A STUDY OF THE CRAFT GUILDS OF THE EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGES
AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO INDUSTRIAL ARTS EDUCATION

APPROVED:

S. A. Blackburn
Major Professor

Minor Professor

S. A. Blackburn
Director of the Department of
Industrial Arts

Dean of the Graduate School
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Joseph Leonard Lewis, B. S.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In order to understand the position of industrial arts in the educational system today an attempt is made in this study to trace the contributions of the craft guilds of the Middle Ages to the present day industrial arts program. The craft guilds of the Middle Ages were a form of social structure which served to advance knowledge in that age, and at no period have there been so many workers who were clever masters of technique, whose works raised labor to the level of an art. These craft guilds were the repositories of handicraft lore and were the sole agencies by which that knowledge was transmitted and preserved. That the guilds occupied a prominent position in the social structure of the Middle Ages is readily discernible; however, their labor was classed as "servile." The place of honor was reserved for the professions, which were classed as "liberal," these being distinguished by the fact that brain work and reason were awarded precedence above labor and matter. However, the craft guilds of the Middle Ages played an important role in the development for which those centuries are noted.
Eby and Arrowood, commenting upon the cultural flowering of the Middle Ages, say:

University scholarship in the Middle Ages employed logic so nearly to the exclusion of other instruments of learning that it is easy to forget that knowledge was advanced in the age by other means, too. The basis of the advance was furnished by careful study of the seven liberal arts. Observation, the manipulation of material objects in connection with industry, the practice of the fine arts, and the firsthand experience which comes by way of dealing with men in war, political administration, commerce, and the management of estates were sources of much of the knowledge added to the world's store by the Middle Ages. These certainly were the means by which the European Middle Ages developed a competence in handicrafts and in political administration which have been among the most important factors in giving this part of the world a dominating position from the sixteenth century until the present.¹

Purpose of the Problem

This study is intended to be of practical value to the teacher as well as to the student of industrial arts by tracing the development of the craft guilds and their part in the transmission of knowledge and skill. A study of the guilds as an educative agency during the Middle Ages should also disclose the factors which establish the effective values of work in the field of industrial arts.

Limitations of the Problem

This study will be limited to a study of the craft guilds of the European Middle Ages and their contribution to the advancement of industrial arts education as it is today.

Definition of Terms

The term "Middle Ages" is the name applied to the span of time between the fifth and the early sixteenth centuries. This period is generally divided into three parts: The Early Middle Ages (c.500-c.1050), The High Middle Ages (c.1050-c.1270), and the Later Middle Ages (c.1270-c.1517). The dates of these divisions of the Middle Ages are only approximate, and are not meant to be rigidly fixed, but since these divisions cover the period of time between the origins of the feudal and manorial systems of the eighth and ninth centuries and the Renaissance which saw the decay of the institutions of the Middle Ages, they will be used to further define the term Middle Ages.

"Craft guilds" is the name applied to those associations of workmen which were organized during the Middle Ages for the purpose of regulating the exercise of their trade and the social welfare of their members through common action.

"Industrial arts education" is defined by John F. Friese as

... a widely varied group of creative real-life experiences associated with trades, industries and handicrafts, presented so as to develop manipulative skills, knowledge and appreciations representative of and interpreting modern American industrial life including workers and problems.


\(^3\)John F. Friese, "Functional Industrial Arts in Modern Education," *Education*, LXIX (April, 1949), 469.
The foregoing definition of industrial arts education will be used in this study.

Sources of Data

The data used in this study were obtained from books dealing with the history of the guilds, from histories of the Middle Ages, from recent magazine and newspaper articles, and from unpublished Master's theses.

Proposed Treatment of Data

Because so many of the original documents are available only in museums, foreign libraries, and other inaccessible depositories, and for that reason are not readily attainable for this study, much reliance has necessarily had to be placed on secondary source materials. It is planned to salvage from these available materials whatever methods of the craft guilds which may be of value to the present day industrial arts program. Therefore, this study will portray the guilds as they were in the time of their greatest prosperity and power.

Related Studies

Many of the available studies on the craft guilds of the Middle Ages are primarily economic and social interpretations of the guild system as it existed in the Middle Ages. While these sources contain certain information about guild structure and the training of apprentices, they are
not directly related to the problem under consideration. The differences which separate the industrial life of the present from that of the past are complex, but by studying the guild movement it may be easier to understand the influences, if any, that have affected present day industrial arts education.
CHAPTER II

ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF CRAFT GUILDS

Origin of the Guilds

There are many theories which attempt to explain the origin of the guilds of the Middle Ages, and according to Renard\(^1\) these theories may be classed into two general groups. The first group consists of those theories which claim that the guilds were a product of the past and evolved from older institutions. The second group includes those theories which claim that the guilds had no connection with the past, that they were the result of a great associative movement which prevailed during the High Middle Ages and came into being in order to cope with problems which were peculiar to that age.

If the guilds were the persistence of earlier institutions, what were these institutions?

Some say that, more particularly in the south of France, they were of Roman and Byzantine origin, and were derived from those collegia of the poorer classes (temulorum) which, in the last centuries of the Empire, chiefly concerned themselves with the provision of funerals; or, again, from the scholae, official and compulsory groups, which, keeping the name of the hall in which their councils assembled, prolonged their existence till about the year 1000. According to

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\(^1\)G. Renard, *Guilds in the Middle Ages*, p. 1.
others they were, particularly in the north, of Germanic origin, and were derived from associations resembling artificial families, the members of which mingled their blood and exchanged vows to help each other under certain definite circumstances; or again, they may have descended in a straight line from the ministeriales, the feudal servitors who, in every royal or feudal domain of any extent, were grouped according to their trade. . . . According to others again, the Church, that great international association, had, by the example of its monastic orders and religious brotherhoods, given the laity lessons of which they were not slow to take advantage. ²

According to those theories which claim that the guilds were separate creations having no connection with the past, the guilds were the product of a social and economic environment which had not existed before and in which the guilds could live and develop. However, there is some truth in each of these opposing theories. It is likely that the ideas of trade associations, existing before the eleventh and twelfth centuries in royal, feudal, and ecclesiastical domains, had not totally disappeared.

It may then be concluded that there was, if not a definite persistence of that which had already existed, at least a survival out of the wreckage, or a development of germs, which, thanks to the surrounding conditions, underwent a complete metamorphosis. ³

The rise of the guild system throughout western Europe and in England was precipitated by the revival of trade and the rise of cities. The First Crusade, at the end of the eleventh century, completed the opening of the Mediterranean to European traders, and by the end of the twelfth century well-established trade routes reached to all parts of the

²Ibid., pp. 1-2. ³Ibid., p. 4.
Christian world. The itinerant merchants formed permanent bases of operation near fortified places which were so situated as to be favorable to trade and whose walls offered protection in time of danger. These congregations of merchants and craftsmen were originally under the jurisdiction of the lord whose protection they sought, and they were often encouraged by the feudal count or bishop to organize, for it was to the advantage of both parties that the merchants and craftsmen be a collective body in business dealings. The jurisdiction of the lords demanded many services and frequently restricted trade. Gradually the townspeople secured greater freedom, either by struggle or by a charter obtained by peaceful means. Only a few cities acquired full independence but in the majority of instances the efforts of organized free men gained enough independence to carry on trade and regulate their own economic life.

The resulting growth of an urban middle class eventually destroyed the old feudal society which was based on hereditary land tenure, and created in its place a society based on wealth. The members of the new middle class made an independent living by trade and industry and banded together for mutual protection in more or less self-governing associations. These guilds were introduced simultaneously with the development of cities in Europe and England, and they
are mentioned in the earliest charters of cities. Many factors affected the growth of towns and cities.

... racial differences for example, renewed invasions from without, the bodily presence of the papacy, a great variety of circumstance and situation. ... 5

However, in spite of the divergence of causes, there seemed to be a unity of economic organization throughout all the countries of Europe in the Middle Ages. 6

Merchant and Craft Guilds

The merchant guilds appeared as the first organizations for the control and protection of those who made their living by selling goods and included in the early days the artisans who made the goods and sold them directly to the consumer. It was often difficult to distinguish between the guild and the city government, since the same men served as city and guild officers. However, the city government always had wider powers, since the guilds administered only the economic side of life and exercised various monopolies over trade. Gradually the power of the merchant guilds began to decline as the advance toward rights of self-government led to more powerful city administrations and as industry became more specialized. In general it seems that the monopolies and privileges of the merchant guilds were divided among the

6 Renard, op. cit., p. 4.
groups of artisans who organized the craft guilds. "The later guilds seem to have grown up in response to the needs of handicraft much as the guild merchant had grown up to regulate trade, though trading corporations also were eventually drawn into the craft guild form of organization."

The free craft guilds arose first among the most important of the handicraft class, their membership being made up of free craftsmen who in earlier times belonged to the body of full citizens. When the bonded craftsmen were liberated from their feudal masters, they added to the number of free craft guilds in existence. Thus, by the end of the thirteenth century the free craft guilds became numerous, and in each town they gradually obtained a monopoly over the exercise of their trade. In general, the period of time of the origin of craft guilds extends from the beginning of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Nature and Methods of the Craft Guilds

Political.--The guilds of free craftsmen which arose out of the remains of the merchant guilds were often put under obligation to the civil authorities. In exchange for the privileges they obtained for the greater independence of labor and trade they were frequently required to pay certain fixed taxes, and in proportion to the degree of

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independence, these taxes were greater or smaller. In order to maintain their independence against the powers which tended to reduce free craftsmen to the status of the unfree, the organizations of free craftsmen carried on a continual struggle until they obtained the mastery of all workmen engaged in the trade. This was generally accomplished by a confirmation of their ordinance that every person carrying on the trade within the town or district should belong to the guild. 9 In return for this confirmation the guild had to pay special taxes to the king or to the city administration. At this time the guilds were not, as they were later, concerned with a monopoly of the trade for economic reasons. On the contrary, every person who qualified was permitted to carry on the trade, if only he submitted himself to the regulations of the organization which was created to control the trade. As a member of the guild the workman could vote on matters of trade concern and could exercise his influence on guild decisions. Also, the yearly dues paid by the members increased the wealth of the guild, and this may explain why they wished to draw into their society all the men of their trade so that the increased contributions would aid in paying for the special privileges which the guild enjoyed and also to help to provide for the temporal and external welfare of their members.

9Ibid., p. cxix.
The privileges enjoyed by the guilds and the jurisdiction they exercised over the practice of their respective trades often caused contention between them and the citizens of the town. The citizens were jealous of this jurisdiction which had grown up in their midst and had interrupted their undivided sway in political matters. In England the Norman kings made the most of these clashing interests and often put up for auction the confirmation or suppression of the guilds.\textsuperscript{10} Thus the guilds bought with money their privileges, or had to prove in the courts of justice the legality of their ordinances. In these struggles for trade independence the guilds served as centers for social and political propaganda, and they were the channels by which the new middle class were drawn into the field of political activity. The internal affairs of the guilds provided excellent opportunities for their members to learn of self-government and administrative processes and to participate in freely debating questions of policy.

In its main aspect the gild may be regarded as the main instrument in the formation of that series of middle classes by whose efforts the principle of self-government was first realized in the narrow sphere of civic life and thence transplanted to the wider sphere of national state.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., p. cxx.

As generators of political force and organs of change, the guilds did not necessarily form political constitutional forms, but

In those days the guilds were units for elections, for the militia, and for taxation; they judged their dependents without appeal; they expelled, or reduced to the rank of passive citizens, those who were not inscribed on their registers; they decided questions of taxation, peace, and war, and directed the policy of their town, whose internal and even external history is essentially one of their own.\textsuperscript{12}

The guilds maintained their positions of supremacy in the towns until the natural transference of political power shifted the control of trade to the municipal magistrates and eventually to the State due to the rise of capitalistic industry after the sixteenth century.

\textbf{Social and moral.}--The craft guilds of the Middle Ages connected with the pursuit of their political and industrial aims certain religious duties and good deeds. These social aims were of less importance than the primary aim of regulating trade, but they found expression in the guild constitution and formed an important element which was common to all guilds. The earliest guilds were artificial family unions which took the place of the natural family compact and they provided for the wants of their members as far as the state failed to do so. The craft guilds which arose later did not have their origin in direct imitation of the family, but arose to meet the divergent needs of free

\textsuperscript{12} Renard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 57.
craftsmen. However, in spite of the different aims expressed by the craft guild, the basis upon which it and all other guilds rested was the same. All were unions between men who were held together by a feeling of solidarity and were guided by the spirit of the family union. Thus, the object of the craft guild was to grant to its members that assistance which the member of a family might expect from that family.

The craftsman found in his craft guild security in times of trouble, monetary help in times of poverty, and medical help in case of illness.

