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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[Signatures]

Chairman of Board of Examiners

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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 criterions 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 laborer 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 designed 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 advancement, 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 counterpart, is of supreme interest to us. Our modern 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 Pamphlets, and Nash'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 shop-
keepers, and men owning small businesses which
they manage themselves. It is a class which at dif-
ferent 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 re-
sulted 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 economi-
cally 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 Archbishoprike*. 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 intolerable 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 anta-
ognism 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
class of which Deloney was a most voluble 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 ballasting silk-weaver of Nor-
wich", and since Deloney was known to have been
in London as early as 1589, it would logically
follow that Nash was speaking of the town of Deloney's

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 balladeer in London: A Proper Newe Sonet Declaring the Lamentation of Beckles in Suffolke, Burnt by Fire on 3. 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 exhorting others to learn by its lesson and "live not in strife and envious hate/ To breed each other thrall, Seek not your neighbors lasting spoyle/ By greedy sute 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 conspirators 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 "Eng-
lishmen with Romish harts" 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 trivial trinkets and threeldard
trash, had better seemed T.D. whose brains
beaten to the yarking up of ballades,
might more lawfully have glaunast at the
quaint conceites of conny-catching and
crosse-biting."

Gabriel Harvey classes him with the common pamph-
leteers of London and advises Nash "to losest lesse
with Thomas Delone, or to achive more with Thomas
10
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

9 Robert Greene, Guthbert Conny-Catcher. G.B.

10 Gabriel Harvey, Complete Works. A. Grosart,
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 indecent 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 balladeers 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 Monstorous 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 Pagge'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 Galeas, 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 Triumphans (1583) by John Ask 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 Crowned, 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.

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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: *Jacks 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, *Jacks 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

JACKE OF NEWBERIE

In 1597 Thomas Deloney wrote The Pleasant 1 Histories 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, however, 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 companions, a propaganda novel, designed "to impress the powers-that-were with the importance of basic

1 Mann, op. cit., p. 506.

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 *Jack 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 Clothier (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 Fluddenden 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 imploy 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 Jacke of Newberie 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 yselde 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 refus-
ing 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, how-
ever, 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 forgive-
ness and hot cawdle. After Jacke admits his wife's
full sovereignty, the two of them live peace-
fully "till in the end she dies leaving her
husband wondrous wealthy".

Having dispensed with the first Dame Win-
chomb, Jacke's initial stepping stone to success,

7 See Chapter III, *infra*, for a more detailed
account of the strong willed wife, one of
Deleney'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 notifies her father, who "being joyfull of his daughters 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 gossipy 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 acquisition of wealth and position made him an astute and clear-headed business man. The sudden metamorphosis is not unusual in Deloney's writing as his works are too short to allow full character delineation. He seems to never take full advantage of his opportunities for character portrayal in a psychological sense. Instead he presents an array of external idiosyncrasies which provide an inexhaustible field of speculation for the reader. Not infrequently his attempts 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 descriptions and energetic presentation of incident.
between Jacke and his employees. This conversation 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 Winchombe? What never a great belly yet? no fies: by my sa your husband is want idle. Trust me Gossip (saith mistresse Winchombes) a great belly comes sooner than a new coat: but you must consider 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 Marquesse". 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 received an admonition from him for jeopardizing the fine relationship he has established with his employees. Inasmuch as Jacke himself has been an apprentice, he knows how they feel and has been practicing 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 therefore 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 confronted 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 Jacobs'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. Ordinarily, 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 carried 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 befitting 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 Jacobs's lot to provide for Sir George Rigley, who uses his spare time wooing one of the many maidens who work in Jacobs'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 yeilded him her love, and therewith all bent her whole study to works his contents: but in the end, she so much
contented him, that it wrought to her own discontent: to become high, she laid herself so low, that the Knight suddenly fell over her, which fell became the rising of her belly.

Upon learning of her condition, the poor girl complains to Sir George, who will have nothing to do with her. Calling her a "dunghill carrion", he quite Newberry and goes to London. Mistress Winchomb 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 intervention 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 maide 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 scorne to make her your wife; and use her well too, or you shall heare 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 "maintaine 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 foreinger threatens to upset the domestic tranquility of the home of one of Jacke's employees. One of the three maidens who waits upon Jacke's wife is Jean, a young lady from 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 the weaver

