

# **The Representations of Millers, Tailors, and Weavers in Popular Print, c. 1500 to c. 1700**

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Submitted by Edward Paul Taylor, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, October 2016.

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# Abstract

This thesis presents a method for identifying resonant cultural phenomena and uses it to identify themes in the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in early modern English proverbs, jests, and ballads. It then examines whether these stereotypes appear in the records of defamation and abusive language from four different contemporary courts. It argues that all three trades were associated with habitual occupational dishonesty, that millers had a reputation for super-sexuality, and that tailors were considered to be poor and inferior to other men. However, it also argues that these stereotypes were conditioned by generic characteristics of proverbs, jests, and ballads and therefore that stereotypes should be assessed within and across different media. Finally, it argues that the dishonesty, super-sexuality, and inferiority associated with millers, tailors, and weavers suggest that perceived moral character played a more important role in the creation of stereotypes than perceived economic or social position, political or religious allegiance, or ethnic or regional background.



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# Abbreviations and Conventions

*EBBA* – English Broadside Ballad Archive, ed. by P. Fumerton  
<<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>>

*EEBO* – Early English Books Online, <<https://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>

*ESTC* – English Short Title Catalogue, <<http://estc.bl.uk>>

*OED* – Oxford English Dictionary, <<http://www.oed.com/>>

*ODNB* – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>

*ODEP* – *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd edn, ed. by F.P. Wilson  
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970)

## Referencing

This thesis adheres to the *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors and Editors*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013). However, the *MHRA Style Guide* does not include any advice on referencing early modern sources. Therefore, references to ballads adhere to the following format: author, *title*, EBBA code, Collection code, (date of publication), while references to other printed works adhere to the following format: author, *title*, (place of publication, date of publication; ESTC code).

## Early modern texts

The titles of early modern sources have been shortened as per ESTC and spelling and typography have been modernised, while only the typography has been modernised in quotations from early modern sources.



# Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis was motivated by an interest in occupational identity that mutated into an interest in occupational stereotypes and the sources that contain them. It is grounded in the social categorisation/group identification theory of group identity. It assumes that stereotypes indicate social categorisation and uses textual analysis to identify them and a method of assessing the resonance of cultural phenomena to assess their significance.

## Theory and Method

### Social Categorisation

This thesis has been informed and framed by the concepts of social categorisation and group identification, two dialectic processes that social theorists, like Richard Jenkins, argue create and maintain group identities.<sup>1</sup> Of these two processes, social categorisation describes ‘collective external definition’ – the recognition of a group’s existence by outsiders – while group identification describes ‘collective internal definition’ – the recognition of a group’s existence by its members.<sup>2</sup> Social group identities are, according to Jenkins, the result of these two processes and the interplay between them.<sup>3</sup> These concepts have been applied to the early modern period by Henry French, who argues that ‘although Jenkins’s research is focused on modern society, his conclusions are relevant to’ investigations of early modern identity.<sup>4</sup>

This thesis concentrates on social categorisation. It investigates the extent to which, if at all, early modern English observers categorised millers, tailors, and weavers as social groups. This is important because, if it can be demonstrated that early modern observers treated these three trades as social groups – comparable to gender-, religion-, or regional- based identities – then we must rethink our understanding of social identity in general and proto-working class identity in particular. As Jenkins argues, though the existence of

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<sup>1</sup> R. Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London, Routledge, 2008), esp. pp. 37-48, 102-17, 184-99.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 47-48, 109-11.

<sup>4</sup> H.R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 14.

social categorisation does not necessitate social group identity, it often encourages group identification. Therefore, social categorisation demonstrates the potential for social group identity.<sup>5</sup>

## Stereotypes

There is much debate, in the social sciences, over the definition and operation of stereotypes. Issues range from whether stereotypes are intrinsically inaccurate, harmful, or unhelpful, to whether they are shared by groups or manifest purely in individuals. In his textbook on stereotyping, the psychologist David J. Schneider suggests that 'stereotypes are qualities perceived to be associated with particular groups or categories of people'.<sup>6</sup> Schneider argues that the strength of this definition is that these stereotypical features could include 'traits, expected behaviours, physical features, roles, attitudes, beliefs, or almost any other qualities', and that it emphasises the most important aspect of stereotyping, the 'associations between categories and qualities'.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, stereotypes appear to offer useful information about the social world, reducing its variety and complexity to simple patterns. These patterns seem beneficial because they appear to correspond to and explain society.<sup>8</sup>

The importance of stereotyping to this project is twofold: firstly, it provides a framework for assessing themes in representations of millers, tailors, and weavers. Put simply, the characteristics and behaviours that are consistently associated with the three trades can be considered stereotypical, particularly if they occur in otherwise unrelated sources. Secondly, and most importantly, the existence of stereotypes suggests social categorisation as, by expressing a stereotype, an observer delineates a group from the rest of society or draws on a set of assumed characteristics in order to make this delineation.<sup>9</sup> As Jenkins states, 'stereotypes are extremely condensed symbols of collective identification'.<sup>10</sup> An investigation of stereotypes is therefore an investigation of social categorisation.

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<sup>5</sup> Jenkins, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> D.J. Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping* (New York: Guilford Press, 2004), p. 24

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24. Schneider's introduction also offers a concise overview of the current debates, see pp. 1-33.

<sup>8</sup> Jenkins, pp. 113, 151-53.

<sup>9</sup> Schneider, pp. 25-26.

<sup>10</sup> Jenkins, p. 152.

## Dror Wahrman and Resonance

To identify stereotypes and their significance, this thesis employs an approach based on a method for assessing the resonance of cultural phenomena suggested by the historian of the eighteenth century, Dror Wahrman. This method has much in common with mixed methods of analysis currently used in the political sciences.<sup>11</sup> Wahrman's method for a more rigorous cultural history appears in what was ostensibly a historiographical review published in *Gender & History* in 2008. In it, he assesses contemporary trends in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gender history and repeats and accepts much of the common criticism of cultural history. It is suggested that cultural historians have a tendency to 'cherry-pick' examples, that they often fail to differentiate between cultural media, and that they suffer from a propensity to over-generalise.<sup>12</sup> He argues, forcefully, that what is needed is a method for determining how significant, how popular, or how resonant a particular cultural phenomenon is – a methodology furthermore that pays significant attention to when and where a cultural phenomenon appears. He therefore proposes a two-stage systematic analysis of cultural resonance.<sup>13</sup> First, a cultural phenomenon should be exhaustively delineated within a single cultural medium or small group of closely related media. A phenomenon that is consistently repeated within a cultural medium or small group of media can be described as possessing resonance of the first degree. It can be said to carry weight within that sphere but not necessarily within the wider world. Second, the cultural phenomenon should be comprehensively pursued through other media, particularly unrelated media and or those considered resistant to cultural fads. A phenomenon that is regularly repeated across a broad spectrum of cultural media can be described as having resonance of the second degree and can be described as culturally significant.<sup>14</sup> Wahrman also emphasises the importance of documenting the chronology of these occurrences and their relation to significant events.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> J.J. Wesley, 'Qualitative Document Analysis in Political Science', paper given at the From Text to Political Positions Workshop (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands), 9 April 2010.

<sup>12</sup> D. Wahrman, 'Change and the Corporeal in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-century Gender History: or, Can Cultural History be Rigorous?', *Gender & History*, 20:3 (2008), 584-602 (p. 585).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 593.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 592-596.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 593.

Wahrman is quick to acknowledge the problem of sufficiency inherent in this methodology – the problem of how much evidence is needed to satisfy the criterion of significant repetition. Here he is a little vague, suggesting that researchers should exercise their common sense as to how much evidence is enough to satisfy the first degree of resonances and admitting that there can never be enough evidence to fully satisfy the second degree, merely enough to ‘make the argument increasingly compelling’.<sup>16</sup> However, though he is critical of online full-text databases, he is positive about the possibility of using them to investigate large quantities of texts and suggests that his method is best applied to well-defined investigations of more limited cultural phenomena.<sup>17</sup>

## Method

This thesis deploys an interpretation of Wahrman’s proposed method. It assesses the resonance of miller, tailor, and weaver stereotypes in the printed remains of early modern English oral culture by analysing the representations of the three trades in proverbs, jests, and ballads. It identifies stereotypical representations in each source type and examines the extent to which, if at all, these stereotypes resonate across all three types. It then searches for evidence of these stereotypes in the records of contemporary defamation cases. It therefore approximates the first stage of Wahrman’s assessment of cultural resonance, as it investigates resonance within a range of similar but independent sources.

## Sources

Proverbs, jests, and ballads were chosen for three reasons. First, they have been consistently identified as evidence of early modern English popular culture. Second, they are reasonably well delineated as they were organised into collections in the early modern period. Third, they are relatively accessible via online databases and collections. The records of defamation cases were chosen for the same reasons. First, they are also held up as repositories of everyday thoughts and behaviours. Second, they are all discrete sources. Third,

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 595.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 595.



the records of several courts have been collected and or transcribed already. Proverbs, jests, ballads, and defamation cases are therefore a set of similar cultural media that are easily identifiable and assessable.

## Occupations

An exploratory investigation of occupational stereotypes and social categorisation must focus on occupations that are clearly and consistently associated with certain characteristics or behaviours and are relatively prominent in the sources. This thesis therefore focuses on the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers for two reasons. First, previous scholars have highlighted their reputation, as a grouping, for habitual occupational dishonesty as well as noting the reputation of millers for super-sexuality and tailors for inferior masculinity. Second, they are a significant presence in the sample of sourced analysed, both individually and as a grouping.

## The Reputation of Millers, Tailors, and Weavers in Previous Scholarship

Folklorists have been aware of the reputations of millers and tailors, and to a lesser extent, weavers and the grouping of these three trades in proverbs, and other sources, for quite some time. In a 1936 essay, Donal F. Bond claimed that millers had a well-established reputation for ‘trickery’ and that tailors and weavers also came ‘under suspicion for dishonest dealing’. He pointed to ‘ironical references to the miller’s “golden thumb”’, the representation of millers in Geoffrey Chaucer, and several proverbs as evidence.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, in *The Proverb* (1962), Archer Taylor observed that, even though scholars do not know why certain trades were singled out for proverbial ridicule or how the chosen trades and form of ridicule compare from country to country, ‘a readily intelligible attitude [...] is [often] reflected in these sayings.’<sup>19</sup> He argued that the anxiety people felt about a ‘miller’s honesty in taking toll for the grinding of grain’ led to the image of the miller’s golden thumb, while the suspicion that tailors cut ‘cloth to [their] own advantage’ resulted in variations of

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<sup>18</sup> D.F. Bond, ‘English Legal Proverbs’, *PMLA*, 51:4 (1936), 921-35 (p. 925).

<sup>19</sup> A. Taylor, *The Proverb and An Index to “The Proverb”, with an Introduction and Bibliography by W. Mieder* (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1962; repr. Bern: Lang, 1985), p. 104.

*The tailor cuts three sleeves for every woman's gown* proverb. Furthermore, Taylor also noted a second set of proverbs that clearly associated tailors with cowardice, though the reason for this was less obvious.<sup>20</sup>

## Millers, Tailors, and Weavers in Print

The grouping of millers, tailors, and weavers and their shared reputation for habitual occupational dishonesty are confirmed, in part, by their representation in a selection of printed sources not used in the main body of this thesis.<sup>21</sup> For example, Simon Robson highlights the reputation of the three trades in *The Choice of Change* (1585). Robson's work is made up of two sets of a hundred triplets. The first hundred is made up of 'Triplicitie of Diuinitie' and the first triplet lists 'The historie of the world compredended in the holy scripture', 'Many notable and strange reuelations', and 'The miracles of the Church, which do co[n]firme the word' as 'Three things [that] doe witnes the worde of God to be true, and of great authoritie.'<sup>22</sup> The second hundred contains 'Triplicitie of Poetrie' and the nineteenth triplet lists weavers, millers, and tailors as 'Three occupations wherefor there are many theeues'.<sup>23</sup> This suggests that three trades were known for their habitual occupational dishonesty by the late-sixteenth century.

William Browne echoes Robson in *Britannia's Pastorals: Book 1* (1613). In Song Four, a young maiden, named Aletheia or Truth, meets and is rejected by many social and allegorical types.<sup>24</sup> She is refused entry to an Abbey but watches as Idleness, Drunkenness, Lust, Gluttony, and Envy are let in.<sup>25</sup> At a

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>21</sup> In addition to the proverbs, jests, and ballads discussed below, several printed sources are cited in this thesis. For example, the following works suggest that millers, tailors, and/or weavers were associated with habitual occupational dishonesty: G. Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (Westminster, 1477; ESTC S109814), [sigs. A<sup>11</sup>r-A<sup>11</sup>v]; J. Heywood, *The Play of the Weather* (London, 1533; ESTC S125019), sig. B<sup>4</sup>v; G. Gascoigne, *The Steel Glass* (London, 1576; ESTC S102876), sigs. H<sup>3</sup>r-H<sup>4</sup>v; R. Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (London, 1592; ESTC S105865), sigs. B<sup>2</sup>r-B<sup>3</sup>r; R. Greene, *The Defence of Cony Catching* (London, 1592; ESTC S105058), sigs. B<sup>3</sup>v-B<sup>4</sup>r; D. Lindsay, *A Satire of the Three Estates* (Edinburgh, 1602; ESTC S109452), sigs. S<sup>3</sup>v-S<sup>4</sup>r; T. Heywood and R. Brome, *The Late Lancashire Witches* (London, 1634; ESTC S104080), sig. D<sup>3</sup>v; *The Life of Long Meg of Westminster* (London, 1635; ESTC S109949), sigs. D<sup>4</sup>r-D<sup>4</sup>v; *A Pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Somers* (London, 1637; ESTC S106026), sig. A<sup>2</sup>r; H. Edmundson, *Comes facundus in via* (London, 1658; ESTC R210132), sigs. C<sup>5</sup>r-C<sup>5</sup>v; J. Wade, *Vinegar and Mustard* (London, 1673; ESTC R219281), sig. B<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>22</sup> S. Robson, *The Choice of Change* (London, 1585; ESTC S94922), sig. B<sup>1</sup>r.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. L<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>24</sup> W. Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals: Book 1* (London, 1613; ESTC S1060), sigs. I<sup>4</sup>r-M<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. L<sup>1</sup>r-L<sup>1</sup>v.

Prince's court, she meets Greatness, who refuses to let her stay for fear that her presence will scare off Adulation. Eventually, Aletheia/Truth sets off in search of 'homely townes / Sweetly environed with Daisied Downes'. She happens upon a mill sitting on 'a Streame washing a village end', which was always turning during 'dayes for worke' and 'holy-tydes'. Outside the door, she sees

[...] the Miller walking,  
And other two (his neighbours) with him talking:  
One of them was a Weauer, and the other  
The Village Tayler, and his trusty Brother.

She approaches the group and greets them, imploring them to be 'Content, [with] the riches of a Country-man' and to 'Attend [their] actions, [and] be more happy still'.<sup>26</sup> This upsets the group. The miller commands her not to 'so wade / into the knowledge of the Wheele-wrights trade', while the tailor complains that her 'iudgement is not seame-rent' and the weaver insists that she wrongs herself when she lets 'slip the shuttle of [her] tongue'. Aletheia/Truth laments that she has been 'o'er-laid with idle words' and questions where she might find '[a] friend to helpe, or any heart that ruth [pities] / The most dejected hopes of wrong Truth!' Her lamentations annoy the group even more. The miller reiterates that he 'and the Weauer hate [Truth] with our hearts' and that they 'will not now discusse' their relationship with their 'honest Customers'. The tailor continues that they do not owe Truth any 'succour' because they do not know her. Going further, he claims that he cannot remember ever seeing her before and 'till this time [has] neuer heard [her] name, / Excepting once [...] [when his] neighbour at that instant call'd [him] Theefe.'<sup>27</sup> At this, Aletheia/Truth leaves and continues her journey. Like Robson's triplet, this passage suggests that millers, tailors, and weavers shared a reputation for habitual occupational dishonesty. Aletheia/Truth upbraids the three without prior knowledge of their individual characters or behaviours – she knows they are occupationally dishonest because of their trades. Furthermore, it implicitly associates this shared reputation with a social grouping. Millers, tailors, and weavers are figuratively and literally brothers in dishonesty.

George Wither appears to have felt that the grouping and their stereotypical behaviour was so common and so well known that it was worth

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. L<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. L<sup>3</sup>r.

devoting an entire hymn to the reformation of millers, tailors, and weavers. Part three of *Hallelujah* (1641) contains personal hymns dedicated to social types such as courtiers, orphans, and soldiers.<sup>28</sup> Hymn LIII [sic] is dedicated to ‘taylors, millers, and weavers’.<sup>29</sup> Charles Hensley has argued that *Hallelujah*, like Wither’s previous work *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Modern* (1635) and his translation of Nemesius’ *On the Nature of Man* (1636), takes ‘the form of versified moral counsel’ and that the poems contained in these collections ‘reflect the poet’s growing seriousness and didactic intent’.<sup>30</sup> Such earnest intent is clear in Hymn LIII, as Wither explains in a footnote that he composed the poem because ‘most men of these Trades, are either greatly slandered, or very guiltie of deceit and falshood’ and with the hope that ‘such as be faultie may reprove themselves; and, that such are innocent may be cherished in their honesty’. The poem links malpractice in craft to ‘Corruptions’ in the heart, ‘Which make [one] from those [honest] waies depart’, and notes that one must remain straight and true, especially in a ‘Calling’ in which ‘other men’ espy ‘Stumblings’.<sup>31</sup> Wither concedes that this may be difficult when ‘Occasions of a shamefull sin / Are offred, ev’ry day’, and ‘Long custome’ has entrenched the ‘Opinion and belief’ ‘That ‘tis no fault, or else not great, / To be a daily-Thief’.<sup>32</sup> He blames ‘The Devill’ for finding ‘used long’ ‘excuses’ to ‘doubt, / If thieving be a wrong’, and notes that over time these excuses can ‘causeth us’ to ‘fearleslie assent’ to that which we know to be ‘ill’. Wither therefore asks to be ‘Preserved’ ‘From this degree of guiltinesse’ and delivered ‘From Sins’ which ‘by custome’ have lost their stigma. He argues that if a craftsman is good, his product will be – no matter how bad the reputation of his craft – and that if he is not, he will not be able to ‘honestlie maintain’ any ‘course or trade’. Wither then insists that if the love of ‘Goodnes’ cannot convince a craftsperson to practice honestly, they should ‘observe [the] Lowsie-lot’ of those ‘Who use to filch and steal’. Such people ‘are beggers in the end’ and whatever wealth they obtain through their dishonesty ‘On lust and pride, their children spend’.<sup>33</sup> Finally, Wither argues that though a craftsperson who loves ‘Righteousnes’ may

<sup>28</sup> G. Wither, *Hallelujah* (London, 1641; ESTC R25190), sigs. Q<sup>4</sup>r-Y<sup>3</sup>v.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. X<sup>5</sup>r-X<sup>6</sup>r.

<sup>30</sup> C.S. Hensley, *The Later Career of George Wither* (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), p. 73. G. Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1635; ESTC S95898); Nemesius, *On the Nature of Man*, trans. by G. Wither (London, 1636; ESTC S113134).

<sup>31</sup> Wither, *Hallelujah*, sig. X<sup>5</sup>r.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. X<sup>5</sup>r- X<sup>5</sup>v.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. X<sup>5</sup>v.

'continue poore' they will 'delight' 'In Truth' and that their 'Trade' will 'become A Calling without blame / And though it be abus'd by some, Shall never bring [that craftsperson] shame.'<sup>34</sup> Wither's hymn therefore provides further evidence of the duplicitous reputation of millers, tailors, and weavers not only in its dedication and stated inspiration but also within the text itself. Wither explicitly states that he believes that most people involved in these trades are either engaged in or commonly thought to be engaged in habitual occupational dishonesty. Where Wither differs from Robson and Browne, is in his attempts to understand and reform these crafts.

The grouping and the reputation appear again, this time without explanation, in John Phillips' poem 'King Arthur' printed in *Sportive Wit* (1656). Phillips begins by telling us that when Arthur first became king 'He brought his wife a peck of meale / To make a bag pudding' and that 'His men wore hanging sleeves'. He continues that 'If all be true that I have heard, / They were three errant theeves'. The following two stanzas identify the three thieves and describe the nature of theft:

The first he was a Miller good,  
The second he was a Weaver a,  
The third he was a Taylor good,  
And they were three theeves together a.

The Miller he stole Grist enough,  
The Weaver he stole Yarn a,  
The Taylor he stole good broad Cloath  
To keep these three theeves warm a.

The final stanza returns to describing the beginning of Arthur's kingship, claiming that 'He kickt the Fidlers out of doores / Because they sould not sing'.<sup>35</sup> Phillips does not explain why a poem that is ostensibly about King Arthur spends so much time describing the occupational dishonesty of a miller, a tailor, and a weaver and neither does he explicitly claim that the three trades are particularly dishonest in comparison to other. However, in the context of the previous examples, Phillips provides another instance of the association of millers, tailors, and weavers with dishonesty and each other.

Their reputation is more clearly stated in the second part of *The English Rogue* (1688), Richard Head and Francis Kirkman's celebration of sharp

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. X<sup>5</sup>v-X<sup>6</sup>r.

<sup>35</sup> J. Phillips, 'King Arthur', in *Sportive Wit* (London, 1656; ESTC R36677), sig. 2E<sup>6</sup>r.

practice, when millers, tailors, and weavers appear as the archetype of malpractice. In Chapter IV, the traveller describes his parents – a cobbler named Isaac and a canting beggar named Ursula – how they met, and how his mother cuckolded his father with a Banbury tinker.<sup>36</sup> He reminisces about how his brother started thieving aged seven, stealing from wealthy households to which he was returning mended shoes, and how he was eventually caught and thrown into Newgate, where he died of rough treatment.<sup>37</sup> He tells of how his family missed the extra income and how, when he came to the same age, he was encouraged by his father to follow his brother's example.<sup>38</sup> His father attempted to convince him by arguing for the relative nobility of thieving. The traveller relates how his father cited great men who had engaged in theft, such as Robin Hood and Alexander the Great, who his father described as a thief of other princes wealth and lands. As well as describing the ubiquity of theft in nature, where each life-stage steals from the previous until death and the seasons steal from each other in a continuous cycle. His father also noted how common theft and dishonest practice were in society. He observed that 'rich Farmers and griping Cor[n]mer[ch]ants' overcharged the poor and shopkeepers cozened their customers by selling commodities at twice what they are worth. As a summary, the traveller's father argued that 'there be more thieves in the world than onely Taylors, Millers, and Weavers'.<sup>39</sup> Such a statement echoes Robson, Browne, Wither, and Phillips in associating the three trades with habitual occupational dishonesty but it goes even further, suggesting that they have become archetypal examples of cheating craftsmen – they have a known reputation to which others can be compared. This sort of allusion therefore strongly suggests the existence of a well-established reputation.

In fact, the grouping of millers, tailors, and weavers and their association with habitual occupational dishonesty seems to be so well established that it can be inverted for comic effect. The water-poet, John Taylor, twice subverts the stereotype in poems printed in the 1620s. First, in *An Errant Thief* (1622), Taylor claims that the thief's 'Trade is scatt'red, vniuersally, / Throughout the spacious worlds Rotundity', as 'all estates and functions great and small, / Are

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<sup>36</sup> R. Head and F. Kirkman, *English Rogue: Part 2* (London, 1671; ESTC R4699), sigs. E<sup>1</sup>r- E<sup>1</sup>v.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E<sup>1</sup>v.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. E<sup>1</sup>v-E<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E<sup>2</sup>r.

for the most part Thieves in generall'.<sup>40</sup> However, Taylor pointedly exempts 'Millers, Weauers, Taylers, and' as 'Such true trades as no stealing vnderstands.'<sup>41</sup> Taylor repeats this inversion a year later in *The Praise and Virtue of a Jail and Jailors* (1623). Here he begins the poem by acknowledging the strangeness of praising jails, jailors, hanging, and hangmen. He finds a biblical precedent for jails, citing the false imprisonment of Joseph.<sup>42</sup> Taylor then offers a series of anagrams of words related to his subject – such as 'prisone', 'jayles', and 'bondage' – and a series metaphorical jails – such as tight fitting clothes and shoes.<sup>43</sup> He then claims that 'Plaine Honesty and Truth' are 'both Prisoners', though 'they seldome come vnto the barre' and are 'kept so closely day and night, / That in an age they scarcely come in sight'. Furthermore, he laments that if it was not for, 'our Countries pillers', 'True Tailers, Weauers, and cleane finger'd Millers, / Good Serieants and kind Brokers', no one would derive 'any comfort' from honesty and truth.<sup>44</sup>

Given the examples cited above, Taylor's insistence on their purity seems strange and significant. It is possible that the water poet is attempting to express a counter-reputation by presenting the three crafts as paragons of honesty. However, the hyperbole of both passages suggests that he is inverting the reputation for comic effect. The first presents the three as the most noteworthy of the 'true trades' who cannot even comprehend stealing, while the second depicts them – along with serjeants and brokers – as pillars of society and guardians of truth and honesty. Furthermore, the clean-fingered qualifier Taylor bestows on millers seems to invert the golden thumb label attached to the craft, which is discussed in more detail in the main body of this thesis. Whether Taylor is defending the crafts and attacking an undeserved reputation or knowingly inverting it and playing it for laughs, his engagement provides further evidence of an existing reputation.

In a conventional cultural history thesis, the evidence above and the examples that feature in the main body of this thesis could be presented as proof of a stereotypical representation of millers, tailors, and weavers in early modern culture. However, this thesis attempts to go further. Instead of piling up

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<sup>40</sup> J. Taylor, *An Errant Thief* (London, 1622; ESTC S118181), sigs. A<sup>5</sup>r-A<sup>5</sup>v.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, sig A<sup>5</sup>v.

<sup>42</sup> J. Taylor, *The Praise and Virtue of a Jail and Jailors* (London, 1623; ESTC S118256), sig A<sup>5</sup>r.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. A<sup>5</sup>v-B<sup>1</sup>v.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B<sup>1</sup>v.

anecdotal evidence, it sets out to ascertain the resonance of these representations in three distinct sets of sources.

## Prominence in Proverbs, Jests, and Ballads

The distribution of occupational descriptors in each source type is discussed in more detail in the corresponding chapter. However, it is worth noting here that millers and tailors are two of the most frequently appearing occupational descriptors in the sources used in this thesis. They are among the top five standardised occupational descriptors in the sample of proverbs, the top ten in the sample of jests, and the top ten in the sample of ballads. Furthermore, they are the two most frequently appearing secondary sector standardised occupational descriptors in all three media.

**Table 1: The Ranking of Millers, Tailors, and Weavers in Proverbs, Jests, and Ballads**

	Proverbs		Jests		Ballads	
	SOD(All)	SOD(SS)	SOD(All)	SOD(SS)	SOD(All)	SOD(SS)
<b>Millers</b>	=2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	=6 <sup>th</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	7 <sup>th</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>
<b>Tailors</b>	=3 <sup>rd</sup>	=2 <sup>nd</sup>	=7 <sup>th</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>
<b>Weavers</b>	=6 <sup>th</sup>	=5 <sup>th</sup>	N/A	N/A	11 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>

Notes: SOD(All) = All Standardised Occupational Descriptors, SOD(SS) = Secondary Sector Standardised Occupational Descriptors.

As Table 1 demonstrates, millers and tailors are among the most frequently appearing standardised occupational descriptors and they are consistently the most common secondary sector occupations. Weavers appear less often, though they are prominent among secondary sector descriptors.<sup>45</sup>

In summary, this thesis investigates the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in proverbs, jests, and ballads because anecdotal evidence drawn from printed sources suggests that, as a grouping, they had a well-established reputation for habitual occupational dishonesty and because they are among the most prominent occupational descriptors to appear in the sources analysed.

<sup>45</sup> See pp. 78-79, 165-67.



## Historiography

This thesis is influenced by and engages with several areas of early modern scholarship. The most relevant – popular culture and popularity, occupational identity, and credit and male reputation – are discussed below. However, though writing on popular culture and popularity can be described as a conventional historiographical debate, writing on occupational identity cannot. Scholars engaging with popular culture and popularity tend to be explicitly arguing against or alongside those who have come before them, whereas those whose work addresses occupational identity do not always position themselves within some wider discussion. Instead, such works are often social or political histories focusing on a specific local context that have something perceptive to say about the relationship between occupational and social identity. Therefore, the historiography of occupational identity presented here is, in a sense, artificial. It draws together scholarship that can retroactively be described as addressing occupational identity, even if it does not explicitly declare itself as such.

## Popular Culture and Popularity

Due to the nature of the sources used, the historiography of early modern popular culture is especially relevant to this thesis. Work dealing with the popularity of specific source types is addressed in the corresponding chapter, however it is necessary to begin with a more general overview of the debates. A concern with the interests and attitudes of ordinary people can be traced back to the post-war period and the work of social historians associated with the Communist Party Historians Group, such as Christopher Hill and Eric Hobsbawm. However, the historiography of popular culture is often said to begin with the work of E.P. Thompson and, especially, Peter Burke in the 1970s. Thompson's essay, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', published in 1974 in the *Journal of Social History*, has been described as 'pioneering' and as 'arguably [having] more influence on the historiography of the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries' than it has on the eighteenth.<sup>46</sup> However, Burke's 1978 opus, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, is perhaps even more influential. Its impact is demonstrated, in part, by the number of recent works on the popular culture of early modern England that start with a discussion of its arguments.<sup>47</sup>

Burke argued that popular culture changed significantly during the early modern period. He claimed that, at the end of the fifteenth century, culture was homogeneous but that between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth, popular and elite cultures diverged. This was partly a conscious move by the elites, motivated by a desire for religious and moral reform, and partly the result of underlying socio-economic factors, such as increasing literacy, the commercialisation of society, the Scientific Revolution, and the rise of a culture of manners. By the nineteenth century, the two cultures had become so different that the educated elite had to re-discover popular culture through the study of folklore.<sup>48</sup> Here, Burke was building on ideas developed by Keith Thomas in *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1973).<sup>49</sup>

Since the 1970s, early modern popular culture has become a common topic of study. However, the endeavour has not escaped criticism. The sources used to study it have been a particularly controversial subject. In an influential collection of essays, published in 1995, Tim Harris offered a thorough critique of Burke's thesis. He identified problems with Burke's concept of popular culture, challenged the narrative of antagonism and divergence, and argued that the concept of popular culture is anachronistic, that it implies a level of homogeneity that did not exist, and that it relies on dichotomies – elite/popular, rulers/ruled, literate/illiterate, godly/irreligious, etc. – that were more complex and less clear

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<sup>46</sup> E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', *Journal of Social History*, 7:4 (1974), 382-405; M. Hailwood and B. Waddell, 'Plebeian Cultures in Early Modern England: Thirty-Five Years after E. P. Thompson', *Social History*, 34:4 (2009), 472-76 (p. 472).

<sup>47</sup> T. Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', in *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850*, ed. by T. Harris (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), pp. 1-27 (esp. pp. 1-14); G. Sullivan and L. Woodbridge, 'Popular Culture in Print', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500-1600*, ed. by A.F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 265-86 (pp. 268-86); M. Dimmock, A. Hadfield, and A. Shinn, 'Introduction: Thinking About Popular Culture in Early Modern England', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by A. Hadfield, M. Dimmock, and A. Shinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 1-9 (pp. 1-2); A. Hunt, 'Recovering Speech Acts', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture In Early Modern England*, ed. by Hadfield, Dimmock, and Shinn, pp. 13-29 (p. 20).

<sup>48</sup> P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978).

<sup>49</sup> K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973).

in practice.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, he questioned the appropriateness of the sources used in investigations of popular culture and identified problems with the three main avenues: popular literature, oral culture, and court records. He argued that each source type was mediated and that popular literature and oral culture were often created or recorded, by elites, for propaganda purposes. Instead of being windows into the attitudes and experiences of common people, these sources were shaped by concerns of those that created them.

Garrett Sullivan and Linda Woodbridge echo Harris' criticisms in their introduction to printed popular culture in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature* (2000). Like Harris, they argue that Burke's concept of popular culture is anachronistic and that it depends on discrete and distinct elite and popular cultures. However, their main arguments are about how popular literature has been defined. They maintain that it is the classification process – the identification of the popular – that creates popular culture in the early modern period, not the inherent characteristics of various source types. They argue that, for Burke, as for early modern commentators, popular and elite were defined by opposition: contemporaries, like William Webb, defined elite culture against the popular, while Burke defines the popular against the elite. This leads them to question whether genres such as jests and rogue literature, which were produced by elites (or, at the very least, appropriated by them), should be considered popular.<sup>51</sup>

Because of this sort of criticism, most scholars now accept that many, if not all, of the extant sources used in the study of popular culture were produced or mediated in some way by elites.<sup>52</sup> Those who continue to study the topic have responded to this difficulty by re-defining popular culture as the shared culture of early modern people, not just the culture of the non-elite, and/or shifting their focus from production to consumption. In the preface to *Popular Cultures in England 1550-1750* (1998), Barry Reay defines '[p]opular cultures'

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<sup>50</sup> Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', in *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850*, ed. by Harris, pp. 10-12, 15-20.

<sup>51</sup> Sullivan and Woodbridge, pp. 269-83.

<sup>52</sup> See, for example: A. Fox and D. Woolf, 'Introduction', in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 1-51 (p. 19); P. Allen Brown, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 219-20; E. Robertson, M. Pickering, and M. Korczynski, "And Spinning so with Voices Meet, like Nightingales they Sung Full Sweet": Unravelling the Representations of Singing in Pre-Industrial Textile Production", *Cultural and Social History*, 5:1 (2008), 11-31 (p. 13); A. Shepard, 'Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 201 (2008), 51-95 (pp. 51-52).

as 'widely held and commonly expressed thoughts and actions.' He stresses that this definition does not presume a fixed 'division between popular and elite, high and low, great and little, or learned and unlearned' and that it should not suggest 'cultural homogeneity among the subordinate'. Similarly, in their introduction to *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, and Abigail Shinn emphasise the shared elements of popular culture while highlighting different ways in which they were experienced. They point out that those at the top of society enjoyed elements of low culture, while those at the bottom enjoyed elements of high culture. Furthermore, they note that everyone shared in the language and rituals of the church and other 'everyday practices such as eating, drinking, speaking, socialising, etc.' However, though they accept that there were many shared forms, they stress that these forms were experienced in a variety of different ways. For example, though everyone ate, the circumstances in which they ate differed – there was obviously a difference between eating in an alehouse and being waited on by your own servants. Similarly, though '[d]ifferent social groups may have not always listened to the same music, [...] enjoyment of popular music and dance united as well as separated classes'.<sup>53</sup> In addition, they argue that the potential audience for written sources was greater than has been previously assumed as 'literacy was undoubtedly more widespread than was once thought' and 'books were more widely disseminated, even if not actually owned'. Furthermore, the illiterate were not necessarily unable to access written forms of popular culture due to communal 'reading practices'.<sup>54</sup>

This thesis is influenced by these debates but it also differs from previous investigations of popular culture. Fundamentally, it is not interested in popular media in and of themselves but in popular ideas. Following Reay, it attempts to identify 'widely held and commonly expressed thoughts' about millers, tailors, and weavers, thoughts that were 'held' in the minds of early modern people and 'expressed' in their everyday speech and were therefore part of the mental world and oral culture of the period. However, it accepts that we have no way of directly accessing these mental worlds or oral cultures. As Dimmock, Hadfield, and Shinn point out, 'early modern culture was an oral culture which we have no

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<sup>53</sup> Dimmock, Hadfield, and Shinn, 'Introduction', in *The Ashgate Research Companion To Popular Culture In Early Modern England*, ed. by Hadfield, Dimmock, and Shinn, pp. 1-2.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

choice but to try and excavate from written sources'.<sup>55</sup> It therefore utilises sources that are thought to have had a wide readership and/or represent significant features of oral culture. However, it also accepts that we have no way of knowing for certain how representative extant written records of proverbs, jests, ballads, and defamatory language are of the proverbs, jests, ballads, and defamatory language commonly used in early modern England. Consequently, it does not assume that the stereotypes found in proverbs, jests, ballads, or defamatory language were commonly held because they appear in ostensibly popular sources, instead, it argues that they can be considered popular because they appear regularly in these related, but independent media.

Adam Fox's work on oral and literate culture is also relevant to any study of the social history of print culture and consequently popular culture. His research has further broken down the division between popular and elite modes of communication and expanded the potential audience of written and printed material. As can be seen in the description of Dimmock, Hadfield, and Shinn's overview above, the latter has since become codified in textbooks. In essence, Fox argues against two interrelated assumptions. First, that oral culture was replaced by print culture during the early modern period and second, that literacy (or engagement with/participation in print culture) was rare and confined to the elites. However, the consequences of his arguments can be extrapolated further.<sup>56</sup>

In demolishing the assumption that print replaced oral culture, Fox points out that though oral culture was dominant during the early modern period, it had existed alongside written culture since the medieval period. Consequently, oral and written cultures had been influencing each other since the thirteenth century. The introduction of print at the end of the fifteenth century did not therefore represent the sudden interpolation of literature into oral culture but the addition of another mode of literacy into an existing oral-literate hybrid culture. Furthermore, oral culture continued to dominate long after the introduction of print and written culture remained hugely important, though the emergence of print affected the form and content of other forms of communication.<sup>57</sup>

Fox uses proverbs as a key example of the fluidity with which cultural phenomena moved between different modes of communication and the extent

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>56</sup> A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1-10.

to which they influenced each other. Proverbs were originally an oral phenomena but many that had not existed in medieval written sources entered or re-entered early modern culture from the printed versions of ancient sources that appeared during the period. Printed proverbs passed into oral culture and circulated alongside existing oral proverbs before reappearing in written and printed sources. After the introduction of print, proverbs cannot satisfactorily be described as solely oral, written, or printed phenomena.<sup>58</sup>

In response to the argument that literacy was rare and socially exclusive, Fox points out that existing notions about early modern reading ability are based on the false assumption that the capacity to sign one's name is a proxy for the capacity to read and that formal education was the only way to learn.<sup>59</sup>

Fox's arguments are particularly relevant to the choice of source types and the approach to them. First, Fox breaks down the division between popular and elite sources. If oral, written, and print cultures existed in a state of constant interaction and mutual influence then the idea any particular source type can be seen as distinct and discrete and wholly elite or popular cannot be justified. Print culture cannot be said to be solely the preserve of the elites, while oral culture cannot be considered solely popular (or non-elite). This directly challenges those historians, such as Sullivan and Woodbridge, who suggest that popular culture is obscured by elite mediation. Print culture is not popular culture but it is not divorced from and untouched by popular culture either.

Fox's arguments can therefore be read as a call for a more holistic treatment of early modern culture and consequently as a compelling reason to pay more attention to resonance. The fluidity with which cultural phenomena, such as proverbs, moved across different modes of communication is an argument for studying phenomena in multiple different source types but it is also an argument for analysing that fluidity itself. We should not expect all cultural phenomena to exhibit the same levels of fluidity and resonance provides a method for assessing those different levels.

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<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. p. 10.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-19.

## Occupational Identity

Very little early modern scholarship deals explicitly and consciously with occupational identity. Few have written about the subject and fewer have placed themselves within some greater debate about it. However, there is some scholarship that could, retrospectively, be gathered together to create an 'artificial' historiography of the topic. Furthermore, the majority of what has been written differs from this thesis in either approach or objective. Social histories of occupational identity differ in approach. They focus on internal, group identification instead of external, social categorisation. Conversely, literary studies of the representations of work and working people do not directly engage with occupational identity.

Post-Marxist social histories of popular politics and proto-working class identity produced the first examples of what could be considered social histories of occupational identity. Much of Andy Wood's ongoing campaign to reintroduce class as a useful category of historical analysis stresses the importance of local identity and occupational solidarity and, as such, his work provides evidence of group identification.

In his examination of the early modern Peak District mining community, Wood presents the Peak District's free miners as a unique cultural grouping, 'a community of skilled, knowledgeable, adult, plebeian men who respected custom and tradition, and who were prepared to fight (legally, politically and perhaps physically) in defence of their rights'.<sup>60</sup> He demonstrates that the free miners defined themselves both against the 'rich men' of the local landed gentry, who attempted to deny their access to the land, and the 'poor, semi-vagrant 'cavers'', who tried to undercut them.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, Wood sees the early modern Peak District mining community as foreshadowing late-eighteenth-century working class identity in the region, arguing that '[i]n the 1790s, the plebeian culture of the Peak started to become a working-class culture *within* the Peak'.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> A. Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 24.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 261, 570.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321. Original emphasis.

In a similar vein, John Walter complicates simplistic interpretations of the 1642 Stour Valley Riots. He rejects the idea that these instances of popular violence can be seen as expressions of class conflict and, instead, emphasises the role of religion.<sup>63</sup> However, he also argues that the occupational structures and networks of the cloth-making industry allowed, and possibly, encouraged group action and therefore group identity.<sup>64</sup>

To these could be added Alex Shepard's work on the language of self-description.<sup>65</sup> Shepard argues that self-descriptions provided by church court witnesses offer an insight into the social identity of deponents of lesser means and therefore the lower end of society.<sup>66</sup> Though she admits that such responses were mediated by the courts, they were less formalised than other self-descriptions (such as poor relief petitions), as the deponents had nothing to lose. Furthermore, Shepard argues that the range of self-descriptions employed suggests a language of social description as varied and finely gradated as the elite discourses concerning the upper echelons of society, but yet independent from them. Finally, they differed from the language employed by other deponents faced with challenges to their credibility.<sup>67</sup>

The labouring poor faced a battle against social discrimination as well as 'material hardship' in their attempt to forge a positive self-identity. Though the distinction between dependence on charity, service, and wage-labouring was clearly important to witnesses, it was barely recognised by their social superiors. Furthermore, though the labouring poor did have access to positive assessments of their social identity (their honesty, industry, independence, etc.), they consistently had to deploy these defensively. Shepard ends by arguing that such an emphasis on the homogeneity, dependence, deference, and therefore subordination of the poor suggests a far more negative reading of

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<sup>63</sup> J. Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution: The Colchester Plunderers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 343-52.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262-84.

<sup>65</sup> Shepard, 'Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England'; A. Shepard and J. Spicksley, 'Worth, Age, and Social Status in Early Modern England', *Economic History Review*, 64:2 (2011), 493-530; A. Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

<sup>66</sup> Shepard, 'Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England', pp. 51-52, 81-92; Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, pp. 23, 26.

<sup>67</sup> Shepard, 'Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England', pp. 51-52; Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, pp. 14, 23, 26, 31.



their possible inclusion amongst the “free” even in the most radical literature of the period.<sup>68</sup>

In her survey of how early modern witnesses answered questions of worth and maintenance, Shepard agrees that occupational identities were strengthened by ‘formal training and guild membership’.<sup>69</sup> However, her focus is on how these answers complicate and expand the identities that historians assume were expressed by occupational descriptors by highlighting the discrepancy between the titles that individuals claimed and what they did for a living.<sup>70</sup> She identifies ‘a gradual shift [...] whereby occupational identity became increasingly bound up with what people did for a living, rather than what they had on which to depend’ and demonstrates the impact of increasing market orientation on occupational self-description.<sup>71</sup> Shepard’s findings both reduce and increase the significance of occupational descriptors. She shows that they obscure the range of individual economic activity, especially in women, who had access to a far smaller pool of titles and mask potentially dramatic life-cycle changes.<sup>72</sup> However, she also argues that the claiming of occupational titles, especially the multiple occupational descriptors of by-employment, demonstrates the value associated with them.<sup>73</sup> She also points out that self-valuation and description were tempered by the need to be credible and by the possibility that they would be contradicted by others.<sup>74</sup> It gives us a much better picture of what people did instead of relying on blunt occupational descriptors.

Wood and Walter have produced highly nuanced social histories that have much to tell us about group identification element of early modern occupational identity. However, they do little to advance the study of social categorisation. They detail the collective action of the Peak miners and Stour Valley clothing industry workers and illuminate some facets of how they defined themselves but they do not shed light on the perception of these groups among outsiders. For Wood, conflict is paramount and class identities must be viewed

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<sup>68</sup> Shepard, ‘Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England’, pp. 94-95; Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, pp. 29, 187.

<sup>69</sup> Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 172.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 234.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>72</sup> Shepard and Spicksley, pp. 525-26; Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 236.

<sup>73</sup> Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, pp. 232-74.

<sup>74</sup> Shepard, ‘Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England’, pp. 51-52; Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 26.

through local circumstances.<sup>75</sup> The Peak miners identify themselves through what they are not. They are not unskilled, wage-dependent hirelings. They are not weak women or boys. They are not wealthy and clueless aristocrats. In Wood's words, '[c]lasses are identified in relationship to other classes through systems of difference'<sup>76</sup> and the free miners 'articulate[d] a collective identity' through conflict with other groups.<sup>77</sup> This may be true but it is not the only way in which identity can be expressed. Similarly, though local struggles may anticipate later class conflict, Wood does not do enough to separate occupational and class identity. The former does not necessitate the latter. This is not to suggest that historians of occupational identity should not be seeking to emulate Wood and produce finely wrought studies of local occupational groups but to suggest that we should also be looking at how occupational groups were perceived and represented in wider culture as well.

Shepard approaches occupational identity in a different way. For her, an occupational identity is expressed by the claiming of an occupational descriptor and she observes that individuals claimed occupational titles appear to bear little relation to what they did to earn a living. This may suggest that certain occupational titles held greater social cache. However, it is quite a limited concept of occupational identity. It does not tell us what certain occupations meant in a cultural context. Like Wood, Shepard is also focused on self-description. Again, this is not to say that this is not worthwhile endeavour or to question the quality of her research. It is simply to notice that investigations of group identification will only ever tell us one part of the story, however well they are done.

Following in the footsteps of Andy Wood, recent studies of occupational identity have debated whether early modern occupational identities hindered or hastened the emergence of class-consciousness. The opposing positions can be seen in the work of Brodie Waddell and Mark Hailwood.

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<sup>75</sup> For the importance of the local context, see: A. Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 11, 144, 192; A. Wood, 'Subordination, Solidarity and the Limits of Popular Agency in a Yorkshire Valley, c.1596-1615'. *Past and Present*, 193:1 (2006), 41-72 (pp. 52, 56, 57-58); A. Wood, 'Fear, hatred and the hidden injuries of class in early modern England', *Journal of Social History*, 39:1 (2006), 803-26 (p. 807).

<sup>76</sup> Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict*, p. 24.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

In his study of later Stuart economic culture, *God, Duty and Community in English Economic Life, 1660-1720* (2013), Waddell argues that '[w]ork-based communities' may have had a greater impact on contemporary economic life than any other form of identity.<sup>78</sup> He demonstrates how guilds and other institutions fostered occupational sociability and solidarity 'through a diverse range of media: oaths, festivals, meals, processions, collective worship, songs, and rhymes'.<sup>79</sup> However, he also argues that though these collectives nurtured intra-group relations and identifications, they also established outsiders: unincorporated or foreign craftsmen from the same trade, female and unskilled labourers, and craftsmen from other trades. Therefore, though vertical 'craft culture' encouraged the communal attitude and atmosphere necessary for horizontal 'collective action', it also 'disrupted the appeal of 'class' identity in the later Stuart period'.<sup>80</sup>

In 'Sociability, Work and Labouring Identity in Seventeenth-Century England' (2011), Hailwood argues for an investigation of lower sort sociability based on Phil Withington's conception of 'company' and presents evidence of a culture of plebeian sociability characterised by hard work and excessive drinking.<sup>81</sup> Hailwood identifies the 'articulation [...] of strong occupational solidarities' in ballads, which lead him to question whether labouring people were 'confined within the fraternal loyalties and the 'vertical' consciousness of particular trades [which] inhibited wider solidarities and 'horizontal' consciousness of class'.<sup>82</sup> However, despite acknowledging these expressions of trade-specific occupational identity, Hailwood argues that ballads depict inter-trade sociability and articulate a work-based identity founded in hard-work, drinking ability, and honesty.<sup>83</sup> Hailwood developed these arguments in "The Honest Tradesman's Honour": Occupational and Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century England' (2014), where he argues that horizontal, work-based identities may have had more impact than vertical, trade-specific identities. He also complicates the horizontal-vertical dichotomy, arguing that general work-based

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<sup>78</sup> B. Waddell, *God, Duty and Community in English Economic Life, 1660-1720* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), esp. pp. 193-205

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193-94, 205.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>81</sup> M. Hailwood, 'Sociability, Work and Labouring Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Cultural and Social History*, 8:1 (2011), 9-25 (pp. 9-11, 24-25); P. Withington, 'Company and Sociability in Early Modern England', *Social History*, 32:3 (2007), 291-307.

<sup>82</sup> Hailwood, 'Sociability, Work and Labouring Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 18.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.

identities were particularised by individuals in specific trades, while specific identities were used by a broad range of people to understand their experiences.<sup>84</sup>

This thesis offers another element to the investigation of occupational identity, which further complicates the relationship between it and class-consciousness. It argues that the grouping of millers, tailors, and weavers is neither a vertical, craft-based identity nor a horizontal, work-based identity. Their grouping is not conditioned by their Marxian-structural position but by the similarity of relation to the customer and the similarity of their shared characteristics. Millers, tailors, and weavers do not share a 'craft culture', a similar level of skill, or a comparable socio-economic position. Instead, they share a reliance on raw materials provided by the customer. Millers turn grain into flour, tailors turn cloth into clothes, and weavers turn yarn into cloth. This distinguishes them from crafts such as smiths, bakers, or brewers who source their own raw materials. They provide a process and the extent to which they perform that process fairly is a source of anxiety, which appears to manifest in their reputation for habitual occupational dishonesty. Like Hailwood and in contrast to Waddell, the grouping of millers, tailors, and weavers demonstrates the potential for inter-craft occupational groupings. However, unlike Hailwood, it does not suggest a truly horizontal, work-based identity. Instead, it offers a different form of occupational grouping and therefore another vision of occupational structure. It neither precludes nor promotes class-consciousness but it suggests that occupational identity is multifaceted.

The different facets of occupational identity emphasised by Waddell, Hailwood, and this thesis are largely due to differences of approach. Waddell looks at craft and craft-institutional culture and customs and consequently finds vertical, craft-based occupational identity. Hailwood focuses on depictions of work-hard-play-hard homo-sociability and therefore argues for horizontal, work-based occupational identity. In contrast, this thesis investigates occupational stereotypes and unsurprisingly presents a vision of occupational identity and occupational grouping conditioned by those stereotypes. This is not to suggest that one approach is superior but to argue that our understanding of occupational identity can only be improved by different approaches.

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<sup>84</sup> M. Hailwood, "The Honest Tradesman's Honour": Occupational and Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (2014), 79-103.

This thesis owes much to the social histories of occupational identity discussed above. However, as has been pointed out, it differs significantly in its approach. Instead of looking at another example or element of internal, group identification as Wood, Walter, Shepard, and Waddell have done, this thesis is an examination of external, social categorisation. In terms of approach, this thesis therefore has more in common with scholarship that assesses the depiction of specific occupations, groups of occupations, types of work, or industries.<sup>85</sup> However, as these sorts of investigations tend to emanate from scholars of early modern English literature or drama, they do not share the objectives of social history.

Works such as Laura Stevenson's *Praise and Paradox* (1985) and Andrew McRae's *God Speed the Plough* (1996) are more cultural histories of socio-economic change wrought by the emergence of capitalistic practices than occupational identity. Laura Stevenson's study of Elizabethan literature for and about merchants and craftsmen argues that the expansion of the late sixteenth-century economy required a rise in literacy, which in turn necessitated the emergence of a literature for and about the industrious sorts. However, this social change outstripped the ability of contemporary commentators to describe what was happening and those writing (and thinking) about merchants and craftsmen did so using the aristocratic values of the earlier sixteenth century, praising their loyalty and gentility, and not the bourgeois values of the eighteenth century, such as industriousness or economic acumen.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, McRae traces the contested and uneven nature of agrarian change in England from the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century through the printed representations of the agriculture and those involved in it. He argues that as agriculture moved from subsistence to commercial enterprise, representations of farmers changed from negative to positive and the image of the plough was fought over by those defending the traditional order and those advocating innovation.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> D.F. Bond, 'The Law and Lawyers in English Proverbs', *American Bar Association Journal*, 21:11 (1935), 724-27; E. Robertson, M. Pickering, and M. Korczynski.

<sup>86</sup> L. Stevenson, *Praise And Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>87</sup> A. McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Though both Laura Stevenson and McRae include examples of representations of specific occupations and evidence that could suggest occupational stereotypes, neither set out to write about occupational identity. To the extent that they are interested in identity, they are both focused on broader social groupings. Laura Stevenson's work looks at the mercantile and artisanal middling sort, while McRae's addresses rural society and the emerging agricultural industry. The representations of specific occupations within these broader groups are therefore considered emblematic, not particular. This is not a criticism of this work but an acknowledgement of their different objectives.

Works by scholars of literature and drama that explicitly deal with the relationship between representations of work and working people and identity have not focused on occupational identity. Roze Hentschell's *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England* (2008) is interested in the influence of the cloth working industry on English national identity not the occupational identity of those involved in the cloth working industry. She argues that the industry was central to the development of national identity, claiming that its perceived antiquity, the large number of people involved, and the good reputation it had abroad generated pride in the industry and a sense that it was key to national identity.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, John Michael Archer's essay in *Working Subjects in Early Modern English Drama* (2011), which examines the representation of immigrant cloth workers and shoemakers in Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemakers Holiday*, concentrates on Tudor stereotypes of the Dutch and Flemish and the representations that emerged from within these communities. It does not consider these representations within the context of occupational identity.<sup>89</sup> Likewise, Natasha Korda's essay in the same collection centres on the representation of immigrant female cloth-workers from the Low Countries in civic pageants put on by immigrant communities. Korda argues that these communities sought to emphasise their positive contribution to the English commonwealth through the dramatic depiction of female artisans.<sup>90</sup> Like Hentschell and Archer, Korda is therefore writing about national, not occupational identity. Finally, Derrick Higginbotham's article on the

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<sup>88</sup> R. Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

<sup>89</sup> J.M. Archer, 'Citizens and aliens as working subjects in Dekker's *The shoemakers holiday*', in *Working Subjects in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by M. Dowd and N. Korda (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 37-52.

<sup>90</sup> N. Korda, 'Staging alien women's work in civic pageants', in *Working Subjects in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by Dowd and Korda, pp.53-68.

representations of female cloth workers on the medieval and early modern stage links female economic activity outside the household with the usurpation of male power and unacceptable sexuality such as adultery and prostitution.<sup>91</sup>

Hailwood's above-mentioned work on the representation of tradesmen in broadside ballads is one of the few examples with which this thesis shares both approach and objectives. As such, it is uniquely influential. In addition to those noted previously, Hailwood makes several relevant points about the study of occupational identity in 'The Honest Tradesman's Honour'. He emphasises the importance of studying work-based identities alongside other conditioning factors, such as gender, age, and social status. He reminds us that work-based identities were not always positive.<sup>92</sup> Most importantly, he highlights the influence of socio-economic factors on cultural representations. With regards to tradesmen, he notes that the nature and idea of trade changed during the early modern period, from subsistence manufacture to more capitalist profit-seeking. This leads him to posit three hypotheses for how commercialisation might affect their depiction. First, we might expect them to be depicted as a 'smug', rising social group, 'embracing the spirit of capitalism' and holding their erstwhile social superiors to account, like the middling sort. Second, following Laura Stevenson's work on the representation of merchants and craftsmen, we might find that there is not yet a framework for understanding them and that they are therefore associated with traditional elite, chivalric values. Third, following Craig Muldrew's work on creditworthiness, we might find that they are concerned with fostering a reputation for financial probity.<sup>93</sup>

Against these potential frameworks, Hailwood outlines three interrelated themes within the depiction of tradesmen in ballads: first, emulation of or opposition to elite values, second, response to commercialisation, and third, conflicting patriarchal and homo-social modes of behaviour.<sup>94</sup> In adventure

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<sup>91</sup> D. Higginbotham, 'Producing Women: Textile Manufacture and Economic Power on Late Medieval and Early Modern Stages', *Comitatus*, 41 (2010), 183-206.

<sup>92</sup> Hailwood, 'The Honest Tradesman's Honour', p. 81.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90, 94-95, 103; L. Stevenson; C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998). For others works by Muldrew addressing credit and identity, see: C. Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit, and Community Relations in Early Modern England,' *Social History*, 18:2 (1993), 163-183; C. Muldrew, 'Class and Credit: Social Identity, Wealth and the Life Course in Early Modern England', in *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, ed. by H. French and J. Barry (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 147-77.

<sup>94</sup> Hailwood, 'The Honest Tradesman's Honour', pp. 90-101.

ballads, he finds evidence that tradesmen were associated with traditional elite values (strength, courage, martial prowess) that had little to do with their contemporary social role.<sup>95</sup> However, he counters this with their depiction in good fellowship ballads, which distinguish them from the elite by opposes hard-working tradesmen with the idle gentry.<sup>96</sup> In addition, he finds that ‘satirical ‘golden age’’ ballads ‘play on a common stereotype of the tradesman as a deceitful dealer’, depicting the commercialisation of tradesmen in a negative light. These ballads equate tradesmen with devious professions, illicit occupations, and female workers. However, these ballads often blame the deceptiveness of tradesmen on their precarious reliance on credit, shifting the responsibility onto the gentry for not paying their bills.<sup>97</sup> These depictions should not be read as examples of tradesmen embracing capitalism and holding their social superiors to account. Instead, they suggest that tradesmen found the increased consumption of the gentry anxiety-inducing.<sup>98</sup>

Hailwood concludes that work was not the only conditioning factor in the representation of tradesmen, nor were ‘[c]oncerns with patriarchal provision, with sexual prowess, [and] with networks of credit’ unique to them. However, ballads demonstrate how these general anxieties were particularised in a work-based context: ‘[t]he job may not have made the man, but it did provide a lens through which he could make sense of the world.’<sup>99</sup> Though ballads did depict tradesmen using the traditional values of their social superiors, they also contrasted the prodigality of the gentry with the hard-working, hard-drinking culture of homosocial alehouse sociability.<sup>100</sup>

Hailwood’s work is particularly relevant for several reasons. Firstly, he presents a compelling case for the investigation of occupational identity and demonstrates how this might be attempted by analysing the representations of occupations in a widely-consumed source. Secondly, Hailwood is not overly evangelical; he does not present the study of occupational identity as a panacea but argues that it should be considered alongside other forms of identity, including social status, life-stage, and gender. Thirdly, he recognises that the occupational identities, of tradesmen at least, exist within a framework

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92-94.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102-03.



of masculine sexual and economic power and control. Hailwood therefore demonstrates how a study of occupational identity can draw on and augment studies of masculinity and other identities.

However, there are several differences between Hailwood's work and what follows. First, his focus is on the representation of tradesman as a roughly horizontal grouping. He uses representations of specific trades, but only as examples of broader work-based stereotypes. This thesis moves in the other direction, focusing on representations of specific trades, but expanding to include representations of groupings of those trades as well. Second, Hailwood work is based, almost exclusively, on analysis of ballads. Though this thesis draws a lot of evidence from ballads, it also assesses proverbs and jests. This allows for an assessment of the broader resonance of stereotypes in popular culture, as well as an assessment of the extent to which different genres condition the stereotypes they contain. Thirdly, though his work is thorough, it is not explicitly or transparently systematic. This thesis openly presents its method and findings.

This thesis develops Hailwood's observation that many work-based stereotypes appear to have been framed by the concepts of moral probity and consequent creditworthiness identified by Muldrew. It argues that these stereotypes not only associated moral qualities with particular occupations but also presented these shared characteristics as the basis of social affinity or occupational solidarity. However, unlike Hailwood and Muldrew, this thesis argues that the format of the depiction played a significant role in conditioning its content. In this sense, the competing depictions of tradesmen – as chivalric heroes, honest labourers, or deceitful middlemen – are not necessarily evidence of shifting socio-economic status or group identity but may be functions of the generic characteristics and internal context or specific forms of early modern media.

Finally, two areas of the social history of occupational identity that this thesis has not engaged with are the scholarship on occupational institutions, such as guilds, and occupations within the urban environment.<sup>101</sup> This was a conscious

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<sup>101</sup> For work that addresses early modern guilds, the urban environment, and identity see, for example: P. Clark and P. Slack, 'Introduction', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History*, ed. by P. Clark and P. Slack (London: Routledge, 1972; repr. London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 1-56; P. Clark, 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns, 1580-1640', in *Crisis and*

choice. It is not a comment on the quality of this literature or its relevance to the study of occupational identity in general. Instead, the absence is due to the focus of this thesis on external, social categorisation – the representation of millers, tailors, and weavers by commentators who did not position themselves within those trades. This thesis does not investigate literature produced by institutional groupings of or for millers, tailors, and weavers nor does it examine representations of institutional associations of any of the three trades. In the first instance, such literature would constitute an act of group identification not social categorisation, while, in the second, such representations would demonstrate the stereotypes associated with institutional groupings of millers, tailors, and weavers and not the individuals engaged in those trades. Furthermore, among the thousands of proverbs, hundreds of jests, and hundreds of ballads analysed in this thesis, only one source explicitly referred to an institutional grouping of any of the three trades.<sup>102</sup> From the outset, this thesis was not intended to investigate collective action or examples of craft-based solidarity and the research process did not produce representations of these sorts of expressions of occupational identity. Similarly, this thesis does not investigate representations of millers, tailors, and weavers within the urban environment specifically. Though the urban environment is likely to have influenced both internal, group identification and external, social categorisation this thesis is an attempt to investigate broad, society-wide categorisations. Limiting the focus to the urban environment would have diminished this and so the historiography

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*Order in English Towns, 1500-1700*, ed. by Clark and Slack, pp. 117-63; J. Barry, 'Urban Identity and the Middling Sort in Early-Modern England', *Annales-Economies Societes Civilisations*, 48:4 (1993), 853-83; J. Barry, 'Civility and Civic Culture in Early Modern England: The Meanings of Urban Freedom', in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. by P. Burke, B.H. Harrison, and P. Slack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 181-96; P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); P. Withington, 'Citizens, Community and Political Culture in Restoration England', in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. by A. Shepard and P. Withington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 134-55; J. Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington and the Social Construction of Elizabethan London', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450-1800*, ed. by I.A. Gadd and P. Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp. 51-66; P. Withington, 'Agency, Custom, and the English Corporate System', in *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, ed. by French and Barry, pp. 200-22; J. Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Withington, 'Company and Sociability in Early Modern England'; P. Withington, 'Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England', *American Historical Review*, 112:4 (2007), 1016-38; P. Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Pre-modern England', *Journal of Economic History*, 68:3 (2008), 832-61; P. Withington, 'Citizens, Soldiers and Urban Culture in Restoration England', *The English Historical Review*, 123:502 (2008), 587-610.

<sup>102</sup> *The Voice of Fame (1683-1703?)*, Pepys Ballads 5.396, EBBA 22215. However, this ballad is a spirit defence of Merchant Tailors, not tailors. See pp. 213-15.

addressing that topic is not directly relevant. In both cases, these elements of occupational identity are beyond the remit of this thesis.

## Credit and Male Reputation

Muldrew has argued forcefully for the combination of moral and economic elements in early modern male reputation. In *The Economy of Obligation* (1998), he argues that credit was intrinsically linked to a person's reputation and honesty. In a system without paper money or complex financial institutions to regulate transactions, whether a creditor trusted you could pay back your debt was paramount. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were characterised by long and complex chains of credit and this increased complexity led to increased fear of default as well as increased instances of default. The reason for default was often couched in moral terms: defaulting out of need was acceptable but default due to overextending ambition was frowned upon.<sup>103</sup> In this context, maintaining your reputation and that of your household (the basic economic unit) was vitally important.<sup>104</sup> Men were therefore keen to demonstrate thrift, diligence, and a commitment to hard work, while defending themselves against any accusation of profligacy, negligence, or idleness.

Muldrew's arguments demonstrate the moral component of the economic world. It should not therefore be surprising to find that the characteristics associated with millers, tailors, and weavers were primarily moral in nature or that they were grouped because of their perceived moral equivalence instead of by their perceived economic equivalence. However, though Muldrew writes a lot about the negative effect of a reputation for dishonesty, he does not mention the sort of dishonesty apparently practised by millers, tailors, and weavers. Instead, he focuses on the need to avoid gaining a reputation for not paying your debts.<sup>105</sup> The representations of millers, tailors, and weaver appear to fit into the framework established by Muldrew but not in a way that he explicitly identifies.

Shepard's *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (2003) builds on some elements of Muldrew's thesis. She makes two key arguments. First, that patriarchy cannot be entirely correlated to manhood, in the sense that it represented the rule of the head of the household (and therefore could mean

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<sup>103</sup> Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, pp. 1-7.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-57.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 125-27, 133-34, 147-58, 184.

the rule of a woman, though it was more commonly a man) over all other men and women in the house. Second, that the dominant form of masculinity was not only defined in relation to femininity, but also in relation to other forms of masculinity; and that it is therefore multifaceted.<sup>106</sup>

Shepard argues for a range of gender identities, both female and male, both dominant and subordinate. She argues that manhood was specifically associated with a brief period in a man's life when he was believed to be at his peak – a belief that disenfranchised both older and younger men, further complicating the traditional view of the binary oppression of women by men.<sup>107</sup> She highlights the range of terms and behaviours that could be associated with manhood, and how these could be contradictory or impossible to attain and consequently how they were selectively appropriated by men in different positions and at different times. Furthermore, she argues that poorer, younger, and otherwise less powerful found comfort in an alternative vision of manhood, denied, as they were access to certain aspects of patriarchy and related aspects of dominant masculinity.<sup>108</sup>

Like Muldrew, Shepard emphasises the importance of honesty in male reputation. Men often sought to defend themselves against accusations of false dealing and untrustworthiness.<sup>109</sup> However, despite going into greater detail than Muldrew, Shepard does not mention the sort of habitual occupational dishonesty apparently practised by millers, tailors, and weavers.

Instead, Shepard's research may suggest an implicit link between the reputation of millers and tailors for dishonesty and their reputation for other unmanly behaviour. For example, Shepard notes that 'men with hot complexions also risked being 'greatly given to lechery and whore-hunting, and thrall to all other pleasures of the body'. They were also prone to dishonesty and riotous living [...]'.<sup>110</sup> This could explain why millers appear to have had a reputation for both occupational dishonesty and super-sexuality. Similarly, tailors' martial and sexual inferiority may be linked to their poverty and occupational dishonesty.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 1-17.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 246-53.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 167, 175-76, 182, 184.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 188-194.