The same brotherly spirit gave rise also to laws forbidding insults and ill-usage among Gild-brothers; to the prohibition to appear before a court of justice for disputes about debts and other matters, unless every transaction had first been examined by the Gild-wardens, and every compromise proved impossible; and also a series of other rules referring to their domestic conduct among each other, and the prevention of unneighborly tricks. 13

There seems to have been an anticipation of the more modern democratic concept that freedom cannot be legislated but must be realized by voluntary and active participation on the part of those who seek to maintain freedom. The great mass of artisans who formed the organized bodies of industry in the Middle Ages found in their guild a stronghold of freedom and well-being. Their well regulated activities and disciplined association preserved them from the despotism of the old feudal powers and exploiters of labor.

13 Smith, Smith and Brentano, op. cit., p. cxxxii.
Compared to the feudal artisan, the moral condition of the workman had greatly improved. Artisans were conscious of their individuality and of their value as workmen, and dignity was added to labor. The workers possessed a spirit of brotherhood and charity and were moved by a belief in the values of honesty and harmony. For the first time in ages labor took a leading place in society and made its power recognized. The crafts took their place in the pomp of public ceremonies with their dignitaries clad in brilliant liveries and the banners of their trade prominently displayed.

Besides being brotherhoods for the care of the temporal and social welfare of their members the craft guilds were at the same time religious fraternities. In this respect the craft guilds of all countries were alike. All had particular saints for patrons and where it was possible they chose one who had some relation to their trade. The guild founded masses, altars, and performed special services for the church. When a member of the guild died, shops were closed, everyone attended his funeral, and masses were said for his soul. The guilds which are mentioned in Anglo-Saxon records were clearly fraternities of purely social and religious import.\(^{14}\) These guilds survived the Norman conquest and were one means by which the craft guilds came into existence, since it was a natural tendency for members of the same trade to join the same guild. Thus, in some cases the religious

fraternity was affiliated with the craft guild, and in other instances it coincided, the masters and journeymen forming its membership. The strength gained by such a union under the common bond of an oath to obey the same statutes and the same officers, and the advantage of the sanction of the Church increased the influence of the craft guild and strengthened the ties of unity among its members.

The religious element in the guilds saw the development of the custom of going in procession to the chief church of the town on feast days. This custom developed until in the fifteenth century each guild strove to outshine the other in pageantry and in the presentation of miracle plays. The expenses for the miracle plays were borne by all members of the trade, and smaller guilds united for the support of a common pageant.

An account of a pageant at Norwich about 1450 is interesting as showing the numbers of these lesser crafts, and the way in which they were combined. Twelve pageants were presented: (1) The Creation of the World, by the mercers, drapers, and haberdashers. (2) Paradise, by the grocers and raffemen. (3) "Helle Carte," by the glaziers, stainers, scribeners, parchemymers, the carpenters, gravers, colermakers, and wheelwrights. . . . 15

In all, sixty-three crafts are listed along with the particular pageant which they supported and presented. This participation in religious pageantry seems to have been a common practice for the craft guilds of all countries. The regulations as to the payment of Gild chaplains, as to common

15Ibid., p. 238.
prayers, as well as to common feasts, were equally general, and in all countries fines were assessed guild members who behaved unseemly or offended fellow members, or infringed upon the ordinances which were established for the maintenance of peace and security of workmen. "In this respect the Craft-Gilds of all countries are alike; and in reading their statutes, one might fancy sometimes that the old craftsmen cared only for the well-being of their souls."

Economic.--The craft guilds had extensive powers for the regulation of their trade, for it was realized that good business was dependent upon good reputation. In order to secure economic stability for the craftsman and to protect the consumer against shoddy goods, the guilds included in their statutes directions and prohibitions with reference to the materials and methods used to produce a finished product. The masters and wardens of the guilds were empowered to search out and punish those who defied guild authority. For example, it was forbidden to mix inferior materials with a better grade, or to sell old goods as new. The masters and wardens had the right to seize any goods found to be defective, and the craftsman had to forfeit the bad goods. The ordinances of the Gild of the Cordwainers of Exeter, England, confirmed in 1431, state:

... and all other ware perteynyng to the saide crafts, made and unmade, whiche is desceyteously wrought, as in

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16 Smith, Smith and Brentano, *op. cit.*, p. cxxxiii.
tanyng, Coryng, cuttyng, or sowyng, or in any other wyse made, where-thurgh the kynges lege peopell scholde be discevyd; that then suche ware, so founde defectyf, to be by the saide Maister and Wardenz forfeit and seased; and that to be preyseyd lawfully in the Yelde-hall of the saide cite;—half of the same to be to the behought of the saide cite, and the other halfe to the behought of the saide fraternyt.

From his study of ancient records, Salzmann states:

In 1320 we find eighty pairs of shoes seized from twenty different persons, thirty-one pairs being taken from Roger Brown of Norwich, and forfeited for being made of bazan and cordwain mixed. Fifty years later, in 1375, a heavy fine was ordained for any one selling shoes of bazan as being cordwain, and a similiar ordnance was in force at Bristol in 1408.

"Bazan" was an inferior leather made from sheepskin, being approximately one-fourth the value of "cordwain" or genuine cordovan leather imported from Spain. The cordwainers, who derived their name from having originally been workers of cordovan leather, were in practice the makers of shoes. They were further classified by the kinds of leather which they used in making shoes, and to prevent any fraud, or confusion to the purchaser of shoes, the different classes of shoemakers were to occupy separate positions in the fairs and markets, since a seal stamped on the leather by the searchers might be "pared away, washed out, or made indistinct by dying before the leather reached the consumer."

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17 Ibid., p. 332.
18 Salzmann, op. cit., p. 131. 19 Ibid., p. 179.
The guild took pride in letting nothing leave its shops but products which were perfect of their kind. It examined and stamped every article and required that it should bear a special trade mark stating where it was made and its just price.

In Florence jewellers might not use sham stones, even if they declared them to be such; in Paris it was forbidden to make glass jewels in imitation of real stones, or to put a leaf of metal under an emerald to give it an artificial brilliance; plated and lined goods were not allowed, as they might be mistaken for solid gold or silver. Once when a goldsmith had made a bowl of this kind, it was decided, after deliberation, to sell it secretly, and he was cautioned never to make another. 20

To insure the good quality of their wares the guild statutes ordained that night work should be prohibited. The time of working was from the "beginning of day until curfew." 21 The grounds for this regulation may have been for the well-being of the guild brothers since it was desired to give them leisure for fulfilling their domestic and political duties. Night work was apt to be secret work and badly executed work, and it may have been prohibited also to protect the collective body from being forced to over-exertions by the competition of a few who were to anxious for economic gain. 22

20 Renard, op. cit., p. 34.
22 Smith, Smith and Brentano, op. cit., p. cxxx.
There were also other measures to prevent ruinous competition among guild-brothers, as contrary to the spirit of brotherhood. The regulation of prices under the jurisdiction of town authorities was common; it was forbidden to work for a customer who was still indebted to a guild-brother; no member was to work with non-members; and the supply of raw material was to be shared equally. The by-laws of the Gild of the Joiners and Carpenters of Worcester ordained in 1692 state:

Item, It Is Ordered That if any ffreeman of the said Company shall buy any parcell of Timber or Boards that come to the said City of Worcester to be Sold, and fitt for the said Crafts or either of them, That Then it Shall be lawfull for every ffreeman of the said Company to have a Share therein, not exceeding the Third part thereof, Upon request, and paying reading money for the Same, after the rate of the said Timber and Boards were brought. And whosoever of the said Company refuseth to Share or divide Such Timber or Boards bought within the said City, Contrary to the Intent of this Article, Shall forfeit, for every Such Refusall, Twenty Shillings, to be paid to the said Master of the said Company for the time being, for the use of the said Company.\(^{23}\)

In general, the civic authorities left the guilds in control of the internal affairs of their crafts, although a firm hand was kept on the guild to protect the interests of the consumer. The rules drawn up by the crafts were legal only if accepted by the town council. The local authorities took constant measures to prevent the artificial enhancement of goods by forbidding partnerships between allied trades.

\(^{23}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 210.}\)
Although the control of industries by municipal laws may be classed as external, and control by guild regulations as internal, "no hard and fast line can really be drawn between the two." The guilds recognized the importance to their interests of maintaining a high standard of workmanship, and cooperated with very little friction with the municipal authorities to that end. Thus, in some instances when the guilds found it economically favorable to combine their allied crafts under a single control they were forbidden to do so by city authorities because it was realized that the guilds would be able to manipulate supplies and keep prices high.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century the trend was towards effecting a rigid division of the various crafts. In England, in 1363, an Act of Parliament ordained that all artificers and men of crafts should join the craft of his choice, and those who trespassed or infringed upon the work of other crafts were to be fined and imprisoned. The case against allowing any workers of allied trades, such as woodworkers or ironworkers, to amalgamate their interests under a common leadership was favored by the townsmen. If the crafts worked together too harmoniously, the blame for defective workmanship could not be definitely established as

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24 Salzmann, op. cit., p. 206.
25 Ibid., p. 209.
26 Leon C. Marshall, editor, Readings in Industrial Society, p. 34.
being the fault of any particular guild that might have furnished the material for or processed a part of the finished article. It was in this way that the municipal and state authorities recognized the efficacy of guild control, and the guilds, still primarily interested in corporate independence, cooperated with the local authorities in maintaining a high standard of workmanship in their respective organizations.

Capital played a small part in craft guild economy. In order to set up a business the master-artisan needed only to rent a shop and buy the necessary tools. In some crafts the raw materials were furnished by the customers and finished articles were given back for the customers' own use. In others, the craftsman received partly finished goods and further processed them. In many crafts, the workman bought his own raw materials and sold the goods to such customers as presented themselves, combining the functions of producer and trader. Most of the articles made were called for by necessity and the demand for wares was fairly stable.27 Wants were comparatively few and unchanging and these were supplied by the local craftsmen. None of the social difficulties which now cause fluctuations in demand had yet appeared. They appeared only when production became much greater and a wide and changing market opened. Skill

27 Ibid., p. 32.
and connection, the ability to produce good wares, and the steady demand of a small group of customers were the most important factors of the craft guild economy. This element of technical skill remained until modern machinery and great industry reduced it to a background position.

As to wages, the medieval economist accepted the theory that all men engaged in a particular branch of trade should receive equal payment, with the condition that better and more skilled workmen would obtain more employment. There were grades in each profession, such as master, journeyman, and apprentice, but within each grade the rate of payment was fixed. There were instances where the workmen might ask and receive more pay where the work was of an exceptional nature, such as the making of church carvings.\textsuperscript{28} The wages received by workmen in any particular town or district were fixed according to a scale agreed upon by the guilds and the municipal authorities, but wages varied in different localities. "Comparisons have been made, and it has been concluded that a workman earned more in Flanders than in Paris, more in Paris than in the provinces."\textsuperscript{29}

The Black Death, which swept away much of the population of Europe and England in 1348, gave rise to a series of statutes regulating the hours and wages of the laboring

\textsuperscript{28}Salzmann, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 211.

\textsuperscript{29}Renard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 17.
classes. One immediate result of the Black Death was the difficulty of getting workmen and there was consequently a tendency for the workers to demand more for their goods and services. A statute of 1351, issued during the reign of Edward III of England, insisted on the workers' accepting reasonable prices and no more wages than they had received in the "common years." In France, in 1350, an ordinance dealing with matters of trade and industry was issued to deal with the groups of artisans who at the time were insisting upon "monopoly rates for all work done by craftsmen." These regulations of the Middle Ages were the expression of the general policy of that time which sought to protect the weak from the strong and to condemn any practice which took advantage of the temporary distress of a group of people as usurious. Likewise, in the ordinances of the craft guilds agreed upon after the plague, the rule is found restricting wages to not "more than they were wont heretofore." The masters of the guild forbid the journeyman to work on his own account or claim larger wages than the established rate. The rich were punished for paying higher wages to workers, thereby preventing poorer men from hiring much needed help. This policy was more moral than economic but it protected the workman against employers who

30 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 334.
31 Ibid., p. 333.
32 Smith, Smith and Brentano, op. cit., p. cxiili.
might have exploited them, and in addition the adjustment of wages by guild and municipal authorities forestalled the era of competitive wages by refusing to regard competition among workmen as a satisfactory means for determining wages.

The price of labor varied much in different crafts at different times, but in terms of buying power of money at any given time the workman of the Middle Ages seems to have occupied a fairly high economic status.

On the whole then, in spite of the varying conditions of the Middle Ages, it is not too much to say that, materially, the position of the journeyman was at least equal, if not superior, to that of the workman of today. It was also better morally. He sometimes assisted in the drawing up and execution of the laws of the community; he was his master's companion in ideas, beliefs, education, tastes.33

Industry in the Middle Ages was carried on under a system of enterprise which was both public and private. The unit of production was the workshop of the individual craftsman who held his position by virtue of full membership in his craft guild. He was not free to adopt any methods of production or any scale of production he might choose, being subject to elaborate regulations which had the object of safeguarding the independence, equality and prosperity of the craftsman. These clearly defined codes of rules aimed also at keeping the way of promotion free for workers who wished to rise from apprentice to master according to the well regulated methods of training which the guild advocated.

