

A CRITICAL OLD-SPELLING EDITION OF THOMAS MIDDLETON'S

HONORABLE ENTERTAINMENTS (1621)

AND

"AN INVENTION" (1622)

by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this edition is to bring together the surviving examples of civic interludes in such a format and manner as to make them accessible to a reader familiar with Renaissance language and printing conventions. It is a conservative edition which preserves, as far as possible, the original spelling and punctuation which reflect the eccentricities of Middleton's MS habits. At the same time it seeks to sort out problems such as the song in Entertainment Seven, and to present the material with some consistency of form. The first ten entertainments of this edition are from a unique printed volume in the Huntington Library and the final entertainment is from a MS preserved amongst the Conway Papers at the Public Record Office. Together these provide the only surviving examples of civic interludes for this period. The introductory material attempts first to define civic pageantry and then to set the edited entertainments within an artistic and historical tradition. At the same time it tries to explore the more topical themes represented in them. Primarily, the value of this edition lies in that it presents material hitherto not available in one edition.

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The opinions and inaccuracies expressed here are mine and I take full and sole responsibility for them. Many of the ideas however, are based on discussions with my advisor, Dr. J.H. Kaplan, and I am much in his debt. His encouragement and help, especially with some textual problems, make the final work far better and more accurate than it might otherwise have been.

The ephemeral drama of the Renaissance and seventeenth century has become increasingly important to scholars and critics in their attempts to arrive at an understanding of the popular stage of that period and the social and political concerns both of the people for whom such drama was produced and of those who witnessed it. As an aspect of this drama, civic pageantry has always enjoyed the attention of a few scholars. Generally, attention has focused on royal entries into London and Lord Mayor pageants. The existence of Thomas Middleton's Honorable Entertainments, however, would seem to indicate that civic pageantry did not cease after the Lord Mayor's inauguration on the 29th of October and that not all such pageantry was presented outside in the streets.

The meaning of pageant given in the OED is "a tableau, representation, allegorical device ... erected on a fixed stage or carried in a moving car, as a public show ... device, or temporary structure, exhibited as a feature of a public triumph or celebration." David Bergeron in English Civic Pageantry supplies a similar definition:

Civic pageantry refers to entertainments that, like the public theatre of Shakespeare's time, were generally accessible to the public, as contrasted with the private theatres or the court masques. The involvement of the trade guilds and the cities in the preparation and production of many of these entertainments also accounts for the 'civic' nature of the shows. Such pageants always occurred outdoors and frequently took place in city streets. The designation, 'pageantry', is moreover restricted, in this study, to planned entertainments with a clear dramatic purpose. Like the masque, the civic pageant was designed for a specific occasion; when the occasion ended, so did the dramatic life of the pageant.¹

He sees civic pageantry made up of "outdoor dramatic shows presented for the sovereigns while on provincial tour or 'progresses'", the royal entry to the city, and the Lord Mayor's pageant.² Although Bergeron's book is the most recent study of the subject and very

detailed, his arbitrary limiting of civic pageantry as a term applying only to an outdoor show can be misleading. Of the eleven entertainments included in this edition, only three were written to be performed outdoors. The other eight pieces, although written and produced for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and even dedicated to them, do not fit into Bergeron's definition. As these entertainments fulfill all his other conditions except possibly the general access to them given the public, it becomes necessary to deviate from his definition for the purposes of considering their political, social, and dramatic importance.

To understand fully the relationship between the different forms of civic pageantry, however, the evolution of the form and the influences upon it must be examined. The antecedents of civic pageantry are not clear but they seem to be secular rather than overtly religious, if this dichotomy can be said to exist in the medieval period. Glynne Wickham sees the principal sources of civic processions as stemming from the Roman 'triumph' and the royal entry.³ He dismisses the traditional theory of the development of these processions from the Corpus Christi processions and sees both as parallel developments.⁴ Whether or not one sees their development from a religious or a secular source, the effect of civic pageants was secular.

