

# **The Vocation Play as a Window to Its Era**

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this master's thesis is to use the "Vocation Play", a school play written in Canterbury in the 1660s or 1670s as a gateway to the society of the late 17th century and to find out how the realities of that era can be seen in this school play. This was done by utilising historical criticism and a large number of books on the specific topics examined. Those specific topics were social stratification and money, religion, law and lawyers, women, the lower classes, food and drink and clothing. These topics were chosen because they have societal significance and were widely discussed by the characters in the play.

The era in question is important because signs of the progress which would lead England to become the world's greatest nation a hundred years later begin to become apparent in this era (de Vries 1976: 1-2). *The Orationes*, the manuscript of which this play is a part of, is an unpublished collection of school plays that has been studied very little and it is, therefore, worthwhile to examine one of the plays.

This Thesis will proceed as follows. Firstly, historical background will be discussed in order to give the reader an understanding of what kind of environment the play was written in. A description of the method used in analysing the play will also be given in this section. The next section after that will be the actual analysis in which the seven topics chosen will be discussed individually. This will be achieved by analysing in the light of scholarly literature the contents in the play pertaining to each subject. Finally the results of the analysis will be discussed and the conclusions, which can be drawn from them, will be listed.

## 2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As the source material of this thesis is a play from roughly 350 years ago, it is important to discuss the surroundings in which the work was written. Therefore, the manuscript of which the play is a part of, the historical era and the school in which it was written, will be discussed in the following section.

### 2.1 The Manuscript

*The Orationes* is a collection of Restoration era school plays originally performed by the students of the King's School in Canterbury. It was collected and partly composed by the headmaster of the school, George Lovejoy, in circa 1675. The Manuscript is comprised of around 656 folio pages of which roughly fifty per cent are in Latin or infrequently in Greek and the rest are in English. (Johnson 2009.)

The manuscript is written in neat italics, which makes it relatively easy to read, although the spelling, which differs from the modern British standard, provides some complications.

The play which was transcribed for this thesis does not have a name but as its subject is the professions or vocations, I have decided to call it "The Vocation Play" for want of a better name. In the play the representatives of different trades introduce themselves and promote their occupation. The "Vocation Play" is 17 pages long in the original manuscript and 16 pages long in the transcribed version. It features 21 trades in the following order: the divine, the lawyer, the physician, the surgeon, the merchant, the astrologer, the poet, the landlord, the woollen draper, the grosser, the comfitmaker, the taylor, the ship-carpenter, the bookbinder, the joiner, the hatmaker, the watchmaker, the working goldsmith, the saltar, the brewer and the usurer. In addition to the monologue given by the representative of each trade, there is a short introduction and conclusion in which the pupils politely ask for understanding from the adult audience for their humble play.

## **2.2 England in the Restoration Era**

The span of this thesis are the years between Charles II's restoration and the completion of the manuscript, that is to say from 1660 to roughly 1675. The great event preceding this period was, of course, the English revolution that had led to the execution of Charles I and to the formation of the Commonwealth of England which lasted from 1649 to 1660. That revolution had had a number of effects on the English society which are visible in this play.

### **2.2.1 A Short Narrative of the Events**

The restoration effectively began when the English Parliament accepted the Declaration of Breda, which Charles II had issued on the 4th of April 1660 while in exile in the Netherlands. In the declaration he offered a general pardon, a land settlement, payment of debts to the Army and liberty of conscience. All of these were to be subject to Parliament approval. The declaration was accepted and Charles returned to England on the 25th of May. (Cf. Hill 1961: 118.)

According to Hill (1961: 193-195), several laws were passed, among them the revised version of the Navigation Act discussed later in this thesis. Amnesty was granted to everyone involved in the Interregnum hostilities apart from 57 individuals, most of whom had been involved in the regicide of Charles II's father. Thirty of them were condemned and eleven executed. Lands confiscated from the Church, the Crown and the Royalists were restored, in theory at least, but lands sold privately during the Interregnum were not. Despite the promise of religious tolerance made in the Declaration of Breda, the new Cavalier Parliament which met for the first time in May 1661, passed several statutes which limited the rights of religious dissenters. These acts, collectively known as the Clarendon code, aimed to exclude nonconformists from any involvement in local or central government and to stop them meeting or teaching.

In May 1662, Charles married the Portuguese princess Catherine of Braganza. She brought with her Tangier and Bombay in her dowry which further facilitated English foreign trade. In addition to this success, the English did, however, face a number of misfortunes in 1660s: There was a major plague epidemic in 1665; the Fire of London burned down most of the city in 1666; The Second Dutch War failed and England was forced to make peace in 1667. In 1672 the English state actually went bankrupt but regardless of that Charles declared war on the Netherlands again in 1673, this time in alliance with France. In 1672 he also issued a Declaration of Indulgence for dissenting Protestants and Catholics. The parliament, however, did not accept this and issued the Test Act in which it affirmed that every civil and military office holder had to be an oath-sworn supporter of the Church of England. The third (and unsuccessful) Anglo-Dutch war was brought to an end in 1674.

### **2.2.2 The Economic Situation in Restoration England**

Hill (1961: 203) writes that “the post-Restoration era was conducive to capital investment and scientific experiment”. During the Commonwealth a series of measures had been begun in order to make England the greatest trading entrepôt in Europe and these measures were continued when Charles II came to power.

The Dutch Republic had been the leading trade nation in Europe during the first half of the 17th century. For example in 1601 there were 360 Dutch ships in the port of London but only 207 English ships. The three Dutch wars (1652-54), (1665-67) and (1672-74) broke their hold on the tobacco, sugar, fur, slaves and codfish trades. (cf. de Vries 1976: 117-124.) De Vries sums up this development well when he writes that “The Amsterdam-centered trading system created in the early seventeenth century gave way, by the end of the century, to a multicentered trading system. London dominated this system, but because of greater sophistication in the payments system and growth in the volume of trade, other centers - among them Amsterdam, Hamburg, Bordeaux and Lisbon - shared in exercising leadership in certain fields. (de Vries 1976: 128.)

The wars were not the only important measure used to make England a great merchant nation, the Navigation Acts were also critical for this success. The first Navigation Act was passed by the Commonwealth parliament and, according to Wilson (1965: 62), its essential content was that merchandise imported into England was to come directly from the country which produced it or first exported it. The merchandise had to be carried in English ships or in ships belonging to the country that the merchandise originated from. Importing Asian, African and American goods in foreign ships was naturally also forbidden. These regulations were passed chiefly to interrupt the Dutch entrepôt trade and even included a clause prohibiting fish to be transported by any other than English ships in order to specifically target the Dutch lucrative herring fisheries off the coast of England and Scotland.

The next navigation Act was passed in 1660 and that included the decree that all foreign-built ships in English ownership had to be registered and two years later it was added into the Act of Frauds that any foreign-built ship not registered by 1 October 1662 was to be deemed alien. In addition, the master and three-quarters of the crew of English-owned ships had to be English. In 1663 the Act for the Encouragement for trade was issued and that act bound the colonists of English colonies to buy all the European goods that they needed in England and transport it in English-owned and English-manned ships. New Amsterdam constituted a loophole in this system and was therefore captured and turned into New York in 1664.

English export had formerly been primarily composed of cloth, but during this era export became more diverse with new merchandise such as tobacco from Virginia and the West Indies, sugar from Barbados and Jamaica, calicoes from India, cod from New Foundland and slaves from West Africa. Wilson estimates that the total shipping tonnage grew from 150 000 - 200 000 tons in 1660 to 340 000 by 1688. (cf. Wilson. 1965: 164-171.)

This economic development is important for this thesis because it is featured for instance in the boastful monologues made by the merchants in the “Vocation Play”, such as the following less than modest utterance from the Merchant:

(1)

My converse is with the gold of Arabia, ye spices of Ægypt, and treasures of India, and the riches of the Ocean. Wee have sealed baggs for Kings stufft with golden Guinnea dust , the sinews of Warr, and Peace. (The Merchant p. 4)

The riches and success brought by England's foreign trade is overall a very central theme in the play.

Even though the Navigation Acts and the Dutch wars were central in making England Europe's greatest trading nation, there were other matters which had been slowly enabling the transition from a medieval economy towards what would eventually become the industrial revolution in the 1700s. The most important factor which made this development possible was the intensification of agriculture. It improved the crop yields significantly which made it possible for the peasant population to sustain a larger population not working within agriculture.

In the Middle Ages the crop yields had been, according to De Vries (1976: 34-36), such that the ratio between seed sown and seeds harvested had been 1:4. That ratio was enough to support roughly 25 people per 100 peasants. It was thus a crop yield that could support few non-farmers in the best years and guaranteed famine in worst years. In England that ratio had already climbed to 1:6 by the early 17th century which enabled 150 non-farmers to be sustained per 100 peasants. This was a very significant number and it continued to grow so that by the second half of the 18th century the crop yield was 1:10 which could support 250 non-farmers per 100 people.

There were several methods used to increase agricultural output. Firstly, the amount of cultivable land was augmented by draining the fens of eastern England which improved the quality of around 160 000 hectares of land. Secondly, the traditional three-course crop rotation in which a field was cultivated for the first two years and then allowed to remain fallow for the third and last year in order to recover its fertility, was partly replaced by new methods in which nitrogen-fixing plants like turnips were planted to improve soil fertility. Those turnips were then fed to livestock that produced manure that could be used to further fertilise the soil. In the new systems the crop rotation could last from seven to eleven years. (cf. de Vries 1976: 37-40.)



Thirdly, the traditional common-field system was partly replaced by enclosed fields mostly owned by large estates. The abolition of common fields had previously been resisted by the crown, but during the civil war the obstacles formed by the government had been removed. The aristocratic owners were often absentees who rented out the land to tenants. The estates were, however, effectively managed so that tenants were forced to be diligent or be replaced.

This intensification led to falling grain prices but the innovations also made production cheaper. Many small farmers had to liquidate but the lower prices also led to a shift from grain and wool to dairy and livestock and rural industries so that a painful but successful differentiation and diversification occurred. As a result of the improved crop yields and government subsidies, England turned from being somewhat self-sufficient in grain to a major exporter. The importance of the abundant and cheap grain in the “Vocation Play” lies in the fact that cheaper food enabled the nonagricultural population to spend more on other things such as industrial products and colonial goods. That development made it possible for all the different merchants and craftsmen mentioned in the “Vocation Play” to earn a good living. (cf. de Vries 1976: 75-82)

### **2.2.3 Canterbury in the 17th Century**

Lincoln (1955: 112, 131) writes that in the 1660s Canterbury was an average English town. It had lost much of its significance when the Reformation had caused the lucrative pilgrimage to the cathedral to end. The cathedral had been severely damaged during the Interregnum and although the citizens of Canterbury had originally supported the rebellion, Charles II's ascension to the throne was greeted enthusiastically as the townspeople had grown weary of the strict Puritan government.

The Restoration was not an era without difficulties in Canterbury: the city was hit by the plague several times, although not as badly as London. During the second Dutch war, the Dutch seized the Kentish town of Sheerness and closed the mouth of the river Medway and that caused great alarm in Canterbury so that urgent steps were taken to improve town defences. (cf. Lincoln 1955:132.)

The population of Canterbury was not homogenous in the 1600s: War in the Spanish Netherlands brought waves of French-speaking Protestant Walloons to Canterbury from 1567 to 1700. They were allowed by archbishop Parker in 1576 to use the cathedral undercroft for worship and teaching in French. Walloons formed a significant part of the population as they numbered around 2000 in a population of 5000. (cf. Lyle 2002:107.)

They were active in the wool industry, which had been important in Canterbury since the Middle Ages, because many of them were skilled fullers, weavers and dyers. Many of the refugees were originally from southern France, which had been the centre of European silk manufacture, and their skills helped make Canterbury not just a centre for woollen manufacture but also one of the two main centres of silk manufacture in England. In addition to the French-speaking congregation, there were at least four nonconformist groups in Canterbury such as Baptists and Quakers. (Lincoln 1955:114-132.)

#### **2.2.4 The King's School and Its Students**

The King's School in Canterbury is an ancient school which has existed in Canterbury since the Middle Ages, having possibly been founded by St. Augustine in the late 6th century. According to Woodruff & Cape (1908) there is no definitive proof of this, but it is clear that the school existed as the medieval cathedral school of Canterbury Cathedral until it was re-founded during the reformation by Edward VIII in 1541 as the King's School. The new Cathedral Statutes which were established contained a chapter relating to the school. Among those statutes are ones that were still very important during the Restoration and help shed light on the environment in which the "Vocation Play" was written. Those statutes include, according to Woodruff & Cape's translation, the stipulations that fifty poor boys between nine and fifteen of age should be admitted to the school and be sustained by the Church until they have learned to speak and write Latin for which they will be allowed four years with a fifth year allowed by permission from the Dean and the Head Master.

The boys were required to be able to read and write before entering the school. Former choristers of the Cathedral were to be accepted as poor scholars unless they were

“remarkable for extraordinary slowness and dullness or for a disposition repugnant to learning”. The existence of these poor scholars is important from the point of view of the “Vocation Play” because even though the literacy requirement complicated truly poor boys’ acceptance to the school, it was still quite possible for the son of any of the tradesmen appearing in the play to gain acceptance. Woodruff & Cape (1908: 136) estimate that the total number of students appears to have been around a hundred in the restoration period which would make the number of poor scholars and paying students equal.

Thus, a significant number of students might have had intimate knowledge of the trades mentioned in the play. It must, however, be remembered that because the school studies concentrated exclusively on classical studies, they were useless for those who could not hope for a professional career (Hill 1967: 166). The demand of prior literacy also restricted the school from the children of the truly poor. Wheale writes (1999: 31) that “Children of families below yeoman status whose total annual income might be £15 or less would find it difficult to progress beyond rudimentary learning in the petty school because their earnings only just provided the necessities of life”.

Detailed curricula of the school have not been preserved, but Woodruff & Cape (1908) suggest that it was quite similar to the one described by Charles Hoole in his 1660 work *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole*. The main subject in the school was Latin, which was taught by reading, memorizing and translating classical and religious texts. Greek and Hebrew were also taught to the senior students in the fourth to sixth form. (Hoole 1912 [1660].) According to Woodruff & Cape (1908), natural sciences, for instance, were not taught at all as the aim of the grammar school was to prepare the students for a university education, and classical studies were what was valued in the academic circles. The “Vocation Play” can, however, be considered vocational guidance because most of the students of grammar schools were from tradesmen families and only around 20 per cent continued their education, while the rest took apprenticeships (Wheale 1999:31).

According to Watson (1908: 319-320), “acting was an established institution in schools abroad, from early in the 16th century”. The Roman comedy writers Terence and

Plautus were favoured, but plays in English soon emerged. Hoole (1912 [1660]: 180-181) explains that

this acting of a piece of Comedy, or a Colloquy sometimes will be an excellent means to prepare to pronounce orations with a Grace, and I have found it an especiall remedy to expell the sub rustick bashfullnesse and unresistable timorousnesse, which some children are naturally possessed withall and which is apt in riper yeares to drown many good parts in men of singular endowments.