33 Renard, op. cit., p. 17.
The guild was internally a self-regulating unit which controlled trade and labor and it occupied a recognized status in the community based on the performance of certain communal functions. It had relations with other guilds, with the municipal authorities of the town in which it was situated, and to a certain extent the guilds influenced the growth of the national state within whose area they developed. The guilds were powerful as generators of social force and were instrumental in the formation of a new middle class of merchants and artisans who raised themselves step by step in the space of three centuries from the condition of slaves to the rank of free subjects.
CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN THE CRAFT GUILDS
OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Schools in the Early Middle Ages

Education during the early Middle Ages was largely in control of the Church. At the beginning of the seventh century the Church stood as the only organized educative force amid the ruins left by the invasions of Germanic tribes which had destroyed Roman culture. The only scholarship, as such, was that needed by the Church to provide for and maintain its government and worship, and the strongest evidences of civilization were found within the protecting walls of a monastery or church. By the tenth century the monasteries had developed schools for those who intended to take monastic vows, and also provided schooling for those not so intended.¹ Similar schools developed in convents and, in general, the curriculum consisted of reading, writing, simple reckoning, religion, and conduct. In the cathedrals and larger churches, where music formed an important part of worship services, chantry schools developed to train boys for choir duties, and as these song schools developed the monastic schools were

¹E. P. Cubberly, History of Education, p. 150.
freed from the necessity of teaching reading and writing. The monastic schools were then able to develop more advanced instruction and these schools formed what might be called the secondary school system of the early Middle Ages.\(^2\) Out of this impetus given to advanced study by the more important of these cathedral and monastic schools the universities of the thirteenth century appeared as features of organized higher education.\(^3\)

The basis of education in the early Middle Ages consisted of the seven liberal arts. Three of these, grammar, rhetoric, and logic were grouped as the Trivium; the remaining four, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, made up the Quadrivium. This slender curriculum was much enlarged by the revival of learning in the twelfth century when a flowering of medieval culture took place. The generations of steady and sound growth of scholarship and educational institutions before the twelfth century had been fostered by the Church, and the medieval flowering of culture expressed itself along institutional patterns and drew strength from them.\(^4\) A movement for association characterized the development of such institutions as the universities, the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and, on the other hand,

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 155.


the guilds of merchants and craftsmen who regulated commerce and industry from the twelfth century onward. Parallel with these new forms went a new spirit. Because of the economic revival a capitalistic spirit was engendered, and there arose in the towns, whose situation and location offered the greatest reward for effort, "a tireless activity, a dignified enterprise, a daring venturesomeness, and a capacity for the almost unlimited use of material goods in display as well as in traffic."\(^5\)

The literary and intellectual aspects of twelfth century cultural flowering were international in character and centers of scholarship were scattered. Scholarship, therefore, did not reach directly to all the people. However, as towns won a considerable measure of wealth and independence, political and social power was no longer the monopoly of the nobles and clergy. The fact that the clerical schools taught grammar, and sometimes at least one other "liberal art," gave to their instruction a value for others than clergymen. "This lay character became more evident as time passed; when the grammar school proved unable to meet the local demand a guild established one, or a school was added to an almshouse or attached to a chantry, either by express foundation or as a useful custom."\(^6\) The new town classes, including


\(^6\) Adamson, op. cit., p. 257.
merchants and artisans organized into guilds, demanded for themselves educational opportunities equal to their needs. The commercial need was dominant at this time, and the making of records for business was considered more important than the reading of literature.

... every parent wanted his boys to learn to write in order to become independent of the clergy, to get on more successfully in the world, and to participate in the higher culture. Hitherto when letters or legal documents were to be written, contracts made, minutes or proceedings and transactions recorded, bills and accounts rendered, a priest or cleric had to be called upon to perform the task. 7

As a result of literacy being confined to the clergy, business and other affairs were greatly hampered. To meet the broad demand for the tools of learning, an expansion of school facilities took place, eventually becoming state-controlled institutions, instead of church accessories. Changed tastes and standards, influenced by the revival of commerce and the development of a powerful "burger" class in the towns, greatly affected the balance between classes. In spite of conflicting class interests there was a balance between freedom and authority, between attachment to local scenes and sensitivity to influences from the past and from abroad. As a result the conditions of human affairs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were favorable to creative work.

7 Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., pp. 317-318.
Development of Arts and Crafts

The fundamental feature of this period was the great developments in arts and crafts, for where the intellectual aspect of the cultural revival affected only a few people directly, there was an increased growth of craftsmanship and industry which took root directly among the people.

In the handicrafts most nearly allied to the arts, the Thirteenth Century reigns supreme with a splendor unapproached by what has been accomplished in any other century. The iron work of their gates and railings, even of their hinges and latches and locks, has been admired and imitated by many generations since. 8

Each medieval town, in the course of building cathedrals, public buildings and various other edifices, had to develop its artist-artisans for itself. Thirteenth century people did not think of such learning in terms of "technical schools," but it is evident that they were able to develop artistic handicraftsmen.

From the earliest times work in the industrial arts had always been considered an important educative function. Labor was a fetish among the early Christian monks and manual labor was required by monastic orders who considered indolence an enemy of the soul. The monasteries were especially serviceable in the protection they afforded the more artistic crafts.

In them the art of copying and illuminating manuscripts was brought to the highest pitch of excellence. The arts of the goldsmith and silversmith were pursued with success. The "curious pynne" worn by the pleasure-

loving monk of Chaucer's Prologue was a specimen of his own workmanship. 9

Records of the sixth and seventh centuries give no evidence of the existence of any deliberate industrial training outside of the monasteries. However, the period of the decline of monasteries as centers of learning in industrial arts also saw the rise of the town system of economy and the guilds of handicraftsmen. Under the pressure of increasing demands for commodities, employments became more specialized and thus a higher degree of technical skill was attained in each. By participating in the activities of working groups producing even the most utilitarian needs, it was possible to acquire tastes, skills, and knowledge. Much of this learning accumulated to the individual workman without any special effort of instruction. From this viewpoint, work activities had a place in the educational scheme of the Middle Ages, one reason being the development of the handicraft arts during the time. Medieval workers in glass, stone, wood, and metals achieved results which are still objects of admiration as examples of craftsmanship.

This cultivation of handicrafts took place principally outside the schools.

Builders, carvers of wood and stone, jewelers, smiths working in metals both precious and non-precious, and all the other great round of handicraft artisans of the European Middle Ages developed and transmitted their arts almost exclusively in connection with the practice

9 L. F. Anderson, "Industrial Education during the Middle Ages," Education, XXXII (February, 1912), 355.
of the arts themselves. Handicraftsmen created their arts and taught them to their successors as they worked.10

Vocational education and industrial arts education rarely if ever occupied a place in the traditionally respected curriculum of the schools.11 Also, by the eleventh century, the spirit of democracy which had characterized the earlier monasteries had weakened under the influence of their increasing wealth. The difference between the monks or educated members of the monastery and the uneducated members began to widen. Manual labor, at least that of the heavier sort, fell to the lot of the lay members.

Not very frequently do we find monks taking part in building operations, even when only simple tasks, calling for no especial skill, are required. In a new and poor community, or in one fired by unusual enthusiasm in some wave of reformatory zeal, we do sometimes find monks acting as builders, either alone, or, more frequently, as the unskilled volunteer helpers of professional masons.12

Some of the early monastic buildings were the works of monks who were poor and could not afford to hire outside workmen, and in most cases only a few monks learned to do skilled work. However, the valuable work of those monks who were genuine craftsmen is not to be minimized, but by the twelfth century training in the commercial and industrial arts was

10Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., p. 308.

11John S. Brubacher, A History of the Problems of Education, p. 82.

obtained only through the guilds.\textsuperscript{13} The system of worker education established by the guilds was founded on the principle that labor employed in the mechanical trades required more skill and experience than are requisite in agricultural pursuits.\textsuperscript{14} In the workshop of the master where goods were made for the local community, conditions were such that crafts work possessed distinct artistic possibilities. This was due largely to the opportunities offered the workman for individual expression. These factors favored the development of the creative artist-craftsman whose daily experience produced an intimate knowledge of tools and materials, as to both their potentialities and their limitations.

The artist workman of the older time knew how to combine the beautiful with the useful, to use decoration just enough not to offend good taste, to make the lines of his work eminently artistic and in general to turn out a fine work of art.\textsuperscript{15}

These workmen not only accomplished beautiful work, but also succeeded in training other workmen in every line of artistic work. Those employed in any particular branch of industry were gradually and definitely differentiated into three classes, the apprentices who were learning the trade, the fellows, bachelors or companions who had learned the trade and were working for wages, and the masters who were conducting a business of their own.

\textsuperscript{13} Walsh, op. cit., p. 134.
\textsuperscript{15} Walsh, op. cit., p. 134.
Apprenticeship in the Middle Ages

Contrary to the usual impression, apprenticeship did not originate in the Middle Ages. The Babylonian Code of Hammurabi makes explicit provision that artisans shall teach their handicrafts to those sons whom they may adopt. Also, the records of Egypt, Greece, and Rome show that apprenticeship was an integral part of the industrial systems of those cultures.\textsuperscript{16} Not only was apprenticeship thus legally regulated at these early dates, but the relationship between master and apprentice was modeled upon that of father and son. The system of apprenticeship is an inevitable feature of handicraft production since the growth of industry frequently exceeds the ability of the craftsman's family to man it.\textsuperscript{17} Other boys must be taught the trade in order to provide a sufficient supply of skilled craftsmen and to insure continuity of management. Even though apprenticeship was generally practiced through the ancient and Roman eras, reference to the institution disappears from known records of the early Christian era and do not reappear again until the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{18}

It is probable that indentured apprenticeship did not become an important factor in the economic life and education

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{18} A. B. Mays, "Old Forms of Apprenticeship," \textit{Industrial Education Magazine}, XXIX (September, 1927), 32.
of medieval workers until the period of craft guild supremacy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. During period apprenticeship training attained a particularly high level of development and persisted as a guild institution for two centuries or more. For centuries after the revival of commerce, all manufacturing was on a home-industry basis and the form of apprenticeship education within the guilds is the most important feature of guild history.

Under the guild system no one was admitted to any trade before a regular apprenticeship had been served. The duration of this apprenticeship differed in various places. In England it generally lasted seven years; in France, from three to four years, sometimes six years; in Germany, from two to four years. There was a special solemnity attached to the admission of a person to apprenticeship in a trade. On these occasions the novice was usually instructed in his duties, both as to his moral conduct and to the trade. An article of indenture, or a contract, was drawn up stating the conditions under which the apprentice was placed with his master. These conditions of apprenticeship are illustrated by the terms of an article of indenture quoted by Cunningham.

This indenture made the xvii day of September the year of the reign of King Edward the iiiith the xxth between John Gare of Saint Mary Cray in the county of Kent, cordwainer on that oon partie and Walter Byse, son of John Byse sumtyme of Wimelton in the same

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county, fuller on that other partie, Witnesseth that the saide Walter hath covenanted with the saide John Gare for the time of viii yeres, and that the saide John Gare shall finde the saide Walter mete and drink and clothing during the saide time as to the saide Walter shall be according. Also the saide John Gare shall teche the saide Walter his craft, as he may and can, and also the saide John Gare shall give him the first yere of the saide viii yeres iiid in money, and the second yere vid, and so after the rate of iiid to an yere, and the last yere of the saide viii yeres the saide John Gare shall give unto the saide Walter x shillings of money. And the saide Walter shall well and truly kepe his occupacyon, and do such things as the saide John shall bid him do, as unto the saide Walter shall be lawful and lefull, and the saide Walter shall be none ale goer neyther to no rebeld nore sporte during the saide viii yeres without the license of the saide John. In witness whereof the parties aforesaid chaungeably have put their seales this daye and yere aforesaid.

By such a contract the apprentice became a member of the family of his master, who instructed him in his trade and who, like a father, watched over the morals as well as over the work of his apprentice. It is evident that the term apprenticeship was employed to signify not only practical training in the mysteries of the trade but also the wider training of character and intelligence upon which the better efficiency of the craftsman depended. The apprentice was to be aided and instructed by all guild brothers, and frequently the guild statutes bound those who worked in the shop where the apprentice was employed to the "abolding of this person in alle soche connyng as longith to the crafte."

