CHAPTER V

ETHICS OF 'CIVILITY' AND BUSINESS VIRTUES
The domestic plays of Dekker and Heywood mainly centre around the practical social and domestic issues of the middle-class life of their times. The real purpose of their plays of everyday life, besides entertainment, is to offer practical lessons and examples useful for domestic as well as social wellbeing. The literary taste of the middle-class created such a necessity. Mere entertainment and recreation are not enough for the middle-class. They expected instruction even in their delight, for, "the bourgeoisie was developing a definite criterion of judgment and that criterion was one of utility. The first demand made of a book was that it serve some useful end". Dekker as well as Heywood fully realised this need. Their title-page accounts, dedications and addresses show that they are fully aware of what their audience wanted and of what they themselves are good at doing. Social usefulness of the theatre is the main ground on which Heywood


defends plays in his *An Apology for Actors* and according to him the main purpose of drama is to "persuade men to humanity and good life, to instruct them in civility and good manners, shewing them the fruits of honesty, and the end of villany."

"Aut prodesse solent aut delectare" is the motto of many of his printed works. Though Dekker never made such an unmistakable declaration frequent instances of direct moralisation in his dramatic as well as non-dramatic works show that his "purpose was not solely to amuse". Their essentially journalistic intentions and their tendency to give concessions to popular taste prove that both of them are one with their audience.

One of the striking features of the new body of popular literature is its explicit exaltation of citizen heroism, especially that of the apprentices. Soon a new type of drama, celebrating the worthies of London, who were once craftsmen, tradesmen or apprentices, became very popular with the citizen audience. The Citizen in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, a 'grocer', argues: "why could not you be contented, as well as others, with *The Legend of Whittington*, or *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Gresham*, with the *Building of the Royal Exchange*? or *The Story of Queene Eleanor*, with the *Rearing of London*


Bridge upon Woolsacks?"5 His Wife, though not much experienced at plays, was promised a sight of 'Jane Shore' and 'The Bold Beauchamps'.6 Most of these plays are now lost.7 Yet, the exemplary philanthropy of Gresham forms an interesting part of Heywood's If you know Not Me You know Nobody and the tragedy of Jane Shore is a vital part of his Edward IV. The popularity of these plays was such that even the continuous devastating ridicule of high brow critics and the caustic 'girds' from learned authors against them proved ineffective. "Even the dramatic travesties of the type of Peele's The Old Wives' Tale (c.1590) and Beaumont's The Knight of the Burning Pestle (1607-08) fell on deaf ears. It is significant that the latter play, satirizing the dramatic taste of citizens and burlesquing productions like Heywood's The Four Prentices of London was a stage failure, while Heywood's play, as the title page of 1615 quarto boasts, was 'diverse times Acted, at the Red Bull' and elsewhere".8


7. These plays survive only in name; that Heywood was acquainted with these plays is strongly suggested by Velte. See The Bourgeoise Elements in the Dramas of Thomas Heywood, Pp.19-39 and 65-73.

The citizens' sense of self-importance and their desire for self-glorification received its fullest expression in the Lord Mayor's pageants. The pageant was used as an effective vehicle of propaganda of citizen virtues and business ethics. In an appropriate allegory the pageant emphasised the dignity and valour of the citizens, especially of the particular company from which the Lord Mayor of that year was elected. After witnessing such a show the citizen or the apprentice would have walked home or to his shop with a sense of elation and a zeal to emulate. That Dekker, and more than him, Heywood, were the prominent figures in devising such pageants is enough of a proof of the amiable relationship existing between them and the citizens.

9. cf. Shore's soliloquy:

"Oh, what have I beheld? were I as young
As when I came to London to be 'prentice,
This pageant were sufficient to instruct
And teach me ever after to be wise.
First have I seen desert of wantonness
And breach of wedlock; then of flattery;

10. "Like Dekker, too, he was essentially bourgeois, intensely loyal to king and church, but with no love of courts and courtiers, and with an enthusiasm for London, its citizens, and their standards, its wealth, splendour, and institutions; a devotion which no doubt was instrumental in securing for him the commissions for all but one of the pageants in those very years before the short Parliament, when the city companies were most jealous of their privileges and liberties", A.M. Clark: Thomas Heywood, p.192.
Protestant theologians attributed a sanctity to the institution of apprenticeship and provided an ethical justification for the economic virtues of the new middle-class. They evolved a creed supporting property and prudential virtues. Trade or apprenticeship, which was once only a means of living, became a 'calling'. Work in one's 'calling' is a, or rather, the, task set by God and "the fulfilment of worldly duties is under all circumstances the only way to live acceptably to God. It and it alone is the will of God, and hence every legitimate calling has exactly the same worth in the sight of God". Diligent pursuit of one's duty is the surest way to earthly property and salvation. "Luther has advanced it as a weapon against monasticism. But for Luther, with his patriarchal outlook on economic affairs, the calling means normally that state of life in which the individual has been set by Heaven, and against which it is impiety to rebel". Even Falstaff argues that one must follow one's vocation and Dekker's Roger a panderer goes to the extent of saying that it is his vocation to swear and so he is right in doing it: "If it be my vocation to sweare, every man in his vocation".