From this quote it becomes clear that even though 17th century schoolwork was largely written work, oral skills were highly valued too and considered important for the future.

In his handbook, Hoole (1912 [1660]: 315) makes a suggestion as to how Speech days, the days when oratory skills were showcased, should be arranged:

Invite his Scholars Parents, together with such Gentlemen and Ministers, as he is better acquainted withall, as well to take notice of what his Scholars in every Form are able to doe, as to grace him with their company. Let the Scholars in each Form be furnished with such Exercises as belong to them, in loose papers, and have all their Translations writ fairly in their books, to be ready to shew to any one that shall desire to look upon them. The higher Forms should entertain the Company with some elegant Latine Comedy out of Terence or Plautus, and part of a Greek one out of Aristophanes, as also with such Orations, and Declamations, and Coppies of several sorts of verses, as are most proper for celebrating the solemnity of the time at hand, and to give satisfaction to the present meeting. The lesser boyes should remain orderly in their formes, to be ready to give answer to any one that shall examine them in what they have learnt, or would know what they are able to perform.

In the King's school these Speech days took place four times a year: On May 29th, the day of Charles II's birth and restoration to power, on the 5th November, the date of the infamous Gunpowder Plot, before Christmas and during Lent. "The Vocation Play" is a Lent play as can be seen in the following passage from the end the of the play:

(2)

Our Diet is but mean: And wee could wish Provided here had been a better dish.If this displease your palatts, and distast,Yee may with richer Diet break your fast.But in the interim Wee all kiss your hands.In hope now to be freed from this School's bands. (p. 16)

This passage also alludes to the beginning of the Easter holiday that, according to Hoole (1912 [1660]:314), was one of the usual holidays in the schools of this era. Woodruff & Cape for example relate:

On these four occasions (Speech days), speeches, verses and other exercises were publicly recited by the boys before the Dean and Canons and other invited guests, and the Head-master made it his regular custom to transcribe them in a bulky folio volume, which is still preserved in the Chapter Library. (1908: 125)

That bulky folio volume is the one also containing “the Vocation Play. “ Most of the manuscript’s contents are in Latin with a few exceptions such as the play discussed.

Woodruff & Cape (1908: 126) marvel at the rather bold language used in the English-language plays, and the “Vocation Play” does not differ in this respect. For instance this following excerpt from the Physician’s speech could be considered quite risqué by the standards of Woodruff & Cape’s Edwardian era:

(3)

Besides, Gentlemen, wee are grown the onely cabbincts in Court to Ladys privacies , acquainted with their most concealed Jewells ; wee make their beauties, and preserve them; rectifie their bodies, and maintain them; clarifeye their blouds; perfume their skins; tincture their hair; enliven their eyes; heighten their appetites, being God, and Natures best Assistants. (The Doctor p. 4)

George Lovejoy, who had a master’s degree from Merton College was headmaster of the King’s School from 1665 to 1684. According to Woodruff & Cape (1908: 125) he had been a chaplain in Charles I’s army until it was defeated in Naseby. He subsequently became headmaster of Islington Grammar school and remained there for eleven years until he was elected as the headmaster of King’s School. He was recommended for that position by, for instance, the headmaster of the Merchant Taylors’ School, who described Lovejoy to be “of sober and modest conversation, sincerely conformable to ye Church of England in doctrinals and rituals, and withal of a great dexterity in ye act of promoting youth in good literature.” (Woodruff & Cape 1908:124)

This probably alludes to the fact that religious dissent had been an existing problem among teaching staff. According to Jenny Wormald (2008:131) the 1662 Act of Uniformity caused around 2,209 ministers, lecturers and teachers to be driven from their places due to nonconformism, this being maybe a tenth of the profession's members.

### **2.3 Method of Analysis**

As mentioned before, the field of study which this thesis falls under is social history. The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines social history as “Branch of history that emphasizes social structures and the interaction of different groups in society rather than affairs of state.... As a field, it often borders on economic history on the one hand and on sociology and ethnology on the other” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Social History”). This discipline is well suited for studying “the Vocation Play” because the relations between different professions and the societal situation are central themes in the play. Economic history is also touched upon as finances are frequently discussed in the play.

In addition to being a study in social history, this thesis is also a study in literature history and, thus, is associated with literary criticism. The critical method used was mainly historical criticism, which is defined by J.R de J. Jackson as “criticism that tries to read past works of literature in the way in which they were read when they were new” (Jackson 1989: 3). To achieve this aim of reading the play as it would have been read by contemporaries, a large number of books on the topics chosen for analysis were utilised.

Only one scholarly article, an article on clothing by Margaret Spufford, was used for the analysis because the topics covered in this play are so broad that the contents of most articles appeared to be too narrow and specific. Several articles, especially from *The Economic History Review*, were read even though they were not used when completing the analysis.



### 3. ANALYSIS

Using the theoretical framework and methods mentioned in the previous section, seven topics were chosen to be covered in this thesis. They are social stratification and money, religion, law and lawyers, women, lower classes, food and drink and clothing. Those themes were chosen because of the assumption that studying them would give a more comprehensive picture of Restoration England than for instance studying the individual trades that appear in the play. The first five themes represent important societal issues and groups, the last two are centered on the standard of living in the era.

#### 3.1 Social Stratification and Money

In the play several characters emphasise the importance of having money. The longest and boldest statement is made by The Usurer who, of course, as a character is highly involved in the financial world:

(4)

O money! money! Thou openest Locks, drawest Curtains, buyest Witt, sellest Honesty, keepest Courts, fightest Quarrells, pullest down Churches, buildest Hospitalls. O money! Thou comest near the nature of a Spirit; and art so subtle, that thou canst creep in at any cranny, be present at most inward Councells, and betray them. Men are not wise without Thee, For money makes wisdom known. To be a fool, and poor, is next to old aches, and badd Fame. Poverty, I defye thee! For whose meanes are little, there little comforts alwaies keep company. Want, and Poverty When noe ill else will doe't, will make Friends flye. Are wee in fault? Poverty is that which putts a multiplying Glass upon our faults, and makes them swell, and fill the Eye. our lowest Crimes then cry most high, when they have brought us low. Well Gentlemen! this is my comfort, I haue Money! Money! (p.15)



This quote reveals that the Usurer seems to consider money to be what really makes the world go round and poverty to be something that leads directly to discomfort and social isolation. The Taylor similarly proclaims that

(5)

A man indeed without money, in the base Worldings account, is noe man.”(The Taylor p.10)

The Merchant simply states that

(6)

World is Monyes, which is the Merchants glorious issue: and This commands, governs, and swaies the whole World.” (The Merchant p.5)

Even the Doctor mentions his financial standing in addition to his professional expertise:

(7)

Beside money, and other gifts, wee have power to destroy, and to preserve.”  
(The Doctor p.3)

The only character who openly opposes this money-centered point of view is the Poet who in the following example scorns it by saying:

(8)

And cause our fancye mounts to higher things. Then World, or Wealth: wee prove ourselve true Kings Above the reach of Fortune; which though't can Oppress, yet Poet never shall unman. (The Poet p.6)

Thus it is apparent that money is a central theme in the play and, as the quote from the Usurer reveals, also important in terms of the social stratification in Restoration England. The social status of each vocation is not openly stated in the play, but it is something that is alluded to, for instance, when the Poet laments that

(9)

A Poet is divine, full rich in wit, Though poor in state. And therefore never fitt

T'attend th'Lawyer, Priest, Physician, or flatter the State Politician. (The Poet p.6)

The social stratification can, however, be reconstructed using the allusions in the play and by comparing the list of vocations to the table summarised by G.M Trevelyan in *Illustrated English Social History Volume Two* (1965) based on Gregory King's 1688 calculations.

The King, of course, had the highest social position in England being paralleled to God by the Divine in the play:

(10)

I am for for God, and the King; and for all that are put in authority under him."(The Divine p.1)

The King's income had been voted to be around one million pounds at his accession in 1660 (Hill 1961: 197). According to King (Trevelyan 1965: 134-135), the second highest tier was temporal Lords whose yearly income was £3,200 and the lowest tier of all was cottagers and paupers who only earned £6 10s. It is, however, important to note that these amounts are not per person but by household and that the temporal lords' households are estimated to consist of 40 persons whereas the cottager and pauper households are estimated to include 3 ½ persons. Even with that adjustment it does become clear that there was an enormous gap between incomes in the England of the late 1600s.

In fact, nearly a fifth of the population, a million people, occasionally received alms and the poor rate was £800,000 a year. This social inequality is also illustrated by the miniscule size of the wealthiest group which King assesses to comprise of 6,400 persons compared to the poorest which numbers 1,300,000 persons. The second poorest group, labouring people and out-servants, is almost as large, with 1,275,000 members and a yearly income of £15. It is noteworthy that these two poorest groups make up close to half of the total population.

None of the "Vocation Play" characters seem to belong to utmost highest tiers of wealth that are comprised of nobility only. The Landlord would be a candidate, if not for the fact that he invites the Merchant to come to his country house (p.7). The idea that he were to extend such an invitation to a person of significantly lesser means is strange.

The Merchant also brags about his high social standing at length by claiming, for example:

(11)

Such a Merchant shall be invited to Capon , and Custard: ride to the Lord Maiors a feasting in his footcloath; have there the first carving, with Please you eat of This, or That, my Noble; my right worshipfull Brother

(The Merchant p.5).

The view that the presumably genteel Landowner and the rich Merchant are roughly equally wealthy is also supported by King, who lists the income for esquires as £450 a year and gentlemen as £280 a year and as £400 for eminent traders by sea and £198 for lesser traders by the sea. The merchant is quite certainly an eminent trader by sea as he mentions that “One vessel full freighted, and safe returned will out vye a Princes ransom” (The Merchant p.4). Such a man is also not likely to associate himself with a less than substantial landowner.

Of the vocations included in King’s list the third wealthiest would be the Lawyer, as his income is listed as £154 a year. He is followed by the Divine, whose income would be either £72 or £50 a year depending whether he is an eminent or a lesser clergyman. He is, perhaps surprisingly, followed by the Astrologer, who could be considered a member of the persons in the liberal arts and sciences category with the listed income of £60.

Shopkeepers and tradesmen are listed as having a £45 income and this category would presumably include the Grosser, the Comfitmaker and the Saltar as they all seem to have shops. The next group that has an only slightly smaller income is the artisans and handicrafts group with a £38 income. This group would probably include the Woollen Draper, the Taylour, the Ship-carpenter, the Bookbinder, the Joyner, the Hatmaker, the Working-goldsmith and the Brewer.

Some of the trades do not really belong to any of the groups listed by King and it is thus difficult to ascertain their wealth. Those trades include the Physician, the Chirurgion, the Poet and the Usurer. The Physician and the Usurer, however proclaim their wealthiness in the play and the Poet laments his poverty. Thusly the only one who really remains a mystery is the Chirurgion who might be considered a handicraftsman as he rhymes that

(12)

Chirurgion is my name, who alwaies can with handy skill serve the Physician.”  
(The Chirurgion p. 4)

This also reveals that he is subservient to the Physician.

These numbers are far from irrelevant as they reveal that the play focuses on vocations which members could be considered members of either the middle class or the upper class of the 17th century English society. This is important as these more or less wealthy groups were a minority.

It was, however, possible to rise at least from the artisan and handicrafts group to a wealthier, even genteel status, as the Brewer mentions:

(13)

Have not many Brewers from a narrow Fortune brewed themselves into Aldermen , and Knights, and that to without Pride, or Rebellion? (The Brewer p.14)

Wormald sums the differences between social tiers well:

The rich and comfortably off did well, but for most of the population, even those of middling rank, the economic realities meant that life was an unending struggle to make ends meet. For the labouring poor, the experience of work was usually a hard one. Industrial and agricultural workers alike sustained long hours of toil, the latter in particular having to work in all weathers. (Wormald 2008:178)

This makes the importance and quest for wealth all the more understandable.

### **3.2 Religion**

When discussing religion in the “Vocation Play”, it is necessary to, at least briefly, address the events that led to the religious diversity mentioned in the play and the precarious position of the Anglican clergy.

The high-handed manner of Charles I and his administration, including the Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud, had not only angered the most religious section of the population but also the propertied class (Hill 1961: 101-107). Briefly summarised, this led to a Civil war during which both the king and the archbishop were executed (Hill 1961: 113-114).

The situation in Canterbury mirrored that of the rest of the country. Like most prosperous manufacturing towns, it was on the Parliament side at the beginning of the war owing to the dissatisfaction with excessive taxation and religious interference. Thus the Parliament forces were greeted by the mayor and cheered by the people when they entered Canterbury in 1642. The ensuing events, however, changed public opinion in the city. The Cathedral was subject to vandalism that, for instance, destroyed a part of the roof. Those responsible for the havoc included not only Parliament soldiers, but also the followers of the zealous Puritan clergyman Richard Culmer who were allowed to do damage to the church while protected by soldiers. (Lincoln 1955: 125-129.) Culmer might be one of the “gamesters” referred to in the following excerpt from *The Divine* in the play:

(14)

The Atheist bragging of noe God: the Fanatick worshipping instead of God his own Imagination: and some, who call themselves Catholicks, devouring the God whom they make every day. Some haue shewed themselves so Orthodox, that, for fear of Idolatry they make haue left the good, and old way, and haue Covenanted a discipline, as they say, of the Lord to the rooting out of loyalty. Which crafty Independency caught up afterward, and used as their engine to bring Majestic to the block. Since that, divine Fanaticks took up the divine cards , and were willing to entertain any gamester against Bishop, or King. Well talk they what they please, I am for for God, and the King; and for all that are put in authority under him. (*The Divine* p. 1)

This quote also shows the religious diversity of Restoration England, which stemmed from the Interregnum. Although the people of Canterbury were initially content with the Puritan rule, the new Puritan religious observances, stripped of all decor, seemed to many to be irreligion in disguise. As time passed, different forms of worship were more or less accepted despite the Puritan doctrine still being the official norm. The French-speaking Walloon congregation was left in peace as well as the group that worshipped

according to the doctrines of the pre-Commonwealth Church of England. Consequently, the Restoration came as relief to the Canterburians. (Lincoln 1955: 129-131.)

Even though the name “Restoration” implies that everything was reverted to being as it had been before the Commonwealth, this did not include the church. Hill (1967: 152) writes that regardless of attempts to reimpose Anglican uniformity, it could never be pretended that all the English belonged a single church. In Canterbury, a town of around 5000 inhabitants, there were at least four nonconformist ministers preaching when Charles II issued his Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 (Lincoln 1955: 132).

Thus it is easy to understand the Divine’s frustration in the play. According to Hill (1961: 244), the lower clergy were also financially worse off right after the Restoration than at any point during the 17th century as the funding of vicarages was unreliable. Tithes were hard to collect, as the worst punishment that could be imposed was excommunication, which had largely lost its effect as the Anglican Church had lost its religious monopoly (Hill 1967: 154). Hill states (1961: 243) that the clergy had been considered a separate estate during the Middle Ages but they had become just one of many professions. That development is mirrored in this play too, in which the Divine is just a representative of one vocation among 20 others.