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Frequently the guilds specified what the masters should teach. The clockmakers of London in 1632 provided that every person of the trade should

... teach and instruct his said apprentice and apprentices in such manner and form as their Predecessors have done, which is to keep him and them in his House, and there by himself or his sufficient Journeymen, teach or instruct them in the making of Cases or Boxes of Silver or Brass, and likewise the several springs belonging to a watch, Clock or Larum, and likewise all other particular and peculiar things belonging to Watches, Clocks, Larums, Mathematical Instruments, and Sun-Dials his or their Master shall teach and instruct them in.\textsuperscript{22}

Many guilds made elaborate provisions for the matters to be taught their apprentices, but as a rule it was not necessary to specify the subject matter. The masters knew what was expected of them and in many guilds the principal master of the craft made annual rounds through the city to see that apprentices were receiving proper instruction from their masters. They did not intend to allow apprenticeship to become a farce nor to permit an apprentice to become a journeyman or a master until he had proved his worth as a craftsman. It was not possible to advance to a higher grade by merely serving seven years' apprenticeship. It was required that the apprentice undergo an examination of some sort at the end of his term. At first the examination took the form of a requirement that the masters and other able men testify that the candidate was fit to occupy his craft.

\textsuperscript{22}J. P. Scott, "Apprenticeship under the English Gild System," \textit{Elementary School Teacher}, XIII (December, 1912), 180.
However, the guilds later insisted that the apprentice be examined by the masters and chief officers of the company and proved sufficient to exercise the craft.

Thus the Clothworkers of London insisted that the candidate for mastership "sheare and worke" in the common Hall of the gild before the Master, Wardens, and certain of the assistants. The Shoemakers Gild of Carlisle required that the apprentice, after completing his term "have four paire of shoes given him to worke"; if the shoes were well wrought he was admitted as a journeyman, but if not he must be a "hireman." 23

There were no doubt variations of standards among the guilds, but on the whole the examination system was a principal means of increasing the efficiency of apprenticeship and of maintaining high standards of workmanship. For a large proportion of the youth of western Europe in the Middle Ages, the period of apprenticeship to a craft was "par excellence the period of education." 24 It was not uncommon for writers on school education to derive suggestions from the procedures of the master craftsmen. Comenius, in the seventeenth century, reminds school teachers that

Artisans do not detain their apprentices with theories, but set them to do practical work at an early stage; thus they learn to forge by forging, to carve by carving, to paint by painting... Mechanics do not begin by drumming rules into their apprentices. They take them into the workshop and bid them look at the work that has been produced, and then, when they wish to imitate this, they place tools in their hands and show them how they should be held and used. Then, if they make mistakes, they give them advice and correct them, often more by example than by mere words,

and, as the facts show, the novices easily succeed in their imitation.  

Comenius used several such examples from the mechanical arts in order to illustrate his fundamental pedagogic principles. He expressed little gratitude to his former teachers for it was the incompetence of their methods that made him a school reformer. In order to simplify and improve teaching he examined the methods of the arts and drew up eleven "canons" by which the young might be led to the practical application of natural forces.

This is the result of an analysis of the methods then in vogue for the teaching of a handicraft, that is, through apprenticeship. The purpose of Comenius, however, in thus writing on the "method of the arts" was not to show how handicrafts should be taught in the school, for, as he has said, he did not include in his school curriculum the handicrafts to which he refers, but they were to illustrate a rational method of teaching the school subjects of his time.

Another condition which may have contributed to the development of the crafts and to the efficiency of industrial education in the guilds was the restriction of the number of apprentices to be kept by a master. One purpose of this restriction was, without a doubt, the reduction of the number of competitors. The guilds themselves maintained that the regulation existed only to guarantee adequate supervision of the work of the apprentices.

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26 C. A. Bennett, History of Manual and Industrial Education up to 1870, p. 39.

27 Smith, Smith and Brentano, op. cit., p. lxv.
number of trained craftsmen would have resulted in severe
competition, and the period of apprenticeship was also
probably longer than was required to master the trades of
the time. By these methods something of an artificial
monopoly was maintained by the town workers which enabled
them to raise the value of their products and maintain
higher rates for wages.

Although the regulation of apprenticeship originated in
the guilds, with some municipal supervision, France and
England developed also a system of national regulation. The
Statute of Artificers, enacted in England in 1563, nationalized
the provisions of the London craft guilds and sought definitely
to standardize apprenticeship practices. The provisions of
this statute permitted only householders to take apprentices,
required a minimum period of seven years, and fixed twenty-
four years as the minimum age at which the apprentice could
come out of his service. In order to check the drift of
labor to the towns, and preserve the privileges of the townsmen
and to insure a plentiful supply of agricultural labor
for the landlords, it was provided that only the sons of
townsmen might be apprenticed to craftsmen within a particular
town.23 This act may be viewed as a stamp of approval on the
efforts of the guilds with an attempt by the state to assure
itself of the benefits of guild training. The most interesting

portion of the great statute connected with the craft guild system is that which defines the period of apprenticeship. It was the first general definition of the kind by national legislation. 29

National legislation concerning apprenticeship was unknown during the period when the institution was developing and while it was most important. Apprenticeship was the instrument of the guilds, devised by them, and developed by them as the proper means to train novices in skill, duties, and responsibilities of membership in the craft. It was the accepted route to a skilled trade, and it was the institution relied upon to give the ability to conduct a business in a difficult economic and social environment. "It was the institution relied upon to effect a complete social adjustment for the youths who were to become influential in town life." 30

Journeymen and Masters under the Guild System

Journeymen.--To the instruction and training derived from regular apprenticeship to a craft, a period of travel, especially in Germany and France, was frequently added. In Germany the period of apprenticeship was followed by the "Wanderjahre," during which the workman travelled from place

29 Renard, op. cit., p. xix.
to place in order to perfect himself as an artisan by learning what other masters of the craft could teach him. The custom seems never to have become as well established in England.\textsuperscript{31} A seven years' apprenticeship had become universal among the English crafts, but on the continent a much shorter period of two to six years was supplemented by the requirement of three to five years of travel in search of fuller experience. "Some of the Rhine cities were much frequented by Journeyman as the finishing school of their several trades."\textsuperscript{32} During the years of "journeying," striking developments were apt to take place in the mind of the ambitious young workman. The years of travel came at a most susceptible period, sometime between the age of seventeen and twenty-five, and the journeyman was likely to see many men and methods before coming back to work in his own village. The journeyman usually started out with a company of others who were ready for their tour of experience. They went from town to town to study the masterpieces of their trade and to see the best that had been produced.

In France each fellow-craft or journeyman had his tour to make, instructing himself by working in the principal cities.

\textsuperscript{31}Anderson, op. cit., p. 425.

... It is the poetic phase, the voyage of adventure, the "knighthood" of the workman.

He earns his living on route, perfects himself in his profession, learns from one master and another, sees, compares, studies, admires. ... They hired out in large factories that seemed villages in themselves, or in little country workshops where the chickens scratched and clucked among the tools. ... They studied the towns in detail, filled their eyes and memory with the marvels of other days, took notes, felt the ever growing desire to equal the achievements of their ancestors, and to be able themselves to bring out from the granite, copper, and iron masterpieces like these. ... They all exchanged their ideas. They talked of everything, instructed each other, and opened to each other new horizons, broader views. ... It was this artistic appreciation, always present, that ennobled their task and refined their work. Their life interests were broad, universal. They were interested in the Giro of Italy, in the "camarades" of the German Hutten, and in the "brothers" of Belgium, who, like themselves, traveled as apprentices through the country.33

Journeymen were distinguished from apprentices by the fact that it was their privilege to work for wages for any master whom they might choose to serve, and from masters because of the fact that the journeyman had not yet set up a business of his own. They were hired in certain places where the unemployed of all trades assembled. They were required to give proof that they were free from all other engagements, and to present certificates of capability and good conduct.

Thieves, murderers, and outlaws, or even "dreamers" and slackers, stood no chance of being engaged. ... They were required to be decently clothed, not only out of consideration for their clients, but also because they had to live and work all day in the master's house.34

34 Renard, op. cit., p. 13.
The master, when satisfied with the references given and when certain that he was not defrauding another master who had more need of workmen than himself, engaged the workman. The contract which bound them was often verbal, but there was a certain solemnity attached to it. The workman had to swear on the Gospels that he would work in compliance with guild regulations. If the master wished to dismiss a workman before the date arranged he had first to state his reasons before an assembly of masters and journeymen. "A mutual indemnity seems to have been the rule, whether the workman abandoned the work he had begun, or whether the master prematurely dismissed the man he had hired."\(^{35}\)

In order to become a master of his craft the journeyman, in addition to paying a stipulated fee to the guild, was required to make a masterpiece under the supervision of the guild officials. Though in some instances this practice was abused and employed to restrict competition, its purpose was to maintain a high standard of workmanship. A statute of the goldsmiths of Strasburg of the year 1482 gives details as to the number and character of masterpieces to be presented.

Whoever wishes to be a goldsmith in Strasburg shall first be required to make three pieces, namely, a drinking cup, a seal and a gold ring set with a diamond and he shall present these to the gild master and to the gild judges for examination. If these

\(^{35}\)Ibid., p. 14.
afford proof of the maker's skill he will be accepted by the masters and judges.  

By the fifteenth century the practice of requiring a masterpiece from candidates for mastership was practically universal.  
The masterpiece, submitted by the applicant as evidence of the accomplishment of his apprenticeship and also his years of work as a journeyman, was an organized piece of work showing the skill and artistry of the workman. "This might be only a hinge, or a lock for a door, but on the other hand it might be a design for an important window or a delicate piece of wood or stone carving."  

If the work was considered worthy of the standards of workmanship of the guild it was declared to be a "masterpiece," and the workman was admitted to the ranks of master-craftsmen.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many cathedrals were erected in England and on the continent. In the cathedral towns the trades guilds gathered, and the most significant development in the arts of these centuries is embodied in the Gothic architecture and artistic workmanship of these medieval cathedrals. In nearly every town

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38 Walsh, op. cit., p. 135.
of any size, workmen were trained to make beautiful specimens of arts and crafts, and each town created workmen who were able to finish the building of a cathedral in all its details. "Even the finer precious metal work, such as chalices and the various sacred vessels and objects used in the church services, were not obtained from a distance but were made at home."\(^39\) The workmen were, as a rule, the designers as well as the executors of the work assigned to them. They planned and tried, then modified and adapted, until finally their finished product was perfect in every respect. Their aim was to make a combination of beauty and utility so that their work would be worthy counterparts of other portions of a cathedral. "They proved that 'art' is not a remote luxury or a fashionable futility, but rather it is the right way of doing right things so that the human spirit shines through the body of labour."\(^40\)

**Masters.**—The educational significance of the training furnished by the craft guilds of the Middle Ages can be further indicated by an examination of the master-craftsman's activities as a member of guild and town life. The master craftsman was faced with a great many problems, and he had need to be versatile to deal with them successfully. He not


only directed the work of his employees, the journeymen, and guided his apprentices, but he also performed a great part of the work himself. As a master he organized the work of others, administered questions of wages, discipline, and hours and conditions of labor in his own shop. The broad policies in these matters were established by the guild, but the problem of administration was left to the master. He was also a teacher, charged with the important duty of teaching his apprentices to perform the duties which they would eventually assume as masters in their own right. In all of these activities the master-craftsman was a business manager faced with administrative problems of no mean sort, but these were not the only problems he had to face.

The master also had certain public duties to perform. Membership in a guild brought with it all the responsibilities and problems of associated action, and frequently guild membership brought with it duties not unlike those of a public office. 41 "The guilds were semi-public bodies and the guild under the masters and wardens became a better unit for civic administration than the ward under the alderman." 42 It is difficult to consider the guilds apart as distinct bodies with their own special purposes and functions. The guild and borough frequently presented the appearance of a two-fold combination working together for a common end. The master-

41 Renard, op. cit., p. 57. 42 Lyon, op. cit., p. 591.
craftsman's task was not easy in dealing with the internal problems of his business, attempting to harmonize the demands of the guild and of the city and, at the same time, carry on his business to the social advantage of all concerned.

This type of activity made the master competent to teach his apprentices elements, other than technical skills, which were planned to guide the apprentice in such a way that he would be fitted for a complicated task. The most important element of this social education was the close and continuous personal contact between master and apprentice. The apprentice was associated with the master every day in the shop, observing the methods by which the administrative problems of business were handled, and hearing the social situation discussed among the fellow-craftsmen. The master was bound also to feed, clothe, and house the apprentice, and the relations between master and apprentice outside the shop were of such character that the apprentice received a desirable education in social contacts.

Thus, the master's activities as a guildsman influenced the purposes of apprenticeship. Through daily contact with the master, the novice was brought into real partnership with his master, and he was also taught how to deal with social questions that were of importance to his calling. "It was thus, in a way, not unlike the present ideal which we hold for education in a democracy— an instrument qualifying for
equal participation in activities of social, business, and political life.\textsuperscript{43}

The craft guilds which were efficient regulators of trade and industry under the town system of economy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries proved unable to perform this function under the national and international economic systems of the following period. The failure of the craft guilds was the ultimate failure of localism. In many forms of organization the guilds might have succeeded, but they could not expand and therefore could not hold their own against rival possibilities. Growing metropolitan economy and the politically unified state gradually assumed the regulation of trade and industry, basing their control upon the high ideals of manufacture and commerce, of labor and service established by the guilds.