12. Max Weber, p.81


It is only in this social context that such an idealisation and apotheosis of the apprentices as we find in Heywood's The Four Prentices of London and Edward IV was possible. The Earl of Bulloigne, living as a citizen in London, proudly declares:

And I am forc't to loose the name of Marle.  
And live in London like a Citizen.  
My fouresonnes are bound prentice to foure Trades.  
Godfrey my eldest boy I haue made a Mercer;  
Guy my next sonne, enrol'd in Gold-smithes Trade;  
My third sonne Charles bound, to an Haberdasher;  
Young Eustace is a Grocer: all high borne,  
Yet of the City-traders they haue no scorne.  

His sons are also equally proud of their vocations. Their high birth does not in any way affect their enthusiastic identification with their trades and none of them is tired of praising his fellow apprentices throughout his heroic adventures. Eustace thinks of his London companions in one of the crucial battles.

Oh that I had with mee  
As many good lads, honest Prentices  
From Eastcheape, Canwicke streete and London-stone  
To ende this Battle....

Godfrey, the eldest brother, sets an ideal example by refusing all honours and the crown, for he does not want to wear any other crown except a 'Crown of Thorns'.

16. Ibid., p.192.
Loyalty to the King, patriotism, love of one's vocation and a sense of belongingness to the guild and the city are the most desired civic virtues. Citizen valour combined with these much admired traits is portrayed in a more refined fashion in Heywood's Edward IV and Dekker's The Shoemakers' Holiday. The "whole companies of Mercers, Grocers, Drapers and the rest", 17 the citizens in their flat caps and the city worthies 'in their velvet coats and gorgets', 18 all join to defend London from the uncivil rebellion of the 'basted' Falconbridge. All the events take place in familiar places. This valiant defence of London by its apprentices gave scope for Heywood to introduce the thrilling colloquy between the rebels and the citizens:

Spicing: How now, my flat-caps; are you grown so

... ... brave?

My counsel therefore is to keep your shops.
"What lack you?" better beseems your mouths
Than terms of war ....

First Apprentice: Sirrah, go to; you shall not find it so.
Flat-caps thou call'st us. We scorn not that name,
And shortly, by virtue of our swords,
We'll make your cap fit unto your crown,
As sconce and cap and all shall kiss the ground.

Second Apprentice:
You are those desperate, idle, swaggering mates,
That haunt the subworks in the time of peace
And raise up ale-house brawls in the street;

*       *       *
We'll fly about your ears and sting your hearts. 19

18. Ibid., I, iii, Stage Direction, p.11.
19. Ibid., I, iv, p.18.
The Lord Mayor's exhortation to the apprentices reminds them of the valour of Walworth, once 'the Lord Mayor of London' and gives them an inspiring hint of the bright future for all who can distinguish themselves:

And, prentices, stick to your officers. For you may come to be as we are now.

The apprentices themselves are aware of the satirical scorn at their self-glorification. They are proud of their chronicled glory and with a determination to keep up the past glory they make a defensive protest:

Nay, scorn us not that we are prentices. The Chronicles of England can report What memorable actions we have done, To which this day's achievement shall be knit, To make the volume larger than it is.

Heywood presented Shore, the goldsmith, as an exemplary true-hearted Englishman, a loyal subject, an honourable citizen and a brave defender of the city. Out of the thin figure hovering in the chronicles, known only as an unfortunate husband of the king's concubine, Heywood has created an ideal citizen, a valiant fighter and a staunch defender of the king. He is purposefully "dignified with an important part in the defence of London" a role actually played by Alderman Basset in the chronicles. He fought desperately:

21. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
First, to maintain King Edward's royalty;  
Next, to defend the city's liberty;  
But chiefly, Jane, to keep thee from soil.23

Success does not make him ambitious to aspire for titles. He does not forget his station and he prefers to be an honest goldsmith and a respected citizen than to be a titled knight. When the king offers to knight him he humbly declines it like the Pinner in George a Greene;24

Far be it from the thought of Mathews Shore That he should be advanced with Aldermen, With our Lord Mayor, and our right grave Recorder. If anything hath been perform'd by me, That may deserve your Highness's mean'ist respect I have enough, and I desire no more; Then let me crave that I may have no more.25

Heywood's idealisation of apprentices and praise of citizen valour may look slightly blatant; none the less, it is impossible to doubt the author's genuine admiration and sincere effort to induce right conduct and patriotic sentiments.