The aforementioned quote from the Divine underlines the fact that the school was governed by royalists such as Headmaster Lovejoy who had fought in Charles I’s army. It is also noteworthy that school’s student body was most likely comprised of middle and upper class boys (due to reasons mentioned earlier) and Anglicanism had become a distinctly upper-class religion after the Restoration (Trevelyan 1965: 112).

Examining the above mentioned lament by the Divine sheds light on a number aspects of the religious and societal situation of the era. The first adversary the Divine mentions is the Atheist. David Berman writes (1988: 48) in his book *A History of Atheism in Britain: From Hobbes to Russell* that atheism had become more prevalent in the Restoration period in the upper classes and was based on the thoughts of Hobbes. So it is clear that an atheist minority existed during this era. The Divine, however, claims that the atheists were “bragging of noe God”. That is a strange notion considering that according to Berman (1988: 57) the atheists were very private about their belief and

Hobbes himself, for instance, spoke vehemently against atheism, calling “atheist” one of the greatest words of abuse. Atheists also had to be careful because denying or deriding Christianity was an offense punishable by a fine under the 1666-67 act of parliament. (Berman 1988: 48-49.)

Not even the scandalous libertine John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester was open or straightforward about his lack of belief (Berman 1988: 52-56). The only person of the era to publicly admit to having been an atheist was Daniel Scargill who in his *Recantation .... publickly made before the University of Cambridge (of which he was formerly a member) ... 25 July 1669* confesses to being a “Hobbist” and an atheist. This confession is, however, a part of a work in which he recants his former belief and announces his reformed belief in God. (Berman 1988: 57-59.) In light of this evidence it seems that either the Divine is exaggerating or the writer of the “Vocation Play” had encountered atheists who were proud of their beliefs but also private about them.

The next opponent listed is the Fanatic who is accused of replacing the worshiping of God with the worshiping of his own imagination. Who does the term “fanatic” then refer to? One of its meanings, according to the Oxford English dictionary is “A fanatic person; a visionary; an unreasoning enthusiast. Applied in the latter half of the 17th c. to Nonconformists as a hostile epithet”. Nonconformist is an umbrella term that refers to all Protestant dissenters.

It is not quite as clear what “worshipping his own imagination” refers to. One interpretation is that it alludes to the Puritan’s firm belief in interpreting Scripture themselves, which according to Hill (1961: 174) was criticised by conservatives on the grounds that “The Bible is a large book, in which men can find a text to prove whatever they want to prove”. Thus “worshipping his own imagination” would be a jibe at this highly individualistic form of exegesis. Another interpretation is that it refers to the Puritan belief in providence. John Spurr claims (1998: 184, 192) in his book *English Puritanism* that they had a tendency to regard even the smaller occurrences in their lives to be caused by God’s will. This could also in part explain the reference to “his own imagination”. The particular dislike of Puritans shown in the play may be caused, in addition to traumatic Civil War experiences, by the fact that Kent was one of the areas which held a concentration of Puritans.

After the Puritans, the next opponents under scrutiny are Catholics. What is mentioned about them is that they devour God. It might seem like a strange notion, but it is quite certainly a reference to the Catholic transubstantiation doctrine, that is to say, the belief that the communion bread and wine are transformed into to the actual body and blood of Christ during communion instead of just being symbols of them. That is a significant difference between Catholic and Anglican doctrine. The rebuttal of transubstantiation is even featured as article 28 out of 59 in the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, the book that defined the doctrine of Church of England (Cressy & Ferrell 1996: 67; Spaeth 2000: 155).

The last subject discussed by the Divine is what happened before and during the Civil War. He begins by stating that some have left “the good and old old way” because they fear idolatry. The good and old way is surely the Church of England and its doctrines. This relates to idolatry in the way that before the civil war the position propagated by Richard Montagu, that the differences between the Anglican and the Roman Catholic churches were not vast and that Protestants did not worship religious regalia or imagery, but used it as aids for piety and remembrance, had won favour within the church and from the king (Fincham 2007: 126-129). This attitude alienated Puritans who abhorred everything that seemed Catholic, including the sumptuous use of religious imagery (Spurr 1998: 182). The rooting out of loyalty mentioned would be the loyalty towards the people who advanced this more ornate version of the English Church, such as Archbishop William Laud and King Charles I.

The next sentence contains several interesting words. Independency is the first one. The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as “That system of ecclesiastical polity in which each local congregation of believers is held to be a church independent of any external authority: = Congregationalism”. This definition is problematic in that it does not really explain how something that is related to the structure and administration of churches could logically lead to regicide. Hill’s assertion (1961: 165-166) that the independent sects included the most radical and determined opponents of the king and bishops probably explains how the term is used in the play as a synonym of the king’s the enemies even though not all independents were radical in this way.



The next significant phrase is “caught up”. It probably used in the meaning “To take up or adopt quickly or eagerly” (Oxford English Dictionary), meaning that the Independents adopted the Puritan cause. The last one is engine which, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, used to have the now obsolete meaning “An instance or a product of ingenuity; a contrivance or means. In a bad sense: a plot, a snare, a wile.” Thus the sentence would mean that according to the Divine this relatively harmless (and apparently naive) religious fervour was then adopted by cunning enemies of the king and used as a snare to bring about Charles I’s execution.

The last sentence is simply an affirmation of the Anglican royalist loyalty that the Headmaster Lovejoy and the rest of staff of school supported.

In addition to the long quote from the Divine, religious matters are mentioned by other characters of the play.

Quakers are mentioned twice. The first mention by the Woollen Draper on page 11 is simply a pun based on the name of the sect and the quaking or shaking caused by coldness due to the lack of woollen clothing. The second utterance is by the same character who in a list of other characters who have a need for woollen clothing mentions the Divine as one of them:

(15)

... and you, divine Doctour, a canonical coat to cover your coloured Canvas, or Leather doublett under it, for fear lest you turn Quaker too, being forced to read so long Common prayers, being heated only by the breath of a few old cold Orthodox votaries. (The Woollen Draper p.8)

Quakers, one of the most persecuted sects of the era (Trevelyan 1965: 124-125), are again only a part of a pun and not discussed at all. The rest of the Woollen Draper’s portrayal of the Divine’s miserable situation contains valuable, albeit humoristically coloured, information on the religious reality of the era. According to Spaeth (2000: 192-194), the morning prayer, for example, contained 3,500 words for the celebrant to say and only 700 for the congregation to answer with. Thus the people were not always interested or motivated in attending church or being attentive there. The Orthodox votaries may actually refer here to those Puritans who had not left the Church of

England because the Puritans, in contrast to the majority were eager to hear as many sermons as they could and devoting all Sunday day to religion whereas most people went to an alehouse or played sports after church. (Spurr 1998: 36-42.)

The Watchmaker also illuminates the religious reality of his time while endorsing his product:

(16)

This [pocket watch] gives notice to the long-winded Preacher to wind his tedious Sermon, and to make an end before the nauseated, and weary People fall asleep. (The Watchmaker p. 12)

As mentioned before, the long sermons sometimes seemed tedious to the people, the majority of whom were only moderately religious (Spurr 1998: 36-42) and thus it did occasionally occur that people fell asleep (Spaeth 2000: 192-194).

The last and most puzzling religious reference comes from the Hatmaker:

(17)

And though I came into England with Hopps , and Heresie: yet Bishops, and Kings doe use me. (The Hatmaker p.12)

What is he alluding to when he says that hatmaking came to England together with hops and heresy? Joan Thirsk (2006: 197) dates the arrival of cultivable hops to the reign of Henry VIII, that is the years 1509-1547. Hatmaking and heresy are really only related in the way that the anabaptist leader, Jakob Hutter was a hatmaker. Anabaptism as a Protestant religious movement did arise in the early 16th century in the German-speaking parts of Europe (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Anabaptism", "Hutterite"), but Bradstock claims (2011: 3) that the 17th century movement in England did not have its roots in continental anabaptism.

Indeed there is no mention anywhere, including the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that the anabaptist movement would have come to England during 16th century. Hutter himself was from Austria and his movement flourished in Moravia, but they never came to England. The place closest to England where the anabaptists were active was the

Netherlands (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, “Anabaptism”, ”Hutterite”) the place hops were introduced from. (Thirsk 2006: 197.) Thus, this passage from the play remains largely a mystery.

### 3.3 Law and Lawyers

Laura Gowing writes (2003: 13) that in the 17th century English society litigation was much more common than in our society and approximately one in five people was involved in some kind of legal proceeding every year. This is somewhat mirrored in the “Vocation Play” too. The importance of law and lawyers is of course stressed by the Lawyer character but law is mentioned by other characters too.

(18)

What can you Divines doe without Law to back you against the riotous rabble,  
Without law, Vice will gather strength from reproofs and outlaugh wholsom  
counsell . Tis the Scepter, not the power of the Keyes, that must keep in the  
unbridled multitude. A writ from the King’s Exchequer speaks with more power,  
then a writ from Heaven , unless assisted by Law. (The Lawyer p.2)

This first quote is important because it refers to three important players of Restoration society: the Church of England, the legal system and the treasury. Law is mentioned as a balancing societal institution. The Scepter that restrains the masses is probably a reference to money as “scepter” was a popular name for a certain type of gold coin (Oxford English Dictionary, “Sceptre”). The keys are a reference to keys given by Christ to St. Peter and represent the church (Oxford English Dictionary, “Key”). So, according to the play, money holds more power than the Church. The King’s Exchequer was responsible for the collection and administration of the royal revenues and the judicial determination of all causes relating to revenue (Oxford English Dictionary, “Exchequer”). According to the play, only law could override the supremacy of the treasure over religion.

The next four quotes all deal with the abuse of law, lawyers’ dishonesty and bribery. As the subject is discussed by different two characters, it is unlikely that it would be a matter which did not seriously concern the citizens of the era.

(19)

But you will say, Lawyers are subtle and corrupt: and that you see many of this profession , out of a Case as plain, and clear as Day to honest mens judgments ; so meant by those that the Law, yet pick out such hard, and inextricable doubts, that they have spun out a Suit of Seven years lasting , and ledd their hoodwinkt Clients in a wood, and labyrinth of Law cheats, until they have lost their Estates , Witt, and Themselves too. O Sirs; this is not the work of just, and sober Law. (The Lawyer p.2)

(20)

True, and ingenious sonns of Law , are just, upright, and as noble in their conscience, as in their Birth. These know well that damnation is in every bribe and therefore putt it from them, rate the presenters, and scourge them with neglect both Them , and their Cause too, for offering but to tempt them. (The Lawyer p.2)

(21)

What Lawyers tongue will not be tipp'd with Silver? Will not Money with a Judge make it a plain case, and make room somtimes at court of Conscience? (The Usurer p.15)

(22)

Wee therefore never send a man without a sheet to his Grave, nether doe wee bury him in his papers by causing a suit to hang longer than a man in chains. True Lawyers Gentlemen , are for dispatch. Without us noe Hobnaile will ever pay his Tyths, nether can the Landlord be assured of his rents: or the Physician of his fees. The Landlord may perchance have his rents without us: and the Physician his fee, also the Parson his tythes; but 'twill be at latter Lammas. (The Lawyer p.3)

The above excerpts highlight the importance of lawyers regardless of the problems related to their the profession. It was mentioned in the part of this thesis concerning religion that the divines of the era had severe problems with collecting their tithes and that assertion is confirmed here. The problems with collecting fees for work done are mentioned later by the tailor which indicates that unpaid debts were an existing problem. "Latter lammas" is a humorous expression for a day that will never come. Lammas itself was a harvest festival celebrated on the 1st of August (Oxford English Dictionary, "Lammas").

The last quote, which deals with law from a slightly different perspective, is from the Landlord:

(23)

And after this in Gods good time to dye in  
Peace is the option and hearty wish of him  
Who loves to be content, and safe to stand;  
And to secure from Law his just got land.  
(The Landlord p. 7)

What does the character referring to when he mentions securing his “just got land” from law? In this case, he probably means “legally”. What this probably refers to is that, during the Interregnum, lands worth at least £ 5.5 million were confiscated from Royalists and sold and nearly £ 1,5 million worth of land were raised by fines on royalists who had to sell their land to be able to pay (Hill 1967: 116-117). After the Restoration, much of this land, especially the land previously owned by lesser Royalists, remained in the hands of the new owners as the previous owners lacked the credit and political influence to recover them (Hill 1961: 200-201). If this is the case in the play, then the Landlord is either the new or previous owner of royalist lands as the verb “to secure” can be understood both as “to keep safe” or “obtain”. Considering that the school was run by Royalists, the latter meaning seems more likely.

### 3.4 Women

Lawrence Stone (1977: 543) claims that the Restoration marks the beginning of a new era of sexual liberty that began among the upper classes as the Puritan morality, which had been externally enforced and also widely internalised, collapsed. Even though sexuality is not directly discussed in the play, all the mentions of women are at least to some degree related to their looks and their physical appeal.

Laura Gowing writes that women's bodies were culturally defined as private but the context of sex and reproduction made them public and that the tension between these two ideas made physical boundaries important. Women's bodies were understood to be easily invaded and hard to defend. Marriage was seen as one way of defining those

boundaries. A part of being a respectable adult woman was resisting the idea of the female body as perpetually open to touch and investigation, or bounded only by male authority. (Gowing 2003: 53.) The following quote from *The Doctor* can be best understood in this context:

(24)

Besides, Gentlemen, wee are grown the onely cabbincts in Court to Ladys privacies , acquainted with their most concealed Jewells ; wee make their beauties, and preserve them; rectifie their bodies, and maintain them; clarifye their blouds; perfume their skins; tincture their hair; enliven their eyes; heighten their appetites, being God, and Natures best Assistants. (p.4)

The Doctor represents himself as a member of the only profession that had access to noblewomen inside the boundaries that were usually reserved only to their husbands or other women. Even fewer men had access to young unmarried noblewomen because their virginity was a great asset on the marriage market and the loss of it would have greatly damaged their value. (Stone 1977: 544.) Thus, the Doctor's position was uniquely intimate and the cosmetic procedures mentioned in the quote make it obvious how tactile the Doctor's relationship was to his female clients.

The Grosser's and the Comfitmaker's boastfulness about their female clients can be understood as a representation of the same rare intimacy with upper class women:

(25)

Gentlemen, had I my wish, the end of my desires should be to be a Grosser, a man of Spice and Plumms. For which I doubt not to enjoy the sweet custom of fair, and sweet mouth'd Ladyes. (The Grosser p.13)

(26)

God save you, Gentlemen. What you lack to have in abundance, what more fitt for sweet-lipp'd Ladies then variety of sweet meats.(The Comfitmaker p.14)

Even though the previous excerpts stress the boundaries of women, at least some women actively sought to improve their social standing by any means necessary. A startling, albeit individual, example of such behaviour comes from the diary of Samuel Pepys, a Restoration era navy administrator and famous diarist. According to Stone (1977: 557) “One gets the impression that it became well known in naval circles that the best way to obtain favour from Pepys as Commissioner of the Navy was to send a pretty wife or daughter, had to be prepared at the very least to be kissed and have her breasts fondled”.