## Contribution

This thesis makes the following contributions to the historiography discussed above. Like Reay, this thesis deploys popular as a synonym of widespread or common and not a socio-economic position, while, like Fox, it argues that cultural phenomena move fluidly across and between different modes of communication. It therefore argues that the popularity of cultural phenomena should not be determined by source type but by the extent to which they can be shown to resonant within and across different types of source. Such analysis provides a means to assess the extent to which certain cultural phenomena were popular, widespread, or common and has the potential to suggest the porousness of various media.

Furthermore, following Jenkins, this thesis argues that occupational identity is the result of the interplay between internal, group identification and external, social categorisation. It therefore seeks to add an analysis of the representation and consequently social categorisation of millers, tailors, and weavers to Hailwood's investigation of the representation of tradesmen. Such examination of popular perception needs to be added to existing, highly focused and innovative studies of group identification such as those produced by Wood, Walter, and Shepard. Only by combining and contrasting the way in which early modern people understood and articulated their own occupational identity with the way in which various occupations were understood and represented in wider culture can we hope to grasp the full extent and significance of occupational identity.

This thesis adds more evidence to the concept of male social reputation expounded by Muldrew and Shepard. It details a form of dishonesty and false dealing not explicitly mentioned in their work and suggests further evidence of the link between one form of un-masculine behaviour and others.

In addition to its historiographical contribution, this thesis describes and demonstrates a new methodological approach. As explained above, it utilises a method for assessing the resonances of cultural phenomena derived from the ideas outlined by Wahrman. By collating the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in samples of proverbs, jests, and ballads and identifying consistent themes within them, this thesis is able to demonstrate the significances of miller, tailor, and weaver stereotypes within representations of

those trades and the resonance of those stereotypes within and across different cultural media. The method this thesis employs is therefore more systematic and transparent than those used in cultural histories that rely on the acclamation of examples and its conclusions are more robust. This thesis is not just asking a new question, it is asking a new question in a new way.

## Overview

This thesis consists of three body chapters, a conclusion, and an afterword. The body chapters assess the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in three different source types and identify resonant stereotypes, while the afterword offers a preliminary exploration of whether or not these stereotypes appear among the records of defamation and abusive language in four different courts.

Each of the three body chapters in the first part are divided into three parts. The first part assesses the existing scholarship of the source type and identifies relevant themes within it. The second outlines and analyses the distribution of occupational descriptors in the source and sets the distribution of millers, tailors, and weavers in context. The third describes and examines the representations of the three trades in that source type and differentiates resonant stereotypes.

Chapter 2 examines the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in early modern English proverbs. It begins by assessing the historiography and examining the most prominent modern dictionaries and the most influential early modern collections. It describes how these compilations were used to construct a dataset of resonant early modern proverbs. It then analyses the range and distribution of occupational descriptors within that dataset, and describes and assesses themes within the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers. Chapter 3 looks at jestbooks. It also begins by surveying the existing historiography. It then describes the four printed jestbooks that were examined and why they were selected. It describes and analyses the distribution of occupational descriptors in those jestbooks and assesses representations of millers, tailors, and weavers within them. It then describes and analyses the range and distribution of occupational descriptors and the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers within a well-known manuscript jestbook, before

discussing the differences between printed and manuscript jestbooks. Chapter 4 addresses ballads. It begins by describing the ballad form, Samuel Pepys, and the Pepys collection. It then assesses the historiography. It analyses the distribution of occupational descriptors in ballads, the extent to which millers, tailors, and weaver are associated in ballads, and themes in the representation of millers, tailors, and weavers.

The main body of the thesis concludes with Chapter 5. This chapter discusses the most striking elements of the miller, tailor, and weaver stereotypes outlined in the previous chapters. It also considers how these stereotypes affect current understandings of early modern occupational identity. It then examines the usefulness of proverbs, jests, and ballads as sources in investigations of occupational identity and assesses the effectiveness of the Wahrman-inspired method.

Chapter 6 is an afterword, which looks at how millers, tailors, and weavers were discussed in early modern court records. It begins by surveying the historiography. It then addresses how defamation and abusive language were understood in contemporary law. It describes which court records were used and why they were selected. It discusses appearances of millers, tailors, and weavers in those records and assesses possible evidence of the stereotypes established in the previous chapters. It then examines the significance of milling, tailoring, and weaving in defamatory accusations and compares the treatment of occupational groupings with that of other social groupings. It describes and analyses the language of male abuse and defamation. It then identifies differences between the four courts and introduces relevant examples that did not appear in the sample.





# Chapter 2: Proverbs

## Introduction

It is often observed that proverbs express the social and cultural attitudes and ideas of the societies that create and use them.<sup>112</sup> Therefore, any investigation of early modern stereotypes would be wise to examine the proverbs in use in that period for evidence of the characteristics, traits, and behaviours associated with groups and individuals. Consequently, this chapter investigates the stereotypes associated with millers, tailors, and weavers in early modern proverbs. First, it surveys literature focusing on the proverbial form in the early modern period and scholarship that uses proverbs in investigations of representation and identity. Second, it reviews modern proverb dictionaries that either focus on the early modern period specifically or provide a significant number of historical examples from that era. Based on this review, it argues that these dictionaries do not present an accurate picture of the proverbs in use from the early sixteenth to the early eighteenth century. Third, it examines a sample of early modern proverb collections and argues that they cannot be used in isolation or without reference to wider print culture. Fourth, it suggests a method for identifying resonant early modern proverbs and uses this method to identify a set of occupational proverbs within the sample of early modern collections. It then analyses these occupational proverbs, highlighting the significance of those that refer to millers, tailors, and weavers. Finally, it looks more closely at these miller, tailor, and weaver proverbs. It analyses their broader resonance within early modern proverb collections and print culture in general, their various meanings, and their significance to the study of the occupational identity of these three trades.

## Historiography

Proverbs have attracted significant attention from several academic disciplines. However, despite widespread agreement that they express common historical

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<sup>112</sup> Fox, p. 141.

attitudes and ideas, they have been relatively underutilised by historians.<sup>113</sup> In comparison to the already broad and still growing literature associated with early modern ballads, there is little scholarship focusing specifically on the proverbial form in early modern England or using proverbs as evidence of contemporary attitudes or stereotypes.<sup>114</sup>

The fecundity of academic writing on proverbs among other disciplines is demonstrated, in part, by the three supplements published by the renowned folklorist, Wolfgang Mieder, since his *International Proverb Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography* first appeared in print in 1982.<sup>115</sup> This writing comes from a diverse range of fields. Folklorists, like Mieder, have sought to collect and disseminate folk wisdom. Linguists have shown interest in defining the proverbial form. Ethnographers have used proverbs to access and preserve foreign cultures. Cognitive psychologists have studied the social and developmental role of proverbs, and literary scholars have identified and analysed proverbs in the works of various writers, literary styles, or periods.<sup>116</sup>

In comparison, scholarship specifically focusing on early modern proverbs is limited. The majority of writing that does exist is concerned with the identification and analysis of the use of proverbs in the work of specific authors.<sup>117</sup> Unsurprisingly, given his continued importance to early modern literary scholarship, there are several works dealing with the proverbs found in Shakespeare.<sup>118</sup> There are also several addressing their role in the work of

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<sup>113</sup> J. Obelkevich, 'Proverbs and Social History', in *The Social History of Language*, ed. by P. Burke and R. Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 43-72 (pp. 43-44).

<sup>114</sup> For the historiography of early modern ballads, see chapter three.

<sup>115</sup> W. Mieder, *International Proverb Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1982); W. Mieder, *International Proverb Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography: Supplement I (1800-1981)* (New York: Garland, 1990); W. Mieder, *International Proverb Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography: Supplement II (1982-1991)* (New York: Garland, 1993); W. Mieder, *International Proverb Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography: Supplement III (1990-2000)* (New York: Lang, 2001).

<sup>116</sup> See, for example: F. Sheen, 'CogWeb Proverb Bibliography', <<http://cogweb.ucla.edu/Discourse/Proverbs/Bibliography.html>> [Accessed 19 June 2014].

<sup>117</sup> C.G. Smith, *Spenser's Proverb Lore* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970); M. Eccles, 'Words and Proverbs from Thomas Whythorne', *Notes & Queries*, 21:11 (1974), 405-7; R.D. Dunn, 'English Proverbs from William Camden's 'Remains Concerning Britain'', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 49:3 (1986), 271-75; O.R. Reuter, *Proverbs, Proverbial Sentences and Phrases in Thomas Deloney's Works* (Helsinki: Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1986).

<sup>118</sup> M.P. Tilley, *Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's 'Euphues' and in Pettie's 'Petite Pallace' with Parallels from Shakespeare* (New York: Macmillan, 1926); C.G. Smith, *Shakespeare's Proverb Lore; his Use of the Sententiae of Leonard Culman and Publilius Syrus* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); L.S. Champion, 'A Springe to Catch Woodcocks': Proverbs, Characterization, and Political Ideology in Hamlet', *Hamlet Studies* (New Delhi), 15:1-2 (1993), 24-39; N. Rhodes, 'Shakespeare's Sayings', in Shakespeare and *Elizabethan Popular Culture*, ed. by S. Gillespie and N. Rhodes (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), pp. 155-73.

Thomas Wyatt, due to the interesting and unusual way that he used them.<sup>119</sup> There are also a small number of works addressing the relationship between proverbs and other literary forms. Paula Neuss has written on the ‘proverb play’ and argued that it represents a specifically early modern development of the medieval morality play.<sup>120</sup> Lawrence Manley has investigated the epigram and argued that it represents a specifically London-based, literary, and urbane version of the proverbial form,<sup>121</sup> while J.P. Considine has addressed the larger constellation of wisdom literature – a nebulous form inspired by classical and biblical writing – and argues that proverbs should be considered a sub-genre of it.<sup>122</sup> Fox’s writing on proverbs and proverbial wisdom in *Oral And Literate Culture In England, 1500-1700* (2001) is the most recent and sustained attempt by a historian to engage with the form. Fox argues that proverbs were emblematic of nascent print culture in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, neatly encapsulating the fluid and fuzzy boundary between oral and textual modes, and central to the style and aims of Renaissance humanism.<sup>123</sup> These isolated examples represent the sum total of historical and literary writing specifically and explicitly addressing early modern proverbs.

Similarly, social and or cultural histories using proverbs as evidence are rare. Though historians of gender have occasionally used proverbs as evidence of early modern gender stereotypes and relations, the form has largely been neglected in favour of dramatic representations, conduct literature, and ballads. Though both Anthony Fletcher and James Sharpe have used proverbs as evidence of the characteristics, traits, and behaviours stereotypically associated with women in early modern England and, consequently, attitudes towards women in the period, their example has not been followed by subsequent historians of gender.<sup>124</sup> Similarly, despite proverbs’ apparent usefulness to investigations of all forms of early modern identity, early work such as Bond’s

<sup>119</sup> D.M. Ross, ‘Sir Thomas Wyatt: Proverbs and the Poetics of Scorn’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 18:2 (1987), 201-12; E. Heale, ‘“An Owl in a Sack Troubles No Man”: Proverbs, Plainness, and Wyatt’, *Renaissance Studies*, 11:4 (1997), 420-33.

<sup>120</sup> P. Neuss, ‘The Sixteenth-Century English ‘Proverb’ Play’, *Comparative Drama*, 18:1 (1984), 1-18.

<sup>121</sup> L. Manley, ‘Proverbs, Epigrams, and Urbanity in Renaissance London’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 15:3 (1985), 247-76.

<sup>122</sup> J.P. Considine, ‘Wisdom-literature in Early Modern England’, *Renaissance Studies*, 13:3 (1999), 325-42.

<sup>123</sup> Fox.

<sup>124</sup> A. Fletcher, ‘Men’s Dilemma: The Future of Patriarchy in England 1560–1660’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 4 (1994), pp. 61-81 (pp. 67-68, 75, 80); J. Sharpe, ‘Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence from Popular Literature’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 36 (1986), pp. 69–90 (pp. 71-72, 73, 74, 85).

examination of the representation of lawyers in English proverbs have not been replicated.<sup>125</sup> As an example of the form's underuse, there are only three references to proverbs in the essays included in French and Jonathon Barry's *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800* (2004). Judith Spicksley notes that despite the existence of several early modern proverbs against lending and borrowing, there were a few that recognised that involvement in credit relations went hand-in-hand with involvement in community life, while Muldrew reproduces proverbs quoted by John Cannon against wealth derived from dishonesty and in favour of honest accumulation.<sup>126</sup>

The reasons for this relative neglect are not entirely clear. In 'Proverbs and Social History' (1987), James Obelkevich suggests that historians are guilty of intellectual snobbery.<sup>127</sup> Though this may be true in some cases, many more are put off by issues of origin, relevance, and popularity. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether a proverb emerged from the native tradition or was imported from ancient or biblical sources, or from other countries. This has led to anxiety about their relevance to the study of specific periods or locations: if an ancient Latin proverb expresses Roman attitudes and behaviours, what can it tell us about early modern English society and culture? Similarly, proverbs suffer from the same problems that affect any form of ostensibly 'popular' early modern print: if proverbs only survive in an elite format, produced and consumed by the educated, wealthy, and powerful, can they be considered popular and how can their popularity be established? Finally, it is possible that proverbs have been dismissed because of their seemingly trite, homespun, and folksy wisdom and appeal marks them as beneath the attention of serious scholars.

Issues of pedigree, contemporary significance, and commonality are indeed thorny, however instead of rendering proverbs off-limits, they emphasise the importance of establishing their resonance. No matter the place, period, or culture in which a proverb was first codified, if it can be demonstrated that it was commonly used in early modern England, it suggests that at least a proportion of society felt that it had some contemporary relevance. Furthermore, though it

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<sup>125</sup> Bond, 'The Law and Lawyers in English Proverbs'.

<sup>126</sup> J. Spicksley, 'A Dynamic Model of Social Relations: Celibacy, Credit and the Identity of the 'Spinster' in Seventeenth-century England', in *Identity and Agency in England*, ed. by French and Barry, pp. 106-46 (pp. 122, 143); Muldrew, 'Class and Credit', in *Identity and Agency in England*, ed. by French and Barry, pp. 161, 164.

<sup>127</sup> Obelkevich, p. 43.

is impossible to assess the resonance of proverbs within early modern oral culture, or within the totality of sixteenth- and seventeenth- century print, the store of existing scholarship and recent technological innovations make it possible to move towards assessing the resonance of proverbs within extant print culture. With these considerations in mind, the middle section of this chapter investigates the usefulness of modern proverb dictionaries and early modern proverb collections for assessing the popularity and therefore the relevance of early modern proverbs to studying occupational identity.

## Modern proverb dictionaries

There are five modern proverb collections that are essential for the research of early modern proverbs: M.P. Tilley's *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1950), F.P. Wilson's edition of the *ODEP* (1970), B.J. and H.W. Whiting's *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings mainly before 1500* (1968), and R.W. Dent's two indexes: *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language* (1981) and *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495-1616* (1984).<sup>128</sup>

*Tilley* contains 11,776 proverbs found in literature produced between 1500 and 1700 and superseded earlier scholarly dictionaries, such as those compiled by George Apperson and Burton Stevenson.<sup>129</sup> It combines Tilley's earlier work on proverbs in John Lyly's *Euphues* and Pettie's *Petite Pallace* with proverbial material that he had collected for the Early Modern English Dictionary and *New English Dictionary*.<sup>130</sup> It is still highly regarded for the depth and clarity of its scholarship and subsequent dictionaries acknowledge their debt and often include its proverb reference codes.<sup>131</sup> However, there have been several

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<sup>128</sup> *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by M.P. Tilley (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), hereafter *Tilley*; *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings mainly before 1500*, ed. by B.J. Whiting with H.W. Whiting (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), hereafter *Whittings*; *ODEP*, 3rd edn, ed. by F.P. Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), hereafter *ODEP*; *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index*, ed. by R.W. Dent (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), hereafter *Shakespeare*; and, *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495-1616: An Index*, ed. by R.W. Dent (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), hereafter *English Drama*.

<sup>129</sup> *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases: A Historical Dictionary*, ed. by G.L. Apperson (London: Dent and Sons, 1929); *Stevenson's Book of Proverbs, Maxims, and Familiar Phrases*, ed. by B. Stevenson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949).

<sup>130</sup> *Tilley*, p. v; Tilley, *Elizabethan Proverb Lore*.

<sup>131</sup> *ODEP*, *Shakespeare*, and *English Drama* use Tilley's codes, while *Whittings* does not. F.P. Wilson, the Whittings, and Dent acknowledge their debt to Tilley, even if they are critical of him.

attempts to supplement and or correct *Tilley* since its initial publication. *Whitings* does not directly challenge *Tilley* but supplements it by focusing on texts written before 1500. However, it also includes examples from significant works of the early sixteenth century.<sup>132</sup> The third edition of the *ODEP* augments *Tilley* by combining it with the second edition of *ODEP* and the original research of its editor, Wilson.<sup>133</sup> Dent's two indexes amend and add to *Tilley*. In *Shakespeare*, Dent claims that despite their modifications and enhancements, *Whitings* and *ODEP*, are ignored by Shakespearean scholars who still rely on *Tilley*, while in *English Drama* he uses *Tilley*, *Whitings*, and *ODEP* as a first draft to be tested, revised, and improved.<sup>134</sup> These five collections contain a huge amount of scholarship and they are still immensely useful resources for the research of early modern proverbs, however there are significant problems with using them uncritically as evidence of the proverbs in circulation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The dictionaries produced since *Tilley* have gone some way towards addressing its issues; however, the problems with using modern dictionaries to research early modern proverbs are not limited to *Tilley* alone.

## Problems with Modern Proverb Dictionaries

There are two major and interrelated problems with modern proverb dictionaries: first, the identification and selection of proverbs, and second, the identification and selection of examples of the use of those proverbs. *Tilley* states three criteria for identifying early modern proverbs: first, indication within a text, i.e. those phrases which are preceded by textual indicators such as 'the prouerb goeth [...]' or 'as men say [...]'; second, inclusion in a collection; and, third, 'pithy expression of old truths or of accepted facts, the observations of generations, warnings, admonitions, guides to conduct, [and] accumulated wisdom'.<sup>135</sup> Though these criteria are used by subsequent modern dictionaries, they are also criticised. Despite relying on in-text indication himself, Whiting concedes that these authorial assertions cannot always be trusted, while Dent questions this criterion suggesting that in-text indications may be mocking or

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See, for example, *ODEP*, p. x; *Whitings*, pp. xiv-xvi, xx; *Shakespeare*, pp. xi-xxviii; *English Drama*, pp. 11, 20.

<sup>132</sup> B.J. Whiting and H.W. Whiting, 'Introduction', in *Whitings*, pp. ix-xx (p. ix).

<sup>133</sup> J. Wilson, 'Introduction', in *ODEP*, pp. vii-x (p. x).

<sup>134</sup> *Shakespeare*, p. xi; *English Drama*, p. 11.

<sup>135</sup> M.P. Tilley and H.T. Price, 'Forward', in *Tilley*, pp. v-vi.

erroneous.<sup>136</sup> Whiting is also anxious about the second criterion: reliance on early modern collections. He argues that they include a range of literary forms in addition to proverbs and that their compilers reproduce previous collections without thinking, producing 'dictionary proverbs' that may only exist in those collections and or may no longer be in common use.<sup>137</sup> Finally, Dent is most critical of Tilley's third criterion, arguing that it allows the inclusion of recurring ideas or images which do not appear to have found a proverbial form.<sup>138</sup> Furthermore, Dent argues that Tilley is not consistent, leaving out as many reoccurring ideas or images as he includes.<sup>139</sup>

As Dent suggests, this last criterion is the most troubling. Tilley admits that if 'no common form was apparent' he created the entry form himself.<sup>140</sup> In most cases this meant that Tilley choose one variation of a proverb over others or standardised several similar phrases, however at its most extreme it means that Tilley invented proverbs so that he could group examples expressing similar ideas, despite there being no evidence that the ideas had ever been codified into a proverb. Tilley admits that the examples listed under each entry form do not always reproduce the proverb, but commonly allude, twist, or invert it.<sup>141</sup> However, there is, of course, some difficulty in distinguishing between allusion to or inversion of an existing proverb and the expression of an apparently proverbial idea which has not, itself, been codified into a proverb. This distinction can be further obscured by sophisticated authors, such as Shakespeare, whom Tilley praises for his ability to distort, expand, and fragment proverbs.<sup>142</sup>

These problems can be illustrated, with reference to occupational stereotypes, by examining the examples used to support the existence of one early modern 'proverb' in some detail. Tilley includes the proverb *The miller is a thief* and provides four examples to support its existence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, though most of these examples suggest that millers were commonly associated with theft during the early modern period,

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<sup>136</sup> B.J. Whiting and H.W. Whiting, 'Introduction', in *Whitings*, p. xi; Dent, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare*, pp. xi-xxviii (pp. xiii-xiv).

<sup>137</sup> B.J. Whiting and H.W. Whiting, 'Introduction', in *Whitings*, pp. x-xi, xii-xiii.

<sup>138</sup> Dent, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare*, pp. xv-xvi.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xvii.

<sup>140</sup> M.P. Tilley, 'Note on Form and Arrangement', in *Tilley*, pp. xi-xiii (p. xi).

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>142</sup> Tilley and Price, 'Forward', in *Tilley*, p. vii.

none of them include the proverbial phrase in question or provide any evidence that such a proverb existed.

Tilley's first example is John Heywood's *The Play of the Weather* (1533). The play depicts Jupiter descending to England to question its citizens on their preferred climate. Various social types petition the god to grant weather that will best serve their interests. Two millers make appeals. The first, a water-miller, requests more rain to better turn his mill; the second, a wind-miller, asks for less rain and more wind to drive his. The wind miller claims that the lack of wind is forcing his fellow millers into desperation, claiming that 'sins our myllys be come to styll standynge / Now maye we wynd myllers go euyne to hangynge'. Furthermore, this desperation has led to criminality. The problem is so ubiquitous that he 'who wolde be a myller as good be a thefe'.<sup>143</sup> It is this phrase that Tilley includes as evidence of the proverb. However, there is no textual indication that the wind miller's assertion is proverbial, nor is the phrase a particularly close variation of *The miller is a thief*. Furthermore, though it may allude to a common association of millers with thievery, it does not do so explicitly. In context, the phrase refers to a specific situation: the lack of wind is forcing wind-millers to steal to survive. It is not, in isolation, a comment on the character of millers in general.

The second example comes from David Lindsay's morality drama *A Satire of the Three Estates*, which was first staged in the summer of 1552 and appeared in print in 1602. At the very end of the play, the three vices – Deceit, Falsehood, and Flattery – are about to be hanged. In his gallows speech, Falsehood argues that he is needed by his 'gude maisters ye crafts men' who would starve without him. He challenges those who have sentenced him to find 'ane Wobster that is leill [loyal]', any 'Walker [fuller] that will nocht steill', 'Or ane Millair, that is na falt [false], / That will nather steill meall nor malt'. Falsehood goes on to suggest that if such honest craftsmen can be found, they must be 'Hauld' as 'halie [holy] men'. In addition, Falsehood cites fleshers, tailors, wrights, masons, blacksmiths, saddlers, and cordiners [cordwainers] among his disciples.<sup>144</sup> Unlike the first example, the second does provide clear evidence that millers were commonly associated with thievery. However, again, there is no indication of, or allusion to, the proverb in question. Furthermore,

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<sup>143</sup> J. Heywood, *The Play of the Weather*, sig. B<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>144</sup> Lindsay, sigs. S<sup>3</sup>v-S<sup>4</sup>r.



Falsehood's list aims at exhaustion, and emphasises the universality of dishonesty, as opposed to singling out a specific trade or group of trades as particularly untrustworthy. The example could just have easily been used as evidence of the idea that weavers, masons, or blacksmiths were commonly considered to be thieves.

The third example comes from *The Life of Long Meg of Westminster* (1635). In one of the jests describing the heroine's exploits, Meg encounters the 'angry miller of Epping'. In this episode, Meg and a group of female neighbours pass Epping Mill on their way to Essex. A young boy, the only male in their company, spies the miller leaning out of one of the mill's windows and decides to make fun of him. The boy calls on the miller to 'put out, out out', and when the miller enquires what he should 'put out', the boy asks for 'a theeues head, and a theeues paire of eares'. At this, the miller flies into a 'great rage' and sprints down from the mill to attack the boy. The tale suggests that accusations of theft were aimed at millers and received with anger, but again, there is no indication of proverbiality or any apparent allusion to Tilley's proverb.<sup>145</sup>

Tilley's fourth and final example comes from John Wade's compilation of seven comical lectures, *Vinegar and Mustard* (1673). The penultimate lecture is delivered by a water miller's wife who believes her husband has been unfaithful. In the British Library copy of the 1673 William Whitwood printing, she begins her accusations by exclaiming 'Marry a Miller, marry a thief, but it is too / late to repent now, the more is my grief'.<sup>146</sup> However, in the reproduction included in Charles Hindley's *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany* (1871-73), which Tilley cites, the miller's wife's lecture begins: 'Many a miller, many a thief [...]'.<sup>147</sup> Either way, though her exclamation explicitly equates millers with thieves, she does not do so in the way codified by Tilley. In fact, both the British Library copy and the nineteenth-century reproduction do make reference to a proverb concerning millers, when the miller's wife claims that she finds 'the Old Proverb true, That much water runs by the Mill that the Millers Wife never knows on'.<sup>148</sup> This raises the question of why Wade would highlight one miller proverb and not another.

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<sup>145</sup> *The Life of Long Meg of Westminster*, sigs. D<sup>4</sup>r-D<sup>4</sup>v

<sup>146</sup> Wade, *Vinegar and Mustard*, sig. B<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>147</sup> Wade, 'Vinegar and Mustard', in *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, 4 vols, ed. by C. Hindley (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871-73), III, pp. 1-25 (p. 19).

<sup>148</sup> Wade, *Vinegar and Mustard*, sig. B<sup>2</sup>v; Wade, 'Vinegar and Mustard', in *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, ed. by Hindley, p. 20.

None of the four examples Tilley provides presents positive evidence for the existence of Tilley's proverb *The miller is a thief*. They do not contain or allude to the entry form or close variations of it. Furthermore, only three of these four examples clearly attest to the common association of millers with theft. Tilley may have found three expressions of a common idea, but he certainly did not find any evidence of the existence of a proverb. This may seem like a trivial distinction, but Tilley's non-proverb has become part of the accepted early modern proverbial canon.

*Whitings* also includes *A miller is a thief*. The entry notes that the proverb exists in varied forms and provides seven examples: two from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (c. 1387-95), and one each from William Caxton's *Dialogues in French and English* (c. 1483), *Cock Lorell's Boat* (c. 1500), Alexander Barclay's translation of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1509), known as *The Ship of Fools*, John Burchier, second Baron Berners' translation of Antonio Guevara's *Libro llamado Relox de principes* (1532), known as *The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius*, and, like *Tilley*, John Heywood's *Play for the Weather* (1533).<sup>149</sup> It also provides references to entries for the proverb in other dictionaries, including *Tilley*. Like *Tilley*'s examples, the *Whitings*' associate a specific miller or millers in general with theft, however none of them provide positive evidence of the existence of the proverb or a variation of it.

The proverb appears in *ODEP* as *Many a miller, many a thief*. Despite the different entry form, the proverb is firmly linked to *Tilley*'s by the inclusion of his proverb code. Unlike *Tilley* and *Whitings*, *ODEP* only provides three examples as support. Two of these appear in *Tilley*: *ODEP*'s first example is *Play of the Wether* (1533) and its third is Wade's *Vinegar and Mustard* (1673). Like *Tilley*, *ODEP* cites the nineteenth-century reproduction of Wade's lectures instead of the 1673 original. This mistake is even more galling as *Vinegar and Mustard* now provides the entry form of the supposed proverb. To the two examples culled from *Tilley*, *ODEP* adds, as its second, Thomas Heywood & Richard Brome's *Late Lancashire Witches* (1634). The play concerns Generous, a well-intentioned gentleman, whose wife leads the eponymous coven. Mistress Generous and her fellow witches have been meeting in a mill

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<sup>149</sup> *Whitings*, p. 404, M560G; Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (1477); *Dialogues in French and English*, ed. by W. Caxton (London, 1480; ESTC S109594); *Cock Lorell's Boat* (London, 1518; ESTC S109064); S. Brant, *Narrenschiff*, trans. by A. Barclay (London, 1509; ESTC S106627); A. Guevara *Libro llamado Relox de principes*, trans. by J. Burchier, second Baron Berners (London, 1532; ESTC S92770); J. Heywood, *The Play of the Weather*.

her husband owns, disguised as cats, and have been plaguing the miller who rents it. The miller seeks out Generous to end his tenancy, and claims that he cannot 'indure such another night' even if Generous offered to give him the mill for nothing. He continues that though 'they say we Millers are theeves' he could not 'steale one piece of a nap all the night long' amongst these monstrous cats.<sup>150</sup> By explicitly referring to the common association of millers with thievery and making a joke out of it, this example provides the strongest evidence of the popularity of the idea. However, like the other examples cited in *Tilley* and *ODEP*, it does not provide any evidence of the existence of a proverb.

Finally, though the proverb does not appear in *Shakespeare*, it is included in *English Drama*. Like the Whitings', Dent's entry admits that the form is varied. He includes both Tilley's and the Whitings' reference codes and provides two examples: *Play for the Whether* (1533) and Middleton's *Widow* (1652).<sup>151</sup> Again, though the Middleton example does associate millers with theft, it does not provide positive evidence for the existence of the proverb *The miller is a thief*.

Four of the five modern proverb dictionaries contain entries for *The miller is a thief*. Between them, these four dictionaries provide twelve examples of this proverb from the early fourteenth century to the late seventeenth. However, though most of these examples provide evidence of the common association of millers with thievery, none of them provide positive evidence of the existence of a proverb. This examination of the evidence used by modern proverb dictionaries highlights the danger of relying on them when investigating early modern proverbs. Just because a proverb is included in multiple modern dictionaries and supported by numerous examples does not necessarily mean there is any evidence that such a proverb existed and was in use in early modern England. Despite their cogent criticism of Tilley, subsequent proverb dictionary editors are not only willing to reproduce his mistakes, but to expand upon them.

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<sup>150</sup> T. Heywood and Brome, *The Late Lancashire Witches*, sig. D<sup>3</sup>v.

<sup>151</sup> *English Drama*, p. 525, M955.

## Early Modern Proverb Collections

If modern dictionaries are unreliable sources for nuanced historical studies, it is perhaps more appropriate to consider early modern collections instead. A large number of printed proverb collections were produced between the introduction of printing in England in the late fifteenth century and the end of the English golden age of proverbs in the early eighteenth. However, due to considerations of time and space, this chapter looks at five of the most influential and important collections: John Heywood's *A Dialogue Containing the Number in Effect of all the Proverbs in the English Tongue* (1546), James Howell's *Paroimiographia* (1659), the first and second editions of the John Ray's *A Collection Of English Proverbs* (1670 and 1678), and Thomas Fuller's *Gnomologia* (1732).<sup>152</sup>

*Heywood* was not the first collection of proverbs to be printed in English, it marks the point at which English proverbs came into fashion and was a significant influence on those that followed it.<sup>153</sup> It was reprinted in 1549, 1556, and 1561, and included as the first item in John Heywood's collected works, known as *Proverbs and Epigrams* (1562), which was itself reprinted in 1566, 1576, 1587, and 1598.<sup>154</sup> John Heywood attempted, at least ostensibly, to incorporate all English proverbs into a narrative poem and Fox estimates that it contains 'some 1267 proverbs, proverbial phrases, and epithets'.<sup>155</sup> In the poem, a young man asks for advice about marriage from an older narrator, as he cannot decide if it is better to marry a young beautiful maiden or an older wealthier widow. The older narrator suggests they consult the store of proverbial wisdom. First, he relates proverbs against haste, then proverbs in favour. He offers the younger man proverbs expressing the advantages of marrying a young woman, then proverbs articulating the advantages of choosing an older wife. As these sets of proverbs cancel each other out, the

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<sup>152</sup> J. Heywood, *A Dialogue Containing the Number in Effect of all the Proverbs in the English Tongue* (London, 1546; ESTC S106104), hereafter *Heywood*; J. Howell, *Paroimiographia* (London, 1659; ESTC R5378), hereafter *Howell*; J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (Cambridge, 1670; ESTC R13689), hereafter *Ray 1*; J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Cambridge, 1678; ESTC R14323), hereafter *Ray 2*; T. Fuller, *Gnomologia* (London, 1732; ESTC T138936), hereafter *Fuller*.

<sup>153</sup> *Dictates and Sayings of the Philosophers*, trans. by A. Woodville, Earl Rivers, ed. by W. Caxton (Westminster, 1477; ESTC S106458) is generally considered to be the first printed collection of proverbs in English. See Fox, p. 121.

<sup>154</sup> J. Heywood, *Proverbs and Epigrams* (London, 1562; ESTC S104030), sigs. A<sup>1</sup>r-L<sup>3</sup>r; R.C. Johnson, *John Heywood* (New York: Twayne, 1970), p. 36; P. Happé, 'Heywood, John (b. 1496/7, d. in or after 1578)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2008) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13183>> [Accessed 15 August 2014].

<sup>155</sup> Fox, p. 121.

older narrator presents two case studies. The first centres on a couple who married for love without money, while the second focuses on a couple who married for money without love. The inner stories become entwined and the characters in the framing narrative respond to and comment on them. In the end, the young supplicant is dissuaded from marrying either woman.

*Howell* was first published in 1659 and was included in his multilingual dictionary, *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, a year later.<sup>156</sup> It is divided into six separate collections: English, French, Italian, Spanish (including Castilian, Catalan, Galician, and Portuguese), British (i.e. old Cambrian or Welsh) proverbs, and five centuries of new sayings which Howell suggests may, in time, become proverbs themselves. There is also a significant amount of introductory and dedicatory material praising proverbs and justifying Howell's endeavour before the collections begin. This preliminary material includes a dedication to Montague Bertie, second earl of Lindsey; an essay on the evolution of the English, French, Italian, and Spanish languages and the relationships between them; a description of the composition of the book and his reason for writing it; a second essay further defending his project and citing historical antecedents,<sup>157</sup> an encouragement to its readers to take notes and copy out their favourite sayings;<sup>158</sup> and a letter giving advice about marriage, consisting of a series of more or less relevant proverbs, which clearly demonstrates Howell's debt to John Heywood.<sup>159</sup>

Howell's collection of English proverbs begins with a general list of some 1637 unordered proverbs.<sup>160</sup> This list is followed by a catalogue of similarly unordered 'Proverbs used at Dice, very frequent among the Western Inn-keepers', a series of 'Topicall and Temporall Proverbs, Relating To particular Places, Seasons, and Persons', and a section dedicated to 'Some Of Old John Heiwoods Rhimes'.<sup>161</sup> Finally, the collection of English proverbs ends with a selection of notable English proverbs translated into French, Italian, and Spanish.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> J. Howell, 'Paroimiographia', in *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, ed. by J. Howell (London, 1660; ESTC R221326), sigs. a<sup>2</sup>r-(d)r.

<sup>157</sup> *Howell*, sigs. [fleur-de-lis]<sup>2</sup>r- 2[fleur-de-lis]<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. (\*)<sup>3</sup>r-(\*)<sup>4</sup>r.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. (\*)<sup>4</sup>v-(\*)<sup>5</sup>v.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. b<sup>1</sup>r-d<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. d<sup>2</sup>r-d<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. [a]<sup>1</sup>r-[b]<sup>3</sup>v. Square brackets present.

The collections of French, Italian, Iberian, and old British proverbs follow a similar format. Each of them begins with a letter of proverbs, dedicated to a member of Bertie's extended family or a former royalist army officer. The French letter concerns travel and is addressed to Robert Bertie, first earl of Lindsay, Lord Willoughby from 1601, (1582–1642), Montague Bertie's father and a naval and royalist army officer who had toured France in the late 1590s.<sup>163</sup> The collection of Italian proverbs begins with a letter of advice about crossing the Alps, addressed to William Paston, 1st Baronet, (c. 1610-1663), brother-in-law of Montague Bertie.<sup>164</sup> The Iberian collection begins with a letter of advice about maintaining good health, addressed to Sir Lewis Dyves, (1559-1669), a royalist army officer who had learned Spanish whilst staying at the English embassy in Madrid with his stepfather, John Digby, first earl of Bristol (1580–1653), resident ambassador 1610-18 and 1622-24.<sup>165</sup> Dyves and Howell may have meet while Howell was in Madrid for the negotiations of the Spanish match, 1623-24.<sup>166</sup> The British or Cambrian collection begins with a dedication to Richard Vaughan, second earl of Carbery (1600?–1686), a royalist army officer.<sup>167</sup>

The unordered proverbs are then divided into themed sections with a final section explaining some of the more obscure or notable examples. The French proverbs are divided into seven sections: moral, health and diet, pleasant, peculiar, temporal, other peculiar, and explanations.<sup>168</sup> The Italian proverbs are divided into 4: moral, temporal, and health and diet, and explanations.<sup>169</sup> The Iberian proverbs are then divided into eleven sections: moral, satirical, ironic, merry, temporal, health and diet, topical, Portuguese,

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<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. (A<sup>2</sup>)r-(A<sup>4</sup>)v; A. Thrush, 'Bertie, Robert, first earl of Lindsey (1582–1642)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn Oct 2007) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2277>> [Accessed 15 August 2014].

<sup>164</sup> *Howell*, sigs. \*A<sup>2</sup>r-\*A<sup>4</sup>v; J. Miller, 'Paston, Robert, first earl of Yarmouth (1631–1683)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn Jan 2008) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21513>> [Accessed 15 August 2014].

<sup>165</sup> *Howell*, sigs. A<sup>3</sup>r-A<sup>4</sup>v; I. Roy, 'Dyve, Sir Lewis (1599–1669)', , *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn Jan 2008) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8373>> [Accessed 15 August 2014]; D.L. Smith, 'Digby, John, first earl of Bristol (1580–1653)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn May 2015) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7628>> [Accessed 15 August 2014].

<sup>166</sup> Happé.

<sup>167</sup> *Howell*, sigs. †A<sup>2</sup>r-†A<sup>4</sup>v; R. Hutton, 'Vaughan, Richard, second earl of Carbery (1600?–1686)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn Jan 2008) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28140>> [Accessed 15 August 2014].

<sup>168</sup> *Howell*, sigs. (B<sup>1</sup>)r-(E<sup>2</sup>)v.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. \*B<sup>1</sup>r-\*D<sup>3</sup>r.

Galician, Catalanian, and explanations.<sup>170</sup> The Cambrian proverbs are divided into eight sections: previously untranslated and unpublished, 'Philosophicall Extracts', 'Other sayings', 'More of the Like', 'The Romans Odiums', 'Unseemly things', 'Wise Odiums', and 'Additionall Proverbs'.<sup>171</sup> The Italian section also includes a letter of proverbs supposedly composed by Antonio Vignali (1500-1559), writing under his pseudonym Arsiccio Intronato, while the Iberian section includes one purportedly written by Blasco de Garay, a Spanish navy captain and inventor.<sup>172</sup> Finally, *Howell* end with five centuries of 'New Sayings, Which may serve For Proverbs, To Posterity', dedicated to Brian Duppa (1588–1662), bishop of Winchester.<sup>173</sup>

*Ray 1* was published in 1670 and *Ray 2*, the expanded and revised edition, was published in 1678. It has been described as one of his 'most important books' even though it is not connected to his main areas of expertise: botany and natural history.<sup>174</sup> The first edition begins with a preface presenting Ray's definition of proverbs, his methodology, and his system of organisation.<sup>175</sup> The proverbs are divided into sections and listed alphabetically by significant noun. The first edition is divided into eleven sections: 'former Collections of Proverbs, most of them not now in common use', 'Health, Diet and Physick', 'Husbandry, Weather and the Season of the year', 'Love, Wedlock and Women', 'Proverbs that are entire Sentences', 'Proverbial Phrases and forms of speech that are not entire Sentences', 'Proverbial Similies, in which the quality and subject begin with the same letter', 'Rhythmes and old saws', 'rustick and other Proverbs, omitted in the precedent Catalogues' including 'Drinking Phrases', proverbs 'Out of Doctour Fullers Worthies of England, such as are not entred already in the Catalogues', and 'Scottish proverbs', including 'Proverbial speeches of persons given to such vices or vertues as follows'.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. B<sup>1</sup>r-E<sup>3</sup>v.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. †B<sup>1</sup>r-†F<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>172</sup> *Howell*, sigs. \*D<sup>3</sup>v-\*D<sup>4</sup>v, E<sup>3</sup>v- E<sup>4</sup>v; I.F. Moulton, 'Introduction: The Greatest Tangle of Pricks There Ever Was: Knowledge, Sex, and Power in Renaissance Italy', in *La cazzaria: The Book of the Prick by Antonio Vignali*, ed. by I.F. Moulton (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 1-70; H. Kitsikopoulos, 'From Hero to Newcomer: The Critical Scientific and Technological Developments That Led to the Invention of the Steam Engine', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 157:3 (2013), 304-344 (p. 307).

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. (a)<sup>1</sup>r-(d)<sup>1</sup>v; I. Green, 'Duppa, Brian (1588–1662)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn Jan 2008) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8303>> [Accessed 15 August 2014].

<sup>174</sup> G. Keynes, *John Ray: A Bibliography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), p. 24.

<sup>175</sup> *Ray 1*, sigs. A<sup>2</sup>r-A<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. E<sup>1</sup>r-U<sup>4</sup>v.

The second edition follows a similar format; after a brief preface describing some of the changes from the first edition; the proverbs are again divided into sections and alphabetized by significant noun. The sections are largely the same as the first edition, though there are some changes to their organisation and composition. Sections of French and/or Italian proverbs are amended to the 'Health, Diet and Physick', 'Husbandry, Weather and the seasons of the year', and 'Love, Wedlock and Women' sections.<sup>177</sup> The rustic section is renamed 'An alphabet Of Jocular, Nugatory And Rustick Proverbs' and now includes a 'Miscellany Proverbiall Sayings', 'Proverbiall Periphrases of one drunk', 'Proverbiall Phrases and Sentences belonging to drink and drinking', proverbs emphamisms for 'Fr[ench] Pox', 'mak[ing] water', 'A Lier', 'A great Lie', 'A Bankrupt', 'A Wencher', 'A Whore', 'A covetous person', and 'Proverbiall Phrases relating to several trades'.<sup>178</sup> The 'Proverbiall Similies [...]' now has a subsection entitled 'Others'.<sup>179</sup> The collection also includes a section of proverbs sent to Ray by Andrew Paschall, (1631?–1696), a Church of England clergyman, 'which came not to hand till the copy of this second Edition was delivered to the Bookseller, and so could not be referred to their proper place', a section of 'Northern Proverbs' sent by Francis Brokesby (1637–1714), a nonjuring Church of England clergyman, and a section of Hebrew proverbs including a subsection of those derived from the sayings of 'Ben Syra, a man of great fame and antiquity among the Jews'.<sup>180</sup>

*Fuller* follows a similar format to *Ray 1* and *Ray 2*. It begins with a preface explaining Fuller's motivation, a bit about his methodology and sources, and some general points about proverbs.<sup>181</sup> The rest of the collection consists of a numbered list of proverbs. Proverbs 1 through 6071 are alphabetized by the first word, while proverbs 6072 through 6496 are a collection of non-alphabetised rhyming lines.<sup>182</sup> There is no other attempt at further organisation.

These five collections were both influential and well regarded, both in their time and subsequently. As noted above, *Heywood* both contributed to and

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. D<sup>4</sup>v-D<sup>5</sup>v, E<sup>3</sup>r, E<sup>8</sup>v.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. F<sup>1</sup>r-G<sup>6</sup>r

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. T<sup>4</sup>r-V<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>180</sup> For Paschall, Brokesby, and Syra sections, see *Ray 2*, sigs. Z<sup>3</sup>v-2D<sup>7</sup>v. A.J. Turner, 'Paschall, Andrew (1631?–1696)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn Jan 2007) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58459>> [Accessed 15 August 2014]; D.A. Brunton, 'Brokesby, Francis (1637–1714)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3499>> [Accessed 15 August 2014].

<sup>181</sup> *Fuller*, pp. 2-9.

<sup>182</sup> *Fuller*, pp. 10-306.



is an example of the explosion of interest in proverbs in the mid-sixteenth century. *Howell*, *Ray 1*, and *Ray 2* are notable as attempt to provide scholarly collections of proverbs, with *Ray 1* and *Ray 2*, especially, displaying commendable rigour. Finally, *Fuller* marks the end of the golden age of early modern proverbs. However, even though these five collections represent some of the most respected collection produced in the early modern period and neatly exemplify the beginning, middle, and end of the early modern fascination with proverbs, there are problems with relying on any of them individually as evidence of the existence and or use of proverbs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

## Problems with early modern proverb collections

There are two major differences between the early modern collectors and their modern counterparts. First, not all the early modern collectors were attempting to produce scholarly collections of proverbs; and, second, not all early modern collectors are clear about their sources or transparent or consistent in their organisation and methods of selection and rejection. It may seem unfair to hold early modern collectors to the same standards as modern academics, but, when studying early modern proverbs, it is important to understand why and how early modern collections were produced.

John Heywood was primarily a playwright and poet, not a scholarly collector. In the preface to his dialogue of proverbs, he makes it clear that his intention is to entertain. He explains that, though ‘Com[m]on playne pithy prouerbs olde’ are capable of imparting sound guidance ‘almost in all things’, his aim is ‘not to teache, but to touche’.<sup>183</sup> To this end, it is likely that he invented several of the proverbs that he includes, while he distorted the meanings of other to fit his purpose.<sup>184</sup> Elizabeth Heale argues that John Heywood mocks attempts to find consistent wisdom or stable meaning by demonstrating that different proverbs often contain contradictory advice.<sup>185</sup> In addition to his dialogue of proverbs, John Heywood produced six centuries of epigrams, many of which used proverbs as their creative starting point.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> *Heywood*, sig. A<sup>1</sup>v.

<sup>184</sup> Johnson, pp. 37, 45.

<sup>185</sup> Heale, p. 426.

<sup>186</sup> Johnson, pp. 36-51; Happé.

*Heywood* should be read in the same way: as a work of poetry inspired by proverbs. It is not a collection, in the way that the others are, and it is therefore not surprising that there is no discussion of sources, methodology, or organisational framework. John Heywood makes no attempt to indicate how or why his proverbs were collected. The narrative and content of the poem clearly played some role in the selection of proverbs, but there is no suggestion of how this influenced his choices or what has been omitted. However, despite these concerns, *Heywood* is still a useful source, both as an example of proverbs in use and because of its contemporary importance and influence.

Howell was not a primarily a scholarly collector either. He was best known, during his lifetime and since, for his political, historical, and travel writing, such as his *Familiar Letters* (1645-47).<sup>187</sup> However, as well as being a political commentator, he was also 'a proficient linguist', who travelled the continent several times as part of ambassadorial and diplomatic missions, and worked as a tutor, chaperon, interpreter, and translator, among other things. He also produced dictionaries and works on grammar and orthography, as well as a collection of proverbs.<sup>188</sup> Howell was clearly interested, and had some expertise in, the study of language; however, his collection was not produced with scholarly disinterest. He states that the intention of his collection is to demonstrate the range and value of English proverbs as, he claims that 'the English Tounge [is] often traduc'd abroad' and that 'the witt and wisdom of [the] Nation' is questioned because of a supposed lack of 'Proverbiall Speeches'. He states his aim to prove, not only, that the English possess a wealth of proverbs, but that 'these English Proverbs [...] have as much Witt, Significance and Salt in them as any of the other Languages' included in the dictionary.<sup>189</sup> However, his paremiological work was probably also intended to showcase his linguistic skill and secure him the major governmental position he had been chasing most of his adult life.<sup>190</sup>

Though *Howell* is explicitly a collection, he is not clear about where his proverbs came from or how they were ordered. He does not explicitly list his sources, but he does refer to several existing collections. He references the

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<sup>187</sup> J. Howell, *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ*, 2 vols (London, 1645-47; ESTC R200142 and R202462).

<sup>188</sup> D.R. Woolf, 'Howell, James (1594?-1666)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13974>> [accessed 11 August 2014].

<sup>189</sup> *Howell*, sigs. [fleur-de-lis]<sup>2</sup>r-[fleur-de-lis]<sup>2</sup>v. Italics as original.

<sup>190</sup> Woolf.

work of Erasmus, Hernán Núñez, Íñigo López de Mendoza (first Marquis of Santillana) and reproduces proverbial dialogues by Vignali and de Garay. He also refers to the *Book of Proverbs* and ancient authors, while, as previously noted, his debt to John Heywood is acknowledged implicitly and explicitly.<sup>191</sup> Despite these references, there is no indication of how Howell collected his proverbs, if he had any rules for selection or rejection, or whether he included those derived from oral as well as textual sources. The dedication to his British section suggests that he received proverbs from friends or well-wishers, but the level or content of such collaboration is not explained. Furthermore, despite his ambition to display the uniqueness and value of English proverbs, several 'English' proverbs are also included in other sections, suggesting either an unacknowledged ambiguity over their origins or a lack of rigour. However, despite these concerns, *Howell* represents a significant improvement on earlier collections.

Unlike John Heywood and Howell, Ray was a definitely a scholarly collector and cataloguer. However, as noted earlier, his main area of interest was natural history, specifically botany and, in collaboration with Francis Willoughby, ornithology.<sup>192</sup> Despite this, he had a demonstrable interest in the study of language. After completing his BA at Cambridge he held several academic positions there, including lectureships in Greek and in humanities. He also composed poetry in Latin and may have had some knowledge of Hebrew. Ray does not explain what motivated him to begin collecting proverbs, but his decision to produce a printed edition of his collection appears to have been inspired by his dissatisfaction with existing collections and dictionaries.<sup>193</sup> It is also possible that his upbringing as a blacksmith's son in northern Essex may have spurred his interest in proverbial lore.

Whatever his intentions or inspiration, Ray applied the same scrupulousness to his collection of proverbs as he did to his taxonomies of plants and animals and he provides a high level of detail about his sources and approach. Consequently, *Ray 1* and *Ray 2* appear close to modern historical dictionaries of proverbs in aim and method. In particular, his attempt to distinguish between dictionary and common proverbs and between foreign,

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<sup>191</sup> *Howell*, sigs. ¶<sup>1</sup>r, ¶<sup>1</sup>v-¶<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>192</sup> S. Mandelbrote, 'Ray, John (1627–1705)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23203>> [accessed 11 August 2014].

<sup>193</sup> *Ray 1*, sigs. A<sup>2</sup>r-A<sup>2</sup>v.

ancient, and native proverbs foreshadows modern paremiological scholars like Tilley, the Whittings, Wilson, and Dent. In the introductory note to the first edition of *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1670), he explains that his collection has been compiled from previously printed collections as well as his own empirical observations and those of his 'friends and acquaintance in several parts of England'.<sup>194</sup> He lists the previous collections he has consulted and alludes to a familiarity with the adages of Erasmus, Junius, Cognatus, Brassicanus, and others in his criticism of these previous collections.<sup>195</sup> The collections that Ray mentions explicitly are: 'Dr Th. Fuller his Work of the Worthies of England',<sup>196</sup> 'Parœmiographia of Ja. Howell Esquire',<sup>197</sup> 'Scotch Proverbs Collected by David Fergusson',<sup>198</sup> 'The Childrens Dictionary, a Book well known formerly in schools'; Camdens Remains',<sup>199</sup> 'Clerks Collection',<sup>200</sup> 'An Alphabetical Collection by N.R. Gent.',<sup>201</sup> 'Mr Herberts Jacula prudentum',<sup>202</sup> and, 'A Collection of many select and excellent Proverbs by Robert Codrington'.<sup>203</sup> However, despite these positive steps, there are still questions over the proportion of proverbs derived from printed and manuscript sources and those gathered from the oral tradition by Ray and his contributors. Furthermore, Ray admits to excluding 'Superstitious' and 'openly obscene' proverbs on intellectual and moral grounds.<sup>204</sup>

The additions and revisions in his second edition are similarly well documented. In 'The Preface' to that volume, Ray writes that the first edition inspired readers to send him additional proverbs.<sup>205</sup> Though he does not claim completeness, he states that this edition is 'more full and comprehensive' than any previous collection and that most proverbs in common use in all parts of

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. A<sup>2</sup>r-A<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>195</sup> *Ray 1*, sigs. A<sup>2</sup>v-A<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>196</sup> T. Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662; ESTC R37357, R6196);

<sup>197</sup> *Howell*.

<sup>198</sup> D. Fergusson, *Scottish Proverbs* (Edinburgh, 1641; ESTC R177018).

<sup>199</sup> W. Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, first printed in 1605 (ESTC S107408) and reprinted at least five times before 1670.

<sup>200</sup> J. Clarke, *Parœmiologia Anglo-Latina*, first printed in 1639 (ESTC S108014) and reprinted in 1646 (ESTC R173939).

<sup>201</sup> N.R., *Proverbs English, French, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish* (London, 1659; ESTC R203333).

<sup>202</sup> George Herbert's *Outlandish Proverbs* first appeared in print in 1640 (ESTC S103991) but was reprinted in 1651 with the title *Jacula prudentum: or, Outlandish Proverbs, Sentences &c* (ESTC R36596)

<sup>203</sup> R. Codrington, 'A Collection of Many Select and Excellent Proverbs out of Several Languages', in *The Second Part of Youth's Behaviour* (London, 1664; ESTC R29617), sig. N<sup>3</sup>r-R<sup>4</sup>r.

<sup>204</sup> *Ray 1*, sig. A<sup>3</sup>v.

<sup>205</sup> *Ray 2*, sig. A<sup>2</sup>r.

England are probably included.<sup>206</sup> Ray names nine contributors: three from Warwickshire, two from Yorkshire, and one each from Leicestershire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Somerset.<sup>207</sup> The geographical spread of these contributors may lead one to question the veracity of Ray's claims to represent the whole of England. Ray admits to having included 'many English Phrases that are not properly Proverbs', because they were sent to him and because they appeared in foreign collections.<sup>208</sup> Due to the offence caused by some of the language in the first edition, the second edition goes further in its exclusion of 'obscenity'.<sup>209</sup> However, this did not mean that all proverbs containing 'slovenly and dirty words' were completely excised. Instead, Ray merely censors offensive terms.<sup>210</sup> Therefore, though *Ray 1* and *Ray 2* represent a marked improvement even on the more scholarly Howell, issues about the process of collection, the input and methodology of collaborators, and the proportion of rejected proverbs give cause for concern. Most importantly, Ray does not provide concrete examples of usage for his proverbs and the reader is left with only his assertion that the proverbs contained in his collection exist outside of it and are in common use.

Unfortunately, the work of the Fuller, the fourth collector, represents a regression from the scholarly high-point achieved by Ray. Unlike Ray, Fuller was not a rigorous collector, and unlike Ray and Howell, he did not have discernible interest or expertise in the study of language. Instead, Fuller was a doctor, admitted to the Royal College of Physicians in 1679. He established a practice at Sevenoaks, Kent, around this time and, by the early 1700s, he had become involved in medical publishing. His most important work, on eruptive fevers, especially measles and small-pox, was published in 1729. Though a capable physician, Fuller became involved in several fields beyond medicine later in life, generally without success.<sup>211</sup> In 1727, Fuller began publishing instructional works for his son; *Gnomologia* (1732) was the third of these.<sup>212</sup> Fuller's intention to furnish his son with a storehouse of wisdom, both ancient

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<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. A<sup>2</sup>r-A<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. A<sup>2</sup>v-A<sup>3</sup>r.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A<sup>3</sup>v.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. A<sup>3</sup>v-A<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>211</sup> C. Whittick, 'Fuller, Thomas (1654–1734)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10238>> [Accessed 15 Aug 2014].

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

and modern, clearly hampers the production of an accurate collection of common contemporary proverbs.

Despite his questionable intentions, there is some discussion of sources and method in *Fuller*. In his introductory note, Fuller explains that his collection is a mixture of proverbs he has heard, read, and created himself.<sup>213</sup> He claims to have gathered his proverbs from all types of literature, from the Bible onwards, and from a variety of nations.<sup>214</sup> Fuller compares his efforts, and presumably signals his debt, to the 'Son of Syrac',<sup>215</sup> Solomon, various unnamed ancient Greeks, Julius Caesar, Valerius Maximus (the first century AD writer and collector of historical anecdotes), Macrobius, Erasmus, Bacon, Ray and his associates, and James Kelly (an early-eighteen-century Scottish proverb collector).<sup>216</sup> However, he admits that he has made no attempt to distinguish between ancient and contemporary proverbs, and therefore implicitly, that there is no distinction between existing and newly created proverbs or between those that are still popular and those that are no longer used in common conversation.<sup>217</sup> Furthermore, Fuller confesses that ill health and failing eyesight had prohibited the editing of his collection.<sup>218</sup> It is possible that this frailty caused him to misremember or reword existing proverbs. *Fuller* contains unusual variations of common proverbs and several proverbs not found anywhere else. This lack of rigour raises significant doubts about the validity of the collection in general.

Ray and Fuller compiled their collections after the foundation of the Royal Society in 1662 and the conscious move towards 'scientific,' rational, and systematic thought and inquiry that it marked. However, though *Ray 1* and *Ray 2* are notable for their rigour, a similar thoughtfulness of approach and organisation is absent in *Fuller*. *Howell*, first printed a few years before the foundation of the Royal Society, represents a far more meticulous treatment of the material. To an extent, each of the collections demonstrates both the contemporary intellectual climate and the status and popularity of proverbs. *Heywood* is a good representation of the more playful character of early- to mid-sixteenth century English humanism, the high intellectual status, and growing

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<sup>213</sup> *Fuller*, p. iii.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. v.

<sup>215</sup> Probably the Ben Sira, also named by Ray.

<sup>216</sup> *Fuller*, pp. vi-viii.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, p. v.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, p. viii.

popularity of proverbs. His proverb-poem is a self-consciously clever exercise intended for the entertainment and mental stimulation of highly educated readers. *Howell* and *Ray 1* and *Ray 2* fit well with the more rationalist intellectual climate of the mid-seventeenth century, the continuingly high status of proverbs, and the height of their popularity. Their collections are systematic attempts to organise, disseminate, and to an extent, analyse proverbs for a broad, educated audience, whereas, though *Fuller* was produced during the full swing of the English Enlightenment, it was also printed after the form had lost most if not all of its intellectual credibility. His collection retains some of the academic frameworks of Howell and Ray, but instead of treating proverbs as an object of high-minded study, he regards them as a useful store of folk-wisdom and entertainment for the curious.

Like the modern dictionaries, there are significant problems with each of the early modern collections. *Heywood* is inspired by and revels in proverbial language, however it is not, and was never intended to be, a collection of proverbs in the academic sense. John Heywood makes no attempt to indicate his sources or method. However, *Heywood* is a useful source for proverbs in use in early modern England, but only when it is used in combination with other collections and printed works. Placing *Heywood* in this context allows the researcher to be more confident when identifying those proverbs that were in common use and those which were skewed or invented by Heywood. Similarly, though Howell is more scholarly in his approach, the lack of transparency in his sources and method and his explicit intention to impress English and foreign readers with the number and wisdom of English proverbs, and his implicit attempt to demonstrate his own linguistic skill, should give the research cause for concern. Unlike *Heywood* and *Howell*, *Ray 1*, and *Ray 2* approach the requirements of a modern scholarly survey, however they are not without issues, such as the absence of details about the methods of his collaborators and examples of usage, which suggest it would be unwise to rely on either as a sole guide to the proverbs in use in early modern England. Recognising these issues, Dent admonished Tilley for including proverbs that appeared only in *Ray 1* and *Ray 2* and subsequent collections that borrowed from him.<sup>219</sup> However, *Ray 1* and *Ray 2* are excellent sources when cross referenced with other proverb collections and printed sources. Finally, *Fuller* exhibits the same

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<sup>219</sup> *Shakespeare*, pp. xviii-xx.

problems as *Howell*. Fuller is not as clear as he could be about his sources and method, and his intention, to provide wise sayings for the benefit of his son, does not always align with the accurate presentation of proverbs in use in the early modern period. However, like the previous collections, there is much to recommend *Fuller*, especially if it is used in combination with *Heywood*, *Howell* and *Ray 1* and *Ray 2*. Finally, it is worth remembering that though early modern collections do not live up to the highest academic standards, neither do modern dictionaries. Proverbs are a seemingly innocuous, but highly elusive object, and, consequently, a systematic study is never without issue.

## Occupational Proverbs in Early Modern Collections

The problems with the modern dictionaries and contemporary collections make it clear that a researcher cannot rely on individual volumes of either in the investigation of early modern proverbs. In a perfect world, such a researcher would ignore dictionaries and collections, construct a dataset of all early modern printed texts, and identify proverbial phrases by the frequency with which groupings of words appeared. However, such a process would be incredibly difficult and time-consuming. In recognition of this, this chapter suggests a practical method for the investigation of early modern proverbs that utilises existing scholarship and resources. Following the ideas of resonance proposed by Wahrman, this method first assesses the resonance of proverbs within an early modern proverb collections and then, once a set of resonant proverbs have been identified, assesses their resonance within wider print culture using the examples provided by modern dictionaries and EEBO keyword searches. Though this method is far from perfect, there are two reasons to recommend it. First, it goes some way towards distinguishing between those phrases that were consistently identified as proverbial from those that were championed or created by an individual. Second, it goes some way towards distinguishing between phrases that were commonly used and what Whiting referred to as 'dictionary proverbs'.<sup>220</sup> However, due to constraints of time and space, this chapter limits its focus to identifying resonant occupational proverbs (ROP) within the five

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<sup>220</sup> See above fn. 26.



early modern collections discussed above, and only tests the wider resonance of identified miller, tailor, and weaver proverbs.

## Constructing a Dataset

For the purposes of this chapter, a dataset of occupational early modern proverbs was constructed from *Heywood*, *Howell*, *Ray 1* and *Ray 2*, and *Fuller*. This involved the identification of occupational proverbs, which required a working definition of occupation, and a method for standardising these proverbs.

### Defining an Early Modern Occupation

The dataset was designed to consist of proverbs about early modern trades and professions. This included people who extracted resources (such as agricultural labourers, fishermen, and miners), manufactured or repaired products, traded in resources or products (both retail and wholesale), transported resources or products, and those who managed these operations (such as yeomen and clothiers), as well as those who provided medical, legal, domestic, or personal services (such as doctors, lawyers, servants, and barbers). Therefore, it excludes illicit occupations (such as bawd or usurer); social types or statuses (such as gallant or gentleman); religious & governmental positions and offices (such as minister or constable); general descriptors, which do not apply to any specific occupation (such as artificer, labourer, mechanic, seller, tradesman, and workman); and military descriptors (such as archer, captain, horseman, pike-man, quartermaster, soldier, and spearman). However, maritime descriptors (such as mariner, sailor, seaman, and shipman) were included if it was clear that they were merchant and not naval occupations. Artistic, entertainment, and media descriptors (such as artist, author, dancer, journal-maker, fiddler, harper, juggler, musician, painter, piper, poet, singer, trumpeter, and writer) were also excluded. A painter could be a tradesman, all the proverbs including that descriptor clearly referred to artists. For example: *Painters (travellers) and poets have leave to lie* (P28), *A painter is a dumb poet, and a poet a speaking painter* (not in Tilley), *Apelles [of Kos, a famous ancient Greek painter] was not a master-painter the first day* (not in Tilley), *He is either a god*

or a painter, for he makes faces (G230). Ambiguous descriptors were included or excluded on a case by case basis. If a descriptor clearly referred to an occupation it was included, if not it was excluded. If it was not possible to determine if a descriptor referred to an occupation or not it was included. For example, following this rule all the proverbs that clearly used *botcher* to refer to a generic mender and not a cobbler or tailor engaged in repairs were excluded, as were proverbs that used *broker* as a generic middleman and not a dealer in second hand goods. Similarly, the use of *clerk* as a clergyman and not a professional scribe, *counsellor* as a giver of advice and not a lawyer, *lackey* as a hanger on and not a footman, and *maid* as a young woman and not a female servant were also excluded. This process produced a set of proverbs that referred to specific trades or professions.

### **Identifying Occupational Proverbs**

Occupational proverbs have been defined as those that include an occupational descriptor and therefore potentially contain evidence of the stereotypical characteristics, traits, and behaviours associated with that occupation. This excludes proverbs that, at least ostensibly, offer occupational advice without naming an occupation, such as *It is good to strike while the iron is hot* (I94) or *Make hay while the sun shines* (H235). It also excluded proverbs that refer to 'he who [ploughs, weaves, etc]' instead of the descriptor associated with that occupation. It also employs a conservative definition of what constitutes an early modern occupation.

### **Standardising Proverbs**

In order to ascertain the number of unique proverbs in the work of each collector, the proverbs were standardised using the entry forms provided by Tilley. Though there are issues with Tilley's entry forms, which have been discussed in detail above, some method for collating duplicates or variations was needed and Tilley provided a ready and established solution. This standardisation resulted in 348 Unique Occupational Proverbs (UOP), almost half of which (149, 42.69%) could not be identified in *Tilley*.

## Determining Resonance

Once a set of 348 UOP had been identified, a criterion for resonance was required. It was decided that an occupational proverb would be considered resonant, within the sample, if it appeared in two or more of the works of the four collectors. This meant that *Ray 1* and *Ray 2* were treated as one unit. Though this could be considered a low requirement for resonance, it did, at least, exclude those proverbs that only appear within the work of one collector. As Appendix I demonstrates, only seventy-eight of the 348 UOP (22.64%) appeared in the works of two or more of the collectors, while only seventeen (4.87%) appeared in three or more, and only three (0.86%) appeared in the works of all four. Therefore, a resonance criterion of appearance in the works of two or more collectors excluded idiosyncratic proverbs and provided a dataset small enough to work with but large enough to allow for tentative conclusions to be drawn.

**Table 2: Distribution of Unique and Resonant Proverbs within Heywood, Howell, Ray 1 & 2, and Fuller**

Collection	UOP	UOP % UOP(Tot)	UOP % UOP(Till)	UOP(New)	UOP(New) % UOP(Tot)	ROP	ROP % UOP	ROP(New)	ROP(New) % ROP(Tot)	ROP(New) % UOP(New)
<b>Heywood</b>	9	2.59%	88.89%	9	100.00%	7	77.78%	7	8.97%	77.78%
<b>Howell</b>	168	48.28%	51.79%	162	96.43%	39	23.21%	33	42.31%	20.37%
<b>Ray 1</b>	93	26.72%	96.77%	64	68.82%	54	58.06%	25	32.05%	39.06%
<b>Ray 2</b>	129	37.07%	95.35%	43	33.33%	63	48.84%	13	16.67%	30.23%
<b>Fuller</b>	127	36.49%	51.97%	70	55.12%	57	44.88%	0	0.00%	0.00%

Notes: UOP = Unique Occupational Proverbs; UOP(Tot) = Total number of UOP, i.e. 348; UOP(Till) = UOP included in *Tilley*; UOP(New) = UOP not included in previous collection(s); ROP = Resonant Occupational Proverbs; ROP(New) = ROP not included in previous collection(s); ROP(Tot) = Total number of ROP, i.e. 78.