The spirit of patriotism and the citizen's sense of civic responsibility are happily expressed in Dekker's The Shoemakers' Holiday. The wars in France demanded the services of Rafe, the newly married journeyman. Surprisingly enough, it is Lacy of all the people - Lacy, who neglected everything else for the love of Rose - that speaks of the citizen's duty in times of national

24. See Chapter I, p.34 of this thesis.
emergency:

Woman, be patient, God (no doubt) will send
Thy husband safe again, but he must go;
His countries quarrel says, it shall be so. 26

The good master Eyre, who goes to secure his journeyman's discharge 'raues in commendation of Rafe', when he comes to know that it is a national need: "Hector of Troy was an hackney to him, Hercules and Termasant scoundrelles, Prince Arthurs Round table, by the Lord of Ludgate nere fed such a tall, such a clapper swords man, by the life of Pharo, a braue resolute swordsman": 27

With a kind of hearty patriotism, characteristic of the citizens of Dekker and Heywood, Eyre exhorts Rafe to "fight for the honour of the Gentle Craft, for the gentleman Shoemakers, the courageous cordwainers, the flower of saint Martins, the mad knaues of Bedlem, Fleetstreet, Towerstreete, and white Chappell, cracke me the crownes of the French knaues, a pox on them, cracke them, fight, by the lord of Ludgate, fight my fine boy". 28

An equally fervent patriotic sentiment is expressed by the 'foreman', Hodge, in a brief but in a more direct way"...
here is a shilling for thee, God send thee to cramme thy slops

27. Ibid., 165-168.
28. Ibid., p.29, 211-216.
with French crowns, and thy enemies bellies with bullets". 29

These are the sentiments, to be sure, to which every heart among the audience would have given a sympathetic echo. The ring of sincerity and genuine admiration, almost a kind of personal involvement, with which these sentiments are expressed deter anyone from suspecting that either Dekker or Heywood is merely currying the favour of the citizens. Their intentions are undoubtedly noble. They tried to induce these ideals into the minds of the citizens.

As the main stress in all these plays is on the household and the shop, the relationship between the master and the apprentices forms an interesting part of the routine. Normally the master and his apprentices lived as one family and the relation was more or less parental. The apprentices came from large families, often of gentle birth, and they had every chance of becoming city worthies. The master's responsibility is to give his apprentices required training to take up independent trade or craft; he has to instil into them social and business virtues besides teaching the knowledge of the craft.

The apprentices in their turn are expected to be obedient and faithful to their masters. This emphasis on the human relationship is characteristic of the guild life of the times.

It was not until the eighteenth century that the relations of master and apprentice were "reconstituted on a basis of wage-contract, a cash nexus supplying the parental bond". 30

Dekker dramatises this kind of perfect and most desirable master and apprentice relationship in his The Shoemakers' Holiday. Eyre himself came up through industry and fair dealing. His material and social progress from master craftsman to Alderman, from Alderman to a Sheriff and finally the Lord Mayor of London, was quite common and possible; he achieved nothing that was traditionally impossible for any man like him. Dekker himself described the bright future opened for an industrious and thriving artisan:

> For seven years go to make him up a man
> And then by all the lawful steps he can
> Climbs he to wealth. 31

Heywood's Sir John Crosby the Lord Mayor, in his Soliloquy recollects his progress from an uncared for cast-away to his present status. 32 He was found by a kind hearted shoemaker


32. Edward IV, Shakespeare Society, IV, 11, p. 58.

near Islington,
An honest citizen did chance to find me:
A poor shoemaker by his trade he was;
And, doubting of my christendom or no,
Call'd me according to the place he found me,
John Crosby, finding me so by a cross.
The Masters of the Hospital, at further years,
Bound me apprentice to the grocer's trade,
Wherein God pleas'd to bless my poor endeavours,
That, by his blessing, I am come to this.
and later apprenticed to a grocer's trade through which he worked his way up. The advancements of Simon Eyre, Sir John Crosby and Sir Thomas Gresham were represented on the stage as examples for emulation for the young tradesman and apprentices. These examples were intended to induce utilitarian virtues that led to success. They provided the audience the necessary self-assurance and a feeling of wellbeing. Simon Eyre is an ideal master who constantly identifies himself with his men and craft. He listens to their advice and follows their suggestions in appointing new hands and in his business dealings. When Hodge and Firke threaten to go away his wife in her usual way says: "I pray let them goe, there be mo maides then mawkin, more men then Hodge, and more fooles then Firke". 33

Immediately Eyre checks his wife and coaxes his men "stay my fine knaues, you armes of my trade, you pillars of my profession. What, shal a tittle tattles words make you forsake Simon Eyre?" 34 It is the transaction arranged through Hans with the 'portigues Skipper', the very bargain which detained Hodge and Firke from their work and caused the quarrel, that makes Simon Eyre substantially rich - rich enough to a Lord Mayor.