Pepys was not the only one to use his position this way: Pepys’s own wife Elizabeth was propositioned by both Pepys’s great patron the Earl of Sandwich and his son Lord Hinchinbrook and Pepys was neither shocked nor surprised at this (Stone 1977: 552-561). Pepys was, of course, as the rest of the nation, aware of the libertine behaviour of Charles II and his court which, according to Stone, was “absorbed in an endless game of sexual musical chairs” (Stone 1977: 530). From this point of view the emphasis on women’s looks seems more understandable. Looks were not just a frivolous pastime but they could be and were used by women to obtain what they needed. Both the Taylour and the Comfitmaker refer to this need to be attractive:

(27)

And this is something in him above man, who by a Thred and Needles geometry can rectifye a crooked peics of flesh into that which the beholders call handsome Woman” (The Taylour p.10)

(28)

And if your stomacks have soured your breath to the displeasure of a Lovers nose, here are sweet sented, and perfumed Comfitts to perfume, and sweeten a foul stomack, and make you breath so sweetly, as to entice a Ladyes lipps. I have Sweetmeats for dry-mouth’d Madams, and dry meats for moist, and dropping lipps. Eat, Madams of my Cates; and doubt not but you yourselves shall be made Sweetmeats for men of the most curious, and senting Tast. (The Comfitmaker p.9)

The latter quote reveals that the quest to be attractive was not only limited to women. Gowing explains (2003: 82) that it was important for men to be able entice their wives as it was believed that the woman’s sexual pleasure was essential for conception.

Women's sometimes aggressive agency becomes most blatant in the following quote from the Merchant but it is a part of a very boastful monologue and apparently refers to foreign, not English women:

(29)

This Madona invites me to a banquet for my exotic garbb, and ravishing discourse. Tother bona Roba sends me a Spark; a third a Ruby; the fourth an Emerald, and all in hope to put their Sewells to usury; that they may returne again with more precious interest from my fortunate adventures. (The Merchant p.4)

This may also be a sign of double standards concerning women based on their nationality.

### 3.5 Lower Classes

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the 1600s, because of the enclosures of common fields, was a difficult era for the poor peasants. According to Patricia Crawford (2010: 153-154), formerly independent peasants became farm labourers, which made their economic situation even less stable. Wilson adds that the profits from the increase in overseas commerce in the 1600s mostly benefited the upper and middle classes. Even though the economy was growing, it could not absorb the increase in workforce that had been caused by population growth during the 16th century and the early 17th century. Thus there was a shortage of work and the poor had to resort to charity. (Wilson 1965: 236.) The need for fewer people is illustrated by the following quote from the Usurer:

(30)

Is not a call to a rich Parsonage more effectuall and strong, where there are more Tythes, and fewest Souls? (The Usurer, p.14)

Luckily, not everyone was strict towards their tenants. Wilson writes that the great landowners preferred a steady tenant at a low or moderate rent "to a less sound man at a higher figure" (Wilson 1965: 152). This quote from the Landowner quite probably refers to that:



(31)

I'll mind my incomes , and rents for supply of the poor(Landlord p.7)

It might also allude to the fact that wealthy citizens often engaged in charity. Crawford explains that people's social position was to an extent determined by their relationship with the welfare authorities. A respectable and worthy person was independent of the Poor Law authorities. One way to guarantee a man's own worth was to become one of the authorities that dispensed poor relief and charity to others. (Crawford 2010: 200.) "Supply" is probably used here in its obsolete meaning, which is "assistance, support; aid, relief" (Oxford English Dictionary, "Supply").

The Landlord mentions that he is still "in Non-age" or an adolescent. This is important because Crawford writes (2010: 197) that churchwardens and overseers of the poor were often younger men who aspired to gain greater social distinction. The Landlord might very well be such a young prominent man as his attitude seems to be paternal in the way that was expected from civic administrators.

(32)

To be a fool, and poor, is next to old aches, and badd Fame. Poverty, I defy thee! For whose meanes are little, there little comforts alwaies keep company. Want, and Poverty When noe ill else will doe't, will make Friends flye. Are wee in fault? Poverty is that which putts a multiplying Glass upon our faults, and makes them swell, and fill the Eye. our lowest Crimes then cry most high, when they have brought us low. (The Usurer p.15)

The usurers opinion of poverty may seem harsh but it is in fact well-founded in the realities of its era. The multiplying glass he mentions was quite a concrete one. The parishes and justices made moral judgments about the worthiness of those needing relief. The personal life and choices of a poor person came under scrutiny because the distinction between worthy and unworthy poor had become increasingly important. Widows and orphans were object of Christian charity but much poverty was judged to be a consequence of moral failings. It was for instance accused that the poor refused to

work and trained their children in idleness and crime. (Crawford 2010: 154, 200, 205-206.) The Usurer is likely to refer precisely to this moral atmosphere.

(33)

For whose meanes are little, there little comforts alwaies keep company.” (The Usurer p.15)

(34)

If the Poorman want much money for a bed, he may notwithstanding have here for a small price Mat upon Mat to refresh his weary limbs.” (The Saltar p. 13)

Both above statements are confirmed by John Burnett in his *A history of the cost of living*. Burnett writes that the standard of comfort of the poorest half of the population was almost indescribably low compared to that of merchant, yeomen or professionals. The houses of the poor were one-roomed, with an earth floor, mud walls, thatched roof and one hole in the wall for a window and another to let the smoke escape from the open hearth. Life in those cottages was likely to be dirty, uncomfortable and verminous. There was little furniture and some, like the poor man mentioned by The Saltar, did not even have a bed, only a flock mattress or bags of straw. (Burnett 1969: 123-124.)

### **3.6 Food and Drink**

Joan Thirsk explains in her extensive book *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads. Fashion 1500-1760* that the English enjoyed a varied diet which included, for example, a large variety of cereal crops, meat from domesticated and wild animals, fish and herbs. The rich, of course, had the greatest choice of food, but Thirsk claims (2006: X-XVI) that the poor fared well in this respect too as they were able to utilise ingredients growing in the wild. The great variety at least in the food consumed by the upper classes is mirrored in these passages from the play concerning food.

Four of the vocations appearing in the play are directly related to food: The Grosser, the Comfitmaker, the Brewer and the Saltar. The Brewer is the only one of those whose trade requires no further explanation.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary a grosser, now spelled grocer, was in this era:

A trader who deals in spices, dried fruits, sugar, and, in general, all articles of domestic consumption except those that are considered the distinctive wares of some other class of tradesmen.

This definition seems to be mirrored in the play except for the part that the Grosser in the play does seem to concentrate on selling products that contain sugar:

(35)

My business is with the riches of India; the merchandize of the Levant, corinthian plumms; spanish figgs, sugars of all sorts. Truely, Gentlemen, I have a sweet tooth; and I know no better way of satisfying my appetite, then by serving to that occupation which abounds with nothing but sweetness, viz: The majesteriall ingredients of Pyes, Puddings, Custards, Caudles, Stued-broths and such like festivall delicates, which promise their presence at this ensuing Christmas. (The Grosser p. 9)

It is revealing to examine the contents of the list above. Figs had to be imported because they would not ripen in England but plums grew abundantly in England too, but interesting foreign varieties were nonetheless imported. (Thirsk 2006: 74-75.) The different varieties of sugar imported included for instance refined sugar, muscovado sugar and molasses (Thirsk 2006: 324-325). All of these can be described as delicacies.

As for the dishes mentioned, they too reveal information about the era. Pies had become popular in the early seventeenth century when the growing construction of chimneys made ovens common and thus enabled baking (Thirsk 2006: 108). Both fruit pies and milky creams such as custards were served as the sweet course which was a part of the second course (Thirsk 2006: 148). The custards served by gentle households was made with yet one imported ingredient, almonds (Thirsk 2006: 153).

A caudle is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as:

A warm drink consisting of thin gruel, mixed with wine or ale, sweetened and spiced, given chiefly to sick people, esp. women in childbed; also to their visitors.

Sugar was certainly an ingredient bought from The Grocer, but spices may have been another. Caudles are possibly mentioned because neither cocoa, tea nor coffee had become popular as a hot drink, at least they are not mentioned anywhere in the play and caudles may have had the role these three would later occupy. All three were already imported to England but were still quite expensive and only became wildly popular in the early 18th century. (Thirsk 2006: 308-309.)

Stued-broths is perhaps a reference to a meat stew cooked in a pot with a broth. It is difficult to imagine how the Grocer's products could be used in this kind of dish but at least one cookbook recommended a stuffing for hare and rabbit that included dates, sugar and cream (Thirsk 2006: 50).

A comfit is, by the Oxford English Dictionary definition, "A sweetmeat made of some fruit, root, etc., preserved with sugar; now usually a small round or oval mass of sugar enclosing a caraway seed, almond, etc.; a sugar-plum." A comfitmaker is, as the name implies, a person who makes such delicacies. Making them was an elaborate and time-consuming process so it is no wonder that they were bought readymade (Thirsk 2006: 325). The following excerpt contains a list of the products the Comfitmaker in the play had to offer:

(36)

I have St George in marchpane to protect you from feminine famine the worst of Dragons. I have Naplebiskets, and confections made of eggs of paradise to recover lost spirits after blood lost in Venus's warrs: cakes of sugar; Almonds, and Ambergreese to recover that which is wanting to weak, decayed backs. In my sweet storehouse are all Preserves of plumms, pares,prunelloes, peaches, Malagatoons; preserved fruits of all sorts to entertain the most nice, and dainty palates. (The Comfitmaker p.9)

Thirsk writes that it was a standard jibe to attribute the demand of sugar to women and the reference to marzipan seems to confirm this (Thirsk 2006: 325). Marzipan is significant because it was yet again another product which required an imported ingredient as it was made from almonds. Naples biscuits were only one variety of the many kinds of biscuits that had become popular by the 1650s and it differed from the other kinds of biscuits by containing rosewater, according to the Oxford English

Dictionary. Thirsk writes (2006: 109) that biscuits were bought ready made from the grocer along with other comfits, which is interesting considering that the trades of grocer and comfitmaker are treated as separate in this play.

Ambergreese, or ambergris is another exotic flavouring: the Oxford English Dictionary describes it as the odiferous excrement of the sperm whale found floating in tropical waters. The reference to weak and decayed back may indicate that ambergris was considered to have medicinal properties.

It is not surprising that preserved fruits were abundant in the comfitmaker's inventory as Kent was one of the most prominent fruit-growing counties in England (Thirsk 2006: 295). Plums were grown commonly, as were pears. Prunelloes were a French variety of prunes that were sold pitted and dried and sold expensively for banquets (Thirsk 2006: 75-76). Peaches could be grown against sheltered, even artificially warmed walls (Thirsk 2006: 41). Preservation with sugar made it possible to enjoy foreign and domestic fruit regardless of the time of year. The only strange item on this list is "Malagatoons" but that quite probably means Malaga raisins or grapes (Oxford English Dictionary, "Malaga").

In addition to the trades directly related to food, the Merchant also illuminates the culinary culture of his era:

(37)

Such a Merchant shall be invited to Capon , and Custard: ride to the Lord Maiors a feasting in his footcloath; have there the first carving... (The Merchant p.5)

Custards, as mentioned earlier, were popular among the gentry and so were capons. Capons, or castrated cocks that had been fattened by over-feeding, were a popular dish at banquets and feasts (Thirsk 2006:253). The first carving, or the first choice of meat

off a roast, was certainly an honour and mentioning this along with expensive dishes underlines the high status of the rich Merchant.

The Saltar featured in the play is not just a salt-salesman but seems to deal in a wide range of products including for instance brooms, pitch, cork and vinegar. Thus, he is probably what the Oxford English Dictionary calls a drysalter: “A dealer in chemical products used in the arts, drugs, dye-stuffs, gums, etc.; sometimes also in oils, sauces, pickles, tinned meats, etc”. The term drysalter, however, does not seem to come to use until the 18th century.

(38)

If the Brewer want the spirit of Mault, wee have a wolvisch weed, called Hopp to heighten the spirit of small Drink, and sometimes a salt Red-herring to relish it. Here is generous Anchove to provoke appetite to a glass of Canarye. (The Saltar p.14)

That he sells hops is not surprising considering that hops were grown successfully in Kent (Thirsk 2006: 197). Salted fish had been eaten in England since the Middle Ages and herring (and maybe also anchove, as a member of the herring family) was highly appreciated in the late 17th century (Thirsk 2006: 3, 269). The Canarye mentioned is Canary wine, which the Oxford English Dictionary defines as “a light sweet wine from the Canary Islands.”

Further products related to food that The Saltar mentions are venison, vinegar and verjuice. Venison was procured by hunting and was, at least in the early 18th century, considered a treat (Thirsk 2006: 189). Vinegar was an extremely important ingredient and it was flavoured in a multitude of ways, for example with herbs. Verjuice was a liquid gained by slightly fermenting the juice of sour green apples, preferably crab apples. In addition to verjuice, vinegar could also be made from, for instance, corrupt wine. Imported cider vinegar could also be bought (Thirsk 2006: 321-322).

(39)

If your knives be dull at a haunch of Venison, I haue a Whetstone to sharpen them; and Viniger, and Varjuice to whet the appetite of fastidious and squeasie Stomacks. (The Saltar p. 13)

From this passage it also becomes clear that vinegar and verjuice were believed to have a calming effect on the stomach.

The Salter's main product, of course, was salt. Animals were slaughtered especially in the autumn as it would have been hard to keep them alive through the winter. Different kinds of salts, such as French sea salt, were sold and they were considered to have different properties. Nonetheless, they could keep meat palatable for months. (Thirsk 2006: 244.) Thus, the Salter was important for preserving the expensive foodstuff. As The Salter himself so eloquently puts it:

(40)

The Hogman, and Butcher are much beholden to my occupation for keeping their Flesh from the Nose-plague: I mean stinking Putrefaction. (The Salter p.13)

Putrefaction must have been a significant problem in an era before refrigeration was invented especially as meat was a to an extent seasonal product.

### 3.6.1 Drink

The presence of the Brewer in the play is significant in that it shows Canterbury to be one of the places in which professional brewers had, at least to an extent, replaced traditional home brewing. For instance, in Gloucestershire public brewers were not allowed in 1682, but on the other hand, in West Riding everyone bought their drink in the 1630s.

(41)

I am a Brewer able to wett your whistles, and fill your dry pipes, not with sophisticated Wine, which will intoxicate: but with a homebred, generous, English liquour, Beer & Ale, great Britaine's water of Life. (The Brewer p.14)

The Brewer mentions sophisticated wine, which quite certainly refers to the fact that a great variety of wines could be bought in every town even though England did not produce any wine. Merchants sought new wines in Spain, Italy, Greece and even Africa and Asia. Wine was also an upper and middle class drink, being too expensive for labourers. (Thirsk 2006: 45, 224, 310.) Wine was also one of the things associated with the nemesis of the English, the French, and considered effeminate (Kuchta 2002: 57).

