Middle class thought in Elizabethan England as reflected in the novels of Thomas Deloney

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MIDDLE CLASS THOUGHT IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

AS REFLECTED IN

THE NOVELS OF THOMAS DELENEY

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Elizabethan period of English history was a period of unprecedented change. At no time in the history of England had changes on all levels -- social, economic, and religious -- taken place so vigorously. During this era England rose from a battle-scarred medieval state to a powerful commercial nation, powerful enough to challenge the political and economic supremacy of Spain. The story of this amazing transformation, detailed and complex, has been told and retold. The society which made such monumental contributions to the world of drama and poetry, the courtly society of Queen Elizabeth and Sir Walter Raleigh; Sir Philip Sydney and William Shakespeare has claimed the attention of multitudes of scholars while the group of "University Wits" has enjoyed more than a fair share of scholarly treatment. To accept only the literary productions of these two groups of writers, however, is to ignore completely a large body of writing which played an enormous part in shaping the attitudes and opinions of a majority of the Elizabethan populace. The
"Aristocratic" writers of the Renaissance period have left us models of poetic and dramatic excellence clearly establishing their creative genius, models which have served as criteria for literary productions to the present time. But while the courtly writers and "University Wits" shaped the literature of England, another group of writers shaped the economic, social and political attitudes of the fast developing middle class. The prose writers, the pamphleteers, and ballad-hawkers commanded a vast audience, an audience of common unliterary people who were interested in living and who responded to a medium recognizing that interest and catering to it.

Because of the limited circulation of the poetry of the courtly writers, those poems which are today recognized as having more than considerable merit were unknown to all but the favored few privileged to read them in manuscript form. The plays, while they were available to a wider audience, were not influential in fashioning the actions or attitudes of playgoers in the extremely important matter of making a living in a world where ever-increasing competition demanded shrewd application of practical concepts. And in considering
the literature of the Elizabethan period, indeed, one often tends to forget or to ignore the mind of the average man; for to the modern intellectual and his literary ancestor, the very thought of a "middle-class mind" is distressing. To contemplate seriously the ability of the bourgeoisie to produce anything worthwhile or thought-provoking is unworthy of genuine scholarly consideration. It must be remembered, however, that the growing middle class in England formed the solid core of English development, both socially and economically. The importance of the middle class as a power behind the development of English society, and the literature of that society, cannot be over-emphasized.

The population of England at the time of the reign of Elizabeth could be divided roughly into three major groups: the upper class, consisting of titled nobility, landed gentry, and the more important professional men; the lower class embracing the common laborers, the illiterate peasants, and the small artisans whose simple arts did not call for any highly developed skills; and the middle class lying between the two extremes, comprising the merchants, tradesmen,
and craftsmen whose main interest lay in business profits and commercial ventures. From this last class came the individual to whom we can refer as the "average citizen" or the "middle class citizen". The three classes were by no means mutually exclusive, for owing to economic and political fluctuations, there was a constant mingling of the three groups. Members of the middle class, who because of their business prowess, acquired large amounts of money and land, were constantly entering the upper strata while the less fortunate members of the middle class were slipping down into the less-privileged lower group. At the same time, because of the nature of the economic structure, members of the lowest class were able to fight their way up into a more beneficial social position. The economic and social climate of the time encouraged the development of the "rugged individual" who either forged ahead to economic and hence to social supremacy, or lost his grip and fell to the bottom of the pile. The dog-eat-dog concept of modern industrial society was being born, and a special philosophical outlook was evolving to explain that way of life and to perpetuate it. The great middle
class with its numerical superiority and economic supremacy was able to establish a completely new system of society. It developed a new way of living, a code of ethics and a new set of ideals which gave it a reality that effectively fashioned the modern western society. Trade was not a tarnishing thing to the middle class merchant; his work was his ladder to success and something of which he could be intensely proud. He did not conceal his success, but boasted of his good fortune to the world. He built a stronger nation than any other in his day, and influenced present-day culture to an extent that cannot be denied.

With the growth of the importance of the merchant and tradesman, the concept of government and its relation to the governed changed radically as a great interdependence came into being. The government became the prime instrument in fostering and protecting the interests from which it gained its economic existence. Because government was assuming a more paternal attitude over its citizens, especially in matters of economic concern, those same citizens, to protect better their economic security and well-being, implemented their government with office-holders and representatives who
effectively carried through those policies de-
signed to encourage development and expansion
of business activities which continued to enrich
the country. Somewhere in this hectic picture
of intensified activity on all levels, stood the
man whose new ambitions, eagerness for advance-
ment, and tremendous energy and optimism, made
possible the expanding commercial world about
him. This individual, this average middle class
being, whose ambitions and attitudes present such
a striking parallel to those of his modern coun-
terpart, is of supreme interest to us. Our mod-
ern society has not been established in the
pastoral niceties of Sydney’s Arcadia, nor the
wearisome parallelisms of Lyly’s Euphues. Nor
are we strictly the descendants of the cut-purses
or pick-pockets of Greene’s Conney-Catching Pam-
phlets, and Nashe’s adventurous Jacke Wilton.
Those sources and ones similar have made us aware
of language and form in literature; they have shown
us the Elizabethan rogue at his best, but their
influence does not extend so much into the realm
of economic living as others. The world in which we
live is, for all of its modern externals, the
natural development of those concepts of society
laid down by the writers who wrote specifically for the middle class. It is that group to which we owe our ideas of individual enterprise, chance for unlimited advancement, our common code of ethics and standards of morality. The economic and political development of the Elizabethan period fostered those attitudes toward life which have found their way in modified form into our own middle class society.

The establishment of arbitrary points of reference and limitation will always have the tendency to exaggerate the importance of certain ideas and observations and to minimize the value of others. The extent of this artificial emphasis of some definite concepts or ideas to the detriment of others depends largely upon the type and scope of the material being handled. Where large areas of thought are being considered it is often necessary to reduce ideas of considerable complexity and widespread implications to relatively simple statements of broad general meaning. The term "middle class" is in itself an abstract designation which cannot be fully defined and described by limiting its application to a fixed group of people engaged in certain trades and
possessed of a specified amount of material wealth. A discussion of the term itself would undoubtedly lead to weighty interpretations which have no place in this particular paper. The term shall be employed hereafter in its usual connotative sense as that segment of modern society which is neither extravagantly possessed of material goods, nor unusually deprived of them. It is a class of shopkeepers, and men owning small businesses which they manage themselves. It is a class which at different times has been subdivided to provide an "upper middle class" and a "lower middle class" to distinguish more finely the relative prosperity of its members and to indicate its flexible nature. Whatever the exact meaning of the term and the subtle gradations of material well-being which have resulted in its use as a fairly definitive expression, it is generally conceded to owe its genesis to economic considerations. During the Elizabethan period economic laws were not so highly refined as they are at the present time, but the expansion of commercial activities did produce a class which bore the burden of developing and refining those activities to an almost unlimited extent economically and thus formed the way of life essential to the new commercialism.
II.

Out of this maelstrom of activity that made up the Renaissance scene in England the bourgeois class began to form. The feudal system of lord and serf began to melt away on an economic level under the pressure of rising commercialism. A highly organized social stratification remained as a levelling influence; that is, the system of royalty, nobility, and commoner that had arisen as an economic necessity remained but was rapidly losing its hold on the common classes as an economic factor and was being relegated to the insignificant status of a social nomenclature. The medieval society was in the last stages of its

1 For a more detailed study of the economic development in England see Frederick C. Dietz, *An Economic History of England*, New York, 1942, p. 103; "The family or dynasty of the Tudors ruled as kings in England from 1485 to 1603. Their accession to the throne was followed by the end of the long period of civil wars which had been one of the manifestations of the political disintegration characteristic of the fifteenth century....Feudalism had been undermined by the rise of the money economy and of capitalism. Under the circumstance of increasing national wealth and in the face of a new spirit of acquisitiveness which the appearance of material wealth evoked, a new code regulating men's relations with one another was formulated."
existence; no longer were citizens tied to a social level from which they never could find release. The power of money began to supplant that of high birth. Respectability and high place could be purchased, and anyone with a fair amount of prudence and business ability could become quite rich and respectable if he tended strictly to business.

But the acknowledged literary world still clustered about the court because writing was considered a learned and genteel refinement. Indeed, writing for publication was not considered nice in the court circles and those who did write ballads and broadsides to be sold in the streets received the censure of their fellow writers and very little by way of economic return. Despite the low esteem in which balladeers and pamphleteers were held, the product of their pens was in wide demand by the mass of people in the large cities who took an understandable interest in the ever-expanding commonwealth. The shopkeepers and the men in the street looked to their lavish court and gloried in the splendor of their ruler and nation; on every side they could see their country becoming enriched and powerful, developing in all phases of
social and economic activity. London, the seat of political and economic activity, provided a wide open field for the talents of the balladeers and pamphlet-writers headed by William Elderton and including Philip Stubbs, Robert Armin, and the object of this study, Thomas Deloney. If any man could be said to be a product of his time, to present in himself, his actions, and attitudes the spirit of the age in which he lived and worked, to foretell in his being the destiny of his country, that man is Thomas Deloney, pamphleteer, balladeer, and writer of novels.