His men in turn are equally proud of their master and they


34. Ibid., 57-59.
revel in his success. 35 Despite occasional flippant rifts Eyre and his men live like members of one family. His men and wife gather round him when Eyre sushi on the velvet coat and their frank approval and uninhibited talk shows the happy informal relationship and the close sense of belongingness existing among them. This relationship between Eyre and his men "although obviously idealized, had, as we have seen, a basis in fact, and its presentation would be particularly appreciated since it depicted a state of affairs that was rapidly vanishing as business became more impersonal". 36

Simon Eyre, 'The mad Shoemaker of the Towerstreete', embodies all the virtues of an ideal citizen in addition to his carefree attitude. What distinguishes him most is his sturdy sense of independence, self-assurance and untainted heartiness. When his wife warns him to have a care of what he speaks to his Magisty he retorts: "Sim Eyre knowes how to speake to a Pope, to Sultan Soliman, to Tamburleine and he were and shall I melt? shal I droope before my Soueraigne? no"... 37 He moves with his city worthies and his monarch with the same endearing ease and familiarity. Nevertheless, he is within his

limits; he neither says nor does anything which violates social etiquette. He knows his 'station' and has a sense of propriety; his humility reminds us of the modesty of George theINNER, of Shore and of Old Carter.  

39 When the Lord Mayor addresses him as master Eyre he says:

Poore, Simon Eyre, my lord, your shoemaker,  

Apart from not being anxious to join the ranks of nobility and high society he gives at his wife's naive pretensions of sophistication, airs of gentility and assumption of dignity.

In spite of his earlier advice to Rose not to marry anyone outside her class, he readily offers protection to the young lovers because HANS is his 'man' and he owes his position to him: "thineke you Simon Eyre can forget his fine dutch Journeyman? No vah, Fie I scorne it, it shall neuer be east in my teeth, that I was vunthankeful".  

38. "When I go to Guildhal in my scarlet gowne, Ile look as demurely as a saint, and speake as grauely as a Justice of peace, but now I am here at old Poord, at my good Lord Maiors house, let it go by vanish Maggy, I'le be merrie", Ibid., III, iii, p.55, 11-14.

39. Thomas Dekker: The Witch of Edmonton, ed., Bowers, Vol. III, I, ii, p.498, 4-7. "No Gentleman, I, Mr. Thorney; spare the Mastership, call me by my name, John Carter; Master is a title my Father, nor his before him, were acquainted with. Honest Hertfordshire Yeomen, such as one as I,".....


41. Ibid., V, i, p.73, 10-20.
Eyre is substantially aided by his men and craft and he is always proud of both. His bounteous hospitality, constant identification with his fellowmen and concern for their welfare and happiness are appealingly expressed in his soliloquy over the feast he is going to give in the honour of his Majesty: "Soft, the king this day comes to dine with me .... This day my fellow prentises of London come to dine with me too ... I promised the mad Capidosians, .... that if ever I came to be Mayor of London, I would feast them al ... Besides, I have procured, that upon every Shrovetuesday, at the sound of the pancake bell: my fine dapper Assyrian lads, shall clap vp their shop windows, and away! 42

Even after becoming distinguished worthies of London Crosby, Simon Eyre and Gresham set an example of right conduct and admirable social attitude. They do not forget their original status, their crafts and the men who have contributed to their success. 43 They cherish an amiable sense of obligation to all of their 'fellowmen' and assistants. They scrupulously requite all those that have helped them to come up. Simon Eyre distributes favours among his men and promotes them; he wishes them the same kind of success he got:

"Roger, Ile make ouer my shop and tooles to thee: Firke,


Fyre is substantially aided by his men and craft and he is always proud of both. His bounteous hospitality, constant identification with his fellowmen and concern for their welfare and happiness are appealingly expressed in his soliloquy over the feast he is going to give in the honour of his Majesty: "Soft, the king this day comes to dine with me .... This day my fellow prentises of London come to dine with me too ... I promised the mad Cappidosians, .... that if euer I came to be Mayor of London, I would feast them al ... Besides, I haue procured, that vpon every Shrovetuesday, at the sound of the pancake bell: my fine dapper Assyrian lads, shall clap vp their shop windows, and away!"

Even after becoming distinguished worthies of London Crosby, Simon Eyre and Gresham set an example of right conduct and admirable social attitude. They do not forget their original status, their crafts and the men who have contributed to their success. They cherish an amiable sense of obligation to all of their 'fellowmen' and assistants. They scrupulously requite all those that have helped them to come up. Simon Eyre distributes favours among his men and promotes them; he wishes them the same kind of success he got:

"Roger, Ile make ouer my shop and tooles to thee: Firke,

thou shalt be the foreman: Hang, thou shalt have an hundred and twenty, bee as mad knaues as your maister Sin yeare hath bin, and you shall live to be Sheriues of London ...."44

Every instance of citizen success was made an occasion for plain moralisation. The Dean of St. Paul's in If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody reconciles the merchants and shows them portraits of distinguished London worthies recounting their philanthropy and civic fame. Like Gresham45 many a tradesman must have been moved to emulation and it is worth noting that bequests to charity and educational foundations become a common feature of citizens' will.46 The Dean makes the situation an opportunity for a moral homily obviously aimed at the citizen audience:

If you will follow the religious path
That these have beat before you, you shall win Heaven.
Even in the mid-day walks you shall not walk the street,
But widows Orisons, lazars prayers, orphan's thankes.


