.

The challenge to such an attempt will be to organize the data in such a way that true comparisons are achieved. For instance, it would be futile to compare the freeman's penalty fee above to the amount normally charged for the enrollment of an apprentice, 2s 6d. These differences must be considered. Moreover, anomalies in recording must be respected as well. If properly organized the data should be able to provide statistical answers to questions as diverse as: what guild has the highest average length of apprenticeship? does gender have any bearing on apprenticeship length? what percentage of apprentices are male/female? what guild pays the highest rate of penalties for not enrolling apprentices? Many other questions of a similar nature can be addressed as well.

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kense?*

¹ Letter Book D, 154-155.

After analyzing the material ^{statistically}, supporting sources can be cited to provide more biographical detail about specific individuals. Let's consider William de Dullyngham again. Referencing his name in Ekwall reveals that he is mentioned in a will made at the Court of Hustings. The will is of fishmonger Thomas de Colyngham, one of the three witnesses at William's admission to the freedom. Thomas requested that his home in the parish of S. George on St. Botolph lane be sold. ^{and} He ^{mentions} that ^{he} preferred William to purchase it.² This type of biographical evidence is precious to those who wish to illuminate how social and economic relationships worked between guild members. In other words, this type of information provides the qualitative evidence necessary to extrapolate from the quantitative data the relationships and choices apprentices made in their lives.

watch verb tenses - be consist

The third step will be to compare the image of apprentices that emerges from these combined approaches with previous studies of London and other cities in England. That is to say, how does this image compare with the image already presented in the historiography? Of course, I cannot answer this until I start crunching numbers and develop the portfolio, but the historiography will certainly guide the types of questions asked. This paper addresses ^{such} topics ^{as} including but not only: immigration, the age of entry into apprenticeship, ^{the} relationship between apprenticeship and the admission to freedom, the societal status of apprentices and the guilds they represent, and ~~throughout each of these topics the differences which appear according to gender will be addressed.~~

The immigration of apprentices is a small part of a larger issue for urban historians. Historians such as Butcher have studied immigration patterns to towns in general hoping to illuminate the population movement necessary to support urban life. A similar study of the immigration of apprentices to London may help to fill in some of this larger picture. Ekwall and Russell laid the foundation which makes such a study

² Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, 243.

possible. McClure, however, provides strong cautions against too much optimism concerning their earlier attempts. The ambiguous nature of locative surnames and my inability to handle them as an expert would, naturally limits my investigation of this aspect of apprentices' lives. On the other hand, to dismiss the topic completely would be rash considering its importance for London history. Therefore, I only address the issue in the context of the reliable historiography concerning the subject. For instance, I can compare Hanawalt's approach to the topic by which she concludes that the majority of apprentices are drawn from the home counties with McClure's more technical approach. Furthermore, I want to consider the work of Ben-Amos who suggests that migration out of the city may account for the high number of apprentices who do not become freemen.

The relationship between apprenticeship and the status of freemen is an important issue. Swanson argues that most apprentices never became freemen and that therefore scholars have stressed too much the importance of apprenticeship as an avenue to civic power. Her evidence comes largely from York, but ~~her evidence~~ has parallels in London. Jean Imray argues that almost 50 percent of enrolled apprentices never became freemen of the company of Mercers. In light of Swanson's and Imray's arguments, I want to explore the relationship between apprenticeship and the freedom. This should be possible given the nature of the records for London. Fortunately, lay subsidies for London survive from the years 1319 and 1332. I hope to use these sources as well as Alderman's lists and others to trace the careers of apprentices in London. More specifically, who became freeman and who disappeared? Does the evidence suggest a reason why? Are certain guilds more likely to have more apprentices become freemen? If so, does the evidence suggest a reason?