As Table 2 demonstrates, *Heywood* did not include many occupational proverbs. However, almost all of those it did include appeared in other collections. Similarly, almost all the occupational proverbs that appeared in *Heywood* were included by Tilley. Howell's collection included a lot of occupational proverbs, though very few of these are found in other collections. Furthermore, relatively few of the occupational proverbs found in *Howell* were included in *Tilley*. Conversely, *Ray 1* includes relatively few occupational proverbs, but the majority of these are also found in other collections. A very high percentage of them are also found in *Tilley*. *Ray 2* includes more occupational proverbs than *Ray 1*, and fewer of those that it includes are found in other collections, though still a relatively high percentage. A very high percentage of the occupational proverbs found in *Ray 2* are included in *Tilley*. Finally, *Fuller* includes a similar number of occupational proverbs to *Ray 2*, though a slightly lower percentage of these appear in other collections. Proportionally, a similarly small amount of the occupational proverbs found in *Fuller* are included in *Tilley*. The distribution of UOP and ROP within the sampled collections clearly demonstrates the influence of *Heywood* on subsequent collectors and the respect afforded to John Heywood and Ray by Tilley. The vast majority of the occupational proverbs that appear in *Heywood* appear in subsequent collections, while almost all the occupational proverbs that appear in *Heywood*, *Ray 1*, and *Ray 2* appear in *Tilley*.

## **Analysing the Dataset**

The distribution and grouping of occupations were analysed within the set of seventy-eight ROP, as were the types of occupational proverb, and the distribution and grouping of occupations within different types of occupational proverb. However, to allow for this analysis, the occupations within the seventy-eight ROP first had to be standardised. The Primary, Secondary, Tertiary (PST) system of occupational classification developed and employed by The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure was used to achieve this.<sup>221</sup> A full analysis of the distribution of standardised descriptors within the resonant proverbs can be found in Appendix II.

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<sup>221</sup> See the resources available at 'Occupational coding – the PST system', The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, <<http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/britain19c/pst.html>> [Accessed 01 December 2014].

## Distribution of Occupations

As Appendix II demonstrates, the seventy-eight ROP contain thirty-four PST standardised descriptors. 'Doctor/Surgeon' is by far the most frequently occurring, appearing in twelve of the seventy-eight ROP (15.19%). Furthermore, standardised descriptors belonging to the 'Medical Profession' and 'Medicine: Support' PST sections – the standardised descriptors 'Doctor/surgeon', 'Apothecary', and 'Midwife' – appear in fifteen (18.99%), making trades and professions associated with medicine one of the most commonly occurring groupings, however there are two obvious reasons for the frequency with which these occupations appear. First, 'Doctor/Surgeon' includes more descriptors than most standardised descriptors. The ROP included four different descriptors that are standardised in this way by the PST system: doctor, mediciner, surgeon, and physician. The equation of these terms in the PST system is supported by the interchangeability in early modern proverbs. Physician and mediciner are interchangeable in *Feed by measure (sparingly) and defy the physician [/ mediciner]* (M802), while physician and doctor are interchangeable in *He is a fool that makes his physician ([doctor]) his heir* (F483) and *Piss clear and defy the physician [(doctor)]* (P269). Second, and more importantly, the early modern collections included sections and large numbers of proverbs devoted to health and wellbeing. Proverbs about or referring to medics and associated trades and professions are therefore frequent in early modern collections.

'Servant' and 'miller' are, jointly, the second most frequently occurring standardised descriptors, each appearing in six (7.59%) proverbs. Like 'Doctor/Surgeon', 'servant' included more than one descriptor: servant and servingman. Occupations belonging to the service group – the standardised descriptors 'Butler', 'Domestic cook', 'Housekeeper', 'Housemaid', 'Nurse', and 'Servant' – appeared in even more proverbs (20/78, 25.64%) than medics and associated trades and professions. The reasons for the abundance of servants are less clear than those for the abundance of medics: the 'servant' standardised descriptor, and the servant group, includes multiple descriptors, however early modern collections did not, explicitly, include sections devoted to servants. It is possible that the abundance of proverbs about or referring to servants is a consequence of their relative abundance in general society; however, it may also be

related to the social status of the audience of proverb collections. This is discussed in more detail below.

The frequency of millers is unusual and cannot be easily explained. Unlike 'Doctor/Surgeon' and 'servant', the standardised descriptor 'miller' does not group multiple descriptors and corresponds merely to the original descriptor miller. In fact, miller is the second most frequently occurring original descriptor after physician (which occurs eight times). Furthermore, early modern proverb collections do not feature sections dedicated to mills or milling and only a small percentage of the population were employed as millers. The only other standardised descriptors to occur five or more times are 'tailor', 'hairdressing', 'merchant', and 'shoemaker' which all occur five times.

Between them, these five standardised occupations, 'Doctor/Surgeon', 'servant', 'miller', 'tailor', 'hairdressing', 'merchant', and 'shoemaker' appear in over half of the ROP (45/78, 57.96%). The frequency with which they were referred to suggests that they were relatively visible in early modern culture, if not in early modern society in general. Servants, millers, tailors, and barbers would have been encountered regularly by most people, while doctors or surgeons and merchants might have been encountered less frequently, or less frequently by certain sections of the population. However, if everyday visibility is a factor, it is interesting to note the relative absence of producers and sellers of food and drink. Butchers are referred to three times, bakers appear twice, and brewers only once. Instead of mapping the social distribution of occupations in early modern England, it is likely that the distribution of standardised occupations within resonant proverbs reflects cultural visibility.

### **Groupings of Occupations**

Though the vast majority of occupational proverbs (69/78, 88.46%) feature only one descriptor, a small but significant minority (9/78, 11.54%) feature the grouping of more than one. These multiple descriptor proverbs are especially interesting because they suggest equivalence or dissimilarity between the grouped occupations. Seven of the nine feature two occupations, while the remaining two feature three. Only three standardised descriptors feature in more than one of the multiple occupation proverbs. 'Doctor/Surgeon' and 'lawyer' descriptors are grouped in two

proverbs, while 'shoemaker' descriptors are also grouped with other standardised occupations in two proverbs.

The 'Doctor/Surgeon'/'lawyer' proverbs equate the two professions to some extent. *An old physician and a young lawyer* (P265) suggests that an experienced doctor and a raw but ambitious lawyer are preferable. Ray explains it thus: 'An old Physician because of his experience; a young Lawyer, because he having but little practice will have leisure enough to attend your business, and desiring thereby to recommend himself and get more, will be very diligent in it.'<sup>222</sup> Similarly, *Deceive not your physician, confessor, or lawyer* (P261) encourages one to be honest with the people looking after one's health, soul/conscience, and legal affairs. Ray explains: 'He that doth so, doth it to his own harm or loss wronging thereby either his soul, body or estate.'<sup>223</sup> In both instances, doctors and lawyers are presented as professions whose relationship to their client is similar. Of the two proverbs grouping shoemakers and other trades, the first, *Cobblers and tinkers are the best ale drinkers* (C482), equates workmen specialising in the repair of shoes with one who specialises in mending items of pewter or other metals and suggests that they share a behavioural characteristic. The second, *Who is worse shod than the shoemaker's wife (and the smith's mare)?* (S387), which also sometimes appears as *Who is worse shod than the shoemaker's wife and who is worse clad than the tailor's wife?* equates either the shoemaker's wife and the smith's mare or the shoemaker's wife and the tailor's wife in ironically failing to benefit from their husband or owners' occupation. The grouping of occupations in these proverbs demonstrates practical similarities between those occupations: doctors and lawyers are both professions engaged by a client and they both have privileged access to that client, while cobblers and tinkers are both menders, and shoemakers and smiths or shoemakers and tailors are both produces items of clothing, broadly speaking. These grouping also suggest a shared social status, as the proverbs associate two professionals, two menders, and two different pairs of craftsmen.

The similarity in function is also evident in the two proverbs that group three occupations. Both of these proverbs group millers, tailors, and weavers, and both express the same shared characteristic. *Put a miller, a weaver, and a tailor in a bag and shake them, the first that comes out will be a thief* (M957) groups the three

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<sup>222</sup> Ray 1, sig. D<sup>2</sup>v; Ray 2, sig. D<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>223</sup> Ray 1, sig. H<sup>4</sup>r; Ray 2, sig. L<sup>5</sup>v.



trades and equates them with thieves, as does *A hundred tailors/traitors, a hundred millers, and a hundred weavers makes three hundred thieves* (T22). Nonsensically, the proverb appears as *A hundred traitors, a hundred millers, and a hundred weavers makes three hundred thieves* (T22) in Fuller.<sup>224</sup> The grouping of these three trades, and this common association with thievery, will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, and in the rest of this thesis. However, at this point, it is important to note three things. One, millers and tailors are among the most frequently appearing standardised occupations within the resonant proverbs. Two, millers, tailors, and weavers are the only three trades to be grouped together, and, alongside doctors and lawyers, they are the only trades to be grouped together more than once. However, unlike doctors and lawyers they are, as a group, associated with exactly the same stereotypical characteristic on both occasions. Three, what equates millers, tailors, and weavers is their similar relation to the customer. Each of these three trades receives raw material from the customer, performs a process, and returns a product to the customer. They are therefore like doctors and lawyers in the sense that they provide a service that the customer cannot do without (at points) and cannot replicate (easily). The necessity, mystery, and consequent power of these trades caused anxiety.

### **Distribution and grouping of occupations by type**

The uniqueness of 'miller', 'tailor', and 'weaver' proverbs is further demonstrated by analysing the different types of occupational proverbs and their distribution. This section therefore outlines the different types, their distribution within the seventy-eight ROP, and analyses the different types of 'Doctor/Surgeon', 'servant', 'hairdressing', and 'merchant' proverbs. This puts 'miller', 'tailor', and 'weaver' proverbs in context and demonstrates that, unlike other frequently occurring trades and occupations, they provide a relatively substantial amount of stereotypical information.

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<sup>224</sup> Fuller, p. 23.

## Types of Occupational Proverb

Not all occupational proverbs provide evidence of stereotypes and there is a marked difference between the content of those proverbs that tells us about the practicalities of a trade (i.e. millers operate mills that are powered by water) and those that tell us about the stereotypical behaviours associated with a trade (i.e. millers steal from their customers). As Appendix II demonstrates, only twenty-five of the seventy-eight ROP (32.05%) present any information about characteristics, traits, and behaviours associated with an occupation, while only fourteen (17.95%) provide evidence of the characteristics, traits, and behaviours associated with an occupation in general. For example, the proverb *Cobblers and tinkers are the best ale drinkers* (C482), suggests that cobblers and tinkers, in general, are known for their ability to drink. Of the remaining eleven, six provide evidence of the characteristics, traits, and behaviours associated with only a subset of the occupation. For example, *Like Banbury tinkers, who in mending one hole make three* (T351), tell us that tinkers from Banbury were maligned for their lack of skill, but it does not tell us about tinkers in general. Two provide evidence of the characteristics, traits, or behaviours desired or require of an occupation, but not necessarily exhibited by that occupation as a whole. For example, *A good surgeon (chirurgion) must have an eagle's eye, a lion's heart, and a lady's hand* (S1013), tells us that a good surgeon should be keen-eyed, courageous, and dexterous, but it does not tell us that all surgeons were considered to be so.

Occupational proverbs that do not provide evidence of characteristics, traits, or behaviours either offer advice or use occupational descriptors euphemistically or figuratively. Proverbs that offer advice (40/78, 51.28%) can be divided into three groups. First, proverbs that offer advice for employers, clients, or customers (9/78, 11.54%). For example, proverbs like *Hackney mistress hackney maid* (M1019) advise employers that servants will reflect their behaviour. Second, proverbs that offer advice for those currently or potentially employed in an occupation (4/78, 5.13%). For example, proverbs like *One barber shaves not so close but another finds work* (B70) advise current or potential barbers that those who do not provide close shaves will not attract customers. Third, proverbs that offer general advice or observations about an occupation or about the world (12/78, 15.38%). For example,

proverbs like *Feed by measure (sparingly) and defy the physician* (M802) advise people to avoid the services of a doctor by eating in moderation.

Euphemistic occupational proverbs (15/78, 19.23%) use occupational descriptors within proverbial similes, insults, and or figures of speech without providing evidence of the characteristics, traits, or behaviours associated with the occupation they refer to. Euphemistic occupational proverbs often refer to objects or individuals associated with an occupation instead of the occupation itself. For example, *As common as a barber's chair* (B73), *As coy as croker's mare* (C833), or *Like a loader's horse that lives among thieves* (L398), that tell us something about the object, but little or nothing about the occupation itself. Similarly, *As coy as croker's mare* (C833), tells us about croker's horses but not crokers themselves. The Victorian reference works author, E. Cobham Brewer, interprets the proverb to mean 'as chary as a mare that carries crockery', while *OED* defines a crocker as 'A potter' and cites the proverb as an example of this meaning.<sup>225</sup> Like these examples, such proverbs are often euphemisms or insults. *As common as a barber's chair* (B73), which was analogous to *The village bike*, was used to criticise promiscuity, while the anxiety or blissful ignorance expressed in *Like a loader's horse that lives among thieves* (L398) was applied to 'The country man near a town'.<sup>226</sup> However, not all occupational proverbs that refer to an individual or object associated with an occupation are euphemistic or fail to tell us something about that occupation. For example, *A nurse's tongue is privileged to talk* (N355) codifies the privileged position of nursemaids within the home and their consequence freedom of speech. Gail Kern Paster notes that nursemaids could get away with saying things that other servants could not, while Wendy Wall associates the proverb with 'the mother tongue' as 'an anxiety-producing lower-class domain' and 'the cheap talk of gossips and wetnurses'.<sup>227</sup>

Finally, there are two types of figurative occupational proverb. In the first sub-type, the occupational descriptor does not refer to an actual occupation, but to a

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<sup>225</sup> E.C. Brewer, *Character Sketches of Romance, Fiction and the Drama: A Revised American Edition of The Reader's Handbook*, ed. by M. Harland, 8 vols (New York: Hess, 1892-1902), II (1982), p. 273; '† crocker, n.1.', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, 2014) <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/44666>> [accessed 23 October 2014].

<sup>226</sup> Ray 2, sig. Z<sup>7</sup>v.

<sup>227</sup> G. Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 221; W. Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 74.

person or thing figuratively performing a function. For example, *Every man is either a fool or a physician to himself* (M125), does not refer to an actual physician, but to someone figuratively performing the function of a physician, i.e. someone caring for their own health and wellbeing; similarly, *Fire and water are good servants but bad (ill) masters* (F253), does not refer to actual servants, but to figurative servants, i.e. things that can be commanded and employed to do one's bidding. In the second sub-type, the entire proverb is figurative, the occupation referred to illustrates some greater truth. For example, when Ray interprets *A barber learns to shave by shaving of fools* (B69) to mean 'he is a fool that will suffer a young beginner to practise first upon him', he is stating that the proverb does not merely refer to novice barbers but to the inexperienced in general.<sup>228</sup> Similarly, the proverb *It is possible for a ram to kill a butcher* (R26) does not merely express the potential danger within butchery, but also the potential for rebellion within any notionally disempowered animal or person.

These classifications are inevitably subjective. Figurative proverbs are especially difficult as almost all proverbs could be considered figurative to some extent by virtue of their proverbiality – they would not gain social and cultural cachet if they were not broadly applicable. However, some proverbs are more figurative than others. Furthermore, many proverbs could be classified as more than one type. However, for ease of analysis, each proverb has only been assigned to one category.

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<sup>228</sup> Ray 1, sig. K<sup>7</sup>r; Ray 2, sig. O<sup>5</sup>r.

**Table 3: Distribution of Occupation by Type of Proverb**

Standardised Occupation	Proverbs	ADV/EMP	ADV/CUR	ADV/GEN	CHA/ALL	CHA/DES	CHA/SUB	EUP	FIG/OCC	FIG/PRO
Doctor/Surgeon	12	3	0	5	0	1	1	0	1	1
Miller	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Servant	6	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Merchant	5	0	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Hairdressing	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1
Tailor	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Shoemaker	4	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Lawyer/Barrister	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
peddler, hawker	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Butcher	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
Tin products	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Domestic cook	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1
Blacksmith/Smith	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Weaver	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
[Nurse]	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Apothecary	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Baker	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Pottery	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Yeoman	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
[Gardener]	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Housemaid	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: ADV/EMP = Proverbs that offer advice for employers, clients, or customers; ADV/CUR = Proverbs that offer advice for people currently or potentially involved in a trade or profession; ADV/GEN = Proverbs that offer general observations or advice relating to a trade or profession; CHA/ALL = Proverbs expressing the character, traits, or behaviours associated with all those involved in a trade or profession; CHA/DES = Proverbs that expressing the desired characteristics, traits, or behaviours or a trade or profession; CHA/SUB = Proverbs expressing the character, traits, or behaviours associated with a subset of those involved in a trade or profession; EUP = Proverbs that are entirely euphemistic; FIG/OCC = Proverbs that use an occupational descriptor figuratively; FIG/PRO = Proverbs that are entirely figurative.

### **Distribution of frequently occurring occupations**

As Table 3 demonstrates, the proverbs that include 'Doctor/Surgeon' descriptors are unusual because, unlike the set of resonant proverbs in general, they are not euphemistic or figurative and they do not provide evidence of general characteristics, traits, or behaviours; instead, two-thirds of these proverbs (8/12, 66.67%) offer advice, either general advice or observations (5/12, 41.67%) or advice for the employers, clients, or customers of 'Doctor/Surgeons' (3/12, 25.00%). Advisory

proverbs, such as *Among the common people scoggin is a doctor* (P222), *God heals and the physician has the thanks (takes the fee)* (G190), or *There are more old drunkards than old physicians* (D630), make general observations about the world, while others, such as *Feed by measure (sparingly) and defy the physician* (M802) and *Piss clear and defy the physician* (P269), offer medical advice. This unusual distribution is because, as is noted above, the vast majority of 'Doctor/Surgeon' proverbs appear in the sections of early modern collections dedicated to health and wellbeing.<sup>229</sup> Only two of the twelve proverbs to feature a 'Doctor/Surgeon' descriptor provide evidence the characteristics, traits, or behaviours associated with that profession. However, as mentioned above, the proverb, *A good surgeon (chirurgion) must have an eagle's eye, a lion's heart, and a lady's hand* (S1013), only provides evidence of desired attributes and does not offer a stereotypical representation of a 'Doctor/Surgeon', while *A broken apothecary a new doctor* (A278) suggests that some doctors were previously bankrupt apothecaries. Again, this does not tell us anything about the characteristics of 'Doctor/Surgeon' in general.

The 'servant' proverbs are similarly unusual in their lack of euphemistic, figurative, or stereotypical classification. Half the 'servant' proverbs (3/6, 50.00%) provide advice for employers, clients, or customers, while the remaining proverbs either offer general advice or observation, present the characteristics, traits, and or behaviours of a subset, or use 'servant' figuratively. The employer advice proverbs, *A servant is known in the absence of his master* (S238), *A smiling boy seldom proves a good servant* (B578), and *One eye of the master's sees more than ten of the servants'* (E243) suggest that the audience for proverbial wisdom was employers rather than servants. The only proverb to present evidence of characteristics, traits, or behaviours, *A young servingman an old beggar* (S256), suggest that men or boys who enter service at a young age are destined for poverty at the end of their lives. The prolific bibliographer and antiquarian, W. Carew Hazlitt, suggests that service was so comfortable that former servants were not good for anything else, which seems unlikely.<sup>230</sup> William Harrison associates this proverb with another: *Service is*

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<sup>229</sup> For the health and wellbeing sections in *Howell, Ray 1*, and *Ray 2* see fns. 51, 52, 57, and 58.

<sup>230</sup> W.C. Hazlitt, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1907), p. 46.

*no heritage*, suggesting that servants are unable to benefit from their profession in the long term.<sup>231</sup> However, it does not suggest that all servants are or will be poor.

Unlike the proverbs featuring ‘Doctor/Surgeon’ or ‘servant’ descriptors, those including the ‘Hairdressing’ descriptor, barber, are frequently euphemistic (3/5, 60.00%). However, they do not provide advice, either general or for employers, and they do not provide evidence of the characteristics, traits, or behaviours associated with or desired in all barbers or a sub-set. The figure of speech, *Any tooth, good barber* (T418) and the euphemistic variants *As common as a barber's chair* (B73) and *Like a barber's chair, fit for every buttock* (B74) suggest that barbers were a highly visible trade, but they tell us little of nothing about how they were perceived in general.

‘Merchant’ proverbs are generally euphemistic (2/5, 40.00%) or offer advice to current or potential merchants (2/5, 40.00%). These proverbs appear to counteract one another, so that the insult *He is a merchant without money or ware* (M883) and the euphemism *He is a merchant of eelskins* (M882), i.e. a scrap metal dealer, are opposed by the encouraging *He is not a merchant bare that has money, worth, or ware* (M884) and the realistic *He that could know what would be dear need be a merchant but one year* (M887). Only one merchant proverb (1/5, 20.00%) provides evidence of the characteristics, traits, or behaviours associated with merchants in general. *He promises like a merchant but pays like a man of war* (M885), suggests that there is something significant and universal about the way merchants promise to pay.

‘Miller’ proverbs are either figurative (3/6, 50.00%) or stereotypical (3/6, 50.00%). Unlike the proverbs featuring the other frequently occurring trades and professions, ‘miller’ proverbs, which will be dealt with in detail in the following section, provide a relatively large amount of stereotypical information, while like the euphemistic barber proverb, the figurative miller proverbs suggest that the trade was highly visible and that its process and equipment were well understood by the general population. Even more notably, proverbs featuring ‘tailor’ or ‘weaver’ descriptors only provide stereotypical characteristics, traits, and behaviours.

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<sup>231</sup> W. Harrison, ‘Exert from An Historical Description of the Island of Britain’, in *The Broadview Anthology of Sixteenth-Century Poetry and Prose*, ed. by M. Loughlin and others (Peterborough, ON.: Broadview 2012), pp. 528-36 (p. 533).

## Resonant Miller, Tailor, and Weavers Proverbs

This final section discusses resonant miller, tailor, and weaver proverbs. To do this, it utilises two types of resonance. The first type of resonance is the repetition of specific representations of individual trades within and across different contexts. Most simply, the eight proverbs discussed below – *An honest miller has a golden thumb*, *Much water goes by the mill that the miller knows not of*, *In vain does the mill clack if the miller his hearing lack*, *Every miller draws water to his own mill*, *Four farthings and a thimble make a tailor's pocket jingle*, *A tailor's shreds are worth the cutting*, *Put a miller, a weaver, and a tailor in a bag and shake them, the first one out will be a thief*, and *A hundred tailors, a hundred millers, and a hundred weavers makes three hundred thieves* – are resonant because they are repeated in the works of two or more of the sampled collectors. The resonance of these proverbs within other early modern collections and across broader early modern print culture is also assessed. However, these proverbs also demonstrate the second type of resonance, the application of similar stereotypes to different occupations and the use of shared stereotypes to group those occupations. As is explained in more detail below, both *An honest miller has a golden thumb* and *A tailor's shreds are worth the cutting* associate their featured occupation with habitual dishonesty, while *Put a miller, a weaver, and a tailor in a bag and shake them, the first one out will be a thief* and *A hundred tailors, a hundred millers, and a hundred weavers makes three hundred thieves* group millers and tailors, along with weavers, using that shared characteristic. The following miller, tailor, and weavers proverbs therefore display both the resonance of individual proverbs and the resonance of stereotypes.

### Miller proverbs

As mentioned above, there are four resonant miller proverbs. Of these, *Much water goes by the mill that the miller knows not of* (W99) and *In vain does the mill clack if the miller his hearing lack* (V1) were used figuratively and tell us nothing about the traits and characteristics associated with millers. They are therefore discussed only briefly in the following section. Of the other two, *Every miller draws water to his own mill* (M952) was also used figuratively, though it does suggest that millers were considered notably greedy and selfish, while *An honest miller has a golden thumb*



(M953) is the most significant because it associates millers with a stereotypical trait: habitual occupational dishonesty. It is therefore discussed in more detail.

### **Much water goes by the mill that the miller knows not of (W99)**

*Much water goes by the mill that the miller knows not of* (W99) appears in all but one of sampled early modern proverb collections. It appears once in *Heywood*, three times in *Howell*, once in *Ray 1*, and twice in *Ray 2*. It does not appear in *Fuller*. The proverb appears in the English and Welsh sections of *Howell* and is among the English proverbs *Howell* chooses to translate into French, Italian, and Spanish. It appears in the variation 'Meikle water runs where the miller sleeps' in the section of Scottish proverbs in *Ray 1*. The proverb appears alongside an Italian version in the 'Proverbiall Phrases Relating to Several Trades' sub-section of 'An Alphabet of Joculatory, Nugatory and Rustick Proverbs' in *Ray 2*.<sup>232</sup> The proverb also appears in all of the modern dictionaries and indexes. All modern dictionaries cite *Heywood* as the first example of this proverb, though it appears in print at least once before in *A Confutation of that Treatise* (1541), Miles Coverdale's reply to John Standish's attack on Robert Barnes.<sup>233</sup> As well as appearing in *Heywood*, *Howell*, *Ray 1* and *Ray 2*, the proverb is included in several other early modern collections.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> *Heywood*, sig. H<sup>4</sup>v; *Howell*, sigs. b<sup>2</sup>v, [b<sup>1</sup>]r, †D<sup>2</sup>v. Square brackets as original; *Ray 1*, sig. T<sup>8</sup>r; *Ray 2*, sig. 2B<sup>8</sup>v.

<sup>233</sup> *Tilley*, p. 707, W99; *ODEP*, p. 870; *Whitings*, p. 628, W68; *Shakespeare*, p. 243, W99; *English Drama*, p. 715, W99; M. Coverdale, *A Confutation of that Treatise which one John Standish Made against the Protestation of D. Barnes* (Zürich, 1541; ESTC S109263), sig. D<sup>5</sup>r.

<sup>234</sup> Florio, sig. I<sup>2</sup>v: 'Assai aqua corre per il Molino, che il Molinaro non ne sa. | Much water ru[n]neth by the myl, that the miller knowes not of', cited in *Tilley*. T. Draxe, *Bibliotheca scholastica instructissima* (London, 1616; ESTC S115740), sig. G<sup>3</sup>v: 'Much water goeth by the mill, that the miller neuer knoweth of', cited in *Tilley*. W. Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, rev. edn (London, 1623; ESTC S107501), sig. S<sup>3</sup>r: 'Goes much water by the Mill, that the Miller knowes not', cited in *Tilley*. The proverb does not appear in the original 1605 printing of *Remains* (ESTC S107408), which does not include a collection of proverbs, or the enlarged 1614 printing (ESTC S107394), which does. Clarke, *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina* (1639), sig. K<sup>1</sup>r: 'Much water goes by th' milne, that the milner knowes not off. | Ignorantia facti excusat.' Fergusson, sig. D<sup>4</sup>r: 'Meikle water runs where the millar sleeps.' *Tilley* cites the original manuscript, giving a date of a. 1598, while *ODEP* cites the printed edition. G. Torriano, *Select Italian Proverbs* (Cambridge, 1642; ESTC R2555), sig. A<sup>6</sup>v: 'Assai acqua passa per il molino che il molinaio non vede. | There is a great deal of water goeth through the mill, which the miller seeth not.' *Tilley* cites the 1666 edition (G. Torriano, *Piazza Universale di Proverbi Italiani* (London, 1666; ESTC R12572)), admitting, in his introduction, that he was unable to consult the 1642 printing (*Tilley*, p. v). N.R., sig. D<sup>6</sup>r: 'Much water goes by the Mill the Miller knows not of.' This example is not cited by any of the modern dictionaries. R.B., *Adagia Scotica* (London, 1668; ESTC R178), sig. B<sup>8</sup>v: 'Mickle water runs, where the Miller sleeps'; J. Kelly, *A Complete Collection of Scottish Proverbs* (London, 1721; ESTC T121536), sigs. B<sup>7</sup>r-B<sup>7</sup>v. 13-14, no. 75: 'As mickle Water goes by the Miller when he sleeps', sig. B<sup>7</sup>v, no. 76: 'Mickle Water goes by the Miller when he sleeps', sig. R<sup>8</sup>v, no. 100: 'Mickle Water goes by that the Miller wats not of'.

Though proverb collections rarely provide much information about the meaning or interpretation of a specific proverb, the inclusion of the proverb with other entries concerning ignorance in Thomas Draxe and John Clarke suggests that it was used to signify a lack of awareness. Kelly goes further, explaining that the proverb was ‘Spoken to those who make their Excuse for not doing what you desire them, because they are otherways employ’d, and cannot neglect their Master’s Business; intimating, that at another time they will loiter much longer’.<sup>235</sup> However, he goes on to note that it also ‘has quite different Signification, viz. That a Man may have a great deal of his Goods spoil’d, wasted, or purloin’d that he knows nothing of’.<sup>236</sup>

The proverb also appears in several printed works of prose and verse. Not do these examples suggest that the proverb was in regular and common usage during the early modern period – in print, at least – they also provide greater evidence of the range of meanings attached to this proverb. These appearances suggest that the proverb was used figuratively and therefore that it does not evidence of the stereotypical characteristics associated with millers. As the few indications in the collection suggest, the proverb expresses ignorance. However, there appear to have been two main uses of this proverb: the first uses the proverb to express inevitable ignorance i.e. one cannot be aware of everything that happens;<sup>237</sup> the second uses the proverb to express the more pernicious ignorance that results from intentional concealment i.e. what someone does not know cannot hurt them.<sup>238</sup> Rarer usages of the proverb express the idea that

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<sup>235</sup> Kelly, sigs. B7r-B7v. no. 75.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14, no. 76.

<sup>237</sup> T. Smith to F. Walsingham, 13 October 1572, in D. Digges, *The Complete Ambassador* (London, 1655; ESTC R22010), sigs. 2N<sup>2</sup>v-2N<sup>3</sup>r (sig. 2N<sup>2</sup>v), cited in Tilley. B. Melbancke, *Philotimus* (London: 1583; ESTC S94161), sigs. 2E<sup>2</sup>r-2E<sup>3</sup>r; S. Jerome, *The Arraignment of the Whole Creature, at the Bar of Religion, Reason, and Experience* (London, 1631; ESTC S103944), sig. 2B<sup>2</sup>v; J. Nalson, *The Present Interest of England* (London, 1683; ESTC R16235), sigs. D<sup>3</sup>v-D<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>238</sup> R. Greene, *Greene’s Never Too Late* (London, 1590; ESTC S105832), sigs. H<sup>1</sup>r-H<sup>1</sup>v; ‘The Cobbler’s Tale’, in *The Cobbler of Canterbury* (London, 1590; ESTC S109603), sigs. B<sup>1</sup>r-C<sup>3</sup>v (sig. B4v), Tilley cites the 1630 revision of *The Cobbler of Canterbury* printed under the title *The Tinker of Turvey*, see: ‘The Cobbler’s Tale’, in *The Tinker of Turvey* (London, 1630; S104894), sigs. C<sup>2</sup>v-D<sup>4</sup>v (sig. C<sup>4</sup>v); W. Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus* (London, 1594; ESTC S106004), sig. C<sup>4</sup>r; R. Greene, *Philomela* (London, 1592; ESTC S105870), sig. D<sup>2</sup>r; R. Brathwait, *A Comment upon the Two Tales of our Ancient, Renowned, and Ever-living Poet Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, Knight* (London, 1665; ESTC R29900), sigs. B<sup>7</sup>v-B<sup>8</sup>r, this example is not cited in any of the modern dictionaries; T.G., *The Rich Cabinet* (London, 1616; ESTC S102804), sig. E<sup>7</sup>v.

actions can have unintended consequences,<sup>239</sup> and that some things are beyond our control.<sup>240</sup>

The proverb appears regularly in print from, at least, the mid-sixteenth century onwards and is included in several early modern collections in addition to those produced *Heywood*, *Howell*, *Ray 1*, and *Ray 2*. It appears that the proverb had common origins and was in common usage. There are several references to the proverb's popularity and there is no positive evidence that the proverb was derived from classical or biblical sources.

### **In vain does the mill clack if the miller his hearing lack (V1)**

The proverb, *In vain does the mill clack if the miller his hearing lack (V1)*, appears in two of the four sample collections.<sup>241</sup> It appears in *Tilley* and *ODEP*, but not in *Whitings*, *Shakespeare*, or *English Drama*.<sup>242</sup> The examples provided by those dictionaries, augmented by EEBO keyword searches, show that the proverb appeared in several other printed early modern collections.<sup>243</sup>

The entry in Steven's *A New Spanish and English Dictionary* suggests that the proverb means 'It is in vain to instruct a Man if he has not a Capacity to Learn'.<sup>244</sup> The proverb's one appearance outside a contemporary collection suggests, similarly, that it expresses futility.<sup>245</sup>

Though the proverb appears to have been relatively resonant within early modern collections, it does not seem to have appeared frequently outside of them. The little evidence of meaning that is provided by these examples suggests that the proverb carried a figurative meaning and does not tell us anything about the perceived characteristics, traits, or behaviours associated with millers.

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<sup>239</sup> J. Bridges, *The Supremacy of Christian Princes* (London, 1573; ESTC S124188), sig. 3L<sup>3</sup>r.

<sup>240</sup> S. Gosson, *The Trumpet of War* (London, 1598; ESTC S112458), sigs. C<sup>6</sup>v-C<sup>7</sup>r.

<sup>241</sup> It appears in both editions of *Ray* and in *Fuller*, appearing in the whole sentences section of *Ray 1* and the trades subsection of *Ray 2*. *Ray 1*, sig. I<sup>5</sup>r; *Ray 2*, sig. M<sup>8</sup>v; *Fuller*, p. 289.

<sup>242</sup> *Tilley*, p. 695; *ODEP*, p. 403.

<sup>243</sup> EEBO searches: Mill NEAR clack NEAR miller NEAR lack; mill NEAR clapper NEAR miller NEAR deaf. Appearances in printed collections: Herbert, *Outlandish Proverbs*, sig. B<sup>9</sup>r, no. 328: 'In vaine is the mil-clacke, if the Miller his hearing lack', cited in *Tilley* and *ODEP*; N.R., sig. D2v: 'In vain does the mill clack if the Miller his hearing lack', cited in *Tilley*; Codrington, sig. P<sup>8</sup>r: 'Vainly the Mill is said to Clack, where the Miller Ears doth lack', cited in *Tilley*; J. Stevens, *A New Spanish and English Dictionary* (London, 1706; ESTC T114386), sig. P<sup>3</sup>r, s.v. Citola: 'There is no need of a Clapper in the mill, if the miller is deaf', cited in *ODEP*.

<sup>244</sup> Stevens, sig. P<sup>3</sup>r, s.v. Citola.

<sup>245</sup> F. de Rojas, *Celestina*, trans. by J. Mabbe, (London, 1631; ESTC S91395), sig. Z<sup>1</sup>v, cited in *Tilley* and *ODEP*.

## Every miller draws water to his own mill (M952)

The proverb appears in two of the four early modern collections. It appears twice in both *Ray 1* and *Ray 2* and once in *Fuller*.<sup>246</sup> It also appears regularly in other early modern collections.<sup>247</sup> The proverb appears in *Tilley* and *ODEP*, but not in *Whitings*, *Shakespeare*, or *English Drama*.<sup>248</sup> The examples provided by the modern proverb dictionaries and EEBO keyword searches suggest that the proverb was consistently used to express the idea that people are motivated by self-interest, often to the detriment of others.<sup>249</sup> This reading presents millers as exemplars of greed, however the proverb does not appear to have explicitly labelled them in this way, nor does it appear to have been used to criticise or chide millers. This is in marked contrast to the final proverb in this section.

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<sup>246</sup> *Ray 1*, sig. I<sup>5</sup>r, S<sup>7</sup>r; *Ray 2*, sigs. M<sup>8</sup>v, 2A<sup>7</sup>v; *Fuller*, p. 55.

<sup>247</sup> L. Guicciardini, *Hore di ricreatione*, trans. by J. Sanford (London, 1573; ESTC S105885), sig. P<sup>6</sup>r: 'Tutti tirano l'acqua al suo molino. / All draw water to their owne mill', cited in *Tilley* and *ODEP*; Florio, sig. D<sup>2</sup>r: 'Ogniuno tira laqua al suo mlino, cosi fate voi. | Euery man draweth water to hym selfe, and so do you', cited in *Tilley* and *ODEP*; J. Davies, *The Scourge of Folly* (London, 1611; ESTC S109364), sig. L<sup>9</sup>r, no. 192: 'Every man drawes water to his mill. / And so do all such women by their will', cited in *Tilley*; Fergusson, sig. B<sup>3</sup>v: 'Every man wishes the water to his own mylne', cited in *Tilley* and *ODEP*; Draxe, sig. B<sup>5</sup>r, s.v. 'Commoditie, or profite': 'Euery Miller draweth water to his owne mill', cited in *Tilley*; *The Book of Merry Riddles* (London, 1629; ESTC S104643), sig. C<sup>7</sup>v, no. 127: 'All draw water to their owne mill', cited in *Tilley*; Clarke, *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina* (1639), sig. R<sup>4</sup>v, s.v. *Proprii commodi studium*: 'Every miller draws water to his own milne. | Ne quicquam sapit qui sibi non lapit', cited in *Tilley*; Codrington, sig. N<sup>8</sup>r: 'Every Miller draweth Water to his own Mill', cited in *Tilley*; Torriano, *Piazza Universale di Proverbi Italiani*, sig. A<sup>1</sup>v, no. 38: 'Ogn'un tira l'acqua al suo Molino | 38 Every one draws water to his Mill', cited in *Tilley*, this proverb does not appear in the 1642 edition (See fn. 150 for more details); R.B., p. 17: 'Every man wisheth the water to his own milne', cited in *Tilley*; G. Miege, *A New Dictionary French and English, with Another English and French* (London, 1677; ESTC R917), sig. 2G<sup>4</sup>r, s.v. *Mill, moulin*: 'Every Miller draws water to his own mill, chacun tire de son côté', identified via EEBO; Stevens, sig. C<sup>4</sup>r, s.v. 'Agua': 'Prov. Llevar el gua a su molino, to carry the water to his own Mill. That is, to turn all things to ones own advantage', cited in *ODEP*; and, Kelly, sig. G<sup>6</sup>v: '9. Every Miller draws Water to his own Mill. / [\*] Mens Eagerness upon Self-interest has given occasion to this, and a great many other Proverbs. / La. Proximus sum egomet mihi', cited in *Tilley*.

<sup>248</sup> *Tilley*, p. 461, M952; *ODEP*, p. 201, M952.

<sup>249</sup> EEBO keyword search: every NEAR water NEAR own NEAR mill. G. Harvey, *Pierce's Supererogation* (London, 1593; ESTC S103899), sig. O<sup>4</sup>v, cited in *Tilley*; R. Persons, *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of England* (Antwerp, 1595; ESTC S114150), sigs. R<sup>2</sup>v-R<sup>3</sup>r, identified via EEBO; T. Boccalini, *De' ragguagli di Parnaso*, trans. by J. Florio, in *The New-found Politic* (London, 1626; ESTC S106274), sigs. B<sup>1</sup>r-P<sup>3</sup>v (sig. N<sup>2</sup>v), identified via EEBO, this example provides evidence of both literal and figurative drawing of water to one's own mill, the proverb also appears in Henry Carey, second earl of Monmouth's translation: T. Boccalini, *De' ragguagli di Parnaso*, trans. by H. Carey, second earl of Monmouth (London, 1656; ESTC R2352), sig. 3K<sup>1</sup>v, also identified via EEBO; J. Howell, *The Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament* (London, 1644; ESTC R212493), sig. B<sup>3</sup>r, cited in *Tilley* and *ODEP*; R. Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy* (Paris, 1670; ESTC R473617), sig. VI<sup>5</sup>v, identified via EEBO; *Commentaries de messire Blaise de Monluc*, trans. by C. Cotton (London, 1674; ESTC R37642), sig. 2U<sup>2</sup>v, identified via EEBO; W. Hughes, *The Man of Sin* (London, 1677; ESTC R8589), sig. 2B<sup>3</sup>v, cited in *Tilley*.

### **An honest miller has a golden thumb (M953)**

The proverb appears in two of the four early modern collections. It is included twice in *Ray 2*, once in the trades sub-section and once in the list of proverbs submitted by Andrew Paschall of Somerset, which was not integrated into the rest of the collection.<sup>250</sup> It also appears once in *Fuller*.<sup>251</sup> The proverb is included in *Tilley*, *ODEP*, *Whitings*, and *English Drama*.<sup>252</sup> The following examples, derived from those modern proverb dictionaries and EEBO keyword searches, suggest that the proverb did not appear in other early modern collections.<sup>253</sup> This absence raises questions about the extent to which it was considered a proverb by early modern collectors.

Neither the early modern nor the modern collections offer any interpretation of the proverb's meaning. However, since the early nineteenth century, at least, bibliographers, folklorists, and other scholars have suggested possible interpretations. There is anecdotal evidence that the proverb carried positive connotations in the early nineteenth century. In the first volume of his *History of British Fishes* (1832) the zoologist William Yarrell claims that the famous landscape painter and draughtsman John Constable had assured him that the proverb refers to 'the profit that is the reward of [the miller's] skill'. Yarrell claimed that 'although the improved machinery of the present time has diminished the necessity for the miller's skill in the mechanical department, the thumb is still constantly resorted to as the best test for the quality of flour'.<sup>254</sup> Roughly half a century later, Hazlitt speculated that a miller's thumb was 'the strickle' used for measuring corn and that some of these may have had rims of gold 'to shew it was standard: true, and not fraudulent'.<sup>255</sup> Conversely, twentieth-century folklorists have assumed that the proverb carried negative connotations. Archer Taylor believed that the proverb 'reflected' the 'intelligible attitude' of 'The peasant who deals with the miller and doubts the miller's honesty in taking toll for the grinding of grain'.<sup>256</sup> Mieder interprets

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<sup>250</sup> *Ray 2*, sigs. M<sup>8</sup>v, Aa<sup>1</sup>v.

<sup>251</sup> *Fuller*, p. 105, no. 2531.

<sup>252</sup> *Tilley*, p. 461, M953; *ODEP*, p. 532; *Whitings*, pp. 403-4, M559; *English Drama*, pp. 524-25, M953.

<sup>253</sup> EEBO keyword searches: gold NEAR thumb; golden NEAR thumb (variant spellings and forms).

<sup>254</sup> W. Yarrell, *A History of British Fishes*, 2 vols (London: Van Voorst, 1836), I, 58.

<sup>255</sup> *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ed. by W.C. Hazlitt, 3 vols (London: Russell Smith, 1870), III, pp. 342-43.

<sup>256</sup> Taylor, *The Proverb and An Index to 'The Proverb'*, with an intro. and bib. by Mieder, pp. 104-05.

it as 'an old jibe directed against a merchant keeping his thumb on the scales when weighing something'.<sup>257</sup>

None of the following examples explicitly explain what the proverb means, however the majority associate the possession of a golden thumb with dishonesty, most frequently the practice of taking an illegitimate additional toll. In general, therefore the examples presented below support Taylor's contention that the proverb expresses the anxiety of the miller's customers, who bring their grain to the mill and cannot be sure that the amount of flour they receive is fair.

However, the earlier examples only indirectly associate a golden thumb with habitual occupational dishonesty. In the 'General Prologue' to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which *ODEP* and *Whitings* agree is the first recorded instance of the proverb, a miller who is described as good at stealing corn and taking illegitimate additional tolls is also said to have a golden thumb. The prologue identifies the miller, who heads up the pilgrims with his bagpipes. He is described as 'a stout curle [...] ful big [...] of braun and bonys', 'short shuldred', and 'thicke quarrne', with a 'reed' spade-shaped beard, a red-bristled 'werte' on his nose, 'wyde' black 'nostrellis', and a large cauldron-like mouth. He is described as 'a jangler [teller of dirty stories] and a ioly hardeys [a buffoon]' who frequently commits 'synne & harlotryes'. Finally, it is said that he is good at stealing corn by 'tolle thryes [taking three tolls, instead of two]' and that he possess 'a thomb of gold'.<sup>258</sup> The proximity of the image to accusations of dishonest dealing has lead subsequent scholars to assume that the image and the concept are connected. Recent editions of the *Tales*, such as those edited by Jill Mann and Larry D. Benson, argue that 'Chaucer ironically implies that his Miller's thumb is 'golden' because he has managed to grow rich by dishonest practices' and that 'there are no honest millers'.<sup>259</sup> However, there is no evidence that *An honest miller has a golden thumb* existed as a proverb at this point.

A golden thumb is also indirectly associated with a miller's occupational dishonesty in Wynkyn de Worde's 1518 printing of *Cock Lorell's Boat*. The tale includes a miller who, along with the rest of his occupation, is accused of taking illegitimate toll and adulterating flour and is also described as possessing a golden thumb. As in *Canterbury Tales*, there is no explicit explanation of the significance of

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<sup>257</sup> W. Mieder, *Proverbs: A Handbook* (Westport: Greenwood, 2004), pp. 46-7.

<sup>258</sup> Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (1477), [sigs. A<sup>11</sup>r-A<sup>11</sup>v].

<sup>259</sup> G. Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. by J. Mann (London: Penguin, 2005), pp. 819-20; *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by L.D. Benson, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 32.

the miller's golden thumb. However, *Cock Lorell's Boat* also associates a miller with a gilded digit with habitual occupational dishonesty. Like *Tales*, additional illegitimate tolls are mentioned, while the mixing of chalk into flour is added to the list of misdemeanours.<sup>260</sup>

Similarly, a miller who possesses a golden thumb is also accused of stealing in William Turner's *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff* (1612?). The ballad begins with a call to listen to news from London, and proceeds to describe life on the capital's busy streets. The ballad then moves on to describe the dishonesty of millers, weavers, and tailors. It tells of 'the miller with his golden thumbe, / and his dusty necke', who, for every 'two bushels' he grinds 'must steale a peck'; and, 'the Weaver and the Tayler', who are surely 'cozens' as 'they cannot worke' without stealing.<sup>261</sup>

These examples do not directly associate a golden thumb with occupational dishonesty nor do they explain the meaning of the epithet, instead they present a miller with a golden thumb who is also dishonest. In contrast, the following examples directly associate having a golden thumb with occupational dishonesty. The thumb is either involved in the cheating of customers, in some way, or identifies the owner as a thief.

For example, in George Gascoigne's *The Steel Glass* (1576), tolling with a golden thumb is presented as something that millers do that is undesirable and comparable to the habitual occupational dishonesty of other trades. Gascoigne's verse satire details the faults of every rank of society, from the king down, though it does present the lowly ploughman as a lone model of virtue. Near the end of the poem, Gascoigne argues that priests should begin praying for everyone who has ever sinned against their fellow man. Listing the malpractices that must end before these priests can finish praying, Gascoigne eventually comes to millers, who must 'toll not with a golden thumbe'. After several dozens more trades and social types, he concludes that 'When al these things, are ordred as they ought, / And see themselues, within my glasse of steele, / Euen then (my priests) may you make holyday, / And pray no more but ordinarie prayers'.<sup>262</sup> Though Gascoigne does not explain what tolling with a golden thumb means, he presents it as an undesirable act,

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<sup>260</sup> *Cock Lorell's Boat*, sig. B<sup>2</sup>r-B<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>261</sup> W. Turner, *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff* (London, 1612; Pepys Ballads 1.206-207, EBBA 20092).

<sup>262</sup> Gascoigne, H<sup>3</sup>r-H<sup>4</sup>v, cited in *Tilley and ODEP*.

comparable with the habitual occupational malpractices of shoemakers, tailors, and tanners and curriers.

Even more explicitly, millers are said to possess a golden thumb because they cheat their customers by illegitimate additional tolling and other occupational malpractice in Robert Greene's *The Defence of Cony Catching* (1592). At the end of 'A pleasant tale of an Vsurer', as a preamble to the following tale, 'A Pleasant Tale of a Miller and an Alewiues Boy of Edmundton', Greene asks the reader if 'Mounser the Miller, with the guilden thumbe' is 'a Cunny-catcher or no', considering that he 'robs euery poore man of his meale and corn, and takes towle at his owne pleasure' and 'selles them meale of their owne corne againe in the market'. Even infamy does not stop millers, 'fore, the more [they are] curst the better [they fare], & the oftener the Miller is called theefe, the richer he waxeth'. In Greene's opinion, men rightly chastise millers for their reputation, as 'such ground Cony-catchers are these Millers' that they are 'said to be borne with a golden thumbe'.<sup>263</sup> Greene therefore explicitly and directly associates the occupational dishonesty he has described with the epithet.

Two later examples explicitly associate the proverb, as opposed to just the epithet, with occupational dishonesty. An entry in Henry Edmondson's *Comes Facundus in Via* (1658) associates the proverb with a German equivalent that explicitly labels millers as thieves and an anecdote which refers to the common dishonesty of millers in taking additional illegitimate tolls. Edmondson, in his guise as Democritus Secundus, begins by noting that 'the old Proverb of England was, that every true one hath a golden thumb', while 'in Germany they say, when they speak of a stout man, that he is as bold as a Millers shirt, that every morning takes a theef by the neck'. He continues by relating a vignette in which some neighbours observe a miller begging and comment that he must 'be an honest man because he begs, for otherwise he might have lived well by cheating and taking toll as other Millers do'.<sup>264</sup>

Similarly, *Pecuniæ obediunt omnia* (1696), associates the proverb with the illegitimate taking of additional tolls. The collection, attributed to Luke Meriton by *ESTC*, consists of 162 poems on the theme 'Money does master all things'. Millers are the subject of the sixty-seventh poem. It explains that 'When Corn is dear' millers

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<sup>263</sup> Greene, *The Defence of Cony Catching*, sigs. B<sup>3</sup>v-B<sup>4</sup>r.

<sup>264</sup> Edmondson, sigs. C<sup>5</sup>r-C<sup>5</sup>v.



are tempted by the prospect of 'great gains' 'to do amiss'. The poem concludes by citing 'the Old Saying [...] An honest Miller hath a Thumb of Gold'.<sup>265</sup>

However, though a golden thumb is similarly associated with tolling in the jest 'Of the mylner with the golden thombe' in *A Hundred Merry Tales* (1526), is presented as a positive trait. The jest tells how a merchant who wanted 'to deride a myllner seyde unto' him 'Sir I haue hard say that euery trew mylner that tollythe trewlye hath a gyldeyn thombe'. The miller agrees that this is true and when the merchant asks to see 'hys thomb', he shows it to him. However, the merchant is disappointed, claiming that he could 'not perceyue yt thy thombe is gylt but yt ys but as all other mennys tho[m]bis'. To which, the miller responses that his 'tho[m]bis gylt' but that the merchant has cannot appreciate it because 'he yt ys a cokecold shall neuer haue power to se yt'.<sup>266</sup> The merchant's initial comments that only true tolling millers possess a golden thumb clearly indicates that it is a positive attribute and that he is attempting to embarrass the miller by revealing its absence in company. Hazlitt notes the similarity of this reading to the Somerset proverb *An honest miller hath a golden thumb, but none but a cuckold can see it*.<sup>267</sup> This expansion of the proverb appears in the collection sent to Ray by Paschall of Somerset.<sup>268</sup>

Furthermore, two examples associate golden thumbs with millers without associating them with occupational dishonesty. The first song of the second book of Browne's epic experimental poem *Britannia's Pastoral*, printed in 1616, mentions 'Ballad-mongers on a Market-day / Taking their stand' and singing about 'Tom the Miller with a golden thumbe, Who croft in loue, ran mad, and deafe, and dumbe',<sup>269</sup> while a comment in the sub-plot to Lyly's *Gallathea* (1592) merely indicates that millers were said to have golden thumbs.<sup>270</sup>

The proverb, *An honest miller has a golden thumb* (M953), seems to be relatively resonant. Though it only appears in two of the four sampled early modern collections and does not appear in others, it or allusions to it appear regularly in other printed sources. The examples presented do not provide a definitive explanation of the proverbs meaning, but they do, in general, suggest that the proverb had negative

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<sup>265</sup> L. Meriton, *Pecuniæ obediunt omnia* (York, 1696; ESTC R20255), sigs. D<sup>4</sup>r-D<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>266</sup> *A Hundred Merry Tales* (London, 1526; ESTC S101638), sig. B<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>267</sup> *A Hundred Merry Tales: The Earliest English Jest-Book*, ed. by W.C. Hazlitt (London: Jarvis & Son, 1887), p. 18

<sup>268</sup> See fn. 180.

<sup>269</sup> W. Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals: Book 2* (London, 1616; ESTC S107098), sig. C<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>270</sup> J. Lyly, *Gallathea* (London, 1592; ESTC S109720), sigs. D<sup>1</sup>r, F<sup>4</sup>r.

connotations and that it was associated with perceived habitual occupational dishonesty.

Given that *Every miller draws water to his own mill* paints millers as selfish and greedy and *An honest miller has a golden thumb* presents them as habitually dishonest, it is interesting that the two proverbs were never used together. This may be due to the difference between motivation and actions and between universal and specifics. *Every miller draws water to his own mill* suggest that millers act in their own interest and is used figuratively to suggest that all people act in their own interest. However, it does not suggest that this is necessarily a bad thing, nor does it suggest that acting in one's own interest results in dishonesty or criminality, whereas *An honest miller has a golden thumb* suggests that all millers are dishonest. It is not used figuratively but is applied only to millers. Furthermore, it does not suggest that miller's dishonesty is the result of self-interest, as it does not comment on motivation. Finally, early modern writers, such as Edmondson, were aware that there were other proverbs expressing the dishonesty of millers and there is no evidence that they saw any connection between the suggesting of stereotypical self-interest in *Every miller draws water to his own mill* and stereotypical dishonesty in *An honest miller has a golden thumb*.

## **Tailor proverbs**

Two proverbs featuring tailors appear in two or more of the early modern proverb collections: *Four farthings and a thimble make a tailor's pocket jingle* (F72) and *A tailor's shreds are worth the cutting* (T20). These two proverbs therefore resonate within the sample; however, the second also provides an example of the resonance of the habitual occupational dishonesty stereotype.

### **Four farthings and a thimble make a tailor's pocket jingle (F72)**

*Four farthings and a thimble make a tailor's pocket jingle* (F72) appears in three of the four early modern proverb dictionaries. It appears among the English proverbs in

*Howell*, in the rustic proverbs sections of *Ray 1* and *Ray 2*, and in *Fuller*.<sup>271</sup> The proverb appears in *Tilley* and *ODEP* but does not appear in *Whiting*, *Shakespeare*, or *English Drama*.<sup>272</sup> Despite its appearance in *Howell*, *Ray 1*, and *Ray 2*, the proverb does not seem to have been included in other early modern collections and an EEBO keyword search identified only one example of it in print.<sup>273</sup>

The one non-collection example suggests that the proverb associates tailors with poverty. T.R.'s *Hey for Horn Fair* (1674) presents the tailor, Master Prick, as mean, noting how nimbly he walks by without 'one penny in his pocket'. However, the narrator suggests that this paucity is not unusual among his trade, exclaiming that 'two Tokens besides a bookin and a Thimble, will make a Taylors pocket gingle'.<sup>274</sup>

There is no evidence the phrase was considered a proverb before it appeared in *Howell*. Neither is there any evidence that it was resonant within early modern proverb collections beyond those initially sampled. One post-*Howell* and *Ray* example of the proverb in non-collection print does not provide strong evidence for the proverbs wider resonance. However, that example does suggest that the proverb codifies the poverty of tailors, who have so little that their work tools and a few coins will make their pockets jingle.

### **A tailor's shreds are worth the cutting (T20)**

*A tailor's shreds are worth the cutting* (T20) also appears in two of the early modern proverb collections. It appears in the sentences section of *Ray 1* and in the trades section of *Ray 2*; it also appears in *Fuller*.<sup>275</sup> The proverb appears in *Tilley* and *ODEP*, but not in *Whitings*, *Shakespeare*, or *English Drama*.<sup>276</sup> As well as appearing in *Ray 1*, *Ray 2*, and *Fuller*, the proverb is included in two other early modern collections. It appears in Nicholas Breton's *Soothing of Proverbs* (1626) and in the 'Contemptus [the act or state of contempt/scorn/despising] & vilitatis [cheapness/worthlessness]' section of Clarke's *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina*

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<sup>271</sup> *Howell*, sig. C<sup>4</sup>r; *Ray 1*, sig. P<sup>2</sup>v; *Ray 2*, sig. G<sup>1</sup>v; *Fuller*, p. 285, no. 6328.

<sup>272</sup> *Tilley*, p. 203, F72; *ODEP*, p. 283.

<sup>273</sup> *Tilley* cites *Howell*, *Ray 1*, and *Fuller* as the only examples. The *ODEP* cites *Howell* and *Ray 1*. A series of EEBO keyword searches (tailor NEAR farthing; tailor NEAR thimble; tailor NEAR pocket; tailor NEAR jingle – including all variant spellings and forms) produced only one additional example.

<sup>274</sup> T.R., *Hey for Horn Fair* (London, 1674; ESTC R8638), sigs. A<sup>4</sup>v-A<sup>5</sup>r.

<sup>275</sup> *Ray 1*, sig. L<sup>2</sup>r; *Ray 2*, sig. O<sup>8</sup>v; *Fuller*, p. 184, no. 4302.

<sup>276</sup> *Tilley*, p. 649, T20; *ODEP*, p. 798.

(1639).<sup>277</sup> However, the proverb does not seem to appear outside these four collections.<sup>278</sup>

There is therefore some evidence that the phrase was considered a proverb before it appeared in *Ray 1*. However, the proverb is not very resonant within early modern collections. The lack of non-collection examples suggests that it may be a dictionary proverb, not in common use. The four collection entries do not give much evidence of interpretation. However, by claiming that tailor's shreds could provide enough money to purchase land, Breton suggests that the proverb expresses the idea that tailors took more cloth than they should when cutting clothes. Clarke's inclusion of the proverb among those that express contempt and worthlessness confirms its negative implications. None of *Howell*, *Ray 1*, *Ray 2*, or *Fuller* provide additional information about the meaning of the proverb.

### **Nine tailors make a man**

Before moving on to a discussion of the resonant miller, tailor, and weaver proverbs, one final tailor proverb is worthy of attention. *Nine tailors make a man* is not resonant within the sample, only appearing in one of the five collections. However, it is worthy of discussion for three reasons. First, it further demonstrates the problems that arise from relying on even well-respected early modern proverb collections. Second, it provides more evidence of the usefulness of this method of assessing resonance. Third, it highlights a characteristic associated with tailors, which is not alluded to by the proverbs discussed in this chapter, but appears regularly in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

As noted above, the proverb only appears in one of the five early modern proverb dictionaries consulted. However, it appears twice in that collection, *Ray 2*, once in the 'Proverbiall Phrases relating to several trades' sub-division of 'An alphabet Of Joculatory, Nugatory And Rustick Proverbs', and once in the list of proverbs contributed by Andrew Paschall amended to the main collection.<sup>279</sup> The

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<sup>277</sup> N. Breton, *Soothing of Proverbs* (London, 1626; ESTC S91201), sig. A<sup>4</sup>v; Clarke, *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina* (1639), sig. E<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>278</sup> Tilley cites Clarke, *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina* (1639), *Ray 1*, and *Fuller*. *ODEP* cites Breton and Clarke, *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina* (1639). A series of EEBO keyword searches (tailor NEAR shred NEAR worth NEAR cut; tailor NEAR shred NEAR worth; tailor NEAR shred NEAR cut; tailor NEAR shred) fail to produce additional examples.

<sup>279</sup> *Ray 2*, sigs. G<sup>5</sup>v, Z<sup>6</sup>v.

proverb would therefore have met the criterion of resonance if the Paschall collection had been treated as a separate from *Ray 2*. However, it does not appear in *Heywood*, *Howell*, or *Fuller*. Despite its lack of resonance within the sample of early modern collections, the proverb appears in three of the five modern dictionaries: *Tilley*, *ODEP*, and *English Drama*. The proverb does not seem to have appeared in other early modern collections, as *Ray 2* is the only early modern collection cited by the modern proverb dictionaries and an EEBO keyword search failed to return any further examples from collections.<sup>280</sup> Despite its lack of resonance within contemporary proverb collections, the proverb, or clear allusions to it, appear regularly in broader print culture.

An analysis of the modern dictionary examples and the EEBO keyword search results suggests that the proverb was overwhelmingly used to imply that tailors were less masculine than other men. However, there are examples of it being used as a variant of *The tailor makes the man* or *Apparel makes (Clothes make) the man* (A283), which express the idea that clothing, or the artisan creating that clothing, played an important role in constructing an individual's identity. Tilley acknowledges the distinction between *Apparel makes (Clothes make) the man* (A283), *The tailor makes the man* (T17), and *Nine (Three) tailors make a man* (T23), by including separate entries and different examples for each. However, he does encourage the reader to compare the three proverbs.<sup>281</sup> *ODEP* includes an early twentieth-century example of the proverb that suggests a radically different interpretation. In 1908, H.B. Walters explained that the proverb 'is said to be really 'nine tellers', 'tellers' being the strokes for males, female, or child, in a funeral knell or passing bell [...] These strokes are said to be called tailors'.<sup>282</sup> However, there is no evidence that the proverb carried this meaning in the early modern period.

Allusions to the multiple tailors make a man proverb first appear in print in the early seventeenth century. The 1613 printing of *Tarlton's Jests* includes 'Tarlton's Jest to Two Tailors', in which Tarlton meets 'two Tailors (friends of his)'. He greets them, 'in mirth', with the question: 'who goes there'? The first tailor answers 'A man', prompting Tarlton to question how many they are, and when the tailors respond that there are two of them, Tarlton retorts 'then you say true [...] for two Taylors goes to a

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<sup>280</sup> EEBO keyword search: tailor NEAR make NEAR man.

<sup>281</sup> *Tilley*, pp. 16 A283, 649 T19 & T23.

<sup>282</sup> *ODEP*, p. 567.

man'.<sup>283</sup> Just under two decades later, in an addition to his 'In Praise of Hemp-Seed', printed in *All the Workes* (1630), exploring the history, uses, and significance of paper, John Taylor suggests that tailors are now considered to be worth only a third of a man.<sup>284</sup> In a section entitled 'How many live byst being Paper', Taylor claims that '[s]ome folish knaue' started '[t]he slander that three Taylors are one man' and offers a typically tongue-in-cheek defence of the trade, observing that 'many a Taylers boy [...] Hath made tall men much fearefull to be seene' without 'weapon' or martial 'skill'. He reasons that if 'boyes with paper Bils frights men so sore, / [T]is doubtlesse but their Masters can doe more'. Taylor reiterates this claim in 'A Taylers wife to her husband', printed in *Divers crabtree lectures* (1639), when the author of the letter bemoans that she was in hope they had married me to a man, but they have thrust mee on a Tayler, of which three of the best, can scarce make a good on[e].<sup>285</sup>

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the number of tailors needed to constitute a normal man had risen to nine, where it appears to have remained fixed for the rest of the century. John Cleveland's 'Smectymnuus', an attack on five puritan ministers, which first appeared in print in the collected edition, *Poems* (1651), provides a clear example of this. The poem is full of images of many combining into one and Cleveland first compares the ministers to 'a Scoth mark' that 'shrinks to 13. pence', then 'to an Ignis fatuus, whose flame, / Though sometimes tripartite, joyns in the same', and finally to 'to nine Taylors, who if rightly spell'd / Into one man are

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<sup>283</sup> 'Tarlton's Jest to Two Tailors', in *Tarlton's Jests* (London, 1613; ESTC S106896), sigs. C<sup>1</sup>r-C<sup>1</sup>v, cited in *Tilley and ODEP*. *Tilley* cites an edition of *Tarlton's Jests* printed in the second volume of W.C. Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Jest-Books* ('Tarlton's Jests', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by W.C. Hazlitt, 3 vols (London: Willis & Sotheran, 1864), II, pp. 189-253), while *ODEP* cites J.O. Halliwell's slightly earlier *Shakespeare Society* edition ('Tarlton's Jests', in *Tarlton's Jests and News out of Purgatory*, ed. by J.O. Halliwell (London, Shakespeare Society (Great Britain), 1844), pp. 1-47). *Tilley* and *ODEP* both give a date of around or after 1600 for the example. This is presumably based on Halliwell's and Hazlitt's assurances that a licence to published the second part of *Tarlton's jests* (i.e. 'His Sound Cittie lests'), the part in which the proverb appears, was granted in 1600 ('Tarlton's Jests', in *Tarlton's Jests and News out of Purgatory*, ed. by Halliwell, p 3; 'Tarlton's Jests', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, II, p. 190). However, both Halliwell and Hazlitt, and Peter Thomson's far more recent ODNB article on the historical Richard Tarlton, cite 1611 as the earliest date of publication for all three parts under the title *Tarlton's Jests* ('Tarlton's Jests', in *Tarlton's Jests and News out of Purgatory*, ed. by Halliwell, p 3; 'Tarlton's Jests', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, II, 190; P. Thomson, 'Tarlton, Richard (d. 1588)', ODNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26971>> [Last accessed 3 Sept 2014]). Despite their agreement, the earliest example listed in the ESTC, and available through EEBO, is the Folger Shakespeare Library copy cited at the beginning of this footnote.

<sup>284</sup> J. Taylor, 'The Praise of Hempseed', in *The Works of John Taylor the Water-poet* (London, 1630; ESTC S117734), sigs. 3F<sup>1</sup>v-3G<sup>3</sup>r (sig. 3G<sup>1</sup>r).