"And we may be ashamed,
For in their deeds we see our own disgrace.
We that are citizens, are rich as they were,
Behold their charity in every street,
Churches for prayer, almes-houses for the poor,
Conduits which brings vs water; all which good
We do see, and are relieu'd with all,
And yet we liue like beasts, spend time and die,
Leaving no good to 'be remember'd by".

Will fly into your ears, and with a joyfull blush
Make you thanke God that you have done for them. 47

Certainly there are instances of difference of opinion
between the master and his assistants and occasionally an
apprentice may play the truant in his master's absence. But,
in all crucial issues and important dealings the master and
his apprentices are invariably one. In this respect Dekker and
Heywood throw direct moral hints to the apprentices. The Clown
in The Royal. King and Loyal Subject says "...I scorne to be
fellow to any that wil leave their masters in adversity". 48
George and the other two apprentices of Candido are extremely
loyal to their master in all business dealings and they would
not tolerate any loss to their master's goods:

I, in a cause so honest, weele not suffer
Our masters goods to vanish moneylesse 49

Sometimes the apprentices exceed their limits when they think
that they are right. Realising that their Master Candido is too
mild to curb the swaggering customer they themselves take the
initiative, carefully plan and beat the braggart. The appren-
tices are never servile; they have a say in the business affairs
and management of their master's shop. They respect and love

48. Thomas Heywood: The Royal. King and Loyal Subject, Pearson
   Part I, III, 1, p.61, 120-121.
their master but they never hesitate to tell what they feel
either to their master or to their mistress. The second
apprentice tells Candido's wife:

No, and you may blush,
In going about to vex so mild a breast,
As is our masters. 50

Both Eyre and Candido are very considerate to their men
and they take every care to instil all the necessary social
and business virtues into them. In spite of his carefree
attitude and indulgent treatment of his men, Eyre never allows
them to be lazy in their work. Candido is an exquisite spokes-
man of business ethics:

We are set here to please all customers,
Their humours and their fancies:-offend none:
We get by many, if we leese by one
May be his minde stood to no more then that,
A penworth serues him, and amongst trades is found,
Deny a penworth, it may crosse a pound
Oh, he that meanes to thrive, with patient eye
Must please the diuell, if he come to buy. 51

The apprentices and tradesmen have a strong sense of
community and a feeling of brotherhood. 52 They take the
troubles of their fellowmen to their hearts as much as they

50 Thomas Dekker: The Honest Whore, ed., Bowers, Vol. II,
Part I, III, i, p.61, 122-124. Fiske and Hodge in The
Shoemakers' Holiday speak with their mistress with a
similar frankness.

51 Ibid., I, v, p.38, 121-128.

52 These ideas are repeated ad nauseum in The Shoemakers'
Holiday, Four Prentices of London and Edward IV. The
specific words used are 'brethren' and 'brother'.
feel happy in each other's success. They usually refer to each other as 'brethren' and live with that feeling of brotherhood and belongingness. Hodge receives Rafe who returns from the wars with a delightful heartiness and tells him not to worry about his wife. Even the talkative wife of Eyre, shows a garrulous sympathy and a remarkable attachment to him:

Alas, poor soul, hee overcomes with sorrow, he does but as I doe, weep for the loss of any good thing: but Rafe, get thee in, call for some meate and drinke, thou shalt find me worshipful towards thee.

In times of dire need a craftsman can rely on the support and co-operation from his 'brethren'. Rafe feels confident that he can easily take back his wife by preventing the wedding with the help of his fellow workers.

Against tomorrow morning Ile prouide,
A lustie crew of honest shoomakers,
To watch the going of the bride to church,
If she proue Jane, Ile take her in dispite,
From Hammon and the diuel, were he by,

A narrow yet lovable sense of guild loyalty and a corporate


54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.
spirit of unity underlie the words of Firke to the Lord Mayor and the Earl of Lincoln who try to get to know from him the whereabouts of the lovers Rose and Lacy:

No point: shall I betray my brother? no, shall I prove Judas to Hang? no, shall I cry treason to my corporation? no...

Of course, Firke is too practical minded to lose money. He takes money from them and gulls them by giving wrong information. After misguiding the Mayor and the Earl in the interests of his fellowmen, he runs to join the group of Shoemakers planning to rescue 'lame Rafe's wife'.