The nature of the education of apprentices is another pertinent issue in the historiography. Harvey suggests that apprentices were more educated than

previously thought. Yarbrough argues that apprentices learned not only vocational skills but also civic responsibility. The nature of the education of London apprentices will be difficult to determine but perhaps not impossible. For instance, I suspect that many guilds preferred apprentices to be literate quite early on. Hanawalt, citing the will of Nicholas Picot, alderman, points out that he requested that his sons study and attend school. His will was registered in 1312.³ Of course, this is only one source, but if compiled with other evidence it may lead to some interesting conclusions.

Many scholars have addressed the status of occupations and guilds. For instance, Burrage and Corry argue that as early as 1328 an occupational order of precedence existed for London guilds. If this is so, is it reflected at all in the apprenticeship list? For instance, perhaps anomalies in entrance fines for apprentices can in part be explained by wealth and status. Moreover, because of the nature of the documents that survive, I can analyze apprentices in view of their masters to determine the relative wealth and status of individuals and guilds. In fact, Thrupp's work on the merchant class of London provides an important appendix concerning the aldermanic class of London from 1300-1500. Her efforts will no doubt greatly aid mine.

Finally, the records demand attention to gender. Women do appear in the records enough to make a contribution to the work of Ben-Amos, Barron, Lacey, and Hanawalt. For instance, letter book D refers to the widow Agnes who continues^d teaching two apprentices in her household after her husband's death.⁴ This obviously resonates with the historiography that addresses the power widows had in London. Moreover, there are references to female apprentices throughout the London records. When compiled, these statistics will help generate new questions if not answers about the status of women in medieval London.

This essay has an exaggerated optimism concerning what these records can tell us about London apprenticeship. Moreover, the essay to some extent lacks focus

³ Hanawalt, 83. Calendar of Wills, 234.

⁴ Letter Book D, 112.

because it is impossible to know where the data will lead until it is compiled. I wanted to describe the range of possibilities that this source offers to the historian in the best case scenario. In the best case, I would be an expert in English history, linguistics, diplomatics, and economics. I would probably know more about computers as well. In the absence of the best case scenario, however, I have the patience to remember that what I don't know now, I can still learn. Therefore, when the data is compiled, what seems now to be a huge and unwieldy topic will be carefully sharpened into a more manageable tool to address the issues of London apprenticeship; a process similar to compressing a gigantic mass of coal into a fine cut and shapely diamond, but requiring far less time.

this is very good - you're probably too optimistic about all you can accomplish, but at least you see the ramifications & significance of your project

my one complaint is the lack of chronological context - do what about the early 14thc to know & appreciate the context of your data? (tho I see you realize some of this in your annotation of Williams)

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~~c~~(1291-1309) 1901; ~~d~~(1309-1314) 1902; ~~e~~(1314-1337) 1903;
~~f~~(1337-1352) 1904; ~~g~~(1352-1374) 1905; ~~h~~(1375-1399) 1907;
i(1400-1422) 1909; ~~k~~(temp Hen VI) 1911; L(temp Ed IV and Hen VII) 1912.

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Ordinances of More than 100 Early English Guilds. London, 1870.

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Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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Transactions of the London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. 4 (1871): 1-59.

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London History

Williams, Gwyn A. Medieval London: From Commune to Capital. London:

The Athlone Press, 1963. Williams reconstructs the political, economic, and social history of London from Magna Carta to the Hundred Years War. His study is rich in source material and provides important background for understanding guild developments in their larger political contexts. Williams views most of the developments in this period as responses to the growth and expansion of the city which ultimately resulted in the establishment of London as the capital. London's growth resulted in a highly developed civic identity and an organized administration capable of dealing with the new role the capital was to play in England. Much of the city administration rested on the organization of London's guilds. Most important for my study is the degree to which Williams equates guild membership with citizenship. This feature of London political life is, I believe, unique in England. — ~~not~~ well, maybe.

The strength of Williams' work lies in its extensive use of primary sources, including the register of apprentices in Letter Book D which is the most important source for my study. He lays some groundwork analysis which will be helpful. For example, he provides some basic statistics about the ratio of those admitted to the freedom by apprenticeship versus those admitted by redemption. More importantly, however, is his discussion of this citizenship drive in the context of the reign of Edward II. For it was during this period that the crafts could firmly establish themselves in the constitution of the city (1319).