Beer and wine are also mentioned by the Landlord. He seems to value moderation, which may stem from the fact that drunkenness may have become more common in this era (Thirsk 2006: 312). It may also be related to the attitude emphasizing more thrift and modesty that rose among the gentry in the 1660s (Kuchta 2002: 2-5) and which is discussed in more detail in the section on clothing.

(42)

I'll mind my incomes , and rents for supply of the poor; to keep a hot, but not a prodigall or luxurious Kitchin. Strangers and Neighbours shall be welcome to my Pantry, not to surfett, but refresh them; not to load with Wine or Beer, but cheer them to hilarity; by noe means intoxicate to Drunkenness, or Luxury. (The Landlord p.7)

Luxury should in this context be understood by its old meaning which, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is “lasciviousness”.

### **3.7 Clothing**

Clothing is not only an important theme because of its significance in everyday life, but also because the production of fabrics, particularly woollen ones, had been a central part of the English economy since the Middle Ages (Clapham 1963: 237). In the “Vocation Play” clothing is discussed at length only by two characters, the Woollen draper and the Taylor, but their statements feature matters that are significant for understanding the English society of the era in general. It is also important to note that the perspective on clothing in “the Vocation Play” is a exclusively a male one and that purchasing clothing was not considered a decidedly feminine affair in this era (Spufford 2000: 679).



(43)

Gentlemen, by your leaves, whose faculties are so venerable, I am bold to clayme with you place of use too, who have a Staple commodity usefull for Poor; and Gentlemen; a Woollen-wardrobe. (The Woollen Draper p.8)

This first statement from the Woollen draper underlines the importance of wool. Woollen cloth was included in the 1669 official list of staple goods and was thus a taxable export (Clapham 1963: 237). It is hard to know whether the Woollen Draper is referring to this official status or if he is simply referring to the vital position of woollen cloth in general. If the former is the case, it could give an indication of when exactly the play was written.

(44)

I see you all in lack. You of a frize Jump, Doctor Pulsefeel: you Sir Merchant of some Spanish cloath, notwithstanding your glittering silks: and you, divine Doctour, a canonical coat to cover your coloured Canvas, or Leather doublett under it, for fear lest you turn Quaker too, being forced to read so long Common prayers, being heated only by the breath of a few old cold Orthodox votaries. The holi-day suit mr Landlord paid for, and for This, I have you not in my book. (The Woollen Draper p.8)

This excerpt seems to confirm Margaret Spufford's claim that merchants who sold ready-made clothes already existed in Kent in the late 17th century and were not a profession that appeared in the 1700s like some have suggested. Spufford also writes that these merchants were called "merchant", "woollen draper", "tailor", "silkmán" and "linen draper". This further suggests that this character is a member of this relatively new profession instead of selling just material for clothing (Spufford 2000: 700-702). The separate existence of the tailor as a character also hints in the direction that the making of bespoke clothing and ready-made clothing were different occupations.

Some of the details of the above quotation are worth examining. "Spanish cloath" was not just any fabric but a high-quality woollen cloth that was a famous and important export article (Wilson 1965: 78). The next important detail is the mention of the priest's canonical coat and the coloured canvas and doublet under it. Before the vest became fashionable in the late 1660s, it was standard for a man to wear a shirt as an

undergarment, a doublet on top of it and an overcoat (De Marly 1985: 55-56). The coloured canvas probably refers to the undershirt, as canvas, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, was formerly a term for a fabric made of hemp or flax and also used in clothing (Oxford English Dictionary, "Canvas). This also highlights the fact that cotton had not yet emerged as a common material to replace linen, as it increasingly would by the end of the 17th century.

(45)

I not only now returne you thanks, but commend you, that wear noe silken Gewgaws, but substantiall Woollen, the product of our English fleece, by art refined into a spanish cloath, the Staple prop, and stay of our poor people. (The Woollen draper p. 8)

(46)

The woollen english Esquire is not ambitious to be gaped at: and knowing-that Gold, and Silks will not preserve him from the Grave, he gets a golden mind; and flings away all glittering trappings. He wraps his body with warm apparell wholsom , and good: glisters within; weighs not a rich and precious Suit, but a rich Soul. Men of Honour, Witt, Judgment, and Manners wear cloath themselves; but leave the feathers, Ribbons and Silk to their servants: knowing that a generous mind, and a plain woollen outside, is the best attraction of judicious affections , when there's worth within. Good parts with out the habiliments of gallantry, and a good legg in woollen stockings are only slighted by giddy heads in giddy times. The lusture of Silks make only rustick and mechanick Fathers to commit Idolatry, and adore their foolish Sonns. . (The Woollen draper p. 8)

These two quotes do not just contain details of men's clothing in the Restoration Era but allude to a change in attitude that, according to David Kuchta, would have a lasting effect on men's clothing. Kuchta writes that after his ascent to power, Charles II tried to restore the court's moral authority and political hegemony by simplifying clothing and thus limiting the conspicuous consumption that was associated with court and which was a source of much criticism. In 1666, after the devastating fire of London, Charles introduced the prototype of what would become the classic three-piece suit. (Kuchta 2002: 79-82.) Kuchta gives the following explanation:

With the post-revolutionary modesty of the three-piece suit, a new aesthetics of masculinity, a new image of the gentleman, came to dominate upper-class fashions: sartorial renunciation was opposed to the presumed luxury and extravagant dress of decadent courtiers and middle-class social climbers. This sartorial revolution shifted elite masculinity from a regime that valued

sumptuous display as the privilege of nobility to one that rejected fashion as the concern of debauched upstarts; from a world that reserved fine fabrics for honorable aristocrats to one that abandoned them to those considered effeminate fops. (Kuchta 2002: 4)

It would seem that this kind of attitude is also what is behind the previous two statements by the Woollen draper as the men admiring luxurious clothing are referred to as “rustick” and “mechanic”, the words here meaning boorish and vulgar. Ribbons and silk are among the luxuries mentioned and that is no coincidence. In the 1650s and early 1660s ribbons were highly fashionable and everything from hats to shoes were trimmed by them (de Marly 1985: 53-54). Perhaps, by the time this play was written, they had gone out of fashion and were thus a sign of their wearer having money but no sense of style.

According to Lyle (2002: 107), by 1676 silk weaving outstripped wool in Canterbury. If it is assumed that this play is from the 1660s then the criticism towards the use of silk would not only be explained by this character being a wool expert but also by the fact that it probably refers to imported silk. The importing of French silk, wool and wine was prohibited between 1649 and 1657, again in 1678 and 1689 (Hill 1967: 188). Even though French imports were not banned when this play was written, they may still have been frowned upon. There was a strong anti-French sentiment, and wine, silk and luxury fashion were considered typical effeminate and wanton products of the French (Kuchta 2002: 57). Wine is mentioned in this context by The Brewer in the play.

The Taylor, of course, does not advocate the same kind of thrift as the Woollen draper. His concern, however, seems to be with the underrated status of his occupation:

(47)

For antiquity, next to a Gardener, a Taylour doth challenge the palm, from our great-grand-father Adam's suing of Figleaves in paradise. Adam that w[hi]ch other men fear, is a Taylour comfort, I mean his Hell; which is to him a rich wardrobe of great worth; especially if Dives, and rich customers use him. For if gold lace, Silks, or Velvetts, & Tabbyes mistaken fall in hither. From this Abyss there can be no redemption. A Taylour is the Confident of Kings, Queens, Earles, Lords, and Gentlemen. Whe the Painter hath done his work on the face; his art and mystery forms, figures, and conforms the bulk, and make the Man. A man indeed without money, in the base Worldings account, is noe man. Yet if

yee look but at the long bill, with which the Taylour doth often challenge Lords, and Gentlemen, Taylours then shall prove themselves Men, and fright into a corner many a valiant Captain. Though many payless Gallants doe often unman poor Taylours. (The Taylour p. 13)

It is true that the rich, regardless of their aforementioned new and more modest disposition, spent vast sums on clothing and a tailor who worked for the nobility must have rivalled most of the characters in this play in terms of income. Even though Charles II introduction of the vest was supposed to be a sign of austerity, his new vests were still estimated to have cost £100 each (de Marly 1985: 57). The king was, of course, an exceptional spender, but for instance Gregory King, a high-ranking bureaucrat, gave his wife an annual £10 sum for clothing, which is a large sum considering that an artisan may have earned £40 a year (Spufford 2000: 679).

#### 4. DISCUSSION

Money proved to be one of the central themes of the play as there was an immense gap in the standard of living between different societal classes depending on their income. Money seemed to be a uniting factor so that members of different professions could be fraternal with each other as they shared roughly the same level of wealth. Gregory King's 1688 statistic proved invaluable in confirming that a majority of the vocations in the play were well-paid.

The importance of money is reiterated when law is discussed in this play. Law proved to be a difficult theme compared to the others because there was a shortage of scholarly sources available for use in the analysis. The sources on law seemed to describe the judicial system from a purely judicial point of view, without containing material on the social dimensions of law. Social history and law were only covered from the point of view of criminal law (by, for instance, Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing) whereas the focus on the legal debate in the play is on civil law. Regardless of the scarcity of sources, interesting discoveries were made.

The lawyer character's main concern seems to be the poor reputation of his profession especially in regards of bribery and squandering their clients' money. It seems unlikely that this connection between law and money would have been discussed to such an extent if there had not been either a debate or a consensus on the frequentness of bribes and the court verdicts being influenced by the wealth of the plaintiff.

There also seems to be a belief that law is crucial for preserving order in society as, for instance, contracts would be constantly breached if it were not for lawyers enforcing them.

The fear that law and order might be under threat was in a way justified, because the Church of England, that had previously been a stable and monopolistic institution, had recently lost much of its status. Religion in England in the 17th century has been a particularly researched topic because of the religious unrest stemming from the discrepancy between the royalty leaning towards Catholicism and the people favouring

Protestantism that partly led to a civil war. Thus, there was a large number of sources available on the topic covering virtually every aspect of it. It would have been, however, pleasant to find more comprehensive sources on Restoration Catholicism and the Hutterites.

“The Vocation Play” seems to affirm Christopher Hill’s assessment (1961: 244) that the Restoration era was a particularly difficult time for the Anglican clergy. The previous, relatively homogenous religious situation had been replaced by a multitude of religious options, among which the old Catholic nemesis was just one problem. The clergy are also not treated in the play as a separate societal class, as it had been in the Middle Ages, but as members of a profession among others such as Brewers and Drysalterers.

The statements about other religious minorities contain two surprises. First of all, it is surprising that the atheists are characterised as boisterous as none of the numerous books on religion in the era mentions atheists being open about their controversial beliefs. The second surprise is the claim made in the play that the Hutterite sect would have been present in England since the early 16th century. If this is accurate, it is completely new information as the sect is not known to have ever had significant presence in England.

It is also surprising that considering the events of the Interregnum, Puritans are not discussed more, as their presence in English society is something that was underlined in many sources. They may have not been considered as significant by contemporaries, or the religiously radical parts of the population did not seem like a uniform group that could be called by one name. In fact, the term “puritan” is not mentioned a single time in the play. Perhaps, overall, religion did not seem like the most important topic of the era to contemporaries and its significance may have been overemphasized by later historians. Instead, wealth and money seem to feature prominently when most subjects are discussed.

The characters of the play are middle and upper class men and thus the poor are representatives of otherness. The attitude towards the poor seems to be surprisingly understanding even though it is acknowledged that harsh attitudes towards the poor exist.

There is, however, no deeper discussion as to why there is poverty and the poor seem to be considered a permanent, if unfortunate, societal group.

It is nowhere as clear as when women are being discussed that the play is written from a male perspective. Women also clearly represent otherness and contact with them, especially touch, seems to have been a privilege. This distantness may be caused by the actors being teenage boys or it may represent the male perspective in general. The relationship also seems very superficial as, for example, looks are considered important commodities for both genders.

Men are the protagonists of the play, which caused problems with finding sources, as many works on the subject are written from a female perspective and emphasise the active role of women. Thus Jacqueline Eales' *Women in early modern England, 1500-1700* could have made an excellent source book for this thesis, if it paradoxically had been less about women and more about men. In the end Laura Gowing's *Common Bodies: Women, Touch, and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* and Lawrence Stone's *The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500-1800* were the main sources used. Gowing's book was excellent, albeit narrow in its focus on touch, whereas Stone's book was more comprehensive but more opinionated.

The fact that the play is written by a man for a male audience becomes clear when clothing is discussed. Clothing is often nowadays considered a feminine subject, but in the play the focus is on men, as it is elsewhere in the play. Surprisingly, this theme was the one in which nationalism was most present as foreign materials and fashions are berated. David Kuchta's theory (2002: 2-5) that simpler fashion became a statement of elegance in the 1660s, seems to hold true at least when considering the attitudes in this play.

The nationalistic theme is continued when drinks are discussed, as beer is a symbol of Englishness and wine a symbol of foreign, particularly French influences. Food and drink were the only theme for which there was a seemingly perfect source. Joan Thirsk's *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads. Fashion 1500-1760* contained a comprehensive study on all the ingredients, cooking methods and drinks and regional differences.

The only possible problem with the book was Thirsk's strong insistence on the early modern English diet having been interesting and diverse in all social groups (Thirsk 2005: XI-XII), a view that for instance Burnett (1969: 126-127) does not seem to share. As the *Vocation* play primarily deals with the wealthy part of the population, this disagreement was of little consequence. In fact, the multitude of foodstuffs mentioned in the play seems to confirm Thirsk's claim to an extent. On the other hand, if the abundance of food had been the standard for the era then why would the characters be so proud and boisterous about it? Things that are completely average are not signs of wealth or importance.

In addition to the things mentioned, the things that are not mentioned are important as well. The second half of the 17th century is often considered important because signs of the progress which would lead England to found an empire a hundred years later begin to become apparent in this era (cf. de Vries 1976: 1-2.) This has often lead historians to emphasise novelties that would later become important.

As the writer(s) of this play did not have the benefit of hindsight, they did not mention many of the things considered noteworthy by historians (cf. Wilson 1965: 160-205). Those include goods like tea, coffee, cocoa, cotton and coal. None of these things that would become important relatively soon are mentioned anywhere in the play. The rise of science and heavy industry are also not featured. America had also not yet become worth mentioning. Of course, it has to be taken into account that the play is a school comedy, but as it features commentary on a variety of subjects including foreign trade and luxury goods, it must be assumed that the aforementioned things would have been mentioned if they had been considered significant.

This leads to the interesting question of dating the play. Based on the evidence gathered from the section on clothing and the list of novelties not featured, it could be assumed that the play was written in the 1660s rather than in the 1670s.

To summarise, the five main points learned from this play would be:

1. England in the 1660s was very clearly a class society in which money afforded all kinds of privileges.



2. Wealthy men were the true protagonists of Restoration era life.
3. Inequality was a well-known fact of life and no need was felt to gloss over it in a school play.
4. Nationalism, Anglicanism and Royalism were the main values propagated by the school.
5. A multitude of luxuries and comforts were available for those who could afford them.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the " Vocation Play, one of the school plays included in the Orationes -manuscript, from the point of view of how the play reflects the English society of its era. The aim of this thesis was to discover how the societal situation in Restoration England is mirrored in the play.