The possibilities for propaganda in civic pageantry are well analyzed in Sydney Anglo's book, Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy.⁵ The use of spectacle for political and propagandistic ends was not confined to the Tudor period, however, as might be gathered from this book. The propaganda which does exist post-1603 is for the most part, though, an unconscious manifestation of a middle class developing some independence from external sovereignty as represented by the church and the King. This social group had arisen by aggressive

commercialism and was, by the 1620's, a financial power which church and state had to recognize. More particularly, these pageants became vehicles for the rivalry between the twelve great livery companies of London, from one of which the Lord Mayor was elected, and whose responsibility it was for that year, to present and pay for the pageant. In royal entries, other instances of the uses to which pageantry was put are illustrated by the number of displays produced by various foreign groups interested in improving or sustaining good relations. In the entry made by James I on his coronation in 1604,⁶ both the Italians and the Dutch presented pageants in hope of promoting better trade and diplomatic relations.⁷

Ultimately however, the civic procession owes its beginnings to the relationship between ruler and subject and was a representation of that relationship. The manifestation of the 'ruler', either sovereign or mayor, had the effect of reinforcing the ruler's authority over his subjects. The pomp and splendour befitted his station and the citizens were expected to turn out in their livery and observe the strictest discipline. All this ceremony and ritual re-affirmed understood strictures in society and gave the citizens a sense of pride in the worth of their city and nation.

While these pageants were originally used as an example of the sovereignty of the ruler, they gradually came to represent the sovereignty ~~or~~ independence of the city from the King. This survives to this day in that the monarch must remain a visitor to the city of London and on ceremonial occasions he must wait to be invited to enter the city.

The development of civic pageantry not only parallels the development of the Corpus Christi processions and other pageantry

in the pre-reformation church but also courtly pageantry such as the masque.⁸ The relationship between the masque and civic pageantry is hard to determine with any certainty and few commentators have gone beyond the most superficial observations which may be made about technique.

Both the masque and the civic pageant achieved artistic maturity in the early seventeenth century. Although the city occasionally presented a masque and the king still went on progresses, the two species of drama had by this time become identifiable with the two social groups with whom they were most popular. The court was interested mainly in its own entertainment and the masque provided for this. The city, however, still felt the need to manifest its wealth and authority in outward show. Unlike the earlier mystery cycles where the guilds spent effort and money to glorify religion and the church, the civic pageant was for the glory of the city and its representatives. The London middle class had not held power long and did not take it for granted. Their use of pageantry is comparable to the royal progress as it was developed by the early Tudors to re-unite the various sections of England after the civil wars.⁹ If anything, the civic pageant was the city's answer to the masque, and there seems to have been a rivalry of sorts, both literary and financial, to produce the most sumptuous affair.¹⁰ In such an atmosphere borrowing was inevitable and all the more so since many of the dramatists of the age were writing for both the court and the city.

The difference between the two forms lies in the 'ruler' concept mentioned earlier. The masque owed its longevity and existence to rulers who enjoyed it. James not only supplied the circumstances for the masque to flourish, but his taste directly influenced its develop-

ment. This occurred gradually and is the result of a single authoritative personality. A new Lord Mayor of London was elected every year, however, and so one man's influence on the pageants was limited. The masque was a direct reflection of the sovereign whereas the civic pageant was a reflection of the new middle class as represented by London and the Lord Mayor. It is significant that, while constantly petitioning the crown for control and suppression of the theaters and acting companies, the city continued with ever increasingly expensive and spectacular pageants. These were not vain amusements but rather an assertion of wealth and pride both in the nation and in the city and what it represented.

Stylistically, the dramatic form which shows the closest resemblance to both the masque and the pageant is the dumb show. The dramatic element present in the dumb show is action and in this respect it differs considerably from the other two more static forms. It is in their use of emblematic presentation that the three forms are similar. The relationship of the dumb show to both the masque and civic pageantry has been observed and described by both Wickham in Early English Stages and Dieter Mehl in The Elizabethan Dumb Show.¹¹ Generally, the dumb show presents a moral story in mime, often with an accompanying description and exposition provided by a presenter. This was for the general edification of the audience and functions in a similar manner to commentaries given about objects such as tapestries in some moral interludes. While pageants often share the same method of presentation as the dumb show, they had their focus on the ruler or mayor, both flattering and instructing by idealizing him.

The popularity of the masque, civic pageant, and dumb show, suggests that the medieval 'tableau vivant' still had immense appeal even in

this later period. The costs involved in producing these affairs were a considerable drain on the resources of both citizen and king alike. Love of spectacle and political motivations account for their popularity in part, but the emblematic structure of the pageants must have had great appeal apart from these other considerations. Emblematic presentation was a technique which had evolved from medieval concepts of art and pedagogy. In a largely illiterate society, complex concepts had been best conveyed visually and this had ultimately led to the often rather esoteric emblems of seventeenth century pageantry.