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 596.
CHAPTER IV

THE DECLINE OF THE CRAFT GUILDS

External Causes of Decline

The growth of capitalistic industry and commerce.--The guild system offered many advantages to the medieval workman and consumer, but there were many disadvantages which became more apparent as the economic life of Europe assumed larger proportions and the need for protective associations became less acute. The system maintained a high standard of quality in the goods produced, and at the same time insured a fair living to the craftsman. There was little chance of becoming wealthy, but there was also little chance of becoming ruined financially. On the other hand, the minute regulations of the guilds tended to check individual enterprise and suppress competition. In addition, the medieval organization of commerce and industry under the guild system, which was designed to limit the activities of individuals in the interests of the whole community, prevented most business men from accumulating more money than they needed for living appropriate to their class.\(^1\) However, the medieval town with its shops and stores had a capacity for progress and furnished the necessary elements conducive

to the growth of capitalism. There was a plentiful supply of labor for the embryo capitalist to utilize, and the system of law and government provided rules under which valid contracts could be enforced.\(^2\) Also, by the end of the thirteenth century, there was a good deal of money in circulation and a few individuals had succeeded in accumulating surplus capital that could be invested to produce a profit. Up to the middle of the fifteenth century the amount of money in circulation seems to have increased steadily and at the end of the fifteenth century the discovery of the trade routes to India and the Americas opened up a more profitable trade than the world had ever known. A constantly expanding volume of trade was gradually outgrowing the framework of the guild system which was designed to meet the needs of a more limited economic life. The rise of capitalistic commerce led inevitably to the introduction of capital into industry.

In some cases industry adapted itself to the use of capital. In others the capitalist method was imposed upon it by the merchant who handled raw materials and goods in wholesale lots, and found it more profitable to hire laborers to work his goods than to sell raw materials to individual master-craftsmen and buy the finished products from them. The way in which capital invaded the guild system was demonstrated by the rise of well-to-do masters within the guild itself. Where there was a demand for quantity production,

\(^2\text{Ibid.}, p. 64.\)
as in the cloth industry, the masters no longer worked with their own hands.

... they confined themselves to giving orders and superintending everything; they supplied the initiative; they were the prime movers in the weaving trade that depended on their orders; they regulated the quantity and quality of production; they raised the price of raw material, ... they often provided the appliances for work; they undertook the sale and distribution of goods, taking the risks, but also the profits.\(^3\)

The manufacture of cloth in England had increased greatly by the middle of the fifteenth century, and in this industry there were wage earners already living under the regime of modern manufacture. A deep gulf separated the masters from those they employed, and the workers were crowded into large workshops where the "sweating" system developed. In 1465, a statute of Edward IV furnished a picture of existing conditions in the cloth manufacturing industries and indicates the loss by the craft guilds of the power to enforce its regulations concerning good workmanship.

The preamble makes the usual complaint about bad workmanship, and alleges that English cloth was falling into disrepute abroad; the statute regulates the whole business in all its details. ... The long list of officials charged with powers under this act gives proof that the trade was carried on alike in towns and rural districts, and that mere municipal supervision could no longer prove effective.\(^4\)

The position of domestic master weavers was greatly affected by the growth of factories. Many who had been masters sank

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\(^3\) G. Renard, *Guilds in the Middle Ages*, p. 24.

to the status of mere workmen, and many who would formerly have become masters remained workmen forever. The capitalist entrepreneurs, the rich masters and merchants who had invested considerable money in industry, organized in merchant companies solely for the purpose of securing monopolies. The subordinate craft guilds had sunk to the position of mere wage earners, and those masters who clung to their independence were forced out of competition because the commercial middleman had separated the manufacturer from the customer, and thus destroyed one of the most characteristic elements of the original craft guild system.

Decline of towns and shift of centers of industry.—In the first stage of town life, when merchant guilds were dominant, the towns encouraged trade and traders and welcomed immigration. As the craft guilds grew in power they inclined to a policy of protection, imposing stricter regulation on trade with the outside world and upon the merchants who conducted it. "It even tried to exclude neighboring towns from the market, and thus was the secret of the desperate struggles which set up at enmity Bruges and Ghent, Sienna, Pisa, and Florence, Genoa and Venice, etc."\(^5\) This policy tended to suppress distant trade of all sorts, and to make the town market a compulsory trading place for the territory immediately surrounding. The guilds were satisfied only

\(^{5}\) Renard, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
when the country people sold their food and raw materials in direct trade with the town craftsmen. The townsmen claimed a monopoly to the right of manufacture, and industry in the country districts was to them illegal, subject to search and seizure, and a liberal policy in the reception of new workmen gave place to one of restriction as the town sought to protect its own body of labor.

This narrow policy of "closed town economy" was not universal but it represented a tendency which eventually led to the decline of guild exclusiveness. The characteristic feature of the latter part of the fifteenth century was the rise of manufacture in the country districts, sometimes against the armed opposition of the towns which sent out raiding parties to destroy the tools and products of the "botchers," as the village artisans were called. In England, the decay of the "open field" system of farming had caused many common laborers to seek employment in rural industry. The towns with a restrictive policy could not meet the competition of rural industry, free from restrictions, and the growing labor class who were not members of organized companies constituted a labor group which ultimately overwhelmed the craft guilds by force of numbers. There had always been men who carried on work outside of the limits of guild restriction. "This class of persons was becoming more

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numerous through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in spite of the efforts of the gilds, supported by municipal and national authority. "7 In the areas independent of guild restrictions, "English towns such as Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds, where trade was free because they were merely overgrown manors without municipal charters, developed their industries and grew at the expense of older towns with gild rule, such as Norwich and Exeter, York and Winchester."8

These changes, along with others occurring simultaneously, led to a considerable decline of the prosperity of many towns. The old town craft organizations were weakened by the loss of control over such a large proportion of the workers employed in their respective industries. The merchant employers, who had organized the market for finished products in distant towns and foreign countries, built up industries in many districts where they had not existed before, discovering there a surplus of labor which was available at cheap rates.

This situation was continually giving rise to lawsuits and quarrels between the gilds and town and national authorities. Most of the guild ordinances mention such workmen and traders who had not served a regular apprenticeship and who were not freemen conforming to the established

8 Day, op. cit., p. 49.
Great industries developed with unprecedented strength and took in those enterprises in which the ancient hierarchy of apprentices, journeymen, and masters became meaningless. A few of the masters possessed the capital and appliances for production, while the mass of workmen possessed nothing. "The guilds themselves could not but suffer from the extraordinary growth which took place beside but outside their system." The regulations made by the guilds with regard to apprentices and journeymen tended to deflect the supply of labor away from the corporate towns, and as a consequence there was a considerable displacement from old centers to new centers of industry.

National legislation affecting craft guilds.—There was a close relationship between the growth of capitalistic industry and the rise of centralized national states. Actually, the origins of the gradual centralization of power in the hands of a monarch or prince, which was characteristic of most of the states of Europe in the later Middle Ages, can be traced back to a time before capital was a vital force in business and industry, but not before money had become an important factor in economic life. The growing power of central government depended on the ability to collect money and maintain an effective administration. Since money circulated most freely among the industrial and mercantile class,

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9Cheyney, op. cit., p. 152. 10Renard, op. cit., p. 113.
the government depended on them for a considerable share of taxes, and since the growth of great industry and capitalist business concentrated a large part of the money in the hands of a relatively small group, the collection of taxes became an easier matter. The rulers of Europe realized the extent to which their own power, or that of the state, depended upon the prosperity of the capitalist businessman, and with that realization they began consciously to promote the interests of capital.\textsuperscript{11}

When the state took upon itself the task of controlling the economic life of the citizens, it was forced to deal with the social problems that arose from the working-out of economic conditions. State regulation designed to fix wages and regulate conditions of labor was usually more favorable to the capitalist employers, yet the interests of labor were not entirely neglected. The Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices is an example of this policy.

By this statute all the relations between master and journeyman and the rules of apprenticeship were regulated by the government instead of by the individual craft guilds. It is evident that the old trade organizations were being superseded in much of their work by the national government.\textsuperscript{12}

In general, this statute did not work at all. The government did not have the means to administer such an ambitious measure, and the guilds had lost the will or the power to enforce the apprenticeship provisions. The act

\textsuperscript{11}Day, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 76.
aimed to ease the competition that was dissolving craft
guild institutions which were effective as means of produc-
ing good products, especially those goods that could be ex-
ported in order to retain a favorable balance of trade.
Realizing that the productive powers of the state were the
best guarantee of wealth, and of security in time of war,
the mercantilist governments granted monopolies and sub-
sidies to those companies or localities that seemed best
fitted to produce needed goods. The English Statute of
Apprentices, and others like it, constituted tacit alliances
between industrial society and the state, and left many
courses open to the capitalist employer. "So much scope was
given for enterprise and the accumulation of wealth that the
great force of private interest was guided and regulated,
not repressed; its best energy was directed into channels
which served to promote the riches of individuals, and did
not at any rate injure the power of England."\textsuperscript{13}

In England, all the laws favoring the older towns and
the craft organizations were repealed by 1623.\textsuperscript{14} Handi-
crafts and the guild corporations lost continually in im-
portance and made themselves hated by their efforts to hold
back the progress of events. Craftsmen openly refused to
submit to the supervision and authority of the guild, and as

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{12}}Cheyney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 156.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{13}}Cunningham, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 566.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{14}}Cheyney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 155.
the guilds lost power, due to the development of great industries, they grew lax in administering the rules governing apprenticeship, and ceased to exercise any useful function. Finally, the system of legal apprenticeship was abolished in England in 1814, on the assertion that "the persons most competent to form regulations with respect to trade were the master-manufacturers." 16

In France, the guilds fought against production on a large scale, but charters to great industries were most plentiful when the Crown was in need of money. 17 Master craftsmen lost their status of free-producers and their products passed under the control of traders, either by economic forces alone, or by the purchase of trading concessions from the state. When the guilds were not fighting innovations they were quarreling with each other, contesting the monopoly of different parts of the field of industry. However, the government of France fostered the guilds and increased them because the government itself could not develop an effective tax administration of its own.

So in the very period when England was being prepared for the new era of free competition and large-scale manufacture France was being more tightly tied to the antiquated institutions of local privileged industry, conducted on a small scale. Even so great a statesman as Colbert was forced by the need of money for the wars of Louis XIV to further the gild organization as a means of collecting taxes. In 1673 he revived a

15Smith, Smith and Brentano, op. cit., p. clxiv.
16Ibid., p. cxiii. 17Renard, op. cit., p. xix.
law which required all merchants and artisans in all France to enter gilds. 18

Yet, at the time, political influence was more powerful than private initiative, and the economic and business affairs were such that those who followed the path of political preferment were able to practice a privileged manufacture in spite of guild protest and conventional governmental restriction. Thus, France was kept from industrial progress by a government which lived to exploit society, and not by any lack of skilled workmen or by lack of men with original ideas. On the contrary, there were workmen whose technical experience was valued so highly that every country endeavored to attract them. The migration of workmen from France to England seems to have awakened among English crafts a decided jealousy of aliens.

The presence of foreign artisans imported to repair the damage occasioned by some sudden catastrophe inevitably menaced afterwards the rights of organized gildsmen. The status of the "Foreign Workmen" who "assisted at the Rebuilding" of London after the havoc caused by the fire of 1666 was later secured by an act of Parliament, which stipulated that "those among them who had been therein employed should, for seven years thereafter, enjoy the same liberty in working at the building crafts as freemen, and that having so worked for seven years, they should for the rest of their lives enjoy the liberty of working as freemen." 19

English boroughs often imported foreign artisans when the local freemen would not work at reasonable rates, and this

18 Day, op. cit., p. 263.
practice, of necessity, had a weakening effect upon the mutual confidence that had formerly existed between guild and town authorities in matters of trade concern.

A parallel condition existed in France, where the government assisted in recruiting foreign workmen who could bring with them the knowledge of improved processes, and induced many of them to immigrate from Germany, Holland, Italy, and other countries.

Henry IV, in order to naturalize in France the silk industry, which diverted from the kingdom seven to eight thousand gold crowns annually, planted mulberry trees, and brought in Italian workmen on whom he lavished money and monopolies, and who were exempt from taxation, in order that he might teach the art of weaving these valuable stuffs. In 1607 he installed, in the great gallery of the Louvre, a colony of foreign craftsmen—a sort of industrial school of art where apprentices were trained—who might establish themselves anywhere in the kingdom without waiting to become masters.  