The citizen ideals discussed so far are of prime importance to the middle-class to ensure material success and social stability. One thing glaringly evident in extolling the merits and valour of the citizens is the wholehearted efforts of Dekker and Heywood to inculcate proper notions, sentiments and ideals useful to the tradesmen and apprentices. Both of them uphold the traditional moral values and the inherited social order with a single-minded approval. At the same time they insist on the dignity and importance of the common people, praise their honesty, valour and other merits and celebrate distinguished citizens like Sir John Crosby, Simon Eyre and Thomas Gresham who have advanced by 'lawful steps'. Therefore, what is really

significant is their combination of the ideas of inherited social order and hierarchy, almost medieval in conception, with the beneficial democratic outlook of social advancement and increase of wealth by honest means and legitimate rewards. This is what is exactly implied and most often made plain in every instance of success and ideal citizen conduct. This is directly stated and exemplified in the humility as well as the generosity of a Gresham or an Eyre. It is in this limited sense of the term that Dekker and Heywood could be called liberal and 'democratic' and more or less it is this kind of democratic spirit and type of ideals which have vaguely dominated the sixteenth century middle-class movement. In a way, this compromise between the orthodox social order and the new liberal outlook presented in the plays of Dekker and Heywood, reflects the stage of transition between the rigid mediaeval feudal society and the later more fluid class system.

The humble people liked to see their counterparts in the company of their kings and to be admired by their rulers. Naturally, many a popular dramatist, including Shakespeare, has exploited this popular desire by presenting a prince or a king who relaxes among his subjects, accepts their cheer and participates in their entertainment. Some of the heirs apparent

to the throne, who realised this secret deliberately added a

touch of Bohemianism to their make up. Delker as well as .

Heywood has introduced scenes in which the monarch freely mixes

with his subjects, no doubt, partly to feed the popular senti-

ment. But, in all these scenes, mostly the king or the queen

confers this honour of royal visit on a distinguished citizen

as a recognition of his merit and his services. Sir John

crosby and Simon Eyre refer to the visit of the king to their

places with a sense of triumph; they regard it as the crowning

effect of their achievements. They make it an occasion for a

review of their career, evidently intended as an example to the

audience. This meeting of the king and the people again gives

a chance for the expression of patriotic sentiments and a kind

of homely attachment to the ruler. The Lord Mayor in Edward IV

says:

My gracious lord, what then we did,
We did account no more than was our duty,
Thereto obliged by true subjects' zeal;
And may he never live that not defends
The honour of his King and Country!
Next thank I god, it likes your majesty
To bless my poor roof with your royal presence.
To me could come no greater happiness.58

These scenes also indicate the bounteous hospitality of the

citizens and their whole-hearted loyalty to the monarch. The

sense of elation which the citizens feel may often give rise

to a quixotic exhibition of ostentatious chivalry as in the

58. Thomas Heywood: Edward IV, ed., Barron Field, Shakespeare

Society, Part I, IV, ii, p.60.
case of Sir Thomas Gresham who drinks a priceless pearl to the health of her Majesty. But these authors have shown the wisdom of the people in their full awareness that "to see the King now and then 'tis a comfort; but everyday would beggar us". 59

Dekker and Heywood also exemplify certain other virtues of right personal conduct, mostly those which assure domestic happiness and material success. Of course, insistence on virtue in a woman is conventional. But in the works of these two authors chastity, prudence and obedience are shown as amply rewarding and so essential for women to be respectable. These virtues pave the way for a profitable marriage and happy domestic life. Heywood's city Luce in A Wise Woman of Hogsdon after refusing the advances of a lover expresses a Pamela sort of prudence:

Alas, that beauty should be sought of more
Than can enjoy it! Might I have my wish,
I would seem fair but only in his eye
That should possess me in a nuptial tie. 60

Thrifty management of household is the first requisite of a good housewife and it is an important factor which contributes to the material prosperity of the man for 'a good saver is as good as a good getter' Lucrece's management of her servants and

* *
* *
They do the house no good, but help consume

home in the absence of her husband is one such admirable instance of efficient organisation of 'household state'. She chides her Maid and the Clown for their 'familiar' behaviour and wanton looks and makes her servants work properly:

Put one hour more, and you shall all to rest.  
Now that your lord is absent from this house,  
And that the master's eye is from his charge,  
We must be careful, and with providence  
Guide his domestic business.61

She refuses to rest and sits up late, like a 'faithful steward', supervising and guiding her servants in their work:

Not so; you shall not overwatch yourselves  
Longer than I wake with you; for it fits  
Good huswifes, when their husbands are from home,  
To eye their servants' labours, and in care  
And the true manage of his household state  
Earliest to rise, and to be up most late.62

Usually, a tradesman's daughter or wife sits with him in the shop 'sewing' or helping him, and in his absence she looks after the business. This gives scope for gallants to woo them. Therefore, the women must be clever enough to keep them at a respectable distance without offending them. Grissil and Luce are such perfect maids and their fathers have absolute trust in their chastity. Tormiella gives a polite reply to the Bawd and the King who try to take her away on the pretext

62. Ibid.
of showing some embroidered stuff.

My Husband is from home, and I want skill
To trade in such Commodities, but my man
Shall wait upon your Ladyship. 63

Jane's reply to Hammon's proposals of love gives us revealing insight into the typical temptations which the tradesman's wives have to face from the gallants and the necessary strength of character they require to encounter them.