Deloney appeared on the London scene in 1583 when he printed a translation from Latin of A Declaration Made by the Archbishop of Collen, upon the Deeds of His Marriage Sent to the States of His Archbishopric. The dedication is to "John, Bishoppe of London" and is signed by Thomas Deloney, who abhors "...the tyranny of superstitious Popes, and Prelates of Rome, whose intollerable pride is of the Lord detested...". The letter was a defense of Ghebhard the Archbishop of Cologne, Prince and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, directed to Gregory XIII stating his determination to renounce his vow of celibacy and enter into marriage. The work, Deloney's only
known translation, displayed his virulent antica-

phism toward the Catholic Church. In light of
his subsequent work it is obvious that his only
motive in translating the exchange of letters was
that of displaying his anti-Catholic disposition,
a motive which would have appealed to the middle
glass of which Deloney was a most soluble member.

The date of Deloney's birth is unknown; Ebs-
worth places it at 1543, but Mann suggests that
the assignment is capricious. Whatever the rea-
son for Ebsworth's choice, 1543 has remained as
the authoritative date. His birthplace is also
a matter for conjecture. Ebsworth thinks that
he was "probably born in London"; Nash, however,
in Have With You To Saffron-Walden (1596) speaks
of Deloney as "the bawling silk-weaver of Nor-
wich", and since Deloney was known to have been
in London as early as 1583, it would logically
follow that Nash was speaking of the town of Deloney's

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2 Dictionary of National Biography, V, 777.

3 Thomas Deloney, Complete Works, Francis O.

4 DNB, V, 777.

5 Thomas Nash, Complete Works, R. B. McKerrow,
birth. At least it indicates that Deloney had strong ties in Norwich, stronger apparently than those in London where he had resided thirteen years prior to Nash's statement. There is little doubt of Deloney's having followed the silk trade, that profession having been associated with him in several sources. Mann suggests that his name may indicate French ancestry and proceeds to build an elaborate background on that assumption which involves his strong protestant feelings and points to the possibility that his ancestors were refugees from Belgium or France. Whether or not he was descended from continental refugees, Deloney takes a tremendous interest in them, and alien artisans figure prominently in his novels. The only other bit of biographical information known of Deloney centers around an entry in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, showing that Richard Deloney, son of Thomas, was christened there on October 16, 1586.

In 1586, also, he published a broadside which was indicative of the type of sensational journalism

6 Mann, op. cit., p. vii.
7 Ibid., p. viii.
that eventually made him the most popular bal-
ladeer in London: A Proper Newe Sonet Declaring
the Lamentation of Beckles in Suffolke, Burnt by
Fire on S. Andrewe's Eve Last Past. In this
particular ballad, the town of Beckles is the
narrator, and to the accompaniment of a popular
tune it sings a mournful lament exorting others
to learn by its lesson and "live not in strife
and envious hate/ To breed each other thrall,
Seeks not your neighbors lasting spoyle/ By greedy
suite in lawe...". This piece set the pace for
most of Deloney's lugubrious ballads, all of which
might justifiably be labelled dirges because of
their mournful content. Also in that year Deloney
published A Most Joyful Song at the Taking of the
Late Trayterous Conspirators----Fourteen of Them
Have Suffered Death on the 20 and 21 of September.
The song is far from joyful; it lists the conspi-
rators involved in the Babington Plot to unseat
Elizabeth and place Mary Stuart on the throne. Since
the execution took place in London, Deloney might

8 All the ballads referred to are to be found
in Mann, op. cit.
very well have been on hand to witness those "Englishmen with Romish barts" receive "that death they have deserved".

Even though only a few of his works remain Deloney's output for the next eight years must have been extensive, for it is from this period that he emerges as the most popular balladeer in London. Robert Greene refers to him in his *Defense of Conny-Catching* and speaks quite familiarly of him as a balladeer:

"Such triviall trinkets and threethbard trash, had better seem'd T.D. whose braines beaten to the yarking up of ballades, might more lawfully have glauast at the quaint conceites of conny-catchings and crosse-biting." 9

Gabriel Harvey classes him with the common pamphleteers of London and advises Nash "to loast lesse with Thomas Delone, or to atchieve more with Thomas More". Strype in his edition of Stow's *Survey* notes that

abusive Ballads and Libels were too com-
mon in the City in Queen Elizabeth's


time, therein reflecting too boldly and seditiously upon the Government, particularly in case of death. 11

It seems that in one of his ballads, Deloney had complained of a dearth of grain in the realm and had pictured the Queen "speaking with her people dialogue wise in very fond and undecent sort". 12

In 1592 William Elderton, king of the ballad-makers, died. He was a notorious drunkard and his excesses in that direction had cast his fellow ballad-singers as well as himself into ill-repute. When Deloney became general of the ballad-makers, he did not indulge in the excesses of his predecessor — that is in drink; however, his subject material was every bit as sensational as that of Elderton, one of whose extant ballads is entitled, *The True Foure and Share of a Monstrous Child Which Was Born at Stony Stratford*. Some of Deloney's ballads from this period relate the sordid details of various murders and include

12 Mann, op. cit., p. ix.
13 DNB, VI, 591.
The Lamentation of Page's Wife of Plymouth (1591) and The Lamentation of George Strangwidge (1591). In August of 1588 he published three broadsides which were important in their time as news items: The Happy Obtaining of the Great Galssne, an exciting account of the Spanish Armada; The Strange and Cruel Whips Which the Spaniards Had Prepared; a horror story of war wherein the English would be whipped into conversion to the Catholic faith; and The Queen's visiting the Camp at Tilbury, a strikingly authentic account of the Queen's visit which agrees with Elizabetha Triumphaa (1588) by John Aske and was written the day after the visit. His Strange Histories contain many other ballads which proved very popular: The Kentishman With Long Tales, The Drowning of Henry I's Children, The Duchess of Suffolk's Calamity, Henry II Grown-His Son King, and other historical ballads. He also issued a collection under the title A Garland of Good Will which contains legendary tales of English history as well as contemporary fact and fiction.

14 Mann, op. cit., p. 597.
The works with which this investigation will deal are three prose novels which Deloney wrote near the end of his life: "Jacobs of Newberry," the story of John Winchomb, a famous clothier of the city of Newberry; The Gentle Craft, parts I and II, incidents about the shoemakers in England; and Thomas of Reading, a loosely connected series of incidents about clothiers. Within these three novels, works written about middle class life by a middle class craftsman, can be found elements of thought typical of the bourgeois citizen. Since Deloney speaks most authoritatively about the clothiers with whom he had the most intimate acquaintance, Jacobs of Newberry naturally contains the bulk of evidence supporting the contention that Deloney's ideas are those of the class about which he writes. The Gentle Craft, Parts I and II, in dealing with shoemakers, departs from the area with which Deloney is most familiar, that of the clothing trade, but nevertheless, presents in Simon Eyre, the traditional bourgeois hero, a

15 See George W. Kuehn, "Thomas Deloney: Two Notes," MLN, LII (1937) 103-105, for a brief discussion of the probably dates of Deloney's three prose novels.
picture of a well-rounded middle class ideal.

Returning to the clothing trade in his final
novel, *Thomas of Reading*, the author details
some experiences of middle class heroes in light
of typical bourgeois ideals.
CHAPTER II

JACK OF NEWBERIE

In 1597 Thomas Deloney wrote The Pleasant  
Historie of John Winchomb or Jacke of Newberie, 
stating in his dedicatory passage that the book 
was a labor of love written for the "well minded 
Clothiers; that herein they may behold the great 
worship and credit which men of this trade have 
in former times come unto". It is possible, how- 
ever, that he was commissioned to write the novel 
by a clothing guild and was suitably rewarded for 
his efforts. If he were hired to write the 
praises of the weavers' craft, he makes no mention 
of his patronage either in Jacke of Newberie or 
his succeeding works. Whether or not he undertook 
the writing of the story voluntarily without 
thought of remuneration, it is, like its compan- 
ions, a propaganda novel, designed "to impress 
the powers-that-were with the importance of basic

1 Ann., op. cit., p. 506.
2 Ernest A. Baker, The History of the English 
industries for the state and the vital necessity of permitting them to continue unhampered by governmental influence. At any rate, the story illustrates the boundless enthusiasm Deloney felt for the craft which he portrayed. It is throughout a highly idealized and romantic concept of the trade with which he was best acquainted. His enthusiasm, ability at character portrayal, and very intimate association with that craft combine to present a useful and realistic picture of the Elizabethan middle class individual. A close analysis of Jacke of Newberie with select references to the age in which he lived and wrote can best illustrate his importance as a chronicler of that segment of the English population known as the middle class.

The figure of John Winchomb, or Jacke of Newbury, has some basis in history, although it is mainly traditional. Fuller in his Worthies presents a description of Winchomb and the house in which he lived; some of the material is taken

directly from Deloney's novel. The 1775 edition of *Jacks of Newberie* concluded with the information that "Mr. Winchombe lived many years, an ornament to society and a great promoter of the clothing branch. He built the tower with all the western part of the Newbury Church, and died Feb. 15, 1519, as appears by his epitaph still remaining in the church." According to Mann, Deloney must have been personally familiar with Newbury and its local history and traditions.

4 See Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, London, 1811, p. 95: "John Winchombe, called commonly Jack of Newbury, was the most considerable Clother (without fancy and fiction) England ever beheld. His looms were his lands, whereof he kept one hundred in his house, each managed by a man and a boy. In the expedition to Fluddendenfield against James King of Scotland he marched with an hundred of his own men (as well armed, and better clothed, than any) to show that the painfull to use their hands in peace, could be valiant, and employ their arms in War. He feasted King Henry the Eighth and his first Queen Katherine at his own house, extant at Newberry at this day, but divided into many tenements. Well may his house now make sixteen Clothiers houses, whose wealth would amount to six hundred of their estates. He built the Church of Newberry from the Pulpit Westward to the Tower inclusively; and died about the year 1520: some of his name and kindred of great wealth still remaining in this Country." p. 110-11: Both Francis and John Winchombe are listed as sheriffs of Berkshire in Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

5 Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 506.
inasmuch as his descriptions of the town and its inhabitants seem to have been derived from experience rather than from books.