<sup>285</sup> J. Taylor, 'A Tailor's Wife to her Husband', in *Diverse Crabtree Lectures* (London, 1639; ESTC S113015), sigs. C<sup>12</sup>r-D<sup>6</sup>r (sig. C<sup>12</sup>r).

monosyllabled'.<sup>286</sup> John Taylor appears to have agreed that tailors now represented even less of a man than he had previously asserted, as the subtitle to his ballad, *A Dreadful Battle Between a Tailor and a Louse* (1655) states, describing the conflicts as 'A tryal of skill to prove if we can, a taylor more than ninth part of a man'.<sup>287</sup> However, the wisdom of the proverb is questioned by Phillips in his poem, 'On a London Taylor who spoiled a Commencement Gown in the making', printed in *Wit and drollery, joviall poems* (1656), when he asks how it can be that 'nine Taylors make a man up when [...] One Taylor is enough to mar nine men' by making them 'ill cut Garment[s]'.<sup>288</sup> Finally, in George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham's play, *The rehearsal*, a tailor is mocked with the question 'If nine Taylors make but one man; and one woman cannot be satisfi'd with nine men: what work art thou cutting our here for thy self, trow we?'.<sup>289</sup> There are further examples of looser variations and allusions.<sup>290</sup>

However, despite the litany of examples suggesting that the proverb was used to mock the masculinity of tailors, there is an example of it being used apparently innocently as a variant of the tailor makes the man proverb. One sub-plot of the 1607 printing of Dekker and John Webster's *North-ward Hoe* features a prostitute who disguises herself as an eligible countrywoman to defraud some suitors, while a trio of gallants pose as her servants. In Act II, scene I, the group praise the quality of their disguises. One of the gallants is particularly impressed and suggests that 'If [he] had but a staffe in [his] hand, fooles wud thinke [he] were one of Simon and Iudes gentlemen vshers, and that [his] apparell were hir'd'. He notes that though 'they say three Taylors go to the making vp of a man', he is convinced that 'four e Taylors and

<sup>286</sup> J. Cleveland, 'Smectymnuus', in *Poems* (London, 1651; ESTC R171391), sigs. B<sup>3</sup>r-B<sup>4</sup>v (sigs. B<sup>3</sup>v-B<sup>4</sup>r), this example is cited in *Tilley and ODEP*. *Tilley* dates it to 1640, while *ODEP* dates it to 1615. There does not appear to be any reason for these divergent dates. According to A.D. Cousins, the poem continues Cleveland's attack on 'puritan grotesque' and mocks five ministers who published 'anti-episcopal pamphlets in 1641' under the name Smectymnuus (A.D. Cousins, 'Cleveland, John (bap. 1613, d. 1658)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5635>> [Last accessed 3 September 2014]). If Cousins is correct, the poem could not have been written before the pamphlets were published. The *Tilley* and *ODEP* dates are therefore highly suspect.

<sup>287</sup> J. Taylor, *A Dreadful Battle between a Tailor and a Louse* (London, 1655; ESTC R184917).

<sup>288</sup> J. Phillips, 'On a London Taylor who Spoiled a Commencement Gown in the Making', in *Wit and Drollery* (London, 1656; ESTC R209633), sigs. l<sup>2</sup>v-l<sup>3</sup>v (sig. l<sup>2</sup>v).

<sup>289</sup> G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, *The Rehearsal* (London, 1672; ESTC R3290), sig. D4r.

<sup>290</sup> T. Tomkis, *Albumazar* (London, 1615; ESTC S118449), sig. D<sup>1</sup>v, identified via EEBO; *The Character of a Presbyter* (London, 1660; ESTC R208918), sig. A<sup>2</sup>v; S. Butler, *Hudibras: Part 1* (London, 1663; ESTC R7750), sig. C<sup>3</sup>v, cited in *Tilley and ODEP*; J. Day, *The Isle of Gulls* (London, 1606; ESTC S124593), sig. H<sup>4</sup>r.

a halfe went to the making of' his suit.<sup>291</sup> Furthermore, there is at least one example of an allusion to the tailor makes the man proverb being combined with the idea that tailors are less masculine than other men. In a section of *Diseases Of The Soul* (1616) outlining a cure for humanity's moral and spiritual corruption, Thomas Adams argues that mankind must put right its failings, saying 'God made him a man, he hath made himselfe a beast; and now the Taylor (scarce a man himselfe) must make him a man againe: a braue man, a better man than euer Nature left him.'<sup>292</sup> Adam therefore alludes to the idea that tailors construct identity as well as the ideas that tailors are not fully men.

In summary, the multiple tailors make a man proverb does not resonate with the sampled collections or within other early modern collections. Despite this, it is included in several modern dictionaries. Most importantly, examples and allusions appear regularly in print throughout the seventeenth century. These examples make it clear that the proverb was consistently used to mock the masculinity of tailors, though there are some examples that it was used as a variant of the tailor makes the man proverb. The proverb demonstrates that even using early modern collections as a starting point can mean that one misses proverbs that were widely used. It suggests that analysis of resonance within wider print culture must be used in conjunction with an analysis of resonance within early modern proverb collections.

## Miller, tailor, and Weaver Proverbs

Millers, tailors, and weavers appear together in two proverbs in two or more of the four early modern dictionaries: *Put a miller, a weaver, and a tailor in a bag and shake them, the first that comes out will be a thief* (M957) and *A hundred tailors, a hundred millers, and a hundred weavers makes three hundred thieves* (T22). As is mentioned above, the most significant thing about these two proverbs is that they repeat the

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<sup>291</sup> T. Dekker and J. Webster, *Northward Ho* (London, 1607; ESTC S109552), sig. C<sup>4</sup>v, cited in *Tilley*, *ODEP*, and *English Drama*. All three dictionaries reference the 1607 printing of the play. However, *English Drama* also includes the date 1605, the year the play was written and first performed (*Tilley*, p. 649, T23; *ODEP*, p. 567, T23; *English Drama*, p. 666, T23). For the date of writing, performance, and publication, see: J. Twyning, 'Dekker, Thomas (c.1572–1632)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7428>> [Last accessed 3 September 2014] and D. Gunby, 'Webster, John (1578x80–1638?)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28943>> [Last accessed 3 September 2014].

<sup>292</sup> T. Adams, *Diseases of the Soul* (London, 1616; ESTC S100388), sig. F<sup>1</sup>v, cited in *Tilley* as evidence of *The tailor makes the man* (T17).



same stereotypes as the individual miller and tailor proverbs: *an honest miller has a golden thumb* and *A tailor's shreds are worth the cutting*. They therefore demonstrate the resonance of the individual stereotypes – millers are habitually dishonest, tailors are habitually dishonest – and the power of the general stereotype – habitual occupational dishonesty – to group relevant occupations.

**Put a miller, a weaver, and a tailor in a bag and shake them, the first that comes out will be a thief (M957)**

*Put a miller, a weaver, and a tailor in a bag and shake them, the first that comes out will be a thief* appears in half the sampled early modern collections, twice in *Howell* and in *Ray 1* and *Ray 2*. *Howell* includes it in his section of English proverbs and it also appears as one of the English proverbs he translates into French, Italian, and Spanish.<sup>293</sup> In *Ray 1*, the proverb appears in the 'Drinking Phrases' sub-section of 'rustick and [...] omitted' proverbs, while in *Ray 2*, it appears in the miscellaneous sub-section of the 'Joculatory, Nugatory And Rustick' proverbs.<sup>294</sup> The proverb does not appear in *Heywood* or *Fuller*. The related proverb, *A hundred tailors, a hundred millers, and a hundred weavers makes three hundred thieves*, also appears as a translation of the Spanish proverb *Cien sastres, cien molineros, y cien texedores son trecientos ladrones* in the Moral Proverbs section of *Howell's Spanish collection*.<sup>295</sup> Another variation of this proverb, *A hundred traitors, a hundred weavers, and a hundred millers, make three hundred thieves*, appears in *Fuller*. Given the dissimilarity between traitors and thieves and the similarity between the words traitor and tailor, this is probably a rendering.<sup>296</sup>

In addition to *Howell*, *Ray 1*, and *Ray 2*, the proverb appears in two other early modern collections. It appears in a section of proverbs about tailors in *Guy Miege's A new dictionary French and English* (1677) followed by a French translation, while it appears in the explanation of the Spanish version of *A hundred tailors, a hundred millers, and a hundred weavers makes three hundred thieves* (discussed below) in *John Stevens' A New Spanish and English Dictionary* (1706).<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> *Howell*, sigs. b<sup>2</sup>r, [b<sup>1</sup>]v-[b<sup>2</sup>]r.

<sup>294</sup> *Ray 1*, sig. P<sup>5</sup>r, G<sup>3</sup>r.

<sup>295</sup> *Howell*, sig. C<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>296</sup> *Fuller*, p. 23, no. 615.

<sup>297</sup> *Miege*, sig. 3C<sup>2</sup>v, s.v. 'A Tailor, un Tailleur, Tailleur d'habits'; *Stevens*, sig. 2X<sup>4</sup>r, s.v. 'Sastre'.

The proverb appears in *Tilley* and *ODEP*, but not in *Whitings*, *Shakespeare*, or *English Drama*. In addition to *Howell*, *Ray 1*, and *Miege*, *Tilley* cites William Sampson's *The Vow Breaker* (1636), while *ODEP* cites Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592) and *A Pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Somers* (1637), as well as Sampson, *Howell*, and *Stevens*.<sup>298</sup> However, of these non-collection examples, only Sampson provides positive evidence of the proverb. As is the case with *The miller is a thief* (discussed above), the examples *ODEP* cites express similar ideas, but do not provide positive evidence of proverb itself.

Sampson's play dramatises two Nottinghamshire-centred story lines: the role of local knight, Sir Gervase Clifton, in the French-Scottish action around Leith in 1560; and, the legend of the fair maid of Clifton.<sup>299</sup> The legend, which was repeated in several ballads dating from the later seventeenth century, tells of the love between Ann Boote and Young Bateman.<sup>300</sup> Boote promised herself to Bateman, but Bateman left for war and returned to find she had married a wealthy local man instead. Distraught at this betrayal, Bateman committed suicide. In the legend, Boote was eventually carried away by a demon for her disloyalty, while in Sampson's play, she was haunted by her spurned lover's ghost until she too killed herself. The proverb appears early in Act I. After enquiring whether Young Bateman is ready for his military service, Sir Gervase asks Miles, a miller from Ruddington, if he knows where the boy is.<sup>301</sup> Miles declares that Young Bateman is nearby, 'trading as other knaves doe' with 'the Tailor the Weaver, and I the Miller'. Hearing this, Sir Gervase exclaims: '[m]y Hollidam knaves all three! Put me a Tailor, a weaver, and a Miller into a bag'. Miles replies encouragingly: 'what then sir?', and Sir Gervase delivers his punch line: '[w]hy he that first comes out will be a knave'.<sup>302</sup> Though there is no textual indication that Gervase's joke is a variation of a proverb, it closely anticipates

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<sup>298</sup> *Tilley*, p. 462, M957; *ODEP*, p. 655; W. Sampson, *The Vow Breaker* (London, 1636; ESTC S116468); Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, *A Pleasant History of the Life and Death of William Somer* (London, 1637; ESTC S106026).

<sup>299</sup> D. Kathman, 'Sampson, William (b. 1599/1600, d. in or after 1655)', *ODNB*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24596>> [accessed 23 Aug 2012].

<sup>300</sup> *A Warning for Maidens*, EBBA 30336, Roxburghe 1.501 (1650?); *A Good Warning for All Maidens*, EBBA 31836, Euing 128 (1658-1664); *A Godly Warning for All Maidens*, EBBA 20238, Pepys 1.504-505 (1686-1688); *A Godly Warning for All Maidens*, EBBA 33905, Crawford 1386 (1693-1695?); *A Godly Warning for All Maidens*, EBBA 33907, Crawford 1387 (1688-1709?); *Bateman's Tragedy*, EBBA 33911, Crawford 1389 (?); *Young Bateman's Ghost*, EBBA 31498, Roxburghe 3.766-767 (?); *Young Bateman's Ghost*, EBBA 33910, Crawford 1388 (?).

<sup>301</sup> Sampson, sig. B<sup>3</sup>r-B<sup>3</sup>v.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B<sup>3</sup>v.

the format found in *Howell, Ray 1*, and *Ray 2*. This example is the only non-collection evidence of the existence of the proverb.

Greene's popular tale does not include the proverb, or any allusion to it or variation of it, though it does refer to a proverb concerning the dishonesty of weavers and groups millers, tailors, and weavers by their common dishonesty. Greene adapted *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* from Francis Thynn's *The Debate between Pride and Lowlines* (1577?) and, like many previous works of social criticism, it addresses the villainy and malpractice of a plethora of occupational and social types.<sup>303</sup> However, in a short episode, Greene's text makes it clear that the dishonesty of weavers, tailors, and millers is extraordinary, and that the dishonesty of weavers, at least, is proverbial. *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* tells the story of 'a quaint dispute', in the mind of the dreaming narrator, between a pair of anthropomorphized velvet breeches, representing innovation and novelty, and a similarly enlivened pair of cloth breeches, representing traditional values. The items of clothing argue over which is the 'most antient and most worthy' and the narrator convinces them to settle their dispute by putting their cases to a jury.<sup>304</sup> It is agreed that the jury will be made up from passers-by. A variety of people then pass Velvet- and Cloth-breeches, representing different social statuses, types, and occupations, and each is examined and either accepted or rejected by the would-be litigants. This framing device allows Greene to comment on many contemporary issues and allows him to condemn 'sharp practice and shoddy workmanship'.<sup>305</sup> The weaver, miller, and tailor appear as part of a group of twelve parishioners accompanied by a minister. Velvet- and Cloth-breeches observe the group coming towards them and strike up conversation with the minister, Sir John. He praises their 'quest' and explains that he and his party have been engaged in some good-fellowship, drinking with 'a poor man [...] a neighbour of [theirs] that hath lost a cow'.<sup>306</sup> Turning to Sir John's second companion, the weaver, Cloth-breeches exclaims:

But you Weauer, the Prouerbe puts you downe for a craftie Knaue, you canne filche and steale almost as ill as the Taylor, your woofe and warpe is so cunningly drawn out that you plague the poore Countrey huswiues for theyr yarne, and dawbed on so much dregges that you make it seeme both well wrought and to beare waight, when it is slenderly wouen, and you haue

<sup>303</sup> C.W. Crupi, *Robert Greene* (Boston: Twayne, 1986), p. 96.

<sup>304</sup> Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, sigs. B<sup>2</sup>r-B<sup>3</sup>r.

<sup>305</sup> Crupi, p. 96.

<sup>306</sup> Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, sigs. E<sup>4</sup>r-E<sup>4</sup>v.

stolne a quarter of it from the poore wife. Away, be packing, for you shal be cashierd.<sup>307</sup>

The third member of the band, a miller, is also rejected and told to 'shake hands with your brother the Weauer for knauery'.<sup>308</sup> In total, seven of the thirteen are accepted, as their 'trades haue but petty slights', while six are rejected.<sup>309</sup> That half the parishioners are rejected for the malpractices commonly associated with their trades makes it clear that Greene does not consider dishonesty to be limited to weavers, tailors, or millers. However, the malpractice of weavers is explicitly stated to be proverbial, while the deceitfulness of tailors is so notorious that Cloth-breeches uses them as a benchmark of misconduct which the weaver only 'almost' reaches. Finally, the miller is adjudged to share a kinship with the weaver due to their equivalent knavery. *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* suggests that even among a gallery of rogues, weavers, tailors, and millers, are considered to be particularly dishonest. Furthermore, by comparing weavers and tailors so closely, and by establishing a fraternal connection between weavers and millers, Greene appears to anticipate the proverbial grouping. The passage expresses the idea that will be eventually codified in the bag proverb, but not the proverb itself.

The final pre-*Howell* example, *A Pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Somers* (1637), an anonymous biography of Henry VIII's famous fool, makes the first explicit reference to the existence of a proverb concerning the dishonesty of millers, tailors, and weavers, but does not actually include the proverb itself. However, there is some disagreement around the date of printing. The earliest edition listed in the *ESTC*, the Folger Shakespeare Library copy, provides a date of 1637 on its title page, while *ESTC* full record notes that the biography was entered into the Stationer's Register in early 1637.<sup>310</sup> *ODEP* dates the example to 1637 but signals that the 1676 edition was actually used instead. John Southworth and J.R. Mulryne do not mention the 1637 edition and simply provide a date of 1676 for the biography.<sup>311</sup> The dating of this example is important because the earlier date places

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<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>310</sup> *A Pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Somers*, sig. A<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>311</sup> J. Southworth, *Fools and Jesters at the English Court* (Stroud: The History Press, 1998), pp. 91-103, 125-27, 138; J.R. Mulryne, 'Somer, William (d. 1559)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2013) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26029>> [Accessed 4 September 2014].

the reference to the proverb before it appears in *Howell*, while the later date places it afterwards. The example in question appears at the beginning of a sketch in which Somer is asked his opinion of millers, by the king, and riffs on their dishonesty. The jest begins with the narrator explaining a contemporary proverb, that there were three severall Trades, that could never be free from Felony, namely, Weavers, Millers, and Taylers'. The jest then moves to the court of Henry VIII, where '[t]he King aske[s] his foole what he [thinks] of Millers'. Somer replies that he 'hold[s] them to bee a kinne to the blessed Virgin', because just as 'she above all colours preferreth a white vesture, as betokening purity, sincerity, and chastity [...] you shall never meete a Miller but in a whit and mealy habite'. Furthermore, 'as she was before the birth a Virgin, in the birth a Virgin, and after the birth a Virgin: so a Miller is before his Mill a Theefe, in his Mill a Theefe, and behind his Mill a Theefe'. The jest therefore suggests that the anonymous author was aware of a proverb expressing the dishonesty of millers, tailor, and weavers; however, it does not provide any evidence of what the wording of that proverb. As noted above, the assertion that the proverb was 'then on foot' during the reign of Henry VIII cannot be taken at face value, but, if the earlier date of printing is accurate, the jest provides evidence that a proverb codifying the dishonesty of millers, tailors, and weaver existed in the mid-1630s.

EEBO searches provide further evidence that millers, tailors, and weavers were grouped together for the common thievery, but do not provide additional examples of the proverb.<sup>312</sup>

### **A hundred tailors, a hundred millers, and a hundred weavers makes three hundred thieves (T22)**

The proverb appears in two of the four early modern collections. It appears among the Spanish proverbs listed in *Howell* and it appears in *Fuller*.<sup>313</sup> The proverb appears in *Tilley*, but not in *ODEP*, *Whitings*, *Shakespeare*, or *English Drama*.<sup>314</sup> The

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<sup>312</sup> An EEBO keyword search for miller NEAR tailor NEAR weaver produces the following results. Robson, sig. L<sup>4</sup>v; Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals: Book 1*, sigs. L<sup>2</sup>v-L<sup>3</sup>r; Taylor, *An Errant Thief*, sigs. A<sup>5</sup>r-A<sup>5</sup>v; Taylor, *The Praise and Virtue of a Jail and Jailors*, sig. B<sup>1</sup>v; *The Golden Age* (London, 1625; ESTC S4116); Phillips, 'King Arthur', sig. 2E<sup>6</sup>r.; Head and Kirkman, *The English Rogue: Part 2*, sig. E<sup>1</sup>r.; and, J. Wade, *The Crafty Maid of the West* (London, 1670-96?; ESTC R186126).

<sup>313</sup> *Howell*, sig. C<sup>2</sup>r; *Fuller*, p. 23, no. 615. However, in *Fuller*, the proverb appears as 'An hundred Traytors, 100 Weavers, and 100 Millers, make 300 Thieves'.

<sup>314</sup> *Tilley*, p. 649, T22.

examples given in *Tilley* and an EEBO keyword search show that, in addition to *Howell* and *Fuller*, the proverb appeared in two other early modern proverb collections.<sup>315</sup> It was included in *Codrington* and, as mentioned above, it also appeared in *Stevens*.<sup>316</sup> *Tilley* and EEBO provide no evidence that the proverb ever appeared in print outside a proverb collection.

Howell and Stevens claim that the proverb was Spanish in origin, while Stevens and Tilley compare the hundreds proverb with the bag proverb discussed above. Stevens gives the Spanish proverb, then its English translation. He explains that the proverb expresses the idea that ‘there is not one in an hundred of those Trades that are honest’ and notes that, in English, ‘We say, Take a Taylor, a Miller, and a Weaver and put them into a Sack, and the first that comes out will be a Knave. But this is not so comprehensive as the Spanish.’<sup>317</sup> Tilley merely instructs his reader to compare the hundreds proverb with the bag proverb and *There is knavery in all trades* (K152).<sup>318</sup>

Like the bag proverb, the hundreds proverb clearly codifies the idea that millers, tailors, and weavers were special and equal in stealing from their customers and or employers. Though the proverb appeared to be resonant within the sample of four early modern proverb collections, it does not seem to have appeared regularly in contemporary collections or in print.

## Conclusions

Proverbs are a useful source for the investigation of early modern attitudes and representations, and consequently, of contemporary stereotypes and identities. Early modern scholars have therefore been remiss to neglect proverbs as a source. However, previous studies have been hamstrung by the flaws in available dictionaries, both modern and contemporary. Modern proverb dictionaries are the result of an impressive amount of research and scholarship. *Tilley* is still the benchmark, but the *Whittings*, *ODEP*, *Shakespeare*, and *English Drama* have all made useful additions and refinements, and provide insightful criticism of *Tilley* and the practice of producing proverb dictionaries. However, there are significance

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<sup>315</sup> EEBO keyword searches: Miller NEAR tailor NEAR weaver; three hundred NEAR thieves.

<sup>316</sup> *Codrington*, sig. N<sup>4</sup>v; *Stevens*, sig. 2X<sup>4</sup>r, s.v., *Sastre*.

<sup>317</sup> *Stevens*, sig. 2X<sup>4</sup>r, s.v., *Sastre*.

<sup>318</sup> *Tilley*, p. 649, T22.

problems with the identification and selection of proverbs and evidence in each of these five dictionaries, and scholars should exercise caution when using these dictionaries as evidence of the proverbs in use in the early modern period. As this chapter has demonstrated, some early modern proverbs do not seem to have ever appeared in print, while others have only appeared in one early modern dictionary.

This is doubly worrying as there are even more problems with the use of early modern proverb collections as evidence of the proverb in use in that period. In context, *Ray 1* and *Ray 2* are impressive feats of thoroughness and learning. However, they do not reach modern standards of rigour and transparency. Early modern scholar should therefore have significant concerns about relying on *Ray 1* or *Ray 2* as well. *Heywood*, *Howell*, and *Fuller* present even more difficulties. These dictionaries sometimes present their author's own creations and variations as common proverbs. They also include a number other forms, such as epigrams, phrases, and quotations, that would not now be considered proverbs. Despite these issues, this chapter demonstrates that the works of these four collectors can prove valuable when used in combination; as it allows us to exclude the idiosyncratic and identify resonant proverbs. However, this is only the first step. Proverbs cannot automatically be assumed to have been popular, even those that appear frequently in early modern dictionaries. Instead, the resonance of individual proverbs must be analysed to determine the frequency of their use and their significance.

Analysis of this sample demonstrates that almost half the ROP are concerned with only six standardised occupations: 'Doctor/Surgeon', 'servant,' 'miller,' 'tailor,' 'hairdressing,' and 'merchant'. Furthermore, proverbs containing 'Doctor/Surgeon' are by far the most common. There are twice as many proverbs about this standardised occupation than about the joint second most commonly appearing standardised descriptors: 'servant' and 'miller'. The prominence of 'Doctor/Surgeon' and 'servant' proverbs can be explained, to an extent, by the number of original descriptors associated with these standardised occupations. However, prominence of 'Doctor/Surgeon' descriptors cannot be denied. 'Physician' is the most common appearing original descriptor, while 'doctor' is joint third alongside 'barber', 'merchant', 'servant', and 'tailor'. Instead, the number of proverbs featuring 'Doctor/Surgeon' descriptors is explained by the existence of sections of proverbs dedicated to health and wellbeing in several of the sample collections.

However, even allowing for these factors, the number of resonant proverbs concerning these five standardised occupations suggests that they possessed significant socio-economic and or cultural visibility. Proverbs about these occupations might have been common because they were a significant presence in early modern society (i.e. servants), they provided an essential service (i.e. millers, barbers, and tailors), and or they provided a service to a broad cross-section of the population (i.e. barbers and tailors). However, it might have been because they were thought to display some well-known distinguishing characteristic or behaviour. Proverbs about millers and tailors appear to have been relatively prominent for several reasons: both occupations provided a service to a broad range of customers and both occupations had well-developed stereotypes associated with them. They were therefore both socio-economically and culturally visible occupations. Unlike those featuring 'Doctor/Surgeon,' 'servant,' 'hairdressing,' and 'merchant' occupations, proverbs about millers and tailors regularly provide evidence about the traits, behaviours, and characteristics associated with those trades. The proverb *An honest miller has a golden thumb* appears to have been resonant within wider print culture and associated millers with the occupational dishonesty, while *Nine tailors make a man* appears to have been similarly resonant and associated tailors with a lack of masculinity.

The sample also provides evidence of occupational grouping. 'Doctor/Surgeon' and 'lawyer' descriptors appear together in more than one proverb, as do millers, tailors, and weavers. However, there is something significant about the second grouping. Though 'Doctor/Surgeon' and 'lawyer' descriptors appear to be grouped because of the similarity of the relationship with their client, millers, tailors, and weavers appear to have been grouped because of their shared association with occupational dishonesty. The proverb *Put a miller, a weaver, and a tailor in a bag and shake them, the first that comes out will be a thief* therefore demonstrates both the resonance of miller and tailor stereotypes and the resonance of the habitual occupational dishonest stereotype itself.



# Chapter 3: Jestbooks

## Introduction

This chapter is based on analysis of four printed jestbooks – *A Hundred Merry Tales* (1526) (hereafter *HMT*), *Tales and Quick Answers* (1535) (hereafter *TQA*), Dekker and George Wilkins' *Jests to Make you Merry* (1607) (hereafter *JMM*), and John Taylor's *Wit and Mirth* (1628) (hereafter *WM*) – and a selection of jests from one manuscript jestbook – Sir Nicholas L'Estrange's *Merry Passages and Jests* (c. 1630-40) (hereafter *MPJ*).<sup>319</sup> It is divided into three parts. The first part discusses existing scholarship on jestbooks, highlighting the key debates and their relevance to an investigation of the representation of millers, tailors, and weavers. The second part focuses on the printed jestbooks. First, it describes the four printed jestbooks listed above, their publication history, and explains why they were chosen for analysis. Second, it details and analyses the distribution of occupational descriptors in them, playing particular attention to the distribution of millers, tailors, and weavers. Third, it discusses the jests that feature those three trades in more detail. Fourth, it briefly analyses some miller, tailor, and weaver jests from a range of additional printed jestbooks. Fifth, it suggests some reasons for the relative paucity of miller, tailor, and weaver jests in printed collections. The third part looks at manuscript jestbooks. It describes *MPJ*, analyses the distribution of occupational descriptors within a selection from it and examines the miller, tailor, and weaver jests in the collection. Finally, this chapter offers some conclusions about the representations of the millers, tailors, and weavers in early modern jestbooks.

## Historiography

Historical writing on early modern jestbooks is similar to the scholarship on proverbs discussed in the previous chapter. Few studies deal explicitly and exclusively with the form or content of early modern jestbooks. However, a wider scholarship uses

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<sup>319</sup> *A Hundred Merry Tales* (1526); *Tales and Quick Answers* (London, [1535]; ESTC S111338); T. Dekker and G. Wilkins, *Jests to Make you Merry* (London, 1607; ESTC S105305); J. Taylor, *Wit and Mirth* (London, 1635; ESTC S111410); "*Merry Passages and Jests*": *A Manuscript Jestbook of Sir Nicholas Le Strange, 1603-1655*, ed. and intro. by H.F. Lippincott (Salzburg: Institut für englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1974).

jestbooks as a source without explicitly engaging with the peculiarities of the genre. Most of what has been written on jestbooks was published after the mid-1970s. Before then, what was produced appeared, almost exclusively, as introductory material to critical and facsimile editions of jestbooks or collections of jestbooks.<sup>320</sup> The increased interest in jestbooks since the mid-1970s demonstrates the influence of the linguistic turn, the rise of cultural history, and the increased interest in previously neglected sources of popular culture in the later-twentieth century. Keith Thomas' 1976 Neale Lecture in English History, 'The Place of Laughter in Tudor and Stuart England', published in a shortened form in *TLS* in 1977, was a key turning point. Thomas argued that laughter – what people laughed at, what was considered appropriate to laugh at, and what people thought of laughter – should be of great interest to social historians because it demonstrates the attitudes and anxieties of historical societies.<sup>321</sup> Since then, a seam of cultural history has emerged that uses jests, jestbooks, jesting, jokes, humour, and laughter to investigate social attitudes and identities, particularly representations of gender, disability, and vagrancy.<sup>322</sup> Alongside this development, there remains a small but significant seam of writing,

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<sup>320</sup> W.C. Hazlitt, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, I, pp. i-x; H. Oesterley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book: An Edition of a Hundred Merry Talys (1526) Edited in 1866 by Herman Oesterley*, ed. by L.R.N. Ashley (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1970), pp. iii-xiv; P.M. Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales, and Other English Jest Books of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. by P.M. Zall (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1963; repr. 1977), pp. 1-10; L.R.N. Ashley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, pp. v-vii; J. Wardroper, 'Introduction', in *Jest upon Jest: A Selection from the Jestbooks and Collections of Merry Tales Published From the Reign of Richard III to George III*, ed. by J. Wardroper (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 1-25; P.M. Zall, 'An Introduction: The Blending of Wit and Jest', in *A Nest of Ninnies and Other English Jestbooks of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by P.M. Zall (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), pp. xi-xviii.

<sup>321</sup> K. Thomas, 'The Place of Laughter in Tudor and Stuart England', *Times Literary Supplement*, 21 January 1977, p. 77-81.

<sup>322</sup> For representations of gender, see: J. Figueroa, 'Having "To Bear the Yoke": Women and Jest-Books of the Early Seventeenth Century', *Sederi*, 12 (2002), 201-08; Allen Brown; I. Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke: Early Modern Jestbooks, 1526-1635*, ed. by I. Munro (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), ix-xxxiii; and, T. Reinke-Williams, 'Misogyny, Jest-Books and Male Youth Culture in Seventeenth-Century England', *Gender & History*, 21:2 (2009), 324-39. For representations of disability, see: A. Korhonen, 'Disability Humour in English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Cultural History*, 3:1 (2014), 27-53. For representations of vagrancy, see: L. Woodbridge, 'Jest Books, the Literature of Roguery, and the Vagrant Poor in Renaissance England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 33:2 (2003), 201-10. For an example of the broadening of the field, F. P. Wilson gives quite a narrow definition of jestbooks that excludes verse jests, jests in mixed collections and other works, propaganda jests, and those that do not have some form of narrative, while Allen Brown focuses on a nebulous 'jesting literature' which includes jestbooks, plays, ballads, and other forms of cheap print. See F.P. Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 2:2 (1939), 121-58, revised and reprinted as F.P. Wilson, 'The English Jest-Books of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in F.P. Wilson, *Shakespearian and other Studies*, ed. by H. Gardner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 285-324.

dating back to the early-twentieth century, on the history and characteristics of jestbooks.<sup>323</sup>

In his introduction to *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke* (2006), a selection of jestbooks and extracts chosen for their relevance to studies of early modern gender, Ian Munro identifies three approaches within the pre-1970 literature and two trends in more recent scholarship. In the first pre-1970 phase, nineteenth-century antiquarians sought, studied, and published jestbooks to illuminate references in Shakespeare; in the second, early-twentieth century literary critics investigated jestbooks because of their supposed contribution to the development of the novel; and, in the third, mid-twentieth century scholars examined jestbooks as examples of the folk tradition from which higher forms of literary emerged and fed.<sup>324</sup> In addition, Munro argues that in this earlier period, most people writing about jestbooks assumed that jests authentically reflected the humour and therefore attitudes and experiences of the common people. Since then, jestbook historiography can be divided into two opposing camps: those who still see jestbooks as part of popular culture and those who see jestbooks as part of elite culture.<sup>325</sup>

## Popularity: pre-1970

Munro's dismissal of all pre-1970 scholarship is probably too harsh. Before Thomas, a few serious scholars had commented on the relationship between the content of jests and the lived experience or attitudes of early modern people. Writing in the mid-nineteenth century, Hazlitt suggested that jestbooks provided evidence of 'early manners and habits of thought'. Just over a century later, in 1970, Ashley claimed that *HMT* contains 'the authentic voice of the common people, the penny public of

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<sup>323</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939); S.J. Krahl, 'The Medieval Origins of the Sixteenth-Century English Jest-Books', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 13 (1966), 166-83; J.B. Lipking, 'Traditions of the *Facetiae* and Their Influence in Tudor England' (unpublished PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1971); A. Lake Prescott, 'Humanism in the Tudor Jestbooks', *Moreana*, 24:95-96 (1987), 5-16; D. Brewer, 'Prose Jest-Books Mainly in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century in England', in *A Cultural History of Humour: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. by J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (Cambridge: Polity, 1997), pp. 90-111; C. Holcomb, *Mirth Making: The Rhetorical Discourse on Jest in Early Modern England* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); B.C. Bowen, *Humour and Humanism in the Renaissance* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

<sup>324</sup> Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, p. xii.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xii-xiv.

Shakespeare's theatre', while, in the same year, Wardroper asserted that jests provided evidence of 'the intimacies, disasters and delights of everyday life'.<sup>326</sup>

However, such assertions are unusual and, instead, pre-1970 writing that addressed the popularity of jests discussed what would now be termed production, performance, and consumption. There was general agreement that English jestbooks were largely derived from ancient and continental sources.<sup>327</sup> There is some slight difference of opinion over the primary influence, with Krahl arguing that medieval exempla had more influence on the style and content of English jests than later 'continental 'humanist' literature' and Wardroper emphasises the influence of the Arabic tradition of Si Djoh , Hodja, Ash'ab brought to Europe by Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina Clericalis*.<sup>328</sup> However, several authors claimed that *HMT* contained some jests derived from the native oral tradition.<sup>329</sup> Zall even observes that the language in *HMT* 'often seems phonetically transcribed'.<sup>330</sup> In addition to this, Wilson suggests that *JMM*, *WM*, and John Taylor's other collections, *Bull, Bear, and Horse* (1638) and *Taylor's Feast* (1638) appear to have been genuinely gathered from contemporary oral culture.<sup>331</sup> However, as far back as the mid-nineteenth century, Osterley made it clear that some of the jests in *HMT* were only assumed to derive from the native oral tradition because foreign or classical precedents had not yet been identified.

Pre-1970 scholars were therefore aware that the vast majority of English jests were derived from an established literary tradition and were not produced by the common people. However, they were also aware that jests moved fluidly between textual and oral cultures. Wilson describes how jests were used by preachers, such as Hugh Latimer, to enliven sermons and by lawyers, to win over juries. This suggested that jests were performed and consumed orally, and, furthermore, that some contemporaries noted down the jests they heard from their friends and

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<sup>326</sup> Hazlitt, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, I, pp. vi, viii-ix; Ashley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, p. viii; Wardroper, 'Introduction', in *Jest upon Jest*, ed. by Wardroper, pp. 16-18, p. 1.

<sup>327</sup> Osterley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, pp. xiii-xiv; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), pp. 125-27, 133, 138-41; Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, ed. by Zall, pp. 2, 6-9.

<sup>328</sup> Krahl; Wardroper, 'Introduction', in *Jest upon Jest*, ed. by Wardroper, pp. 16-18.

<sup>329</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), pp. 125-26; Ashley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, pp. vi-vii; Wardroper, 'Introduction', in *Jest upon Jest*, ed. by Wardroper, pp. 16-18, pp. 3-4, 8-9.

<sup>330</sup> Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, ed. by Zall, p. 8.

<sup>331</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), p. 127.

neighbours, turning an oral form back into a textual form.<sup>332</sup> Similarly, Zall states that the majority of jests were intended to be read aloud and may also have been originally composed orally.<sup>333</sup> Wardroper also highlights the ease with which jests moved from printed to oral forms and back. He notes that L'Estrange's manuscript collection, compiled in the 1630s and 1640s, includes variations of twelve jests printed in *A Banquet of leasts* (1630). However, L'Estrange's notes claim that he heard each of them from a different relation, friend, or neighbour.<sup>334</sup> This suggests that even when jests were available in print, they could still be encountered in an oral form. It also questions the usefulness of drawing a sharp distinction between textual and oral forms of the genre. Finally, pre-1970 scholars suggest that jestbooks were consumed by a broad spectrum of society.<sup>335</sup>

In summary, very few pre-1970 scholars suggested that jests provide direct evidence of the early modern lived experience, though more argued that they provide evidence of contemporary attitudes. Similarly, pre-1970 scholars presented a more nuanced picture of the popularity of jestbooks than Munro allows. They accepted that jests were largely derived from existing continental and classical literary traditions, but speculated that some may have come from the native oral tradition. Most importantly, they acknowledged that jests moved fluidly between textual and oral cultures and observed that they were enjoyed by a wide variety of people.

## Popularity: post-1970

Munro divides post-1970 writing about the popularity of jestbooks into two groups: those who considered jestbooks to be part of popular culture and those who considered them to be part of elite culture. For Munro, the turning point is Joanna B. Lipking's 1970 unpublished PhD thesis 'Traditions of the *Facetiae* and Their Influence in Tudor England', which, as the title makes clear, highlights the impact of continental Renaissance literature on sixteenth-century English jestbooks. Since then, scholars such as Lake Prescott and Woodbridge have sought to situate English jestbooks within an elite literary tradition stretching back from the *facetiae* produced

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<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 132, 144-46.

<sup>333</sup> Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, ed. by Zall, pp. 1-2.

<sup>334</sup> Wardroper, 'Introduction', in *Jest upon Jest*, ed. by Wardroper, pp. 16-18, p. 11.

<sup>335</sup> Hazlitt, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, p. ix.

by continental humanists, through medieval *fabliaux* and *exempla*, to classical discussions of jesting by Cicero and Quintilian. These scholars are highly critical of earlier writing that assumed that jests authentically reflected the humour and attitudes of the common people and argue that such writing completely ignores elite authorship. For scholars such as Lake Prescott and Woodbridge jests are 'highly mediated and highly artificial'.<sup>336</sup> However, a second group of scholars, typified by Allen Brown, have continued to emphasise the mass appeal of jests, seeing them as 'part of a carnivalesque popular culture, operating beneath and often in opposition to the official culture of the period'.<sup>337</sup>

Munro is critical of both camps. He argues that those, such as Woodbridge, who see jests as an inherently elite medium, focus too much on the antecedents and influences of early modern English jestbooks and ignore the contemporary cultural context and the historically specific practical concerns of their production. On the other hand, he argues that those, such as Allen Brown, who assume that jestbooks provide some truth about the lived experience and social attitudes of the early modern period, ignore the impact of 'the vast expansion of printing and the increasing commodification of cultural forms'.<sup>338</sup> For Munro, the key distinction between Woodbridge's and Allen Brown's positions is that Woodbridge is focusing on the writing of jestbooks, while Allen Brown is focusing on their performance and consumption. For Woodbridge, jestbooks were consciously constructed by educated elite authors aware of the intellectual and stylistic tradition they were working in and with conscious or unconscious ideological intentions. However, for Allen Brown, jestbooks were the starting point for performance and the important relationship was not between writer and reader, but between speaker and audience.<sup>339</sup>

Munro's distinction could be extended, as the two historiographical schools also differ in their implicit definition of jests. Woodbridge and others restrict jests to their written form, consequently seeing them as a literary object and emphasising form, precedent, and authorship, while Allen Brown and others expand jests to include humour in general and its role in society. The latter group are therefore more interested in content, cultural context, and audience.

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<sup>336</sup> Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, p. xiii.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

Munro advocates a third approach. He argues that jests, like ballads and other early modern 'ephemeral literature,' are both oral and literary. They present themselves as doubly oral - as they tell their joke and describe its telling – but this dual orality is itself a literary conceit. Similarly, though they conform to generic conventions and display the influence of classical and medieval literature, they go a long way to hide their literary heritage. They are written in the vernacular, the authors are rarely identified, and, as Lipking pointed out, though they explicitly describe their content as 'coming from somewhere else', they rarely identify their literary sources or refer to 'literary antecedents'.<sup>340</sup> Moreover, some jestbooks, such as *WM*, claim that their jests have been collected from real people, despite admitting that these jests may have already appeared in print numerous times. Others, such as *Westward for Smelts* (1620), hide their high literary origins by naturalising and vulgarising their characters and content. For Munro, 'such simultaneous appropriation from and legitimation by oral culture underscores the ambiguous cultural position of the jestbook, balanced between performance and text.' The 'representational modes' of high and low culture are both 'intersecting' and diverging in jestbooks; they are 'an amalgam of the oral and the written' – their content is 'straightforward', but their form is 'necessarily complex and contradictory'. Such contradictions lead Munro to question whether 'the cultural authority of the jest lie[s] in the space of its performance, or [...] with the often-unnamed writer of the jest?' In his opinion, the tension between Woodbridge and Allen Brown reflects the inability of scholars to satisfactorily answer this question.<sup>341</sup>

There is much to be admired in Munro's assessment of this aspect of the post-1970 scholarship. In particular, he makes the very valuable observation that the conflicting views are largely explained by a focus on authorship or a focus on performance and audience and characterises jests and other forms of popular literature as simultaneously oral and literary. However, the division between the two schools of thought is too sharply drawn and the arguments of some of the scholars Munro cites are over-simplified. Munro's characterisation of Woodbridge's position is fair. Woodbridge argues that jestbooks and rogue literature should not be considered part of popular culture precisely because they were written by the educated elite. For

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<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xiv-xv.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xv.

her, these elite 'authors wrote about common people, but did not speak for them.'<sup>342</sup> However, his appraisal of the position of other scholars is less reasonable. In her assessment of Tudor jestbooks, Lake Prescott argues that, despite their plain style and vulgar content, jests express humanistic concerns about language and logic and display characteristic narrativization of ideas, problems, and paradoxes. Consequently, her argument is not against those who consider jestbooks to be products of popular culture but against those scholars who consider *TQA* to be more humanist than *HMT* because its Renaissance influences are more obvious. In addition, Lake Prescott accepts that jestbooks contain evidence contemporary stereotypes and prejudices.<sup>343</sup> Similarly, Allen Brown does not deny elite authorship, as she argues that jests were created, produced, and consumed by all levels of society. However, she points out that though they may have been written down and or collected by elite men, their borrowing from earlier sources and oral tradition mean that these individuals cannot be considered authors, in the traditional sense.<sup>344</sup> Furthermore, Munro also ignores scholars such as Brewer who do not fit easily into either camp. Brewer accepts that jests were produced and collected by the elite but he argues that they did not value them. He also emphasises that jestbooks were sold cheaply to the mass market and reminds us that "Popular' does not mean 'low-class'".<sup>345</sup>

Finally, the argument that jests are part of popular culture has continued to develop since the publication of Munro's historiography. Writing more recently, Reinke-Williams sides with Allen Brown and criticises Woodbridge for dismissing jests as representing the attitudes of the elites. He argues that this ignores readership. Though he admits that it is difficult, if not impossible, to recover the readership of any early modern text, Reinke-Williams notes that early modern booksellers intentionally produced cheap jests books. He also points to the overlaps between oral and print culture, such as communal reading and public reading by booksellers, which were exhibited in the creation, dissemination, and consumption of jests. In addition, he distinguishes himself from previous scholars by arguing that the social status and gender of jestbook heroes and their 'scatological and subversive

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<sup>342</sup> Woodbridge, p. 210.

<sup>343</sup> Lake Prescott, pp. 6-7.

<sup>344</sup> Allen Brown.

<sup>345</sup> Brewer, 'Prose Jest-Books Mainly in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century in England', in *A Cultural History of Humour*, ed. by Bremmer and Roodenburg, p. 99.



content' suggests that at least a sub-genre of jests were aimed specifically at a young, male, middling and elite audience.<sup>346</sup>

Writing on the popularity of jestbooks since the mid-nineteenth century should therefore be divided into three stages: up to the 1970s, there was some suggestion that jests could be used as evidence of popular attitudes, while there was a general awareness that written jestbooks were produced by educated elites borrowing from continental and classic tradition. During the 1970s and 1980s, scholars focused more sharply on authorship and therefore, came to view jests as an inherently elite medium. However, since the early 1990s, the focus has shifted to audience and therefore scholars have come to see jests as part of popular culture.

In addition to the points that Brewer, Allen Brown, and Reinke-Williams make about popularity, two others are worth rehearsing here. First, arguments about borrowing from continental and classical sources can be guilty of the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* logical fallacy. The identification of literary antecedents does not eradicate oral culture or rule out oral transmission. Most importantly, it ignores the fluidity of the form. As noted above, jests could be encountered orally even after they have appeared in print. It is therefore possible that Taylor is telling the truth about collecting his jests from local taverns, even if those jests can be shown to exist in print. Jests simply cannot be considered a solely textual form. Second, a focus on texts alone overlooks the influence of and their impact on the lived experience. Even if jests do not reflect contemporary attitudes or represent the historical reality at their point of composition, they were not produced or consumed in a vacuum. At the very least, the authors or compilers of jestbooks presumed that the attitudes and stereotypes their jests exhibited would have been recognisable or appealing to their intended audience. Furthermore, the attitudes and experiences they contained had the potential to influence the attitudes and perceptions of those that consumed them. The relationship between jests and the lived experience is not simple and though it cannot be argued that they transparently reflect contemporary attitudes, neither can it be conclusively argued that they do not.

However, for the purposes of this thesis, it does not matter whether the attitudes and experiences presented in jests were congruent with popular attitudes and experiences. What matters is that resonant cultural phenomena can be identified

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<sup>346</sup> Reinke-Williams.

in the medium and that these resonant phenomena were presented as popular. It is, of course, impossible to access early modern oral culture directly. However, it is possible to access the written remains of forms, such as jests, that were both oral and literary. Such mediated access is, unfortunately, as close as it is possible to get to historical oral culture. The best any scholar can do is be aware of this mediation and be as systematic and transparent in their approach as possible.

## **Misogyny**

The most prominent theme in recent studies of the content of jests is the representations of gender. The key debate within this theme is about whether jests, as a form, are misogynistic. The earliest studies to address this question emphasised the misogynistic representations of women in jestbooks and presented jests as a means by which patriarchy attempted to control unruly women. However, these earlier studies also acknowledged the existence of more positive representations of women and the potential, within jests, for a female critique of male power and behaviour. More recent studies have emphasised these more positive representations and the subversive potential of jests, concluding that there is no uniform representation of women in jests and that the form is not inherently misogynistic, despite the existence of misogynistic jests.

Figuroa is typical of early writing on the misogyny of jests. He argues that early-seventeenth century jestbooks reflect the misogyny of the period and present woman as stereotypically 'lustful, shrewish and gossiping' and that jests present the sexual and physical abuse of women as entertainment for the reader. He notes that, if one follows Brewer's functional interpretation of the role of jests, then their humour was intended to correct and subjugate. However, Figuroa argues that, as jests were produced for a male audience, they cannot be considered a corrective, instead, he suggests, they were intended to justify and entrench male superiority. In addition, he notes that early seventeenth-century anti-feminist and misogynistic tracts were often presented as jests or presented their authors as jesters. Furthermore, contemporary 'antimisogynists', of both genders, criticised jests for 'degrading' women. For Figuroa, this suggests that jests, as a form, were inherently misogynistic. However, he admits that jests also presented female characters that refused to conform to established gender roles. Therefore, despite their attempts to reinforce the dominant

ideology, jests which seek to ridicule inappropriate female (and male) behaviour demonstrate the fragility of patriarchy and document female challenges to it.<sup>347</sup>

In contrast, though Allen Brown acknowledges that jests have traditionally been characterised as a misogynistic literary form, created by men and produced for and consumed by a male-only audience, she argues that women are not only victims in 'jesting literature'. Instead, women are often the heroes and are presented as funny, clever, and resourceful. Furthermore, she argues, women at all levels of society participated in the creation, performance, and consumption of jests. Jest therefore provided a modicum of female agency through the mockery and criticism of male authority and male violence and the depiction of women beating and belittling men. In addition to this, Allen Brown highlights that treatment of wife-beating in jesting literature, which suggests that women did not just accept their lot, as official culture insisted they did, but challenged this behaviour, tricking, beating, and cuckolding violent husbands.<sup>348</sup>

Developing these points, Munro argues that the representation of women in jests is not simple or uniform: there are negative representations, but there are also positive representations. Furthermore, the representation of women is not even simple or uniform within single jestbooks or single jests. As an example, Munro presents a jest wherein a woman's body is sexualised and she is mockingly reproached for that sexuality by a male authority figure. However, she bests and silences that authority figure with her witty response. Jest therefore support multiple readings. The example Munro discusses and its moral, 'a womans answer is neuer to seke', could be interpreted positively and negatively. In this vein, Munro cites Holcomb, who argues that if jests are constructed from absurdities and contradictions, then they can never have a stable or standard meaning. Munro continues that if jests are meant to discipline women, then this draws attention to the authority of jest, which is problematic, and detracts from their ability to discipline. Furthermore, the morals in jestbooks are often ironic and subvert or open up multiple readings of even seemingly straightforward jests. Finally, Munro argues that female jestbook heroes, such as Long Meg, Mother Bunch, and Widow Edith, further complicate the representation of women in jestbooks.<sup>349</sup>

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<sup>347</sup> Figueroa.

<sup>348</sup> Allen Brown.

<sup>349</sup> Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, pp. xv-xvii.

Most recently, Reinke-Williams offers a slightly different take on the misogyny of jests. Though he does not suggest that all jests are misogynistic, he argues that those that are expressed and appealed to the subversive and anti-patriarchal culture of young single men, which was based on hard drinking and boasting about sexual prowess. In the jests aimed at this audience, male jesters demeaned women and husbands and female jesters subjected married men to violence and cuckoldry, while greeting single men with more flirtatious verbal sparring. These representations encouraged young men to demean married women to dishonour their husbands. For Reinke-Williams, misogynistic jests display the subversive culture of young single men, which mocked the institution that it would one day embrace.<sup>350</sup>

The most important points to take away from this debate, for a study of occupational stereotypes in jestbooks, are, firstly, that these studies demonstrate the usefulness of jests as evidence of gender stereotypes and, secondly, that jests do not contain evidence of one single female stereotype, but allow for multiple representations. Jests therefore have the potential to contain evidence of occupational stereotypes; however, one should not expect them to provide singular or uniform occupational stereotypes.

## Printed jestbooks

### The Jestbooks

The four early modern English jestbooks analysed in this study were chosen for their prominence in existing scholarship and for their association with the native English oral tradition.

### Hundred Merry Tales

*HMT* is an obvious starting point for any study of early modern English jestbooks. However, despite its reputation, *HMT* was not the first jestbook to be printed in English. It was preceded by Caxton's translation of a dozen of Poggio's jests, in

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<sup>350</sup> Reinke-Williams.

1484, and several collections of jests in verse.<sup>351</sup> However, even though it is not the first English jestbook to appear in print, it is probably the best known.<sup>352</sup> There are two reasons for its fame: first, its association with Shakespeare and, second, its status as the first collection of truly English jests.

It has long been assumed that Beatrice's assertion that Benedick is accusing her of getting her 'good wit out of the hundred merry tales' is a reference to the eponymous jestbook.<sup>353</sup> The reference has also been cited as evidence that Shakespeare used the jestbook as a source of popular humour.<sup>354</sup> Whether or not Beatrice was referring to *HMT* and whether or not the jestbook provided inspiration or source material for Shakespeare, the allusion inspired nineteenth-century antiquarians to seek, publish, and study early modern jestbooks.<sup>355</sup>

As noted above, there is some debate over the origins of the jests in *HMT*. Some have made the bold claim *HMT* is entirely the product of a distinct native oral tradition.<sup>356</sup> However, most scholars are more cautious, noting that though some of its jests can be traced to continental and classical sources, antecedents for the majority are yet to be identified.<sup>357</sup> Given the absence of known literary precedents, some have gone on to argue that it is possible that some of the jests in *HMT* were collected from native oral sources.<sup>358</sup> As Munro points out, whether or not it is an authentic example of a unique English oral tradition, *HMT* does have a different in tone to continental counterparts: scatological humour is largely absent and there is

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<sup>351</sup> 'The Fables of Poggio the Florentine', in *Aesop's Fables*, trans. by W. Caxton (Westminster, 1484; ESTC S111230), sigs. R<sup>6</sup>r-S<sup>7</sup>v; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), pp. 124-25; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), pp. 288-89; Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, p. xvii.

<sup>352</sup> Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, p. ix.

<sup>353</sup> W. Shakespeare, *Much ado about Nothing* (London, 1600; ESTC S111188), sig. B<sup>4</sup>v; Hazlitt, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, I, pp. viii-ix; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), p. 125; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), p. 289; Wardroper, 'Introduction', in *Jest upon Jest*, ed. by Wardroper, pp. 16-18, pp. 3-4

<sup>354</sup> Ashley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, p. vi.

<sup>355</sup> Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, p. xii.

<sup>356</sup> Ashley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, pp. vi-vii.

<sup>357</sup> Oesterley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, pp. xiii-xiv; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), pp. 125-26; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), pp.289-90; Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, ed. by Zall, p. 2; Wardroper, 'Introduction', in *Jest upon Jest*, ed. by Wardroper, pp. 16-18, pp. 3-4; Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, p. xvii.

<sup>358</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), pp. 125-26; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), pp.289-90; Korhonen, p. 28.

far less obscene sexual imagery.<sup>359</sup> Earlier scholar also noted the difference in style and content between *HMT*, continental jestbooks, and later English jestbooks: Zall observed that it retains the moral comments discarded by continental jestbooks, while Wilson noticed that *HMT* relies more on situational comedy than wordplay.<sup>360</sup>

There is also some debate over the identity of the collection's author(s) or compiler(s). Some have speculated that Sir Thomas More and or Heywood might have been involved in its composition, given their familial and social ties to the printer, John Rastell.<sup>361</sup> However, Munro states that authorship is still unknown and comments that though attribution to More is 'pleasing' it is also 'unlikely'.<sup>362</sup>

There are three extant copies, or partial copies, of *HMT*, all printed by Rastell. The British Library copy, used by Hazlitt for his 1864 edition, the Folger Library fragment, and the Royal Library of Gottingen copy, used by Oesterley for his 1866 edition.<sup>363</sup> These copies suggest at least two editions, as the incomplete BL/Folger edition differs in several ways from the complete Gottingen edition. Most importantly, the Gottingen edition contains one hundred jests, while the BL/Folger edition has only ninety-six. Furthermore, the Gottingen copy contains morals not included in the BL/Folger copy, its tables of contents is different, and the wording of its jests differ.<sup>364</sup> Only the Gottingen Library copy is dated, to 1526, and there is some debate as to whether the undated BL/Folger edition was printed before or after it. Hazlitt, writing before the discovery of the Gottingen edition, dated the BL/Folger copy to circa 1525, before the Gottingen copy's date of publication.<sup>365</sup> Oesterley argued that the Gottingen copy was printed first, while Wilson believed that the BL and Folger fragments are from an earlier printing.<sup>366</sup> What is known, is that the license to print further editions of *HMT* was purchased by John Walley in 1558 and then by

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<sup>359</sup> Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, p. xvii.

<sup>360</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), p. 295; Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, ed. by Zall, p. 8.

<sup>361</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), pp. 125-26; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), pp. 289-90; Wardroper, 'Introduction', in *Jest upon Jest*, ed. by Wardroper, pp. 16-18, p. 4.

<sup>362</sup> Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, p. xvii.

<sup>363</sup> Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, ed. by Zall, p. 58; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), p. 314

<sup>364</sup> Oesterley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, pp. vii-viii.

<sup>365</sup> Hazlitt, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, I, p. iii.

<sup>366</sup> Oesterley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, pp. xii-xiii; see fn. 14; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), p. 125; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), p. 289.

Sampson Awdley and John Charlwood in 1582. However, if later prints were produced, none have survived.<sup>367</sup>

## Tales And Quick Answers

Alongside *HMT*, *TQA* is the most discussed early modern English jestbook. Indeed, it was originally thought to be the jestbook referred to in *Much Ado about Nothing*.<sup>368</sup> However, unlike *HMT*, there is no doubt that the jests in *TQA* are overwhelmingly derived from continental and classical sources.<sup>369</sup> There is little or no attempt to naturalise the jests in *TQA*. Many jests are set in the ancient world and feature historical figures such as Alexander the Great or Dionysius I of Syracuse (or Denis the tyrant, as he is referred to).<sup>370</sup> Scholars have generally considered *TQA* to be more humanist than *HMT* because these influences and allusions are more obvious. Zall argues that *HMT* and *TQA* represent competing traditions, but that the popularity of *TQA* meant that subsequent jests books followed this continental-style path.<sup>371</sup> However, as noted above, Lake Prescott argues that *HMT* displays more 'intelligent humanism' in its merging 'old and new, grafting and digesting'.<sup>372</sup> Conversely, Krahl argues that the influence of continental jestbooks on *TQA* has been over-emphasised. Instead, he argues that *TQA* and continental jestbooks were both influenced by medieval *exempla*.<sup>373</sup> The earliest extant edition of *TQA* contains 114 jests. It was printed in 1535 by Thomas Berthelet. A subsequent edition, with twenty-six extra jests, was printed in 1567 by Henry Wykes.<sup>374</sup> Like *HMT*, many of the jests in *TQA* retain the moral comments discarded by continental jestbooks.<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> Hazlitt, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, I, pp. iii, iv; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), p. 125; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), p. 289; Ashley, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Jest Book*, ed. by Ashley, p. vi.

<sup>368</sup> Hazlitt, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, I, pp. i-ii.

<sup>369</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), pp. 125-26; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), pp. 289-90; Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, ed. by Zall, p. 8; Wardroper, 'Introduction', in *Jest upon Jest*, ed. by Wardroper, pp. 16-18, p. 3

<sup>370</sup> Jest featuring Alexander: *TQA* nos. 58, 63, 64, and 103. Jest featuring Dionysius I of Syracuse, or Denis the Tyrant as he is referred to: *TQA* nos. 23, 35, 44.

<sup>371</sup> Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, ed. by Zall, pp. 8-9.

<sup>372</sup> Lake Prescott, pp. 6-7.

<sup>373</sup> Krahl, pp. 171-75.

<sup>374</sup> Hazlitt, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. by Hazlitt, I, p. v.

<sup>375</sup> Zall, 'The Natural History of Jestbooks', in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, ed. by Zall, p. 8.

## Jests To Make You Merry & Wit And Mirth

Neither *JMM* nor *WM* are as prominent in the existing scholarship. However, as noted above, they have both been associated with the English oral tradition. Wilson claimed that the jests in both these collections appear to have been genuinely gathered from contemporary oral culture.<sup>376</sup> However, Munro points out that despite the explicit claims in *WM* that its jests were collected from oral culture, many of them had already appeared in print numerous times.<sup>377</sup> Finally, Wilson notes that *JMM* and *WM* differ from earlier collections, such as *HMT* and *TQA*, in their reliance on wordplay rather than comic situations.<sup>378</sup>

## Jests To Make You Merry

According to the *ESTC*, *JMM* was only printed once, in 1607.<sup>379</sup> Its dedication criticises writers and printers who slavishly follow fads and trends.<sup>380</sup> Writing on Dekker and Wilkins displays little interest in *JMM*. George R. Price says almost nothing about the jestbook in his biography of Dekker. He only mentions it in his selected bibliography, which notes that T.D. and George Wilkins were listed on the title page of the 1607 printing and that '[p]art of the manuscript was in Dekker's autograph'.<sup>381</sup> Roger Prior's biography of Wilkins is only slightly more illuminating. As well as acknowledging the joint authorship, Prior speculates that Wilkson's involvement with a suspected theft and prostitute may have inspired depictions of similar relationships in the parts of *JMM* written by Dekker.<sup>382</sup> More recently, the *ODNB* articles of both authors are dismissive of the jestbook. John Twyning's article on Dekker lists *JMM* as one of the works of low literary merit that the writer produced in haste for a one-off fee.<sup>383</sup> Similarly, Anthony Parr's article on Wilkins described the jestbook as a move 'downmarket'.<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>376</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1939), p. 127; Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), pp. 290-91.

<sup>377</sup> Munro, 'Introductory Note', in *A Woman's Answer Is Neuer To Seke*, ed. by Munro, p. xv.

<sup>378</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), p. 295.

<sup>379</sup> *JMM*.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. A<sup>2</sup>r-A<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>381</sup> G.R. Price, *Thomas Dekker* (New York: Twayne, 1969), p. 174.

<sup>382</sup> R. Prior, 'The Life of George Wilkins', *Shakespeare Survey*, 25 (1972), 137-52 (pp. 138, 146-47).

<sup>383</sup> Twyning.

<sup>384</sup> A. Parr, 'Wilkins, George (d. 1618)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29418>> [accessed 10 June 2015].



## Wit And Mirth

According to the *ESTC*, *WM* was first printed in 1626 and was subsequently reprinted five times: in 1628, 1629, 1635, and twice in 1640, and again in 1630 as part of *All the Workes of Iohn Taylor the Water-poet*.<sup>385</sup> In the dedication to the 1628 printing, Taylor claims that he was 'inoynded by the Ghost or Genius of old Iohn Garret [...] to collect, gleane, or gather, a bundle or trusse of Mirth, and for his sake to bestrow the stage of the melancholly world with it'.<sup>386</sup> However, he apologises that though he 'had many of them by relation and heare-say [...] of them may bee in print in some other Authors'.<sup>387</sup> Bernard Capp, Taylor's biographer, has almost nothing to say about *WM* or the Water Poet's other jestbooks, *Bull, Bear, and Horse* (1638) and *Taylor's Feast* (1638). His *ODNB* article does not mention any of the three jestbooks, while there is little information about them in his larger biography, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet, 1578-1653* (1994). Capp lists all three in his bibliography and notes that *Wit and Mirth* was reprinted in *Works* (1630).<sup>388</sup> Despite this, the main text of the biography does not mention *Wit and Mirth* or *Taylor's Feast*. However, it does note that '*Bull, Beare, and Horse* was written in 1637 to mark the re-opening of the Bear Garden after an outbreak of plague' and that Taylor borrows the idea from Thomas Heywood's *Mistakes, Clinches, Tales*.<sup>389</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> J. Taylor, *Wit and Mirth* (London, 1626; ESTC S95491); J. Taylor, *Wit and Mirth* (London, 1628; ESTC S3387); J. Taylor, *Wit and Mirth* (London, 1629; ESTC S103277); J. Taylor, *Wit and Mirth* (London, 1635; ESTC S111410); J. Taylor, *Wit and Mirth* (London, 1640; ESTC S96197); J. Taylor, *Wit and Mirth* (London, 1640; ESTC S123548); Taylor, *The Works of John Taylor the Water-poet*, sigs. 2P<sup>4</sup>v-2S<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>386</sup> *WM*, sig. A<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>387</sup> *WM*, sig. A<sup>3</sup>r.

<sup>388</sup> B. Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-poet, 1578-1653* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), pp. 197-204.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 60.

## Occupational descriptors<sup>390</sup> in the jestbooks

As Table 4 demonstrates, the majority of jests, both in total and in each of the jestbooks used in the sample, do not feature occupational descriptors. Even in *JMM*, which has the highest percentage, less than half the jests featured an occupational descriptor.

**Table 4: Frequency of Jest containing Occupations Descriptors**

Jestbook	Jests	OOD	OOD%
HMT	100	40	40.00%
TQA	113	40	35.40%
JMM	60	28	46.67%
WM	112	42	37.50%
<b>Total</b>	<b>385</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>38.96%</b>

OOD = Original Occupational Descriptors

As Table 5 demonstrates, seventy-one different occupational descriptors appear in the four jestbooks. This would increase to seventy-four if counsel and counsellor, host and hostess, and post and postman were treated as separate descriptors. There were not, within this analysis, so that wildcard (\*) texted searches could be used. When these descriptors are standardised using the PST system of occupational classification, this is reduced to fifty-one different occupations. In both cases, *JMM* has the widest range of descriptors, while *TQA* has the smallest.

**Table 5: Range of occupational descriptors in jests**

	HMT	TQA	JMM	WM	Tot
<b>OOD</b>	24	22	30	26	71
<b>SOD</b>	22	17	27	21	51

*TQA* therefore has the smallest percentage of jests containing an occupational descriptor and the narrowest range of descriptors, while *JMM* has the highest percentage and the widest range. This raises several questions: does it

<sup>390</sup> As defined in proverbs chapter i.e. excluding illicit occupations, social types or statuses, religious & governmental positions and offices, general descriptors, military descriptors, and artistic, entertainment, and/or media descriptors. In addition, when an individual was referred to by multiple descriptors, only the first was use. For example, in Jest 4.40, a young man is referred to first as a clerk of the guild hall and then later as a young lawyer. For the purposes of analysis, he entered as a clerk.

suggest that the jest in *TQA* were produced for or by elites or that the jests in *JMM* were produced for or by the commoners? And, does it suggest that *JMM* draws more on the native oral tradition than *TQA*?

Comparing the frequency and range of occupational descriptors in jests and proverbs puts these numbers in context. Generally, the total number of proverbs containing occupational descriptors is higher than the total number of jests containing occupational descriptors in the collections in question. Only *Heywood* includes fewer occupational proverbs than *WM* includes occupational jests. In contrast, *Ray 1*, which includes the next fewest, contains more than twice as many as *WM*, while *Howell*, which includes the most, contains more than five times as many. However, the percentage of occupational jests is far higher than the percentage of occupational proverbs. For example, *Fuller* includes 134 occupational proverbs, which is almost as many as the total number of occupational jests. However, while those the total number of occupational jests represent almost 40.00% of the total jests in question, the occupational proverbs in *Fuller* represent only slightly more than 2.00% of the total proverbs in that collection. Furthermore, though proverbs include a greater number of different occupational descriptors, jests contain a wider range of standardised occupational descriptors. *Ray 2*, which includes the most, contains forty-four original occupational descriptors but only thirteen PST descriptors. Therefore, though *Ray 2* contains more original occupational descriptors than *JMM*, it includes fewer standardised occupational descriptors than *TQA*. Put simply, there are more occupational proverbs than occupational jests but occupational jests are a far more substantial component of that genre. In addition, occupational proverbs focus on a narrower range of occupations.

Table 6 shows the distribution of the ten most frequently appearing original occupational descriptors. It demonstrates that servant is by far the most commonly appearing descriptor, appearing just over twice as many times as the next most common descriptor, merchant. Three of the ten most frequently appearing descriptors (30.00%) are domestic service occupations (servant, maid, serving-man), two are professions (physician, lawyer), two are involved in extraction (husbandman, yeoman), two are trades (miller, tailor), while merchant is the only dealers/sellers descriptor to appear in four or more jests. There is not enough evidence to draw

strong conclusions about chronological trends, but it is interesting to note that husbandman only appears in the sixteenth-century jestbooks, while serving-man only appears in the seventeenth-century jestbooks. Only three occupations (servant, maid, and lawyer) appear in all four jestbooks.