Thus, the craft guilds in France were hampered and weakened by the special privileges granted to master craftsmen or traders who followed the Court and became industrial or commercial capitalists; by industries launched over their heads, and the consequent lowering of standards for apprenticeship; and, the constant quarrels arising between the various guilds over monopoly rights to a certain part of industry. The guilds of France persisted, in spite of these

\[20\] Renard, op. cit., p. 103.
adverse circumstances, until they were swept away in the Revolution of 1789.  

In Germany, in the sixteenth century, the growth of capital was characteristic, with the numbers of employees increasing and the numbers of operating units decreasing. Ordinances against the abuses of the guilds are met with regularly in the laws of the Empire, especially those against the exclusion of apprentices and the requirement of heavy expenses on the admission of apprentices. However, guilds were still the order of the day, and their policies in regard to effective trade training remained the most important part of industrial organization. Also, the rise of modern forms of industrial undertakings in Germany in the early nineteenth century were founded upon the great mass of industrial producers working at home or in small shops. In Germany, as in France, the founding of industries was encouraged, but the greater thrift and more effective administration of the German governments served to prevent the influences which corrupted the control of labor and industry.

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century the guilds in Germany had acquired and exercised considerable power. However, the competition of rising industry deprived the old guild corporations of their real essence, and made the attainment of their chief objects an illusion. By the time

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21 Smith, Smith and Brentano, op. cit., p. clxiv.
22 Ibid., p. cl.
of their legal abolition the guilds had lost all their former vitality. Bureaucratic enactments brought the craft guilds to a minor position, and they were finally destroyed by the North German Industrial Code of 1869.\textsuperscript{23}

The ordinances of the majority of European craft guilds at the close of the Middle Ages exhibit a compromise between the restrictive policies of the guild and the free-trade policies of the various national states. It is outside the limits of this study to examine in detail the legalities involved in the break-up of craft-guild control of industry in each of the countries of Europe. Enough evidence has been cited to establish the pattern of development which characterized the change from local to national industrial economy and the effect of increasing centralized governmental control over trade and industry. In each state of Europe the agrarian reforms of the later Middle Ages freed a great number of laborers from their state of manorial servitude, and this great mass of labor shifted to urban industrial centers where they were able to earn a living in the newly arisen factories. It was no longer necessary to serve a long apprenticeship in order to learn a specialized task, and in the areas outside guild control there arose a new class of workmen whose economic welfare eventually became the foremost social problem to be faced in the following era.

The control of apprenticeship gradually passed into the hands of the state, since the guilds were no longer able or willing to maintain their control. Workmen abandoned and ignored guild ordinances where it was more profitable to work as a wage-earner in either a large or a small factory. The independent master-craftsman still existed in ancient towns, but the number of craftsmen who were dependent upon rich masters or merchants for raw materials and their markets greatly outnumbered them. It was only in the economically backward regions of England and Europe that independent masters exercised any control, for in the larger towns the wage-earning worker labored in much larger units, and national organization of industrial labor, of necessity, favored policies which were lucrative and expansive in a time when national security depended on protective wealth.

Renaissance and reformation.--The strict control exercised by corporate society throughout the earlier periods of the Middle Ages was broken up by a gradual transformation in the character of European society which culminated in the Renaissance. For the two and a half centuries following the last of the Crusades medieval ways of thinking were losing their force,\(^2\) and evidences of modern culture began to make their appearance. At first the changes were only partial, but as time passed the changes were more complete. In Italy, the land of wealth and cities, these changes began earlier

\(^2\) J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 220.
than in the feudalized lands north of the Alps. The independent city-states of pre-Renaissance Italy were centers of political and social as well as economic activities. In these cities, where all classes were represented, medieval class distinctions inevitably became less pronounced, since wealth, or political power, or literary and artistic ability was sufficient to attain individuality and freedom from the restrictions imposed by ecclesiastical authority and corporate society.

The growth of material prosperity made the Renaissance possible, and it was wealth that made a new type of society necessary. Wealth had been an increasingly potent factor in the shaping of European civilization since the beginning of the High Middle Ages. The revival of commerce, spreading from Italy in the twelfth century, had gradually built up city life with its guilds and corporate societies, and as wealth continued to expand it destroyed the social system that had not been designed for it.

In many other ways the roots of the intellectual awakening of the Renaissance were fixed in the developments of the Middle Ages. The most important development of this age of transition was the realization of individual potentialities, and the development of the social ideal of the well-rounded personality to take the place of the Medieval ideal of the

\[25\] Ibid., p. 297.
man who perfectly represented the qualities of his class or
group. This ideal produced a new standard for the gentleman
or courtier, and men of wealth strove to become amateurs
of all arts and all branches of learning as well as masters
of some.

It became fashionable for the powerful or wealthy to
embellish their courts with artists, men of letters,
scholars, learned exiles, astrologers, and even buffoons. It added untold prestige and glory to any ducal
house to have under its patronage some celebrated poet,
humanist, or artist. It is, of course, true that many
Italians of the middle and lower classes had a share
in Renaissance activities, but, since they lacked
wealth and leisure, they were unable to indulge their
yearning for literature, art, and learning. Yet, as
a matter of fact, most of the people of Italy were
animated by a profound artistic awakening that showed
itself in everything they did and made.

As a result of this patronage of the arts, the Renaissance
separated the artist from the craftsman, where prior to that
time the artist and craftsman had shared the same life and
the same ideals.

The historian can easily prove that this separation
of art and craft was harmful to both; that art, isolated from the warm heart of the people, became
conventional, cold, stiff, and artificial; that craft, relegated to a lower position, no longer sought for
beauty, and was condemned to express itself in in-
ferior, routine work; but taking the guilds alone,
this separation certainly weakened the medieval
system.

26 J. A. Symonds, The Renaissance in Italy, p. 4.
27 F. Eby and C. F. Arrowood, The History of Philosophy
28 Renard, op. cit., p. 92.
The guilds were deprived of members whose artistic gifts would have been utilized to further guild power and prestige. The Middle Ages knew only applied art, and wanted works of art only to make some practical use of them, the purpose and meaning of these works always preponderating over their purely aesthetic value. The Renaissance, with its art treasures accumulated in the houses of princes and nobles, no longer serving for practical use, awakened the love of art for "art's sake," and admired art words as articles of luxury and of curiosity. However, the Renaissance was an advancing step. It gave a strong impetus to science and greatly widened the field of human knowledge. "The pity is that guilds were sacrificed by the discovery of new materials and methods which were the death of their rules governing manufacture."²⁹

At the time when the Renaissance was passing its peak, and the corporate life of the High Middle Ages had almost disappeared, though the modern form of individual capital was not yet fully developed, the Protestant Reformation set in motion the forces that were to break up the universal church and make religious controversy the focal center for political rivalries, economic and social discontents, and intellectual activities.

During this period there appeared two of the fundamental ideas upon which modern instruction in the manual arts

²⁹Ibid.
has been built . . . out of the second came the recognition of the value of working through a process, of making something with the hands or with tools, of doing something skilfully, as a basis for rational thinking. This idea led to placing handicrafts in the school and the child in the workshop and in the field to receive instruction.\textsuperscript{30}

This religious renaissance tended to elevate the craftsman, and theories of equality were carried out, in some instances, to extremes. The guilds were overflowed again in numbers and there existed a kind of "Biblical communism."\textsuperscript{31}

In some instances reformist doctrines lent themselves well to the accumulation of capital by preaching activity in world affairs and demanding efficiency in that activity.\textsuperscript{32}

The heaviest blow to the guilds in Protestant nations was the curtailment of their religious functions which were looked upon by the reformers as superstitious. This abolished one of the strong bonds that had formerly united all guild brethren as members of a social body. Having no religious functions, the guilds were weakened just at a time when economic influences were tending toward their disintegration.\textsuperscript{33}

Internal Causes of Decline

\textbf{Excessive guild restriction.--}The guilds could have been successful in their resistance to all the developments

\textsuperscript{30}$C$. A. Bennett, \textit{History of Manual and Industrial Education up to 1870}, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{31}Renard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 95.  \textsuperscript{32}Day, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{33}Cunningham, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 522.
outside their jurisdiction if they had possessed flexibility in adapting themselves to every new demand society might make. Instead, they allowed the inherent faults and failings to develop into a narrow traditionalism, and a lack of solidarity between those who occupied the various degrees of the hierarchy grew up in their midst. Apprentices were drawn from a lower strata than before, and the interests of masters often clashed with those of their employees. In proportion as a trade advanced and acquired wider markets, it afforded greater opportunities for the investment of capital. Concern over their investments aroused the spirit of monopoly in the craftsmen and the guild statutes of the time are characterized by restrictions aimed to reduce competition by requiring higher entrance fees and costlier masterpieces from outsiders who wanted to carry on a craft on his own account.

Often we find a forbiddance to carry on trade with borrowed capital; and hence, even where the practice of inheriting the freedom of the guild had not been established by the Gild-statutes, the freedom became practically hereditary on account of the difficulty of complying with the conditions for entrance. Even the requisite of spotless honour for admission was abused by the Gild-meetings in order to keep off competition. . . .

The growth of hereditary power and of wealth filled masters with dynastic ambitions and made the acquisition of mastership more difficult, except for those who were their sons,

\[34\] Smith, Smith and Brentano, op. cit., p. cxxxviii.
nephews, or sons-in-law. Whole classes of persons were
denied entrance by the fact that they were not of legitimate
birth or had been of "servile" condition. The influence of
domestic affection transformed the craft guilds into in-
alienable family organizations, jealously limiting the
acquiring of mastery, to the discredit of the system as a
whole.

In the late fifteenth century the capitalist charac-
teristic of the craftsman became more and more prevalent
among the requirements for obtaining guild membership. The
influence of money, combined with family favoritism, raised
the entrance fee so that none could become master unless he
were rich. In Germany, after the sixteenth century, the
exclusion of whole classes of persons because of pretended
infamy of birth, the requirement of proof of nobility, just
as in the case of the collegiate chapters, and the excessive
charges for admission were nullified by the laws of the
Empire. In France and England also the craft guilds
hardened into the same narrow exclusiveness, and the regu-
lations became so difficult to carry out that it was always
possible for the officers to find some weak point by means
of which a rival could be annoyed. The rights to search,
seize, and fine were abused, and money could be made at the
expense of the delinquent who would and could pay to be
exempted. The guild officers thus created an extremely

\footnote{Ibid., p. cxlix.}
profitable monopoly which acted to discredit the system, the discridors being the same people whose mission it was to see guild regulations loyally carried out.\textsuperscript{36}

**Amalagamation of English guilds.**--Throughout the fourteenth century English borough authorities had attempted to confine the various crafts to their own work. Sooner or later in almost every sphere of industry kindred crafts entered into association following years of effort directed to keeping separate the individual interests of each. The success with which the various crafts connected with the cloth industry had amalgamated their interests gave considerable stimulus to the same movement in other crafts. In all probability the desire to exclude aliens was a cause which operated to draw kindred handicrafts together and these unions directly affected their economic welfare.\textsuperscript{37}

The competition of aliens had become so menacing that it compelled local guilds to forget their differences and combine their forces in order to keep local business in their own hands. The fact that they were obliged to consolidate their forces indicates the decay of separate guilds of handicrafts.

We may conclude, then, that the amalgamation of the English mercantile crafts may be deemed a natural step in the evolution of the gild system, by means of which upon the break-up of the gild merchant, various

\textsuperscript{36}Renard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 110.