Considered as a complete work, *Jacks of Newberie*, is, by all modern standards, crude and unpolished. It leads off with a biographical account of Jack to which Deloney adds a number of incidents of uncertain origin. Structurally, it is episodic and therefore lacks the unity that has come to be associated with the novel as a form. It is not entirely formless, however, for it is held together by Deloney's attitudes and beliefs more than by conscious literary organization. For in this account of the craft with which he was best acquainted, Deloney presents the superior position of the clothiers in the light of those concepts which he holds to be of paramount importance: the domestic front, the solid home foundation upon which the social structure is built; the laboring scene, the employer-employee relationship through which the economic power of the commonwealth is increased; the understanding between the monarch and the subject, the

6 Ibid., p. 507.
mutual forbearance of citizen and king which provide the security essential to the well-being of both; and the idea of advancement, the will to get ahead which spurs members of the commonwealth to new economic conquests.

On the domestic front marriage assumes a position of major importance in *Jack of Newbervie* inasmuch as it provides the framework upon which Deloney can exhibit matters of equal or greater importance. As an apprentice to a broadcloth weaver Jacke is held (though he were but poore) in good estimation. His opportunity for advancement in the business world comes when his master dies, thus causing his mistress to place the management in Jacke's able hands. His worthiness and dependability as an employee place him uppermost in the esteem of his lady, even though she is courted by a clerical gentleman, a tailor, and a tanner, for "shee had never a Prentise that yeilded her more obedience than he did". His lack of gentle birth and worldly goods are no hindrance to his advancement, for his dame realizes fully that under his management her business has come "forward and prospered wondrous well". Once he has proved himself, Jacke is led
off to the church by his mistress and wed to her. When the new wife seeks to test Jacke's love by gadding about night and day and refusing to attend to her domestic affairs, the young husband locks her from the house. Her knocking arouses him from sleep and he reprimands her sharply (p. 17):

What? is it you that keeps such a knocking? I pray you get hence, and request the Constable to provide you a bed, for this night you shall have no lodging here.

His wife tricks him to come out of the house, however, and turns the tables on him by locking him out in the cold. He finally spends the night sleeping with the apprentices. The next morning, his wife, fury abated, comes around with forgiveness and hot candle. After Jacke admits his wife's full sovereignty, the two of them live peacefully "till in the end she dies leaving her husband wondrous wealthy".

Having dispensed with the first Dame Winchcomb, Jacke's initial stepping stone to success,

7 See Chapter III, infra, for a more detailed account of the strong willed wife, one of Delaney's favorite themes.

8 All quotations are taken from Mann, op. cit.
Deloney is free to exploit the character of
the clothier in light of his own merits.

After very sensibly training one of his servants
in the "guiding of his house a yeare or two" and
finding her careful, faithful, and an excellent
housewife, Jacke opens his mind to her and
craves her good will. The maiden promptly noti-
ifies her father, who "being joyfull of his daugh-
ters good fortune," hastens to Newberry to arrange
for the marriage. Not long after Jacke's second
marriage, an incident happens which threatens to
upset the precious serenity of his home; a gos-
sippy neighbor professes some advice to the young
wife which adversely affects the relationship

9 Where Jacke seemed a trifle blundering and
dull-witted in his apprentice days, his ac-
quision of wealth and position made him an
astute and clear-headed business man. The
sudden metamorphosis is not unusual in Delo-
ney's writing as his works are too short to
allow full character delineation. He seems
to never take full advantage of his oppor-
tunities for character portrayal in a psycho-
logical sense. Instead he presents an ar-
ray of external idiosyncrasies which pro-
vide an inexhaustible field of speculation
for the reader. Not infrequently his at-
ttempts at character delineation in the light
of a number of illustrative actions lead
him into digressions which are saved from
tediousness only by his colorful descrip-
tions and energetic presentation of incident.
between Jacke and his employees. This conversa-
tion between Dame Winchomb and her neighbor
realistically deals with the state of the new
marriage. With little change it could have
taken place in any parlor; indeed, it takes
place in many parlors to this very day (p. 53);

Good morrow good Gossip: now by my
truly I am glad to see you in health.
I pray you how doth master Winchome?*
What never a great belly yet? no fie;
by my fa your husband is want idle.
Trust me Gossip (saith mistresse
Winchomb) a great belly comes sooner
than a new coat; but you must con-
sider we have not been long married....

In reality, Jacke has been a good husband; he
is good and loving to his wife and she would not
change him for a "lord Marquess". Indeed,
he is such a fine man that he has been chosen to
be the burgess for the Parliament. He is not
too pleased, however, about the appointment, for
there are many duties connected with it that
will take him from his business. Mistress
Winchomb also points out to her neighbor the
difficulty of getting used to her new role as
a member of the secure middle class; she has
never had so many worldly goods in her life. Her
neighbor comforts her with the assumption which
effectively sums up the attitudes of most of the
nouveaux riches by telling her that she is as
much a lady as anyone born to the position. The
neighbor, who is older and far more experienced,
offers more advice calculated to aid the young
woman in her domestic affairs. It is evident
that the young woman does not understand how to
treat her servants; she has a name throughout the
country for feeding her menials in a grand style.
If she were to follow the gossips' advice and use
poorer commodities, she would save at least twenty
pounds a year. When the good wife tries this
method of saving money for her husband, she re-
ceived an admonition from him for jeopardizing the
fine relationship he has established with his
employees. Inasmuch as Jacke himself has been an ap-
prentice, he knows how they feel and has been prac-
ticing methods which will bring about the greatest
efficiency and production (p. 56):

I will not have my people thus pinch
of their victuals. Empty platters make
greedy stomachs, and where scarcity is
kept, hunger is nourished; and there-
fore wife as you love mee, let mee have
no more of this doings.

No sooner has Jacke steered his own marriage
into smoother domestic waters, than he is con-
fronted with a problem which demanded matrimony
as a fitting solution. The strong sense of moral
fitness which was later to solidify in the Puritan rule of England comes through eloquently in Jacke's treatment of the affair between one of his maids and Sir George Rigley. Sir George is made a knight after the Battle of Morlaix. Ordi-

narily, in medieval times, when a soldier was knighted he was provided with a demesne to support him. During the Elizabethan age the knighthood became more or less an honorary position and car-

ried with it none of the material gains which it had previously brought. When the Elizabethan "knights" returned from war, someone had to be responsible for supporting them in a manner be-

fitting warriors who had fought gallantly in the defense of the commonwealth and so many of the wealthy craftsmen took the soldiers into their homes and treated them handsomely for having added to the security of the country. It falls Jacke's lot to provide for Sir George Rigley, who uses his spare time wooing one of the many maidens who work in Jacke's house. The results were to run as follows (p. 64):

This lusty wench has so allured with hope of marriage, that at length she yielded him her love, and therewithall bent her whole study to works his contents: but in the end, shue so much
contented him, that it wrought to
her owne discontent; to become high,
she laid her selfe so low, that the
Knight suddenly fell over her,
which fall became the rising of her
belley.

Upon learning of her condition, the poor girl com-
plains to Sir George, who will have nothing to do
with her. Calling her a "dunghill carrion", he
quite Newberry and goes to London. Mistress Win-
chomb is next to learn of the situation, the news
of which she immediately carries to her fond husband.
To remedy the unfortunate situation, Jacke quickly
goes to London and approaches Sir George with a
tale of a widowed rich woman who will not wed
because she fears she is with child by her recently
deceased husband. Jacke advises Sir George to
"ride to her, wooe her, winne her". The girl is
set up in style in London by the elethier, and
Sir George, who cannot see through her disguise,
presses his suit with amazing vigor; however, the
girl will have none of him except at the interven-
tion of Master Winchomb. After the marriage, when
Sir George learns of his wife's identity, he
frets, fumes, stamps and stares "like a diuell".
Jacke moralizes to him thusly (p. 67):

Why...what needs all this? Came you
to my table to make my maids your
strumpet? had you no mans house to
dishonour but mine? Sir, I would you should well know, that I account the poorest wench in my house too good to be your whore, were you ten knights; and seeing you took pleasure to make her your wanton, take it no scarce to make her your wife; and use her well too, or you shall hear of it.

With the formalities in hand, Jacke provides the maid with a hundred pound dowry and invites the couple to live for two years at his house. The King, hearing of the incident, shows his approval of Jacke's move by providing the knight with a perpetual livelihood, the better to "maintain my lady his wife".

Some of the trouble on the domestic front was caused by the intrusion of forces which were not in sympathy with the Englishman's attitude toward moral stability in the home. In one such instance a foreigner threatens to upset the domestic tranquility of the home of one of Jacke's employees. One of the three maidsens who waits upon Jacke's wife is Jean, a young lady from 10 a wealthy and influential family. Jean's beauty has caught the roving eye of a wealthy young Italian, Benedict, who has come to Newberry to

10 High born children were often placed in the homes of wealthy merchants or craftsmen until they were ready to assume their role in life.
bargain with Jacke for cloth. Although he plies her with gifts, the girl will have nothing to do with him. For one thing, she is highly amused by his broken English. In fact, the only way she knows of his love for her is through his interminable sobbing and sighing to himself when he is near her. One of Joan's kinsmen, a robust fellow, states that no kinswoman of his shall have any commerce with an Italian. Upon hearing the Englishman's opinion, Benedict vows that he will be revenged. Going to the kinsman's house, Benedict eventually makes friends with him by lending him large sums of money. He is so courteous to the wife of the Englishman that she weaves.