The adjective 'emblematic' is used frequently in describing civic pageantry and it has even been said that "pageantry is itself the quintessence of emblematic art".¹² Bergeron recognizes this and provides an excellent commentary on the adaptation of the emblem to civic pageantry.¹³ He sees the emblem as having a tripartite composition, made up of the picture, the motto, and the verse commentary. This arrangement occurs in the civic pageant as well as the emblem books. In commenting on the fascination of the period for emblem books, Rosemary Freeman observes:

Emblem books depended for their existence upon the validity of these allegorical ways of thinking; they depended also upon a close interrelation between the arts of poetry and painting. While poetry was regarded as 'a speaking picture' and painting as 'dumb poetry', the emblem convention, in which poem and picture were complementary to each other, could flourish.¹⁴

Civic pageantry is not a development from emblem books, however, but rather both were strongly influenced by the earlier morality dramas. That their natures are closely akin is beyond dispute but this only accounts for the more literary and less dramatic side of pageantry.

It is to the moral interlude that much of the form of pageantry may be traced. The pageants in the Lord Mayor's progress, when taken

separately, show not only a resemblance to emblems but also to the short pieces presented during pauses in a banquet. Few of these have come down to us but there are descriptions from which we may determine how they were performed.

In the interlude the relationship of actor to audience and setting is thoroughly exploited. Members of the audience were often singled out or the audience was addressed directly as a group. This practice arose out of the close proximity in which actors and audience found themselves in the banqueting area.¹⁵ If movement was called for the actors would just ask members of the audience to make way. Sets could not be easily used unless they were something which already existed in the room or hall, such as doorways and galleries. The room became a stage and the audience was situated on it with the actors.

The connection with the banquet served to limit the interlude in terms of time and action. These restrictions meant that theme was concentrated upon instead of plot and argument instead of narrative.¹⁶ The same restrictions apply to pageantry and with the same results. A further temporal restriction is applied by the occasional nature of pageantry. Though there are instances of old pageants being refurbished and used again, this was rare and most were written and built for one performance only.¹⁷

The banquet, besides determining time and space in which the interlude had to be presented, also contributed atmosphere. The audience was in a festive mood and required a lot of pleasure with the moral instruction which the interlude was supposed to provide. This may be partly the reason for the gradual secularizing of the earlier Tudor interlude and the popularity of the vice figure. Feasting also had

an important place in civic ceremony. It represented harmony and plenty in a real sense as well as symbolically.¹⁸ In both outdoor and indoor entertainments, both the conviviality and the formal ceremony of the occasions being observed are reflected in the entertainments which were presented.

An important element in any dramatic presentation is the audience. The importance of this element in pageantry has been largely underestimated in recent commentary. The 'crowd's' interest in these affairs is usually thought of as a concern for spectacle. Wickham goes as far as to suggest two audiences, the mayor and the bystanders.¹⁹ By the seventeenth century the pageantry of the Lord Mayor's procession usually consisted of a series of related tableaux stationed along the route he was to follow. As a result, only he and his companions were able to see the entire show. Originally there had been only one pageant and it had preceded the mayor in the procession, thus allowing everyone a complete view. This change might be accounted for in the concentration of the pageantry on the figure of the Lord Mayor and a general demand for more spectacle. That the city continued to bear the heavy burden of taxes for these affairs, albeit sometimes reluctantly, suggests however, that the lower and middle echelons of the guilds must have felt they were receiving some benefit from pageantry beyond mere spectacle. This may be partially due to the competition between the guilds and between the city and the court. A more literary interest is shown, however, in the printed pamphlets produced to describe the events in detail and as complete shows. That such pamphlets were regularly printed each year throughout the period, even when the finances of the guilds were strained, suggests that they were more than ephemeral momentos and

that there was a demand to read a full account of the pageants which were being produced by some of the leading dramatists of the period.²⁰

Another reason for the continued expenditure of vast sums on these events may be given in the idea of what the Lord Mayor represented. Perhaps the most famous Lord Mayor of London, both now and in the seventeenth century, is Dick Whittington. For our purposes, the most interesting aspects of the legend surrounding this figure are that he was of humble origin and rose to great wealth and influence. Having attained this, he showed himself as both wise and generous. He contributed great sums to charities and built houses and hospitals for the poor. Another example of this popular type of character is Simon Eyre in Dekker's The Shoemaker's Holiday where again a man of humble background achieves first financial success and then becomes Lord Mayor. The Lord Mayor was an embodiment of the aspirations of his guild, the city, and the country. He represented all the civic virtues upon which the welfare of the common citizens depended. They shared his background and his success marked that of the city and the middle class. The Lord Mayors of the seventeenth century may not have all had backgrounds quite as poor as Whittington's or Eyre's, but they were elected from the ranks of the middle class and in this they were much closer to the average citizen than a king or any member of the aristocracy. In a sense, the audience of the pageants participated through the Lord Mayor.