Barron, Caroline M. "The 'Golden Age' of Women in Medieval London"

Reading Medieval Studies 15 (1989): 35-58.

Barron's article fills important gaps in the background provided by Williams and the primary source material he uses. She begins with an explanation of the legal status of women in London. According to common law, women exercised limited control over the lands that they held while their husbands lived (holdings such as jointure or land which she brought into the marriage). Barron likens this control to a veto privilege. Upon a husband's death, however, a widow had a right to a third of her husband's land. Canon law required that a man leave one part of his goods and chattels to his wife (a part of legitim). Canon law allowed women to write their own testaments as well. Because London customs supported these and other legal privileges, women, particularly widows, in London enjoyed more economic freedom than their sisters elsewhere in England. In some circumstances, women could sue or be sued, practice a trade independently and separate from her husband, and even reach the status of freewomen of the city. This study is important for my analysis of apprentices for two reasons. First, it demonstrates that women trained apprentices either independently or alongside their husbands. Moreover, women were apprentices during this period. Second, both of these facts are all but missing from the apprenticeship roles (there are

rolls?

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✓ = could be useful for you

some notable exceptions).

Breslow, Boyd. "London Merchants and the Origins of the House of Commons" Medieval Prosopography X, no. 1 (1989): 51-80.

Breslow argues that the London members of Parliament played a crucial role in bringing together urban and rural representatives in the house of commons. His thesis, as far as I can tell, does not necessarily inform my analysis of London apprentices. His data, however, will prove extremely useful because his prosopography deals with many of the influential London merchants during the reign of Edward II. His study may help to establish the status, wealth and power of certain guilds as well as provide some important biographical data concerning London notables like the fishmonger, Hamo de Chigwell and others of the alderman class.

Miskimin, Harry A. "The Legacies of Medieval London: 1259-1330." In The Medieval City, eds., H A Miskimin, David Herlihy, and A L Udovitch, 209-227. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978.

The author analyzes the wills enrolled at the court of Husting from 1271 to 1330 for the purpose of creating a profile of the property holding class of medieval London. From his analysis, he draws bold and interesting conclusions about the standard of living, occupations, and wealth of the collected testators. For instance, he argues that this class of Londoners was relatively unaffected by the famine of 1315-1317 because there was no sharp increase in the number of wills enrolled during this period. He supports this data with a qualitative argument concerning the nature of famine. He says that famine hurts those dependent largely on grains for survival. He continues his argument by citing the very high number of fishmongers and butchers who enrolled wills. From this he asserts that this class of people had an adequate supply of food quite independent of the grain shortage. This type of reasoning makes me a bit suspicious, especially since Miller and Hatcher discuss cattle disease during this period as well. Nevertheless, I credit Miskimin for creatively pushing the sources. Not all of his conclusions, by the way, are so hard to swallow. Because there is much important biographical data in the Husting wills, it seems appropriate to use the statistical information that this work provides even if the conclusions drawn from it are not accepted.

✓ Beaven, Alfred B. The Alderman of the City of London, temp. Henry III-1908. 2 vols. London, 1908, 1913.

✓ Veale, Elspeth M. "Craftsmen and the Economy of London in the 14th Century." In Studies in London History. eds. AEJ Hollaender and William Kellaway, 133-154. London, 1969.

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✓ Rappaport, Steve. Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

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✓ Medlycott, M T. "The City of London Freedom Registers" Genealogists' Magazine 19, 2 (1977).

London Population and Migration

Ekwall, Eilert. Studies on the Population of Medieval London. Stockholm: Lund, 1956.