11 Placing the Italian in the amorous role which was to follow would have found favor with the middle class reader, for stories were legion of the vice in Italy and of the sinful nature of Italians in general. See, for example, Holinshed's Chronicles, III, 616: "Howbeit, the Frenchmen were not alone the oppressors of the Englishmen. For a Lombard called Francis de Bard, enticed a man's wife in Lombard street to come to his chamber with her husband's plate, which thing she did. After his husband knew it he demanded his wife, but answer was made he should not have her; then he demanded his plate and in like manner answer was made that he should have neither plate nor wife. And when he had sued an action against the stranger in Guildhall, the stranger so faced the Englishman, that he fainted in his suit. The Lombard arrested the poore man for his wives board, while he kept hir from hir husband in his chamber."
repents for having spoken so ill of him and
pronounces him a gentleman worthy of Joan.
But Benedict is not to be deprived of his re-
venge; secretly he visits the weaver’s wife
and attempts to make merry with her. Thinking
to complete his revenge, he confesses to Gill-
lian, the wife, that he has quite forgotten
Joan. He seeks to influence her with an offer
of many fine gifts and Gillian displays the
practical bent of her mind by considering the
offers favorably (p. 49):

Shall I content myself to be
wrapt in sheeps russet that may swim
in silks, & sit all day carding for
a great, that can have crownes at my
demand? No...I will no more beare
so base a minde, but take Fortunes
favours while they are to be had....
O glorious gold...how sweet is thy
smell? how pleasing is thy sight?
Thou subduest Princes, and ower-
throwest kingdoms, then how should
a silly woman withstand thy strength?
Thus she rested meditating on pre-
ferment, purposing to hazard her
honesty to maintain her selfe in
bravery; even as occupiers cor-
rupt their consciences to gather
riches.

No sooner has Dame Gillian appointed a time for
an assignation, than her conscience begins to
trouble her. After meditating a long time, she
tells her husband that she has trespassed against
him in words, if not yet in deeds. When he learns
the details of the proposed meeting, he plans a fitting reception for the men who would dishonor his home. The Italian, arriving at night, is directed to a bed containing a young sow to which he makes passionate advances; however, he soon learns his mistake and rushes from the house into a group of townspeople assembled to witness his disgrace. The irate husband condemns him heartily before the group and orders him from the town (p. 53):

Sir (quoth hee) I knowing you loved mutton, thought porks nothing vnfit: & therefore provided you a whole sow, and as you like this entertainment, spend Portugues. Walks, walks, Berkshire maides will be no Italians strumpets, nor the wies of Newberry their bauds. 12

Next to his home, the middle class Englishman loved his craft. He worked among his employees and knew their problems. Jacke of Newberie was Deloney's ideal employer; consequently, his relation with his employees could be considered as the most desirable one possible. On the occasion of Jacke's second marriage, his prospective father-in-law is shown around Jacke's domain and is

12 The meaning becomes clear when the reader realises that "mutton" is being used in a second sense meaning "food for lust."
amazed by the size of Jacke's industrial setup (p. 20):

Within one room being large and long,
There stood two hundred Loomes full strong:
Two hundred men the truth is so,
Wrought in these Loomes all in a row.
...to another room came they,
Where children were in poore array:
And every one sate picking wool,
The finest from the course to cull:
The number was seuen score and ten,
The children of poore silly men:
And these their labours to requite,
Had every one a penny at night,
Which was to them a wondrous stay.

The father-in-law is almost overwhelmed by the number of domestics who are put to work. They include a butcher, a baker, a brewer and five cooks. This cataloguing of Jacke's domain illustrates Deloney's interest in the show of material wealth in the form of instruments of production. The people for whom he was writing, "the well minded Clothiers," were naturally interested in the fine industrial machine of their ideal, and to them Jacke was the epitome of self-made success, the symbol of what they were striving for and could hope to attain.

On another occasion, the visit of the King to Jacke's house, the monarch is visibly stirred by the extent of Jacke's craft. The Queen displays her curiosity about the weaving industry
and asks to see the laborers at their tasks. The atmosphere of the establishment is so pleasant that the sovereigns are impressed at once.

In one room they come upon a hundred looms with two men working at each and singing for joy at their work. The royal train moves along to view the spinning and carding women, "who for the most part were very faire and comely creatures". These maidens also are singing, because they enjoy their work so much. The King and Queen then proceed to the room where the dyers and fullers work (p. 36) and

perceiving what a great number of people were by this one man set on works, both admired and commended him, saying further, that no Trade in all the Land was so much to bee cherished and maintained as this, which...may well be called, The life of the poore.

In keeping with the Elizabethan love of pageantry, Jacke stages an allegory for the King's enjoyment, featuring many children dressed in white silk. The children are so exceedingly fair that the King and Queen demand to know who they are. Jacke confides that they are children of very poore people, "that doe get their living by picking of wooll, hauing scant a good meale in a week".

The King counts the children and finds that there
It was a day sorrowful and mournful. It was a day of mourning and woe. The shades of the departed were present. The shades that were long since passed, the shades of the many who have gone before, were present. The shades of the many who have gone before, were present.

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Contrasted with the unusually optimistic picture so far presented, there is the darker side to the business of weaving cloth. The wars having made the import or export of goods undesirable, the clothmakers are forced to take certain actions; first, to reduce the wages of their workmen; and second to discharge them for want of markets for their finished products. Following these, Deloney presents with graphic clarity the situation wherein "Many a poore man (for want of worke) is hereby undone, with his wife and children, and it makes many a poore widow to sit with a hungry belly". Jacke, realizing that emergency measures must be taken "in behalfe of the poore," decides to make supplication to the King. To add weight to his petition, he sends letters to the chief clothing towns

We must keep in mind, though, that this is a picture of ideal working conditions and their extremity in one direction might very often point to the opposite extreme in reality. Deloney does express his compassion for the children in the story, a compassion that in all likelihood he experienced when he saw the actual conditions. In an ideal situation the children would have been taken from the mill and placed in more suitable surroundings, and in our romance that is exactly what takes place when the King and nobles place the children in their households.
of England. With prophetic insight into the nature of the situation, Jacke tells the clothiers
that they will never achieve their purpose unless they present a unified front. Unity will be difficult since, "The poore hate the rich,
because they will not set them on works; and the rich hate the poore, because they seeme burdensome;
so that both are offended for want of gains". He expresses his pride in the craft in the letter which he sends to the clothiers (p.44):

Dear Friends, consider that our Trade will maintaine vs, if wee will uphold it: and there is nothing base, but that which is basely used.

His tactics are remarkable in their similarity to those employed by our modern day labor leaders when their means of living is in jeopardy. The clothiers are to assemble in their respective towns and air their grievances, after which they will contribute money to all court machinary and send two of their ablest men to London to meet with others and present their petition to the King. When Jacke has a census taken of the clothiers, he finds that sixty thousand persons earn their living at the clothing trade. Each town sends two persons so that one hundred twelve people are present in London to petition the King. After having noted their
grievances, the King commands that they be investigated and redressed for, "I account them in the number of my best Common-wealths men". When Cardinal Wolsey fails to act upon the situation, Jacke speaks out against him and is thrown into prison. To make certain that none of the group will petition for his release, Wolsey has every one of the weavers cast into prison along with Jacke. When, after having languished in prison for four days, the clothiers manage to make appeal to the King, some of Wolsey's friends in court keep the petition from the King. But one champion of the clothiers among the notability, the Duke of Somerset (p. 46)

spoke with the Lord Cardinal about the matter, wishing he would speedily release them, lest it breed him some displeasure: for you may perceive (quoth the Duke) how highly the King esteems men of that Faculty.

Yielding to the Duke's advice, Wolsey pardons the clothiers and grants their petition which

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14. See Mann, op. cit., p. 516: "The Duke of Somerset visited Newbury in 1557 and lodged at the house of Jacke of Newbury's son. His largesse to the carders on that occasion was seventeen shillings and sixpence (see Money's History of Newbury, p. 206). Hence tradition probably represented him to Deloney as a friend of the clothing trade."
allows them to trade freely among themselves and overseas.

Even when the trade, as a whole, was flourishing, individuals not infrequently suffered misfortunes. Apparently Deloney was not blind to the fact that good men sometimes failed in their business ventures even though they engaged in the clothing trade; however, he attributed it to the lack of cooperation among the businessmen and mismanagement on the part of the individual rather than to any inherent fault in the system. Jacks very appropriately took what Deloney considered to be the right action in the case of Randoll Pert. Pert, a draper, owes Jacks five hundred pounds at a time when he is declared bankrupt and thrown into the debtors prison while his wife and children are turned out of doors and left to starve. All of his creditors, except Jacks, share in his goods and will not release him from prison as long as he has "one penny to satisfy them". When Jacks is advised by his friends to get as much as possible from the draper, he answers (p. 58):

May...if he not be able to pay men when he is at liberty, he will never be able to pay me in prison: and therefore it were as good for me to forbear my mone more without troubling him as to add more sorry to his grieved heart, and be
neuer the neerer. Misery is troden down by many, and once brought low, they are seldom or neuer relieved; therefore he shall rest for me vn-touched, and I would to God he were clear of all other mens debts, so that I gave him mine to begin the world again.