\textsuperscript{37}Kramer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 63.
groups of tradesmen entered into association in order that they might protect and develop their joint commercial interests. Among the industrial crafts, however, the movement appears to have been a sign of the decay of the early ideals which led them in the first place to establish separate gilds... In sacrificing thus their corporate independence the handicrafts at least had departed far from early gild traditions.38

However, this plan of association failed to put a stop to rivalry, even among guild brothers. The statutes were broken by those who had sworn to keep them. Men were found practicing several professions, cornering raw materials and carrying on clandestine sales below the fixed rates. Thus, through their own failings, as much as through the action of unfavorable surroundings, the guild system dwindled until, by the end of the seventeenth century, it was little more than a worn out institution living on from force of habit.39

Failure to enforce apprenticeship system.--Apprenticeship success under the control of the guilds was due to the personal relationship between master and apprentice and effective supervision by the guild. Apprenticeship continued after the guilds began to decline, but the control had passed under the supervision of national government. It is evident that in larger manufacturing establishments the masters did not always feel it to their economic advantage to give apprentices a broad knowledge of the various processes of their branches of industry.40

38 Ibid., p. 100. 39 Renard, op. cit., p. 115.
his employees from the economic rather than from the social point of view, and considered their social training as more or less a waste of time. The leading manufacturers were organized along new lines and under the "great employers" there seems to have been little restriction as to the number of apprentices or the conditions of work. The reductions, or limitation, of the number of apprentices was usually at the insistence of the journeymen, for too many laborers lowered prices, and aliens and those who had not been declared "free" to practice a trade by the guild, were using their crafts in towns where trade was already impoverished. These conditions of improper apprenticeship became a serious menace to free artisans. However, the guilds themselves secretly admitted into their ranks men who had never properly qualified by serving an apprenticeship, and apprentices were equally as quick to avail themselves of the opportunity to evade guild service.41

A custom, however, sprang up which threatened to wreck the system. This was the practice of buying for money so many years or months of service, thus establishing a privilege to the detriment of professional knowledge and to the advantage of the well-to-do. A sum of money took the place of actual instruction received, and some apprentices at the end of two years, others only at the end of four, obtained their final certificates which allowed them to aspire to mastership.42

The English Poor Law of 1601 provided for the apprenticing of pauper children to the guilds, "the same to be

41 Kramer, op. cit., p. 156. 42 Renard, op. cit., p. 12.
as effectual to all purposes, as if such child were of full age, and by indenture or covenant bound him or herself. . . ." 43 This law increased the numbers of workmen, and made the enforcement of guild rules concerning apprenticeship increasingly difficult. Young persons and unskilled hands could be collected by employers in spite of the opposition of workers who still adhered to the older rules. The number of artisans was reduced by this lack of regular training, and the trades became dependent upon workmen who had never served a real apprenticeship. For a period the illegal workmen were fined, but later the guild periodically assessed small sums from those known to be illegally engaged in a trade. "A man was to be accounted master of his craft if he had exercised it for seven years, so that an illegal workman who escaped indictment for seven years became a fully established craftsman." 44 The opposition of the guilds to these laws only led to the repeal of the obsolete laws that had been the last vestiges of guild control over industry. The factories could now develop without fear of legal interference, since parliamentary investigations into disputes between guilds and capitalistic manufacturers invariably pronounced the old by-laws of the guild as injurious to the trade. "So it appears that as a means of restraining

trade or industry, the apprenticeship system, was doomed long before 1814, the year in which the English government swept from the statute-book the clauses which, for over two centuries, had made apprenticeship a legal requirement.  

Journeymen's societies.—The transformation of the craft guilds into societies of capitalists led to the rise of special organizations for journeymen. "By the sixteenth century a permanent class of journeymen had been created throughout western Europe." In England, at this time, the journeymen, or "freemen," no longer had any voice in the enactment of ordinances or in the electing of officials as had been the case in former days. Guild members were divided into three classes: the livery, admitting only the rich masters; the householder, comprising the rest of the masters; and the journeymen, who were simply called "freemen," the "yeomanry," or "bachelors." There now appeared a "Court of Assistants," the oligarchical councils of the English guilds, which governed the guild and enacted all its ordinances. The members of the "Court" for a particular guild were appointed by the Crown for life, usually from among the liveried members, and as these members died off  

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47 Smith, Smith and Brentano, op. cit., p. cli.
the Court itself filled up the number from among the livery-

men.

In self defense the journeymen began to form independent associations. These associations of journeymen appeared at first as supplements to the masters' guilds, but as they grew more powerful they were able to combine their efforts to raise wages, shorten working hours, and invoke the power of strikes. In spite of suppression these brotherhoods of journeymen continued to exist, electing their own leaders and forming their own by-laws for the regulation of labor.

In Germany and France, journeymen's organizations formed in connection with the system of the traveling of journeymen. This period of travel had become obligatory since the sixteenth century, and journeymen fraternities in all trades formed powerful national organizations of labor which existed into the nineteenth century. "Primarily, they were organs of workers' defense against nascent capitalism,"\textsuperscript{43} and the picturesqueness of their secret rituals and symbolism has often detracted from their real purpose. They set high standards of workmanship and moral conduct, and they improved and diffused the knowledge and techniques of industry. They aimed to prevent the abuses of the masters in regard to the exploitation of apprentices, and to protect the position of the workman against the aggression of the rising manufacturing capitalist.

\textsuperscript{43} Hauser, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 426.
These journeymen's societies showed the essence of the guilds, but the time when the medieval guild had united journeymen and masters was past. The journeymen were now a fixed class, and the workman could no longer regard his position in a guild as merely a stage in the development of a competent artisan. The setting up of their brotherhoods in opposition to the corresponding societies of masters shows that the consciousness of the possession of distinct interests and rights led the workmen to disregard guild authority where their welfare and economic existence could be better served. In their efforts to preserve the integrity of the working man, the journeymen's societies, rather than the craft guilds, are to be regarded as the real forerunners of the trade unions.49

During the eighteenth century great industries developed with unprecedented strength. The invention of labor-saving machinery transformed the technique of the craftsman, and so overflowed the traditional rules of guild organization which tended to shut itself in and shun improvements. The guilds were faithful to the past, hostile to the future, and found themselves without resources when they had to meet competition, "that competition which is no doubt cruel for the weak and death to the ill-timed enterprise, but which is also stimulating to human activity and an encouragement to the progress of industrial and commercial technique."50

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49 Ibid., p. 427. 50 Renard, op. cit., p. 114.
Meanwhile, a crusade against the guilds was begun by public opinion. Economists and philosophers united in attacking their principles in the name of liberty and equality, and the guilds were denounced as privileged and exclusive bodies which prevented numerous people from learning to earn an honest livelihood.

By degrees, among the two peoples which led the European thought of the time—Great Britain and France,—these accusations were condensed into a formula which was the death-warrant of the guilds: Laissez-faire! Laissez-passer! At Edinburgh in 1776 Adam Smith's famous work appeared, and was looked upon as the Gospel of the new doctrine. In 1775, there appeared in Paris a posthumous work by President Bigot of Sainte-Croix, entitled, "An Essay on the Freedom of Commerce and Industry."51

The doctrine of "laissez-faire," or non-interference as applied to economics, was not without influence upon educational thought. The schools of the eighteenth century were plainly decadent, but the educational philosophers of the time were developing new interests in health, in the sciences, and in the practical arts.

51Ibid., p. 122.
CHAPTER V

SCHOOLS AND APPRENTICESHIP IN THE NEW ERA

Many educational leaders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included manual arts in their theories but not in their practices. The world of industry had outgrown the apprenticeship system which had functioned so admirably in furnishing a technical and social education for youth. With the passing of the guilds the system of apprenticeship was without a regulating body, and men were seeking a substitute for apprenticeship. Before the eighteenth century Luther proposed a system of education for industrial workers but it was not put into operation; Comenius extended and modified Luther's scheme, but only a very small part of it was carried into operation under his direction; Hartlib, Petty, and Locke had visions of manual work as a means of improving methods of education . . . all the theorizing of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries resulted in those centuries merely in a change of educational philosophy . . . . The school and the workshop were two entirely separate spheres of human activity. Manual work was outside the realm of school work because its fundamental educational value was not yet recognized.¹

Educational Philosophy of the New Era

In the eighteenth century there appeared schoolmen who took manual work into the schools and discovered the true value of work in the practical arts for education.

¹C. A. Bennett, History of Manual and Industrial Education up to 1870, p. 72.
Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was a severe critic of the methods then in fashion in the schools. Expressing an aversion to book-learning and to the treatment afforded children in life and in the schools, he proposed a "natural" education wherein the child would learn the primary tasks that produce a livelihood. By Rousseau's proposed method of teaching the child would learn formal school subjects as experienced activities in which usefulness would furnish the best motivation. He divided life into three states in order to illuminate the development of the individual, and though his theory of stages may be faulty it formed the basis for scientific interpretation of education. He drew attention to the fact that education should fit a man for changing environment, and that training for a single position was hazardous because of the "mutability of human affairs." Rousseau would have children trained to use their powers in the changing conditions of life and be prepared for any situation when it should arise. He considered work in the manual arts as the best means of acquiring this type of education but did not put his theory into practice.

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) felt that the only means of conserving the social, political, and economic rights that men had gained was a better education for every

\[2\text{J. J. Rousseau, Emile, translated by W. H. Payne, p. 173.}\]

\[3\text{Ibid., p. 9.}\]
individual. The loss of dignity among the common people and
the misery of the poor led him to open a school for poor
children at Neuhof. Children were taught handicrafts, and
through such practical experiences in the manual and indus-
trial arts Pestalozzi sought to introduce and teach tra-
ditional school subjects. His experiment was a failure
economically, but from the educational point of view it was
a complete success. His methods of teaching and his re-
forms upon education had a far-reaching influence.

What Pestalozzi had in view was that every impression
must find expression in action. Man is not a creature
who merely thinks. Thought must complete itself in
action—that is to say, in doing. . . . As Pestalozzi
saw the process, thought or knowledge is developed
in and by means of the common activities of life. One
learns to know by doing.  

It was Pestalozzi's wish to work out an "alphabet of abili-
ties" for the development of practical power in the child so
that this practical power might be applied to whatever situ-
ation that might arise in later life. Manual labor had a
place in his plan of education, but he emphasized the deeper
need of man and realized that mere trade training itself
would not be sufficient to lift up the common man.

Phillip Emanuel von Fellenberg (1771-1844) greatly in-
creased the influence of Pestalozzi by the success of his
institution at Hofwyl in Switzerland. The agricultural and

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4Bennett, op. cit., p. 112.

5F. Eby and C. F. Arrowood, The Development of Modern
Education, p. 657.
industrial school at Hofwyl was conducted after the plans laid down by Pestalozzi, and the practical administrative ability of Fellenberg formed the new educational ideas into a powerful influence. For many years Fellenberg warned that it was the duty of the state to make it possible for everyone, in his own interest and that of society, to recognize and choose the vocation that offered the best prospect of success. Shortly after 1879 the Swiss federal government assumed control of apprenticeship and granted subsidies to schools of vocational education for crafts and industry. Fellenberg's philosophy and the success of his manual labor schools exercised a great influence, not only in Europe, but in America as well, and it was because of this influence that vocational in-school education developed for all classes of society.

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) has been called a disciple of Pestalozzi, but his educational views were formulated from his own experience and his insight into the problems of education far transcended that of Pestalozzi. Herbart believed that it was essential to give a child the broadest possible training, to create proper interests and desires, and to develop the ability of the child to attain them. "Concerning the manual arts Herbart seems to have said but little, yet he, and especially some of his followers, would give them a place among the means available in teaching
some of the other school subjects, and also as a means of discipline."  

Wilhelm Augustus Froebel (1783-1852) developed the doctrine of self-activity and made it the focal point of his educational theory. His belief that education should begin early in childhood led to the development of the kindergarten, where handwork and play activities occupied a fundamental place. The purpose of these activities was to teach lessons by the most impressive and intelligible means, and to dispel the delusion that work was unimportant. His system of education was to be a general system applicable to children and youth of all ages, with some serious activity in the production of some definite piece of work which was suited to the ability of the learner.

He interpreted education, finally, in historical and evolutionary terms. The child, the youth, the man contribute to the resources of the race, and the resources of the race are the materials with which the education of the race is carried on. By discovery, invention, and transmission, child, youth, and man build civilization. . . .

John Dewey (1859--), the foremost educational philosopher in America, embodied in his philosophy the teachings of Rousseau, the practices of Pestalozzi, the social emphasis of Froebel, and the findings of G. Stanley Hall. To all of this social, natural child-development

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6 Bennett, op. cit., p. 161.
concept he added the important fact that the school is responsible for having the pupil get his education by participating as a contributing member of society. Dewey made industrial activities the center of the curriculum and grouped the rest of the studies around this center.

Dr. Dewey points out that the Industrial Revolution took the various industries out of the home, thereby robbing it of one of its chief educational functions. The industries had a direct social and educational significance, in that they stimulated the activities of the child. By contact with these activities, the intelligence of the child was awakened, and through participation in such social living his purposefulness was exercises.5

The combined efforts of these philosophers furnished the underlying principles for present day policies in school teaching, subject matter, and learning. With the formation of stronger national states in Europe and in America, public education was developed as an essential to political and economic salvation. The basic structure of the American school system was vastly different from that of Europe, but in most of the industrial countries of Europe the lack of formal schooling was balanced by an elaborate system of trade training. A combination of schooling with industrial training was developed to supplement the education of the working man and boy.

5 Ebby and Arrowood, op. cit., p. 872.
Schools and Apprenticeship in Europe

The apprenticeship system was maintained in European countries because of the prevailing lack of schooling for the masses and the early transfer of young people from school to employment. In France and Germany there appeared technical schools which served to train industrial workers in new production methods and new techniques. Many of these technical schools developed into polytechnics, technological schools, and colleges, emphasizing instruction in the sciences, but making no provision for manual instruction to develop skill in trade processes. "Such instruction was left to the lower technical and trade schools."\(^9\)

Apprentices were required to attend "continuation" schools to further their technical information, and employers were compelled to grant their workmen the time necessary for attendance at these schools.\(^10\) Industries in Germany, France, and England, under the agreements with national apprenticeship agencies, accepted the responsibility for training apprentices and for the necessary release to enable them to maintain their part-time studies.\(^11\) These schools did not entirely meet the demands of either industry or commerce except in a few cases. The value of a good

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\(^9\) Bennett, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 347.