Ekwall's primary purpose in this text is to establish how migration to London, revealed by locative surnames, affected the London dialect. Many scholars of demography, however, have used this text to establish migration patterns to London. The work is problematic because Ekwall, by virtue of his linguistic bias, presumed that the data he compiled did not lend itself to a quantitative methodology. ^{at least} Many have treated his data in just this manner. His text is a valuable tool because it pools together a mass of biographical data. The text functions like an index of sources for each person and place listed. For example, in my brief perusal of the text, I came across a number of names found in the apprenticeship list. Moreover, Ekwall lists other sources pertinent to the study of each individual. Therefore, his text will be an important asset to my study because of the cross referencing capabilities it offers. But McClure cautions against using this text too faithfully. For his criticisms, see below.

Russell, Josiah C. "Mediaeval Midland and Northern Migration to London, 1100-1350" Speculum 34 (1959): 641-645. Russell, in this brief article, attempts to quantify some of the data presented in Ekwall. He comes to some useful if general conclusions using this material and method. For example, from his comparison of migration rates between counties, he suggests that "migration was attracted to London: not forced toward it." Like Ekwall's study, Russell's conclusions must be carefully tempered with the criticisms offered by McClure.

Russell, Josiah C. British Medieval Population. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

Ekwall, Eilert. Two Early London Subsidy Rolls. Lund, 1951.

McClure, P. "Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Surnames" Economic History Review, 2nd ser, 32 (1979): 167-182.

This article presents a strange dilemma for my project which I will discuss before treating McClure's article directly. The study demonstrates that any attempt to delineate migration patterns is indeed a scholarly slippery slope. And yet this study and others reveal the great importance of migration for the history of London. Moreover, Hanawalt and others argue that most apprentices to London migrate from elsewhere in England, often quite distant. Therefore, given the great importance of migration to London in general and for apprentices in particular, can I neglect this aspect of apprenticeship in London? The answer would seem to be no. Therefore, the question is not whether to discuss migration, but how to discuss migration.

The crux of the problem with using locative surnames in this manner is the prevalence of ambiguous place-name references. That is to say that often a place

shopkeepers who maintain a group of workers beneath them. Second, the guilds tended to control other crafts. Third, their powers of monopoly tend to have a national character. Fourth, these powers of monopoly derived from royal authority as opposed to civic authority. Fifth, these guilds tended to have a strong fraternity connected with the gild. An example of this type of guild is the goldsmiths. The goldsmiths are a very old gild referred to as early as 1180 in the Pipe Rolls. They are connected with the fraternity at St. Dunstan, and in 1327, they received a royal charter which granted them in theory at least the right to search the wares of goldsmiths throughout England. The lesser misteries emulated the greater guilds throughout the fourteenth century in their quest for greater power in the civic government. Unwin's distinction between these two groups is important because it provides a good basis for understanding the status of various guilds as well as the apprentices in them.

watch verb forms - be consistent

Imray, Jean. "Les Bones Gentes De La Mercerye De Londres: A Study of The Membership of The Medieval Mercers' Company." In Studies in London History. eds. A E J Hollaender and William Kellaway, 155-178. London, 1969.

Imray analyzes the warden's account book of the Mercers' Company which survives for the years 1347, and 1391-1464. This analysis provides an excellent outline of the internal structure of the Mercers' Company. Much of Imray's discussion revolves around a detailed analysis of apprenticeship. Her observations concerning entry and issue fees, the predominance of apprenticeship for guild admission, and the fact that many apprentices do not become masters, are so important because they provide possibilities for comparison and contrast with the data from the Letter Books.

Burrage, M. C. and Corry, D. "At Sixes and Sevens: Occupational Status in the City of London from the 14th to the 17th Centuries" Amer Sociological Review 46 (1981): 375-393. Using orders of precedence, the authors attempt to reconstruct the relative occupational status of various guilds from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. They conclude that wealth is strongly related to order of precedence, antiquity is only related when accompanied with wealth, and political action can be a factor in order of precedence. Though much of their data pertains to guild developments well after the fourteenth century, their work makes an important contribution to my project. Specifically, when I organize my data, I want to examine whether or not their analysis of occupational status could be applied to the list of apprentices.

this is very general...