Pert’s story, told simply and completely, is one of being knocked down and never being allowed to rise again. His wife turns to drudgery and, when he is released from prison, he has to become a porter. Jacks, having been recently elected to Parliament, comes to London and chances to stay at the inn where Pert is working. The picture that Deloney presents of him betrays a wretchedness that has no place in an ideal commonwealth which Deloney dreams of, for Pert is a sorry figure (p. 58),

having an old ragged doublet, and a turns pair of breeches, with his hose cut at the heele, and a pair of old broken slip shoes on his feete, a rope about his middle in stead of a girdle, and on his head an old greasie cap, which had so many holes in it, that his haires started through it.

Again, Deloney points the moral by showing to what state idleness can bring a man. The idea that the economic system which he championed could necessarily reduce some men to poverty never occurred to him. Jacks has faith in the business acumen of Pert and makes him sign a
note for the money to be paid when Pert becomes sheriff of London. He provides the broken man with clothes, a shop on the drapers' street and gives him a thousand pounds of cloth to start his business again. The help which he gives to Pert enables the draper to thrive in his business, become sheriff of London, and finally alderman. In the story of Pert, Deloney has once again shown that, despite the pitfalls man may encounter, they can always rise again if their fellow men will aid them and inspire in them an incentive to hard work and diligent effort.

However, even though the middle class businessman treated his employees well and cooperated with and aided other businessmen, he could not hope to prosper, if he did not command the sympathy and understanding of the monarch. In *Jacke of Newberie* Deloney makes much of the familiarity between the King and Jacke to point out the need for complete understanding on both sides. In one instance, while Henry VIII was at war in France, James of Scotland invades England, hoping to catch the country off guard. Although Jacke has been assessed to provide and equip only six men, he shows his true devotion and patriotic fervor by putting no less
than one hundred fifty brilliantly costumed men in the field with himself at the head of their ranks. The identification of the middle class with the king and other nobles to the greater glory of both is brought about to an even greater degree on the occasion of the King's visit to Jacke of Newberie's house. Jacke takes the opportunity to present his attitude of the monarch-subject relation to the King. He and thirty of his men outfit themselves in battle dress and vigorously defend an anthill, along the King's route, from an onslaught of moles, grasshoppers, and butterflies. Upon sending some men to discover the meaning of this bizarre spectacle, the King learns that Jacke's actions are pregnant with allegorical import. Jacke is showing the conflict

15 The chapter heading lists two hundred fifty men which number has been quoted by most of the writers who have noted the incident; the actual account in the context, however, lists one hundred fifty and the Queen's later speech confirms this number.

16 This visit may not have originated with Deloney. Mann, op. cit., p. 519, notes: "The History of Newbury (1539), p. 139 regards the tradition that Henry the Eighth visited Jack at his house 'as deserving of credit'. Holinshed (II, 637) says: 'This summer' (1515) 'the king took his progress westward, and visited his towns and castels there, and heard the complaints of his poore commonalty'"
between the industrious and loyal workers and the slothful and gaudy courtiers who surround the king and influence him in their favor. It is not just, Jacke tells the monarch, that the workers who provide for the sustenance of the land should have to bear the oppression of the social butterflies who live on the bounty of the court. The workers, he continues, are afraid to stand up for their rights, because they are awed by the splendor of the courtiers. The king wisely takes Jacke's lesson to account "with great delight" and tells him that he is to be honored by the royal presence at his house. The royal visit is marred only when Cardinal Wolsey attempts to cause the king to distrust the clothier's motives.

17. The audacity of Jacke's acting in such a strange manner is likely to strike one as being utterly foolhardy, until he recalls that this is Deloney speaking and not Jacke of Newberry. The anthill episode is the kind of talking around a point that was relatively safe in Elizabethan England. It is in reality the plaintive wail of a cloth-maker out of work because of the decline of his profession brought about as the result of too much governmental interference. It is the writer picturing an ideal situation wherein the Clothier might approach his sovereign with his troubles and have them redressed immediately.
He is certain that Jacke is trying, crudely and dishonestly, to gain preference. A practical man, the Cardinal has a fool-proof way of testing the loyalty of Jacke and his kind (p. 30):

Let there be but a simple Subsidie levy upon them for the assistance of your Highness Warres, or any other weightie affairs of the Common-wealth and state of the Reallse, though it bee not the twentieth part of their substance, they will so grudge and re-pine, that it is wonderfull: and like people desparing cry out, they bee quite vndone.

However, Jacke has a vigorous defender in the person of Queen Katherine who emerges from the background with the opinion (p. 30) that

...Jack of Newbery was neuer of that minde, nor is at this instant: if ye ask him, I warrant he will say so. My sel have a prove at the Scottish invasion, at what time this man being seased but at sixe men, brought (at his owne cost) an hundred fiftie vnto the field.

For the moment the Cardinal is qüieted and the King and Queen continue their feasting in the home of one of their honored subjects.

The fact that a working man could be honored by the presence of the monarch in his own home provided a great incentive for the craftsman to strive for greater economic gain. And even though not every successful craftsman could hope to
entertain the ruler, there were many privileges associated with economic success. The advancement from low degree to a high degree is set forth strongly in Jacke of Newbery, and the cloth-weaving profession is one way to achieve fame. Jacke is especially fond of pointing out to visitors the fifteen pictures that hang in his parlor with the purpose of illustrating the climb from low estate to high. These pictures are shown to servants and guests to impress upon them the important positions to be gained by diligence, no matter how low their birth might have been. The great men are divided into three groups: Kings, Emperors, and Popes. As one might expect, two of the Emperors were directly connected with the weaving trade (p. 41):

The fourth was the similitude of Aelius Pertinax, sometime Emperor of Rome, yet was his father but a Weaver; and afterward, to give example of others of low condition to bearu minds of worthy men, he caused the sheep to be beautified with Marble curiously cut, wherein his father was wont to

18 See Hyder E. Rollins, "Thomas Deloney's Euphuistic Learning and The Forest," PMLA L (1935), 679-86, for a discussion on Deloney's debt to Thomas Fortescue, author of The Forest, for the incident of the fifteen pictures.
In Jack's words he drives the lesson home (p. 42).

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baser birth have come to great honours. The idle hand shall ever go in ragged garment, and the slothful live in reproach; but such as do lead a vertuous life, and govern themselves discreetly, shall of the best be esteemed, and spend their days in credit.

Throughout the novel of *Jacke of Newberie*, Deloney pictures the ideal businessman, a man who realizes his responsibility to the state and, in turn, expects the state to respect his individual rights. He knows that, if peace and harmony reign in the home, the craftsman can go about his work in the most efficient manner. He realizes that he must treat his employee as he would be treated himself, in order to gain his good will and thereby increase the efficiency of his business. He understands that, in order to dispose of his goods to his advantage, he must have certain rights in the domestic and foreign markets; to that end he cultivates the friendship of the king. And he is certain that he can attain the finest kind of existence possible to man, if he follows faithfully the concepts which have proved their worth to him and those who came before him. Jacke is a splendid individualist, the man who personifies Deloney's ideal.
CHAPTER III

THE GENTLE CRAFT, Part I.

In 1597, Deloney also wrote the first part of The Gentle Craft, a eulogy of the shoemaking profession, an attempt to show "what famous men have been shoemakers in time past in this land, with their worthy deeds and great Hospitality". It is, then, a pseudo-historical account made up largely of legend and tradition. Deloney obviously did not know the shoemaking craft as well as he knew the cloth-weaving trade, for he very noticeably omits the long passages describing the details of the craft so much in evidence in Jacke of Newberie. Throughout the disconnected narrative, he leans heavily upon source material and only slightly upon his own knowledge of the craft. Because of his lack of knowledge, The Gentle Craft is less important an indication of middle class than Jacke of Newberie in the variety and number of details. Since the book is largely history, it does not present the numerous characteristics of the bourgeoisie in action so noticeable in the book on the cloth
weavers, and yet, in part it provides the kind of mental attitude that created the typical Elizabethan businessman. Where the story of Jack of Newberry cited a catalogue of attitudes making up the middle class mind, The Gentle Craft, especially in the story of Simon Eyre, shows an individual mind from that group in action.

The first part of The Gentle Craft is divided into three sections, each consisting of five chapters: the first section deals with the well-known legend of St. Hugh and St. Winifred; the second section with the traditional tale of Crispin and Crispianus; and the third section with the figure of Simon Eyre. The first five chapters on St. Hugh and St. Winifred are of an historical nature that has no place in this study and therefore will not be dealt with at this time; the second five chapters, while also of an historical nature, come closer to the problem at hand and touch upon the middle class attitude to a degree that necessitates their brief consideration; but the last five chapters treating of Simon Eyre are of prime importance, as they illustrate the unbridled indulgence of the acquisitive appetite found throughout the Elizabethan middle class and
so merit the closest examination.

Grispin and Crispianus, two young princes, deprived of their heritage when their country is captured by a foreign power, make their way into the hinterland in search of a suitable profession. One day while passing a shoemaker's cottage, they hear the happy shoemakers singing (p. 92) and

...perceiving such mirth to remain in so homely a cottage, judged by their pleasant notes, that their hearts were not eloyed with over many cares, and therefore wished it might be their good hap to be harboured in a place of such great content.