Good sir, I do believe you love me well:
For 'tis a seely conquest, seely pride,
For one like you (I mean a gentleman)
To boast, that by his love tricks he hath brought,
Such and such women to his amorous lure;
I think you do not so, yet many doe,
And make it even a very trade to woo,
I could be coy, as many women be,
Feede you with sunne-shine smiles, and wanton looks,
But I detest witchcraft,... 64

The citizens are as much opposed to the interclass marriages as the noblemen. So, the love affair of Rose and Lacy provokes equally strong disapproval and violent opposition from both the sides. The tradesmen are proud of their trade and crafts and a bit sceptical about the wealth of the nobility. Eyre advises Rose not to marry anyone other than a tradesman, the same kind of suggestion given by Lincoln to the Lord Mayor:

Be rulde sweete rose, ...., a courtier, wash, go by,

stand not upon pisherie pasherie: those silken fellows are but painted images, outsides, outsides these. Their inner linings are torn: no my fine mouse, marry me with a Gentleman Grocer like my Lord Maior your Father, a Grocer is a sweete trade, Plums, Plums: had I a sonne or Daughter should marrie out of the generation and bloud of the shoe-makers, he should packe: what, the Gentle trade is a liuing for a man through Europe, through the world.

The lord Mayor who 'scorned' to call Lacy his son-in-law curses his daughter when he is told that she has married a common shoemaker. He thinks that Hammon is the only proper gentleman for his daughter:

This Hammon is a proper gentleman,
A citizen by birth, fairely allide,
How fit an husband were he for my girle?

The citizen is proud of his station and independence and he has a strong sense of self-respect and honour. In his

Match Me in London Dekker presents two generations of tradesmen,

the new generation of young tradesman like Cordolente who
cannot be silenced with a monopoly and the old usurer, his
father-in-law, who readily stoops to wink at his daughter's
loss of honour for the sake of material benefit. 67  Rafe and
his fellow shoemakers are deeply hurt and provoked when Hammon
offers to buy Jane.  Rafe retorts:

Sirra Hammon Hammon, dost thou thinke a Shoo-maker
is so base, to bee a bawde to his owne wife for
commoditie, take they golde, choake with it, were I
not lame, I would make thee eate they words. 68

Mathew Shore, honourable though he is, is made helpless
before the royal authority.  To escape from the 'badge' of
obloquy he leaves his country. 69

In all these instances Dekker and Heywood are stressing
the importance of certain moral virtues with the obvious
implication that the traditional code of individual behaviour
and personal character as well as the inherited order of social

IV, i, p.317, 38-39, Malevento says:
"The King is vex't, let me persuade thee sonne
To winne at small faults".

V, ii, p.77, 82-85.

69.  "In the play, as in the chronicles, Shore leaves her at
once on learning of her faithlessness; but in the play
he does more, he departs from England".  The Bourgeois
Elements in the Plays of Thomas Heywood, p.30.
organisation is right and essential for a stable social and
domestic life. In the case of matrimonial alliances they have
pointed out a code of conduct which leads to profitable marriage
and steady family life. The other group of virtues they have
repeatedly advocated in their plays may be called business
virtues essential for commercial success. Keenly aware of
the temporal benefits of pragmatic conduct they constantly
recommended thrift, diligence, honesty and temperance,\(^70\) and
denounced everything that stood in the way of material success.

70. The instances are too many and too scattered to specify.
Lincoln in *The Shoemakers' Holiday* tells the Lord Mayor
about his nephew's prodigality. Eyre is hospitable and
liberal but he is a shrewd business man. As the nobleman
tells of him:

"In all his actions that concern his state,
He is as serious, provident, and wise,"

\(^V, \text{iii}, 6-7.\) In *The Honest Whore* (Part I, III, ii, 5-6)
Bellafront sings of: 'The Citizens sonn's ryot,'
\[\begin{align*}
\text{The gallants costly dyet.}'
\end{align*}\]
and calls her company as 'spendthrifts of soule and body'
cf. Orlando Friscobaldo's description of a happy man in
Part II, I, ii, 54-65.
"If any handy-crafts man was ever suffered to keep-shop
in hell, it will be a Dice-maker; he's able to undo more
souls than the Devill...\(^%\) Ibid., III, ii, 18-19.