Lacey, K E. "Women and Work in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century London." In Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England, eds., L Charles and L Duffin, 24-82. London, 1985.

This work is similar in approach and scope to Barron's article above. Lacey traces the rights of women as expressed in common law, canon law, and borough customs. She argues that despite the legal limitations placed on women they participated in a larger variety of activities than might be expected. Among the many occupations that Lacey cites are: silkwomen, armourers, hucksters, barber-surgeons, and many other trades. Ultimately Lacey concludes that women had more economic freedom in practice than in theory.

the one differs from Barron on some points, esp. regarding London customary law

✓ Thrupp, Sylvia. The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500. Chicago, 1948.

? I've never seen this -
✓ does it cover
the medieval
period?

Dyer, C. The Guild of Freemen of the City of London: A Record of its Transformation and History. London, 1982.

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Gilds (General)

Cunningham, W. "The Formation and Decay of Craft Gilds" Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, new series, iii(1886): 372-392.

This well organized but outdated article is perhaps too simplistic an introduction to medieval craft guilds. In particular, his explanation of the relationship between craft guilds and publicly recognized authority is a bit too rosy. Moreover, Cunningham's treatment of apprentices is too basic to contribute significantly to my analysis.

Swanson, Heather. "The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns" Past and Present, 121 (November, 1988):29-48.

Swanson challenges the idea that craft guilds necessarily related to the economic structure of a town. She argues that municipal authorities adopted guild systems to enforce administrative policy, in particular, to control the urban work-force. On three grounds does Swanson argue that guild regulations distort our view of urban industry: much of the urban workforce operated outside of the guild system, there was no clear demarcation of work between guilds, and the role of apprenticeship has been wrongly emphasized. I am particularly concerned with her arguments relating to apprenticeship. She argues that women probably contributed to the training of children and apprentices alike. Furthermore, apprentices did not often realize their hopes of financial success. Swanson's challenges raise questions about the importance of apprenticeship which I take seriously. I will carefully consider her arguments and bear in mind her cautions when I analyze the apprenticeship data for London.

Thrupp, Sylvia L. "Medieval Guilds Reconsidered" Journal of Economic History, 2 (1942): 164-173. Thrupp reviews the gild scholarship of the early twentieth century to determine the importance of guilds in the history of economic development. She addresses issues such as the degree to which guilds were responsible for a decrease in urban industry. While she acknowledges evidence of guilds hindering economic development, Thrupp concedes that they helped to stabilize the medieval economy. Thrupp's article is an important contribution to the historiographical debate about the importance, influence, and interpretation of guilds. I see this work as a forerunner to the work of Swanson.

Harvey, John. Mediaeval Craftsmen. New York: Drake Publishers Inc., 1975.

Harvey emphasizes the actual physical process of craft in his discussion. Though he concentrates on the building trades, chapter three "training the craftsmen" raises questions relevant to the study of apprenticeship at large. Particularly striking is his insistence that apprentices received an education and were by and large literate. The education of apprentices is an important issue that I hope to address.

✓ Swanson, Heather. Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England. London: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

✓ Power, Eileen. "English Craft Guilds in the Middle Ages" History, 4 (1919-1920): 211-224.

✓ Thrupp, Sylvia. "The Guilds" LEH v. 3 (1963):230-280.

Gustafsson, BO. "The Rise and Economic Behavior of Medieval Craft Guilds" in Power and Economic Institutions. London: EDW Elgar, 1991.

Kramer, Stella. The English Craft Guilds: Studies in their Progress and Decline. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927.

Phythian-Adams, C. "Records of the Craft Guilds" Local Historian 9 (1971)

✓ Kowaleski, M. and J. M. Bennett. "Crafts, Guilds, and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K Dale" Signs 14 (1988-1989):475-501.