They are quite successful in their newly chosen profession and after many adventures they regain their princely identities and assume their former positions. The incident in their adventures which most clearly points up the utilitarian point of view found in Deloney's prose works is that centering about the birth of Crispin's illegitimate child. Upon learning of the expected arrival of the child, Crispin immediately takes his problem to the wife of his employer whose reaction illustrates clearly that the economic improvidence of the act far overshadows any moral implications (p. 103).
What, how now (quoth she) has thou got a maid with child? Ah thou whorson villain, thou hast undone thy selfe, how wilt thou do now? Thou hast made a faire hand; here is now sixteen pence a week beside scop and candles, beds, shirts, biggins, wastecats, headbands, smadlebands, eresse-clothes, bibs, tailclouts, mantles, hose, shoes, coats, petticoats, cradle and crickets, and beside that a standing-stale, and a peonet to make the child papp; all this is come upon thee, be sides the charges of her lying-in. Oh Crispine, Crispine, I am heartily sorry for thee.

The situation is finally resolved when Crispin proves his identity, showing that he has a perfect right to marry a princess.

While the foregoing incident provides one example of the practical nature of the Elizabethan outlook, the tale of Simon Eyre presents a complete personification of the concept of individualism which was finding favor in the middle class mind. Simon Eyre is the supreme example of the poor lad who arrives at success by raising himself above the mass. The attempt to reconcile religious principles and the frankly individualistic acquisitive instinct is noticeable throughout the entire episode; the opening paragraph seeks to justify one as the logical result of the other (p. 109).
Our English Chronicles do make mention that sometime there was in the honourable City of London a worthy Mayor, known by the name of Sir Simon Eyre, whose fame lieth in the mouths of many men to this day, who, albeit he descended from mean parentage, yet, by God's blessing, in the end he came to be a most worthy man in the commonwealth.

To Deloney's mind, the citizen did not exist except as a functioning unit of the greater commonwealth. In turn, the government of that commonwealth provided a secure position upon which business — meaning the total commerce of the commonwealth — could function adequately. Simon Eyre understood that ideal relation between the government and the man, and his story is the story of Deloney's well-rounded citizen.

The fundamental attitudes discussed previously in connection with *Jaske of Newberie* — domestic matters, working conditions and attitudes, relation of subject and monarch, and the idea of advancement — are all present in the story of Simon Eyre. Out of these attitudes arises the logical product of Deloney's ideal system. An examination of Eyre's rise to fame discloses the realization of Deloney's fondest beliefs. Through diligent application of those beliefs, Simon Eyre achieved a well-earned success.
He was off to a good start as an apprentice, because he approached his work in the right spirit and went about it (p. 110)

...with great delight, which quite excludes all weariness; for when servants do sit at their works like drones, then their minds are never lightly upon their business....

After his days as an apprentice he prospered well, for he knew the importance of integrating his domestic life and his craft. He labored diligently (p. 110)

...and his young wife was never idle, but straight when she had nothing to do, she sat in the shop and spun: and having limed thus alone a year or thereabout, and having gathered something together, at length he gathered some printises, and a Journey-man or two, and he could not make his ware so fast as he could have sold it, so that he stood in great need of a Journey-man or two more.

But despite Simon's diligence and hard work, he was not to experience the highest point of his prosperity until he cleverly took advantage of the opportunity afforded him through the misfortune of another. The incident of the Black Swan provided the opportunity for his advancement and his business sense enabled him to profit by the situation. To Eyre's great advantage it so happened (p. 111)
...that a ship of the Ile of Candy was driven upon our Coast, laden with all kind of Lawns and Cambricks, and other linen cloth; which commodities at that time were in London very scarce, and exceeding dear; and by reason of a great leak the ship had got at Sea, being unable to sail any further, the captain would make any profit he could of his goods... 

It takes Simon's wife, who is "inflamed with desire" when she hears of the situation, to map his strategy for him. The fact that he does not possess the required three thousand pounds with which he can close the deal is no obstacle in his wife's eyes as she supplies him the answer (p. 113):

Tush man...what of that? every man that beholds a man in the face, knows not what he hath in his purse, and whatsoever he be that owes the goods, he will no doubt be content to stay a moneth for his money, or three weeks at the least: And, I promise you, to pay a thousand pounds a week is a pretty round payment, and, I may say to you, not to be mis-liked of.

In order properly to hoodwink the captain of the ship, Eyre contacts him early in the day as an honest shoemaker and later in the day, disguised as an alderman, so that he can give himself a fine recommendation. The deal is concluded on a note of credit basis and when Eyre sells part of the goods he pays the captain the three thousand
pounds. But his real profit is gained by using
the surplus goods to advantage (p. 121), for

...resting to himselfe three times as
much as he sold...he trusted some to
one Alderman, and some to another, and
a great deal amongst substantiall Mer-
chants: and for some had much ready
money, which he imploied in divers
merchandises: and became Adventurer
at Sea, having (by God's blessing)
many a prosperous voyage, whereby his
riches daily increased.

Casting up his accounts, Simon comes to the
astounding discovery that he is a rich man by
the standards of the time and heattributes his
good fortune to God, modestly ignoring his own
business tactics. He outlines his philosophy
to his wife (p. 121):

The last day I did cast vp my ac-
counts, and I finde that Almighty God
of his goodnesse hath lent me thirteens
thousand pounds to maintain vs in our
old age, for which his gracious good-
nesse towards vs, let vs with our
whole heartes give his glorious Majesty
eternall praise, and therewithall
pray unto him, that we may so dis-
pose thereof, as may be to his honour,
and the comfort of his poore members
on earth, and aboue our neighbors may
not be puffed up with pride, that,
while we think on our wealth, we forget
God that sent it to vs, for it hath
been an old saying of a wise man, that
abundances of which God gievs grace
to take heed, and grant vs a contented
mind.

The all-important idea of the duty existing
between the king and subject -- the idea that
the citizen exists for the commonwealth and the commonwealth in turn repays him in security —
crops up in the tale of Simon Eyre, when the
shoemaker tries to decline the post of sheriff
of London. His wife immediately reminds him of
his duty as a deserving citizen (p. 112):

...be thankful unto God for that
you have, and do not spurn at such
promotion as God sendeth unto you;
the Lord be praised for it, you
have enough to discharge the place
whereunto you are called with credit;
and wherefore sendeth God good,
but therewithall I do him and your
Country service?

Simon will not be fully convinced that he should
assume the responsibility of the position, so his
wife must explain still further his duty as a
subject (p. 122):

Good Lord husband...what need all
these repetitions? You need not tell
me it is a matter of great charge: not-
withstanding, I verily think many here-
tofores have with great credit dis-
charged the place, whose wealth hath
not in any sort been answerable to
your riches, and whose wits have
been as mean as your own; truly Sir
shall I be plain? I know not any-
thing that is to be spoken of, that
you want to perform it, but only your
good will; and to lack good will to
do your King and Country good were
a signe of an unworthy Subject, which
I hope you will never be.

Since Simon is the very best of subjects, he
accepts the position and goes from there to
that of Alderman, and finally he becomes Lord
Mayor of London. Unlike Jacke of Newberie,
Eyre accepts the honor of Knighthood (p. 135)
and
built Leaden-Hall, appointing that
in the midst thereof, there should
be a market place kept every Monday
for Leather, where the Shoemakers
of London, for their more ease, might
buy of the Tanners without seeking
any further.
And in the end, this worthy man
ended his life in London with great
Honour.

II.

THE GENTLE CRAFT, Part II.

The second part of The Gentle Craft was
written in 1597, the same year as the first
part. Like the first part, it is divided into
three sections, each dealing with a famous shoe-
maker: Richard Casteler, Master Peache, and
the Greene King.

The story of Richard Casteler relates the
frustrated love affairs of two English girls
who wish to marry the enterprising shoemaker and
contains little material touching upon attitudes
pertinent to this discussion; in two instances,
however, it illustrates points indicative of the middle class point of view, that of the intimate relationship of the workers with the king, and that of the humanitarian instincts generally associated with successful businessmen. In the first instance, Robin, a journeyman in the shop of Casteler, is so cunning in song that the king commands him and his fellow-workers to perform before the court. To show his good will (p. 169) the

...King cast them a purse with fifty faire angels for a reward, commending both their skill and good voyces, and after much pleasant communication, they had the liberty to depart; and when they came home, they told their Master all their servitude before the King.

In the second instance, the account of the disposition of Casteler's wealth upon his death shows his humanitarian bent (p. 170):

...at last, Richard Casteler dyed, and at his death he did divers good and godly deeds: among many other things he gave to the City of Westminster a worthy gift to the cherishing of the poore inhabitants for ever. He also gave toward the reliefe of the poor fatherlesses children of Christes Hospital in London, to the value of forty pound land by the yeere; and in the whole course of his life he was a very bountifull man to all the decayed housekeepers of that place, leaving behind him a worthy example for other men to follow,
Although Casteler achieves a high measure of success as a shoemaker, a fellow craftsman, Master Peachey, attains still greater eminence. Peachey takes the nobility of his craft to heart in such a manner as to incur the jealousy of those not associated with the shoemakers. He is so rich that he affects certain attitudes of the aristocracy, such as maintaining his workers in special livery which clearly identifies them with his household (p. 170):

...he kept all the yeere forty tall men on works, beside Prentises, and every one hee clothed in tawn coats, which he gave as his livery to them, all with black caps and yellow feathers; and every Sunday and holiday, when this gentleman-like citizen went to Church in his black gown garded with Velvet, it was his order to have all his men in their livery to wait upon him....