This is no less true of the entertainments collected in this edition. Although not all of them were generally accessible to the public, they seem to have been considered official civic functions and there is some evidence which suggests that Middleton was paid for

writing such entertainments out of civic funds.²¹ They were written for specific occasions and are similar in content and form to the more extravagantly spectacular Lord Mayor pageants.

The spectacle which is usually considered so important to outdoor civic pageantry is largely missing from this collection. The three outdoor entertainments are very simple speeches, not very much different from the indoor pieces. It may even be suggested that indoor productions, such as those represented by Entertainment Seven and Entertainment Eight, provided more interesting possibilities for presentation despite the limitations of their venues. All the entertainments, including the three given at outdoor functions where the public might have been able to gain at least limited access, are simple groups of speeches and songs which required little, if any, scenery or props. Some tangible object, such as a coat of arms hanging on a wall or even costuming, was often used in the same manner as such objects were used in the interlude. These were not spectacular props, however, but rather physical focuses or emblems to which the speeches could be related. Their use is a result of the same circumstances which influenced the interlude. If the pieces in this edition are considered as being closely related to the annual Lord Mayor's pageant, some common qualities in them, apart from spectacle, must have accounted for the popularity of civic pageantry in general. The proportion of interest assigned to the spectacular side of pageantry should be made with this in mind. Like the masque, civic pageantry often involved the work of two artists, one to produce the text and the other to provide the spectacle. Only Middleton appears to have been involved in the presentation of the entertainments in this edition and they were probably appreciated for more literary and less visual reasons.

The civic pageant does not rely on spectacle for either its tone or content, whether it was presented indoors at a banquet, in the streets or fields, or on a river. Theme was derived from the figure of the Lord Mayor and what he represented, no matter where the pageant or entertainment was presented. The entertainments in this edition must, therefore, be considered part of Middleton's civic work along side and of equal interest with the pieces which he wrote for the more lavishly produced Lord Mayor shows and royal progressions.

THE ENTERTAINMENTS

The year 1620 was significant in Middleton's civic career. On September 6th of that year he was appointed City Chronologer after petitioning the Court of Aldermen for the position. The Court appointed him "upon consideration thereof taken and upon sufficient testimony this Court hath received of his services performed to this City and occurrences thereof, and for such other employments as this Court shall have occasion to use him in."²² For this position Middleton obtained £6/13/4 per year and on January 23rd, 1620/1, this stipend was increased to £10.²³ He held this post until at least 1623 and probably until his death in 1627, at which time his wife was given 20 nobles. Amongst the few entries in the records of the city which indicate payments to Middleton for "other employments as this Court shall have occasion to use him in" is one for September 2nd, 1623, "for and towards the charges of the service latellie performed by att the shuting of Bunhill before the Lord Maior and Alermen" the payment of M. 20.²⁴ The "service latellie performed" was likely an entertainment similar to Entertainment Two in this edition. It is probable from this that Middleton was requested to write the pieces included in Honorable Entertainments and paid for his trouble, most likely receiving something beyond his annual stipend.

It is significant that the functions Middleton was writing the entertainments of this edition for were considered important enough for his attention and that they were considered worthy of preservation in printed form. It was usual for the authors concerned to supervise the printing of the civic works they had produced, the printing costs being paid by the city.²⁵ Whether these circumstances apply

to the printing of this book is uncertain. The introductory verses, signed 'Tho. Middleton', are prima facie evidence that he sanctioned the edition. The usual printer of civic works such as Lord Mayor show pamphlets, including those written by Middleton, was Nicholas Okes. The printer of this book, however, was George Eld, who had printed many of Middleton's earlier plays.

Middleton was appointed City Chronologer towards the end of Cockayne's term as Mayor and R.C. Bald has suggested that some of the pieces in Honorable Entertainments which were written for Cockayne may have led to the appointment.²⁶ The publication of Honorable Entertainments in 1621 may have either been a gesture of good faith on Middleton's part or an official act by him in his capacity as City Chronologer. Bald notes that "his duties included more than the mere recording of events is shown by a reference to him in the proceedings of the Court of Aldermen (Repertory, xxxv, f. 148b) a few months later as 'Chronologer and inventer of honorable entertainments for this City'."²⁷ To this may be added the wording of the title page: "Honorable Entertainments, Compos'de for the Service of this Noble Cittie." The word 'service' here may be taken as implying the entertainments were part of his duties as City Chronologer. This would mean that the various dignitaries listed on A2 would be quite literally Middleton's "Worthy and Ho[no]rable Patrons."