London Apprentices

Sharpe, R R. "Introduction." In Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book D, 1-XXIX. London: 1902. pp 7

Sharpe's introduction to this primary source is important for two reasons. First, he describes the nature of the source at which I will be looking most closely. Second, he provides some important background to provide a context for the source. Sharpe states that the main features of Letter Book D are: the record of admissions to the freedom and the binding and discharging of apprentices. Both are recorded for the years from 1309 to 1312. Sharpe then provides some of the important background necessary to understand the significance of the records. Unlike Williams who placed

these documents in a political context, Sharpe discusses them in their immediate economic context. For instance, he begins by stating the rights and duties which freedom conferred on London citizens. Free citizenship status permitted one legally to open a shop and to engage in retail trade. The freedom also exempted one from tolls imposed on others carting goods through the city. One of the duties was residency in the city. Sharpe also discusses economic restrictions placed upon apprentices. They were not to trade until sworn into the freedom after their service was completed. The seven year standard apprenticeship was also instituted although certainly apprenticeships of longer durations were not uncommon.

Hanawalt, Barbara. Growing Up in Medieval London. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Hanawalt clearly states her thesis in the beginning of her book: the Middle Ages did recognize childhood and adolescence as stages of life. The book is in general a response to Philippe Aries's Centuries of Childhood, in which he argues, based on art historical evidence and linguistic arguments, that the modern period invented the stages of childhood and adolescence as well as attitudes toward them. In challenging this theory Hanawalt makes the important assumption that life stages throughout human history were and are determined by a careful balance of nature and nurture. Therefore, she argues that biological necessity plays a very basic role in shaping childhood while in adolescence cultural variation takes on an increasingly important role. To this common sense approach, she brings an incredible amount of primary source material as well as pertinent scholarship in several fields. The format of the book creates the best condition for the synthesis of this great mass of knowledge. The chapters are arranged from birth to marriage (or other ceremony which marks the adolescent's passage to adulthood). Each chapter has a narrative section which tells an historically based story to reinforce the concepts presented in the chapter. Overall, this creative book makes a powerful rebuttal to Aries.

Hanawalt presents the entrance into apprenticeship as a radical beginning to adolescence and end to childhood. This change was marked not only by ceremonies but also by the separation from parents. The end of apprenticeship led the way to adulthood either through marriage or admission to the freedom of the city with all of the economic benefit that it brought. Within this broad framework for discussing apprentices, Hanawalt discusses every aspect of London apprenticeship including migration, social life, responsibilities, relationships with masters, and criminal activities. She is also careful to emphasize the differences between male and female apprenticeship. This book is a fundamental text for my paper. Of particular interest are her analyses of both the apprenticeship records 1309-1312 and the Husting wills. Her statistics will be useful for my study as will her anecdotal arguments.

Rappaport, S. "Reconsidering Apprenticeship in sixteenth-century London." In Renaissance Society and Culture, eds., J Monfasani and R G Musto, 239-261. New York: Italica Press, 1991.

Smith, Steven R. "The Ideal and Reality: Apprentice-Master Relationships in Seventeenth Century London" History of Education Quarterly, (winter, 1981):449-459.

As Smith's title implies, he delineates ideal and real apprentice-master

does she duplicate what you hope to do?



relationships as they were expressed in literary and personal accounts. Smith's psychological approach emphasizes the similarity between the apprentice-master relationship and parent-child relationship. He argues that apprentices often did not adapt well to their new family arrangements. Because of this psychological strain, apprentices often ran away, rioted, or vented frustrations in annual rituals like the Shrove Tuesday ritual. To some extent, Smith envisions London apprentices as members of a rebellious subculture learning and waiting to assume their adult responsibilities.

Smith's anecdotal observations complement the more statistical data presented for earlier apprentices. There is certainly evidence of master-apprentice tension found in court cases from the early fourteenth century. As much as the evidence will allow therefore, I want to compare Smith's analysis of early modern apprentices with the record of apprentices found in fourteenth-century London.

Smith, Steven R. "The London Apprentices as Seventeenth Century Adolescents" Past and Present, 61 (November, 1973): 149-161.