When Tom Drum, a famous wandering shoemaker, comes to London, he seeks employment at Master Peachey's shop because he has heard that "Master Peachey of Fleet-street keeps continually forty men a work". and When Sir John Rainsford makes his way to London, he becomes associated with Peachey whose great renown has made him known throughout England. It is only fitting that a member of the true nobility should associate himself with a prince of the
the gentle craft in a partnership which clearly shows that the two classes share interests of sufficient importance to overshadow their differences of birth. Sir John has as profound a sense of the responsibility which wealth carries with it as Master Peachey, or any other rich craftsman. Before he came to London, Rainsford had kept a bountiful house and a large retinue of servants (p. 181) and

To all the poore round about where he dwelt, he was very charitable, relieving them daily both with money and meate; he was a famous Courtier, and in great favour with the King, and the onely thing that disgraced his vertues, was this, that he was something wild in behaviour and wilfull in his attempts often repenting sadly what he committed rashly.

His banishment from his country estate had resulted from a rash act motivated by his fine sense of the rightful dignity of a human being. When he rides through a village, he comes upon a poor widow with five children begging money to pay a priest so that he will perform the burial rites over her deceased husband. Even at the insistence of Rainsford, the priest refuses to bury the man until he has his burial fee. Allowing himself to become a victim of his willful nature, the knight causes the priest to be buried
alive and sends for another priest who hastily performs the necessary rites. After the burial the knight gives the widow a gold angel and rides away, overcome by his rash act. In his flight from justice, Rainsford comes into the service of Peachey and is restored to his proper place only after having realized again his responsibility to the king and the commonwealth. Going to war in the contingent of men from Peachey's household, Sir John acquits himself so well in the service of his country that he wins a pardon from the monarch. As a sign of his respect for Peachey and his help in the battle to maintain and strengthen the commonwealth, the King confers a great honor upon him (p. 186):

Peachey was heretofore made the King's Shoemaker, who lived long after in great favor and estimation, both with his Majesty & all the honourable Lords of the Court.

Instead of showing the fruits of diligence and hard work, the story of the Greene King illustrates the consequences of inactivity. Through lack of diligence and industry, the Greene King loses all of his money and is forced to sail to Holland in a futile attempt to recoup his losses. Before he embarks on his journey he is held up
to the scorn and ridicule of his neighbors and servants, all of whom have little use for a business man who cannot maintain his station in the world. The wife of the Greene King stays in town when her husband goes overseas and diligently applies herself to her husband’s business so that she finally makes a comeback. When the husband returns from Holland, he takes over the business and lives to a prosperous old age. Even though he had fared badly in his early life, he was aware of his duty in alleviating the misery around him, and upon his death “he had done many good deeds to divers poor men”.

The main points brought out in The Gentle Craft center about the necessity of diligent application to duty, and a certain respect for the Christian concepts of business ethics. Simon Eyre works diligently throughout his life, but he always modestly admits that, without the help of God, he could not have been such a striking success. In the episode of Master Peachey, the shoemaker has reached that advancement in social stature for which the middle class citizen is constantly striving. In all of the episodes there is pictured the bountiful life of shoemakers who have realized their proper place in the business world.
CHAPTER IV

THOMAS OF READING

Although the exact date of the publication of *Thomas of Reading* is not known, it was surely written after *Jacke of Newbery* and probably followed *The Gentle Craft*, parts I and II. While the book purports to be an account of the "Sixe Worthie Yeoman of the West," it deals only slightly with the six famous clothiers, and consists mainly of scattered bits of information concerning the clothing trade. In fastening his material together, Deloney uses three main themes which he breaks into various short chapters, inserting the chapters at intervals in an awkward attempt at some kind of meaningful artistic unity combining the tales into one story:

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1 According to Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 547, *Thomas of Reading* was written in 1598 or 1599. The structure of the story indicates that Deloney was making use of material about the clothiers which would not fit properly into *Jacke of Newbery* and could be used in much the same manner as the material he sets forth in *The Gentle Craft*. 
the first and most important theme is that which tells of the close relationship existing between the ideal monarch and his subjects, a theme noted throughout the three novels, but evidenced to a much greater extent in this last story; the second is that which deals with the domestic scene and its importance to the middle class citizen and; the third is of a historical nature and deals with the ill-fated love of Duke Robert and the fair maid, Margaret. Since this last theme is a fictionized historical romance, it contributes little to the investigation of the middle class attitudes and will not be considered here.

The bond between the monarch and the people, especially the clothiers, discussed in the chapter on Jacks of Newberries, reappears in Thomas of Reading and takes precedence over any other topic. Since the clothing trade contributed substantially to the economy of the land, it is only natural that the good king should consider it of prime importance. Back in "the good old days", Deloney tells us the king did realize the importance of the clothing trade (p. 213):

In the days of King Henry the first... there lined nine men, which for the trade of Clothing, were famous throughout all
England. Which Art in those daies was held in high reputation, both in respect of the great riches that thereby was gotten, as also of the benefits it brought to the whole Common-wealth: the younger sons of Knights and Gentlemen, to whom their Fathers could leave no lands, were most commonly preferred to learn this trade, to the end that thereby they might live in good estate, & drive forth their daies in prosperity.

Indeed, the craft was so important that the country could scarcely have existed as a functioning unit without it, for "one half of the people in the land live in those daies thereby".

The King first became aware of the enormity of the cloth trade when he was confronted by the "great number of waines loaden with cloath, coming to London". So many of the wagens met the King's party (p. 214) that

he with the rest of his trains, were faine to stand as close to the hedge whilst the carts passed by, the which at that time being in number above two hundred, was neere hand an hour ere the King could get room to be gone...he said he thought Old Cole had got a Commission for all the carts in the country to carry his cloth.

The sight of so many wagens carrying produce to the markets of London and thence to foreign countries to bolster the economy of the nation moved the King to express his sentiments to the company (p. 215):
...he said to his Nobles, That it would never grieve a King to die for the defence of a fertile Country and faithfull subjects. I alwayes thought (quoth he) that Englands valor was more than her wealth, yet now I see her wealth sufficient to maintain her valor, which I will seeke to cherish all I may, and with my sword keeps my self in possession of that I have....

When Henry was forced to go off to the wars, he entrusted the realm to the Bishop of Salisbury, who called the clothiers to him and stated the working agreement between the monarch and the clothiers (p. 226):

The strength of a King is in the love and friendship of his people, and he governs over his Realme most surely, that ruleth justice with mercy: for he ought to feare many, whom many de feare; therefore the governors of the Commonwealth ought to observe two specially precepts: the one is, that they so maintain the profit of the Commons, that whatsoever in their calling they doe, they referre it thereunto: the other, that they be alwayes as well carfull over the whole Commenwealth as over any part thereof lest while they uphold the one, the other be brought vutter decay.

After stating the policy which guides the good King in his actions toward the realm, the Bishop gives an excellent example of the practical application of friendship that fosters good relations (p. 226):
reason and be satisfied that whatever shall be found money will have to be small to comply with the Regu-
le current throughout the land, so that all Good
recommend, that only three men, to be need under pain of
the measures that are open to, and prescriptive that mean-
are of the existing government, calling for a strict
force from the war, by reason of dexterity which take
maintenance. The late situation as soon as the King re
regulation be necessary, it is therefore, to the
in sufficient are of the existing force, stronger
and as the unforeseen in the town of Rotter,
and for exchange should be announced by the moneney.
Just as good as any exchange in the revenue a policy
people will not accept paid money, which is
we should be satisfied by the King, because
much trouble and hardship, a matter of which mean-
ance the several such measures to be cause
rely to the King for the King's consideration,
display of democratic action, present three prop-
the otherwise response readily to the
that doth hurt you.
the any other thing to be refused
you, you recommend that may benefit you
out there may be another year, but
I thought it too bad to know, for your
be a benefit to the West in public,
out the other way or England if no
as I do understand save the business
69
stealing cloth in the town of Halifax shall be hanged. After having redressed their grievances, the King once again lays down his policy concerning the best possible relation between the clothiers and himself (pp. 227-28):

Thus...have I granted what you request, and if hereafter you find any other thing that may be good for you, it shall be granted; for no longer would I desire to live among you, then I have care for the good of the Common-wealth, at which word ended, the King rose from his royall throne, while the Clothiers on their knees prayed for both his health and happy success, & shewed themselves most thankfull for his highnesse favor.

The clothiers are so impressed with the King's attitude that they arrange a great banquet where they entertain the King's sons who think it not at all amiss to dine with a group of craftsmen.

The clothiers not only cooperated with the King on the domestick front; they also showed their good will by aiding him in his wars abroad (p. 240):

The Kings Maiestie being at the warres in Fraunce...the Clothiers at their owne proper cost set out a great number, of soldiers and sent them over to the King.

The war, having been won with the help of the clothiers, the King comes back to England and makes one of his many progresses throughout the land. Wherever he journeys he is met by the clothiers and entertained in a most lavish manner (p. 241):
The King being thus come home, after his winter rest, he made his summer progress into the west country, to take a view of all the chief towns; whereof the Clothiers being advertised, they made great preparation against his coming, because he had promised to visit them all.

And when his Grace came to Reading he was entertained and received with great joy and triumph....

During the journey he visits the whole of the west countries and is "wondrously delighted, to see those people so diligent to apply their business". One clothier has fashioned an arbor of red and white roses under which the royal party must pass. He has also caused sweet music to be played when the company approaches. "All which when his Grace understood was done at the cost of a Clothier, he said hee was the most honoured by those men, above all the meaner subjects in his land."

These were the days when the King understood the problems of the business man. He knew that they could take care of their own businesses and support his reign as long as he fought the battles of the country and maintained the security on the domestic front. For the domestic front was of the utmost importance to the Elizabethan middle class citizen. If there were troubles at home, the home craft suffered and eventually the Commonwealth suffered. The home was the basic unit in
the developing economy and it had to be secured against all disrupting influences. Since the husband had to look after his craft and develop his trade, it was up to the wife to maintain the home and thus relieve her husband of any anxiety on that account. Deloney gives much attention to the affairs of women, especially as regards their reaction to their status in a society which was rapidly changing as their husbands climbed higher on the road to economic success.