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, 619: "Howbeit, the Frenchmen were not alone the oppressors of the Englishman. For a Lombard called Francis de Bard, entised a man's wife in Lombard street to come to his chamber with hir husband's plate, which thing she did. After hir husband knew it he demanded his wife, but answer was made he should not hauve hers; then he demanded his plate and in like manner answer was made that he should hauve 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 sute. The Lombard arrested the poore man for his wives bord, 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 Gil-
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
command? No...I will no more beare
so base a minde, but take Fortunes
favours while they are to be had....
O glorious gold...how sweete is thy
smell? how pleasing is thy sight?
Thou subduest Princes, and over-
throwest Kingdomes, then how should
a silly woman withstand thy strength?
Thus she rested meditating on pre-
ferment, pursuing to hazard her
honesty to maintaine her selfe in
brauerie; 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 dis-
honor 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 con-
demns him heartily before the group and orders
him from the town (p. 53):

Sir (quoth hee) I knowing you
loved mutton, thought porkes nothing
vnfit, & therefore providéd you a
whole sow, and as you like this en-
tertainment, spend Portegues. Walks,
walks, Berkshire maides will be no
Italians strumpets, nor the wives
of Newberry their hauds. 12

Next to his home, the middle class English-
man loved his craft. He worked among his employees
and knew their problems. Jacke of Newberie was
Deloney's ideal employer; consequently, his rela-
tion 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 realizes 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 seven 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 overwhelmed by the number of domestics who are put to work. They include a butcher, a baker, a brewe 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 be 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 meal in a week". The King counts the children and finds that there
conditional that he had seen and experienced.

The day most punctual and strange is.

The king takes an even dozen for peas and the meat, and at the queen preaches two for her chamber.

The tender mercies of their natural evolution are such that the children are much too fair to be kept so close at hand as though they do not need to be kept there. And therefore be not surprised that the queen in her wise are mystery-still of them. The queen in her wise...
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 worke; and the rich hate the poore, because they seeme tedious; 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 machinery 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 Cardinall 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

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 Hone'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 Fert. Fert, 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 mony without troubling him as to add to his grieved heart, and be
neuer the neerer. Misery is troden
down by many, and once brought low,
ye they are seldom or never relieved;
therefore he shall rest for me un-
touched, and I would to God he were
clear of all other men's 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
torn pair of breeches, with his hose
cut at the heels, and a pair of old
broken slip shoes on his feet; a
rope about his middle in stead of a
girdle, and on his head an old greasy
cap, which had so many holes in it,
that his hair 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 aoumen of Pert and makes his 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 business-man 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 Belasyse. Mann, op. cit., p. 513, notes: "The History of Newbury (1579), 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 tooke his progresse westward, and visited his townes and castels there, and heard the complaints of his poore comonaltie'."
between the industrious and loyal workers
and the slothful and gaudy courtiers who sur-
round the king and influence him in their
favor. It is not just, Jacke tells the mon-
arch, 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 pres-
ence at his house. The royal visit is mar-
red 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 govern-
mental interference. It is the writer pic-
turing 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 Realme, though it bee not the twentieth part of their substance, they will so grudge and re-pine, that it is wonderfull: and like people desparging cry out, they bee quite undone.

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 never of that minde, nor is at this instant; if yee ask him, I warrant he will say so. My self also had a proofe 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 quieted 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 bare mindes of worthy men, he caused the sheep to be beautified with Marble curiously cut, wherein his father was wont to

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In search of the story of the pictures, Dean's makes no secret of the most interesting integral part of the current events. A special feature, a series of photographs, showing the progress of the war, will be published. The stories behind the pictures will be presented in a way that will make the reader understand the importance of the events. The pictures, taken by skilled photographers, will provide a glimpse into the events that have shaped modern history. The pictures will not only convey the events but also the emotions and feelings of the people involved. It is a testament to the power of visual storytelling and its ability to connect with the audience on a deeper level.

The Catholic Church (p. 42):

Though know, at least temporarily, the deviation to that danger’s admiration for diligence over twenty-second and hope dictating the fourth. It seems picture Gallery are the pictures of hope, and the second and second of all that the introduction into Jacob's

Get rise. (April)
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 doe lead a vertuous life, and gou-erne themselves discreetly, shall of the best be esteemed, and spend their daies 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