Social history is the theoretical framework behind the thesis but as the play is a literary work, the method of study is literary criticism and specifically historical criticism based on J.R. De J. Jackson's book *Historical Criticism and the Meaning of Texts*. The analysis was also based on a large number of historical studies the contents of which was used when examining the societal contents of the utterances of the play's characters.

Seven socially significant topics were chosen as areas of study. The first five topics were related to societal groups, the last two were related to the standard of living. The societal topics were social stratification and money, religion, law and lawyers, women and lower classes. The other two topics were food and drink and clothing.

It became apparent in the analysis that societal subjects are widely discussed in the play. The most significant results were that the English society was a class society in which there was much inequality caused by the uneven distribution of wealth. This inequality is also openly admitted and discussed in the school play. There was a large amount of luxury products and comforts available for the wealthy part of the population. The world of the play is strongly masculine and all the protagonists are men. The central values propagated by the school proved to be nationalism, Anglicanism and royalism.

The analysis of the play's contents revealed a large amount of societally significant content and discussion. The analysis excluded several topics that could have been researched, such as how foreign countries, medicine and children are depicted. Therefore societally significant content may have been missed due to the limits of the analysis.

The language of the play was also not analysed thoroughly, so a linguistic study would be in order. Another approach which could be sensible would be to examine the play more closely in relation to the school and the school play genre. It could also be useful to compare this play with the others in the same manuscript to establish how it differs from the other *Orationes* plays and how it is similar. All in all, this pilot study proved to be fruitful in that it showed that societally significant contents can be found in a school play.

**APPENDIX:****A transcribed version of the “Vocation Play”**

Gentlemen

My little strength, and young weakness, because not older in age, and manners, puts me upon the boldness to usher into the world, a <sup>1</sup>world and variety of options, and <sup>2</sup>irishes, which Nature, Witt, and Education have model'd to the utmost of their capacities to entertain you; not to blame us, wee hope but to move to laughter, whilst you see our ambition; which wee would, but cannot, injoy what wee all aim at.

The Divine.

I, Sirs, am for Divinity, that soul of souls Divinity, laughed at by Atheists, but admired by those who would save their souls. Gospel is my message, good news to them who would live, and find out that which the world is not capable of, I mean the way to eternall happiness. Wee bring nothing, or at least should not , but only orthodox doctrine: How God is, and may be well pleased; who hath given us his Son for ransom from Hell; his Spirit for an earnest of that happy deliverance; and Himselfe for our everlasting reward. Which wee all with faith & patience humbly expect. But of this the world is not worthy. The Atheist bragging of noe God: the Fanatick worshipping instead of God his own Imagination: and some, who call themselves Catholicks, devouring the God whom they make every day. Some haue shewed themselves so Orthodox, that, for fear of Idolatry they make haue left the good, and old way, and <sup>3</sup>haue Covenanted a discipline, as they say, of the Lord to the rooting out of loyalty. Which crafty <sup>4</sup>Independency caught up afterward, and used as their engine to bring Majestic to the block. Since that, divine Fanaticks took up the divine cards , and were willing to entertain any gamester against Bishop, or King. Well talk they what they please, <sup>5</sup>I am for for God, and the King; and for all that are put in authority under him. I preach nothing but free Grace in Jesus Christ my lord. And when I haue prevail'd upon mens spirits cordially to doe Justice, love Mercy, and to walk humbly before God , I have then done my work: and of Gods free mercy expect the reward of Divinity.

## The Lawyer.

What can you Divines doe without Law to back you against the riotous rabble, Without law, Vice will gather strength from reproofs and outlaugh wholsom counsell . Tis the Scepter, not the power of the Keyes, that must keep in the unbridled multitude.<sup>6</sup> A writ from the King's Exchequer speaks with more power, then a writ from Heaven , unless assisted by Law. Potent law, my friends, is the worlds great light, a second sun to this terrestrial globe, by which all things haue life, and being : and without which, Confusion , and

Disorder, would seise the generall state of men. It is commanding Law, that curbbs, and cures Riotts, and Outrages, which are the ulcerous deeds of peace. Divine law I adore thee. Thou art an Angell sent amongst us. Thou art our Kingdoms eye, by which are searched the Acts, Words, and Thoughts of men. Tis Law states all things, guides all things, keeping all things in a kingdom smooth, and without the<sup>7</sup> rubbs of rebellion, and tumult. Tis Law that protects the Innocent, punisheth the<sup>8</sup> Nocent. For Lawyers being the sonns of Justice, hold equally up the two pillars of the world, Punishment and Reward. But you will say, Lawyers are subtle and corrupt: and that you see many of this profession , out of a Case as plain, and clear as Day to honest mens judgments ; so meant by those that the Law, yet pick out such hard, and<sup>9</sup> inextricable doubts, that they have spun out a Suit of Seven years lasting , and ledd their<sup>10</sup> hoodwinkt Clients in a wood, and labyrinth of Law cheats, until they have lost their Estates , Witt, and Themselves too. O Sirs; this is not the work of just, and sober Law. Not thy fault, O Law, sober Law! made with meek eyes , perswading action; noe loud immodest Tongue, voyced like a Virgin, as chaste, and free from spot

How has abuse demform'd thee to all eyes?

That where thy Vertues sat, thy Vices rise?

Yet why so rashly for One villains fault should wee arraign admired Law? Thy upper parts must needs be sacred, pure, and uncorrupt; they are grave and wise. Tis but the<sup>11</sup> dross beneath them, and the clouds that yett between thy glory , and their praise, that makes this visible, and foul Eclipse. True, and ingenious sonns of Law , are just, upright, and as noble in their conscience, as in their Birth. These know well that damnation is in every bribe and therefore putt it from them, rate the presenters, and scourge them with neglect both Them , and their Cause too, for offering but to tempt them.

Thus is true Justice exercis'd, and us'd:

Woe to the Giver , when the Bribe's refus'd

For I must tell you ,Gentlemen, wee Lawyers are all for Equity, and Justice. Nether will wee have Law worse then Warr, where the poorest dye first. Wee therefore never send a man without <sup>12</sup> a sheet to his Grave, nether doe wee bury him in his papers by causing a suit to hang longer than a man in chains. True Lawyers Gentlemen , are for dispatch. Without us noe <sup>13</sup> Hobnaile will ever pay his <sup>14</sup> Tyths, nether can the Landlord be assured of his rents: or the Physician of his fees. The Landlord may perchance have his rents without us: and the Physician his fee, also the Parson his tythes; but 'twill be <sup>15</sup> at latter Lammas. Therefore

I'll study Law, and so my fortune raise,

By doing Justice get eternall praise.

The Physician.

Doctour, I wish to you the glory of the Pulpit, and to you, Sr, the honour of a plea in Westminster hall, and the favour of a Judge for your Clyent's cause. My cause, Sirs, is upon the Life and Death of my <sup>16</sup> Patient. being an instrument in the hand of God to repair Nature. And I hope to effect it by one gentle touch of a Ladyes pulse. Upon which nether Pulpit, nor Barr hath ever, or can have the least influence. Wee Pysicians are our Nations health. They whom God hath created in part like our Creatour, having the making up, and peiccing again of lost, and undone man. Beside money, and other gifts, wee have power to destroy, and to preserve. And if heaven be the Apothecary, wee have power to make such medicine as shall bring life out of death. Wee've power as to revive men by Art : soe as familliarly kill, and make them long in dyeing, if wee please. Yet if an Old man would give an Hundred pounds to have Forty, or Fifty years wiped off the score of his life: Wee, Sirs, if his Wife, or Heires <sup>17</sup> entreat our courtiese, and out bidd him half, can put him out of debt quite , and send his old leaking vessel into <sup>18</sup> Mare mortuum. But when it as gainfull to restore, as to destroy, wee can practise the art of recovery very faithfully. Truth is, Gentlemen, wee can at pleasure ease, and torment; practise upon mens bodyes, as men pull Roses for their own relish, but to kill the Flower; Soe wee can maintain our lives by others deaths

And when Men think noe ill.

Wee have a legall art, and power to kill.

Besides, Gentlemen, we are grown the onely <sup>19</sup>cabinets in Court to Ladys privacies , acquainted with their most concealed Jewells ; wee make their beauties, and preserve them; rectifie their bodies, and maintain them; clarifie their blouds; perfume their skins; tincture their hair; enliven their eyes; heighten their appetites, being God, and Natures best Assistants.

Lett Lawyer, and Divine doe what they can.

None shall outdoe the learn'd Physician.

#### The Chirurgion.

Gentlemen, I doubt not but you all honour the Physician, and therefore will not scorn to take his Hand to serve you. My business is to search the Sceleton of Man , and to dissect that little world, to find out places of health, and sickness: to sett in order dislocated joynts: compose fractures; balsom wounds; searing ye unclean; to purge, and heal all within the verge of my profession.

Chirurgion is my name, who alwaies can

With handy skill serve the Physician.

#### The Merchant .

I envy not your divine faculty, nor pulpit glory, most learned Doctour; Nether doe I much admire the Splitter of causes, and Picklock of the Laws. Nether care I for Ladyes privities, which is the glory of Doctour Pulsefeel. My business is about <sup>20</sup>the Staple, and Palace of lady Pecunia, the glory of cityes; the prop and stay of Princes. My converse is with the gold of Arabia, ye spices of Ægypt, and treasures of India, and the riches of the Ocean. Wee have sealed baggs for Kings stufft with golden Guinea dust , the sinews of Warr, and Peace. My dangerous adventures daily make our Kingdom safe, and Myselfe glorious. One vessel full fraughted, and safe returned will <sup>21</sup>out vye a Princes ransom. And, it being once noised that my shippes are arrived safe, how many Gallants of all sorts, and Sexes court me? Here's a Gentleman ready to run himselfe in the channel for hast give <sup>22</sup>to give me ye wall. This Chevaleir will kiss my hand whilst t'other Seignour crinkles in the hamms, as if he were studying new postures against his turn come to salute me. I fill the eyes of all in the Indian, French, and Spanish walks. Nay Whittington , and Gresham are but my Peers. And as I walk all windows, and streets are full of eyes , as if some triumph were passing by. This Madona invites me to a banquet for my exotic garbb, and ravishing discourse. Tother <sup>23</sup>bona Roba sends me a <sup>24</sup>Spark; a third a Ruby: the fourth an Emerald, and all in hope to put their <sup>25</sup>Sewells to <sup>26</sup>usury; that they may returne again with more precious interest from my fortunate adventures. And, therefore, Gentlemen, I dare

commend this getting traffick , as a mystery to be learned before a mans Alphabet. It is supposed that he, that is thus fortunate, shall never want Friends: What e'er he treads upon shall be a rose. For he is the chick of the white hen dame Fortune. Such a Merchant shall be invited to <sup>27</sup>Capon , and <sup>28</sup>Custard: ride to the Lord Maiors a feasting in his <sup>29</sup>footcloath; have there the first carving, with Please you eat of This, or That, my Noble; my right worshipfull Brother. In a word all this World is Monyes, which is the Merchants glorious issue: and This commands, governs, and swaies the whole World. The honour of it, and the honesty; the reputation (yes and the Religion I was about to say, and had not errd) is still queen Pecunia's and shee the happy product of Merchants mystery

Give me a ship, and Providence my friend.

The doubtless God all happiness will send.

The Astrologer.

I have heard the Divine, Lawyer, Physician, Merchant, all exalting their faculties, and Trade. Blind, presumptuous <sup>30</sup>Braggadocios! I am able to prognosticate more from the Starrs the the Divine from his Oracle, concerning the event of mens souls: more then the Lawyer, concerning his Clyent's case. Thy Physician's prognostications, and symptomaticall signes are but triffls to my Mathematicks. Alas! these silly witts have noe skill either in Fates, or Faces. None of these with all their skill can know <sup>31</sup>a Bawd from a Midwife, if yee goe by the face: or an hypocritical zealott from a devout Christian. If men would beleive our art, they should be able, not only to foretell, but prevent their mischiefs. The Starrs, wee confess, work with inclinations strong, and fatall: yet wee Astrologers know all their working. What they can doe, by Gods grace, and education, wee can prevent. <sup>32</sup>Astra regunt homines; sed regit astra Deus. The Starrs doe shoot un equall influence on the open Cottage, where the poor Shepherds child is rudly nursed; and on the cradle where the Prince is rock'd with care, and whispers. It is confess'd, yet it is noe small advantage to know this indifferent operation: Knowing that a man in his mind is a more noble, and immateriall substance, then the Starrs. <sup>33</sup>He has a Will, and Facultyes of choice to doe, or not to doe; and reason he does , or not doth this. The Starrs have none. They know not why they shine, <sup>34</sup>more yn a senseless Candle; nor how they work, nor what. Yet, I'll tell you, it cannot be but Prudence to know their Inclination. If fortunate, then to follow <sup>35</sup>Natures direction; if unhappy, then to beware, and change our course of Life. For if the Planetts at our Nativity be malignant, and in bloody Houses, wee Astrologers

Wish you toward the Starrs to flye,

And pull out of their lights your destiny.



Thus being fore warn'd, you are fore-arm'd, and may wear those golden Spurs upon your heels, and kick at Fate. And yet, Gentlemen, I would not have you scorn this art, and call it <sup>36</sup>Black. For it hath found out for the World rare <sup>37</sup>Engines, and Works of wonder. I have seen from this art a meer Looking-glass, the form ovall, render such shapes, and those differing: some questioned, others giving answers. Besides I have seen that frame working to revolutions of the Starrs, and so compact, by due proportions unto their harmony, move alone as true Automatons : like Dedalus's statues, or Vulcan's tooles. Hence wee read Astrologically wonders; as the banquet of Hiarbus that great Gymnosophist, who had his Butlers, and Carvers of pure gold waiting at his Table. Wee read of the image of Mercury too, that spake: of the wooden Dove, that flew: of a Snake of brass, that hiss'd: and Birds of silver, that did sing. And all these were, done by astological Mathematicks. Without which, Sirs, you may preach, plead, cure, traffique; but blindly run out all, and <sup>38</sup>peradventure miss of your intended projects.

Away with Lawyer, Priest, Physician,  
Give me the honest Astrologian.

The Poet.

A Poet is divine, full rich in wit,  
Though poor in state. And therefore never fitt  
T'attend th'Lawyer, Priest, Physician,  
or flatter the State Politician.  
Wee only feign, ne'er lye. Wee'd only please,  
And profit mortalls. If wee doe disease  
Some Ruffians, Bawds, some Hypocrite  
(Because they are tormented with our witt,  
Who doe but boldly speak out what they are  
And bring their faults to light at conscience barr)  
<sup>39</sup>Wee begg no pardon. Wee can scourge the times  
And laugh, yet wee dare stoutly wound their crimes.  
Wee weep, wee chide, wee Songs, wee Satyrs bring  
Divinely . spouted from the Thespian spring.  
Wee Vertue ; Vices freely personate;  
And chant mens actions freely<sup>40</sup> i'th' spight of Fate,  
And Envy: For our thoughts are high born, thow  
Our 'States, and purses be brought ne'er soe low.  
And cause our fancye mounts to higher things

Then World, or Wealth: wee prove ourselve true Kings  
 Above the reach of Fortune; which though't can  
 Oppress, yet Poet never shall unman.  
 To make him whine, and sigh. Her tartest hate  
 May make him low, but ne'er unfortunate.  
 Noe Merchant, Lawyer, Priest, Physician,  
 Can daunt, or fright, or raise a Hurricane  
 On those brave spirits, Whose eternall flame  
 Blown up with hope of a most glorious name  
 Shall burn out envy, never to arise  
 To stop a Poets guiltless Enterprise.  
 In this content I sing, not fearing hate,  
 Made by Apollo, Poet laureate.