Fair Margaret, the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughter was forced to hire out as a maid, inasmuch as her father had been banished from the country and his estates had been confiscated. The other girls she met at the fair where she had gone to seek domestic service were amazed when they discovered how worthless an object she was (p. 223):

- Why what can you do (quoth the Maidens) can you brew and bake, make butter and cheese, and reap corns well?
- Be verily (quoth Margaret) but I would be right glad to learn to do anything whatsoever it be;
- If you could spin or card (said another) you might do excellent well with a clothier, for they are the best services that I know, there you shall be sure to fare well, and so liue merilly.

Unfortunately Margaret could do none of the things suggested; she could only read and write. The other maidens gave up finally and told her to behave
mannerly and she would probably get some kind of position. Because of her honesty in admitting that she knew nothing about domestic service and her willingness to learn, she was finally taken into the service of the clothier, Gray of Gloucester.

While the wives of the middle class gentlemen were usually most helpful to their husband's advancements, they very soon became aware of the effect of their rising wealth upon their social positions. It was not long before they discovered how the wealth they were acquiring could make them admired and respected by those less fortunate or diligent. When a group of Clothiers' wives took a trip to London, they were amazed at the many things they could buy (p. 234);

Now when they were brought into Cheapside, there with great wonder they beheld the shops of the Goldsmiths; and on the other side, the wealthy Mercers, whose shops shined with all sorts of coloured silkes: in Watlingstreet they viewed the great number of Drapers: in Saint Martins Shoemakers: at Saint Nicholas Church, the flesh shambles; at the end of the old Change, the fishmongers: in Candleweake streets the weavers; then came into Jewes streete, where all the Jewes did inhabite: then came they into Blackwell hall, where the country Clothiers did use to meete.

They went on through London making a tour which included all of the "sights", such as the steeple of St. Pauls Church, and the Tower of London.
After having been entertained by the city weavers, the wives of the country weavers began to complain about that treatment afforded them by their husbands (p. 237):

Especially Simons wife of South-hampton, who told the rest of her gossips, that she saw no reason, but that their husbands should maintain them, as well as the Merchants did their wives: for I tell you what (quoth she) we are as proper women (in my conceit) as the proudest of them all, as handsome of body, as faire of face, our legs as well made, and our feet as fine: then what reason is there (Seeing our husbands are of as good wealth,) but we should be as well maintained.

From that time on the peace of the domestic scene was in jeopardy. No wife was to be content until she could emulate the dress of the London women. London, the wealthiest city in the realm, began to exert its influence upon the whole of the country. When the bourgeois wife in the city graduated to silks, then must her country counterpart be attired as fitly (p. 238):

What a coyle keepe you says the wife of Simon of South-hampton are not we Gods creatures as well as Londoners? and the Kings subjects, aswell as they? then finding our wealth to be as good as theirs, why should we not goe as gay as Londoners?.....why man, a Cobler there keeps his wife better then the best Clothier in this Country....
When entreaties such as this failed to move the husband, the wife immediately became ill and would not budge from her bed until her spouse promised to outfit her as well as the London women. Once she gained her point, however, she was not content unless the clothes she wore came from Cheapside (p. 240) and

...having thus won her husband to her will, when the rest of the Clothiers wives heard thereof, they would be vusted in the like sort too; so that ever since, the wives of South-hampton, Salisbury, of Gloucester, Worcester, and Reading, went all as gallant and as brave as any Londoners wives.

Women were finally coming into their own. They contributed largely to the establishment of the family fortunes, so they felt that they should reap their share of the economic harvest.

The pattern displayed in *Thomas of Reading* of the relation of the King to his subjects expresses the ideal relationship between the ruler and his people. The perfect ruler travels through his realm to see firsthand just what is taking place; he talks with his subjects and learns their needs so that he can rule as well as possible; and he sits down with them to dine and treats them with respect due loyal subjects. Although Henry VIII and Elizabeth did make frequent progresses, and
although they did cater to the growing middle class population, too often they sought to establish governmental regulations which restricted the freedom of the business man to pursue his craft in his own way. By pointing back to the "good old days" of Henry I, Delaney could safely express the wishes of the craftsmen for a return to the freedom of former times. But the men were not the only ones who wished for a freedom to pursue their interests in their own ways; the women had ideas along the same line. They learned that they could become "ladies" if they had the wealth to maintain their position. They discovered what they had been suspecting for a long time; that the amount of their wealth bore a direct relation to their being accepted into a more select society. A new aristocracy was being formed in England, the aristocracy of the pound, an aristocracy which would grow and flourish and ultimately disassociate itself from the crafts in which it had found its origin.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

No society, past or present, can be appraised fully within the narrow limits of a single concept, especially when that concept results from the survey of one or two aspects of that society. All areas of activity, including the social, political, religious, and economic must be considered critically and the resultant observations carefully correlated in order to produce a meaningful evaluation. To maintain the proposition that the whole of the society of Elizabethan England can be explained and evaluated in the terms of the attitudes and opinions of the middle class citizen would be absurd. Traditional patterns of thinking and acting were still in force in England at the time of Elizabeth’s reign, and it would take many generations of economic and commercial evolution to remove the last vestiges of medieval thought from the English mind. However, the increased tempo of business activity, especially evident
during the Tudor period and reaching a climax in the Elizabethan era, produced a profound change in the attitudes of Englishmen, a change which established new values affecting the lives and thoughts of the English citizens from that day forward. England, in the process of losing its agrarian identity, was gradually assuming the characteristics of a powerful, commercial nation, a nation struggling to adjust to a series of diverse problems of considerable complexity.

While citizens from every class, peasants and aristocrats, were affected by the problems of a rapidly expanding and changing society, one class stands out from the rest by reason of its peculiar relation to the economic evolution at hand; for the middle class can be said to have been a natural outgrowth of the changing economic picture. The shift from an agricultural economy to a commercial economy created a class of shop-keepers, merchants, and independent craftsmen who performed services which had heretofore been capably rendered by serfs and menials in the employ of feudal lords. As the middle class grew in numbers and strength, it formulated a way of life, a series of attitudes and opinions which, in
special audience

who seemed to the less exciting lecture of their
presentation in the same sort of a few vile-
unsuspected spirit of the middle class found to
position of dominance on the economic front. The
opinions of a class whose voice was least heard to a
true of the situation as far as to present the
same dozen though the great body of English literature
and preferences of an audience of any consideration
ought to refer to any great extent the lecture
in a so-called profession does illustrate the
author, entirely became a remote practitioner
not until the eighteenth century. In fact, when
true exasperated by the court and the universities
oppressed, because of the rigid control of literature
the effect of middle class thought to far less
deserted to the student of literature, however.
their exasperation in the field of business en-
medieval apparent through the observation of
these middle class standards of conduct is the
power of a student of economic history, the power of
these could be expected to grow and flourish.
affect, regulated the activities of the members.
Within this group of literary unknowns, Thomas Deloney occupies an outstanding position. Deloney, a weaver, was naturally interested in the attitudes of the class of which he was an enthusiastic member. No literary artist, he was not hampered by artificial artistic limitations; he could and did present a picture of the life around him restricted only by his creative imagination. The people he writes about are real people, living in a very real world, dealing with real life problems. The way in which they meet those problems and solve them will point the direction for generations to come. And as the middle class citizen achieves a position of economic superiority in the western world, he will eventually demand a literature which is compatible with the way of life that has given him his being.

A thorough investigation of Deloney's three prose novels soon reveals his one main interest: that of revealing the importance of the middle class citizen to the state in which he lives. By presenting realistic pictures of the people and traces with which he is familiar, and by showing the "good life" which results from their earnest endeavors, he seeks to justify their existence.
as the most important members of the rapidly expanding commonwealth. Upon evaluation, the several dominant themes which appear throughout Deloney's works point to his having in mind a fairly well organized concept of not only what the middle class citizen was, but naturally also what he should be if he were to achieve the success that could be his. In like manner Deloney also professes to know just what conditions favor the expansion and development of the various crafts with which he is acquainted. In a word, then, Deloney confidently expresses in his writing, his Utopia, an ideal commonwealth in which the individual citizen can realize his greatest worth to himself and his state. His treatment of historical figures and events, for example, illustrates his effective use of material to his desired purposes. For he is historically accurate only when accuracy establishes the point for which he is striving. At times he takes the greatest liberties with history, but always to the end that basic harmony is achieved between the citizen and the ideal commonwealth. The several attitudes or opinions which Deloney believes contribute directly to his ideal state are: the peace and security of the home,
sweep over the western world.

Through utterance to an attitude which eventually be a prophet? he was simply a voice of the times.

He did not have the knowledge or perspective to see the errors of human and for whom the voice

which he set down at the standards of the old-

expelled the prejudice which of the old

the theory be tested. Subsequent generations have the idea that the voice come into dispute with the philosophy come together after! and in time depart

Perhaps the crude style of done, 's work.

monochrome relationship with God.

Ting in the society in the position of the degree of ability determine the position of the on a certain amount of natural ability the reaction of the individual depends, of course.

self and hence to the communalism. The is to a position within a system which reality and development and development of the individual

get of both - - qualities leading to the nature

figures and power within best serve the interest

the monsoon and the subject, each retaining the and employee and en magnificent accordance between underestimation of mutual need by the employer and working conditions, arrived at through an imposed by perfect domestic relationship.
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