\(^10\) A. Kahler and E. Hamburger, \textit{Education for an Industrial Age}, p. 263.

general education as a necessary basis for technical knowledge became more apparent, and manual training was introduced into the lower school systems as a valuable ally to other branches of education. The general aim was to produce a higher type of citizenship for an industrial nation by developing a school system which gave a systematic introduction to practical work. Intense industrial competition between nations and the fear of losing prestige in competition created a problem which concerned the leaders of industry, education, and government. The fact that purely literary and academic studies could no longer form a background for apprenticeship or for higher technical training, caused serious attention to be given to shopwork in the schools. The interests of the larger number of people were at stake, and there was a growing feeling that public education should touch practical life. The introduction of manual and industrial training into the schools of England and Europe did not take place until the latter part of the nineteenth century. The movement for manual training activities took rise in Finland where, in 1858, Uno Cygnaeus outlined a course of manual instruction to serve the need for popular education in the useful arts. This new element of elementary instruction was introduced into all the primary schools of France in 1882; by 1900 the work was found in all the larger cities of England; and the manual training movement in Germany received great impetus
from the "sloyd" of Sweden. Manual work was introduced as an efficient auxiliary to other subjects and not as a school substitute for apprenticeship. It did enable the technical institutes and apprenticeship training agencies to take for granted a common background. This background was not viewed as a prerequisite for vocational training, but as part of practical education serving to assist in producing good workmen and in the raising of the standard of apprenticeship trainees by discovering the aptitudes and abilities of pupils.

Schools and Apprenticeship in the United States

Apprenticeship as a means of instructing the poor was established in the American Colonies by the middle of the seventeenth century. The northern colonies used the apprenticeship system as an instrument of public control over debtors and indolents, and the system was prevalent in the South until the importation of Negro slaves in the eighteenth century offered a cheaper source of labor. In the laws and practices of apprenticeship training, English legislation and precedent were directly followed, and the system was frequently abused. Apprenticeship declined in importance in the colonial period because of the numerous opportunities

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for acquiring economic freedom by other means, and because of the supply of trained craftsmen who immigrated from Europe. At this point, the economic and social development of this country did not encourage the continuance of the apprenticeship system on any appreciable scale.

After the political confusion of the Revolutionary War and the establishment of the federal government, the need for education to promote national unity and citizenship became evident. Many educational thinkers urged that practical education would promote the general welfare, and American educational thinking attained a character of its own.

This recognition of the value of vocational subjects was not out of line with contemporary European pedagogical thinking; but American practice developed in a different and characteristic direction. European educators, especially the German, took a keen interest in vocational education, but they contested its general educational value and relegated it to special schools, whereas this country, in its unflinching concern for broadening the democratic basis of education and for the integration of school and life, persistently sought to incorporate vocational and vocationally determined subjects into the general school curriculum.14

The ideas of European educators found their application in America, but the manual labor schools and mechanics institutes enjoyed only a temporary success. However, they helped to shape the system of practical education which followed.15

14 Kahler and Hamburger, op. cit., p. 10.
15 Bennett, op. cit., p. 329.
During the time when interest for in-school vocational education was developing, systematic apprenticeship training was declining. The labor unions were active in sponsoring proper apprenticeship, but legislation for apprenticeship standards was not forthcoming at a time when the expansion of industry made use of large numbers of unskilled workmen. The division of labor in industry had all but abolished the apprenticeship system that had been general in former years. The schools were looked to as the agencies to furnish a program of manual education as a substitute for the great loss.

Work of industrial arts nature was started in 1876 in the United States because of the need of engineering schools to provide technical practice for their students. Almost simultaneously private philanthropy saw in the work an opportunity to supplement the work of the regular schools for those students who were unable to complete or had no desire to complete the regular course of study. Some leaders saw in it the possibility of making education generally practical. Their advocacy of the work intrigued others who saw in it a school substitute for a vanishing apprenticeship system. Public interest was aroused and as a result the work was firmly intrenched in most large public systems before a generation's time had elapsed. 16

Recent Developments in American Apprenticeship

The general decline of apprenticeship after 1860 continued until the period of recovery and increased production in the 1930's. State legislation concerning apprenticeship and the alarm expressed by manufacturers because of the

lack of workers who possessed fundamental trade knowledge stimulated federal leadership of the apprenticeship program. The first attempt at federal control was in the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), but under its direction apprenticeship programs lagged, and the training afforded was mediocre. This program was handicapped by limited finances, and by the fact that the programs had just been organized when the NIRA was declared unconstitutional. However, the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, which had been created under the provisions of the NIRA, continued under the National Youth Administration, and under the Fitzgerald Act of 1937, the staff of the Committee was transferred to the Division of Labor Standards of the United States Department of Labor. The standards set up on a trade-wise and nation-wise basis on the methods of setting up apprenticeship systems were put into operation by the Apprenticeship-Training Service in cooperation with state apprenticeship councils, labor, and management. As announced by the Committee, the functions of the Apprenticeship Training Service are fourfold.

1. To promote a better understanding of apprenticeship standards and to recommend minimum standards of apprenticeship for various trades.
2. To act in a technical, consulting, and advisory capacity to all agencies concerned with labor standards of apprenticeship.

17E. Danaher, Apprenticeship Practice in the United States, p. 3.
3. To cooperate with state apprenticeship councils and with local trade apprenticeship committees.

4. To act as a central agency for the collection and distribution of information on progress, methods, and procedures useful in promoting labor standards of apprenticeship.\(^1^8\)

The formulation of apprenticeship standards was an important step in raising the level of craftsmanship in the various trades, and the list of apprenticeable trades was broadened. The success of the apprenticeship movement may be seen by the fact that, as of December, 1943, there were fourteen National Trade Joint Apprenticeship programs, and there were a total of 44,135 programs and approximately 275,000 apprentices.\(^1^9\)

The role played by the schools in providing supplementary education for apprentices, especially during World War II, convinced school authorities that it was to their advantage to keep up-to-date concerning the needs of the community and of industry as a whole. In general, industries and trades preferred to train their own personnel for specific skills, but the task of furnishing general information to enhance specific skills, and to develop the economic and social stature of the industrial worker, remained to the schools.


CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has traced the development of the craft guilds of the European Middle Ages from their earliest beginnings through the time of their greatest power and the internal and external developments which led to their decline. The data used in this study were obtained from books dealing with the history of guilds, from histories of education, from magazine articles, and from unpublished master's theses. The information gathered from these sources has been studied for the purpose of showing the factors which contributed to the success of the guilds and the influences, if any, that these factors have exerted upon industrial arts education.

In summarizing, it may be said that the success of the craft guilds rested upon their well-regulated system of apprenticeship. The apprentice became a part of his master's household at a fairly early age and thus learned to do practical work early in his career. It is probable that the years of experiment with manual activities in the elementary school found its starting point from this fact. In order to provide the same kind of experiences in school by which a child learns in real life, industrial arts courses were
placed in the modern elementary curriculum, the emphasis being placed upon intelligence and use of industrial commodities and not upon their production.

The close relationship between master and apprentice under the guild system of apprenticeship also provided certain advantages that have influenced industrial arts education. Under the guild system the apprentice found his master to be a constant and competent teacher. Working in the same shop with the master, the apprentice had opportunities to observe and to learn how to deal with business matters, such as buying and selling, and he also learned something of the social and economic problems connected with his chosen craft. There can be no doubt that this phase of pupil education has received attention in industrial arts education. Industrial arts courses drew upon the reservoir of resources that exist in every community in order to help children and youth obtain economic and social competence. Materials from all the fields of knowledge were utilized as they were needed. In this way, basic ideals, understandings and skills were taught without compartmentalization. Industrial arts courses were designed to present experiences which were entirely neglected, or only touched upon, in other forms of education. These developments in industrial arts may be considered as a direct effort to provide the same type of basic industrial training that had prevailed under the guild system of apprenticeship training.
In the workshop of the master craftsman, the apprentices and journeymen learned all the processes required to produce a finished article. In addition, the contact between guilds enabled the workman to learn something of trades other than his own. As a result, the workman obtained a broad knowledge which enabled him to find employment in related industries, or, if it was demanded by any turn of events, to change occupations. The rapid development of modern industrial society, as has been illustrated, destroyed the guild system of apprenticeship training. Industrial change swept away many occupations, and, on the other hand, many new occupations were created. Modern workmen, who had received only a limited occupational background, were often faced with the problem of choosing a new and different vocation to replace one that had been destroyed by technological advancement. In view of this problem of technological change, industrial arts courses were designed to provide work experiences in basic processes that are utilized in a variety of trades and industries. Courses in woodworking, welding, machine-shop practice, and crafts work, were introduced into the curriculum for purposes of exploration and to aid the student to discover his own special interests and abilities. The development of a wholesome attitude toward change was set up as a desirable and legitimate objective, the development of such an attitude depending, of necessity,
upon the development of skill, versatility, and understanding in a wide variety of industrial fields.

Before the time when capital began to play an important role in industry, and the interests of the master became widely separated from those of his workmen and apprentices, the craft guilds enjoyed a democratic form of industrial life. There may have been some apprentices who did not take advantage of the opportunities provided to learn to carry on a business, but, in general, the apprenticeship system provided a good education for a great many youths. There was no prejudice for or against any individual as an individual, and the opportunities for developing talent were extended in a large measure, if not in an equal measure, to all. Modern educators pointed out the fact that the social and educational significance of the various home industries, as they had existed under the craft guild system, had been destroyed by the Industrial Revolution. The objectives of general education were reformulated, and courses in the industrial arts became an integral part of the curriculum. In view of the results achieved by the craft guild system of industrial education, and aided by developments in educational psychology with reference to individual differences, industrial arts courses were designed to break down the artificial barriers among economic and social classes by avoiding the segregation of pupils on the basis of intelligence, economic level, or vocational destination.
Work experiences in industrial arts were utilized as a means of developing sound attitudes toward labor, and an appreciation of the labor of others. Industrial arts, therefore, may be considered as part of general education designed specifically to furnish certain aspects of training, which had been a part of apprenticeship training under the guild system.

In the workshop of the master craftsman, crafts work possessed distinct artistic possibilities. This was due to the workman's intimate knowledge of the possibilities and limitations of tools and materials, and to the opportunities afforded the workman for individual expression. The workmen were, as a rule, the designers as well as the executors of work assigned to them. Their products, combining beauty and utility, were well-developed expressions of creative knowledge and skill in handwork. Modern educators, realizing the importance and the need for some form of creative expression, have looked to industrial arts as one of the sources to provide the opportunity for creative activities. Through such activities the individual has a better chance of satisfying individual needs, by achieving a sense of personal adequacy through the mastery of some task. Thus, the project in industrial arts came to be looked upon as the medium by means of which the learner not only developed skill and creative ability, but also a sense of achievement
that contributed to his social and emotional stability. Skill received emphasis in industrial arts courses as a means of producing self-satisfaction in the individual, and not merely as an end in itself.

The value of skill for future vocational or avocational pursuits was not appreciably diminished by the diversification of modern industry, for in many lines of industry, and for the production of many products, handwork was, and still is, essential for well-made goods. The importance of design in the industrial arts received its proportionate share of emphasis, not only in relation to the development of esthetic appreciation, but also as a means of adapting the production of industrial arts commodities to modern techniques. Under the guild system, the design and production of articles for community use reflected and interpreted the economic and social life of the times. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that, from the time of its earliest conception in the minds of educational philosophers, industrial arts education was influenced by the results achieved under the apprenticeship system of the Middle Ages, as evidenced by the high status and ability of the individual industrial workman, and by the quality of his product as interpretive of contemporary economic and social life.

In conclusion, it may be stated that certain aspects of industrial arts education developed as a school substitute
for the apprenticeship system, the primary purpose being to provide technical intelligence and versatility in both manual and mental skills. Apprenticeship methods of training by doing, by observation and manipulation, and by individual instruction, are characteristic of present-day industrial arts education. Historic developments prove that the most effective movements for the elevation of the craftsman must concern themselves with the broader issues of life in an industrial society. Specialized trade and vocational education does not always equip the individual to deal with the problems of general citizenship, nor does it provide the breadth of interest necessary for a wise use of the leisure time made available in modern industrial life.

The complex character of the present industrial economy has been molded by technology, but a change in the technological basis of the economy, from the centralized and complex to the spreadout and simple, now seems very possible. The westward migration of industry, and the renewed interest in apprenticeship, are signs which indicate a new era in industrial training. Under present conditions, the best industrial preparation for the years ahead must provide a balance between special and general abilities, economic and social living. Industrial arts education, patterned after apprenticeship principles, may be regarded as an important and vital part of the present-day effort to produce skilled
and versatile workmen, and at the same time to provide for the social, moral, and physical needs of all members of an industrial society.
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