**Table 6: Distribution of original occupational descriptors (4+ jests)**

<b>OOD</b>	<b>HMT</b>	<b>TQA</b>	<b>JMM</b>	<b>WM</b>	<b>Tot</b>
Servant	9	6	8	4	27
Merchant	5	6	0	2	13
Physician	2	7	3	0	12
Maid	4	3	2	1	10
Husbandman	2	5	0	0	7
serving-man	0	0	3	4	7
Lawyer	2	2	1	1	6
Miller	5	0	1	0	6
Yeoman	1	0	5	0	6
Tailor	1	0	2	1	4

Table 14 (see Appendix 3) shows that these service and professions sector occupations are largely drawn from the domestic service and professions groups. Together, occupations from these groups appear in more than three and a half times as many jests as occupations from the most common non-services and professions group, the agriculture group. Furthermore, occupations from the domestic service group appear in almost twice as many jests as those from the professions group. In addition, Table 14 shows that prominence of the primary sector, in Table 13, is due to occupations from the agriculture group.

Table 15 demonstrate that the domestic servants and professionals that appear in jests are largely drawn from the house service, medical profession, and legal profession sections, while the agriculturalists are drawn from the farming section.

Table 16 shows that the dominance of domestic servants is based on the frequency of 'servant' and 'housemaid' occupations, while the position of professionals is largely due to 'Doctor/Surgeon' and 'Lawyer/Barrister' occupations and the position of agriculturalists is down to 'husbandman' and 'yeoman' occupations. In addition, Table 16 shows the contribution of 'innkeeper' occupations contributes to the prominence of service and professions sector occupations. Table

16 also demonstrates that the position of dealers is almost entirely due to the frequency of 'merchant' occupations. 'Miller' and 'tailor' occupations are the only secondary sector occupations to appear in four or more jests, while 'boatman (passenger)' occupation is the only transport and communications sector occupation. No occupations from the seller sector appear in four or more jests. Only four occupations appear in all four jestbooks, unsurprisingly, they are 'servant', 'Doctor/Surgeon', 'housemaid', and 'Lawyer/Barrister'.

The occupational descriptors that do appear in jests are overwhelmingly service occupations, though there is a significant minority of occupations related to the medical and legal professions. Given the relative lack of trade-related occupational descriptors, the comparative prominence of millers and tailors is interesting.

Again, a comparison of the distribution of original and standardised occupational descriptors in proverbs and jests is informative. The same occupations are prominent in both source-types. The original occupational descriptors servant, physician, and merchant are prominent in both occupational proverbs and occupational jests. Servant is the most common original occupational descriptor in both, physician is in the top three in both, and merchant is in the top four in both. Miller, lawyer, and tailor are less prominent, but still appear in the top ten in both. Similarly, the standardised occupational descriptors servant, doctor/surgeon, merchant, and lawyer/barrister are prominent in both occupational proverbs and occupational jests. Servant is the most common standardised occupational descriptor in both, doctor/surgeon is the second most common in both, merchant is in the top four in both, and lawyer/barrister is in the top five in both. Miller is less prominent but still appears in the top ten in both. This suggests that these occupations are relatively culturally visible but it does not indicate why they are visible.

## Millers, tailors, and weavers in the jestbooks

Table 7: Jests featuring millers, tailors, and/or weavers

Jestbook	J	M	T	W	MT	MW	TW	MTW
HMT	100	5	1	0	1	0	0	0
TQA	113	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WM	112	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
JMM	60	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>381</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

J = Jest, M = Millers, T = Tailors, W = Weavers

As noted above, millers and tailors feature in a small but comparatively significant number of jests. Only two other trades appear in more than one jest: butcher appears in three jests (one in *HMT*, one in *WM*, one in *JMM*) and shoemaker appears in two jests (one in *HMT* and one in *JMM*). However, the position of millers, as the most commonly appearing trade, is almost entirely based on their high number of appearances in *HMT*. Only servants appear in more jests in *HMT* than millers, though merchants appear in the same amount. Outside of *HMT*, a miller only appears in one other jest. Though it is not surprising that they do not appear in *TQA*, which has the lowest proportion and range of occupational descriptors, it does seem unusual that they also do not appear in *JMM*, which has the highest proportion and range of occupational descriptors. Tailors are more consistently distributed through the sample, appearing in jests in three of the four collections. Only four other original descriptors (physician, butcher, doctor, and merchant) and six other PST descriptor ('merchant', 'innkeeper', 'boatman (passengers)', 'butcher', 'farm work, other', and 'support, transport or communications') appear in three of the four collections. However, despite their consistency, they are never among the most commonly appearing occupations. In *JMM*, the only collection in which they appear in more than one jest, they are one of the four most commonly appearing original descriptor (alongside maids, watermen, hosts/esses, postmen, and shopkeepers). No jests, in any of the four collections, feature weavers and only one jest features both a miller and a tailor.

## The Miller, Tailor, and Weaver jests

### Miller jests

There are too few examples to draw any strong conclusive observations about the representations of millers in printed jestbooks. However, within these examples, millers are generally represented as rustic idiots, though there are hints at the occupational dishonesty and lustful stereotypes identified in the rest of this thesis. In three of the four *HMT* jests that feature millers alone, they are represented as archetypal rustics. In the first, a young miller embarrasses a curate and entertains the congregation with his lack dogmatic knowledge. In the second, a miller breaks an argument between two other idiotic rustics and throws away all his meal to demonstrate their idiocy (thereby demonstrating his own greater idiocy). In the third, a miller shows his ignorance of Latin and his general lack of awareness when he asks a parson to curse the thief that is stealing from him, not realising that the parson is the thief and that the curse is actually praise. The final *HMT* miller jest, which is discussed in the previous chapter, references the golden thumb proverb but does not explicitly characterise the miller as occupationally dishonest. However, it does present the miller as quick witted (in comparison to the merchant he humiliates). In the *WM* miller jest, the miller is explicitly described as lusty and he is presented as proud of his promiscuity, however he is eventually humiliated when he finds out that his new bride has been even more lustful and promiscuous than he has.

### *HMT*

'Of the mylner that sayd he harde neuer but of .ii. comman[n]demens and .ii. dowyts'

In this jest, a curate is preaching about the ten commandments and the difficulty of determining whether a sin is deadly or venal. A miller, 'a yong ma[n] a mad felow that cam seldom to church & had ben at very fewe sermo[n]s or none in all his lyfe', interjects that he knows only two commands: 'com[m]and me to you' and 'co[m]man[n]de me fro you', and of only two doubts: 'dout the candell' and 'dout the fyre', at which, everyone laughs. The miller is presented as ignorant of Christian

dogma, though he may be feigning ignorance for comic effect. He is also presented as rebellious, interrupting a clergyman during a sermon.<sup>391</sup>

'Of the mylner with the golden thombe'

In this jest, a merchant attempts to mock a miller in company by asking him if it is true that all honest millers have a golden thumb. The miller replies that it is. The merchant asks to see his thumb and observes that it is not gold. The miller retorts that it is indeed gold but that cuckolds are not able to see it. The miller is therefore presented as quick-witted, reversing an attempted insult. As discussed in the previous chapter, the reference to a golden thumb may be an accusation of stereotypical occupational dishonesty, though such an accusation is not made explicitly. Within the jest, the merchant suggests that the lack of golden thumb is something that should cause the miller shame or a loss of face. Therefore, in this instance, it appears that having a golden thumb is a sign of honesty, while not having a golden thumb is a sign of dishonesty.<sup>392</sup>

'Of the .iii. wyse men of gotam'

In this jest, a man goes to market to buy a sheep. On the way, he meets a neighbour on a bridge. They argue about the route he should take back and come to blows. A miller turns up and parts them. When he finds out what they are arguing about, he throws all the meal he is carrying into the river and tells them that he thinks that, because they are arguing about sheep that have not yet been purchased, they must have less intelligence than he has meal. The miller is therefore presented as an idiot, who disadvantages himself to illustrate the stupidity of others and, in the process, demonstrates his own stupidity.<sup>393</sup>

'Of the parson that stall the mylners elys'

In this jest, a miller has several eel ponds. A local parson regularly steals from these ponds. Unaware of this, the miller goes to the parson and asks him to put a curse on the thief. The parson, knowing that no one in the church understands Latin, instead

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<sup>391</sup> *HMT*, sig. A<sup>3</sup>r.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B<sup>6</sup>r.



praises the thief. The miller, feigning understanding and wanting to appear magnanimous, asks the parson to refrain from cursing the thief further. The miller is therefore presented as ignorant of Latin, yet pompous enough to pretend that he does understand it. He is also presented as unaware of the theft and the insult.<sup>394</sup>

*WM*

'A Lusty Miller that in his younger daies [...]

In this jest, a lusty miller has sex with many pretty maids and female servants in his youth. He makes a deal with all of them, that on his wedding day, they should each send him a cake. When that day arrives, he receives one hundred cakes. His bride asks him what all the cakes are for and he explains, honestly and boastfully. However, his wife retorts that if she had been as clever as her new husband, they would have one hundred cheeses to eat with them from the young men she had slept with. The miller is therefore presented as promiscuous and boastful.<sup>395</sup>

### **Tailor Jests**

As with the representations of millers, there are far too few examples to draw strong conclusions about the representations of tailors in early modern jests. However, unlike millers, who are generally presented as ignorant or stupid in the few jests in which they feature, there is no clear stereotype attached to tailors. The *JMM* example presents a tailor as a dim-witted adulterer, while the *WM* example makes reference to tailors' precarious reliance on credit. A second *WM* jest does not include a tailor character but refers to a tailor's thimble.

*JMM*

'A Taylor in this Towne maintaind a whore besides his [...]

In this jest, a married tailor keeps a whore. His wife finds out. He asks one of his neighbours how she smelt out his whore and his neighbour retorts that he was found

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<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. E<sup>1</sup>v.

<sup>395</sup> *WM*, sig. C<sup>4</sup>r-C<sup>4</sup>v.

out because he kept his whore under his wife's nose. The tailor is therefore presented as adulterous and (possibly) stupid.<sup>396</sup>

*WM*

'A Gentleman vntrust and vnbuttoned [...]

In this jest, a gentleman goes out 'untrust' [i.e. un-trussed, not wrapped up]. His friend tells him that it is not good for his health. He replies that it will not kill him. His friend retorts that the gentleman is like his silceman[silkman], mercer, and tailor, who tell him that he goes too much 'on trust'. The friend continues that it is his nature, according to his parents and creditors, to imitate his betters. Tailors are therefore presented as one of the occupations that rely on trust, i.e. credit.<sup>397</sup>

'A Proper Gentlewoman went to speak [...]

In this jest, a very small glass of wine is compared to a tailor's thimble.<sup>398</sup>

### **Miller and Tailor jests**

The only jest to feature both a miller and a tailor is of particular interest, as it presents them as thieves and as friends. However, they are not presented as occupationally dishonest. It is possible that the miller's white apparel is a reference to the image of the miller covered in flour, which has been associated with occupational dishonesty,<sup>399</sup> however this is tenuous, as within the jest, the miller's white apparel facilitates the humour by allowing him to be mistaken for a ghost and a sheep.

*HMT*

'Of the mylner that stale the nuttys & of the taylor that stale a shepe.'

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<sup>396</sup> *JMM*, sig. B<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>397</sup> *WM*, sig. D<sup>7</sup>v.

<sup>398</sup> *WM*, sig. B<sup>2</sup>r-B<sup>2</sup>v.

<sup>399</sup> See fn. 261.

In this jest, a rich husbandman asks to be buried beneath his beloved nut trees. When he dies his executors fulfil his wish. Once he is buried, a miller dressed in white comes to steal some of the nuts. He meets a tailor dressed in black who is intending to steal a sheep. They arrange to meet at the church porch after they have committed their crimes. In the meantime, the sexton comes to ring the church bell for curfew. He sees the miller dressed in white near the nut trees and assumes that he is the ghost of the rich husbandman. The sexton runs home in fear and tells a cripple, who is living with him, what he has seen. He convinces the cripple to help him investigate. The sexton, carrying the cripple on his back, approaches the ghost/miller. The miller sees them and, thinking that it is the tailor with a sheep on his back, asks the sexton 'is it fat?' Believing that the ghost/miller intends to eat them, the sexton drops the cripple and runs away, the cripple is miraculously cured and also runs away. The miller, thinking that the two figures are the tailor and someone chasing him, heads back to his mill. The sexton goes to the local priest and tells him what he has seen. They equip themselves with holy water and a white surplice and head back to the churchyard. There, they encounter the tailor, with a white sheep around his neck. The tailor, thinking the approaching priest, in a white surplice, is the miller, calls 'I have him'. The priest thinks that the tailor, who is dressed in black, is the devil and that he is carrying the ghost of the rich husbandman around his neck. The priest therefore runs away towards the mill. The tailor thinks that the two fleeing figures are the miller and someone chasing him and follows to help. The tailor arrives at the mill, knocks at the door and tells the miller that he has the sheep tied up. The miller thinks he is the constable and that he is saying that he has the tailor tied up and is coming for him, so he runs away. The tailor hears the back door open and shut and goes to investigate. He sees the miller running away, and stands there with the sheep on his back wondering what is going on. The priest and the sexton, who are hiding behind the mill, see the tailor and still think he is the devil with the soul of the rich husbandman on his back. They run away again, but the priest falls in a dyke and drowning, cries out for help. The tailor, seeing the miller run in one direction, the priest in another, and the sexton in another, thinks that the priest's cries are the constable and a posse calling for help in capturing him so he drops the sheep and

runs away himself. The miller and the tailor are therefore presented as thieves and as friends. However, they are not presented as occupationally dishonest.<sup>400</sup>

## Other printed miller, tailor, and weaver jests

It is difficult to tell how representative *HMT*, *TQA*, *JMM*, and *WM* are of the printed jestbooks in circulation in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Though they are by no means abundant, jests featuring millers, tailors, and weavers certainly appeared in other collections. Jest featuring tailors appear in *Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham* (1565), *Wits Fittes and Fancies* (1595), *The Booke of Bulls* (1636), and *Poor Robin's jests* (1667), while jests featuring weavers appear in *The Schoolemaster* (1576) and *Wits Fittes and Fancies* (1595); and, a jest featuring a miller appears in *Wits Fittes and Fancies* (1595).<sup>401</sup> Furthermore, a small proportion of these miller, tailor, and weaver jests make reference to the stereotypes associated with these trades in other printed media. As noted in the previous chapter, the earliest allusion in print to the multiple-tailors-make-a-man proverb appears in *Tarlton's Jest*s (1613).<sup>402</sup>

In addition to this, *The Mirroure of Mirth, and Pleasant Conceits* (1583) includes a jest titled 'Of a Taylor that would steale from himselfe, and of the graye cloth that he restored againe to his Gossip the Hosyer'. The jest features a tailor from Lyon, who, though he was 'a good workman of his occupation', would regularly 'cut out three quarters behinde in steed of two, or three sleeues in a cloke, and sow on but twoo'. In fact, he was so used to this 'legerdemaine [deception]', that he would even cut extra pieces when making clothes for himself. This tailor was commissioned to make 'a cloke of Roan russet for a Gossip of his that was a Hosier'. The hosier knew that the tailor was habitually dishonest, but accepted his duplicity, 'knowing by his owne occupation that euerie man must seeke to liue by theirs'. After the cloak was finished, the hosier was passing the tailor's shop when the tailor saw him and invited him in for breakfast. The tailor calls to his apprentice to bring up the gridiron from

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<sup>400</sup> *HMT*, sig. B<sup>3</sup>v-B<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>401</sup> For jest featuring tailors, see: *Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham* (London, 1565; ESTC S1525), sigs. B<sup>3</sup>v-B<sup>4</sup>v; A. Copley, *Wits, Fits, and Fancies* (London, 1595; ESTC S111171), sigs. D<sup>3</sup>v, E<sup>3</sup>r-E<sup>3</sup>v, Q<sup>4</sup>r-Q<sup>4</sup>v; *The Book of Bulls* (London, 1636; ESTC S3430) sigs. D<sup>11</sup>r, E<sup>3</sup>r, b<sup>7</sup>v-b<sup>8</sup>r, d<sup>6</sup>r, f<sup>2</sup>r-f<sup>2</sup>v; *Poor Robin's Jest*s (London, 1667; ESTC R221040), sigs. l<sup>2</sup>r-l<sup>3</sup>r. For jests featuring weavers, see: T. Twyne, *The Schoolmaster* (London, 1576; ESTC S111450), sigs. H<sup>1</sup>r-H<sup>1</sup>v; Copley, sig. V<sup>3</sup>v. For the miller jest, see: Copley, sig. K<sup>1</sup>v.

<sup>402</sup> 'Tarlton's Jest to Two Tailors', in *Tarlton's Jest*s, sigs. C<sup>1</sup>r-C<sup>1</sup>v. See p. 101 for more details.

below, but the apprentice mishears and thinks that the tailor is calling for 'the gray russet cloth yt was lefte of the cloake'. When the hosier saw the 'this great peece of cloth', he praised the tailor for his honesty in returning it. Realising his theft had been exposed, the tailor pretended that he had invited the hosier to breakfast with the intention of returning the cloth. After the hosier leaves, the tailor is very angry with his apprentice and gives him 'a lesson, to make him wiser: an other time.' The narrator of the jest clearly insinuates that such habitual occupational dishonesty is widespread when he states that he 'will not saye that Taylors bee Theeues, for they take no more then onely that which is brought them, no more then the loyners'.<sup>403</sup>

Similarly, one of the 'OF EVASIONS AND EXCVses in speech' included in *Wits, Fits, and Fancies* (1595) presents a 'Weauer that vs'd to steale more yarne then his lawful allowance'. The weaver hid the stolen yarn in 'a priuy place in his house [...] which he call'd Hell' and 'whensoeuer anie of his Customers charg'd him with any such theft' he would 'protest & sweare: If I haue anie more then my due, now I pray God in hell I may find it.'<sup>404</sup> Finally, *A Help to Discourse* (1619) includes the question and answer joke: 'Q. Whose Cocke, whose Dogge, and whose seruant may bee kept at the cheapest rate. / A. The Millers Cocke, the Butchers Dogge, and the Inne-keepers seruant,' which suggests that miller's cocks, butcher's dogs, and innkeeper's servants are kept at the expense of their master's customers.<sup>405</sup>

A more systemic analysis of the representation of millers, tailors, and weavers in printed early modern jestbooks is clearly necessary. However, a cursory reading of some other well-known jestbooks suggests the existence of a small but consistent group of jests that deployed the habitual occupational dishonesty stereotype for comic effect.

## **The relative lack of miller and tailor stereotypes in printed jests**

There are four generic characteristics that might explain the relative absence of the stereotypes that are associated with millers, tailors, and weavers in proverbs. First, despite their focus on the actions and interactions, jestbooks contain minimal

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<sup>403</sup> B. Des Périers, *Nouvelles récréations et joyeux devis*, trans. by R.D. (London, 1583; ESTC S4102), sigs. M<sup>3</sup>v-M<sup>4</sup>r.

<sup>404</sup> Copley, sig. Y<sup>3</sup>v.

<sup>405</sup> *A Help to Discourse* (London, 1619; ESTC S117185), sigs. G<sup>8</sup>v-H<sup>1</sup>r.

character description. Some even leave out descriptors all together, referring to characters as 'one', 'another', 'man', and/or 'fellow'. As detailed above, the majority of jests do not contain occupational descriptors. Though vast majority of jests are about people in a way that vast majority of proverbs are not, they have very little to say about those people. Second, as Holcomb argues, the characters in jests are often binary (or pseudo-binary) opposites. Jest often feature the interaction of different types of people (man/woman, wife/husband, clergy/laity, gentleman/commoner, master/servant, etc.).<sup>406</sup> Specific occupations do not have easy binaries, so when occupational descriptors are used, they are often used as a synecdoche, standing for a broader group such as countrymen (in opposition to citizens) or mechanics (in opposition to gentry). This is most evident in the apparent representation of millers as archetypal rustic idiots in *HMT*. Third, similarly, characters are often identified by their relation to the main character: i.e. if the main character is a gentleman, other characters will be his wife, his servant, his neighbour, etc. There is therefore a greater reliance on social and familial descriptors than on occupational descriptors. What is important here is the relative position of the characters to the central character: are they his/her superiors, peers, or inferiors? Again, occupations do not easily express such social differentiation. Fourth and finally, the humour in jests is largely developed within the jest by what is said or the events that happen. It does not rely on the audience's pre-existing knowledge about a character and therefore does not make use of commonly held occupational stereotypes. Given the way in which characters are represented in jests, it is therefore not surprising that nuanced distinctions between different occupations do not occur frequently.

## Manuscript jestbooks

Many people appear to have kept manuscript jestbooks in early modern England in which they recorded jests they heard (from friends and relatives or at the tavern or playhouse) or read (in printed jestbooks and other compilations). As mentioned above, the practice was encouraged in conduct manuals and discourses on jesting, as a method of improving conversation and therefore increasing influence. Indeed, it

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<sup>406</sup> Holcomb, pp. 3-13.

appears that it was common enough to provoke criticism, with some commentators complaining that their contemporaries borrowed too much of their wit from these sources.<sup>407</sup>

One of the best-known manuscript jestbooks is *Merry Passages and Jeasts* (*MPJ*), a bound quarto of ninety-three sheets. *MPJ* contains 662 items: 612 jests (92.45%),<sup>408</sup> forth-seven epigrams and proverbs (7.10%),<sup>409</sup> and three epitaphs (0.45%).<sup>410</sup> A name is associated with each of the first 604 jests, presumably indicating the source.<sup>411</sup> These attributions (which include immediate family, friends, and relatives from across Norfolk) imply that the jestbook was compiled by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, an active member of the Norfolk gentry, who was educated at Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn.<sup>412</sup> The jestbook was probably compiled between the early 1630s and the late 1640s.<sup>413</sup> H.F. Lippincott Jr, the editor of the 1974 printed transcription, recognises that many of the jests could be found in 'the standard continental collections', however he claims that 'other jests [...] have the ring of originality and do not appear in the published jestbooks of the time'.<sup>414</sup>

The jests cover the full range of early modern society, 'from monarchs and peers, through the country gentry, down to minor clergy, tavern keepers, servants, and even village and household fools'.<sup>415</sup> They also feature a variety of historical individuals, from famous playwrights, such as Shakespeare and Jonson, and courtiers, such Lord Burleigh, to members of L'Estrange's extended family, and friends and acquaintances from Norfolk, London, and Cambridge.<sup>416</sup> Despite this range, only twenty-eight of the first 115 jests (24.35%) include an occupational descriptor, a significantly smaller percentage than found in the 113 jests of *TQA* (see Table 5). The first 115 jests were chosen as a sample for two reasons: first, so that the sample would be comparable in size to the other samples (*HM*: 100, *TQA*: 113, *WM*: 112, *JMM*: 60) and second, to bring the total number of jests sampled to 500.

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<sup>407</sup> Wilson, 'The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (1969), p. 311.

<sup>408</sup> #1-607 (including 20a), 652-53, and 656-57. *MPJ*, pp. 17-160, 165, 166.

<sup>409</sup> #608-55. *MPJ*, pp. 160-65.

<sup>410</sup> #658-61. *MPJ*, pp. 167-68.

<sup>411</sup> *MPJ*, p. 1.

<sup>412</sup> *MPJ*, pp. 2-3. C.R. Kyle, 'L'Estrange, Sir Nicholas, first baronet (bap. 1604, d. 1655)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16513>> [accessed 19 June 2015].

<sup>413</sup> *MPJ*, pp. 3-5; Kyle.

<sup>414</sup> *MPJ*, p. vi.

<sup>415</sup> *MPJ*, p. vi.

<sup>416</sup> *MPJ*, pp. 2, 4, 7, 10, 11

Furthermore, this sample of jests includes only twenty-two original and nineteen standardised descriptors, only slightly more than *TQA*, which includes twenty-two original and seventeen standardised descriptors (see Table 5). Only four standardised descriptors appear in more than one jest: 'Lawyer/Barrister' (lawyer) appears in five, 'servant' (servant) in three, and 'driver of goods vehicles' (carman and carter) and 'beer, ale seller' (tapster) in two each. No millers, tailors, or weavers appear in the first 115 jests. However, millers and tailors do appear later in the collection.

In total, there are six jests featuring tailors and one featuring a miller in *MPJ*. Four of the six tailor jests do not contain stereotypical information. In these jests, the inclusion of the descriptor is not central to the event or wordplay but is incidental or used to facilitate a pun. In Jest 357 [358], a Sir Roger Williams, a Welsh soldier and former tailor, offers to make Queen Elizabeth a suit of clothes. She rejects his offer, and when he tries approaches her a second time, she attempts to dissuade him by exclaiming 'Fah Williams, I pr'ythe begone thy Bootes stink'. Sir Roger retorts that it clearly his offer of a suit that stinks, and not his boots.<sup>417</sup> In Jest 402 [403], a tailor makes a gown for Anne L'Estrange, Sir Nicholas' wife, but in haste, abbreviates her name to 'An: L'Estr'. Later, the tailor is confused by this abbreviation and makes a gown using the measurements of an Anne Lester.<sup>418</sup> In Jest 424 [425], a tailor, named Toy, comes home to find a man sleeping with his wife and cracks him over the head with his cudgel. Later, the man meets a friend who asks him what has happened to his head, and he replies that he went to sleep with the tailor's wife, and whilst he was there, 'a Toy took [him] othe Head and turnd [him] backe againe'.<sup>419</sup> Finally, in Jest 441 [442], a minister is examining his parishioners to identify those 'who might be fitt Communicants'. Among other things, he asked one parishioner, 'What art Thou by nature?' and the parishioner retorts 'a Taylor Sir'.<sup>420</sup> These jests do not provide any evidence of the characteristics or behaviours stereotypically associated with tailors. In Jest 357 [358], Sir Roger's former occupation provides context for his comic exchange with the Queen. In Jest 402 [403], the occupation provides context for a plausible misunderstanding. In Jest 424 [425], Toy's

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<sup>417</sup> *MPJ*, p. 103.

<sup>418</sup> *MPJ*, p. 114.

<sup>419</sup> *MPJ*, p. 119.

<sup>420</sup> *MPJ*, p. 124.



occupation is incidental, while in Jest 441 [442], the parishioner's claim to the occupation highlights and plays on the multiple meanings of the word *fit*.

However, the two remaining jests do provide further evidence of the stereotypical accusation of tailors with habitual occupational dishonesty. In Jest 277 [278], a Mr Allington is looking for a new tailor. He wants a suit and coat made, but will only provide '2 yards di' of 'Broad cloath'. All the tailors he engages insist that that is not enough cloth, but Mr Allington maintains that it is possible and that he will not provide any more. Finally, 'a good knavish-pated fellow' approaches him and, agreeing that the amount of cloth will be sufficient, takes on the commission. Mr Allington praises his honesty, reassured that the 'other 2 yards' that other tailors have claimed would be required must have been for their 'Fees'. The tailor takes the cloth and returns with 'a very full, and handsome Coate'. It fits and pleases Mr Allington 'wondrous well'. However, the tailor is not satisfied and asks to make some further alterations. Later, he brings 'a very handsome sute' which also fits well. Mr Allington is happy with his work, but when he asks what has happened to the coat, the tailor retorts 'Why Sir you know you had that before', insinuating that he has cut the present suit from the previous coat. Furthermore, the tailor assures him that 'if any workman in England makes you Sute and Coate of that allowance, otherwise then I have done, Ile ne're work stitch againe'.<sup>421</sup> In addition, in Jest 449 [450], a minister, who happens to be the son of a tailor, is arguing with a shepherd. The minister insults the shepherd's 'base and meane Profession'. The shepherd replies that men of his occupation are as good as tailors, and points out that 'Angells have appeard and conversed with Shepheards'. The minister responds that angels have probably conversed with tailors as well, to which, the shepherd retorts, that they must have been 'Evill Angells [...] because Hell is so neere at hand' for tailors.<sup>422</sup> These jests provide direct and indirect references to the habitual occupational dishonesty associated with tailors. In Jest 277 [278], Mr Allington is convinced that all the tailors he approaches are trying to cheat him out of his cloth, while Jest 449 [450] refers to *hell*, the compartment in which tailors kept their offcuts, and hints that this compartment was used more than it should have been.

Similarly, in Jest 233 [234], a miller is accused of taking a double toll. In his defence, he claims that he was only following the instructions of the local priest. He

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<sup>421</sup> *MPJ*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>422</sup> *MPJ*, p. 125.

explains that ‘last time [he] was at Masse, [the priest] calld out twice to [him] Tolle Tolle’.<sup>423</sup> Like Jests 277 [278] and 449 [450], Jest 233 [234] suggests that habitual occupational dishonesty was widespread and well-known. Therefore, though tailor and miller jests appear even less frequently in *MPJ* than they do in the printed collections, they still provide evidence of the stereotype associated with both trades.

## Printed jestbooks and manuscript jestbooks: a comparison

The content and style of printed and manuscript jestbooks discussed above is very similar, both contain short passages which relate a comedic turn of phrase or event. The primary difference between the two is the relationship between the compiler and the characters involved. Printed jests recount interactions between unidentified individuals, broad generic types, and, occasionally, well-known historical and contemporary figures. However, manuscript jests, at least in the case of *MPJ*, depict encounters involving people related to or known by the compiler, Sir Nicholas. Unlike those in printed jestbooks, the jests in *MJP* largely concern named individuals. Some of the jests appear to have been told to Sir Nicholas by the people who appear in them. For example, Sir Nicholas’ father is listed as the source for Jest 111 [112], which details a complaint made by ‘One John Scott, a plaine Northerne fellow’ to Sir Nicholas’ father. Such examples lead Lippincott to claim that though the jests in *MPJ* about well-known figures, such as Shakespeare or Burleigh, are probably apocryphal, those ‘about less well-known persons may be based on actual anecdote’.<sup>424</sup> However, precedents for some of these jests can be found in folk tales, *fabliau*, and printed jestbooks.<sup>425</sup> For example, Jest 32 [32], which was related to Sir Nicholas by his mother, tells of how a ‘Lord North’ – possibly the nobleman and poet Dudley North, third Baron North (bap. 1582, d. 1666) – took custody of an alleged ‘lunaticke’ referred to as ‘old Bladwell’. North took Bladwell with him to a neighbour’s house and left him in the dining room, while he and the neighbour ‘retird a while to private discourse’. Bladwell noticed that one of the tapestries in the dining room had an image of a fool on it and cut it out with his knife. When North and his neighbour

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<sup>423</sup> *MPJ*, p. 74.

<sup>424</sup> *MPJ*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>425</sup> *MPJ*, pp. 10-11.

return to find 'the Tapistrie thus defac'd, [North] ask't Bladwell, what he meant, by such a rude uncivill act'. Bladwell retorted that if North had seen the fool, he would have taken custody of it and the neighbour would have lost the whole tapestry.<sup>426</sup> This jest is remarkably similarly to Jest 104 [103] in *WM*, in which an idiot cuts all the fools from his rich uncle's tapestries, to save them from a greedy courtier who had 'begged [him] for a foole' and has been heard to say that he 'would haue all the rich fooles he' could find.<sup>427</sup>

In summary, *MPJ* contains a very small number of miller and tailor jests and no weaver jests. However, some of these jests display the habitual occupational dishonesty stereotype found in other media. This suggests that the systematic analysis of a number of manuscript jestbooks could provide a useful comparison to the analysis of printed jests presented above. Scrutiny of the number and content of miller, tailor, and weaver jests in that sample would allow conclusions be to drawn about the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in early modern jests in general. It would also deepen our understanding of the relationships between printed and manuscript jestbooks. However, for the reasons outlined above, it is possible that manuscript jestbooks would not provide the quantity of examples necessary for meaningful conclusions to be drawn. The potential usefulness of manuscript jestbooks for further nuancing the study of occupational stereotypes must therefore be balanced against the potentially small size of their contribution.

## Conclusions

Jests appear, ostensibly, to be a useful source of occupational stereotypes. Though they are less numerous than proverbs, a far higher percentage contain occupational descriptors. They also contain more content than short pithy proverbs. However, this content provides little stereotypical information. The occupations of the actors are often irrelevant to the main thrust of the jest. Jest do not make much use of stereotypical behaviours or characteristics and specific occupational descriptors are often cyphers for broader societal categories, such as ignoble artisans. However, if representations of various occupations in jests cannot tell us much about the

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<sup>426</sup> *MPJ*, p. 23.

<sup>427</sup> *WM*, sigs. C<sup>6</sup>r-C<sup>6</sup>v.

stereotypes associated with them, the distribution of occupations within the medium may shed light of their intended audience and the cultural visibility of certain occupations. The prominence of servants and professionals and the relative absence of tradesmen may suggest that the audience for jests was comparatively high status. Furthermore, given the general lack of tradesmen, the relatively frequent appearance of millers and tailors suggests the cultural significance of these two trades.

To reiterate, the paucity of stereotypical information about millers and tailors makes it impossible to draw anything but the most tentative conclusions about their representations within the medium. Printed jests are particularly sparse. Unlike printed proverbs, they provide little evidence of the occupational dishonesty stereotype. Only one jest makes any reference to the stereotype of the dishonest miller, and it appears to invert the common image, suggesting that not having a golden thumb is something that a miller should be embarrassed about. It does not make explicit reference to occupational dishonesty and does not explain the meaning of the golden thumb. In addition, though the only jest to group millers and tailors does present them as thieves and comrades in theft, it presents them as common criminals and not as occupationally dishonest. Finally, though several jests present millers as ignorant or stupid, these jests only appear in *HMT*. There are no consistent or resonant representations of millers, tailors, or weavers in the sample of jests under consideration.

Manuscripts jests are a more fertile source of stereotypical information. Sir Nicholas L'Estrange's collection contains two jests that clearly express the habitual occupational dishonesty of tailors and one that expresses the habitual occupational dishonesty of millers. In all three instances, this occupational dishonesty is presented as widespread and well known. In the first, a gentleman finds it difficult to get a suit made because of his fears of rampant malpractice, in the second, the tailoring trade in general is implicitly accused of cabbaging, while, in the third, a generic miller claims that his habitual dishonesty is the result of something he misheard during mass. There is therefore some evidence of the resonance of the habitual occupational dishonesty stereotype. However, beyond these illuminating examples, the L'Estrange jestbook provided very little evidence.

There are several generic characteristics that may explain the relative absence of jests about millers, tailors, and weavers and the stereotypes that were so resonant in proverbs. First, jests derive their humour from farcical situations and or

wordplay that are created, developed, and concluded within the jest; stereotypes and other *a priori* knowledge rarely contribute. Second, jests rely on differences and disparities between individuals, such as levels of cultural knowledge or social status. When they do use stereotypes, they generally rely on broad binaries such as male/female, rural/urban, and gentry/commoner. Nuanced occupational stereotypes are not binary and therefore are not likely to appear regularly in jests. However, occupational stereotypes are not entirely absent, and, though they may not resonate as loudly as they did in the previous chapter, the representations of millers and tailors that appear in jests are similar to the representations found in proverbs.

In summary, though individual jests can be revealing, the paucity of stereotypical information makes quantitative analyses of them less useful. Jests occasionally offer further evidence of the resonances of occupational stereotypes but their content is conditioned by their generic form. They rarely offer the sort of social commentary found in proverbs. Therefore, researchers should not be surprised if jests are often vague or silent about occupational identities.



# Chapter 4: Ballads

## Introduction

This chapter outlines and describes the most prominent themes in the representation of millers, tailors, and weavers in the Pepys Collection. Ballads have become a mainstay of early modern cultural history and the Pepys Collection are one of the most frequently consulted compilations. However, despite the popularity of the medium, historians have yet to use these sources to investigate occupational stereotypes. Like jests and proverbs, ballads express a simplified and idealised world and rely on, reflect, and generate commonly held cultural assumptions and attitudes. Many of the Pepys Collection associate different socio-occupational types with distinguishing characteristics and behaviours and the most consistent of these associations suggest resonant stereotypes.

The chapter begins with a brief history of the ballad form and provides an overview of its production, content, and audience, as well as an introduction to ballad collectors and collections. It then offers a short biography of Samuel Pepys and an outline of the Pepys Collection. Next, it assesses the use of ballads by folklorists, literary critics, and historians. It then investigates the distribution of occupational descriptors in the Pepys Collection and analyses the distribution and content of ballads in which millers, tailors, and weavers appear in combination. Finally, it describes and examines the themes that appear in the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in the collection.

It argues that ballads have been underused as a source for the study of occupational stereotypes, despite the precedent set by historians interested in gender identities. It demonstrates that millers, tailors, and weavers are among the most frequently appearing occupational descriptors in the Pepys Collection and that they are the most prominent secondary-sector occupations. It also shows that the three trades often appear in combination and argues that they were regularly associated with each other. Finally, it argues that millers, tailors, and weavers were represented as occupationally dishonest, that tailors and weavers were associated with poverty, that millers were disproportionately depicted in romantic or sexual situations, and that tailors were portrayed as inferior to other men.

## The Ballad Form

Ballads are a form of narrative song that appears to have been in use from the medieval period onwards, though some have claimed greater antiquity.<sup>428</sup> Medieval ballads commemorated famous, unusual, or heroic individuals or events and were composed, performed, and transmitted orally.<sup>429</sup> The earliest extant printed ballad, which concerns the deeds of Robin Hood, was produced around 1510. It had been transcribed by a European printer in Antwerp, who shortened an existing ballad so that it would fit on a single sheet. This ballad, entitled *A Little Jest of Robin Hood*, was reprinted in England at least four times before 1600. Existing as both an oral and a printed ballad, it neatly exemplifies the porous boundary between oral and print cultures in the early modern period.<sup>430</sup> Many printed ballads were adapted or updated versions of older songs, which had been passed down from generation to generation, however an increasing number were original compositions commissioned by ballad printers.<sup>431</sup> No matter how they had been composed or previously transmitted, once these had been sung and sold at market they existed within both oral and printed spheres.

Ballads printed on one side of paper, usually eight by twelve inches, were known as broadsides. As well as the ballad text, broadsides often included a title, the tune, details of the printer, and the date of publication. However, these pieces of information were not always present. Broadside ballads were also accompanied by, at least, one woodcut image. These images were usually recycled, but indicated something about the content of the ballad; for example, an image of a ship usually

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<sup>428</sup> 'Ballad', in *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. by D. Birch, 7th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009; Online edition, 2009) < <http://www.oxfordreference.com> > [accessed 24 April 2013].

<sup>429</sup> F. McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of British Literature*, ed. by D.S. Kastan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006; Online edition, 2012) < <http://www.oxfordreference.com> > [accessed 24 April 2013].

<sup>430</sup> McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan; B. Findley, 'ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by M.F. Suarez and H.R. Woudhuysen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010; Online edition, 2012) < <http://www.oxfordreference.com> > [accessed 24 April 2013]; *A Little Jest of Robin Hood* (London, 1506?; ESTC S109525); *A Little Jest of Robin Hood* (London, not before 1509; ESTC S111381); *A Little Jest of Robin Hood* (London, 1510-15; ESTC S93039); *A Little Jest of Robin Hood* (London, 1515; ESTC S111386).

<sup>431</sup> Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen.



denoted a ballad about the sea or sailors. Very occasionally, new woodcut images were created for a ballad.<sup>432</sup>

The broadside format was also used for other popular print genres, such as gallows speeches and news reports. These genres mimicked and resembled each other to the extent that they are often difficult to distinguish and, to further complicate matters, the ballad form was also used to report newsworthy events such as portentous births, royal visits, and military engagements. In addition to reporting topical events, broadside ballads addressed a wide variety of common topics from love and courtship, through murder and mutilation, to the daring deeds of infamous pirates and privateers.<sup>433</sup>

The language of ballads was simple and direct, their literary devices were basic, their characterisations were broad, and their humour was often crude. Their less-sophisticated form and content provoked the disdain of many elite intellectual commentators.<sup>434</sup> However, even during the seventeenth century, their ability to reflect an ever evolving and changing popular culture was recognised: as the late-sixteenth-century and early-seventeenth-century lawyer, scholar, and ballad collector, John Selden (1584–1654) was reported to have remarked: '[m]ore solid things do not shew the Complexion of the times so well, as Ballads and Libels'.<sup>435</sup> This view of ballads as repositories of popular culture is echoed by modern scholars, such as Fiona McNeil, who states that 'Ballads constitute a rich resource for those interested in a grassroots view of history, for they provide popular rather than official accounts of rebellions, battles, folk heroes, and customs.'<sup>436</sup> Furthermore, there appears to have been a two-way relationship between ballads and other forms of popular and more learned culture. Ballads are alluded to in the works of

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<sup>432</sup> McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan; Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen.

<sup>433</sup> P. Fumerton and A. Guerrini, 'Introduction: Straws in the Wind', in *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by P. Fumerton and A. Guerrini with the assistance of K. McAbee (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 1-9 (pp. 8-9)

<sup>434</sup> McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan; J.A. Cannon, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by J. Cannon, 1st rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; Online edition, 2012) < <http://www.oxfordreference.com> > [accessed 24 April 2013]; 'Ballad', in *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. by Birch; Fumerton and Guerrini, 'Introduction', in *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Fumerton and Guerrini with the assistance of McAbee, p. 3.

<sup>435</sup> *Table-Talk*, ed. by R. Milward (London, 1689; ESTC R7220), sig. E<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>436</sup> McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan.

Shakespeare, John Webster, and Dekker, while many ballads make reference to contemporary drama. Other ballads borrow heavily from contemporary poetry.<sup>437</sup>

Around the turn of the seventeenth century, broadside ballads generally cost ½d or 1d. To put that in context, Gregory Clark estimates that the wages of male agricultural workers rose from just under 6¾d per day in the penultimate decade of the sixteenth century to 8d per day in the second decade of the seventeenth.<sup>438</sup> Ballads were therefore relatively affordable, even for the working poor. Ballads were sold by pedlars and chapmen, small-scale and often itinerant traders. Ballad printers promoted their wares by having them sung in marketplaces, widening their possible market to include the illiterate and semi-literate. Their market was very broad, and they were purchased by all levels of society.<sup>439</sup> It has been argued that ballads were so popular their meter and rhythm influenced the translation of psalms for congregational singing.<sup>440</sup>

Because ballads were relatively cheap to print and appealed to a very wide audience, they represented a major source of profit for early modern printers. From the beginning of the seventeenth century until the outbreak of the Civil Wars in the 1640s, more ballads were printed than any other form of writing.<sup>441</sup> However, the low-cost and large-scale production of ballads also made them disposable. As the majority of their audience was semi-literate, at best, their physical form lost all value once they had been learned by heart. Ballads were often posted on the walls of taverns, alehouses, and other public areas, only to be posted over by other ballads or simply thrown away.<sup>442</sup> There was little attempt to preserve them until the mid-seventeenth century. Consequently, the vast majority of early modern ballads have been lost.<sup>443</sup> For example, EBBA now holds 4342 ballads printed between 1600 and

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<sup>437</sup> H.E. Rollins, 'Preface', in *The Pepys Ballads*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929-32), I, pp. vii-xv (p. ix).

<sup>438</sup> G. Clark, 'The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population, and Economic Growth, England 1209–1869', *Economic History Review*, 60:1 (2007), 97-135 (p. 100).

<sup>439</sup> M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 9-10; Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen; Cannon, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by Cannon.

<sup>440</sup> Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen.

<sup>441</sup> McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan.

<sup>442</sup> Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 3; N. Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650*, trans. by G. Walls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-2, 3-7; McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan; D. Atkinson, 'The Ballad and Its Paradoxes', *Folk-Lore*, 124:2 (2013), 123-138 (p. 133)

<sup>443</sup> Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen.

1699, while in the mid-seventeenth century the probate inventory of one London trader listed 37,500.<sup>444</sup>

The ballads that have survived were those included in the collections of individuals, such as Samuel Pepys and John Ker, the Duke of Roxburghe. These are idiosyncratic collections, telling us as much about the personality and interests of their curators as they do about the contours and characteristics of early modern ballad culture.<sup>445</sup> From the 1720s, attempts were made to preserve the more general corpus of English and Scottish ballads. However, the folklorists and antiquarians who began collecting ballads imposed an anachronistic distinction between orally transmitted and printed ballads and focuses solely on those they believed had been passed down by word of mouth.<sup>446</sup>

## Sources

The University of California Santa Barbara's *EBBA* is an essential resource for the study of early modern ballads. It was created to make ballads easier to access, to allow scholars to view their original format and typography, and to provide clear and accurate transcriptions. It currently holds 7,860 ballads, almost three-quarters of 11,000 seventeenth century ballads believed to be extant.<sup>447</sup> *EBBA* brings together citation information, facsimile images, facsimile transcriptions (which replace the original black-letter or white-letter typeface with Times New Roman, while keeping the original spelling, punctuation, and formatting), full-text searchable transcriptions, and digital recordings of each of the ballads in the collection. The citation information includes an *EBBA* number, title, publication date, author, standard tune, imprint information, collection information, physical location, shelfmark, ESTC number, an *EBBA* designated list of keywords, and a link to the MARC record. It also includes the title, stated tune, first lines, refrain, album page, condition, and ornament. The range of information and representations of each ballad that *EBBA* provides mark it

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<sup>444</sup> *EBBA*, ed. by P. Fumerton, <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>> [accessed 14 April 2016].

<sup>445</sup> Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen.

<sup>446</sup> Würzbach, p. 4; McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan; Fumerton and Guerrini, 'Introduction', in *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Fumerton and Guerrini with the assistance of McAbee, p. 2; Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen.

<sup>447</sup> 'About Us » History', *EBBA*, ed. by Fumerton, <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/history>> [Accessed 15 August 2017].

out as an impressive resource, while the digital recordings of ballad tunes and the array of search functions make it indispensable.

The almost eight thousand ballads available through EBBA come from holdings on both sides of the Atlantic. It currently unites the following collections: the Pepys Collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge; the Roxburghe Collection at the British Library; four collections from the National Library of Scotland, including the Crawford and Roseberry Collections; the Euing Collection at the University of Glasgow, Scotland; and various collections at the Huntington Library, Pasadena, including the Britwell, Bindley, and Bridgewater Collections.<sup>448</sup>

## Samuel Pepys and the Pepys Collection

The Pepys Collection was selected from among those available via EBBA because of its prominence in the field and the relatively well-documented character of its collector and the provenience of the collection itself. Its importance is signalled by its visibility in various overviews of the ballad form and the history of ballad collection.<sup>449</sup> It was also the first collection digitised by EBBA.<sup>450</sup> Samuel Pepys' character and the history of this collection are known from his own writings and those of subsequent historians. Pepys was a naval administrator who began his career during the Commonwealth Period, served under both Charles II and James II and, after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, under William and Mary. In naval circles, he is still remembered for the essential role he played in the institutional centralization and professionalization of the British Navy. However, he is better known to the wider world for the diary he kept between 1660 and 1669, in which he chronicled his life as a well-connected, cultured, and high-ranking bureaucrat in Restoration London. Pepys' diary is still well regarded as a self-consciously literary and endearingly honest work as well as an invaluable first-hand account of many of major events of the period, such as the second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-67), the Great Plague

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<sup>448</sup> 'Holdings', *EBBA*, ed. by Fumerton, <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/holdings>> [Accessed 15 August 2017].

<sup>449</sup> Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, esp. pp. 129-155; McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan; Cannon, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by Cannon; Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen.

<sup>450</sup> 'About Us » History', *EBBA*, ed. by Fumerton, <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/history>> [Accessed 15 August 2017].

(1665), and the Great Fire (1666). It is also a remarkable guide to the flourishing cultural world of the capital.<sup>451</sup>

Pepys was an enthusiastic patron of the arts. It is probably his passions for music, theatre, and literature, as well as his lively interest in news, gossip, women, and drinking, that motivated his ballad collecting. Though Pepys displayed an interest in ballads as early as the 1660s, his collection began properly with his acquisition, probably in the 1680s, of a ballad album that had belonged to the previously-mentioned Selden. Ballad collecting was part of a wider bibliographical project that eventually culminated in an eclectic and scholarly library of 3000 volumes; a library that was bequeathed to Magdalene College, Cambridge, and still exists in its original state today.<sup>452</sup>

A manuscript catalogue of the Pepys Collection lists 1797 first lines, though this does not account for duplicates or for multiple ballads on a single broadsheet. J.W. Ebsworth, the nineteenth-century literary editor and ballad enthusiast, counted 1671 distinct items in the Pepys Collection and suggested that 964 of these were unique to the collection.<sup>453</sup> The vast majority of the ballads in the collection were trimmed – Pepys occasionally cut off imprint, text, and or ornament in a quest for uniformity – and pasted into five bound volumes, though ten additional ballads were found pasted into other books in his library.<sup>454</sup> Pepys appears to have been interested in bizarre characters, events, and narratives, though his collection covers a broad range of themes and topics and he divided his collection into eleven categories: ‘Devotion and Morality’; ‘History True and Fabulous’; ‘Tragedy vizt Murders, Executions, Judgements of God &c’; ‘State and Times’; ‘Love Pleasant’; ‘Love Unfortunate’; ‘Marriage, Cuckoldry, &c’; ‘the Sea, Love, Gallantry, & Actions’; ‘Drinking and Good Fellowship’; ‘Humour, Frolicks &c, mixt.’; and a miscellaneous

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<sup>451</sup> C.S. Knighton, ‘Pepys, Samuel (1633–1703)’, *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2015) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21906>> [accessed 24 April 2013].

<sup>452</sup> McNeil, ‘Ballads’, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan; Cannon, ‘Ballads’, in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by Cannon; Fumerton and Guerrini, ‘Introduction’, in *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Fumerton and Guerrini with the assistance of McAbee, p. 1.

<sup>453</sup> H.E. Rollins, ‘Preface’, in *A Pepysian Garland: Black-letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639 Chiefly from the Collection of Samuel Pepys*, edited by H.E. Rollins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), vii-xxii (pp. vii-viii); *The Roxburghe Ballads: Illustrating the Last Years of the Stuarts*, vol. 8:2 ed. and into. by J.W. Ebsworth (Hertford: The Ballad Society, 1897), p. 740.

<sup>454</sup> ‘Holdings » Pepys’, *EBBA*, ed. by Fumerton, <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/holdings>> [Accessed 15 August 2017].

category titled 'Promiscuous Supplement'.<sup>455</sup> The Pepys Collection therefore represents a major source for anyone interested in early modern balladry. However, Pepys' tastes were idiosyncratic and, as alluded to above, it has been argued that the collection tells us more about his personality than it does about ballad culture in general.<sup>456</sup>

## Historiography

Ballads have been collected and studied since, at least, the early seventeenth century. However, modern scholarly interest in ballads is often traced to Francis James Child, who became the first professor of literature at Harvard in 1876.<sup>457</sup> Child was inspired by German interest in folklore and philology to investigate the origins of English literature, which he believed had developed from ballads. He focused on traditional ballads, which he believed had been passed down orally from generation to generation, and dismissed literary and printed ballads. Though Child popularised the academic study of ballads, his belief that orally transmitted ballads had greater cultural and literary merit had a lasting impact on subsequent scholarship.<sup>458</sup>

Even after the study of printed ballads became acceptable, scholars such as Rollins and Friedmann tended to focus on the ballads they felt displayed sufficient artistic quality.<sup>459</sup> Early historical interest in ballads waned when it became clear that they did not contain accurate information about historical events and characters. Later cultural-historical and anthropological interest in ballads recognised them as sources of contemporary attitudes and practices.<sup>460</sup> In the 1930s, L.B. Wright argued that ballads 'reflected' the 'attitudes and customs' of lower- and middle- class early

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<sup>455</sup> Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen.

<sup>456</sup> A.J. McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), p. xxviii.

<sup>457</sup> R. Parry, 'Ballads', in *The Cambridge Companion To Women's Writing In Britain, 1660-1789*, ed. by C. Ingrassia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 210-25; Atkinson; Findley, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Suarez and Woudhuysen; 'Ballad', in *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. by Birch; McNeil, 'Ballads', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, ed. by Kastan; S. Rieuwerts, 'The Genuine Ballads of the People': F. J. Child and the Ballad Cause', *Journal of Folklore Research*, 31:1-3 (1994), 1-34.

<sup>458</sup> The distinction between oral and printed ballads has been thoroughly debunked, see Atkinson. However, despite this, it persists. See, for example, Parry, 'Ballads', in *The Cambridge Companion To Women's Writing In Britain, 1660-1789*, ed. by Ingrassia.

<sup>459</sup> N. Würzbach, *The Rise Of The English Street Ballad, 1550-1650*, trans. by G. Walls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 5.

<sup>460</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

moderns and therefore represented a welcome object of comparison to the highly aristocratic Elizabethan literature.<sup>461</sup>

Early Modern historians and literary scholars have been paying increasing attention to ballads since the mid-twentieth century. Ballads have been used to illuminate social histories of popular culture, such as Peter Burke's work on early modern Europe and seventeenth century London and Margaret Spufford's work on reading, literacy, and popular print.<sup>462</sup> They also played a role in histories of popular attitudes, such as Tessa Watt's work on popular religion, and Angela McShane's work on popular politics, and more general works on the history of print and of oral culture.<sup>463</sup> Since the cultural turn, the extra-textual elements of ballads have also been developed. Natasha Würzbach and Bruce Smith have looked at the effect of performance, Sean Shesgreen has studied the role of woodblock images, while most recently, Christopher Marsh has analysed the impact of music on the composition, performance, and consumption of ballads.<sup>464</sup>

From the last decades of the twentieth century onwards, ballads have been used to study the representation of various identities. There has been a significant amount of work on the representation regional or national identity; however, the most relevant area of the historiography for this thesis is the use of ballads to investigate

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<sup>461</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>462</sup> Fumerton and Guerrini, 'Introduction', in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Fumerton and Guerrini with the assistance of McAbee, pp. 2-3; Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*; P. Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London', in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by B. Reay, (Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 31-58.

<sup>463</sup> Fumerton and Guerrini, 'Introduction', in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Fumerton and Guerrini with the assistance of McAbee, pp. 4-5; Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*; T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); A. McShane Jones, "Rime and Reason": The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640-1689', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2005). For the role of the ballad in print culture, see: R. Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. by L.G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge In The Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); and, W. St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). For the role of the ballad in oral culture, see Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture* and, *The Spoken Word*, ed. by Fox and Woolf.

<sup>464</sup> Fumerton and Guerrini, 'Introduction', in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Fumerton and Guerrini with the assistance of McAbee, pp. 2-3; Würzbach; B.R. Smith, *The Acoustic World Of Early Modern England: Attending To The O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); M. Laroon, *The Criers and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawings*, ed. and intro. by S. Shesgreen, (Aldershot: Scolar, 1990); M. Laroon, *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); C.W. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); C.W. Marsh, "The Blazing Torch": New Light on English Balladry as a Multi-Media Matrix', *Seventeenth Century*, 30:1 (2015), 95-116.

early modern representations of women and female stereotypes.<sup>465</sup> Historians of gender have been very positive about using ballads for this purpose since the 1980s. In her pioneering study of the Anglo-American female warrior 'type', Dianne Dugaw asserts that 'the popular ballad give us this transvestite heroine in one of her most explicit forms'.<sup>466</sup> Similarly, in her investigation of the representations of disorderly women in English and German ballads and pamphlets, Joy Wiltenburg notes that 'it becomes clear from a reading of these works that one of their key aims is to help people solidify their social identity',<sup>467</sup> while, in her survey of the representations of domestic crime in England, Frances Dolan claims that ballads offered the 'most accessible' 'representations of domestic crime'.<sup>468</sup> These early studies are not alone in recognizing the usefulness of ballads. Though Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford do not refer to ballads explicitly in their discussion of female stereotypes, they do use them as evidence of 'popular notions' about gender and argue that ballads and their images 'helped define beliefs about gender attributes'.<sup>469</sup> Furthermore, they compare gender and occupational stereotypes, noting that '[c]ontemporary ballads and anecdotes devoted an entire genre to the exploits of the 'crafty maid' or the 'cunning wife' who outwitted various stock villains of plebeian life, such as the miller, the tailor, the exciseman, or the priest'.<sup>470</sup>

However, despite their positivity, historians of gender are not blind to the problems of using ballads as a source. Wiltenburg is cautious in her approach, warning against assumptions of a simple relationship between popular culture and the lived experience. She points out that '[c]ultural ideas about women and gender are only one of a combination of influences shaping of an author's presentation of women, including such factors as literary conventions, commercial or political aims, the author's temperament and artistic skill, and even, to an uncertain extent, the

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<sup>465</sup> For work on the representation of regional and nation identities, see: G. Ó Broin, 'Historical and Patriotic Ballads', *Treoir*, 29:3 (1997), 28-29; Robertson, 'The adventures of Dick Whittington and the Social Construction of Elizabethan London', in *Guilds, Society & Economy in London 1450-1800*, ed. by Gadd and Wallis; D. Newton, "'Dolefull dumpes': Northumberland and the borders, 1580-1625', in *Northumbria: History and Identity 547-2000*, ed. by R. Colls (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007), pp. 88-103.

<sup>466</sup> D. Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650-1850: with a New Preface* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989; repr. 1996), p. 1.

<sup>467</sup> J. Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1992), p. 4.

<sup>468</sup> F.E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550-1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 7.

<sup>469</sup> S. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), p. 59.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.



author's experience of "real life."<sup>471</sup> In addition, Wiltenburg cautions that despite 'its richness as a source for the study of popular culture', the authorship, distribution, popularity, and typicality of street literature present scholars with significant problems.<sup>472</sup>

Taking these issues into consideration, historians of gender continue to develop this avenue of research. Most recently, David Pennington has used ballads to look at the representation of market women in popular literature, while Sarah Williams has looked specifically at the representation of witches and other 'dangerous women' in broadside ballads.<sup>473</sup> Pennington argues against the prevailing opinion 'that popular literature reflected and bolstered patriarchal values, reinforced stereotypes against assertive women and spurred authorities to constrain their social and economic activities' and instead contends that 'a close study of seventeenth-century popular literature suggests [that] the ideal of marriage as an economic partnership survived longer than [Alice] Clark or [Peter] Earl suggest'.<sup>474</sup> He claims that the '[m]isogynistic stereotypes of disordered, shrewish women' that appear in ballads were intended to amuse, not to subjugate and point to two competing hostess stereotypes: the 'dissolute, cozening bawd' and 'the honest, noble-minded, formidable hostess'.<sup>475</sup> In contrast, Williams focuses on the impact of the ballad form itself. She argues 'that unruly feminine stereotypes were shaped by street literature and popular song' and that previous studies have neglected the ability of song and performance to express 'dangerous femininity'. Williams states that she is '[u]ltimately [...] concerned with the means through which London's broadside publishers shaped a musico-acoustic stereotype of female transgression' and describes her work as 'a local study of female characterization distributed by London's ballad trade and its associated music'.<sup>476</sup> Despite these precedents, social and cultural historians have yet to use ballads to study of occupational identity. Mark

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<sup>471</sup> Wiltenburg, p. 28.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>473</sup> D. Pennington, "Three Women and a Goose Make a Market': Representations of Market Women in Seventeenth-Century Popular Literature', *Seventeenth Century*, 25:1 (2010), 27-48; S.F. Williams, *Damnably Practises: Witches, Dangerous Women, and Music in Seventeenth-Century English Broadside Ballads* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

<sup>474</sup> Pennington, pp. 27-28.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

<sup>476</sup> Williams, *Damnably Practises*, pp. 12-14.

Hailwood's work on proto-working class identity, discussed in the introduction, is unique in this respect.<sup>477</sup> There is therefore considerable room for further study.

At this point, it would be remiss to continue without discussing the work of Angela McShane, who has written extensively on political ballads.<sup>478</sup> McShane's research offers two significant contributions to how historians assess the popularity of ballads. The first concerns authorship, while the second relates to accessibility.

Ballads were largely anonymous and ascertaining who was writing political ballads is almost as difficult as working out who was reading them.<sup>479</sup> McShane believes this lack of explicit authorial attribution was a generic characteristic, noting that '[t]he most striking thing about balladeers is that their anonymity, whether desired or enforced, seems to have been an integral part of the product.'<sup>480</sup> She also points out that it served a political purpose, protecting authors and printers from governmental reproach.<sup>481</sup> However, whatever the reason, the frequent absence of a named author 'disrupts their reliability as a source of popular political *mentalités*' and

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<sup>477</sup> Hailwood, 'Sociability, Work and Labouring Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', 9-29.

<sup>478</sup> McShane Jones, "Rime and Reason"; A. McShane Jones, 'Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads from 1640 to 1689', in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-century England*, ed. by A. Smyth (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 69-87; A. McShane Jones, "'England's Darling" or "Senseless Loon": Hero and Villain, the Ballading Battle for the Image of Monmouth', in *Heroes and villains: the creation and propagation of an image*, ed. by C.H. George and J. Sutherland, (Durham: Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies, 2004), pp. 139-57; A. McShane Jones, 'The Gazet in Metre; or the Rhiming Newsmonger: The English Broadside Ballad as Intelligencer. A New Narrative', in *News & Politics in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, ed. by J.W. Koopmans (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 131-50; A. McShane, 'A Resounding Silence? Huguenots and the Broadside Ballad in the Seventeenth Century', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 28:5 (2007), 604-25; A. McShane, 'The Branding of Ballads and The Gelding of Curates in Stuart England', in *Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by J. Hinks and C. Armstrong (London: British Library, 2008), pp. 9-44; A. McShane and C. Backhouse, 'Top Knots and Lower Sorts: Print and Promiscuous Consumption in the 1690s', *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by M.C.W. Hunter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 337-57; A. McShane, 'The Extraordinary Case of the Blood-Drinking and Flesh-Eating Cavaliers', in *The Extraordinary and the Everyday in Early Modern England: Essays in Celebration of the Work of Bernard Capp*, ed. by A. McShane and G. Walker (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 192-210; A. McShane, "'Ne sutor ultra crepidam": Political Cobblers and Broadside Ballads in Late Seventeenth-Century England', in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by P. Fumerton and A. Guerrini with the assistance of K. McAbee. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 207-28; A. McShane, Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15:1-2 (2011), 105-37; McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-century England*; A. McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by J. Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 339-62.

<sup>479</sup> McShane Jones, "Rime and Reason", pp. 7-8.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>481</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

McShane cautions that historians must be aware of the possibility that they only represent the attitudes of their elite publishers.<sup>482</sup>

In contrast to this culture of anonymity, some black-letter authors – such as Martin Parker, Humphrey Crouch, and Laurence Price – were well known and their names or initials were attached to their ballads.<sup>483</sup> However, McShane argues that this was not the only way in which authorial identity was expressed. She claims that while some of Richard Rigby's ballads carry his name, others were identified by his 'trademark cobbler woodcut'.<sup>484</sup> This opens up the possibility that named authors were more common than previously thought. As, '[i]f Rigby is a typical case, [...] a re-reading of ballads with a closer eye to visual and verbal clues might uncover a range of semi-amateur writers'.<sup>485</sup> This could increase the reliability of ballads as a source. However, McShane is hesitant, as Rigby may have been a construct through which other authors channelled existing cobbler stereotypes and traditions. Either way, McShane is quick to remind us that he was mediated by his printers and publishers.<sup>486</sup>

In addition to her work on authorship, McShane proposes a more systematic assessment of potential popularity, arguing that financial and stylistic accessibility must be taken into account. Such an assessment would allow historians to differentiate between 'those products that can be considered as representative aspects of popular taste and those that cannot'. McShane proposes two approaches: a test of cultural accessibility (genre, content, style, language, etc) and a test of 'material differences' (i.e. those that sought to impose attitudes or ideas and those that sought to play to popular tastes and interests).<sup>487</sup> These approaches are necessary, as not all ballads were equally accessible; some contained more complex language, while others were relatively expensive. Those ballads that were affordable and easy to read should be considered more popular. A more nuanced understanding of popularity is important because broadside ballads 'offer some

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<sup>482</sup> McShane, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam", ed. by Fumerton and Guerrini with the assistance of McAbee, p. 209; McShane, 'Ballads and Broad sides', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1*, ed. by J. Raymond, p. 339.

<sup>483</sup> McShane Jones, "Rime and Reason", p. 64.

<sup>484</sup> McShane Jones, "Rime and Reason", p. 66; McShane, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam", ed. by Fumerton and Guerrini with the assistance of McAbee, p. 210-11.

<sup>485</sup> McShane Jones, "Rime and Reason", p. 67.

<sup>486</sup> McShane, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam", ed. by Fumerton and Guerrini with the assistance of McAbee, p. 224.

<sup>487</sup> McShane, 'Ballads and Broad sides', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1*, ed. by J. Raymond, p. 342.

unique insights into the 'everyday' that few other forms of material culture can lay claim to'.<sup>488</sup>

This spectrum of popularity is an improvement on approaches that assume that ballads, as a genre, were inherently popular. However, it is still concerned with the popularity of forms. This thesis takes a different line of attack. Instead of arguing that the popularity of content is determined by the popularity of the form in which it appears, it tries to argue that the popularity of content is demonstrated by the resonance of that content within and across different forms.

In this context, McShane arguments about the distinctiveness of the ballad genre are most relevant to this thesis. She argues against Tessa Watt's conflation of a variety of different forms into the unified category of cheap print.<sup>489</sup> Specifically, McShane highlights the differences between ballads and manuscript libels and between ballads and newsbooks. For her, ballads must be distinguished from manuscript libels because 'they operated on different rules, in different kinds of language, for different markets, and for different reasons'.<sup>490</sup> Similarly, ballads should be distinguished from newsbooks because '[t]he ballad used theatrical techniques - dialogue, comedy, imagery, music and even dance - to put across a message through performance [...whereas] The newsbook, while it sometimes added verse and occasionally dialogue to its prose, did not need to be performed in order to fulfil its function.'<sup>491</sup>

Like McShane, this thesis argues that '[t]he rules of any genre constrain the nature of the world it can describe'.<sup>492</sup> Therefore, the stereotypes that emerge from the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in ballads must be understood as ballad stereotypes and they must be cross-referenced, compared, and contrasted against the stereotypes that emerge from proverbs, jests, and other genres. Stereotypes that resonate across genres have a far more robust claim to popularity than those that are found only within a single source-type.