#### The Landlord.

Well, Gentlemen, let the Divine preach with good conscience: the Lawyer be just to his Clyent; the Physician study the health of his Patients: the Merchant mind his floating Ships: I'll mind my Lands to keep'em; and, if Providence please, make an improvement, not to the damage, but advantage of my well-meaning Tenants. My business is to maintain the honour, & safety of my King, and Country: to take care for the dear Relicts of my deceased Father: and to be a Father to my orphan Relations. The Parson shall have his tythes; the Lawyer his just Fee; the honest Physitian his reward with thanks ; and the Merchant be welcome, when he, and I meet at my country house. I'll mind my incomes , and rents for supply of the poor; to keep a hot, but not a <sup>41</sup>prodigall or luxurious Kitchin. Strangers and Neighbours shall be welcome to my Pantry, not to <sup>42</sup>surfett, but refresh them; not to load with Wine or Beer, but cheer them to hilarity; by noe means intoxicate to Drunkenness, or Luxury. I shall never allow such entertainment that must <sup>43</sup>enforec an act of oblivion, either in respect of myselfe to be ashamed of my entertainment, because to prodigall: or or in respect of my Guest, whose inordinate drinking shall make them the next day forgett to thank me, because too much overloaded with drinking. I am yet in <sup>44</sup>Non-age. And God keep me in this mind when I come to age, that is, To love my God; cherish my low Relations; & <sup>45</sup>requite Courtesies: that I may live bless'd; not curs'd of my Neighbours: And after this in Gods good time to dye in Peace is the option and hearty wish of him

Who loves to be content, and safe to stand;  
 And to secure from Law his just got land.

## The Woollen draper.

Gentlemen, by your leaves, whose faculties are so venerable, I am bold to clayme with you place of use too, who have a Staple commodity usefull for Poor; and Gentlemen; a Woollen-wardrobe. Without which the Divine may freeze, notwithstanding his hot zeal: the Physician by accident catch, or be caught by a shaking <sup>46</sup>Ague: the Lawyers teeth shake in his head: and the Merchant turn <sup>47</sup>Quaker. It is Cloath, Gentlemen, that I trade in. And for any thing I know, your watchfull Suites, that haue not for so many year had a nap, make still to begg a courtesie of my art, and <sup>48</sup>mystery. Soe that instead of my asking what doe yee lack, Gentlemen? I see you all in lack. You of a frize <sup>49</sup>Jump, Doctor Pulsefeel: you Sir Merchant of some Spanish cloath, notwithstanding your glittering silks: and you, divine Doctour, a canonical coat to cover your coloured <sup>50</sup>Canvas, or Leather <sup>51</sup>doublett under it, for fear lest you turn Quaker too, being forced to read so long Common prayers, being heated only by the breath of a few old cold Orthodox <sup>52</sup>votaries. The holi-day suit mr Landlord paid for, and for <sup>53</sup>This, I have you not in my book. I not only now returne you thanks, but commend you, that wear noe silken <sup>54</sup>Gewgaws, but substantiall Woollen, the product of our English fleece, by art refined into a spanish cloath, the Staple prop, and stay of our poor people. And thus the english brisk pert Linnet flies in his russet feathers, as warm, as any bird of Paradise, with all his painted and gilded trim. The woollen english Esquire is not ambitious to be gaped at: and knowing-that Gold, and Silks will not preserve him from the Grave, he gets a golden mind; and flings away all glittering trappings. He wraps his body with warm apparell wholsom , and good: glisters within; weighs not a rich and precious Suit, but a rich Soul. Men of Honour, Witt, Judgment, and Manners wear clouth themselves; but leave the feathers, Ribbons and Silk to their servants: knowing that a generous mind, and a plain woollen outside, is the best <sup>55</sup>attraction of judicious affections , when there's worth within. Good parts with out the <sup>56</sup>habiliments of gallantry, and a good legg in woollen stockins are only slighted by giddy heads in giddy times. The <sup>57</sup>lusture of Silks make only <sup>58</sup>rustick and <sup>59</sup>mechanick Fathers to commit Idolatry, and adore their foolish Sonns. But wise men love Witt though but in a Cloth suite.

To such I trust my Goods, being sure to have  
From such what men deny in Silks more brave.

## The Grosser.

Gentlemen, <sup>60</sup>had I my wish, the end of my desires should be to be a Grosser, a man of Spice and Plumms. For which I doubt not to enjoy the <sup>61</sup>sweett custom of fair, and sweet-mouth'd Ladyes. My business is with the riches of India; the merchandize of the Levant, corinthian plumms; spanish figgs, sugars of all sorts. Truely, Gentlemen, I have a sweet tooth; and I know no better way of satisfying my appetite, then by serving to that occupation which abounds with nothing but sweetness, viz: The majesteriall ingredients of Pyes, Puddings, Custards, <sup>62</sup>Caudles, Stued-broths, and such like festivall delicates, which promise their presence at this ensuing Christmas.

If I might have my choise what trade to be  
I soon would choose the Grosser's mysterie.

The Comfitmaker.

God save you, Gentlemen. What you lack to have in abundance, what more fitt for sweet-lipp'd Ladies then variety of sweet meats. I have St George in marchpane to protect you from feminine famine the worst of Dragons. I have <sup>63</sup>Naplebiskets, and confections made of eggs of paradise to recover lost spirits after blood lost in Venus's warrs: cakes of sugar; Almonds, and <sup>64</sup>Ambergreese to recover that which is wanting to weak, decayed backs. In my sweet storehouse are all <sup>65</sup>Preserves of plumms, pares, <sup>66</sup>prunelloes, peaches, <sup>67</sup>Malagatoons; <sup>68</sup>preserved fruits of all sorts to entertain the most nice, and dainty palates. And if your <sup>69</sup>stomacks have soured your breath to the displeasure of a Lovers nose, here are sweet sented, and perfumed Comfitts to perfume, and sweeten a foul stomack, and make you breath so sweetly, as to entice a Ladyes lipps. I have Sweetmeats for dry-mouth'd Madams, and dry meats for moist, and <sup>70</sup>dropping lipps. Eat, Madams of my <sup>71</sup>Cates; and doubt not but you yourselves shall be made <sup>72</sup>Sweetmeats for men of the most curious, and senting <sup>73</sup>Tast. Unto whose judgment I commend the sweet, and powerfull effects of my Confections, being to all sweet-mouths a most humble Vassal , and Servant.

The Taylour.

Yee call me Taylour, Gentlemen; <sup>74</sup>and think me scarce the Seventh part of a man. Yet, I must tell yee, whom God makes, the Taylour shapes having a divine qualitye to remedy the defects, and oversights of Nature. And this is something in him above man, who by a Thred and Needles geometry can rectifye a crooked peics of flesh into that which the beholders call handsome Woman. Nether is it any dishonour to us, that wee eat more bread then others. For artophagus, a breadeater <sup>75</sup>in former times was, if wee may believe the best of Poets, the signall, and illustrious proper Epithite of a man. For antiquity, next to a Gardener, a Taylour doth challenge the palm, <sup>76</sup>from our great-grand-father Adam's suing of Figleaves in paradise. Adam that <sup>77</sup>w[hi]ch other men fear, is a Taylour comfort, I mean his Hell; which is to him a rich wardrobe of great worth; especially if Dives, and rich customers use him. For if gold lace, Silks, or Velvetts, & <sup>78</sup>Tabbyes mistaken fall in hither. From this Abyss there can be no redemption. A Taylour is the Confident of Kings, Queens, Earles, Lords, and Gentlemen. Whe the Painter hath done his work on the face; his art and mystery forms, figures, and conforms the bulk, and make the Man. A man indeed without money, in the base <sup>79</sup>Worldings account, is noe man. Yet if yee look but at the long bill, with which the Taylour doth often challenge Lords, and Gentlemen, Taylours then shall prove themselves Men, and fright into a corner many a valiant Captain. Though many payless Gallants doe often unman poor Taylours.

Yet from his long Bills, <sup>80</sup>prove wee plainly can  
That Jack the Taylour is a valiant man.

The Ship-carpenter.

Gentlemen, I am a water-engineer, a builder of floating Islands, and doe erect a pallace for a sea-commonwealth: a moving Delos to carry intelligence from East to West, from North to South. This <sup>81</sup>Cargonaute by Gods providence sometimes is loaded with freight far above the price of sometime flourishing Whittington colledge, or Greshams royall Exchange. This vessel is the desired expectation of Seamens wives; the credit of the Merchant who wake many a stormy night, when Winds awake him, to his prayers, and the next morning hurry him to the Ensuring office. But coming home contrary to expectation, he thanks for my skill in rigging forth a trusty vessel, bearing up against Wind and Waves. And it being safe arrived salutes me in the instrument of his happy Fortune, giving me the honour of my work, and golden reward, being the worthy income of my art, and handycraft mystery.

Thus safe from harm, I rigg again that Shipp,

Which yet still dares o'er Seas, & Waves to skip.

The Bookbinder.

Gentlemen, I am servant to the liberall Sciences; and bind up for Pauls-churchyard Books of all sorts. Without which the Preacher must be silent in his pulpit for want of tooles. I have <sup>82</sup>Fathers, <sup>83</sup>Councells and <sup>84</sup>Schoolmen for the Divine: <sup>85</sup>Codes digest, and <sup>86</sup>Pandects for the <sup>87</sup>Civilian: Littleton, Cook, & Ploydon for the Westminster hall Pleaders: Galen, and Hippocrates for the Physician: Divers sorts of Sceletons for the Chirurgions. I have in my Shop an art of renovation, and translating of Old books into New coverings after that the Moth, and rat have made a paper <sup>88</sup>depopulation. Soe that yee may just stile me, The restorer of paper breaches. And for this poor Scholar, who cannot buy New books, is much beholding to my Trade of binding up loose Papers. I have the art of joynting together confused witts, and of making every disordered page to keep orderly their rank and file, untill the Reader come to M<sup>r</sup>Finis, who presently puts an <sup>89</sup>End to his reading, and my work. I am noe Cook, noe Taylour, nor <sup>90</sup>Cordwinder,

Noe Pigman, but of Scholars sheets a Binder.

The Joyner.

Gentlemen, when yee are disjoynted, would yee not much prize him, who can sett you, and yours in joynt again? Beloved friends, Joyner is a catholick name. For most men delight to joyn. The Priest joyns man and woman. The Lawayers joyns issue. Politicians, if happy, joyn counsells. Physicians joyn health to bodies. The Bone-joynter bone to bone. And commonly John joyns with honest Joane. Truly, Sirs, the World is never more happy then when all joyn. Priest and People; King and Subjects; Physician and Patient; Lawyer and Clyent; Man and Wife; Father and Son; <sup>91</sup>Mistress and Maid; Master & Scholar, are all joynted together by the uniting art of Love, and Piety. Which I wish to all disjoynted mindes.

Mean while a Joyner I desire to be  
The emblem of pure mutuall Unitye.

### The Hatmaker.

Though my hands, Gentlemen, are black with singing, and cover'd with an Ethiopian colour, as being <sup>92</sup>a Dyer of English, French, and Spanish wool: yet my hue is not contemptible. I am by trade a protectour of the head, the principle part of Man: a helmetmaker for Wit, and the Brain. The child of my ingenie is a cover from storms, and rain: a Womans ornament. And though I came into England with Hopps , and <sup>93</sup>Heresie: yet Bishops, and Kings doe use me. Nay Majestye itselfe is somewhat belonging to my art, and mystery for distinction from other men. Because

When all attending subjects stand head bear,  
wee cry. The King! For he the Hath doth wear.

### The Watchmaker.

Gentlemen, I am ambitious to be a servant of watchfullness; the safety of a <sup>94</sup>Kingdom, <sup>95</sup>the sentinel of our lives. And therefore my converse is with an engine of prudence, to let nothing pass without it, and that is a Watch; a private monitor which I carry alwaies in my pocket, a night-diall beholding nether to Sun, nor lying Clocks; a whispering pocket-councillour that prescribes to me the timely measure of my Actions, Words, and Thoughts. This gives notice to the long-winded Preacher to wind his tedious Sermon, and to make an end before the nauseated, and weary People fall asleep; tells the careless Drunkard when tis time to leave his Cupps , and to force the taking, and turning up of t'other glass. It gives notice Years, Moneths, Dayes, Houres, Quarters Minutes, and Seconds. It is a Monitor to the Judges when to rise; informs the Councill, table puts a stopto the pronouncing of many a killing sentence; and <sup>96</sup>prorogues the cause of the now almost condemned Innocent, to be heard hereafter with greater patience; whispers into my ears in bed when to call up my Servants to their daily work: tells me that I am mortall, and alwaies passing. Every little wheel being an Emblem of my Life, which is alwaies whirling to Eternity. And therefore I will with all prudence in Prosperity, and Adversity, in Fair and Foul weather, keep, and preserve my Watch.

He that with prudence alwaies keeps his Watch:  
In Fair, and Foul, that man no harm shall catch.

## The Working-goldsmith.

I am no simple yellow hammer, Gentlemen, though I hammer yellow Metal. For what I touch is Gold, Gold the King of Metalls, the Quintessence of the Suns influence, and desire of all Nations. This Metal I haue prerogative not only to touch, but hammer out for this <sup>97</sup>Madona a cup to drink Nectar in: For t'other bona Roba a golden Salt, as full of Salt, and Witt, as ye Lady is of Fancye that bought it. <sup>98</sup>Lett the Blacksmith soot his face with Iron smoak; sweat with his nailes, and hobnailes, wallow with his Souls, & Piggs of Clay. My subject is the Gold of <sup>99</sup>Ophir. Scepters, and Kings crowns come under my handling. And that is subjected to my art, unto whom all men are subject

Had I the choise of Trades or Young, or Old;  
My choise should be to shew my art in Gold.

The <sup>100</sup>Saltar.