Heywood believed that one of the main social functions of
drama is to instil right conduct as well to condemn all
unprofitable traits. See *An Apology for Actors*, Shakespeare
Society, pp.52-59. Godfrey condemns all the idle people
who "sucke the honey from the publicke Hiue", *Four Prentices
Edward IV with utter disguist speaks of the 'unthrift' world. In *A Woman Killed with Kindness* Frankford chides
Nick for his unthriftiness and the entire sub-plot of
*The English Traveller* may be taken as a sermon against
prodigality. Apart from all the instances where 'much ale
and little thrift' is condemned, Old Forest's advice to his
son in *Fortune by Land and Sea*, and Phillips sermon to his
riotous brothers may be taken as representative examples.
Sloth, idleness, prodigality and useless pastimes are vehemently condemned in their plays. Of course, the exaltation of virtue and the condemnation of the seven deadly sins are common in many forms of literature including drama from the Middle Ages. What is particularly important about the presentation of Dekker and Heywood is their specific emphasis on the pragmatic value of virtue and goodness and their positive condemnation of all qualities which are practically useless. Thus there is a clear shift of emphasis from the theological to the practical values of moral virtues. It is Dekker's faith that:

_England shall ne're be poore, if England stryue,
Rather by vertue, then by wealth to thrive._\(^71\)

Stroza, the villain, turns away from his evil ways more because he does not thrive in them than because they are morally wrong:

_Who would stryue,
To bee a villaine, when the good thus thrive._\(^72\)

Therefore, the fundamental fact is that Dekker and Heywood are typically bourgeois in their outlook and they are concerned more with the necessity of moral virtues and right conduct for a happy domestic and social life than with the theoretical problems of morality. As far as the pragmatic value of virtue


is concerned theirs is an essentially 'protestant ethic' of
the seventeenth century.

As a strong contrast to this rosy picture of citizen life
in the plays of Dekker and Heywood we find the satirical pic-
ture of the same class in the plays of Jonson, Middleton and
Massinger. If the first group often veered to the verge of
romance in their optimistic and sympathetic portraiture, the
other group tended to be severely critical, caustic and anti-
romantic, not necessarily realistic. The fundamental diffe-
rences between the attitudes of the two groups can be better
understood by comparing The Shoemakers' Holiday with A New Way
to Pay Old Debts. As Patricia Thomson has shown the 'basic
situation', in both the plays is the same and Dekker as well
as Massinger have cleanly shown their preference for the
conservative social order. Where Dekker is content to stress
the permanent values of 'love, forgiveness and tolerance',
Massinger makes it a 'ground for a keen social satire'.

The plain moralisation of Dekker and Heywood, their readiness
to provide the necessary instruction to the middle-class made

73. "In basic situation in both plays the possibility of cutting
across hereditary class distinction is implied" (p.108). The plots concern with the ambition of a man of humble
birth and the project of marriage between two people of
unequal birth. See also pp.175-176, Patricia Thomson: The Old Way and The New Way in Dekker and Massinger,
their plays intellectually less impressive than the satirical plays of Jonson and his followers. The attempts of Dekker and Heywood at instruction through entertainment, and their striving after popular dramatic effects betray their journalistic tendencies. Their direct plea for moral values does not admit of the tremendous urgency and force of the satirical method. So, the domestic plays of Dekker and Heywood have a lesser intellectual appeal than those of Jonson and his group. But, we should not forget that the optimism of these two authors is not certainly due to their unawareness of the seamy side of citizen life or their ignorance of the existing modes of social and economic organisation. Their deep sympathies for the middle-class and unshakable faith in the goodmen and integrity of the common men and their inherent aversion for satire are the main factors which determined their points of view and attitudes. As they always concentrated on the domestic

74. Candido says about the misuse of the word 'Cozen':

"Cozen! A name of much deceyt, folly and sin,
For under that common abused word,
Many an honest tempred Cityzen
Is made a monster, and his wife traynd out
To foule adulterous action, full of fraud".


See also Match Me in London, Vol. III, I, i, p.279, 139-140. Heywood's Hobs in Edward IV, Part I, III, i, p.71) condemns patents: "I like not those patents ... they that have them ... make the things worse than it is". See also A Woman Killed with Kindness, I, iii, p.14 and Fortune by Land and Sea, I, ii, p.12. In all these instances again the authors have the individual welfare and common good in view.
and social life of the middle-class they viewed the new trends of economic process mainly in terms of its effects on domestic and social life of the citizens, mostly in terms of individual happiness or misery. In all such instances Dekker and Heywood have shown how the traditional values and inherited social ideas help to avoid much of the domestic misery caused by the new changes, and how the old values are essential for individual and social welfare. Their plays have, therefore, more of the human element than the satirical comedies of Jonson and his group, and they have more human appeal.