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<sup>488</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>489</sup> McShane Jones, "Rime and Reason", pp. 7-8.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

<sup>492</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

## **The Distribution of Millers, Tailors, and Weavers in the Pepys Collection**

Millers, tailors, and weavers are among the most frequently appearing occupational descriptor (one of only three that appear in over a hundred ballads), while miller is the seventh, and weaver is the twelfth. Furthermore, as Table 8 demonstrates, tailor is by far the most frequently appearing secondary-sector occupational descriptor, while miller is the second, and weaver is the sixth. The three trades are therefore a relatively noteworthy presence in the collection.

However, it is not just the frequency with which the three trades appear that is important. The combinations of the three trades are also significant. As Table 10 demonstrates, the trades often appear alone, without either of the other two. Over two-thirds of the ballads that feature tailors do not feature millers or weavers, while over half the ballads that feature millers do not feature tailors or weavers, and almost two-fifths of the ballads that feature weavers do not feature millers or tailors. However, combinations of the three trades make up a significant proportion of the ballads in which millers and weavers appear. Ballads that feature millers and tailors represent almost a fifth of miller ballads. Ballads that feature tailors and weavers represent almost a third of weaver ballads, while ballads that feature all three trades represent almost a third again of weaver ballads and over a quarter of miller ballads.

**Table 8: Frequency of occupational descriptors in the Pepys Collection (10+ ballads)**

<b>OOD</b>	<b>Ballads</b>	<b>PST Sector</b>	<b>PST Group</b>	<b>PST Section</b>	<b>SOD</b>
Soldier(s)	157	3.3	Armed forces	Army	soldier
Servant(s)	135	3.3	Domestic service	House service	servant
Tailor(s)	106	2	Clothing	Clothing manufacture	tailor
Farmer(s)	75	1	Agriculture	Farming	farmer
Lawyer(s)	51	3.3	Professions	Legal profession	Lawyer/Barrister
Cook(s)	49	3.3	Domestic service	Kitchen staff	domestic cook
Miller(s)	47	2	Food industries	Milling	miller
Sailor(s)	46	4	Sea transport		ships' crew
Baker(s)	43	2	Food industries	Baking	baker
Butcher(s)	43	2	Food industries	Meat, fish, poultry products	butcher
Shoemaker(s)	41	2	Footwear	Boots and shoes	shoemaker, bootmaker
Weaver(s)	39	2	Textiles		weaver
Smith(s)	31	2	Iron and steel manufacture and products	Iron and steel products	Blacksmith/Smith
Cobbler(s)	23	2	Footwear	Boots and shoes	shoemaker, bootmaker
Barber(s)	21	3.3	Miscellaneous service industries	Personal services	hairdressing
Tapster(s)	20	3.3	Food, drink and accommodation services	Servers of alcoholic drinks	beer, ale seller
Carpenter(s)	18	2	Building and construction	Carpentry	carpenter
Broker(s)	17	3.1			dealer
Glover(s)	17	2	Clothing	Hats, gloves, stockings	glover
Brewer(s)	14	2	Drink industries	Alcoholic drinks	beer brewing
Collier(s)	12	1	Mining and quarrying	Coal mining	coal miner

**Table 9: Frequency of secondary-sector occupational descriptors in the Pepys Collection (10+ ballads)**

OOD	Ballads	PST Group	PST Section	SOD
Tailor(s)	106	Clothing	Clothing manufacture	tailor
Miller(s)	47	Food industries	Milling	miller
Baker(s)	43	Food industries	Baking	baker
Butcher(s)	43	Food industries	Meat, fish, poultry products	butcher
Shoemaker(s)	41	Footwear	Boots and shoes	shoemaker, bootmaker
Weaver(s)	39	Textiles		weaver
Smith(s)	31	Iron and steel manufacture and products	Iron and steel products	Blacksmith/Smith
Cobbler(s)	23	Footwear	Boots and shoes	shoemaker, bootmaker
Carpenter(s)	18	Building and construction	Carpentry	carpenter
Glover(s)	17	Clothing	Hats, gloves, stockings	glover
Brewer(s)	14	Drink industries	Alcoholic drinks	beer brewing

**Table 10: Combinations of millers, tailors, and weavers in the Pepys Collection**

Descriptor(s)	Ballads	% Miller	% Tailor	% Weaver
Miller(s) only	26	55.32%	n/a	n/a
Tailor(s) only	73	n/a	68.87%	n/a
Weaver(s) only	15	n/a	n/a	38.46%
Miller(s) & tailor(s)	9	19.15%	8.49%	n/a
Miller(s) & weaver(s)	0	0%	n/a	0%
Tailor(s) & weaver(s)	12	n/a	11.32%	30.77%
Miller(s), tailor(s), & weaver(s)	12	25.53%	11.32%	30.77%
<b>Total</b>	<b>147</b>			

## Associations of the Three Trades

An analysis of the ballads that feature all or two of the trades show that these combinations are not random, but demonstrate that millers, tailors, and weavers were associated with each other. As noted above, the vast majority of the miller, tailor, and weaver ballads (114/147, 77.55%) feature only one of the three trades, while only a few (21/147, 14.29%) feature a combination of two, and even less (12/147, 8.16%) feature all three. This is largely due to the large number of ballads that feature tailors. As previously mentioned, tailor is one of the most frequently appearing occupations in the Pepys Collection. The 106 ballads featuring tailors represent almost three-quarters of the 147 miller, tailor, and weaver ballads (72.11%). Furthermore, because over two-thirds of the tailor ballads (73/106, 68.87%) do not feature millers or weavers, almost half of the miller, tailor, and weaver ballads (73/147, 49.66%) feature only tailors.

However, combinations of the three trades do make up a significant proportion of the ballads that feature millers and weavers. Though over half of the miller ballads (26/47, 55.32%) feature millers only, almost a fifth (9/47, 19.15%) feature millers and tailors, and just over a quarter (12/47, 25.53%) feature millers, tailors, and weavers. Combinations of the three trades represent an even larger proportion of the weaver ballads. Almost a third of the weaver ballads (12/39, 30.77%) feature weavers and tailors, while the same proportion (12/39, 30.77%) feature all three trades. Not even two-fifths of the weaver ballads (15/39, 38.46%) feature weavers without millers and tailors.

On their own, these figures do not suggest anything remarkable. Many of the Pepys Collection feature multiple occupational descriptors and just because millers, tailors, and weavers or combinations of those three trades appeared in the same ballads does not mean that there was any special connection between those trades. However, an analysis of the ballads in which they do appear as a three and in combinations of two suggests that, in some ballads at least, the three trades were strongly associated with each other. Furthermore, it suggests that they were associated because they were considered to share stereotypical characteristics and behaviours.

Millers, tailors, and weavers are strongly associated with each other in three of the ballads in which they appear together, while millers and tailors are strongly associated in one ballad in which they both appear and less strongly



associated in another. Finally, tailors and weavers are also strongly associated in one ballad. All three trades are strongly associated with each other in *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff* (1612), *The Golden Age* (1625-35?), and *The Crafty Maid of the West* (1672-96?). *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff* explicitly equates 'the Weaver and the Tayler' and implicitly associates the two trades with millers. Millers are accused of habitual and essential occupational dishonesty in the second half of the fifth stanza, while tailors and weavers are accused of the same immediately after, in the sixth. The three trades are therefore associated through shared characteristics and by textual proximity.<sup>493</sup> *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?) goes even further, explicitly grouping '[t]he Weaver, Miller and Tailor' and accusing them of habitual occupational dishonesty.<sup>494</sup> John Wade's *The Crafty Maid of the West* echoes the grouping but accuses the three trades of something else. The ballad is specifically dedicated to '[y]ou Millers, and Taylors, & Weavers', but relates the exploits of a lusty miller who is eventually humiliated by the titular crafty maid.<sup>495</sup> The grouping is explicit, but the equivalence that underpins it is implicit.

Millers and tailors are strongly associated in *Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London* (1685-88) and less strongly associated in *The Hasty Damsel* (1685-88). *Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London* provides two very clear statements of the perceived connection between millers and tailors. First, the title describes the two trades as cousins and second, the closing lines claim that 'The Taylor and the Miller too [...] They both are of the filshing crew, / none nearer in relation'.<sup>496</sup> The association in *The Hasty Damsel* is not quite as strong, but the ballad still implicitly equates the two trades. In the ballad, a daughter rejects two suitors, a miller and a tailor, in favour of a preferred third, a sailor, explaining that '[n]either Miller, no nor Taylor, / ever shall [her] love obtain'. However, though she makes it clear that she was put off by the tailor's habitual occupational dishonesty, she does not

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<sup>493</sup> W. Turner, *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff*, EBBA 20092, Pepys 1.206-207 (1612).

<sup>494</sup> *The Golden Age*, EBBA 20066, Pepys 1.152-153 (1625-1635?).

<sup>495</sup> J. Wade, *The Crafty Maid of the West*, EBBA 21684, Pepys 4.17 (1672-1696?).

<sup>496</sup> *Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London*, EBBA 21224, Pepys 3.211 (1685-1688).

explain why she has rejected the miller. The implication is that the miller was rejected for similar reasons.<sup>497</sup>

Tailors and weavers are strongly associated in *Old England's New Save-all* (1672-96?). The ballad explicitly equates the economic position of the two trades. When 'Bottom the Weaver' blames the French for the high price of silk and the poverty it has caused in 'Ten thousand poor Weavers', 'Trueman the Taylor' remarks that his 'case is the same'.<sup>498</sup>

Therefore, a small but significant proportion of the miller, tailor, and weaver ballads strongly associate the three trades. *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff*, *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?), and *The Crafty Maid of the West* present them as a group. However, they offer different reasons for this grouping, with the first two ballads associating the three trades with similar habitual occupational dishonesty and the third associating them with super-sexuality. *Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London* and *The Hasty Damsel* also suggest that millers and tailors were equated because of their shared habitual occupational dishonesty, while *Old England's New Save-all* likens the economic position of tailors and weavers.

## Stereotypes

The representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in the Pepys Collection suggest several stereotypes. All three trades are associated with occupational dishonesty, though significantly more detail is provided about the occupational dishonesty of millers and tailors. All three trades are associated with super-sexuality, but this character trait is more commonly associated with millers. Tailors and weavers are associated with poverty. Finally, tailors are frequently presented as inferior to other men, in terms of physical prowess, courage, and sexual desirability.

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<sup>497</sup> *The Hasty Damsel*, EBBA 21840, Pepys 4.178 (1685-1688). "[F]ilshing' is probably a variant spelling of 'filching', the action of the verb 'filch', meaning '[t]o steal, esp. things of small value [or] to pilfer'. See: 'filch, v.', in *OED* [accessed 13 April 2016].

<sup>498</sup> *Old England's New Save-all*, EBBA 21990, Pepys 4.327 (1672-1696?).

## Dishonesty

Millers, tailors, and weavers are frequently represented as dishonest in the Pepys Collection. Several ballads are specific about the occupational malpractices of millers and tailors, while being vague about the dishonesty of weavers. *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff* tells us that for every 'two bushels' the miller grinds, he 'must steale a peck', while explaining that 'it is a common proverb, / throughout all the towne', that 'the Taylor he must cut three sleeves, / for every womans gowne'.<sup>499</sup> However, with regards to weavers, the ballad merely asserts that, alongside tailors, 'cozens they be sure', for '[t]hey cannot worke but they must steale, / to keepe their hands in ure'.<sup>500</sup> Similarly, *The Honest Age* (1601-40?) illuminates the former malpractices of millers and tailors, but is not specific about the dishonesty of weavers. In the third stanza of the first part, the ballad records how tailors now 'scorne to deceive any friend' and bend their minds to 'plaine dealing', though 'once [they] were false [they] hath [now] sworne to amend' and will no longer send 'cloth, nor silke, lace, to hell'. Similarly, the second stanza of the second part, tells how millers used to take 'too deepe [a] tole', but that through fear of endangering their souls, they have now decided to deal honestly. However, the fifth stanza of the second part, merely describes how, from now on, weavers, glovers, masons, painters, pewterers, plumbers, and 'other trades' 'Will use no false dealing where ever they goe'.<sup>501</sup> Likewise, while *Merry Tom of All Trades* (1681-84) accuses millers and tailors of occupational malpractices, it only accuses weavers of moral failings. The eponymous Tom admits that when he works a tailor, he steals a third of his customer's cloth, while when he works as a miller, he steals a peck from every bushel. Tom asserts that 'Somtimes' he is 'a Taylor' and works as 'well as [he] can', and that if the listener will take his 'own word for't', he is 'an honest man'. He claims that he treats 'All those that are [his] customers [...] so well', by taking 'The third part of their cloth' and throwing 'it into Hell'. As a miller, he explains that his 'actions are so just', as he 'never cozen[s] any one / but them that do [him] trust'. Furthermore, he deals so 'honestly [...] / That out of one whole bushel of grit / [he] but a Peck do[es] steal'. However, as a weaver, he is guilty of less occupationally specific lapses. He lets his 'Shuttle flye', but is

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<sup>499</sup> Turner, *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff*.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>501</sup> *The Honest Age*, EBBA 20068, Pepys 1.156-157 (1601-1640?).

easily distracted by 'the Ale-house'. He admits that it is possible for him to 'loyter' in the ale-house for 'five days in the week', and that if this happens "'Tis ten to one on Sunday / my Dinner is to seek'.<sup>502</sup>

Other ballads are specific about the dishonesty of millers and tailors, but do not mention weavers. *The Sorrowful Complaint of Conscience and Plain-Dealing* (1671-85?) also accuses millers of stealing grain and tailors of taking cloth. In the ballad, an anthropomorphized Conscience and Plain-dealing relate how they were threatened by millers with 'lusty great Club[s]', who insisted that 'if Conscience should stay' they would no longer be able to 'take a Peck' from every bushel. Later, Conscience and Plain-dealing describe how they 'went amongst all the Taylors in Town' and how the tailors 'gave an abuse' to Conscience '[a]nd threw at Plain Dealing their shears & their goose'. The tailors then 'discoursed and held this dispute', complaining that they 'can't pinch a Coat in the making a Suit' without Conscience flying in their faces '[w]ith frights and with fears of a future disgrace'.<sup>503</sup> Finally, *The Ploughman's Prophecy* (1664-1703?) accuses tailors of stealing cloth and inflating their bills, and millers of taking a toll. The eighth stanza looks forward to a time when 'Taylors' forget 'to throw Cabbage in hell, / And shorten their bills', while the tenth stanza anticipates a future where 'Millers refuse any tole for to take'.<sup>504</sup>

Another set of ballads are only specific about the occupational dishonesty of millers or tailors. *The Youngman's Resolution to the Maiden's Request* (1664-1703?) it is not specific about the nature of tailors' dishonesty, merely accusing them of dealing falsely; but, it does make specific allegations about millers, accusing them of taking a toll. The ballad does not mention weavers. It explains that the eponymous young man will only marry when tailors 'deal just and truly' and millers must forget 'their Tole[s]'.<sup>505</sup> Conversely, *An Excellent New Medley* (1620?) is specific about tailors, but not about millers. It accuses a tailor of stealing cloth and a miller of being a knave. The ballad does mention a weaver, but does not accuse him of dishonesty. The first half of the ninth stanza contains a typically amorphous mix of events and individuals: a 'Cuckow [sings] hard by the doore' and 'Gyll [brawls] like a butter whore, /

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<sup>502</sup> *Merry Tom of All Trades*, EBBA 21922, Pepys 4.261 (1681-1684).

<sup>503</sup> *The Sorrowful Complaint of Conscience and Plain-Dealing*, EBBA 22018, Pepys 4.354 (1671-1685?).

<sup>504</sup> *The Ploughman's Prophecy*, EBBA 21959, Pepys 4.297 (1664-1703?).

<sup>505</sup> *The Youngman's Resolution to the Maiden's Request*, EBBA 21225, Pepys 3.212 (1664-1703?).

Cause her bucke-headed Husband swore / the Miller was a knave'. The first half of the thirteenth stanza asserts that 'The Weaver will no shuttle shoote' and commands the reader to 'bid the Cobler mend my boote', as 'He is a foole will goe a foote / and let his Horse stand still'. Finally, the second half of the seventeenth stanza implores the audience to 'Beleeve [...] without an Oath' that 'The Taylor stole some of her cloath', and continues that 'When George lay sicke, Joane made him broath / with Hemlocke'.<sup>506</sup> Similarly, *The Hasty Damsel* accuses tailors of stealing, but does not accuse millers of anything specific. It does not mention weavers. In the ballad a daughter tells her mother that she might have married a tailor, but that she 'did not like his ways'. Specifically, she objected to the 'deal a Cabbage' he had shown her that he had 'pinch'd the week before'. She might also have married a miller, but as she 'had serv'd the tother [the tailor], / so [she] served him [the miller] indeed'. She does not explain why she rejected the miller was not to her liking, but she concludes that 'Neither Miller, no nor Taylor, / ever shall [her] love obtain'.<sup>507</sup>

In addition to these, a further four ballads are specific about the occupational dishonesty of tailors without mentioning millers or weavers. *A Very Pleasant New Ditty* (1625?) accuses tailors of cutting garments too small, claiming that claims that '[t]he Taylor with his sheares / will shread a garment small'.<sup>508</sup> Similarly, *The Maiden's Melancholy Moan for the Loss of Her Virginity* (1675-96?) accuses tailors of cutting garments too small. In the ballad, the eponymous promiscuous maiden complains that one of the men who may have impregnated her, a tailor, 'has vext [her] sore', by cutting the 'Gown and Mantua' he had promised 'too short'.<sup>509</sup> Furthermore, *Knavery in All Trades* (1632) accuses tailors of cutting more cloth than is needed, claiming that they cut 'out of one gowne three sleeves'.<sup>510</sup> Finally, *The New Composed Medley* (1685-88) accuses tailors of stealing cloth. It anticipates a time when tailors 'will steal no more' and will 'restore' the cloth they have 'Cabbidg'd'.<sup>511</sup>

However, other ballads are less specific. Several ballads accuse one or more of the trades of theft but do not say what or how they are stealing. The

<sup>506</sup> *An Excellent New Medley*, EBBA 20031, Pepys 1.456 (1620?).

<sup>507</sup> *The Hasty Damsel*.

<sup>508</sup> *A Very Pleasant New Ditty*, EBBA 20131, Pepys 1.282-283 (1625?).

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.*; *The Maiden's Melancholy Moan for the Loss of Her Virginity*, EBBA 21067, Pepys 3.68 (1675-1696?).

<sup>510</sup> *Knavery in All Trades*, EBBA 20073, Pepys 1.166-167 (1632).

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*; *The New Composed Medley*, EBBA 22033, Pepys 4.369 (1685-1688).

seventh stanza of the second part of *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?) contends that 'The Weaver, Miller and Tailor / [now] leave off for to steale, / And with their worke-masters / more honestly deale'. This suggests that they were previously known for stealing and dishonest dealing.<sup>512</sup> Similarly, *I Would You Never Had Said So* (1618) accuses tailors of theft, anticipating a time when they '[sha]ll steale no more'.<sup>513</sup> In addition, *Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London* (1685-88) accuses millers and tailors of both being part 'of the filshing crew', but does not specify what this means.<sup>514</sup>

Other ballads accuse the three trades of generic dishonesty. *The Post of Ware* (1622?) accuses tailors of having previously been untruthful. The ballad parodies contemporary news sheets by announcing the reversal of a variety of national and socio-occupational stereotypes. It claims that 'That Truth doth [now] abound, / In every Taylors / Shop to bee found'.<sup>515</sup> Likewise, *Sure My Nurse Was a Witch* (1630?) accuses tailors of being untruthful, claiming that they 'breake, the truth to speake'.<sup>516</sup> In addition, *Truth in Mourning* (1687) reproves tailors and millers, but does not provide any details of their malpractice. When an anthropomorphized Conscience meets 'Thomas Stitch, the Tailor', he admonishes Thomas for 'his cheating'. The tailor is greatly 'vex'd' by Conscience's accusations, especially when Conscience asks whether people should learn 'what a Tailor ought to do' from Thomas. This phrasing suggests that ballads may have had the potential to influence real behaviour and that stereotypical depictions of tailors as dishonest might actually encourage dishonesty. The interrogation sends Thomas into a 'wrath' and he flies 'At honest Conscience with pointed Shears', swearing that if Conscience does not leave he will 'clip off both his Ears'. Conscience is similarly treated by a baker before he is eventually murdered by a group of millers. The millers 'came to know, that he would reprove them', so they raise a force 'Of lusty rugged Millers [...] to end his days'. The encounter forces Conscience into hiding and it is reported that he has either died of his wounds or cannot 'be found [...] the Nation round'. The ballad ends by reiterating that it was 'Those wicked Millers,

<sup>512</sup> *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?).

<sup>513</sup> *I Would You Never Had Said So*, EBBA 20080, Pepys 1.180-181 (1618).

<sup>514</sup> *Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London*.

<sup>515</sup> *The Post of Ware*, EBBA 20095, Pepys 1.212-213 (1622?).

<sup>516</sup> *Sure My Nurse Was a Witch*, EBBA 20091, Pepys 1.204-205 (1630?).

Conscience-killers, [that] gave the fatal wound', but notes that 'there's many more in this Land' who 'did put their helping-hand'.<sup>517</sup> Finally, *Every Man's Condition* (1630?) may allude to the occupational dishonesty of millers. The ballad also mentions a tailor and a weaver but does not accuse them of anything. The ballad tells us that a tailor loves 'bread / With a bottom of thred' as well as his 'sheares, [...] needle and thimble', 'The Weaver his Looome, / [and] The Miller his thumbe'.<sup>518</sup> This is most likely an allusion to the proverbial miller's golden thumb and therefore for their reputation for occupational dishonesty. However, if it is, it is not a specific accusation.

Some ballads specify the victims of millers', tailors', and weavers' malpractice. A few ballads suggest that they cheat their masters. *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?) claims that millers, tailors, and weavers have been dealing dishonesty with 'their worke-masters', while *The New Composed Medley* accuses tailors of stealing cloth from their employers and looks forward to a time when tailors 'restore' the cloth they have 'Cabbidg'd [...] to every Master again'.<sup>519</sup> However, there are more ballads that suggest that their customers should be wary. *An Excellent New Medley* refers to a tailor stealing from a female customer.<sup>520</sup> Similarly, *Merry Tom of All Trades* admits stealing from 'All those that are [his] customers', when working as a tailor, and stealing from 'them that do trust' him, when working as a miller.<sup>521</sup> Though *The Ploughman's Prophecy* does not specify the victims of tailor and miller dishonesty, it does state that tailors' customer are the victims of their inflated bills.<sup>522</sup> Finally, *The Maiden's Melancholy Moan for the Loss of Her Virginitie* relates how a customer has been 'vext [...] sore' by a tailor who was also courting her.<sup>523</sup> However, these examples are the minority, and the vast majority do not specify the victims of the malpractice they describe.<sup>524</sup>

<sup>517</sup> *Truth in Mourning*, EBBA 20676, Pepys 2.52 (1687).

<sup>518</sup> *Every Man's Condition*, EBBA 20100, Pepys 1.220-221 (1630?).

<sup>519</sup> *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?); *The New Composed Medley*.

<sup>520</sup> *An Excellent New Medley*.

<sup>521</sup> *Merry Tom of All Trades*.

<sup>522</sup> *The Ploughman's Prophecy*.

<sup>523</sup> *A Very Pleasant New Ditty*, *The Maiden's Melancholy Moan for the Loss of Her Virginitie*.

<sup>524</sup> Turner, *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff*; *The Honest Age*; *Every Man's Condition*; *An Excellent New Medley*; *Truth in Mourning*; *The Sorrowful Complaint of Conscience and Plain-Dealing*; *The Youngman's Resolution to the Maiden's Request*; *The Hasty Damsel*; *Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London*; *The Post of Ware*; *Sure My Nurse Was a Witch*; *I Would You Never Had Said So*; *A Very Pleasant New Ditty*.

A couple of ballads attempt to justify the behaviour of the three trades. *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?) and *Sure My Nurse Was a Witch* point to tailor's reliance on promises of payment. The seventh stanza of the first part of *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?) describes how 'The Courtier, his Taylor / doth pay with good will, / The Taylor he thinketh, / his payment is ill. / But yet if he yeerely, / doe cancell his Bill, / His onely desire is / To deale with him still'.<sup>525</sup> This suggests that previously, courtiers do not pay their bills and that tailors are not comfortable dealing with such defaults. Similarly, *Sure My Nurse Was a Witch* explains that 'The spruce and handsome Taylor [...] is paid with oaths / which breeds his discontent'. It is a reliance on promises of payment, alongside a 'Great [...] charge, and house-rent', which forces tailors to be dishonest.<sup>526</sup> However, *The Sorrowful Complaint of Conscience and Plain-Dealing* and *Knavery in All Trades* suggest that millers and tailors cannot make a profit without resorting to dishonesty. When confronted by the eponymous protagonists in *The Sorrowful Complaint of Conscience and Plain-Dealing*, the millers argues that 'if Conscience should stay, / [they] must give half of [their] profit away', while the tailors claim that Conscience and Plain-Dealing 'would have [their] profit but small' as they would not allow them any 'Cabbage at all'.<sup>527</sup> Likewise, *Knavery in All Trades* claims that it is well-known that '[th]e Taylor can never live well [...] Unlesse he have gaines from hell, / or lives upon Cabidge leaves' and that tailors 'must use their Trade, / or else little meanes can be had'.<sup>528</sup>

In addition to this, *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff* and *I Would You Never Had Said So* suggest that the malpractice of millers, tailors, and weavers is essential. *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff* contends that the millers 'must steale', while tailors and weavers 'cannot worke' without stealing. Similarly, *I Would You Never Had Said So* accuses tailors of being incapable of working without stealing, stating that they '[sha]ll steale no more [...] when [they] hath no worke to doe'.<sup>529</sup> However, again, the vast majority of ballads offer not justification for actions of the three trades.<sup>530</sup>

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<sup>525</sup> *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?).

<sup>526</sup> *Sure My Nurse Was a Witch*.

<sup>527</sup> *The Sorrowful Complaint of Conscience and Plain-Dealing*.

<sup>528</sup> *Knavery in All Trades*.

<sup>529</sup> Turner, *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff; I Would You Never Had Said So*.

<sup>530</sup> *The Honest Age; An Excellent New Medley; Every Man's Condition; Merry Tom of All Trades; Truth in Mourning; The Youngman's Resolution to the Maiden's Request; The*



It must be acknowledged that in the majority of ballads discussed above, millers, tailors, and weavers are not the only socio-occupational types accused of dishonesty. Furthermore, they are not the only secondary-sector occupations accused of occupational dishonesty. In addition to accusing millers, tailors, and weavers, *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?) accuses bakers and brewers of incorrect sizing and dishonest dealing,<sup>531</sup> while *The Honest Age* accuses bakers of incorrect sizing, butchers of dishonest dealing and selling tainted meat, brewers of selling incomplete measures, and, as mentioned above, glovers, masons, painters, pewterers, and plumbers of having dealt falsely.<sup>532</sup> Similarly, as well as accusing millers and tailors of occupational dishonesty, *Merry Tom of All Trades* accuses glovers of over-charging, bakers of under-weighting, and brewers of watering down their beer.<sup>533</sup> Furthermore, alongside accusing tailors of occupational dishonesty, *An Excellent New Medley* accuses bakers of under-sizing their bread,<sup>534</sup> while *A Very Pleasant New Ditty* accuses butchers of artificially plumping up their meat and bakers of using false weights.<sup>535</sup> Finally, in addition to accusing tailors of occupational dishonesty, *I Would You Never Had Said So*, accuses tradesmen of abusing others with their buying,<sup>536</sup> while *Knavery in All Trades* accuses tradesmen of deceiving each other.<sup>537</sup>

However, there are also several ballads where millers and tailors are the only secondary-sector occupations accused of occupational dishonesty. *The Youngman's Resolution to the Maiden's Request* mentions bakers, brewers, and cobblers, but does not accuse them of anything,<sup>538</sup> while *The Ploughman's Prophecy* mentions tradesmen but does not accuse them of anything.<sup>539</sup> Similarly, though *Sure My Nurse Was a Witch* mentions tailors and shoemakers, and accuses tailors of occupational dishonesty, but does not accuse shoemakers of anything.<sup>540</sup> In addition, though *Truth in Mourning*

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*Ploughman's Prophecy; The Hasty Damsel; Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London; The Post of Ware; A Very Pleasant New Ditty; The Maiden's Melancholy Moan for the Loss of Her Virginity.*

<sup>531</sup> *The Golden Age* (1625-1635?).

<sup>532</sup> *The Honest Age*.

<sup>533</sup> *Merry Tom of All Trades*.

<sup>534</sup> *An Excellent New Medley*.

<sup>535</sup> *A Very Pleasant New Ditty*.

<sup>536</sup> *I Would You Never Had Said So*.

<sup>537</sup> *Knavery in All Trade*.

<sup>538</sup> *The Youngman's Resolution to the Maiden's Request*.

<sup>539</sup> *The Ploughman's Prophecy*.

<sup>540</sup> *Sure My Nurse Was a Witch*.

accuses tailors, millers, and bakers of occupational dishonesty, it only accuses tailors of a specific malpractice.<sup>541</sup>

Furthermore, there are a number of ballads where millers, tailors, and weavers are the only secondary-sector occupations mentioned and therefore the only secondary-sector occupations accused of dishonesty. In addition to millers, tailors, and weavers, *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff* accuses fish-wives, watermen, women selling food and other items, and pedlars of occupational dishonesty,<sup>542</sup> while in *The Sorrowful Complaint Of Conscience*, millers and tailors are the only secondary-sector occupation mentioned and the only occupation accused of specific occupational dishonesty. The ballad accuses graziers and farmers of dishonesty, but is not specific about their malpractice, while it accuses ale-wives of tempting their patrons to stay in the alehouse all day by plying them with 'a Relishing bit'.<sup>543</sup> Furthermore, Tailors are the only occupation mentioned among a variety of social types in *The Post of Ware*.<sup>544</sup> Tailors are the only secondary-sector occupation mentioned in *The New Composed Medley* and they are the only occupation accused of occupational dishonesty. Ale-wives are also mentioned, but they are not accused of dishonesty.<sup>545</sup> Finally, Millers and tailors are the only dishonest socio-occupational types mentioned in *Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London*, while tailors are the only socio-occupational type mentioned in *The Hasty Damsel, The Maiden's Melancholy Moan for the Loss of Her Virginity, Yea & Nay the Quaker Deceived* (1685-88).<sup>546</sup>

Though millers, tailors, and weavers are not the only socio-occupational types accused of dishonesty in the Pepys Collection or even the only secondary-sector occupations, the number and specificity of the accusations appears significant. The three trades are regularly accused and they are often the only secondary-sector occupation accused. Furthermore, their occupational malpractices are laid out in detail. The Pepys Collection therefore provide compelling evidence that millers, tailors, and weavers were considered

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<sup>541</sup> *Truth in Mourning*.

<sup>542</sup> Turner, *Turner's Dish of Lenten Stuff*.

<sup>543</sup> *The Sorrowful Complaint of Conscience and Plain-Dealing*.

<sup>544</sup> *The Post of Ware*.

<sup>545</sup> *The New Composed Medley*.

<sup>546</sup> *Roger the Millers Present Sent by the Farmers Daughter to His Cousin Tom the Taylor in London; The Hasty Damsel; The Maiden's Melancholy Moan for the Loss of Her Virginity; Yea & Nay the Quaker Deceived*, EBBA 21941, Pepys 4.280 (1685-1688).

especially dishonest among occupational types and that the occupational malpractice of millers and tailors, at least, was well-known: millers tolled more than they should and tailors cut more cloth than they should.

In this context, the depiction of a tailor in *Yea & Nay the Quaker Deceived* is not a one-off, but a stereotypical portrait of a dishonest tailor. The ballad describes a Quaker tailor who pretends he does not take cabbage in order to attract customers but is exposed by his more honest wife. The narrator begins by introducing and describing the tailor and noting that he would often assert his honesty. This assertion was apparently very attractive to potential clients as 'His Customers', believing him, 'willingly brought him their work for to do'. However, it was merely a ruse as 'he would deceive them and Cabbage would pinch, / Nay if it was possible, out of an Inch'. Though ostensibly a religious man, he had strayed from the righteous path and 'The Spirit' had forsaken him – 'his light it was out' and 'He wandred in darkness then without all doubt'. The remainder of the ballad relates an anecdote that illustrates how the tailor cheated his customers and how he was eventually discovered. While making 'A Gown for a Lady' out of a 'piece of fine Sattin so pure' the tailor found it impossible not to cabbage her fabric and ended up taking 'Four yards' of it and hiding it 'in hell'. After he finished the gown, the tailor attempted to hide his dishonesty by putting 'all the scraps and small bits [of fabric] he could see [...] in the bagg' with the dress. The narrator comments that 'He often deceived his Customers so', showing them some off-cuts in a 'cunning' attempt to disguise his real 'theft'. However, the tailor's 'wife was a Quaker, more Zealous then he', who had often attempted to persuade him to 'live honest and Cabbage no more'. Unfortunately, though, 'this was a lesson too hard for to learn', especially as the tailor believed that 'he but little could earn / If he did not Cabbage'. His wife, moved by 'The Spirit' and convinced that letting the tailor continue in his dishonesty was a sin in itself, decided to expose his fraudulent behaviour. She 'took the four yards of Sattin' and put it 'Into the bag, for to go home with the gown'. 'The Taylor', unaware of this, took 'the Bagg [...] the Gown [...] and the scraps also, / Unto the same Lady for whom it was made'. Upon the tailor's arrival, the lady declared that he had 'been honest and true' to her, putting 'all the Silk' she gave him into 'the Gown'. The tailor accepted these commendations 'With a Saint-like look' and once again professed that 'He did not love Cabbage by Yea and by Nay'. However, when the tailor opened the

bag, he revealed not only the 'The Gown, and small pieces', but 'his un-look'd-for Cabbide beside'. Seeing these four yards alongside the usual scraps, the lady realised that the tailor had attempted to cheat her. The tailor, realising that the jig was up, 'Fell quaking and shaking with terrible fear [...] And humbly confessed the truth of it all' claiming 'O Satan, O Satan, was the cause of it'. Luckily for him, 'The Lady did pardon him since he did say, / He ne'r would do so no more by Yea and Nay'. However, the ballad ends on an ambiguous note, as the narrator tells that the tailor 'resolv'd in his mind', that if he did cabbage again, 'His wife should not know it' as 'she was so unkind'.<sup>547</sup> That the tailor attempted to distinguish himself from his competition by asserting his honesty suggests that an honest non-cabbing tailor was a rarity. As noted above, the ballad provides a detailed account of the habitual dishonesty of tailors that chimes with the accusations found in several other ballads.

## Poverty

Tailors and weavers are associated with poverty. However, there are some differences in the way they are represented. Tailors are often portrayed as individually poor or unemployed, while weavers are not as frequently depicted this way. Instead, one ballad provides strong evidence that weavers, as a grouping, were considered to be stereotypically poor. Despite the differences in representation, there are similarities in the way in which the poverty of both trades is blamed on the broader economic climate, and, at least one ballad presents their poverty as comparable.

Several ballads depict poor tailors, without suggesting that poverty is ubiquitous within the trade. In *The Slighted Virgin* (1664-1703?), a tailor runs out on his lover, stealing two rings and some money. The tailor is presented as poor and untrustworthy. The ballad explains that the young woman accepted the tailor's advances 'because she lik'd the trade' and despite knowing that he 'was not very Rich'. It tells how the tailor was so poor that 'He had go no Mony, to buy a Wedding-ring' and that 'His Pockets [were] empty'. Later, it explicitly describes him as 'the poor Taylor'.<sup>548</sup> Despite this, the ballad is dealing with an individual and does not suggest that tailors, in general, had a reputation for

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<sup>547</sup> *Yea & Nay the Quaker Deceived*.

<sup>548</sup> *The Slighted Virgin*, EBBA 21068, Pepys 3.69 (1664-1703?).

poverty. *A Market for Young Men* (1695-1703?) also features a 'poor Taylor'. The ballad describes a market where young widows and unmarried women are sold on the cheap. It tells of '[a] Taylor [...] who wanted a Mate', but who, due to poverty, 'must have one of a very low Rate'. The tailor's lack of resources required him to drive a hard bargain, 'All over the Town he beat the Price down', and 'At length', he had 'bought [a wife] for a Crown / In Clip'd Money'.<sup>549</sup> Again, though the ballad presents a poor tailor, it does not explicitly suggest that the tailoring trade, in general, is associated with poverty. It may also suggest that tailors find it difficult to find partners by conventional means; however, tailors are not the only potential buyers at the auction. Finally, *The War-Like Tailor* (1681-84), which is discussed in more detail below, also appears to comment on the poverty of its tailor character. In the ballad, the louse claims that the tailor sustains himself by eating her family.<sup>550</sup> The implication being that the tailor is too poor to afford proper food. Though each of these ballads feature a poor tailor, they do not explicitly make reference to the trade in general. However, the relative frequency of the depiction may suggest a general association with poverty.

As well as poor individual, several ballads depict multiple poor tailors, without necessarily suggesting that poverty was widespread among the trade. Like *A Market for Young Men*, *A Catalogue of Young Wenches* (1675-96?) describes an auction of unmarried women. The last stanza describes 'one strapping Maid, / scarce one and twenty, / Who by a Female Trade / now lives in Plenty'. The final couplet predicts that 'She'll make a Buxom wife / for some poor Taylor'.<sup>551</sup> This suggests that poor tailors are relatively common, without suggesting that all tailors are poor. Similarly, *The Lamentation of Seven Journeymen Tailors* (1684) suggests that many tailors, if not all, are poor. The ballad tells of a young woman who gets pregnant by one of seven tailors. As she does not know which is the father, she takes them all to court. In their defence, the seven tailors claim that they only 'work for a Groat a day, / And [...] can earn no more'.<sup>552</sup> This suggests that tailors earn significantly less than

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<sup>549</sup> *A Market for Young Men*, EBBA 21264, Pepys 3.250 (1695-1703?).

<sup>550</sup> *The War-Like Tailor*, EBBA 21943, Pepys 4.282 (1681-1684).

<sup>551</sup> *A Catalogue of Young Wenches*, EBBA 22340, Pepys 5.418 (1675-1696?).

<sup>552</sup> *The Lamentation of Seven Journeymen Tailors*, EBBA 21352, Pepys 3.337 (1684).

agricultural labourers.<sup>553</sup> However, it is possible that the tailors are underestimating their income. Furthermore, the narrator of *The Wanton Maiden's Choice* (1671-1702?) includes tailors in her list of undesirable sexual partners. As is also discussed in more detail below, she cites her dislike of the practice of cabbaging and indicates that she is turned off by the poverty of the trade. She describes tailors as being 'too light behind' and claims that one of that trade would 'never care, / whether [she] eat[s] or fast[s]'.<sup>554</sup>

In addition to this, a few ballads refer to unemployed tailors. In *The London Lady* (1689), a young prostitute sleeps with eight suitors, giving each the pox, before marrying a joiner. One of her suitors is described as '[a] Taylor that was out of Work'.<sup>555</sup> Unemployed tailors are also mentioned in *The French Cryer Newly Arrived in England* (1682-92?). The ballad offers a list of the unusual or humorous situations that should be brought to the attention of the new crier. It mentions a cuckold with only one horn, an old woman who can blow out a candle with a fart, and anyone looking to loan a friend a thousand pounds without security. The penultimate stanza advises that '[i]f any Taylor be out of work, / And up and down streets does idly lurk', then he should make himself known to the crier.<sup>556</sup> There are several ballads that depict poor tailors, groups of poor tailors, and unemployed tailors. However, none of these ballads explicitly suggest that tailors, as a trade, were associated with poverty.

Fewer ballads represent weavers as individually poor. The titular hero of *Will the Merry Weaver & Charity the Chambermaid* (1672-96?) describes himself as 'a weaver of low degree'.<sup>557</sup> However, this does not mean that all weavers are of low social status, as it implicitly suggests that other weavers are of higher degree. Furthermore, it does not explicitly mention poverty. In addition, in *True Love Exalted* (1672-96?), Peg, 'a Searge Weavers Daughter of Devonshire', describes herself as 'The poor Daughter of a Weaver'. Again, though, this does not necessarily mean that weavers, in general, are poor or even that her father is poor. It may not be referring to poverty, she could be describing herself as worthy of sympathy. However, as she goes on to say that

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<sup>553</sup> Clark estimates that male agricultural workers were paid just over 10d per day in the penultimate decade of the seventeenth century. See Clark, 'The Long March of History', p. 100.

<sup>554</sup> *The Wanton Maiden's Choice*, EBBA 21203, Pepys 3.190 (1671-1702?).

<sup>555</sup> *The London Lady*, EBBA 21037, Pepys 3.41 (1689).

<sup>556</sup> *The French Cryer Newly Arrived in England*, EBBA 21984, Pepys 4.321 (1682-1692?).

<sup>557</sup> *Will the Merry Weaver & Charity the Chambermaid*, EBBA 21142, Pepys 3.132 (1672-1696?).

she has a 'heart of vertuous mould' that cannot 'be corrupted by [her suitor's] Gold', it is likely that she is referring to her material circumstances.<sup>558</sup>

However, the association of weavers, as a trade, with poverty is far stronger in Thomas Neale's *A Wench for a Weaver* (1630?). Though it is ostensibly about a weaver courting a maid (Würzbach describes it as a 'courtship dialogue'), a large proportion of the ballad is dedicated to defending the trade's reputation against accusations of poverty and low social status.<sup>559</sup> The first part of the ballad portrays the to-and-fro of courtship, with the maid placing obstacles between their union and the weaver dismissing them. The second part of the ballad details the current plight of weavers and presents illustrious examples of their former wealth and status, though it still retains some allusions to the conversation between the two would-be lovers.

As intimated above, the maid's main objection to the union is the low social status and poverty associated with weaving. She claims that, if she marries him, she will have to 'live out of care' as 'the common speech is rife' that 'To be a Weavers wife / is to live poore'. However, she promises that if he can explain and refute 'why a Weaver is counted base', she will 'imbrace' him 'none like a weaver'. The weaver argues that his trade's current reputation is due to a few bad apples and that weavers are no worse than other occupations when times are hard; as even 'the richest of you all' would be similarly shunned 'if [their] meanes begin to fall'. Eventually, the maid concedes that 'tis poverty / that breeds thy slander' and the first part of the ballad ends with the maid congratulating the weaver for having got rid of her concerns and agreeing that 'All the world plaine man see / [that weavers] are vainly taxed'. Finally, she asks if the weaver might describe how his trade was first brought low so that she 'may speake of all, / in praise of weavers'. The second part of the ballad begins with the weaver agreeing to her request. He answers that weavers are merely at the mercy of the waxing and waning of fortune, noting that 'Fortune sometimes frownes', and that if cities can fall victim to its oscillations, 'then why not weavers'. He brings her attention to 'Canning Street' where cloth is sold, where 'Weavers have made like show / in their houses dwelling', though they are now 'gone and dead, / and Drapers crept in stead'. He cites 'Jacke of Nuberie', who, though now 'dead and rotten', was once famed and 'should not be

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<sup>558</sup> *True Love Exalted*, EBBA 21270, Pepys 3.256 (1672-1696?).

<sup>559</sup> Würzbach, p. 189.

forgotten'. According to the weaver, Jack was known to maintain 'Two hundred and fifty loomes' that 'honoreth now the tombes / of worthy weavers'. He also argues that 'Cheapside amongst the rest / shall not be forgotten' as many more would 'go to racke, / were't not for weavers'. Furthermore, he claims to have 'read a story / Of a Weaver that was a King', whose fame makes him sing merrily and 'speake well of weavers', and recalls 'those Golden dayes', when 'weavers had pleasure', were highly praised, and wealthy. He ends the second part of the ballad by seeking 'Pardon' for any offense or perceived lack of eloquence in his writing, he claims that though he only rhymed simply, he meant to 'to clime / in praise of weavers'. Finally, he apologises again and promises his love that, having proved his 'constant hart' he will never leave her, thus re-grounding his polemic in their courtship.<sup>560</sup>

The strength of the association of weavers with poverty is evidenced not just by the detail provided, but by the way the ballad explicitly presents itself as addressing a well-established contemporary stereotype. The references to 'common speech' and 'slanderous words' suggest that the author intends to correct popular attitudes, while the second half of the ballads makes little attempt to disguise its polemical nature or its appeal to a general audience. The ballad therefore points to concerns or perceived concerns amongst weavers that they are considered to be poor and of lower social status. These concerns manifest themselves, within the ballad, not only as explicit references to their negative contemporary reputation but also as the fear of not being able to secure a spouse (or sexual partner) and a belief that weavers are not getting credit for their former glories or their contribution to society. The reference to Jack of Newbury suggests that this ballad can be read alongside the work of Thomas Deloney (both *Jack of Newbury* and *Thomas of Reading*) that, similarly, seek to re-establish the social position and esteem of weavers.<sup>561</sup>

Despite the difference in the way the poverty of tailors and weaver is depicted, both are shown to be at the mercy of wider economic forces. Furthermore, in at least two ballads, their position is explicitly compared. In *Old England's New Save-all* (1672-96?), several trades discuss the dismal

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<sup>560</sup> T. Neale, *A Wench for a Weaver*, EBBA 20116, Pepys 1.252-253 (1630?).

<sup>561</sup> T. Deloney, *Thomas of Reading* (London, 1612; ESTC S105320) and T. Deloney, *Jack of Newbury* (London, 1619; ESTC S105311). Both *Thomas of Reading* and *Jack of Newbury* explicitly attempt to detail the former glories and reputation of weavers and the clothing trade in general.



economic climate. A merchant blames the French for his misfortune, claiming that they have recently hijacked his ship. 'Bottom the Weaver' extrapolates, blaming the French for the high price of silk and the poverty it has caused in 'Ten thousand poor Weavers'. 'Trueman the Taylor' agrees, remarking that his 'case is the same' and claims that he would rather be a sailor, as then he would be supported by the state. He bemoans that his 'cabage grows low' and that, consequently, he is 'starving'.<sup>562</sup> *The Poor People's Complaint of the Unconscionable Brokers and Tallymen* (1662-92?) also highlights the precarious economic position of tailors and weavers, among other trades. The ballad describes how the rich oppress the poor, and how brokers get rich through exploiting workers, like tailors, weavers, and 'all sorts of tradesmen'. In the first part, it explains how a weaver who goes 'to Market with work' is 'often is forc'd for to sell without gain', as, the 'prizes of late they are brought down so low / That he who works hard little hath for his pain' or 'no work can sell', which does 'not please his poor wife'. The ballad also makes it clear that such weavers blame local brokers. In the second part, it states that 'Poor Taylors and others' also 'know' the 'cruelty' of middlemen. Though the ballad indicates that tailors and weavers are not the only trades affected, they are the only ones named.<sup>563</sup>

Several additional ballads highlight the precariousness of the tailoring trade, alluding to its seasonal nature and potential for customers to run up the large unpaid bills. *The Country Maiden's Lamentation for the Loss of Her Tailor* (1685-88) tells the story of a young country girl who comes to London and falls for a tailor. Their romance does not end well. The tailor gets her pregnant, steals the clothes he had promised to alter, and disappears. However, earlier in the ballad, the narrator states that the events took place during 'the season of Cucumber time, / when Taylors were sharp as their Needles, / when ninety were scarce full as weighty as nine / their bodies were grown so feeble'.<sup>564</sup> Cucumber time was a period when the country gentry returned to their estates leaving urban tailors without work. As *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* explains, 'Cucumber-time' was a 'Taylers

<sup>562</sup> *Old England's New Save-all*. The use of the term 'cabage' here may imply habitual occupational dishonesty.

<sup>563</sup> *The Poor People's Complaint of the Unconscionable Brokers and Tallymen*, EBBA 22017, Pepys 4.353 (1662-1692?).

<sup>564</sup> *The Country Maiden's Lamentation for the Loss of Her Tailor*, EBBA 21358, Pepys 3.343 (1685-1688).

Holiday, when they have leave to Play, and Cucumbers are in season'.<sup>565</sup> In essence, when cucumbers were in season, a London tailor's aristocratic clientele were back on their estate, overseeing the harvesting of their crops. In addition to this, *The Honest Tradesman's Honour Vindicated* (1678-88?) alludes to the problem of unsettled bills. The ballad presents an argument between a gentleman and a tradesman. In the second part, the tradesman accuses the gentleman of failing to reimburse the craftsmen he commissions, insisting that if the gentleman had paid for his rapier, his 'Cutler would not frown', while if he had paid for his hat, his 'Bever-maker [would not] have be[en] [a]fraid / of [him] riding out of Town; and, if he paid for his clothes, his tailor would not 'lamenteth still' of the 'long Bill' which has been 'left unpaid'.<sup>566</sup> Similarly, in *The Ploughman's Praise* (1671-1702?), the eponymous ploughman criticises the excess of gallants and courtiers. He observes that the 'feathers of pride, / Which [deck] and [adorn] [their] back[s]' still belong to their 'Tailors, and Mercers, / [tab] and other Men-dressers' and that they have not been punished for leaving their 'Taylor's bill' unpaid.<sup>567</sup>

Similarly, there are several ballads that link the poverty of weavers to global economic forces. *The Tradesmen's Lamentation* (1688) makes reference to the poverty of weavers, albeit as one of the many socio-occupational types experiencing hardship, and provides reasons for it. The ballad cites a depression in trade, large outgoings, and the machinations of the rich as the causes of their poverty. The ballad describes the meeting of two friends on the road, William the weaver and Richard the glover. They discuss the general decay of trade, with both complain that 'Trading is dead' and that they have 'nothing to do'. Richard states that 'being poor' he has 'not so much as a Penny in store'. William agrees that he, like many 'other poor Tradesmen in every-place', is in the same situation; his 'Family's large', yet his 'substance but small'. They note contemporary disagreement over whether the Dutch are trading and grumble that, despite the hardship of the poor, the rich continue to make money from the labour of others. The ballad ends with William's prediction that this hardship will not last and that the poor, and the nation in general, shall soon 'flourish much better than ever before' with god's help. Though the ballad does

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<sup>565</sup> B.E. *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (London, 1699; ESTC R171889), sig. D<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>566</sup> *The Honest Tradesman's Honour Vindicated*, EBBA 22014, Pepys 4.350 (1678-1688?).

<sup>567</sup> *The Ploughman's Praise*, EBBA 22099, Pepys 5.264 (1671-1702?).

not explicitly single out weavers as especially poor, the reference to the Dutch, alongside William's occupational descriptor, signals a particular concern with this textiles trade.<sup>568</sup> Unlike *The Tradesmen's Lamentation*, *The Weaver's Request* (1685-88) specifically addresses the circumstances of weavers. It claims that the weaving trade is being destroyed by a popular movement against extravagant fashion. The ballad complains that weavers who '[s]even long years [...] have serv'd for the Trade' are being forced out of business. It calls for laws to be acted to suppress contemporary objections to 'Top-Knots', and the general wearing of ribbons. As, previously, 'the brave Weavers got Riches' when aristocratic men and women engaged in ostentatious fashion, but now 'Dame Fortune doth frown' and no longer affords weavers 'her Favours'. The ballad praises women for keeping the weaving trade buoyant with the fashion choices, claiming that 'Had it not been for the Women indeed, / [the weaver's] Trade had been utterly fallen'. The ballad concludes by arguing that it is the right of 'Nobly-descended' people to 'go still like Persons of Fame' and suggest that people who are rude or attempt to stop this should be prosecuted.<sup>569</sup> Finally, *A Warning and Good Counsel to the Weavers* (1688) takes an alternative position. Instead of blaming international trade or changes in fashion, it accuses weavers themselves for the contemporary downturn in business, arguing that they have sold too much on credit. The ballad begins by claiming '[h]ow the Weavers in Norwalk is grown very poor' to the extent that some have been forced to take on journey work, while others have had to shut up shop. The narrator insists that weavers listen to his advice and only sell their wares for cash, for '[i]f they trust any more they will themselves slave'. He also criticises weavers who were able to expand their business during better times but frittered away their money and mocked those who could not compete with them. The narrator argues that the weavers 'have fed [the merchants] so fat [with cloth that] they are ready to burst' and by flooding the market have eroded the wages of spinners, wool-men, journeymen, and their apprentices. However, he claims that it is not just the textiles trades that have been affected, but 'other Trades too, / With their families'. The narrator describes the plight of 'the poor Husbandman' who 'works day and night [...] With his Oxen and Horses'. Finally, the narrator alleges that if the weavers had had his advice two years before and

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<sup>568</sup> *The Tradesmen's Lamentation*, EBBA 21977, Pepys 4.315 (1688).

<sup>569</sup> *The Weaver's Request*, EBBA 22019, Pepys 4.355 (1685-1688).

had refused to 'part with [their] stuffs' for credit, they would not be in their current predicament.<sup>570</sup> The references to journeymen and weavers' apprentices suggest that this ballad is aimed at weaver-employers.

## Super-sexuality

Millers, tailors, and weavers are all represented as super-sexual, albeit in only one ballad. However, millers are frequently depicted as having a strong sexual appetite or are disproportionately involved in sexual encounters. *The Crafty Maid of the West* relates the exploits of a 'lusty brave Miller', who is eventually humiliated by the titular crafty maid. The opening line of the ballad specifically dedicate it to 'You Millers, and Taylors, & Weavers' and expresses the narrator's wish for them to listen to 'a good example'. The ballad's protagonist is then said to have 'out-past the Cobler, though he was so wild' by getting 'nine wenches with Child' in one week, while the final couplet of the first stanza reminds millers to 'take heed how they mischeif devise' or they will have to 'deal with young wenches that's crafty & wise'.<sup>571</sup> Neither weavers nor tailors feature in the rest of the text nor is it ever made clear why the ballad is directed towards them as well as millers. However, the content of the ballad and the comparison to a super-sexual cobbler implicitly suggests that all three trades are known for their strong sexual appetite.

Though *The Crafty Maid of the West* is the only Pepys Ballad to suggest that all three trades associated with super-sexuality, there are several more that depict millers in some sort of romantic or sexual encounter. A few of these ballads depict millers involved in conventional courtship, while others show less conventional illicit encounters, such as seducing and impregnating young women or paying for sex. However, there are also ballads which subvert these unconventional encounters, depicting millers as cautious and unwilling to engage in sexual relationships or as a fall-back position for a woman who has previously engaged in prostitution. Furthermore, several ballads suggest that it was the practice of young women bring grain to the mill to be ground which facilitated these romantic and or sexual encounters. Overall, millers seem to

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<sup>570</sup> *A Warning and Good Counsel to the Weavers*, EBBA 22020, Pepys 4.356 (1688).

<sup>571</sup> Wade, *The Crafty Maid of the West*.

appear in a disproportionate number of sexual ballads. They certainly appear in far more than tailors or weavers.

Three ballads depict millers involved in relatively conventional romantic encounters. The penultimate stanza of the second part of *The West Country Cheat upon Cheat* (1674-79) describes the courting of a young woman by a poor miller. The miller 'made himself / a laughing-stock of sport' because he did not have any 'silver' or 'gold' to offer the maiden, and 'instead of leaving her the Bag, / he left his Cloak to hold'. However, the ballad provides no further information about the courtship.<sup>572</sup> In *The Maid's New All-a-Mode Pin Cushion* (1672-96?), a young woman, who has just reached sexual maturity, lists a miller as one among many who have attempted to bed her. The sixth stanza tells how 'The Miller and the Farrier / The Plowman and the Carrier / [...] / the Grocer [...] / [and] The Vinter [...] / [...] all came to stuff [her] Pincushing', while other stanzas name further socio-occupational types.<sup>573</sup> Thirdly, *A Merry New Jig* (1630?) describes a woman's love for Tom the miller. The ballad is a dialogue between the woman, Peg, and another suitor, Kit. In the second stanza of the second part, Kit accuses Peg of being in love with 'the Miller / of the Glen ', and when she admits that she is, he threatens to 'bang the Millers / love from him'. However, Peg retorts that 'if Tom Miller' was there, 'He would bang [Kit] well / [...] / And like a Puppy / make [him] cry'.<sup>574</sup> These ballads depict relatively unremarkable courtships and there is nothing particularly unusual about the behaviour of the millers involved.

However, several other ballads depict millers involved in less conventional courtships. Three ballads depict millers seducing and impregnating young women. In *The Bloody Miller* (1684), the eponymous miller describes how he seduced a young woman and then murdered her when she became pregnant. He explains that he 'was a Miller by my Trade' and pretended 'love unto a Maid, / whose Father lived near'. He seduced her with a 'dissembling flattering tongue', which 'She did beleive [...] / till [he] got her with Child'. She told 'Her Father', who 'sent her to the Mill / to ask [the miller] her to marry'. However, he refused and instead offered her 'Five pound[s]', which she declined. Later, he convinced her to meet him, took her 'into a secret place' and

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<sup>572</sup> *The West Country Cheat upon Cheat*, EBBA 21907, Pepys 4.247 (1674-1679).

<sup>573</sup> *The Maid's New All-a-Mode Pin Cushion*, EBBA 21191, Pepys 3.178 (1672-1696?).

<sup>574</sup> *A Merry New Jig*, EBBA 20119, Pepys 1.258-259 (1630?).

'Did murder her in such a sort, / the like was never heard'.<sup>575</sup> Similar, if less violent behaviour is ascribed to a group of millers in *The Answer to the Buxom Virgin* (1671-1702?). In the ballad, a newly married husband finds that his young wife is pregnant. He confronts her mother, who admits she 'had been too oft at the Mill', noting that '[t]hose Millers [...] are such pomperd blades' and that they 'ruine poor harmless maids'. She singles out three millers: 'Robin[,] Ralph , and lusty Will', who she describes as 'brawny Blades of wanton skill' who ensure '[t]hat never maid can go to the Mill' without being kissed and courted.<sup>576</sup> Finally, *The Young Damsel's Lamentation* (1695) includes a miller among members of 'the Punching-trade', men who are paid for sex. The ballad describes how various young women have sought such men and subsequently regretted it. The third stanza tells how 'Doll, went to the Miller when first she heard the news' of the trade's existence, asserting that 'he must not the least refuse' her advances. The miller was happy to oblige and 'His Punch [...] pleased her passing well'. However, soon afterwards, Doll 'finds that her Womb begins to swell, / Which makes her most wild'.<sup>577</sup>

However, the depiction of millers as sexual predators is challenged by two other ballads. *The West Country Frolic* (1671-1702?) presents a sexually cautious miller. The ballad describes how a miller, Robin, had been courting a young woman, Kate, for 'A twelvemonth'. He had often visited 'this Damsel at Night', calling 'her his Jewel his Joy and Delight', and 'perhaps [giving her] a soft Kiss or a tender Embrace'. Despite his clear affection, the ballad explains that Kate was worried that 'He might happen to be some poor fumbling Elf, / That has no precious Nutmegs to please a young Bride' and decided to sleep with him to test his sexual ability. However, after carrying him up to her bedchamber on her back, to hide his presence from her mistress, Robin refuses to sleep with her, claiming that he was 'afraid [he would] get [her] with Child' as 'the Cares of the World they would make [him] Wild'.<sup>578</sup> Similarly, *The Dorsetshire Damsel* (1671-1702?) describes a miller who is frightened to take a relationship beyond flirting. Again, the miller, Ralph, had courted the 'innocent Maid', Nancy, for 'Full a Twelvemonth', giving her 'sweet Kisses a hundred and ten' and telling her that he adored her beauty. However, the ballad explains that

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<sup>575</sup> *The Bloody Miller*, EBBA 20776, Pepys 2.156 (1684).

<sup>576</sup> *The Answer to the Buxom Virgin*, EBBA 21202, Pepys 3.189 (1671-1702?).

<sup>577</sup> *The Young Damsel's Lamentation*, EBBA 21301, Pepys 3.287 (1695).

<sup>578</sup> *The West Country Frolic*, EBBA 30001, Pepys 5.161 (1671-1702?).

Nancy had become worried that Ralph's affections had started to cool. She confronts him and asks him why he has not followed up on his promise to make her his bride. In answer, Ralph explains that 'The devouring Sword now is reigning' and that he fears that 'to the Wars [he] should be forced', however he reiterates his love and loyalty.<sup>579</sup> Though they do not explicitly challenge the predatory reputation suggested in the previous ballads, both *The West Country Frolic* and *The Dorsetshire Damsel* depict millers who are cautious to enter into a sexual relationship.

There are also three ballads which show millers offering or giving something for sex. In *The Hampshire Miller* (?), it is implied that the eponymous miller has paid a widow for her company. The ballad states that the miller 'lov'd [the] Widow day by day, / [and] With her he us'd to sport and play', and later that 'The widow [...] will sport for half a Crown', while the second part, 'The Miller's Wifes Answer', claims that 'Those wanton trickes has cost [the miller] mony'.<sup>580</sup> The exchange is more explicit in *The Witty Maid of the West* (1685-88) when 'William the Miller' offers his beloved 'pretty facd Nancy' a 'full twenty good shilling' if she will meet him at the mill.<sup>581</sup> Similarly, in *A Cuckold by Consent* (1681-1684?), the miller tells a maid that she 'shalt have [her] Grist Tole-free' if he can lie with her that night.<sup>582</sup> However, this depiction of millers as men who pay for sex is inverted in *The Country Lass Who Left Her Spinning Wheel for a More Pleasant Employment* (1675-96?). The ballad features a young woman who is paid for sex and is so pleased with the exchange that she tells her mother that she is going to give up spinning to become a prostitute. Her mother tries to dissuade her, but the young woman is convinced that she's discovered her perfect career. In an attempt to placate her mother, she says that if she gets pregnant, she'll just return to her old lover, Harry the Miller. The ballad therefore depicts a miller, not as a man who pays for sex, but as one who would accept a former prostitute.<sup>583</sup>

Though these ballads are united by their romantic or sexual content, no clear miller stereotype emerges from them. In some millers are presented as conventional suitors, while, in others, they are depicted as sexual predators or

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<sup>579</sup> *The Dorsetshire Damsel*, EBBA 21286, Pepys 3.272 (1671-1702?).

<sup>580</sup> *The Hampshire Miller*, EBBA 21006, Pepys 3.13 (?).

<sup>581</sup> *The Witty Maid of the West*, EBBA 21683, Pepys 4.16 (1685-1688).

<sup>582</sup> *A Cuckold by Consent*, EBBA 21788, Pepys 4.124 (1681-1684?).

<sup>583</sup> *The Country Lass Who Left Her Spinning Wheel for a More Pleasant Employment*, EBBA 21305, Pepys 3.290 (1675-1696?).

solicitors of sex. However, these more unconventional depictions are also challenged by opposing portraits. Despite this lack of consistency, millers appear to have been regularly depicted in romantic or sexual situations. This may be due to the ability of mills to provide a point of contact between millers and young women. Several of the ballads discussed above acknowledge that potential. As previously noted, the mother in *The Answer to the Buxom Virgin* blames her daughter's pregnancy on her frequent trips to the mill,<sup>584</sup> while in *The Young Damsel's Lamentation*, Doll heads straight to the mill when she hears about 'the Punching-trade'.<sup>585</sup> Similarly, in *The Dorsetshire Damsel*, Nancy suggests that her relationship with Ralph took place when she brought grist to the mill,<sup>586</sup> while, tellingly, *The Witty Maid of the West* describes Nancy as 'a Lass that used [William's] Mill'.<sup>587</sup> Finally, *A Cuckold by Consent* describes how a miller's passion was aroused by 'A proper Maid' who came to the mill 'To grind her Father a Bath of Corn'. Furthermore, it tells that in an effort to seduce her, 'He caus'd the Maid to stay all Night / And said it would be almost Morn, / Before that he could grin'd her Corn'.<sup>588</sup> Therefore, though these ballads do not provide a consistent depiction of millers' characteristics or behaviours, they do suggest that millers were known to have trade-specific contact with young women and that the consequent potential for romantic or sexual encounters was recognised.

## Inferiority

The most striking stereotype to emerge from the Pepys Collection is that of the inferior tailor. Unlike occupational dishonesty, poverty, and super-sexuality, this stereotype does not appear to be associated with millers or weavers. However, it appears very frequently. Tailors are depicted as inferior to other men in a variety of different ways. First, several ballads make use of or allude to the phrase "the tailor is no man"; second, another group of ballads depict tailors being easily physically overpowered by young women; and third, a number of ballads present tailors as undesirable to the opposite sex. Furthermore, their

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<sup>584</sup> *The Answer to the Buxom Virgin*.

<sup>585</sup> *The Young Damsel's Lamentation*.

<sup>586</sup> *The Dorsetshire Damsel*.

<sup>587</sup> *The Witty Maid of the West*.

<sup>588</sup> *A Cuckold by Consent*.



reputation for habitual occupational dishonesty, discussed above, comes into play in two ways: first, an important group of ballads suggest that tailors' occupational dishonesty is motivated by their humiliation at being physically overpowered by young women; and, second, their undesirability is often linked to the practice of cabbaging. However, it is not made clear whether the practice of cabbaging is objectionable because it is dishonest, because of its association with poverty, or both. Finally, the strength of the stereotype is demonstrated, in part, by the existence of an explicit attempt to challenge it.

Several of the ballads explicitly express the idea that tailors were considered to be inferior to other men by including or alluding to the phrase "a/the tailor is no man" or variations of the "multiple tailors make a man" proverb. *Labour in Vain* (1675-96?), which is discussed in more detail below, is actually subtitled 'Or, The Taylor No Man' and includes the declaration, 'That a Taylor's no Man', in its final stanza,<sup>589</sup> while *The War-Like Tailor* and *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking [...]* (1689-92), which are also dealt with more fully later in this section, both allude to the phrase. In the former, a tailor picks a fight with a female louse to 'make [her] know, [...] whether a Taylor be a man or none', while, in the latter, a tailor claims that he cannot go to sea because those in his trade are 'the ninth of a Man', to which one of the women who are trying to pressgang him replies that 'it's plain he's no Man'.<sup>590</sup> The phrase is also found, without apparent reason, in the nonsense ballad *A New Merry Medley* (1672-1696?). There are two printings of the ballad, both of which include the phrase without any explanation and without making any further reference to the trade. The stanzas are composed of three couplets, the first and third rhyming. Though the lines (and couplets) are not strictly nonsense, there is no narrative and little explicit cohesion, even within couplets. The second stanza includes the non-rhyming couplet 'Fourpence half-penny Farthing. A Taylors no man, / Now there was an Old Prince and his name was K John'.<sup>591</sup> The assertion that a tailor is not a man appears to have been included merely to complete the syllable pattern of the line, as there is no apparent relation between the phrase, the first half of the line that precedes it, or the following line. Its inclusion

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<sup>589</sup> *Labour in Vain*, EBBA 22429, Pepys 5.168 (1675-1696?).