Smith, Steven R. "Almost Revolutionaries: London Apprentices During the Civil Wars" Huntington Library Quarterly, v. 42 4 (Autumn, 1979): 313-328.

Smith, Steven R. "The Social and Geographical origins of the London Apprentices 1630-1660" Guildhall Miscellany 4 (1973).

Schwarz, Leonard. "London Apprentices in the Seventeenth Century: some problems" Local Population Studies 38 (1987): 18-22.

Apprentices (general)

Yarbrough, A. "Apprentices as Adolescents in Sixteenth Century Bristol" Journal of Social History, 13/1 (1979): 67-81.

Yarbrough interprets apprenticeship in the light of developmental psychology. She argues that apprenticeship was one way for adolescents to find their place in adult society. Most interesting is her assertion that apprentices learned not only a trade but also the role of a citizen through guild associations and the ceremonial life in the town. She stresses that the education of apprentices did not remove adolescents from adult society as modern practice does but rather integrated them into adult culture. In essence, Yarbrough delineates the difference between modern and early modern responses to adolescents.

Yarbrough's argument that apprenticeship aimed to educate citizens interests me. As with Smith's article, I want to test this idea to see if it applies to the fourteenth-century London apprentices.

Patten, J. "Freemen and Apprentices" Local Historian 9 (1971).

Golland, J. "'Compell'd to Weep' the apprenticeship system" Genealogists' Magazine 23 (1989): 121-127.

Yarbrough, A. "Geographical and Social Origins of Bristol Apprentices 1542-1564"

Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc. Trans. 98 (1980): 131-134.

Vanes, Jean. Education and Apprenticeship in Sixteenth Century Bristol.
Bristol: Bristol Branch of Hist. Assoc., 1982. LA 639 .b7 v35 1982.

Ben-Amos, I. K. "Women Apprentices in the trade and crafts of early modern
Bristol" Continuity and Change 6 (1991): 227-252.

In this article, Ben-Amos demonstrates the degree to which female apprenticeship differed from that of males. She argues that though women did take formal apprenticeships, they more often were trained informally as home-based industries demanded. Despite the fact that apprenticeships for females were limited, Ben-Amos argues that the broad range of trades practiced by female masters indicates that informal training was fairly common in many trades. Though much of Ben-Amos's evidence has little application in London, her general arguments are consistent with those of other writers who address London specifically. There is some evidence for female masters and apprentices in the apprenticeship records. Ben-Amos's general conclusions will be valuable for the interpretation of these entries.

with capitalization of titles!

by law?
by custom?
by accident?

MacKay, Charles, ed. A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the London Prentices and Trades. Percy Society, v. 1 (1841).

Carr, Harry. "Apprenticeship in England and Scotland up to 1700"
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Dunlop, Olive Jocelyn. "Some Aspects of Early English Apprenticeship"
Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 3rd. series, 5 (1911):193-208.

Dunlop, O J. and R D Denman. English Apprenticeship and Child Labour. A History
1912.

Related Urban Studies

Romano, Dennis. "Borough Regulations of Economic and Social Activity in Late Medieval England" Rice University Studies, LXII (1976): 89-98. AP 2 R54.

✓ Patten, J. "Urban Occupations in Pre-industrial England" Inst. Brit. Geographers Trans
new series II, 2 (1977): 296-313.

Corfield, Penelope J. and Derek J. Keene, eds. Work In Towns, 850-1850.
Institute of the University of London, 1990.

Pound, J. "The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575" Past and Present,
34 (1966): 49-69. D 1 P3.

Goldberg, PJP. "Urban Identity and the Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, 1381" EHR
43:2(1990):194-216.

Fransson, Gustav. Middle English surnames of occupation 1100-1350.

- your description is good on methodology - how your project can address some major issues, but it isn't as effective in pointing to the importance & significance of the project - your 'factually-oriented' first paragraphs don't do much to stir excitement...

- categories & primary sources are fine

- annotations are good although not always as analytic & insightful as they could be

[- watch verb forms & be consistent also, capitalizing words in titles...]

A-