Gentlemen, to season your Tasts, and to make all things savory, I am here to a Saltar <sup>101</sup>at you service; A necessary commonwealths man, left out of nothing but court-cheak-bread. The <sup>102</sup>Hogman, and Butcher are much beholden to my occupation for keeping their Flesh from the Nose-plague: I mean stinking Putrefaction. I have Brooms to sweep <sup>103</sup>Augean stables, to cleanse foul Channels, and stinking Brewhouses: Pitch to <sup>104</sup>cauke Shippes, and keep out ship-sinking Water, that great enemy to our floating walls of England. I haue stuff to furnish the Shepherds tar-box to cure his maggot-bitten Flocks; Rosin to scour the Bartholomew fair <sup>105</sup>Pigg-womans ware, and make the hair goe off <sup>106</sup>glibb: Cork for the Fisher; and sacks to hold his Fish, when he can catch them. If your knives be dull at a <sup>107</sup>haunch of Venison, I haue a Whetstone to sharpen them; and Viniger, and <sup>108</sup>Varjuice to whet the appetite of fastidious and squeasie Stomacks. If the Maid be cleanly, shee may haue of me an instrument to purge the house; I mean Mopps, and soe keep her Masters men from writing <sup>109</sup>Slutt in the Kitchin. If the Poorman want much money for a bed, he may notwithstanding haue here for a small price Mat upon Mat to refresh his weary limbs. Here are sandstones for the eargelded <sup>110</sup>Scrivner to keep his ink-wetted papers from blotting copulation. Doe yee desire to haue your Chimneys, and <sup>111</sup>Vessells bright; behold here Flaunders brick, and Masons dust. If the Brewer want the spirit



of Mault, wee have a wolvisch weed, called Hopp to heighten the spirit of small Drink, and sometimes a salt Red-herring to relish it. Here is generous Anchove to provoke appetite to a glass of <sup>112</sup>Canarye. To speak truth in a word, Gentlemen, here are utensills for Kings, and Court: Man and Maid: City and Country. Bring money, and the saltar will season you with all Thse; and That which seasoneth all, I mean, Salt. Come buy, and welcome Gentlemen. If any ones Doublett through too much <sup>113</sup>bibbing be polluted with the foul tears of ye <sup>114</sup>Tankard, wee have <sup>115</sup>Fullers earth to purifie your vestments of Bacchus's Spot.

#### The Brewer.

Are you not a thirsty, Gentlemen, after so long a discourse of your votes, & options? I am a Brewer able to wett your whistles, and fill your dry pipes, not with sophisticated Wine, which will intoxicate: but with a homebred, generous, English liquour, Beer & Ale, great Britaine's water of Life. Call me not therefore Hop o'my thumb! because I deal in Hopps. For Hopps, Gentlemen, well concocted in the juice of Mault, will make the dullest Coward as valiant as the Knights of Malta. It lies in the spirit of Mault to cure Consumptions; to heighten the Head, and Heart, and of noe men more then of the Masters of this art, and mystery. The Brewer, Gentlemen, can by the skill of his Chimistry turn Water into <sup>116</sup>Aurum potable: and by an art of carrying out a watery Length bring in an Income to equall the revenues of the richest Citizen. What more advantagious to a Kingdom's revenue, then the Incomes of this art and Mystery, not subject to the casualties of Storms and Tempests; like the Incomes of the Seas: but as sure and constant as there be men to brew, and mouths to drink. Again a Brewer as he serves the publick; so he is not wanting to his own privat Interest. Have not many Brewers from a narrow Fortune brewed themselves into <sup>117</sup>Aldermen, and Knights, and that to without Pride, or Rebellion? I have heard of venerable Plat; who, by the blessing of God upon this Mystery, hath founded a Schoole, and Almes-house for the good of Posterity.

If I might have the wishes of my heart

I would embrace 'bove all, the Brewers art.

#### The Usurer.

Talk, and <sup>118</sup>prate what yee please of Arts, Trades, and Sciences. But for all that give Mee my Money. I say give Mee my Money, divine Money, the soul of all things <sup>119</sup>Sublunarie. Doe not Divines preach, and pray for it under the form of Self-deniall? Is not a call to a rich <sup>120</sup>Parsonage more effectuall and strong, where there are more Tythes, and fewest Souls? What Lawyers

tongue will not be tipp'd with Silver? Will not Money with a Judge make it a plain case, and make room sometimes at court of Conscience? Does not gouty greatness oftentimes find ease with Aurum potabile? He is a slight Physician that will not give a golden Glisten at a <sup>121</sup>dead lift. My Bagg! I adore thee Art not thou the business of the World? Doe not Injuries grow to possess thee and Justice sitt for the same end? O money! money! Thou openest Locks, drawest Curtains, buyest Witt, sellest Honesty, keepest Courts, fightest Quarrells, pullest down Churches, buildest Hospitalls. O money! Thou comest near the nature of a Spirit; and art so subtle, that thou canst creep in at any cranny, be present at most inward Councells, and betray them. Men are not wise without Thee, For money makes wisdom known. To be a fool, and poor, is next to old aches, and badd Fame. Poverty, I defye thee! For whose meanes are little, there little comforts alwaies keep company.

#### Want, and Poverty

When noe ill else will doe't, will make Friends flye.

Are wee in fault? Poverty is that which putts a multiplying Glass upon our faults, and makes them swell, and fill the Eye. our lowest Crimes then cry most high, when they have brought us low. Well Gentlemen! this is my comfort, I haue Money! Money! I shall not break now. For I am a Broaker, a city-pestilence, but to myselfe a continuall Feast. I feast on Gowns, Doublets, and Hose. I by Money lead Smocks, and Shirts together to linnen close Adultery, and strew upon the Lavender so strongly, that the Oweners of them never smell them afterwards.

To lend, and get, hath always been My trade.

Poor men of me oft'times a God have made.

Thanks to my Money!

#### EPILOGUE.

Reverend & Gentlemen,

What wee have done Yee may undoe. Yet wee

Perceive in you such smiling Courtisie

That <sup>122</sup>yee our <sup>123</sup>Options take with a kind heart.

What wee haue acted without Witt, or Art.

Our Diet is but mean: And wee could wish

Provided here had been a better dish.

If this displease your palatts, and distast,

Yee may with richer Diet break your fast.  
 But in the interim Wee all kiss your hands  
 In hope now to be freed from this School's bands.

.FINIS.

1 world] r and d missing parts

2 irishes?] iris=rainbow

3 haue] a missing top part

4 Independency] d faint

5 I] faint

6 A writ] = A written communication; a missive, letter

7 rub] = an obstacle, impediment, hindrance, or difficulty, of a non-material nature

8 Nocent]=A guilty person, a criminal

- 9 Inextricable] =Of a state or condition: That cannot be escaped or got free from.
- 10 hoodwinked] =Blindfolded, blinded
- 11 dross]= refuse; rubbish; worthless, impure matter
- 12 sheet] =burying-sheet
- 13 Hobnail] =A man who wears hobnailed shoes; a rustic, clodhopper, clown
- 14 Tithe] =The tenth part of the annual produce of agriculture, etc., being a due or payment
- 15 at latter Lammas] humorously for 'never'.
- 16 Patient] A p, which was before the t has been crossed over
- 17 Entreat] = To treat, deal with, act towards (a person, etc.) in a (specified) manner
- 18 Mare mortuum] =Dead Sea

- 19 cabinet]= A small chamber or room; a private apartment, a boudoir
- 20 Staple]=A town or place, appointed by royal authority, in which was a body of merchants having the exclusive right of purchase of certain classes of goods destined for export; also, the body of merchants so privileged.
- 21out vie]= To outdo in a contest or in rivalry; to compete successfully against.
- 22 to give the wall] to allow a person the right or privilege of walking next the wall as the cleaner and safer side of a pavement
- 23 bona Roba]=A wench; 'a showy wanton'
- 24 Spark]=A small diamond
- 25 shewel]= A scarecrow
- 26 usury]= The practice of lending money at interest
- 27 Capon]=A castrated cock.
- 28 Custard= a kind of open pie containing pieces of meat or fruit covered with a preparation of broth or milk, thickened with eggs, sweetened, and seasoned with spices

- 29 footcloath]= a large richly-ornamented cloth laid over the back of a horse  
and hanging down to the ground on each side
- 30 Braggadocio]= An empty, idle boaster; a swaggerer
- 31 a Bawd]=A woman keeping a place of prostitution
- 32 The stars govern men, but God governs the stars
- 33 He] H is missing the middle stroke
- 34 more] e is misformed
- 35 Natures] N and a are blotted
- 36 Black] A is partly missing
- 37 Engine]=Native talent, mother wit; genius
- 38 peradventure]= The possibility of a thing being so or not; uncertainty, doubt; a  
chance, contingency; a risk, hazard
- 39 Wee] Second e misformed

- 40 i'th' spight of] =in the spite of
- 41 Prodigal]= Extravagant; recklessly wasteful of one's property or means.
- 42 Surfeit] To feed to excess or satiety; to sicken or disorder by overfeeding
- 43 enforec] last two letters probably in wrong order
- 44 Non-age] The state of being under full legal age; minority, youth.
- 45 requite] t misformed
- 46 Ague]=An acute or violent fever
- 47 Quaker]=1. a person who trembles or quakes. 2.orig. *derogatory*. A member of the Religious Society of Friends, a religious movement founded by the Christian preacher George Fox in 1648-50
- 48 Mystery]= Craft, art; a trade, profession, calling
- 49 Jump] J blotted

- 50 Canvas] A strong or coarse unbleached cloth made of hemp or flax
- 51 doublet] A close-fitting body-garment, with or without sleeves, worn by men from the 14th to the 18th centuries
- 52 votary] A devoted or zealous worshipper of God, Christ, one of the saints, etc.
- 53 This] T blotted
- 54 Gewgaw]=A gaudy trifle, plaything, or ornament, a pretty thing of little value, a toy or bauble.
- 55 attraction] r partly missing
- 56 Habiliment]=Outfit, accoutrement, equipment, array, attire, dress.
- 57 Lustre]= The quality or condition of shining by reflected light; sheen, refulgence; gloss.
- 58 rustick]= Of persons: Having the appearance or manners of country people; lacking in elegance, refinement, or education; sometimes, devoid of good-breeding, clownish, boorish.



- 59     mechanick]= Belonging to or characteristic of the lower part of the           social  
scale or the lower classes; vulgar, coarse
- 60     had] d partly missing
- 61     sweet?]=ee misformed
- 62     Caudle]=A warm drink consisting of thin gruel, mixed with wine or           ale,  
sweetened and spiced, given chiefly to sick people, esp. women     in childbed; also to  
their visitors.
- 63     Naples bisquit]=a kind of biscuit flavoured with rosewater;
- 64     Ambergris]= A wax-like substance of marbled ashy colour, found floating in  
tropical seas, and as a morbid secretion in the           intestines of the sperm-whale. It is  
odoriferous and used in           perfumery; formerly in cookery.
- 65     Preserves]= P blotted
- 66     Prunello]=a small kind of plum, either fresh or dried
- 67     Malagatoons]= possibly refers to Malaga raisins, raisins made from a grape  
grown in Malaga

- 68 preserved] d partly missing
- 69 stomacks] last s partly missing
- 70 dropping] d partly missing
- 71 cates]=Choice viands; dainties, delicacies.
- 72 sweetmeats]= Sweet food, as sugared cakes or pastry, confectionary  
(*obs.*); preserved or candied fruits, sugared nuts, etc.; also, globules, lozenges,  
'drops,' or 'sticks' made of sugar with fruit or other flavouring or filling
- 73 Tast] T blotted
- 74 and] a and d partly missing
- 75 in] i misformed
- 76 from] r blotted
- 77 w[hi]ch] hi left out in the manuscript to save space

- 78 tabby]=A general term for a silk taffeta, app. originally striped, but afterwards applied also to silks of uniform colour waved or watered.
- 79 Worldling]= One who is devoted to the interests and pleasures of the world; a worldly or worldly-minded person.
- 80 prove] p blotted
- 81 cargonaute] humorous portmanteau composed of the words cargo and Argonaut, one of the legendary heroes who accompanied Jason in the Argo in his quest of the Golden Fleece
- 82 Fathers]=Fathers of the Church, the early Christian writers
- 83 Council]=An assembly of ecclesiastics (with or without laymen) convened for the regulation of doctrine or discipline in the church, or, in earlier times, of settling points in dispute between the ecclesiastical and civil powers
- 84 Schoolmen]= The succession of writers, from about the 9th to the 14th century, who treat of logic, metaphysics, and theology as taught in the 'schools' or universities of Italy, France, Germany, and England; a mediæval scholastic.
- 85 Codes digest]=The body of Roman laws compiled from the earlier jurists by order of the Emperor Justinian.

86 Pandect]= A complete body of the laws of a country, or of any system of law (natural or statutory).

87 Civilian]=One who makes or has made the Civil Law (chiefly as distinguished originally from the Canon Law, and later from the Common Law) the object of his study: a practitioner, doctor, professor, or student of Civil Law, a writer or authority on the Civil Law.

88 Depopulation}=Laying waste, devastation, ravaging, pillaging.

89 End] e blotted

90 cordwinder]=one who makes cords or ropes

91 Mistress] r is blotted

92 a] a blotted

93 heresie] This is probably a reference to Jacob Hutter (ca 1500-25 February 1536), Hatmaker and founder of the Hutterite Anabaptist movement

94 Kingdom] Word is faint

95 the] e is faint

- 96 prorogue]=To extend in time, cause to last longer
- 97 Madona]=A respectful (or mock-respectful) form of address, usually to an Italian woman
- 98 Lett] e is misformed
- 99 Ophir] The source of Solomon's gold in the Bible
- 100 Saltar] Drysalter, A dealer in chemical products used in the arts, drugs, dye-stuffs, gums, etc.; sometimes also in oils, sauces, pickles, tinned meats, etc.
- 101 at your service] underlined
- 102 hogman]=a swineherd
- 103 Augean]=Abominably filthy; *i.e.* resembling the stable of Augeas, a fabulous king of Elis, which contained 3,000 oxen, and had been uncleansed for 30 years, when Hercules, by turning the river Alpheus through it, purified it in a single day.
- 104 cauke]=chalk?

- 105 Pig-woman]=A woman who sells roast pork at fairs, etc.
- 106 Glib]=Smoothly; easily
- 107 Haunch]=The leg and loin of a deer, sheep, or other animal, prepared for, or served at, table.
- 108 Varjuice] =Balsam from the Var, the Canadian balsam fir,
- 109 Slutt]= sluttishly, untidily, dirtily; carelessly.
- 110 Scrivner]=A professional penman; a scribe, copyist; a clerk, secretary, amanuensis.
- 111 Vessells] Vessels or utensils for the table or for use in the household, esp. those made of gold or silver
- 112 Canarye] Canary wine, a light sweet wine from the Canary Islands
- 113 Bibbing]= Continued or repeated drinking; tippling.
- 114 Tankard]=A drinking-vessel, used chiefly for drinking beer.

- 115 Fuller's earth]= A hydrous silicate of alumina, used in cleansing cloth
- 116 aurum potabile]= drinkable gold
- 117 Alderman]=The headman, ruler, governor, or warden of a guild
- 118 Prate]= To talk or chatter; to speak foolishly, boastfully, or at great length, esp. to little purpose; to prattle
- 119 Sublunary]=Of or belonging to this world; earthly, terrestrial.
- 120 Parsonage]= The church house provided for a rector.
- 121 dead lift]= position or juncture in which one can do no more, an extremity, 'a hopeless exigence'
- 122 yee] second e misformed
- 123 Options] first o blotted

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