<sup>590</sup> *The War-Like Tailor*, *The Maiden's Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors*, EBBA 21937, Pepys 4.276 (1689-1692); *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors*, EBBA 21938, Pepys 4.277 (1689-1692).

<sup>591</sup> *A New Merry Medley*, EBBA 22322, Pepys 5.401 (1672-1696?); *A New Merry Medley*, EBBA 22325, Pepys 5.403 (1672-1696?).

alongside 'Fourpence half-penny Farthing' suggests that it is a stock phrase that does not require further explanation.

The conspicuousness of the phrase is further demonstrated by the explicit attempts to challenge it in *The Rampant Tailor* (1692), which is also discussed in more detail below. The first stanza explains that the eponymous tailor was motivated by a desire to 'To [pr]ove that Toylar was a Man', the third describes him as positively 'a Man compleat at Measure', the fourth asserts that though people are told that there are 'Nine Taylors to a Man [...] his Deeds has alter'd the Case', while the refrain of all six stanzas confirms that, due to his actions, 'a Tayor is prov'd a Man'.<sup>592</sup>

Read in this context, the claim by Betty the tailor's daughter, in *Rare News for the Female Sex* (1696), that five or even ten of her father's employees could not satisfy her sexually and the implication that it took seven tailors to impregnate a woman in *The Lamentation of Seven Journeymen Tailors*, could also be allusions to the idea that tailors were less than a man.<sup>593</sup>

In addition to outright assertions that tailors are not men, several ballads depict tailors being easily physically overpowered by women. The women are often young, increasing the humiliation, and in some cases they defeat more than one tailor, further intensifying the dishonour. In *Courageous Betty of Chick-Lane* (1675-96?), a young woman fights 'With two thumping Lusty Taylors; / taking away their Bodkin and Shiers'. The two tailors, a master and his 'man', insult the young woman in the street. She reacts badly to this and attacks them. They cry for mercy and run away. She threatens to have them pressganged, which they fear more than further beatings. In the end, the tailors buy her dinner to apologise.<sup>594</sup> Though the ballad does not include any explicit claims that tailors lack masculinity, it depicts two tailors, at least one of whom is a full-grown man, being easily vanquished by a young woman. Their cowardly actions in the face of her assault and their submissive behaviour afterwards further highlight their lack of masculinity.

*The Valiant Dairymaid* (1685-88) goes one further, telling how a group of three tailors were bested by a young dairy-maid armed with nothing but 'a Rouling-Pin'. The tailors are returning completed work to a rich farmer when

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<sup>592</sup> *The Rampant Tailor*, EBBA 22390, Pepys 5.125 (1692).

<sup>593</sup> *Rare News for the Female Sex*, EBBA 21197, Pepys 3.184 (1672-1696?); *Rare News for the Female Sex*, EBBA 22348, Pepys 5.426 (1696).

<sup>594</sup> *Courageous Betty of Chick-Lane*, EBBA 21956, Pepys 4.294 (1675-1696?).

there is some disagreement about the 'Beef and Sowse' they are apparently receiving as part of their payment. The dairy-maid chases and beats the tailors, who quickly give in and beg for mercy.<sup>595</sup> Again, the ballad does not make explicit claims about the masculinity of the tailors; however, it does describe how three tailors, all grown men, are easily defeated by a young woman. Furthermore, like the two tailors in *Courageous Betty of Chick-Lane*, the three tailors in *The Valiant Dairymaid* barely put a fight and are quick to supplicate themselves before their female conqueror.

Though not technically about women defeating tailors in combat, *The War-Like Tailor*, may be read alongside *Courageous Betty of Chick-Lane* and *The Valiant Dairymaid* as it depicts a tailor struggling to fight a female louse.<sup>596</sup> In addition to this, and as noted above, it makes reference to the phrase a "tailor is no man". The tailor initially challenges the louse by claiming that he will 'make [the louse] know, / Before that [he] do go, / whether a Taylor be a man or none'; and, during their combat, the tailor is mockingly described as 'Oh! so bravely like a man'. Though the tailor eventually gets the upper hand, he backs off when the louse seems ready to get the law involved. However, this does not stop him boasting, 'his credit to maintain', that he'd happily fight the louse again 'if it were for a thousand pound'.<sup>597</sup> The ballad appears to interweave several aspects apparent in the representation of tailors in the Pepys Collection. Most prominent are the tailor's contested masculinity, displayed in his explicit reference to the need to prove it, the mocking tone of the ballad, and the trope of a tailor having difficulty fighting a female adversary. However, the ballad also appears to play on pick-lose, a contemporary derogatory term for a tailor, and on tailor's reputation for poverty.

The idea that tailors lacked masculinity is expressed most clearly in two pairs of ballads printed around 1690: the above mentioned *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking [...]* and *The Maidens' Frolic*, and their responses: *The Answer to the Frolicsome Maids Who Pressed the Tailors* (1689-1692) and *An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic* (1675-1696?).<sup>598</sup> There are two version of *The*

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<sup>595</sup> *The Valiant Dairymaid*, EBBA 21944, Pepys 4.283 (1685-1688).

<sup>596</sup> The choice of opponent may be significant, as it may be a play on the derogatory term 'pick-lose' or 'prick-lose', which was applied to tailors. See, for example, *The Good Fellows' Frolic*, EBBA 21899, Pepys 4.239 (1662-1692?), and 'prick-lose' in B.E., sig. I<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>597</sup> *The War-Like Tailor*.

<sup>598</sup> *The Maiden's Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors; The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors; The Maidens' Frolic*, EBBA 22032, Pepys 4.368 (1690);

*Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking [...] in the Pepys Ballads: The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors and The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors.* Both the fourteen and twenty tailor versions were printed for the same group of print-sellers. *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking [...]* and *The Answer to the Frolicsome Maids* were printed for William Thackeray, John Millet, and Alexander Milbourn, while *The Maidens' Frolic* and *An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic* were printed for Philip Brooksby, Jonah Deacon, Josiah Blare, and John Back.<sup>599</sup> The text of both ballads are the same, apart from the stated number of tailors, and they were intended to be sung to the same tune, however though they both feature the 'tom ye taler & his wife lone' woodcut, their woodcuts are different. Both *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking [...]* ballads, *The Maidens' Frolic*, and *The Answer to the Frolicsome Maids Who Pressed the Tailors* appear in the 'various subjects' category of the Pepys Ballads, while *An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic* appears in the 'Love Pleasant and Unfortunate' category. More than any of the other Pepys Collection, they suggest that tailors, in general, could be easily physically overpowered by young women. Furthermore, the responses clearly link their martial inferiority to their habitual occupational dishonesty.

Despite being printed by two different groups, the ballads tell the same tale. They describe how a group of young women decide to dress as seamen and attempt to pressgang a number of tailors. The women know where to look for tailors and it does not take them long to find them. On being challenged by the press-gang, the tailors cry, flee, hide, wet themselves, and generally act in a cowardly or un-masculine manner. Many of the tailors protest that they have no knowledge of seafaring or fighting and that, furthermore, such knowledge is not commonly found in their trade. However, the women ignore these pleas for leniency and easily physically overpower the tailors, eventually succeeding in pressing the required number. However, though *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking [...]* and *The Maidens' Frolic* contain the same story and share much of the same structure, there are some differences in wording and some

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*The Answer to the Frolicsome Maids Who Pressed the Tailors*, EBBA 21938, Pepys 4.277 (1689-1692)

*An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic*, EBBA 21732, Pepys 4.66 (1675-1696?).

<sup>599</sup> For more on Thackeray, Millet, Milbourn, Brooksby, Deacon, Blare, Back, and ballad printing and selling partnerships, see: C. Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), 161-80; and, Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, esp. pp. 83-110.

unique elements. As mentioned above, the two versions of the first ballad and the second ballad contain the same basic story, however they also share significant formulaic characteristics, including stanza length, rhyme scheme, refrain, stated tune, and standard tune.

The ballads are almost identical for the first five stanzas but diverge slightly from the sixth stanza onwards. However, despite the more marked differences in these later sections, they retain the same basic story. In both ballads, a group of women meet and decide to pressgang a number of tailors, though neither gives any hint of their motivation. Both ballads place these events in the same area of London, around the east end of the Strand. Both *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...] ballads place the incident 'near Temple-Bar', the point at which the Strand meets Fleet Street, while *The Maidens' Frolic* describes it as being '[N]ot far from the May-pole'.<sup>600</sup> This is presumably the maypole on The Strand mentioned in other ballads in the Pepys Ballads.<sup>601</sup> The women are named in both ballads and there is some similarity in the names given, however these names may have been determined by the rhyme scheme, with both ballads rhyming "sue" and "prue".<sup>602</sup> Both ballads present tailors as cowardly, with no knowledge of military action or fighting in general, and as easily overpowered by young women. In both ballads, the parties quickly encounter a tailor, who either drops his 'Cabbage' and cries 'by his List' that he is a tailor, as he does in *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...], or simply falls at their feet, as he does in *The Maidens' Frolic*.<sup>603</sup> This tailor then pleads for his release. In *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...], he claims that men of his trade are not 'fit' for the sea, that they are only 'the ninth of a Man' and offers his goose [pressing iron] in return for his freedom.<sup>604</sup> In *The Maidens' Frolic*, he argues that he has never been at sea and that he has never used a weapon, only his work tools. In both ballads, these protestations are

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<sup>600</sup> *The Maiden's Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors; The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors; The Maidens' Frolic.*

<sup>601</sup> *Poor Tom the Tailor His Lamentation*, EBBA 21351, Pepys 3.336 (1684); *The Ploughman's Prophecy*.

<sup>602</sup> *The Maiden's Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors; The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors; The Maidens' Frolic.*

<sup>603</sup> *The Maiden's Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors; The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors; The Maidens' Frolic*; Cabbage = offcuts of cloth, tailor's traditional toll (*passim*). List = art, craft, or cunning ('list, n. 2', in *OED*).

<sup>604</sup> *The Maiden's Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors; The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors.*

dismissed by one of the women.<sup>605</sup> In *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...], it is Kate who answers that 'Tho' it's plain he's no Man' he can 'stitch well', and such skills are needed at sea, while in *The Maidens' Frolic*, it is Susan who is unmoved by his sighing, begging, or praying and sends him off to 'fight on the Main', despite his occupation.<sup>606</sup> Both the fourteen and the twenty tailor versions of *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...] are more explicit than *The Maidens' Frolic* in their suggestion that tailors are considered to lack masculinity. As noted above, the first tailor encountered by the women in *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...] describes himself as being only worth one-ninth of a normal man, while the leading woman of the group agrees that it is clear he is not a man.<sup>607</sup> Such explicit statements are missing from *The Maidens' Frolic*.

From the sixth stanza onwards, the differences become greater, though the basic premise remains the same. Initially, *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...] remains with the first pleading tailor, who implores for pity for his tears, bodkin, shears, and 'all the good Cabbage' he's stolen. However, this request falls on deaf ears and the 'buxome Crew' soon haul him off.<sup>608</sup> The description of the women involved as buxom may indicate that they were obvious female and therefore further humiliate the tailors. They then come across six more 'at Small-beer and Cheese', which 'well out of Cowcumber-time that agrees / With the Taylors'.<sup>609</sup> Upon sighting the crew, some of the tailors faint, while others flee. Nell admonishes the tailors as 'Scoundrels' for daring 'to rebel' and calls for them to 'Come along'.<sup>610</sup> The women then set about the tailors with their cudgels. In an attempt to dissuade their attackers, the tailors claim that they have families to look after, but Molly replies by criticising the servility of their trade: "Tis better be brave, than sit like a Slave, / Cross-legg'd on a Shopboard".<sup>611</sup> After dispatching these six tailors, the women search their 'Garrets'.<sup>612</sup> Initially, they find nothing, however the search amongst the

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<sup>605</sup> *The Maidens' Frolic*.

<sup>606</sup> *The Maiden's Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors; The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors; The Maidens' Frolic*.

<sup>607</sup> *The Maiden's Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors; The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors*.

<sup>608</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>609</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>610</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>611</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid.*

'Shreads' of cloth and find the tailors hiding in 'Hell'.<sup>613</sup> They pull these tailors out of their 'Raggs', some by their feet, others by their 'Craggs' and commanded the tailors to take to sea and 'Fight for King and Queen'.<sup>614</sup> During this search they uncover eight more tailors, making 'up the shot'.<sup>615</sup> Sue then encourages the women to look in the chimney, where they find a further three astride a bar, 'A cock-horse', 'half dead with fear'.<sup>616</sup> The women impress these three, search for the remainder, and compel them with violence. Again, some of the tailors cry, while others piss themselves. Finally, the women 'noo[se]' 'Monsieur, Shon-a-Morgan, & Teague' bringing their final total 'in the Trap' to twenty.<sup>617</sup> Apart from the number of tailors quoted in their titles, the texts of both *The Maidens Frolicsome Undertaking [...]* ballads are identical. Strangely, neither number is correct as both ballads appear to describe the impressment of twenty-one tailors: the initial 'snipper', followed by the six found 'at Small-beer and Cheese', plus the eight found hiding in 'Hell', the three found up the chimney, and the final three foreign tailors.<sup>618</sup>

In contrast, in *The Maidens' Frolic*, after they catch their first tailor, the crew heads to 'White-hart-yard', where they find 'a poor Taylor was labouring hard / Upon his Shop-board' and impress him for 'King William'.<sup>619</sup> This tailor begins trembling and crying and weeps that he is 'undone' as he has never known 'the right end of a Gun'.<sup>620</sup> This excuse is refused by 'stout Boston Bess', who claims that the crew possess a 'Warrant to Press'.<sup>621</sup> She tells him to 'lay by your Goose' and that argues that 'Such nimble young Fellows [...] may be of great use', even if they are tailors.<sup>622</sup> A 'report' then brings the crew to 'Round Court', where they find 'Seven young Taylors [...] making of spo[rt]'.<sup>623</sup> The

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<sup>613</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>614</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>615</sup> *Ibid.* Crag = Neck, a Scottish or northern slang term ('† crag, n.2, 1.a.', in *OED*). Shot = The payment or share, or possible the whole set ('shot, n.1, 23.a-e.', in *OED*).

<sup>616</sup> *The Maiden's Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors; The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors.*

<sup>617</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>618</sup> For more about the names 'Monsieur', 'Shon ap Morgan', and 'Teague', and the associated national stereotypes, see: S. ap Morgan, *The Welshman's Warning-Piece* (London, 1642; ESTC R2081); J. Taylor, 'Jack-a-Lent His Beginning and Entertainment', in *All The Works of John Taylor The Water-Poet*, p. 117; 'Teague | Taig, n.', in *OED*; H. Burke, 'Teague and the Ethnicization of Labor in Early Modern British Culture', *The Eighteenth Century [Lubbock]* 46:3 (2005), 237-44 (p. 238).

<sup>619</sup> *The Maidens' Frolic.*

<sup>620</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>622</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid.*

tailors initially resist the crew, but Joan beats them until they piss themselves and the rest of the crew drag them off 'to the Round-House or Cag[e]'.<sup>624</sup> The women then head 'down to Dutchy-lane' to press 'some they knew', two Welsh tailors, 'Morgan and Hug[h]', who 'belong'd to the Crosslegged Crew'.<sup>625</sup> Morgan argues that he has only just come up to London from Wales and asks them to abate as he has a 'young Wife' and has 'never yet kill'd in hur Life'.<sup>626</sup> The women ignore Morgan's arguments and press the two Welsh tailors anyway. They encounter three more tailors on their way back, bringing the total to fourteen.<sup>627</sup>

Therefore, though both ballads include slightly different events in their second halves, they are roughly comparable, and both end with the pressgangs encountering with a group of foreign tailors. Both ballads include assertions that tailors are unused to handling weapons and are only comfortable with their work tools. Both ballads include assertions that, despite this and their general cowardice, tailors have skills that would be useful at sea. Both ballads suggest that the women involved know some of the tailors they are impressing, or, at least, know where to find men of this trade. Both ballads include occupational terms, such as cabbage, cucumber time, and goose, and refer to the practice of sitting cross-legged on a shop-board. Both ballads include descriptions of the tailors trembling, crying, running away, and pissing themselves. Both ballads include assertions that the tailors have families to maintain. And, finally, both ballads include encounters with Welsh tailors. As mentioned above, *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking [...]* is more explicit in its claims that tailors lack masculinity, but both ballads present tailors as weak and feeble, and generally unfit for military service.

It is difficult to determine whether the depiction of the impressment of tailors included in these ballads has any basis in historical reality. Though they are clearly intended as entertainment, the ballads do appear to suggest that, despite their apparent lack of masculinity and seafaring or fighting ability, tailors may have possessed some skills that would have made them targets for naval recruiters. In the now out-dated *The Press Gang Afloat and Ashore*, John R. Hutchinson claims that 'Bow-legged men ran the gravest of risks' of being

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<sup>624</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>627</sup> *Ibid.*



impressed, because they looked or walked like seamen, 'and the goose of many a tailor was effectually cooked because of the damning fact, which no protestations of innocence of the sea could mitigate, that long confinement to the board had warped his legs into a fatal resemblance to those of a typical Jack-tar.'<sup>628</sup> He later includes 'the seafaring man, the tailor and the huckstering Jew' in the category of people whose stereotypical gait might make them a target for impressment.<sup>629</sup> Though Hutchinson may not be the most reliable source, his assertions suggest that the impressment of tailors was still a matter of debate in the early twentieth century. However, the significantly more scholarly N.A.M. Rodger does not mention the impressment of tailors, or any other craft-based trade, in his classic survey of the eighteenth century British Navy.<sup>630</sup>

In *Enter the Press-gang*, Daniel James Ennis quotes a couple of sentences from Edward Neville's *Plymouth in an Uproar* (1779), a two-act musical nautical-drama that presents the press-gang as a group of sailors instead of their nemesis. These sentences suggest that tailors were not common targets for impressments in the century following the frolic ballads. Furthermore, these quotations also point to the continued resonance of the stereotype that tailors lack masculinity. Ennis relates how, in *Plymouth in an Uproar*, a group of tailors approach the press-gang to volunteer and are reluctantly accepted. Upon encountering the tailors, Ben, a 'Stage Tar' character in the musical, comments: 'men [sic.] I won't call you; but however you'll be of some service, for tho' a Taylor is but the ninth part of a man, yet a Frenchman is not above the ninth part of a Tailor, egad. But come, since you are such desper-ate fellows, we'll show you how to live aboard ship'.<sup>631</sup>

Hutchinson therefore suggests that tailors were impressed, albeit unintentionally, while *Plymouth in an Uproar* implies that tailors were only reluctantly accepted. However, whether or not these ballads have any basis in historical reality, the similarity between the two variants of *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking [...]* and *The Maidens Frolic* and the existence of

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<sup>628</sup> J.R. Hutchinson, *The Press Gang Afloat and Ashore*, rev. edition (Whitefish: Kessinger, 2010 [originally published 1913]), p. 106

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>630</sup> N.A.M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London: Collins, 1986), pp. 164-82.

<sup>631</sup> D.J. Ennis, *Enter The Press-Gang: Naval Impressment in Eighteenth-Century British Literature* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), pp. 99-101. E. Neville, *Plymouth in an Uproar*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London, 1779), p. 24.

answers to both suggests that these ballads were popular. Both ballads may have been based on a well-known event, whether fictional or non-fictional, or one ballad may have consciously attempted to copy the other; either way, it is safe to assume that the printers believed there to be a market for such a ballad.

In addition to their assertions that tailors lack masculinity, the frolic ballads also make explicit references to their dishonesty. Both versions of *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...] include mentions of the habitual fraud of a tailor character, while *The Answer to the Frolicsome Maids Who Pressed the Tailors* and the almost identical *An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic* are largely based around the idea that tailors are habitually defrauding their customers. As noted above, in both versions of *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...], the first tailor the women encounter drops his cabbage and calls for 'pitty' for his 'tears', 'Bodkin and Shears', and 'all the good Cabbage' he has stolen over 'many years', while when the women search the 'Garrets' in which the tailors live, they find their quarry hiding in 'th' Shreads [...] In Hell'.<sup>632</sup> However, *The Maidens' Frolic* makes no reference to cabbage or to the theft of cloth.<sup>633</sup>

*The Answer to the Frolicsome Maids Who Pressed the Tailors* and *An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic* are even more explicit in their claims that tailors were habitually dishonest. Like the original frolic ballads, they are also very similar in structure and content. Both *The Answer to the Frolicsome Maids Who Pressed the Tailors* and *An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic* begin with the narrator reminding the audience that it has not been long since six women dressed as seamen and attempted to impress fourteen tailors.<sup>634</sup> Both versions name three of the women involved as 'Jone', 'Bridget', and 'Bess'.<sup>635</sup> Both versions describe how when the tailors discovered that their 'Press-masters bold' had actually been young women, not even 'twenty years old', they swore and questioned whether any other labourers were ever 'so served before'.<sup>636</sup> 'Will' in *The Answer To The Frolicksome Maids who Press'd the Taylor* and 'William Westgate' in *An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic* assert their hatred of frolics, question why tailors are treated in this way and describes how they were

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<sup>632</sup> *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Twenty Tailors; The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking to Press Fourteen Tailors.*

<sup>633</sup> *The Maidens' Frolic.*

<sup>634</sup> *The Answer to the Frolicsome Maids Who Pressed the Tailors; An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic.*

<sup>635</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>636</sup> *Ibid.*

assaulted and dragged off like 'a Bear to a/the Stake' by 'Jone'.<sup>637</sup> 'Tony Upright' or 'Anthony Bright' asks him why the tailors did not fight back and claims that if he had been there, the tailors would not have been so easily defeated.<sup>638</sup> Will/William replies that if he had known that Ann/Nan, Bridget, and Jo[ne]/Jone were the tailors' assailants, he would have called his wife to chase them off.<sup>639</sup> This suggestion, that a tailor would ask his wife to fight his battles for him further emphasising his lack of masculinity. He continues that more than a dozen 'stout Men' were confined day and night and shown no pity, despite their praying.<sup>640</sup> *The Answer To The Frolicksome Maids who Press'd the Taylor* names five of the impressed tailors as 'Shon-a-Morgan', 'Dick', 'Tom', 'Ralph' and '[Ben]', while *An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic* names four of them as 'Ralph', 'Richard', 'Ben', and 'Shon ap Morgen'.<sup>641</sup> Will/William concludes that the tailors were badly treated and that the women cannot be forgiven; he calls for a 'Caball' or a 'Counsel' to decide on how they should be avenged.<sup>642</sup> The other tailors agree that a meeting should be convened to determine 'What Silk or Stuff should be Snip'd from a Co[at]' or 'How much silk or stuff should be pinch'd from a Coat, / by the Taylors'.<sup>643</sup> The tailors contend that Women's clothes will pay for the injury and suggest that were they previously took one yard from any fabric brought to them, they should now take two. Upon agreeing on this, the tailors break for food and drink.<sup>644</sup> *The Answer To The Frolicsome Maids who Pressed the Tailors* names 'Dick', 'Ralph', 'Will', 'Ned' as calling for drink and bread, 'Like brisk Taylors', while *An Answer to the Maidens' Frolic* has 'Ralph', 'Richard', and 'Ned' ordering 'like brave Taylors'.<sup>645</sup> A general meeting of tailors assembles and the narrator comments that if the devil had spread his nets, he could have caught more than three hundred tailors, both rich and poor.<sup>646</sup> Shon-a-Morgan/Shon ap Morgen addresses the meeting and argues that it is not a sin for tailors to defraud the women that have 'degrade[d]' them and that everyone knows that cabbage belongs to tailors.<sup>647</sup> Shon appears to

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<sup>637</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>640</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>641</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>642</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>643</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>644</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>645</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid.*

speak in an accent in both versions.<sup>648</sup> Finally, the tailors agree to steal three yards from every six, though Shon wanted them to take four.<sup>649</sup> Both ballads are almost identical in their rendition of this story; though there are many differences in the exact wording, each stanza relates the same events.<sup>650</sup>

Both versions of *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...] and both answer ballads depict tailors as regularly dishonest, while the answer ballads suggest that this duplicity is customary and notorious. All present the taking of cabbage as theft and as an intrinsic part of the trade of tailoring, while the tailor in *The Maidens' Frolicsome Undertaking* [...] admits to having stolen cabbage during his career, the two answer ballads present a general meeting of tailors admitting to the systematic theft of cloth, justifying it as a customary practice, and arguing over how much more cloth should be stolen.

There is one further ballad that depicts tailors being physically or martially inferior to women. Unlike the ballads discussed above, it does not make explicit claims about the trade's lack of masculinity. However, read in that context, it provides further support for the stereotype. As discussed above, *The Lamentation of Seven Journeymen Tailors* describes how a group of tailors are charged with maintaining the child of a girl that one of them impregnated. However, the ballad ends with the tailors being beaten by their wives for their initial indiscretion and their failure to challenge their communal punishment. When the tailors arrived home from court, their wives were already 'fret[ing] and fom[ing], / For it seems they had heard of the thing'. Their verbal chastisement was 'like thunder in the ayr' and 'did make the whole town for to ring'. However, their wives did not just use words but also 'kick[ed] and cuff[ed]' the tailors 'all about the town'. In the face of this onslaught, the tailors submitted and 'Solemnly they vow'd', if their wives would 'refrain' from further anger, that they would dedicate the remainder of 'their lives' to 'pleasing' them. In summary, the narrator observes that 'by this sad Disaster' the tailors' 'Wives became their Masters', and that, the tailors were so dominated by them 'they dare not say their soul's their o[wn]'.<sup>651</sup> *The Lamentation of Seven Journeymen Tailors* does not therefore explicitly suggest that tailors lack masculinity, however like the

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<sup>648</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>649</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>650</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>651</sup> *The Lamentation of Seven Journeymen Tailors.*

previous ballads, it presents tailor as weak, submissive, and easily overpowered by women.

In addition to their physical inferiority, there are several ways in which tailors are presented as undesirable to the opposite sex: they are listed as one of many rejected suitors, they are presented as poor husbands, considering them as potential partners is depicted as unusual, and they are presented as the last hope of desperate women. In many of these depictions, their undesirability is linked to other stereotypes discussed in this chapter: their habitual dishonesty and their poverty.

*The Wanton Maiden's Choice* includes a tailor in a list of rejected suitors. The ballad tells how the eponymous young woman rejects 'Landed men', 'Farmers', 'Wealthy Company', 'Taylors', 'Joyners', and the 'Gentle-Craft' [shoemakers] in favour of 'a thumping Tinker'. She explains that she will 'not have a Taylor', because he will be 'too light behind' and because he will be 'too hard for [her] at Cabbage'. She is worried that she 'may be famished / while Cabbage time doth last' and that if the tailor has 'his share, he'l never care, / whether [she] eat[s] or fast[s]'.<sup>652</sup> This suggests that the young woman believes that tailors are undesirable sexual partners because of their poverty, their involvement in cabbaging, and their selfishness. She does not explain explicitly what cabbaging involves, however she implies that cabbaging is a common practice among tailors and associates it with poverty and selfishness.

Similarly, in *The Bonny Lass of Bristol* (1678-80), a young woman is courted by several socio-occupational types – a gallant, a tailor, a disbanded officer, a lawyer, a seaman, a usurer, a farmer's son, a doctor, and second gallant – but rejects them all and marries a knight. The ballad implies that she shows prudence in rebuffing the advances of these undesirables and holding out for a worthy husband. She is wooed by 'A spruce young Taylor', who claims to have been bewitched by her beauty. However, 'with him [she] had no mind to do' and 'she told him he could not go through stitch'. The tailor is described as cutting 'such Capers in heat of Drink', that 'the Coyn in his pockets Chink'.<sup>653</sup> However, the young woman assumes that he stinks of 'Cabbage'.<sup>654</sup> It appears therefore that the tailor-suitor is rejected because of his suspected involvement

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<sup>652</sup> *The Wanton Maiden's Choice*.

<sup>653</sup> This could be an allusion to the proverb *Four farthings and a thimble make a tailor's pocket jingle* (F72), which is discussed in the first chapter. See pp. 98-99.

<sup>654</sup> *The Bonny Lass of Bristol*, EBBA 21318, Pepys 3.303 (1678-1680).

in cabbaging. Like *The Wanton Maiden's Choice*, *The Bonny Lass of Bristol* does not explain what cabbaging is or why it should be such a turn-off. The tailor is also associated with drunkenness and poverty, as his drunken capering draws attention to the small number of coins he has in his pockets, however it is clear that it is his association with cabbaging that dissuades the young woman from accepting his advances.

Like *The Wanton Maiden's Choice* and *The Bonny Lass of Bristol*, *An Answer to the Praise of Good Husbands* (1685-88) also presents a tailor as one of many rejected suitors and it also cites the practice of cabbaging as the primary reason for his rejection. However, unlike the tailors in *The Wanton Maiden's Choice* and *The Bonny Lass of Bristol*, the tailor in *An Answer to the Praise of Good Husbands* is significantly older than the young woman he is attempting to court. In the ballad, the young woman tells her mother that she 'has had some Suitors of late', including 'A Barber, a Taylor', and 'many men more', but that she 'did slight them' all professing that she 'was not a weary of living a Maid'. She describes the tailor who courted her as 'well stricken in years', and says that she told him that 'for Marriage [she] yet was not free, / And Cabbage and Cucumbers would not agree / With [her] squemish stomach'.<sup>655</sup> Despite the reference to his age, the main reason the tailor is rejected is his association with cabbaging. However, yet again, the problem with cabbaging is not spelt out.

These three ballads all present tailors as one of many rejected suitors. They do not therefore suggest that tailors are more undesirable than other trades; though, they do make it clear that it is their involvement in cabbaging that makes tailors undesirable. However, none of the ballads explain why cabbaging is a cause for concern. Fortunately, other ballads are more explicit. In *Oxfordshire Betty* (1683-1703?), the titular protagonist writes a letter to her former lover, 'Poor Tom the Taylor', explaining why she has married someone else. She makes it clear that she was put off by his stupidity, poverty, and lack of gentlemanly conduct, but she also admits that she was repulsed by his trade and the dishonesty it involved. She describes her spurned lover as 'a Knave [...] who [had] no Sence or Breeding'. She mocks his ham-fisted first attempt to court her and reminds him that despite his vows to treat her well she was often 'forc'd to pay the Shot' or 'Supply [his] wants' when he had 'no Mony'. Though

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<sup>655</sup> *An Answer to the Praise of Good Husbands*, EBBA 21753, Pepys 4.89 (1685-1688).

she understood 'a Taylor's poor Condition', and would 'slip a Shilling in [his] hand' to 'keep [him] from Disgrace', she 'knew [she] could not love [...] a Man of [his] Profession'. She describes tailors in general as 'a pack of nasty Curs', who spend the 'long Vacation' feeding on enough cucumber to 'poyson half the Nation' and 'Cabbage all the Year'. Given this behaviour, she challenges Tom to tell her 'What Woman [could] lye by the side? [...] of a Mechanick Taylor' and ends the ballad by asking 'Then who would be a Taylor's Wife? [...] whose Husbands live by Theiving'.<sup>656</sup> Betty's reasons for rejecting her tailor-suitors are more complicated and detailed than those described in the previous ballads. However, they also have a lot in common. Like the women in *The Wanton Maiden's Choice* and *The Bonny Lass of Bristol*, Betty is turned off by her tailor's poverty. However, it is a dislike of cabbaging that unites all four ballads, though Betty goes much further than the women in *The Wanton Maiden's Choice*, *The Bonny Lass of Bristol*, and *An Answer to the Praise of Good Husbands*. She makes it clear that she is not just reproving her former lover, but condemning the trade in general as undesirable because of its poverty and habitual dishonesty.

Two further ballads describe the disappointment of women already married to tailors and express the same sentiments as the previous ballads. They suggest that the women dislike their husbands for the involvement in cabbaging and that they consider tailors to be inferior to other men. In *The Unequal Match* (1664-1703?), the 'Young Beautiful' bride laments her marriage to an 'Old feeble Taylor'. She describes him as 'a narrow fowl sorrowful Drone, / Above Forty Years Old' and as a 'Cucumber slave'. She complains that despite their marriage she is still a maid and that her husband 'lyes by [her] like a stone in the Wall, / And will do a poor woman no kindness at all'. She explains that though her parents knew the tailor was 'Aged, [&] crippled and Lame' they were keen for the match because he was rich. She had previously been courted by 'a brisk Gallant', but he only had 'a slender Estate', so her parents rejected him. She is so upset by her predicament that she wishes she was dead or 'That kind death would be pleas'd to convey [her husband] away' so that she would be free to enjoy 'some Brisk Airy young Gallant' instead. In addition to his age and frigidity, she cannot stand 'The smell of his Cabbage' and protests that 'Both his Cabbage and Cucumber yield such a fume, / That [she has] often [...] wisht

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<sup>656</sup> *Oxfordshire Betty*, EBBA 22447, Pepys 5.185 (1683-1703?).

[her]self out of the Room'.<sup>657</sup> In this example, the terms cabbage and cucumber are deployed literally: they are objects that produce an unpleasant smell, and it is this smell that she dislikes. They are not explicitly associated with occupational processes. However, her reference to her husband as a 'Cucumber slave' suggests a dependence that echoes previous ballads. Read in this context, it appears that part of her dislike of her husband is motivated by the practices of his trade.

*Labour in Vain*, has much in common with *The Unequal Match*. However, it is much more explicit in its assertion that tailors are inferior to other men and that poverty and dishonesty of the trade contribute to the sexual and marital undesirability of tailors. The ballad's antagonism is signalled by the subtitle: 'The Taylor no Man'. It is written from the perspective of a tailor's wife who makes it clear that she despises her husband. She states that 'A Taylor good Lord, / He is by profession' and describing him as a 'Cabbidging Knave'. She relates how 'In Cucumber time', she 'kept [her]self quiet', and possibly encouraged his 'Crime'. However, this may have been 'his neglect' and not, necessarily, habitual occupational dishonesty. She continues by suggesting that a diet of cold cucumbers is unlikely to fire the passions of a husband and concludes by bemoaning how she is 'opprest' by a grief she 'cannot smother'. She complains that she will never have children even though she is 'As well as the rest' and 'Buxom and Young'. Finally, it is her husband's lack of sexual interest that causes her to declare 'That a Taylor's no Man'.<sup>658</sup> Like *The Unequal Match*, the tailor's wife's primary complaint is that her husband is failing to perform his matrimonial duty by refusing to sleep with her and therefore not getting her pregnant. The ballad therefore uses the phrase 'a tailor is no man' as a specific complaint against a specific tailor and not as a stock or commonly known phrase. However, like the other ballads under discussion, it must be read in a context that explicitly or implicitly questions the masculinity of tailors as a group. Furthermore, the ballad makes it clear that the tailor's wife believes that her husband is engaged in habitual occupational dishonesty and that this contributes to her dislike of him.

As noted above, *Labour in Vain* also uses the phrase "a tailor, good lord!" This phrase appears in three other ballads and the context in which it appears

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<sup>657</sup> *The Unequal Match*, EBBA 21088, Pepys 3.87 (1664-1703?).

<sup>658</sup> *Labour in Vain*.



suggests that it is also being used to express the undesirability of tailors. In all three ballads, a female narrator lists her actual or potential partners. The use of the exclamation “good lord!” suggests that tailors are unusual sexual or marital partners and further highlights the desperation or promiscuity of the narrator. In *The Buxom Lass of Westminster* (1675-96), a young woman struggles to find a husband. Though she is wealthy, her wealth is derived from Newcastle sea-coal and she has been spurned by the one man she truly loved. She makes it clear that any man who is willing to kiss her, hug her, and ‘open her hole’, will be rewarded with ‘all her money’. To clarify, she explains that she does not want an old man, but desires a young man who will be able to satisfy her sexually. She will even consider a tinker, cobbler, or tailor, suggesting that these trades are not usually desirable sexual partners. The use of an exclamation at the end of the phrase ‘a Tinker, nay, Cobler, or Taylor, good Lord’, further highlights the unusualness of this admission and therefore their undesirability.<sup>659</sup> Similarly, in *The Buxom Lass of Bread-Street* (1675-96?), a young woman lists the twelve socio-occupational types she has slept with: a baker, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a shopkeeper, a chimneysweep, a tailor, a seaman, a barber, a ‘Double Refiner’, a joiner, a sergeant, and a surgeon. She is pregnant and does not know which one is the father. She resolves to try and get one of them to accept the role. However, she is not too concerned, as if she cannot convince one of these twelve, she will return to her old lover who will accept her without question.<sup>660</sup> As in *Labour In Vain* and *The Buxom Lass of Westminster*, the inclusion of a tailor is accompanied by the exclamation “good lord!” Again, it appears to suggest that a tailor is an unusual or embarrassing sexual partner. Unlike the previous examples, *The Coy Cook-Maid* (1685-88) tells of a young woman rejecting several suitors in favour of a tailor. However, the use of the phrase “a tailor, good lord!” still appears to indicate that tailors are an unusual and undesirable choice of sexual partner, as, despite the tailor’s success, there are three elements that suggest that the ballad reflects negatively on his trade. First, as a cook-maid, his wife’s occupation is very low-status. Second, she is not presented in a flattering light. After receiving praise for her work, she becomes proud and ‘prate[s] aloud’ about finding a husband, while in the final stanza she is described as ‘the greazy Frigat’. Finally, the rejected suitors are

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<sup>659</sup> *The Buxom Lass of Westminster*, EBBA 21255, Pepys 3.241 (1675-1696?).

<sup>660</sup> *The Buxom Lass of Bread-Street*, EBBA 21310, Pepys 3.295 (1675-1696?).

all foreigners – a Scotsman, a Frenchman, an Irishman, a Dutchman, a Spaniard, and a Welshman – who are mocked for their distinctive accents and comic stereotypical behaviours.<sup>661</sup> Her choice of an English tailor is therefore more about her desire not to marry a foreigner than an endorsement of tailors per se.

Finally, the undesirability of tailors is demonstrated by two ballads in which a young woman admits that she is so desperate to find a mate that she will even accept a tailor. The aforementioned *Rare News for the Female Sex* (1696) depicts the woes of a group of young women who are ashamed by their continued virginity. One of the women, a tailor's daughter named 'Betty', complains that none of the men who work for her father are suitable candidates for her first sexual experience. She asserts that her father 'keeps Five Men', but that even 'if he kept Ten, / Such silly fools with pointless tools' would not be to her liking. She yearns instead for 'some lusty Farmer'. This suggests that even the daughter of a tailor believes that men of that trade are not desirable partners. However, later in the ballad, 'lusty Sarah who lived at the Crown' calls on any 'Souldier Sailor or [...] Taylor' to 'take [her] for [their] own'.<sup>662</sup> The ballad therefore does not completely rule out tailors as sexual partners. However, Betty's contention that one 'lusty Farmer' would be preferable to any number of tailors does suggest they are not considered as sexually desirable as other labourers and, perhaps, that they were not considered equal to other men. Furthermore, Sarah's call for any soldier, sailor, or tailor may only include tailors to satisfy the rhythm of the line and contains an element of desperation that suggests such men involved in such occupations would not be her first choice. Similarly, in *The Virgin's Complaint for Want of a Husband* (1691?), a young woman bemoans her lack of a husband. She admits that she is now so desperate, that she would accept 'a Taylor now or any thing!'<sup>663</sup>

Though the ballads discussed above appear to demonstrate that tailors had a reputation for undesirability, there are two ballads that suggest the opposite. In *Poor Tom the Tailor His Lamentation* (1684), a tailor is robbed by a girl he had picked up at a fair. He is then humiliated by the staff at the inn they were staying when they find that he cannot pay the bill. However, the ballad is

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<sup>661</sup> *The Coy Cook-Maid*, EBBA 21168, Pepys 3.156 (1685-88).

<sup>662</sup> *Rare News for the Female Sex* (1672-1696?); *Rare News for the Female Sex* (1696).

<sup>663</sup> *The Virgin's Complaint for Want of a Husband*, EBBA 22440, Pepys 5.178 (1691?).

relevant to this discussion because it suggests that tailors have a reputation for womanising. The subtitle expresses the hope that 'This unfortunate disaster may well be a warning to all the / Taylors in or about Lond[o]n to forsake their old accustomed tricks', while later in the ballad, the young woman decides to rob the tailor 'to fit him for his whoring'. Finally, the last stanza assures those 'Taylors all that keep a Miss / and [deal] so much in Courting', that their lovers will give them 'a Judas Kiss' and reminds them that 'poor Tommy of your Trade, / by whoring was abused'.<sup>664</sup>

In addition to this, the previously mentioned *The Rampant Tailor* explicitly challenges the suggestion that tailors are inferior to other men and sexually undesirable. The ballad's intention is clearly expressed in the refrains, which command 'pritty young Lasses' not to 'disdain' 'the stitching Trade', as 'a T[a]ylor is prov'd a Man / And f[or] any Maids Embraces'. The ballad describes how, having heard that 'his Trade [was] so much revil'd', a tailor decided 'To [pr]ove that [a] Toylar was a Man' by impregnating nineteen women. The ballad uses many of tailoring processes euphemistically. It explains that while 'he was fitting on their Gowns / He'd slip his Needle into their Cases', swearing on his needle and thread, that 'He'll [m]end all Flaws in [their] Maidenhead'. He had also offered to make them a gown without charge. The tailor is described as always having 'his Yard' ready to measure cloth brought to him, and all the women he has impregnated claim that, in this respect, 'No Taylor yet could ere out do him'. His skill and joy in measuring would lead any customer to claim he is a 'Man compleat at Measure'.<sup>665</sup> Tailoring processes and equipment were often deployed as euphemisms for genitalia or sexual activity. Perhaps the most blatant example of this appears in *Trap or the Young Lass* (1675), when the female narrator tells of 'A fine dapper Taylor (with's yard in his hand)', who 'Did proffer his service to be at command'. He 'talk'd of a slit [she] had above [her] knee, But [the narrator would] have no Taylor stitch that up for [her]'. In addition to the tailor's yard, piercing implements such as bodkins and needles were often deployed in this way.<sup>666</sup>

As noted above, *The Rampant Tailor* suggests that 'Nine Taylors to a Man' was a common phrase and that this invective motivated the tailor. It claims

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<sup>664</sup> *Poor Tom the Tailor His Lamentation*.

<sup>665</sup> *The Rampant Tailor*.

<sup>666</sup> *Trap or the Young Lass*, EBBA 21010, Pepys 3.17 (1675)

that by impregnating nineteen women, the tailor proved that he was 'no Botcher'. It asserts that he had mastered the art of wooing, describing how 'He'd Cog and Flatter, Ly and Whedle, / And nere let a Maid alone, / Until he had prick'd her with his Needle' and that he was well loved, being 'Youthful, Brisk, and, Nimble'. Furthermore, each woman he was with declared him to be very handsome. However, the ballad closes by describing how the tailor had gone to sea to seek out 'new Fasheons', and how he feared to return as 'He s stuft so many Maids Cusheons'. This choice may also be an answer to the suggestion that tailors were not fit for naval service. The ballad finally ends by recounting how the distraught women have all receiving a letter from the tailor in which he describes how he is 'troubled' that he 'could not stay, / To make the Number even Twenty'.<sup>667</sup> The reference to the Strand, the rumours that tailors lack masculinity, naval service, and the date of printing (1692) may suggest that this ballad could be a response to the *frollic* ballads. The ballad features the allusions to the reputation for lacking masculinity, as well as the fear that clothes fitting will lead to, possibly adulterous, sex, and the use of tailoring processes as euphemisms. Most importantly, the ballad suggests that the idea that tailors lacked masculinity, the phrases "a tailor is no man", and the proverb "nine tailors make a man" were well known enough to inspire challenge. Though it is impossible to know if the ballad was written by a tailor or inspired by the thoughts, if not the actions, of actual tailors, it does suggest that the ballad writer assumed that tailors, and people in general, would be receptive.

*The Rampant Tailor* also highlights anxiety about the potential for sexual contact during fitting. This anxiety is also clearly expressed in *A New Fashioned Marigold* (1674-79). The ballad describes how a young husband could not find his new wife's 'Marigold' and so commissioned a local tailor to 'fashion' her one out of 'brave silks and trimmings'. It explains how the tailor took the man's wife to his house to 'take [her] right measure', laid her on the bed in 'his Chamber' and 'drove a subtile trade' with his bodkin. When 'the Marigold was made', he returned her 'Unto her loving Husband'. Despite the insinuation that he had been cuckolded, the husband 'was never pleas'd so well / before in all his life' with the tailor's work. However, 'About a fortnight after that' his wife's 'pritty Marigold' started causing her pain and 'she could not refrain' from heading back to the tailor, who 'took pains with her', laying 'with her all night', before sending

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<sup>667</sup> *The Rampant Tailor*.

her back to her husband again.<sup>668</sup> This anxiety is also accentuated and inverted in *The Cuckoo's Commendation* (1625?), when, while a tailor is 'so neatly' fitting his 'Mistris wast' and putting 'on her strait Bodies' while her 'Petticoats unlac'd [...] another is at home' easing 'his wives strait Bodies'.<sup>669</sup>

## A Defence of (Merchant) Tailors

Given the stereotypes detailed above, one of the most interesting of the Pepys Collection is *The Voice of Fame* (1683-1703?). Though it is explicitly a defence of the tailoring trade in general, it makes no attempt to defend tailors from accusations of habitual occupational dishonesty, poverty, super-sexuality, or inferiority.

The ballad purports to give 'an Historical Account of many Kings, Princes, Dukes, Lords, / Bishops, Earls, Knights, and Gentlemen, etc., that have been of this Noble and / Honourable Profession' and is 'Humbly dedicated to all the Lovers of this most Magnanimous and Ingenious Art'. It starts by asserting that though they are 'slighted', tailors have much to be proud of, as 'No trade with the Taylors compared may be, / For warmth, and distinction, and fashion he doth, / Provide for both Sexes with Silk, Stuff, and Cloath'. Though people may 'disdain [a tailor], or slight him, or flout him', they 'can't live without him'. The second stanza argues that tailoring should be considered the first trade because Adam and Eve made themselves clothes when 'out of Eden [they] were hurl'd'. The third stanza compares tailors to shoemakers, arguing that those who believe the latter are superior are wrong, as, while shoemakers deal with the bottom of their customers, tailors deal with the top and, consequently, when shoemakers are kneeling, tailors are standing. The fourth stanza argues that if it were not for tailors, everyone would be naked. No one would be able to recognize 'Grandure or Dignity', and, 'the distincton of Sex' would be on display. Tailors therefore do a great service 'fortifi[ng] Nature, / By Art and Formalities' and giving 'every Person [...] a due dress , / Which doth in fit order their Callings express'. The fifth stanza explains that though clothing is often used to conceal 'inward Secrets [...] / Distortion of Body, and fowlness of Mind [...] This falshood doth not in the Taylers Art lurk. / But in the fowl Members that set him

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<sup>668</sup> *A New Fashioned Marigold*, EBBA 21762, Pepys 4.98 (1674-1679).

<sup>669</sup> *The Cuckoo's Commendation*, EBBA 20191, Pepys 1.406-407 (1625?).

to work'. The sixth stanza asserts that tailors clothe 'all the degrees of Men, Children, and Women', from 'Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, [and] Lords', to 'Grave Bishops, and Judges, Knights, Gentlemen, [and] Yomen', and 'All sorts and distinctions of Land-men and Saylers'. Furthermore, clothes contribute to Britain's martial prowess as 'Good Cloaths and good Courage too, daily do wonders'. In summary, a good tailor is essential, as '[h]e that hath poor habit and is out of fashion, / Is slighted and seldom obtains estimation'. The final stanza lists the various notables who have been members of the Merchant Tailors guild.<sup>670</sup>

Therefore, though the ballad suggests that tailors are disrespected, it does not explicitly explain the nature of the slight. It argues for the antiquity of the trade, its contribution to social order, and the high status of previous guild members. This could suggest that tailors are being accused of novelty, undermining the social order, and of generally holding lower social status. However, though tailors may well have been accused of these things, such allegations do not seem to appear in the Pepys Collection. It could be argued that the claim that the Merchant Tailors' Guild has had many illustrious members could be read as a response to the more common suggestion that tailors were poor. As outlined above, there is certainly evidence that tailors were associated with poverty in ballads. However, poverty and low social status are not the same thing, even if they are often closely entwined. Furthermore, the ballad is not arguing for the high social status of the trade in general, but merely highlighting that some notables have associated themselves with it in the past. The charge that tailors disguise bodily and therefore moral deformity is far more clearly expressed. However, the ballad is at pains to point out that the fault here lies with the customer and not the tailor. This could be read as a defence of the honesty of the trade and could therefore be linked to the frequent accusations of habitual occupational dishonesty. However, though it could be construed as an accusation of dishonesty, it is clearly not an accusation of theft and it therefore differs significantly from the majority of allegations detail above. Therefore, though the ballad offers a spirited defence of the tailoring trade, it does not appear to defend tailors from any of the accusations commonly found in the Pepys Collection. There are several reasons why this might be the case: first, the ballad could be defending the trade from accusations that have appeared in

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<sup>670</sup> *The Voice of Fame*, EBBA 22215, Pepys 5.396 (1683-1703?).

other media. Second, the ballad could be intentionally ignoring the accusations commonly levelled against the trade so as not to draw attention to them. It could, instead, be setting up straw man allegations, against which it is easy to defend. Thirdly, it could be that the ballad is not about the tailoring trade in general, but the Merchant Tailors' Guild specifically. The claims to antiquity and an important role in social order suggest that this is the case.

## Conclusions

Ballads have long been recognised as a fertile source of contemporary attitudes and stereotypes and they have become a mainstay of cultural history. In particular, historians of gender have long championed the using ballads to investigate gender identities. Despite this, they have not yet been used to investigate occupational stereotypes.

Millers, tailors, and weavers represent an interesting case study as they are among the most commonly appearing occupational descriptors in the Pepys Collection: tailors are the third most frequently appearing, millers are the seventh, and weavers are the twelfth. The three trades are even more prominent among secondary-sector: tailors and millers are the first and second more commonly appearing descriptors, while weavers are the sixth. Combinations of the three trades are also significant, especially for weavers and millers. Just under two-thirds of ballads featuring weavers also feature tailors and or millers, while almost a half of ballads featuring millers also feature tailors and or weavers. Furthermore, these combinations are not merely a statistical fluke; several ballads attest to the strength of their association. The ballads make it clear that the three trades were thought to share similar characteristics and could therefore be treated as a grouping. The occupational dishonesty of millers, tailors, and weavers was explicitly compared, as was the supersexuality of the three trades (in one ballad, at least), and the poverty of tailors and weavers.

Ballads provide a rich source of resonant stereotypes. First, significant detail is given about the occupational malpractice of millers and tailors: millers are said to steal gain, often a peck for every bushel they grind, while tailors are said to steal cloth, cutting out more than they need. In addition, other ballads accuse the three trades of less specific malpractices, such theft and dishonesty.

Some ballads accuse them of cheating their customers, while others accuse them of cheating their employers. A few ballads attempt to justify their dishonesty, suggesting that they cannot make a living without cheating. Finally, a couple of ballads suggest that their dishonesty is essential. Furthermore, though millers, tailors, and weavers are often listed among many dishonesty socio-occupational types, they are frequently the only secondary-sector occupations mentioned or accused of dishonesty. Moreover, the frequency of which they are accused and the level of detail that is provided about their malpractice suggests that they were considered especially dishonest. Second, tailors and weavers are clearly associated with poverty, albeit in slightly different ways. Individual tailors and groups of tailors are often depicted as poor or unemployed, while fewer ballads present weavers in that way. Despite this, it is the weaving trade in general, and not the tailoring trade, that is explicitly associated with poverty. Regardless of the differences in the way they are depicted, there are clear similarities: the poverty of both trades is blamed on fluctuations in international trade or the actions of customers, while their poverty is also explicitly presented as comparable. Third, millers, tailors, and weavers are associated with super-sexuality, though the characteristic is far more commonly associated with millers specifically. Indeed, millers are frequently depicted in romantic or sexual situations, including conventional courtships, the seduction of young unmarried women, and paying for sex. However, in contrast, they are also depicted as sexually cautious. The ballads also highlight the idea that mills acted as a point of contact between young women and millers. Finally, tailors are frequently depicted as inferior to other men, a stereotype that is not associated with millers and weavers. Their inferiority is expressed in three different ways: the phrase the tailor is no man, the suggestion that tailors are easily physically overpowered by women, and the idea that tailors are undesirable spouses or sexual partners. Furthermore, the inferiority of tailors is related to their reputation for occupational dishonesty by suggesting that tailors cheat their female customers as a form of revenge and that cabbaging is a reason for their sexual or marital undesirability.

The Pepys Collection therefore provide strong evidence of the stereotypical behaviours and characteristics associated with the three trades and the resonance of those stereotypes across distinct media. The relative ubiquity of tailors offered far greater range and depth to the characteristics and



behaviours associated with them, and they are clearly presented as occupationally dishonest, inferior to other men, and as poor. Furthermore, as already noted these stereotypes are related: poverty is often cited as a motivation for occupational dishonesty, while dishonesty and poverty are reasons for their inferiority. The far smaller number of ballads including millers and weavers means that the stereotypes associated with them are less well defined. However, the relationship between millers and tailors, tailors and weavers, and all three trades is interesting. Millers are almost always alone when they are depicted in romantic or sexual situations, however, when they appear alongside tailors, they are generally depicted as occupationally dishonest. Furthermore, when weavers appear in ballads alone or with tailors, they are depicted as poor, however, when all three trades are included, they are depicted as habitually occupationally dishonest. This relationship between the three trades appears to be recognised in the handful of ballads that explicitly group them. Though these ballads are a minority, they speak loudly and their stereotypes and associations resonant in many of the less explicit Pepys Collection.



## Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis contributes to our understanding of the occupational identity of millers, tailors, and weavers, and of early modern occupational identity in general. It also proposes and tests a new method for assessing the resonance of cultural phenomena and comments on the usefulness of proverbs, jests, and ballads in such an investigation.

The preceding chapters have presented the stereotypes associated with millers, tailors, and weavers, both individually and as a grouping, in early modern English proverbs, jests, and ballads. They have identified two stereotypes that were resonant across and within all three source-types: millers, tailors, and weavers as habitually dishonest occupations and the financially insecure tailor. One or more of the three trades were associated with habitual occupational dishonesty in proverbs, jests, and ballads, while tailors were associated with financial insecurity in all three source-types. It has also identified three less resonant stereotypes: the inferior tailor, the super-sexual miller, and the financially insecure weaver. It has shown that tailors were associated with inferior masculinity in proverbs and ballads, while millers were associated with super-sexuality and weavers with financial insecurity in ballads.

The most striking thing about these stereotypes is that they are moral in nature. Scholarship that has previously touched on occupational identity has presented group identities based on differences in skill, status, gender, and worth. The representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in proverbs, jests, and ballads do not express these distinctions. With the exception of financially insecure tailors and weavers, the stereotypes identified in these source types are concerned with perceived moral character and appropriate behaviour. Perhaps this should not have been so surprising. As discussed in the introduction, Muldrew and Shepard have done much to demonstrate the interrelation of moral and financial probity and to highlight the importance of moral integrity to masculine identity. However, the perceived moral failings of millers, tailors, and weavers differ from the concerns documented by Muldrew and Shepard. The negative occupational stereotypes presented in this thesis do not revolve around creditworthiness. Instead, they are primarily about fair

dealing. Therefore, the evidence presented in this thesis strengthens the arguments of Muldrew and Shepard, while also adding a new facet.

This shared reputation for false dealing leads to the second most striking thing about these stereotypes, the grouping of millers, tailors, and weavers itself. Grouping the three trades around a shared characteristic suggests a form of occupational grouping that is neither vertical/craft-based nor horizontal/class-based. The three trades were not grouped because they possessed similar levels of skill or belonged to comparable occupational or socioeconomic strata. Instead, they were repeatedly grouped together because of their shared characteristics and behaviours. The only structural-economic aspect of their association with dishonesty was their relationship with the customer or employer. Millers, tailors, and weavers all received raw materials (grain, cloth, or yarn) and returned a product (flour, clothes, or cloth). This relationship differentiated them from other, seemingly similar, secondary-sector occupations such as bakers, butchers, shoemakers, and smiths who provided their own raw material. The anxiety that this relationship caused appears to have conditioned the reputation of millers, tailors, and weavers. The customer or employer could not be sure that all the raw material they had provided had been returned. This was exacerbated by the existence of traditional benefits (tolls, cabbage), which allowed the three trades to keep some of the raw material in part payment for their services. Early modern people assumed that millers were keeping some of their grain, that tailors were keeping some of their cloth, and that weavers were keeping some of their yarn, they just did not know how much.

Previous investigations of early modern occupational identity or work that touches on that field have focused on group identification but have neglected social categorisation. This thesis begins to address that neglect. The social categorisations of millers, tailors, and weavers – as evidenced by the representations of those trades in proverbs, jests, and ballads – suggest different conditioning factors and alternative schemes of social organisation to previous studies of occupational group identification. As noted above, the most resonant stereotype associated with millers, tailors, and weavers – habitual occupational dishonesty – does not appear to have been conditioned by socioeconomic status, political or religious allegiance, or occupational skill. Instead, it generalises an anxiety within a particular set of customer-craftsman

relations. It is therefore an occupational identity that is markedly different from the localised skill and status identifications documented by Andy Wood, the nuanced articulations of worth highlighted by Alex Shephard, or the proto-working class masculinity seen in Mark Hailwood's work. Consequently, it is also an unexpected social identity - an identity that was expressed widely but that was projected onto these occupations out of an imagined market relationship, and not something necessarily claimed by these trades themselves.

The cultural information contained in proverbs, jests, and ballads appears to differ more than expected. It has become a truism that form conditions content, but the extent to which the generic characteristics and contexts of proverbs, jests, and ballads shaped the sort of information they contained is striking. As noted in the previous chapters, the source types under consideration – proverbs, jests, and ballads – have all been cited as examples of oral culture. Though there have been arguments about the extent to which, if at all, they represent a popular or oral culture, they are still assumed to represent the closest historian can get to the everyday culture of the early modern period. This thesis has demonstrated that they have much in common and they provide evidence of resonant stereotypes. However, each source type refracts its representations in a particular way, and each implies that these sources mediate any relationship with an underlying 'oral culture' very heavily.

Proverbs are an underutilised source. This thesis has shown that they can provide evidence of early modern ideas and attitudes. However, one of the most important contributions this thesis makes to early modern history is its critique of current academic proverb dictionaries. By contrast, this thesis has found that jests are less useful than imagined to the study of occupational identity. Their generic form makes them less likely to include stereotypical information. Ballads were by far the richest source of characteristics and behaviours. However, it is clear that the generic and thematic characteristics of ballads (or possibly the generic and thematic characteristics of ballads in the Pepys Collection) influenced the representations they contained. For example, it is well known that many ballads in the Pepys Collection discuss romance, sex, and sexuality.

The representations of millers as super-sexual and tailors as inferior to other men must be read as ballad-based stereotypes.

This thesis makes a compelling case for the need, not only to address source types individually, with an awareness of their idiosyncrasies and the idiosyncrasies of their subsequent collectors and curators but also for the need to read them alongside and against one another. If this thesis had concentrated solely on one of the four source types, it may have covered more ground. It may even have inferred the same conclusions about the existence of occupational stereotypes as this more general survey. However, it would not have been able to present the nuanced and contingent portrait that this thesis does. For example, a thesis that had focused only on ballads may have over-emphasised the inferiority of tailors. There is certainly much evidence of this in the Pepys ballads. However, though this stereotype appears in other sources, it is rare and isolated. It is far less resonant than the association with dishonesty. This not only suggests something about the way in which tailors, as a group, were perceived in early modern society but also about the nature of ballads themselves. Similarly, a thesis that had concentrated on jests or court records may have emphasised the representation of millers as a synecdoche for rustics or common tradesmen. Again, there is certainly evidence for this. However, it would have missed the consistency with which millers are associated with occupational dishonesty and super-sexuality in other sources. Reading proverbs, jests, ballads, and court records against each other, one is more able to provide robust approximations of commonly held stereotypes, and one learns more about the nature of the each of the sources.

In addition, this thesis demonstrates the potential benefits of the Wahrman-inspired method for assessing the resonance of cultural phenomena but it also highlights some of its disadvantages. On the positive side, it encourages rigour, transparency, and an appreciation of context. It allows the researcher to make more robust claims about the significance of representations within and across a specific set of sources and or source-types. This thesis is able to say that millers, tailors, and weavers appear to have had a well-known reputation for habitual occupational dishonesty not because it piles up examples or points to examples in what are considered popular sources but because it shows that the

three trades are frequently associated with occupational dishonesty in a variety of independent sources.

Furthermore, the Wahrman-inspired method encourages the researcher to engage with the generic characteristics of different source types. By initially focusing on phenomena within a discrete source-type, and then comparing and contrasting phenomena across different source-types, the method highlights what is common and what is distinctive.

However, on the negative side, the Wahrman-inspired method is time-consuming, potentially unproductive, and the selection of source types is vulnerable to criticism. In comparison to EEBO keyword searches or the accumulation of examples through experience or recommendation, the Wahrman-inspired method is labour- and time- intensive and cannot guarantee results. Trawling through a certain set of sources may not produce any useful examples and the significance of negative or inconclusive findings can be difficult to express in historical writing.

In addition, though the Wahrman-inspired method pre-empts questions about the typicality of specific examples, which have often discredited cultural histories, it motivates questions about the representativeness of specific source types or sets of sources. This thesis has attempted to prevent such criticism by choosing source types that have consistently been associated with early modern English popular culture. Similarly, contemporary collections or proverbs, jests, and ballads were selected because the collectors, the process of collection, and their subsequent providence are relatively well known.

Another issue is that a method that requires the delineation and examination of individual source types will tend to emphasise the differences between types. This thesis may well be guilty of drawing too sharp a distinction between the source types or of seeing generic homogeneity where it does not exist. For example, treating proverbs as a discreet and hermetically sealed form ignores the fluid boundaries and overlaps between proverbs and other forms of what Lawrence Manly defines as wisdom literature or between *narrative song* ballads and other types of literature presented in the broadside format. Early modern proverb collectors certainly did not distinguish between formal proverbs, epigrams, and what should be considered quotations.

This thesis has only applied the Wahrman-inspired method to a small selection of sources. This was necessary given the desire to sample several different source types and the time and resource constraints of a doctoral research project. From a statistical standpoint, the relatively small number of sources analysed make it difficult to make bold statements about the significance of the findings presented. However, one of the most important benefits of the Wahrman-inspired method is that it provides a clear picture of what the sources contain. The examples used to prove the resonance of miller, tailor, and weaver stereotypes may be few in number but they are the most prominent and consistent in the samples analysed. Put simply, this thesis has not selected appealing examples to make a preconceived point, instead it has presents what emerges from the sources, as transparently and systematically as possible. Furthermore, to reiterate one of the central contentions of this thesis, what is significant about the representations of millers, tailors, and weavers in proverbs, jests, and ballads is the resonance of the habitual occupational dishonesty stereotype across source-types. The examples presented in this thesis suggest that this stereotype was not conditioned by the generic characteristics of a particular literary form but existed in the popular consciousness. It now rest with other historians to chase down the stereotype in wider samples and across different sources types.

That being said, this method may work best in combination with traditional anecdotal cultural history. EEBO keyword searches, the recommendations of other scholars, and personal experience with a source or set of sources allow a researcher to amass examples. However, the 'cherry-picking' method of cultural history has rightly been criticised for neglecting context and typicality. Conversely, the Wahrman-inspired method encourages the researcher to engage with generic context and allows them to demonstrate the typicality of a representation within a set of sources. If used in combination therefore these two methods provide both quantity and quality.

Resonance analysis is perhaps most suited to the study of discrete textual phenomena, such as proverbs. Assessing the resonance of early modern proverbs within contemporary collections helps exclude idiosyncratic examples, while analysis of their resonance in wider print helps to identify dictionary proverbs. A systematic resonance analysis of all extant early modern



proverb collections and their proverbs could produce a more robust picture of the proverbs in use in the early modern period.

In summary, this thesis argues for the existence of miller, tailor, and weaver stereotypes in proverbs, jests, and ballads. It also emphasises the usefulness of the method used to identify those stereotypes. It argues that stereotypes are conditioned by form and that historians must be aware of generic characteristics and contexts. Furthermore, representations in different forms must be compared and contrasted. Finally, it suggests that perceived moral character played a more important role in the occupational stereotypes associated with millers, tailors, and weavers than perceived economic or social position, political or religious allegiance, or ethnic or regional background contrary to most existing interpretations of social or occupational identity at this time.



# Chapter 6: Afterword

## Introduction

The main body of this thesis has outlined the stereotypes associated with millers, tailors, and weavers in proverbs, jests, and ballads. In particular, it has shown that all three trades were frequently represented as dishonest tradesmen who cheated their customers by taking more than their customary toll. However, as with all discursive sources, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which these literary depictions represented or affected the lived experience. Laura Gowing has successfully demonstrated that the negative gender stereotypes found in contemporary literature are also present in the language of insult captured in the records of early modern defamation cases.<sup>671</sup> This afterword therefore seeks to investigate the extent to which, if at all, negative occupational stereotypes appeared amongst the abusive language and defamatory accusations recorded by criminal and church courts in early modern England. As an afterword, this investigation is intended to be exploratory rather than exhaustive and therefore uses small, easily accessible samples.

## Defamation and abusive language in contemporary law

Put simply, to defame someone is to damage his or her reputation by word-of-mouth. Defamation cases became increasingly common during the early modern period, rising in number throughout the second half of the sixteenth century and peaking in the early seventeenth. They remained common after the Restoration, without approaching their previous heights, and fell out of favour around the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>672</sup> R.B. Shoemaker argues that the prosecution of public insults declined in the late seventeenth and almost

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<sup>671</sup> L. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); L. Gowing, 'Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 6 (1996), 225-34; L. Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London', *History Workshop*, 35 (1993), 1-21; and, L. Gowing, 'Language, Power and the Law: Women's Slander Litigation in Early-modern London', in *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*, ed. by J.I. Kermode & G. Walker (London: University College, London, 1994), pp. 26-47.