_+Rese of Newbery_ 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 whor- 
sen 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 spo's and candles, 
beds, shirts, biggins, wastecats, 
headbands, smadlebands, crease-clothes, 
hos, tailscouts, mantles, hose, shoes, 
coats, petticoats, cradle and crickets, 
and beside that a standing-stafe, and 
a pesnet to make the child pap: 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 ex-
ample of the practical nature of the Elizabethan 
outlook, the tale of Simon Eyre presents a com-
plete personification of the concept of individ-
ualism 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 him-
self above the mass. The attempt to reconcile 
religious principles and the frankly individual-
istic acquisitive instinct is noticeable through-
out 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 excluded 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 got his 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 Isle 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 de-
sire" 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 what-
soever 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 said...he trusted some to one Alderman, and some to another, and a great deal amongst substantiall Merchants; and for some had much ready money, which he employed in divers merchandise: and became Adventurer at Sea, haveing (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 he attributes 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 accounts, and I finde that Almighty God of his goodness hath lent me thirteene thousand pounds to maintain vs in our old age, for which his gracious goodness towards vs, let vs with our whole hearts give his glorious Majesty eternall praise, and therewithall pray vnto him, that we may so dispose 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 giues vs 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 wherunto you are called with credit; and wherefore sendeth God goods, but therewithall to do him and your Countrie 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: notwithstanding, I verily think many here-tofore have with great credit discharged 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 anything 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 Countrie 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. 133)
and
built Leaden-Hall, appointing that
in the midst thereof, there should
be a market place held every Sunday
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 Peachey, 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 business-
men. In the first instance, Robin, a journey-
man 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 angells for a reward, commending
both their skill and good voyces, and
after much pleasant communication,
ye had the liberty to depart; and
when they came home, they told their
Master all their seruice before the
King, ...

In the second instance, the account of the dis-
position 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
fatherlesse children of Christes Hos-
pitall in London, to the value of for-
ty 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):

...hee kept all the yeere forty tall men on works, beside Prentisses, and every one hee clothed in tawn coats, which he gauze as his livery to them, all with black caps and yellow feathers; and every Sunday and holyday, when this gentleman-like citizen went to Church in his black gowns garded with Velvet, it was his order to have all his men in their liveries 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, releasing them daily both with money and meate; he was a famous Courtier, and in great favor with the King, and the one 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 hereupon 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 poore 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 Peaches, 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 Newberie 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 Newberie and could be used in much the same manner as the material he sets forth in The Gentle Craft. 

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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 Jacke of Newbery, 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 dayes 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, comming to London". So many of the wagons met the King's party (p. 214) that

he with the rest of his trains, were fain to stand as close to the hedge whilst the carts passed by, the which at that time being in number above two hundred, was none bare an houre 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 wagons 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 alwaies thought (quoth he) that Englands valor was more than her wealth, yet now I see her wealth sufficient to maintain her valour, which I will secke 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 Realmes 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 alwaies as well carefull over the whole Common-wealth as over any part thereof least 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):
just an excuse in the realm of politics.

Just as good as any excuse in the realm, a policy

people will not accept exacted money, which is

we should be encouraged by the King! because

such trouble and hardship, a matter of which means in the sense

there is no display of democratic action; present three props.

The authors respond readily to the

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you the contrary of being any no

as I do understand save the thing

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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 Commonwealth, 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 aduertised, 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 he was the most honoured by those men, above all the meanest 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 Common-wealth 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 doe (quoth the Maidens) can you brew and bake; make butter and cheese, and reape cornes well?
No verily (quoth Margaret) but I would be right glad to learn to doe 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 merilie.

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 silks: 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 streets, where all the Jewes did inhabit: 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 Southhampton, 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 saies the wife of Simon of Southhampton are not we Gods creatures as well as Londoners? and the Kings subjects, as well as they? then finding our wealth to be as good as theirs, why should we get gae as gay as Londoners?....why man, a Cobler there keeps his wife better then the best Clothier in this Counrty....
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 suited 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
spectral audience.

who were, it is true, but the less effective to the less effective tastes of their
presentation in the crude alterations of a few illiterate
samples - especially of the middle class found on the
position of dominance on the economic front, the
opinion of a change which was seen finally to a
true of the situation was to present that
were. Even though the Great Body of English literature
ed and expressed an audience of any considerable
point to refer to any great extent the taste
in a recognted profession does intellectual be -
the author's talent became a recognized practitioner
not until the eighteenth century. In fact, when
lore exercised by the court and the university
advantages because of the real control of theatre -
the effort of middle class thought to be less
deployed in the student of literature, however
their effectiveness in the field of business or
medialy apparent through the organization of
these middle class standards of conduct by the
the cause could be expected to grow and flourish.
that of standards was established by which the
speak referred the activities of the members

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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 trades 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.

Given utterance to an attitude which essentially be a prophesy the we study a voice of the time, he did not have the knowledge or perception to the degree of attention attached whom and for whom the voice, which we set down as the standards of the side.

hatred the progressive value of the attitudes the theory be noted, subsequent essays have seen the material be seen come into dispute with the philosophy come interpreted after? are time it despite the crude style of destroy's work.

monochrome rhythms within Gods

interesting in the aspect of the degree or attitude determining the position of the influence on certain means or natural aptitude, of course,

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to a position with卫星 everything on the soft development and development of the material gate of both -- qualities entering to the nation.

right and power which best secure the nation

and employer and at written contract between the monopoly and the subjects, each retaining his

understanding of mutual need of the employer and the worker condition, arrived at through an

served by perfect democratic revaluation.
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