<sup>672</sup> R.B. Outhwaite, *The Rise and Fall of the English Ecclesiastical Courts, 1500-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 40-42.

disappeared in the eighteenth century due to fundamental changes in society. The expansion in the population of London and the consequential atomisation of society meant that the reputation of an individual was no longer created and maintained by the whole community, but by smaller circles of friends, family, and business partners. In addition, the emergence and growing importance of the concept of politeness made abusive language something to be avoided and ignored.<sup>673</sup> Bernard Capp agrees with Shoemaker that the rise of civility, as a mode of behaviour, diminished the concern with and participation in public slanging matches and their resulting litigation.<sup>674</sup>

According to the early-seventeenth century barrister and legal writer, John March, defamation included the use of:

[A]ll scandalous words which touch or concerne a man in his life, Liberty, or Member[,], or any corporall punishment; or which scandall a man in his Office or place of Trust; or in his Call[i]ng or function by which he gaines his living; or which tend to the slandering of his Title or his disinheritance; or to the losse of his advance, me[r]it, or preferment, or any other particular damage; or lastly which charge a man to have any dangerous infectious disease, by reason of which he ought to seperate himselfe, or to be seperated by the Law from the society of men.<sup>675</sup>

Defamation therefore covered any accusation that could lead to the victim's imprisonment and or corporal or capital punishment; negatively affect their reputation or creditworthiness and therefore their social status, financial standing, or occupational advancement, and or imply that they carried a dangerous and or contagious disease.

Both criminal and church courts handled defamation and they were supposed to deal with defamatory accusations of behaviour that fell under their jurisdiction. For example, the church courts were supposed to handle accusations of spiritual delinquency, while Sessions of the Peace were supposed to manage accusation of temporal wrongdoing. Indeed, the Kent Commission of Oyer and Terminer of 4 June 1602 lists 'unlawful spoken words' among the 'misdeeds, offences and injuries' into which the justices of 'Kent,

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<sup>673</sup> R.B. Shoemaker, 'The Decline of Public Insult in London 1660-1800', *Past & Present*, 169 (2000), 97-131.

<sup>674</sup> B. Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 378-79.

<sup>675</sup> J. March, *Actions for Slander: Part 1* (London, 1647; ESTC R29500), sigs. B<sup>5</sup>v-B<sup>6</sup>r.

Sussex, Surrey, Hertford, Essex, and the county of the city of Canterbury [should] inquire more fully'.<sup>676</sup> However, like so many theoretical institutional divisions in the early modern world, this partition was neither total nor consistent.<sup>677</sup> This is partly due to the nature of defamation. Individuals who launched, or were accused of launching, tirades of abuse against their neighbours rarely kept their invectives confined to purely moral or socio-economic aspects of their victim's lives.

## Historiography

The historiography of defamation and abuse is relatively well developed. A substantial portion of this scholarship has focused on the legal definition and political significance of libellous and slanderous language.<sup>678</sup> For example, Deborah Shuger has chronicled how the regulation of language developed from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth and assessed the role of defamation in political discourse,<sup>679</sup> while, more recently, David Cressy has surveyed treasonous and seditious language in medieval and early modern England and examined the ways in which different regimes responded.<sup>680</sup> Another significant portion of this scholarship has used defamatory and abusive language to investigate gender identity.<sup>681</sup> For example, Laura Gowing, one of the most prominent contributors to this field, has used the ecclesiastical records of London to highlight the centrality of

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<sup>676</sup> Commission of Oyer and Terminer [C66/1594], in *Kent at Law 1602: The County Jurisdiction: Assizes and Sessions of the Peace*, ed. by L.A. Knafla (London: HMSO in association with the Public Record Office, 1994), p. 30.

<sup>677</sup> Outhwaite, p. 40.

<sup>678</sup> See, for example: D. Colclough, 'Freedom of Speech, Libel and the Law in Early Stuart England', in *Literature, Politics and Law in Renaissance England*, ed. by E. Sheen and L. Hutson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 170-88; M. Ingram, 'Law, Litigants and the Construction of 'Honour': Slander Suits in Early Modern England', in *The Moral World of the Law*, ed. by P.R. Coss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 134-60; and, M. Seidel, 'Satire, Lampoon, Libel, Slander', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1650-1740*, ed. by S.N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 33-57.

<sup>679</sup> D.K. Shuger, *Censorship and Cultural Sensibility: The Regulation of Language in Tudor-Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

<sup>680</sup> D. Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>681</sup> For example, see: A. Wood, 'The Queen is 'a Goggyll Eyed Hoore': Gender and Seditious Speech in Early Modern England', in *The English Revolution c. 1590-1720: Politics, Religion and Communities*, ed. by N. Tyacke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 81-94; I. Habermann, *Staging Slander and Gender in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); and, G. Walker, 'Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 6 (1996), 235-45.

sexual conduct to female reputation.<sup>682</sup> In her work on the Consistory Court of London, Gowing argues that the language of male defamation differed from the language of female defamation. She reports that male defamation cases:

centred around words like 'cuckold' and 'whoremaster' that concern not their own sexual behaviour, but that of women over whom they are supposed to be in control; unspecific words like 'rouge' or 'knave'; or else descriptions of particular incidents of fornication, rather than the vague insinuations that characterize insults of women. There is, after all, no way to call a man a whore.<sup>683</sup>

She also claims that honesty had different meanings for men and women and that '[m]en rarely compare their honesty amongst themselves'.<sup>684</sup> However, when Gowing discusses honesty, she is referring to sexual honesty.<sup>685</sup>

In her work on Cambridge University Courts, Alex Shepard agrees the gendered language of defamation differed, stating that '[m]ale defamation cases were more varied than their female counterparts', but argues that male honesty was competitive. She argues that 'unlike women, men did not attempt to prove their honour in purely sexual or economic terms; instead, they were more concerned with fixing their social status in regards to other men. Male social status was competitive and involved asserting economic independence – allusions to household provision and self-sufficiency were common'.<sup>686</sup> In summary, Shepard argues that 'defamation litigation pursued by men indirectly linked notions of male credit and respectability to patriarchal attributes of self-sufficiency, plain dealing, trustworthiness, and the provision and command of varied resources'.<sup>687</sup> As noted in the introduction to this thesis, though Shepard emphasises the importance of honesty and plain dealing to male reputation, she does not mention the sort of habitual occupational dishonesty associated with millers, tailors, and weavers.

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<sup>682</sup> Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*; Gowing, 'Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour'; Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London'; and, Gowing, 'Language, Power and the Law', in *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kermode and Walker.

<sup>683</sup> Gowing, 'Gender and the Language of Insult in Early Modern London', p. 4.

<sup>684</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 9.

<sup>685</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 12, 14, 17, 19.

<sup>686</sup> Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 16.

<sup>687</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

Both Gowing and Shepard claim that men sought to defend themselves from accusations of dishonesty in early modern defamation cases. Considering the cultural reputation millers, tailors, and weavers appear to have had for habitual occupational dishonesty, it seems reasonable to believe that the men of these trades may have become involved in defamation cases. The remainder of this afterword therefore looks at the records of four different early modern courts.

## Quarter Sessions and Assizes

As noted above, the criminal courts were supposed to prosecute defamation cases relating to economic matters. This afterword therefore investigates the records of the criminal courts of Kent and Middlesex. These two counties were chosen because printed full calendars of their court records were easily available. A single year-sample from the records of the Kentish Assizes and Sessions of the Peace was selected to make use of Louis A. Knafla's *Kent at Law 1602* (1994).<sup>688</sup> This calendar includes all the records relating to cases initiated or under process in that year and therefore contains records dating from 1598 to 1605.<sup>689</sup> The *Kent at Law 1602* researchers chose the county because it was large and populous, with a diverse landscape, a variety of manufacturing, commercial, and military centres, trade links to London and the continent, and because its ecclesiastical and secular records have survived relatively well. The researchers chose the year 1602 for three reasons. First, they chose it because it falls within the 'second formative period' of English legal history, c. 1580 to c. 1620. Second, they chose 1602 because there is a high survival rate for county and local court records from that and surrounding years, especially Quarter Sessions rolls, recognizances, and Assizes records. Third, they chose it because it was not afflicted by any major warfare, disease outbreak, or political crisis that might have disrupted or curtailed legal proceedings.<sup>690</sup>

A single year-sample from the records of the Middlesex Sessions of the Peace was chosen to compliment the Kent sample. Middlesex was selected

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<sup>688</sup> *Kent at Law 1602*, ed. by Knafla.

<sup>689</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ix.

<sup>690</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vii.

because all the extant records of the county's Sessions of the Peace between 1612 and 1618 are calendared in *County of Middlesex (1935-41)*.<sup>691</sup> The editor of this calendar was engaged by a special commission of the Middlesex Justices of the Peace to compile and transcribe their records for general and scholarly readers. It replaced a previous calendar that had only included selected records. The calendar begins in 1612, as the Process Register Book of Indictment, Sessions Rolls, Sessions Register, and Goal Delivery Register, are all extant from this year onwards.<sup>692</sup> The year 1613 was chosen as the year-sample because it is the first full year in the calendar. Both year samples were chosen with no foreknowledge of their contents or relevance, and it was assumed that the business processed in these years was relatively typical.

To reiterate, both the Kent and Middlesex samples were taken from printed calendars. Both are full calendars that have attempted to replicate faithfully the original records on which they are based, however they have both been edited and modernised to some extent. Luckily, the spelling and grammar of direct quotations have been left as they appear in the original records. However, one major difference between the two samples is that the Kent sample includes all records related to any case that was initiated or ongoing during the year 1602, whereas the Middlesex sample only includes all records generated by Sessions of the Peace held from 1 January to 31 December 1613 (New Style).

The Middlesex sample included the ten Sessions of the Peace that were held in 1613.<sup>693</sup> It included the sessions rolls, sessions registers, gaol delivery registers, and process register books of indictments. Amongst the hundreds of recognizances, indictments, and orders, eighty-six entries included some form of reference to defamation, slander, libel, or abuse. Of these, only four entries contained evidence of abusive language or defamatory accusations. The Kent sample included full records of four Sessions and one Special Session held in Kent in 1602 along with partial records of the regular and special sessions held between 1598 and 1601 and 1603 and 1605. The Kent records include gaol delivery files, commission of oyer et terminer, commission of the peace, quarter

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<sup>691</sup> *County of Middlesex: Calendar to the Sessions Records: New Series, 1612-1618*, ed. by W. Le Hardy, 4 vols. (London: The Clerk of the Peace; Radcliffe, 1935-1941).

<sup>692</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. i-xxvi.

<sup>693</sup> 13/14 January, 17/18 February, 23/26 March 1613, 15/16 April 1613, 18/19 May, 28/30 June, 4/6 August, 8/ 9 September, 30 September/1 October, and 1/ 2 December.



sessions rolls, sessions minute books, certificates and orders, justices' indictments, justices' inquisitions, constables' rolls, jury lists, sessions papers, purveyance papers, recognizances, and victuallers' recognizances. Of the 1656 entries in these records, twenty-one include some reference to defamation, slander, libel, or abuse and ten contain evidence of abusive language or defamatory accusations.

Therefore, these two samples provide little evidence of invectives or defamatory accusations. Very few of the Kent or Middlesex records explicitly refer to defamation, slander, or libel, though references to abusive language do appear occasionally in the records. However, even if these, often indirect, references are included in the reckoning, defamation constituted a small percentage of the business heard in each court. Furthermore, the records provide very little information about defamatory language itself, with entries frequently containing little more than the assertion that one individual was accused of using defamatory language against another. In addition, in almost all these cases, the victim of the slander was a local official or one of their representatives. Defamation cases contested between members of the public are almost non-existent and there was no indication that any millers, tailors, or weavers attempted to prosecute anyone for accusations of habitual occupational dishonesty.

## The Court of Chivalry

The High Court of Chivalry was originally convened in the mid-fourteenth century to settle disagreements about martial conduct or the exhibition of heraldry, however it only began sitting regularly in the mid-1630s. During this period, it dealt primarily with defamation.<sup>694</sup> From 1613, James I attempted to put an end to the practice of duelling and the Court of Chivalry was promoted as an arena in which individuals could settle disputes or punish insults that would have otherwise have led to a duel.<sup>695</sup> Therefore, cases in the Court of Chivalry

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<sup>694</sup> 'The High Court of Chivalry in the early seventeenth century: a new court?', Court of Chivalry, University of Birmingham, <<http://www.court-of-chivalry.bham.ac.uk/newcourt.htm>> [Last accessed 17 January 2014].

<sup>695</sup> 'The High Court of Chivalry in the early seventeenth century: James I's anti-duelling campaign', Court of Chivalry, University of Birmingham, <<http://www.court-of-chivalry.bham.ac.uk/james.htm>> [Last accessed 04 March 2014].

tend to concern social status. As such, cases occasionally centred on accusations of involvement in trade.

The High Court of Chivalry, 1634-40, was selected to make use of Richard Cust and Andrew Hopper's 'The Court of Chivalry 1634-1640' project.<sup>696</sup> The project includes an entry for all extant cases from this period. The documents from these cases have generally been summarised by the project researchers, though much original language has been transcribed. The project researchers have also provided an overview of each case and links to other relevant documents, including the appearance of the contesting parties in contemporaneous visitation records.

The High Court of Chivalry online archive holds records for seven hundred and thirty-eight cases heard between 1634 and 1640. Within this, there are five cases in which involvement in milling, tailoring, or weaving is significant. Two concern the involvement of the plaintiff in tailoring. The first of these, which ran from summer 1637 to early-spring 1638, was brought by Walter Peyton of Marlepthall, Warwick, esquire, against Raphael Tomlinson of Sutton Coldfield, Warwick, butcher. A former East India Company captain, Peyton accused Tomlinson of publically demeaning his social status and impugning his honour in the autumn of 1636. Stating his credentials, Peyton's libel claimed that his family 'had been gentry for up to 200 years', while 'Tomlinson was of plebeian stock, a butcher and an alehouse keeper'. It then went on to report that, during September 1636, Tomlinson had asserted that though Peyton "be a captaine yet his beginning was a Tayler", and that Peyton "hath gotten his goods by unlawfull means and although he makes a fair outward show of honest dealinge yet he is a notorious lyer and will say anything for his owne comoditie". Furthermore, the libel stated that Tomlinson cared not for Peyton, and would justify his accusations to him in person.<sup>697</sup> Both Peyton's witnesses testified to having heard Tomlinson say something similar. Symon Brooke of Sutton Parva [Sutton Coldfield], yeoman – who admitted to being one of Peyton's tenants – agreed that Tomlinson had claimed that Peyton had begun his working life as "a taylor", "had gotten his goodes unlawfullie", "was a notorious lyar", and "would

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<sup>696</sup> 'The Court of Chivalry 1634-1640', <<http://arts-itsite.bham.ac.uk/AnaServer?chivalry+0+start.anv>> [Last accessed 24 March 2014], hereafter *Chivalry*.

<sup>697</sup> Libel, Peyton v Tomlinson, 1637-1638, in *Chivalry*.

saye anythinge for his owne comoditie or advantage”.<sup>698</sup> Similarly, Edward Yardley of Sutton Parva [Sutton Coldfield], Warwick, gentleman, deposed that “About St Mathewes daye” 1636, he had been in Tomlinson’s butcher’s shop and had heard Tomlinson assert that in “his beginning [Peyton] was but a proud taylor”, and that despite outward displays of honesty, Peyton “would lye and dissemble before his owne father if he was alive”.<sup>699</sup>

Tomlinson’s insults therefore deny Peyton’s gentle status and the continued nobility of his family by claiming that he had previously worked as a tradesman and by attacking his honesty. Tomlinson’s assertion that Peyton acquired his possessions by unlawful means and that he dealt dishonesty could be indirect references to the sort of habitual occupational dishonesty described in the main body of this thesis. However, it is not clear whether the dishonesty and the trade of tailoring are explicitly linked. Each of the four points in Peyton’s libel – ignoble past, unlawful acquisition, pretence of honesty, and ruthlessness – suggest someone who is not what they seem. Tomlinson seems to be claiming, in Peyton’s words at least, that though Peyton may be of gentry status now, he had not always been a gentleman. He may have acquired the trappings to gentility but he had done so dishonestly. He may have feigned honesty but he was a habitual liar. He may have appeared principled but he would do anything to get what he wanted. In summary, Peyton’s gentility was superficial. In this context, the suggestion that Peyton had worked or trained as a tailor is not necessarily a specific slight against that trade; but, more likely, an assertion of the generic ignobility of trades and crafts.

The second case, which ran from autumn 1634 to spring 1636, displays a similar contempt for tradesmen in general. It was contested between Thomas Starkey of St Bride, London, gentleman, and Nicholas Bestney of St Dunstan-in-the-West, London, gentleman. Starkey initiated the suit with a libel that asserted his pedigree and the ancient gentility of his family and accused Bestney of having publicly insulted him by challenging his lineage. According to Starkey, Bestney had publicly claimed that Starkey was “a foundling, found in a ditch in Lancashyre and taken out of a ditch from under a hedge” and that he was “a base fellowe, or a base rascall or rogue,” who had “fedd on the scrappes

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<sup>698</sup> Deposition of Symon Brooke of Sutton Parva [Sutton Coldfield], yeoman, Peyton v Tomlinson, 1637-1638, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>699</sup> Deposition of Edward Yardley of Sutton Parva [Sutton Coldfield], co. Warwick, gent, Peyton v Tomlinson, 1637-1638, in *Chivalry*.

from Bestney's brothers' and sisters' trenchers".<sup>700</sup> In response to this, Bestney claimed that for a decade or a half, Starkey had been working and earning as a "vile mechanic" and was well known in Shoe Lane, London, to be "a broker and tailor of remnants of cloth".<sup>701</sup> Sentence was passed by Sir Henry Marten, the Earl Marshal's proxy, on 2 May 1635, confirming Starkey's legitimacy and gentility and that Bestney's assertions to the contrary had breached the king's peace and offended Starkey. Bestney was bound over for good behaviour, charged costs and damages, and ordered to give Starkey satisfaction.<sup>702</sup> Bestney later petitioned the earl marshal requesting to be released from his imprisonment due to his ill health.<sup>703</sup> It appears that Starkey was listed in the 1634 visitation of Farringdon Without as a merchant tailor.<sup>704</sup> Bestney's assertion that Starkey was a 'tailor of remnants of cloth' could refer to habitual occupational dishonesty; however, it could also be part of a strategy of disparaging Starkey's social status. It is unclear whether the allusion to offcuts of fabric in intended to signal poverty or to suggest a trade based on cabbaging.

Furthermore, there are two cases in which the association of the plaintiff's family with the trades of tailoring or weaving instigated the suit. In the first of these, Thomas Keresforth of Dodworth, Yorkshire, gentleman, initiated a case against Robert Scamaden of Barnsley, Yorkshire, yeoman. In the spring of 1640, Keresforth accused Scamaden of publically disparaging his gentility. Furthermore, Scamaden had, according to Keresforth's initial petition, claimed that he was not of the Keresforth family but was actually named "Kesforth".<sup>705</sup> Keresforth's libel reiterated these points, claiming, first, that Keresforth was of a gentle and ancient line that had maintained its status for two centuries. Second, that Scamaden and his ancestors were ignoble. Third, that Scamaden had previously testified against Keresforth's gentility in a case heard in the court of chivalry (Keresforth v Eyre). Fourth, Scamaden had called Keresforth "a base fellow and no gentleman," claimed that his "name was not Keresforth but otherwise," and "that the coate of armes exhibited unto the Court Military" did not belong to him, in an attempt to goad Keresforth into duelling.<sup>706</sup> The records

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<sup>700</sup> Libel, Starkey v Bestney, 1634-1635, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>701</sup> Defence, Starkey v Bestney, 1634-1635, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>702</sup> Plaintiff's sentence, Starkey v Bestney, 1634-1635, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>703</sup> Defendant's petition to Arundel, Starkey v Bestney, 1634-1635, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>704</sup> Notes, Starkey v Bestney, 1634-1635, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>705</sup> Petition, Keresforth v Scamaden, 1640, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>706</sup> Libel, Keresforth v Scamaden, 1640, in *Chivalry*.

of only one witness testimony survive. This witness, Gervase Hanson of Worsbrough Dale, Yorkshire, yeoman, adhered to Keresforth's libel, deposing that he had witnessed Scamaden say something similar. However, Hanson's witness deposition also included answers to series of six interrogatories requested by Scamaden, which do not survive. Among answers to standard questions about his worth and motivation to testify, Hanson described how, at a dinner he had attended, Scamaden had been quizzed by a John Rainshawe about the statements he had made in the Keresforth v Eyres case. According to Hanson, when Scamaden was asked if Keresforth's forebears had been of gentle status, Scamaden had answered, "Thomas Keresforth was not a gentleman [...] for that his father was a taylor".<sup>707</sup> There are no extant records of Scamaden's contribution to that case, Keresforth v Eyres, of the case that it countered, Eyres v Keresforth.<sup>708</sup> Like the preceding cases, it does not appear as if there was anything especially damning about the accusation of involvement in tailoring. For Scamaden, the suggestion that Keresforth's father had worked as a tailor was merely evidence that Keresforth was not of gentle stock – Keresforth was not a gentleman because his father had not been a gentleman.

Similarly, in the case between two lawyers, John Pincombe of Poughill, Devon, esquire, and Hugh Prust of Monkleigh, Devon, gentleman, one of the defendant's first set of interrogatories questioned whether the witness 'knew Pincombe's father or grandfather, of what quality or profession were they? Were they gentlemen or descended of gentlemen, and where did they live? Was Pincombe's grandfather a weaver or clothier, and was Pincombe's father a weaver, clothier or mercer in South Molton?'<sup>709</sup> Of the five witnesses called upon to testify, only two answered this interrogatory. The first, John Cade of Poughill, Devon, weaver, answered that 'Pincombe's father was a merchant living in South Molton'; while the second, Robert Slee of Sherwill, Devon, gentleman, answered similarly that 'he had heard that Pincombe's father was a merchant or shopkeeper in South Molton'.<sup>710</sup> Prust appears to have entered

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<sup>707</sup> Deposition of Gervase Hanson of Worsbrough Dale, co. York, yeoman, Keresforth v Scamaden, 1640, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>708</sup> Keresforth v Eyres, 1638-39; Eyres v Keresforth, 1638-39, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>709</sup> First set of defence interrogatories, Pincombe v Prust, 1639-40, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>710</sup> Deposition of John Cade of Poughill, co. Devon, weaver, Pincombe v Prust, 1639-40; Deposition of Robert Slee of Sherwill, co. Devon, gent, Pincombe v Prust, 1639-40; both in *Chivalry*.

similar, if not identical, interrogatories in his countersuit against Pincombe. In this instance, only one of the five witnesses, John Oliver of Great Torrington, Devon, gentleman, answered, claiming that 'he had heard Pincombe's father was a clothier of South Molton'.<sup>711</sup> Like the dispute between Keresforth and Scamaden, part of the case between Pincombe and Prust revolved around proving the ancient gentility of one of the parties. By suggesting that Pincombe's father or grandfather had worked or continued to work as a tradesman or merchant, Prust was, explicitly, rejecting the first point in Pincombe's libel that he was 'descended from a family of ancient gentry'. Again, there is not necessarily any suggestion that work as a weaver was worse than working in any other trade. However, in the light of the witness statements that Pincombe's father was either a merchant, a shopkeeper, a clothier, or some combination of these three, it is possible that Prust was trying to associate these possibly higher status, more lucrative, or more independent retail or wholesale trades with the potentially dependent, waged, craft-based trade of weaving. However, this reading relies on the assumption that commercial trades were afforded higher status than manufacturing occupations; and, that the descriptor *weaver* was contemporarily understood to refer solely to active participation in the craft of weaving and not to commissioning, organisation, or employment of other weavers.<sup>712</sup>

Finally, in the case between Mannaton v Lampen, several witnesses testified that the two miller defendants lacked gentility because of their occupational status. Peirse Mannaton of Combeshead, Stoke Climsland, Cornwall, gentleman, had submitted a libel to the court of chivalry at some point before 19 June 1638. The first point of this libel asserted that Mannaton had served as captain of a Cornish trained band for around two decades reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel. That he was descended from a gentle lineage stretching back several centuries, and that Nicholas Lampen and William Lampen of Stoke Climsland, millers, were 'plebeians' who had served under

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<sup>711</sup> Deposition of John Oliver of Great Torrington, co. Devon, gent, Prust v Pincombe, 1639-40, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>712</sup> For some discussion of the range of possible positions and functions covered by the term 'weaver', see P. Collinson, 'Christian Socialism in Elizabethan Suffolk: Thomas Carew and his *Caveat for Clothiers*', in *Counties and Communities: Essays on East Anglian History: Presented to Hassell Smith*, ed. by C. Rawcliffe, R. Virgoe, and R. Wilson (Norwich: Centre for East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglian, 1996), pp. 161- 178.

him for up to half a dozen years.<sup>713</sup> All of the seventeen witnesses attested to Mannaton's position, the nobility of his family, and agreed that the Lampen brothers were not gentlemen. In addition, eleven of the witnesses included some mention of their occupation when commenting on their lack of gentility. William Wills of Stoke Climsland, husbandman; John Smith of Stoke Climsland, gentleman; and, William Parker of Stoke Climsland, clerk and rector, testified that the brothers were millers and not gentlemen.<sup>714</sup> John Hawton the younger of Stoke Climsland, yeoman, offered some further information confirming that the brothers were not gentlemen, but millers who "did usually grinde corne and oversee the milles they attended".<sup>715</sup> Robert Smith of Stoke Climsland, gentleman, also supplied extra background, agreeing that William and Nicholas were millers and not gentlemen and added that their father "did intreat to be sett on husbandry worke, and was glad to be kept on worke as other poore labouring men now desire to be kept on work, after two pence and three pence the day".<sup>716</sup> George Jackman of Stoke Climsland, gentleman, described the brothers as "countrymen" who "live by husbandry, and noe gentlemen, but millers as he hath heard and believes".<sup>717</sup> Finally, several witnesses suggested that they were no longer millers: Richard Leach of Stoke Climsland, husbandman, declared that they were "countrymen now living by husbandry and heretofore millers", as did William Cleverton of Stoke Climsland, yeoman; Richard Short of Stoke Climsland, husbandman; Susana, wife of William Cleverton of Stoke Climsland; and, Alice Short of Stoke Climsland.<sup>718</sup> Though there is some disagreement over their precise identification, with some witnesses describing the brothers as millers, others as mill overseers, sons of a labouring man, husbandmen and millers, or husbandmen, all the witnesses

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<sup>713</sup> Libel, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-39, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>714</sup> Deposition of William Wills of Stoke Climsland, co. Cornwall, husbandman, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-39; Deposition of John Smith of Stoke Climsland, gent, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-39; Deposition of William Parker of Stoke Climsland, clerk and rector, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-39; all in *Chivalry*.

<sup>715</sup> Deposition of John Hawton the younger of Stoke Climsland, yeoman, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-39, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>716</sup> Deposition of Robert Smith of Stoke Climsland, gent, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-39, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>717</sup> Deposition of George Jackman of Stoke Climsland, co. Cornwall, gent, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-1639, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>718</sup> Deposition of Richard Leach of Stoke Climsland, husbandman, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-1639; Deposition of William Cleverton of Stoke Climsland, yeoman, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-1639; Deposition of Richard Short of Stoke Climsland, husbandman, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-1639; Deposition of Susana, wife of William Cleverton of Stoke Climsland, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-1639; Deposition of Alice Short of Stoke Climsland, Mannaton v Lampen, 1638-1639; all in *Chivalry*.

agree that the brothers' involvement in trade marks them out as ignoble. However, there are no allusions to the negative occupational stereotypes associated with miller or any suggestion that there is anything particularly ignoble about millers.

This common belief, that participation in a trade negated gentle status, formed the centre point of a case contested between Edward Spencer of St Neots, Huntingdon, gentleman, and John Jackson of the same, dyer. The case was initiated early in the spring of 1640 and Spencer's libel put forward three points. First, that his family were gentlemen and had been for a century. Second, that Jackson had claimed that Spencer lied "like a Rascall", that he was "noe gentleman", and that Jackson was "as good a gentleman as" Spencer; and, that Jackson could easily "be made a gentleman and have armes [...] fame and reputation" for 40s. The implication being that this is what Spencer had done. Third, that Jackson had allegedly declared that he scorned to "be a companion with such a fellow as" Spencer; that Spencer was "nott fitt company for" him; and that Spencer's brother was a gentleman, but not Spencer himself.<sup>719</sup> Jackson appended a dozen interrogatories to this libel, including amongst the standard questions about worth, motivation, relation to the plaintiff and or defendant, and the precise circumstances of the alleged incident, a series of question about Spencer's participation in trade. Witnesses were asked if Spencer "usually deal[t] and trade[d] in buying and selling of coales and salt and other commodities?" If he "live[d] in the nature, waye or manner of a tradesman and [if he was] soe comonlie accompted, reputed and taken to be in the parish towne and place where he liveth[?]" And, finally, if he "doth mayntayne himselfe by buyeing and sellinge as men of other trades doe in the place or towne where he doth live, and whether he was an apprentice to that or any other trade?"<sup>720</sup>

The implications of these cases are clear, trading cancelled gentility. However, there is no suggestion that there were any negative stereotypes commonly associated with milling, tailoring, or weaving specifically. It appears that when Tomlinson accused Peyton of having previously worked as a tailor, he was not criticising the trade specifically, but questioning the antiquity and depth of Peyton's gentility. Similarly, when Scamaden claimed Keresforth's

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<sup>719</sup> Libel, Spence v Jackson, 1640, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>720</sup> First set of defence interrogatories, Spence v Jackson, 1640, in *Chivalry*.



father had been a tailor and when Prust questioned whether Pincombe's father had worked as a weaver or a clothier they were not suggesting that there was anything particularly ignoble about those occupations, they were, like Jackson and the witnesses in *Mannaton v Lampen*, merely asserting that incompatibility of trade and gentility. Bestney's assertion that Starkey was a 'tailor of remnants of cloth' is more difficult to dismiss as purely a declaration of a trade status over gentility. However, even if it is a reference to the practice of cabbaging, it does not suggest that this practice is widespread, merely that Starkey was involved in it. It does not appear to be an explicit expression of a negative occupational stereotype. Even in cases where an association with trade is presented as defamatory, there is no explicit evidence of negative occupational stereotypes. Thorp's accusations of theft against Broadbelt remain the only possible example of habitual occupational dishonesty and these accusations are not generalised.

In addition to these five, one case may obliquely refer to the habitual occupational dishonesty of tailor. In an undated petition to the court, Robert Maxwell, a royal servant, outlines his physical and verbal abuse at the hands of James Gover, a tailor. Maxwell relates how he was 'constrained to go to Gover's house for the demanding of such things as Gover kept from' him. Where, 'Gover out of a malicious purpose (without just cause) stryved as much as in him lay to provoke [Maxwell] to impatience hoping thereby to have sufficient cause to affront [Maxwell] with a constable'. After bursting 'forth in fould disgracefull language both against [Maxwell] and all the Scottes nation', Gover and his servants locked Maxwell in their shop, forcing Maxwell to 'leap out at a window both to [his] great hazard and danger'.<sup>721</sup> It is possible that the 'things' that were 'kept from' Maxwell were remnants of fabric from a suit of clothes he had commissioned, though such a supposition cannot be proven, as no further details are given. However, even if these remnants were fragments of cloth stolen from Maxwell, there is no evidence that he considered such a practice to be common or stereotypically associated with tailors like Gover.

The records of the High Court of Chivalry do therefore contain some possible references to the habitual occupational dishonesty of tailors. Peyton accused Tomlinson of claiming he had previously worked as a tailor and that he had lied and dealt dishonesty. However, the occupation and the actions are not explicitly linked. Starkey accused Bestney of claiming that he had worked as 'a

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<sup>721</sup> Petition, Maxwell v Gover, no date, in *Chivalry*.

broker and tailor of remnants of cloth' but it is not clear whether this refers to the dishonest practice of cabbaging described in cultural sources. Finally, Maxwell accused Gower of keeping something from him without being clear what it was. In addition, though accusations of involvement in milling, tailoring, or weaving do appear to have motivated cases in the High Court of Chivalry, these accusations make no reference to habitual occupational dishonest.

## York Church Courts

The York Church Courts were concerned with regulating the social and spiritual behaviour of the ecclesiastical and lay communities. They dealt with a variety of cases from within that diocese, including marital disputes, disagreements over probate, and defamations of character; as well as, instances of clerical indiscipline and issues concerning church estates, rights, and dues. However, as a metropolitan seat, the courts at York also dealt with appeals against verdicts handed down by Church Courts in the other dioceses of the Northern Province of England.<sup>722</sup> Defamation cases in the Cause Papers therefore tend to revolve around accusations of immoral behaviour.

The records of the York church courts were chosen because they are available through Cause Papers online archive. This online archive consists of a searchable catalogue of all the cases in the Cause Papers. The documents of many of these cases have been digitised and images of the documents are available to view online. However, the text of these documents has not been transcribed and is not searchable.<sup>723</sup>

Of the 103 defamation cases in the York Cause Papers that include accusations of theft, only one of these concerns accusations of the theft of material from a customer or employer. In a libel submitted to the Consistory Court of York in 1712, Henry Broadbelt accused Timothy Thorp of calling him 'a Rogue & a Theife' and claiming that he had 'stolne & Cheated [...] wooll' from Thorp.<sup>724</sup> Two witnesses were called to testify to these allegations. The first,

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<sup>722</sup> 'How the court works', <<http://www.york.ac.uk/library/borthwick/projects-exhibitions/church-court-records/cause-papers/how-courts-work/>> [Last accessed 13 August 2013].

<sup>723</sup> All transcriptions taken from these documents are my own and spelling, capitalisation, punctuation, and grammar have been left as they were in the original. However, subscriptions have been lowered and tildes, abbreviations, and other contractions have been expanded for easy of reading.

<sup>724</sup> Libel, Broadbelt v Thorp, 1712, in York, Borthwick Institute (BI), CP.I.221.

Jonathan Rushforth, a tailor, deposed, on 26 Febraury 1712, that 'upon a Sunday in the month of July last past' he had been 'in Company with [...] Abraham Hanson Joshuah Smith [...] Thorp and his wife near unto the door=stead of [...] Hanson in Sowerby Chappelry within the parish of Hallifax'. There, Rushforth had heard Thorp and Smith 'discourseing together concerning [...] Broadbolt [*sic.*]'. During this discoursing, Rushforth had heard Thorp tell Smith that Broadbelt 'had stoln or conveyed his [...] wool'. Furthermore, Rushforth heard Smith ask Thorp how Broadbelt had 'gott it [...] away; to which [...] Thorp replyed, that [...] Broadbolt [...] either put it [...] in his pocketts or else in his Breaches for anything he know'. Finally, Rushforth also deposed that due to these allegations Broadbelt was 'injured in his good name and Reputation'.<sup>725</sup>

The second witness, Abraham Hanson, also a tailor, corroborated much of Rushforth's testimony and added some extra detail. Like Rushforth, Hanson deposed 'That upon a Sunday in the Month [...] of July last past' he had been 'in Company with [...] Jonathan Rushforth Joshuah Smith [...] Thorp and his wife neare unto the door:stead of his [...] dwelling:house within the Chapperly of Sowerby'. Similarly, Hanson recalled hearing 'Thorp [...] Discourseing with [...] Smith' about Broadbelt. However, unlike Rushforth, Hanson remembered hearing Thorp say that he had 'Trusted [...] Broadbolt [*sic.*] with the dressing of his wool and that [...] Broadbolt [*sic.*] had made a piece of searge of one or two and twenty yards, besides some plain, and that he [Thorp] would make him [Broadbelt] proue where he had his wool that he made it off'. Hanson also disagreed with Rushforth over whether Broadbelt's 'good name Repute & Credit' had been 'injured or impaired' by Thorp's words, as though Rushforth believed that it had, Hanson felt that it had not.<sup>726</sup>

The depositions of Rushforth and Hanson therefore support Broadbelt's claim that Thorp had publicly accused him of stealing wool. It appears that Thorp had commissioned Broadbelt to dress some of his wool and that Thorp believed that Broadbelt had feloniously stolen some of that wool and woven it into cloth. Rusforth's assertion that he had heard Thorp and Smith discussing how Broadbelt had spirited this wool away suggests that Broadbelt had been working on the wool under Thorp's supervision, possibly in his shop. Exactly what process Broadbelt had been commissioned to perform is difficult to

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<sup>725</sup> Deposition of Jonathan Rusforth of Sowerby, tailor, Broadbelt v Thorp, 1712, in BI, CP.I.221.

<sup>726</sup> Deposition of Abraham Hanson of Sowerby, tailor, Broadbelt v Thorp, 1712, in BI, CP.I.221.

determine. Historians of the textile industries usually consider dressing among the finishing processes; however, the references to wool and subsequent weaving suggest that Broadbelt was employed in one of the preparatory processes.<sup>727</sup> Despite the difficulty in identifying Broadbelt's role in the manufacturing process or his or Thorp's socio-occupational descriptors, the allegation is similar to those that appear in many of the cultural representations of millers, tailors, and weavers. A customer or employer had commissioned a craftsman to perform a process and had provided the raw material; the craftsman had then stolen some of that material. However, despite this similarity, there is no reference to any negative occupational stereotypes or anxiety over traditional tolls. Thorp's accusations do not provide evidence that such dishonesty was considered widespread or commonly associated with the process that Broadbelt was performing. The case appears to provide evidence of the sort of habitual occupational dishonesty suggested in the cultural sources but does not provide evidence that such instances inspired references to negative occupational stereotypes. The case merely features specific allegations against a specific individual.

## **The language of male abuse and defamation**

Overwhelmingly, the language of male abuse and defamation recorded in these samples revolves around the interrelated concepts of criminality, honesty, sexual morality, social propriety, and social status, as well as similarly connected ideas of economic worth, cleanliness, itinerancy, legitimacy, and mental capacity. In many cases, it is difficult to disentangle these concepts. The five most common insults (base, rogue, thief, rascal, and knave) carry several of these elements. Knave, rascal, and rogue, and their equally common adjectives rascally and roguish, all carry connotations of low social status and economic worth, dishonesty, criminality, immorality, and other forms of inappropriate behaviour. The range of possible meanings attached to these terms are

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<sup>727</sup> See, for example: J.D. Benson, *Changes and Expansion in the English Cloth Trade in the Seventeenth Century: Alderman Cockayne's Project* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), p. 10; D.M. Mitchell, "Good Hot Pressing is the Life of All Cloth': Dyeing, Clothfinishing, and Related Textile Trades in London, 1650-1700", in *Occupational Titles and Their Classification: The Case of the Textile Trade in Past Times*, ed. by H. Diederiks and M. Balkestein (St Katharinen: Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, 1993), 153-75 (pp. 169-71); and, E. Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, c1985), p. 14.

demonstrated by the definitions and associations in Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1661). Blount explains in his definition of the term *knave* that it originally referred to 'some kind of Servant or Lacquey', but that it has since come to be 'used as a name of disgrace, or contempt'.<sup>728</sup> The term's negative contemporary connotations are supported by his use of the term in the definition of other words. Blount consistently associates *knave* and *rascal* and includes them alongside other derogatory term, such as 'Villain, Scoundrel, [and] one of no estimation', in his definition of 'Nebulon', and 'Varlet, Scondrel [...and...] Dastard, or lazy Coward', in his definition of 'Poltron'.<sup>729</sup> Blount also associates knaves with 'cross biting [and] cunning-catching' in his definition of 'Zanni' and babbling, 'vain-talking', and prating with 'vile knaves' in his definition of 'Balatron'.<sup>730</sup> *Rascal* only appears without *knave* in Blount's entry for 'Truand', which he defines as 'a common Beggar, a lazy Rascal, a Vagabond' or 'a Schollar that loyters from School or neglects his Book'.<sup>731</sup> Like *rascal*, *rogue* is associated with vagrancy in the definition of 'Landloper', 'a Vagabond, or a Rogue that runs up and down the Country', and in Blount description of the duties of the 'Lord Marshals of France', the last of which is 'the punishment and suppression of all vagrant and idle Rogues'.<sup>732</sup> *Rogue* is also associated with criminality in the definition of 'Scellum or Schellum', 'a Rogue, Villain, or wicked person', and 'Stigmatize', 'to mark with an hot iron, as we use to do Rogues, and notorious offenders at Goal deliveries'.<sup>733</sup>

These definitions highlight the connotations of subordination, disharmonic or criminal behaviour, and masterlessness implicit in *knave*, *rascal*, and *rogue*. Similarly, insults like 'base', 'most-base', and 'base-conditioned', which appear regularly in the records of the Court of Chivalry, explicitly attack social status and, to an extent, economic worth. Base implies being lowly, at the bottom of society, and therefore poor.<sup>734</sup> Base also carries implications of exclusion, deformation, illegitimacy, deceitfulness, weakness, and a lack of

<sup>728</sup> T. Blount, *Glossographia*, rev. edn. (London, 1661; ESTC R25635), sig. Z<sup>2</sup>r.

<sup>729</sup> For 'Nebulon', see: Blount, sig. 2D<sup>4</sup>r. For 'Poltron', see: Blount, sigs. 2H<sup>5</sup>r-2H<sup>5</sup>v. Blount's definition of 'Marrow' also associates *knave* and *rascal*, see: Blount, sig. 2B<sup>4</sup>r.

<sup>730</sup> For 'Zanni', see: Blount, sig. 2U<sup>6</sup>v. For 'Balatron', see: Blount, sig. F<sup>3</sup>v.

<sup>731</sup> Blount, sig. 2S<sup>1</sup>v.

<sup>732</sup> For 'Landloper', see: Blount, sig. Z<sup>4</sup>v. For 'Marshal', see: Blount, sigs. 2B<sup>4</sup>r-2B<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>733</sup> For 'Scellum or Schellum', see: Blount, sig. 2M<sup>7</sup>r. For 'Stigmatize', see: Blount, sig. 2O<sup>8</sup>r.

<sup>734</sup> See 'Plebeian' in Blount, sig. 2H<sup>3</sup>v; 'Populace' in Blount, sig. 2H<sup>9</sup>r; 'Proletarianous Proletaneous' in Blount, sig. 2I<sup>9</sup>r; and 'Volvivagant or Vulgivagant', in Blount, sig. 2T<sup>7</sup>v.

value.<sup>735</sup> The term thief requires less explanation, but alongside other, less frequently occurring, terms, such as whoremaster or whoremasterly, liar or lying, villain or villainous, stinking, beggar or beggarly, cheat or cheating, drunkard or drunken, no-gentleman, son-of-a-[insult], and [object]-robber, [object]-stealer, or [object]-stealing, it carries connotations of inappropriate behaviour, pollution, corruption, poverty, dishonesty, itinerancy, illegitimacy, a lack of masculinity, immorality, and low social status, alongside its explicit criminality.

In addition, a number of these terms were commonly deployed together, further reinforcing the broad attack on status, worth, and behaviour. The records of the church courts are especially full of strings of pejoratives. In his libel, William Anderson accused James Hugill of calling him 'a Theife', 'a Rogue', 'a scotch Rogue', 'a lying dog', and 'a lowsy Scotch dog', while in his libel, Thomas Kirton accused Margaret Smelt of calling him 'A sonne of A whore', 'A Whore master', 'A Rogue', 'A periur'd Rogue', and 'A Theife'; and, in his libel, John Oldfield accused William Rigby of calling him 'a Rogue', 'a Rastall', 'a Theife', 'a Cheating Rastall', a 'Cheating theife', 'a Clipper and Coyner', and 'an arrant Rogue'.<sup>736</sup> Though they not as rich as the records of the York church courts, the records of the Court of Chivalry also contain several sequences of invectives. In his petition, Pye accused Weaver of calling him a 'Base fellow, base lying fellow, beggarly fellow, and drunken fellow, and [...] noe gentleman', while in his petition, St Leger accused Acton of calling him a 'rogue, base rascall, beggarly rascall, [and a] redcoate rogue'; and, in his petition, Strode accused Clarke of calling him a 'Base Rogue', a 'scurvy Rascall, Jack and base fellow'.<sup>737</sup>

Similarly, defamatory accusations also coalesce around suggestions of criminality, dishonesty, and social impropriety. Unsurprisingly, given the nature of the court records under consideration, accusations of criminality, specifically theft, were especially prominent in the York Cause Papers; whereas, implications of lower social status are regular in the Court of Chivalry records. However, allegations of dishonesty, immorality, impropriety, and low economic

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<sup>735</sup> See 'Abject' in Blount, sig. B<sup>2</sup>r; 'Degenerate' in Blount, sig. M<sup>7</sup>v; 'Illegitimate' in Blount, sig. X<sup>3</sup>v; 'Irregularity', in Blount, sig. Y<sup>7</sup>r; 'Mountebank', in Blount, sig. 2C<sup>8</sup>r; 'Niding', in Blount, sig. 2D<sup>6</sup>r; 'Spurious', in Blount, sig. 2O<sup>6</sup>r; 'Vility', in Blount, sig. 2T<sup>4</sup>v.

<sup>736</sup> Libel, Anderson v Hugill, 1693, in BI, CP.H.4320; Libel, Kirton v Smelt, 1682, in BI, CP.H.3532; Libel, Oldfield v Rigby, 1683, in BI, CP.H.4998.

<sup>737</sup> Petition, Pye v Weaver, 1639-40, in *Chivalry*; Petition, St Leger v Acton, 1640; Petition, Strode v Clarke, 1639; all in *Chivalry*.

value were also pronounced. The records of the four courts contain defamatory accusations of acquiring income using immoral or ignoble means; adultery; bigamy; name changing; corruption; cowardice; dealing ignobly, dishonestly, or immorally; defaulting on a debt; dishonesty; drunkenness; eating animal food; being of equivalent or lower social status; perjury; illegitimacy; killing animals; lying; marrying into, purchasing, or falsely acquiring nobility or heraldic arms; murder; poverty; carrying sexually transmitted diseases; sacrilege; pluralism; theft; being unworthy; using false weights and measures; and witness tampering. However, due to the lack of information provided by the common law courts, only accusations of corruption span the two jurisdictions, with both the records of the Kent Session of the Peace and the Court of Chivalry contain defamatory accusations of institutional malpractice or similar abuses of power or position.

On 11 January 1603, the Session Minute Book of the Kent Session of the Peace records that William Stringer of Wingham, yeoman, was bound over for good behaviour and to 'answer his slanderous report that Mr Finch and Mr Peyton 'put backe' an indictment preferred at QS'.<sup>738</sup> The Mr Finch and Mr Peyton were the JPs Henry Finch of Boxley and Canterbury, esquire, and Thomas Peyton of Knowlton, esquire; both of whom regularly sat at the Canterbury Quarter Session and Assizes.<sup>739</sup> Wingham appears to have been accused of claiming that Finch and Peyton had obstructed the course of justice. Similarly, the Session Rolls entry from the Maidstone Session of the Peace, held on 28 September 1602, notes that John Whitlock of Teynham was 'bound for good behaviour, and attached for speaking contemptuous words against Sir George Delves'.<sup>740</sup> A punishment confirmed in both the Sessions Minute Book and Sessions Papers.<sup>741</sup> A statement concerning the accusation, made by Edward Elmstone, does not appear to support the accusation against Whitlock; however, it does provide evidence of another individual, Thomas Bix of Sittingbourne, slanderously accusing Delves of corruption. Bix accused Delves of having taken money from him when he was a constable and called Delves "a

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<sup>738</sup> Recog. of Matthew Wells of Wingham, yeoman, Session Minute Book, Canterbury General Sessions, 11 January 1603 [QM/SM/21], in *Kent at Law 1602*, ed. by Knafla, p. 108.

<sup>739</sup> L.A. Knafla, 'introduction', in *Kent at Law 1602*, ed. by Knafla, pp. xxii-xxvi.

<sup>740</sup> Recog. of John Whitlock of Teynham, Session Roll, Maidstone Sessions, 28 September 1602 [QS/R 3], in *Kent at Law 1602*, ed. by Knafla, p. 58.

<sup>741</sup> Recog. of John Whitlock of Teynham, Session Minute Book, Maidstone General Sessions, 28 September 1602 [QM/SM/20], in *Kent at Law 1602*, ed. by Knafla, p. 103; Recog. of John Whitlock of Teynham, Session Papers [QM/SB], in *Kent at Law 1602*, ed. by Knafla, p. 202.

knave and a rascal” and claimed that ‘Delves was ‘a very poore man, and that 100 men would testify to the payment of so much money for their bands’. Furthermore, Bix declared that ‘according to his master, Delves was not worth a groat’. The statement does, however, provide evidence that Whitlock accused Delves’ clerk of corruption, as Whitlock admitted that he had not paid anything to Delves for his band, but that he had given Delves’ clerk 2s, and that he believed ‘the clerk was a knave for taking it’.<sup>742</sup> The Delves in questions is, most likely, Sir George Delves of Bregdar, JP, a peripheral member of the Kent working commission.<sup>743</sup> The records of the Court of Chivalry also contain two cases concerning similar abuses of power or position. In his libel, Hungate accused Reynolds of claiming that he had ‘caused all [his] tennants to bring in their leases, pretending only to see them, and thereupon tooke away their leases, and compelled them to take new leases of [him] att greater and improved rents; and that by [his] wrong and oppression of [his] tennants [he] did cause great clamours among them, and [he] oppressed [Reynolds] contrary to all lawe and justice.’<sup>744</sup> Similarly, in his libel, Le Strange accused Creamer of claiming that Le Strange had recently obtained from Creamer his copy of manor court roll and ‘had caused the same to be razed, altered, interlined and the rents augmented in severall places, and had sued him for new rent’.<sup>745</sup>

Though there are clear disparities between the levels of detail provided and the concerns of each court, it is clear that the defamation cases brought by men in both common and civil law courts focused on their social status, economic worth, and conformity to accepted standards of male behaviour. The terms of abuse that inspired defamation cases tended to carry implications of poverty, immorality, impropriety, itinerancy, and a general lack of social status, while the accusations that motivated these cases similarly questioned a man’s solvency, decency, and position in society. These findings tally well with Alex Shepard’s aforementioned investigation of the records of the ecclesiastical courts of Cambridge that found that men were expected to display the patriarchal values of self-discipline and financial independence.<sup>746</sup> The terms and accusations that appear in these records are generic and do not seem to

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<sup>742</sup> Statement of Edward Elmstone, 11 September 1602, Session Papers [QM/SB], in *Kent at Law 1602*, ed. by Knafla, pp. 198-99.

<sup>743</sup> Knafla, ‘introduction’, in *Kent at Law 1602*, ed. by Knafla, p. xi.

<sup>744</sup> Libel, Hungate v Reynolds, 1639-40, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>745</sup> Libel, Le Strange v Creamer and Stileman, 1638-1640, in *Chivalry*.

<sup>746</sup> Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, esp. pp. 16, 182, 193-94.



target specific occupational or other social groupings. The stereotypes expressed in this language are those of the honest, orderly elite and the dishonest, immoral non-elite.

## **Differences between defamation in the four courts**

Though there are similarities in the language of abuse and defamation recorded in each dataset, there are also some major differences. Some of these differences stem from the practices and concerns of each of the courts. The most striking difference is between the common and civil law courts, and the lack of depositions material contained in the common law records. Though the Kent records do contain some information and witness statements, they are not related to the defamation cases recorded in the session rolls of minute book. The abuse and defamatory material included in these records only appears in the documentation of other cases, and is not specifically labelled as defamation or explicitly prosecuted in its own right. More frustratingly, there is no depositions material in the Middlesex records. In both instances, insults and defamatory accusations are infrequently recorded in recognizances and indictments referring to slander, libel, and abuse. Furthermore, both these references to specific abuse and defamation and the far more common unspecific references generally concern the abuse of parish or borough officers. Only very rarely do the common law court records under consideration feature an accusation of abuse or defamation made by one private individual against another. On the other hand, the two civil law courts provide a wealth of depositions material, evidence of specific abusive and defamatory language, and almost always feature suits between members of the public. The records of the civil law are the records of cases (possibly because they have been organised into cases by the researchers working on each of these archives), while the records of the common law are the records of the actions of the court itself. A second major difference between the courts is the specific concerns of the court of chivalry. Cases there revolve around social status in a way that is not matched by the other courts.

## Conclusion

The main body of this thesis goes some way towards establishing the existence of several negative stereotypes associated with millers, tailors, and weavers in proverbs, jests, and ballads. The most resonant of these was habitual occupational dishonesty. Historians, such as Muldrew and Shepard, have argued that maintaining a reputation for honesty and plain dealing was vitally important for early modern men, while Gowing and Shepard have claimed that early modern men sought to combat accusations of dishonesty and false dealing in contemporary courts. This afterword therefore sought evidence that millers, tailors, or weavers defended themselves against accusations of habitual occupational dishonesty. Unfortunately, the test cases presented above do not provide much evidence.

The two criminal courts, Kent and Middlesex, which should theoretically have prosecuted accusations of economic malpractice, did not provide any evidence of this sort of accusation. However, this may have been due to the record keeping practices of criminal courts or to the sorts of defamation cases that concern them. In general, criminal courts did not keep records of defamatory language and they appear to have been primarily concerned with prosecuting accusations made against local officials. The High Court of Chivalry occasionally featured cases that revolved around accusations of involvement in milling, tailor, or weaving. However, in these cases, there is no evidence of the negative stereotypes associated with those trades. It is not that there is anything particularly bad about involvement in milling, tailoring, or weaving; it is merely that involvement in any sort of trade negates gentle status. That being said, there are some oblique references that could refer to the habitual occupational dishonesty of tailors. Finally, though the York Church Courts were not supposed to prosecute such accusations, its records do contain one example of a weaver attempting to defend himself against exactly the sort of actions detailed in the main body of this thesis.

# Appendices



## Appendix I:

Table 11: Resonant Occupational Proverbs within the Sample of Early Modern Collections

Proverb	Heywood	Howell	Ray (1 and/or 2)	Fuller	Proverb Collections	Notes on descriptor variations
He that could know what would be dear need be a merchant but one year (M887)	1	1	1	1	4	
Who is worse shod than the shoemaker's wife (and the smith's mare) [(/ and worse clad then the tailor's wife)]? (S387) <sup>747</sup>	1	1	1	1	4	All = shoemaker; <i>Howell</i> = 1x + tailor, 2x without; <i>Ray 2</i> = 1x + smith, 1x without; <i>Fuller</i> = + smith
Much water goes by the mill that the miller knows not of (W99)	1	1	1	0	3	
Such (like) carpenter such (like) chips (C94)	1	1	1	0	3	

<sup>747</sup> Square brackets indicate my insertions. Punctuation outside of square brackets is Tilley's. Curved brackets indicate minor variations, slashes equal variations. For example, the most common form of S387 is *Who is worse shod than the shoemaker's wife?* Tilley indicates the minor variation *Who is worse shod than the shoemaker's wife and the smith's mare?* With his curved brackets, I indicate the equally minor variation *Who is worse shod than the shoemaker's wife and worse clad then the tailor's wife?* With my punctuation.

<b>A knight of Cales, a gentleman of Wales, and a laird of the North Country, a yeoman of Kent with his yearly rent will buy them out all three (K163)</b>	0	1	1	1	3	
<b>A young servingman an old beggar (S256)</b>	0	1	1	1	3	
<b>As the gardener's dog, who would not eat cabbage himself nor suffer others to do it (G38)</b>	0	1	1	1	3	
<b>Be not a baker if your head be of butter (B53)</b>	0	1	1	1	3	
<b>Cobblers and tinkers are the best ale drinkers (C482)</b>	0	1	1	1	3	
<b>Fire and water are good servants but bad (ill) masters (F253)</b>	0	1	1	1	3	
<b>Four farthings and a thimble make a tailor's pocket jingle (F72)</b>	0	1	1	1	3	
<b>He that kisses his wife in the market place shall have many teachers [to teach him] (W358)</b>	0	1	1	1	3	<i>Howell</i> = teacher; <i>Ray</i> 1 & 2 = to teach him; <i>Fuller</i> = 1x to teach him, 1x teacher (variant <sup>748</sup> )

<sup>748</sup> He that fits to work in the Market-Place, shall have many Teachers.

Let every peddler carry his own burden (P174)	0	1	1	1	3	
like Banbury tinkers, who in mending one hole make three (T351)	0	1	1	1	3	
Like will to like [quoth the Devil to the Collier] (L286)	0	1	1	1	3	All = collier
The butcher looked for his knife when he had it in his mouth (B761)	0	1	1	1	3	
He is a merchant without money or ware (M883)	1	1	0	0	2	
He is an merchant of eelskins (M882)	1	1	0	0	2	
As coy as croker's mare (C833)	1	0	1	0	2	
A broken apothecary a new doctor (A278)	0	1	1	0	2	
A nurse's tongue is privileged to talk (N355)	0	1	1	0	2	

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<b>A smiling boy seldom proves a good servant (B578)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	
<b>Any tooth, good barber (T418)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	
<b>As rough as a tinker's budget (T348)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	
<b>Deceive not your physician, confessor [minister (counsellor)], or lawyer (P261)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	<i>Howell = counsellor; Ray 1 &amp; 2 = minister</i>
<b>Every man is either a fool or a physician to himself (M125)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	
<b>Feed by measure (sparingly) and defy the physician [/ mediciner] (M802)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	<i>Howell = physician; Ray 1 = mediciner; Ray 2 = 1x physician, 1x mediciner</i>
<b>God heals and the physician has the thanks (takes the fee) (G190)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	
<b>Hasty people will never make good midwives (No Code)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	
<b>He is an ill cook that cannot lick his own fingers (C636)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	

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<b>If wishes might prevail beggars (shepherds) [/ cobblers] would be kings (W535)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	<i>Howell</i> = cobbler; <i>Ray 1</i> = 1x beggar (variant <sup>749</sup> ), 1x shepherd
<b>One eye of the master's sees more than ten of the servants' (E243)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	
<b>Piss clear and defy the physician [(doctor)] (P269)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	<i>Howell</i> = 3x physician (variant 1 <sup>750</sup> ), 1x physician (variant 1a <sup>751</sup> ), 1x physician (variant 2 <sup>752</sup> ), 1x doctor (variant <sup>753</sup> ); <i>Ray 2</i> = physician
<b>Put a miller, a weaver, and a tailor in a bag and shake them, the first that comes out will be a thief (M957)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	
<b>To speak like an apothecary (A280)</b>	0	1	1	0	2	
<b>A hundred tailors [/ traitors], a hundred millers, and a hundred weavers makes three hundred thieves (T22)</b>	0	1	0	1	2	<i>Howell</i> = tailors; <i>Fuller</i> = traitors
<b>A servant is known in the absence of his master (S238)</b>	0	1	0	1	2	

<sup>749</sup> If wishes would bide, beggars would ride.

<sup>750</sup> Piss clear and a fig for the physician.

<sup>751</sup> Piss clear and shit upon the physician's head.

<sup>752</sup> When thy piss is of the florin's colour, a fig for the physician.

<sup>753</sup> If thy urine be bright yellow, shake off thy doctor.

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<b>Fools and conceited men (quarrellers) make lawyers rich (F527)</b>	0	1	0	1	2	
<b>He is a fool that makes his physician [(doctor)] his heir (F483)</b>	0	1	0	1	2	<i>Howell = 2x physician; Fuller = doctor</i>
<b>There are more old drunkards than old physicians (D630)</b>	0	1	0	1	2	
<b>A barber learns to shave by shaving of fools (B69)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>A fat housekeeper makes lean executors (H793)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>A good surgeon (chirurgion) must have an eagle's eye, a lion's heart, and a lady's hand (S1013)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	<i>Ray 1 &amp; 2 = chirurgion; Fuller = surgeon</i>
<b>A small (little) pack becomes a small (little) peddler (P7)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>A tailor's shreds are worth the cutting (T20)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>A wool-seller knows a wool-buyer (W757)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	

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<b>After death the doctor (physic) (D133)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	All = doctor
<b>All are not turners that are dish-throwers (A118)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>Among the common people scoggin is a doctor (P222)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>An honest miller has a golden thumb (M953)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>An old physician and a young lawyer (P265)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>And ill cook should have a good cleaver (C637)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>As common as a barber's chair (B73)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>As is the garden such is the gardener (G34)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>Better be the head of the yeomanry than the tail of the gentry (H240)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	

<b>Cook-ruffian, able to scald the Devil in his feathers (C643)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>Every miller [(man)] draws water to his own mill (M952)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	<i>Ray 1 &amp; 2 = 1x miller, 1x man (variant<sup>754</sup>); Fuller = miller</i>
<b>Hackney [drudging] mistress hackney maid (M1019)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>He has stolen a Manchet [loaf] out of the brewer's basket (M621)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>He is not a merchant bare that has money, worth, or ware (M884)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>He promises like a merchant but pays like a man of war (M885)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>How (What) can the cat help it if the maid be a fool? (C151)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>I think this is a butcher's horse, he carries a calf so well (B765)</b>	0	0	1	1	2	

<sup>754</sup> Every man wishes the water to his own mill.

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In vain does the mill clack if the miller his hearing lack (V1)	0	0	1	1	2	
it is possible for a ram to kill a butcher (R26)	0	0	1	1	2	
Like a barber's chair, fit for every buttock (B74)	0	0	1	1	2	
Like a loader's horse that lives among thieves (L398)	0	0	1	1	2	
Many kiss (love) the child for the nurse's sake (C312)	0	0	1	1	2	
Mock no pannierman, your father was a fisher (P41)	0	0	1	1	2	
No silver no servant [(service)] (S456)	0	0	1	1	2	<i>Ray 1 &amp; 2 = servant; Fuller = service</i>
One barber shaves not so close but another finds work (B70)	0	0	1	1	2	
Take all and pay the baker (A204)	0	0	1	1	2	

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The higher the plum tree the riper the plum, the richer the cobbler the blacker his thumb (P441)	0	0	1	1	2	
The Isle of Wight has no monks, lawyers, or foxes (I102)	0	0	1	1	2	
The plough goes not well if the ploughman holds it not (P435)	0	0	1	1	2	
The smith has always a spark in his throat (S562)	0	0	1	1	2	
The wine is the master's / vintner's, but the goodness of it is the butler's / drawer's (No Code)	0	0	1	1	2	<i>Ray 2 = master, butler; Fuller = vintner, drawer</i>
You starve in a cook's shop (C639)	0	0	1	1	2	
<b>78</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>57</b>		

## Appendix II:

**Table 12: Distribution and grouping of occupations within resonant occupational proverbs and within different types of occupational proverbs**

Standardised occupation	Total proverbs	Occupation's X-no info		Occupation's x-info		Figurative-occupation		Figurative-proverb		Stereotypical	Advisory	Observational	Insulting & Euphemistic	Other
Doctor/surgeon <sup>755</sup>	12	0	0	1	0	0	6	5	0	0	0	0	0	
Servant <sup>756</sup>	6	0	1	1	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	
Miller	6	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Tailor	5	0	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Hairdressing	5	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	
Merchant	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	
lawyer, barrister <sup>757</sup>	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	
Shoemaker <sup>758</sup>	4	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	
domestic cook	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	
peddler, hawker <sup>759</sup>	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
tin products	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	
Butcher	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
blacksmith, smith	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Weaver	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Housemaid	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	
Yeoman	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	
[gardener]	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Baker	2	0	0	1	0	0	6	5	0	0	0	0	0	
Apothecary	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
[nurse]	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Pottery <sup>760</sup>	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
wool dealer	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Butler	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Housekeeper	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
sheep husbandry	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
support, transport or communications	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
wine dealer	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	

<sup>755</sup> Doctor, mediciner, surgeon, physician

<sup>756</sup> Servant, servingman

<sup>757</sup> Lawyer, counsellor

<sup>758</sup> Cobbler, shoemaker

<sup>759</sup> Peddler, pannierman

<sup>760</sup> Croker, dish-thrower, turner

beer brewing	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Carpenter	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
coal mining labourer	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
education: school	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
farm work, other	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Fisherman	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Midwife	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
<b>34</b>	<b>90</b>									



## Appendix III

**Table 13: Distribution of PST sectors (all jests)**

PST Sector	HMT	TQA	JMM	WM	Tot
Tertiary: services and professions	22	28	26	24	100
Primary	7	7	8	5	27
Secondary	10	3	5	1	19
Tertiary: dealers	5	6	3	2	16
Transport and Communications	4	0	6	2	12
Tertiary: sellers	1	2	3	2	8

**Table 14: Distribution of PST groups (4+ jests)**

PST Group	HMT	TQA	JMM	WM	Tot
Domestic service	16	10	17	12	55
Professions	4	11	6	7	28
Agriculture	5	6	8	4	23
[dealer, no group]	5	6	0	2	13
Food industries	6	1	2	0	9
Food, drink and accommodation services	2	4	2	0	8
Clothing	1	1	2	1	5
Communications	1	0	3	1	5
Professional support	0	2	1	2	5
Inland navigation	1	0	2	1	4

**Table 15: Distribution of PST sections (4+ jests)**

PST Section	HMT	TQA	JMM	WM	Tot
House service	15	10	13	10	48
Farming	4	6	5	3	18
Medical profession	2	9	4	1	16
[dealer, no section]	5	6	0	2	13
Legal profession	2	2	1	4	9
[food, drink and accommodation services, no section]	1	3	2	0	6
Milling	5	0	1	0	6
Clothing manufacture	1	1	2	1	5
Alcoholic drinks	2	1	1	0	4
Animal husbandry	1	0	2	1	4
Meat, fish, poultry products	1	1	1	1	4
Passenger	1	0	2	1	4

**Table 16: Distribution of standardised occupational descriptors (4+ jests)**

SOD	HMT	TQA	JMM	WM	Tot
Servant	11	7	12	10	40
Doctor/surgeon	2	9	4	1	16

Merchant	5	6	0	2	13
Housemaid	4	3	2	2	11
lawyer, barrister	2	2	1	4	9
Husbandman	2	5	0	0	7
Innkeeper	1	3	2	0	6
Miller	5	0	1	0	6
Yeoman	1	0	5	0	6
boatman (passengers)	1	0	2	1	4
Tailor	1	0	2	1	4

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- Merry Tom of All Trades*, EBBA 21922, Pepys 4.261 (1681-1684)
- Old England's New Save-all*, EBBA 21990, Pepys 4.327 (1672-1696?)
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*The Bloody Miller*, EBBA 20776, Pepys 2.156 (1684)

*The Bonny Lass of Bristol*, EBBA 21318, Pepys 3.303 (1678-1680)

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*The Cuckoo's Commendation*, EBBA 20191, Pepys 1.406-407 (1625?)

*The Dorsetshire Damsel*, EBBA 21286, Pepys 3.272 (1671-1702?)

*The Golden Age* (London, 1625; ESTC S4116)

*The Golden Age*, EBBA 20066, Pepys 1.152-153 (1625-1635?)

*The Good Fellows' Frolic*, EBBA 21899, Pepys 4.239 (1662-1692?)

*The Hampshire Miller*, EBBA 21006, Pepys 3.13 (?)

*The Hasty Damsel*, EBBA 21840, Pepys 4.178 (1685-1688)

*The Honest Age*, EBBA 20068, Pepys 1.156-157 (1601-1640?)

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