The ten entertainments preserved in Honorable Entertainments and the similar piece by Middleton which exists in manuscript and is dated 1622 are important because, as a group, they provide the only instance where so much material of this type is provided by a single author over a relatively short period of time. Whether the frequency of the entertainments Middleton wrote for the city from 1620 to 1622 is typical

of his output for other years cannot be known with any certainty. These eleven pieces do provide, however, a unique opportunity for the study of an important aspect of Middleton's civic work, a particular species of drama, and give some insight into the social and political concerns of the period.

The sequence of the pieces in Honorable Entertainments is generally chronological, giving the entertainments produced for Sir William Cockayne, followed by those for Sir Francis Jones, who was Lord Mayor the year after Cockayne. There is a likely departure from this chronological sequence, however, within the pieces written for Cockayne. In his facsimile edition of Honorable Entertainments, R.C. Bald dates Entertainment Four as having been planned for presentation on April 11th, 1620. He makes this assumption on the basis of entries in the Index to Remembrancia for subsequent years.²⁸ If this date is correct, both Entertainment Four and Entertainment Three, which we are told took place the week previous, occurred before Entertainment One, which was presented on the 17th, 18th, and 22nd of April. A possible explanation for this may lie in the relative importance of the different entertainments. Honorable Entertainments ends with three related pieces, all of which were performed at Easter 1621. The presence of the Privy Council at the Easter feasts of both 1620 and 1621 suggests they were significant state as well as civic occasions. It may be that the Easter festivities were considered more important in the magistrate's year than the occasions represented by Entertainments Three and Four which are merely short speeches without songs and which were presented outdoors. In ending the collection with the Easter entertainments it may have

been considered appropriate to balance the book by beginning with the similar important entertainment of the previous year. Something of the relative importance of the indoor and outdoor entertainments in Honorable Entertainments may be gathered from this. The three outdoor entertainments occur together in the collection and if the above implications are correct, two of them were considered of less importance than the indoor pieces presented at Easter. The retrospective ordering of the collection also suggests that the final entertainment may have prompted the printing of the book.

The unique manuscript entertainment of 1622, which is Entertainment Eleven in this edition, is also an Easter production. Its existence again implies that the Easter festivities must have had considerable significance in the magistrates' year. Its inclusion in this edition seemed logical as it is the only other similar work by Middleton which is extant and was written the year following the publication of Honorable Entertainments. It is a much simpler piece than the Easter productions of 1620 and 1621, but still remains an interesting and valuable piece of literature.

Each of the entertainments included in this edition has been provided with a short general introduction which attempts to date and locate the entertainment and to discuss it in general terms. All important allusions, persons and locations have either been identified or conjectures have been provided in the critical notes. The songs and proverbs Middleton uses have proven to be absent from the usual sources for identification and have therefore only been commented upon in a general manner or possible analogues suggested. Every effort has been made to provide notes to explain difficult or unusual passages.

Entertainment One

The first entertainment of this edition was presented at Sir William Cockayne's house in Broad St., opposite St. Peter's church. Cockayne was an important and very wealthy individual of considerable influence. He had been knighted on June 8th, 1616, when King James had been present at his house for dinner.²⁹ His status is clearly shown in the marriage of his daughter Mary to Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, who was the son of an important peer (Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham) and a member of an influential family.

The entertainment had originally been written and performed as part of the Easter festivities on the 17th and 18th of April. On the 22nd it was "fashioned into service" as an entertainment for the Privy Council on the day of the marriage.³⁰ This may mean that the version we are given in Honorable Entertainments is somewhat different to that performed for the more 'private' occasion of the marriage. It is interesting that a man of Cockayne's status did not have an entertainment specifically written for such an important occasion as this marriage must have been, both to the city and the court. Of course, there is no evidence to suggest that this entertainment was the only one presented that day. That the entertainment was used at all is surprising, however, unless it is recognized that the marriage was a 'civic' occasion of some importance by virtue of Cockayne's position in the city, both as Lord Mayor and as a leading merchant. The successful match between his daughter and an important member of one of the leading aristocratic families must have been seen as a significant reconciliation between the upper and middle classes. The rift between James

and Parliament was particularly wide in 1620 and worsening. Any influence he could exert amongst the London merchants was of tremendous political and economic use in his struggle for independence from Parliament. For the city, it meant influence at court and was a social leap of considerable proportions for one of them.

Much of Cockayne's wealth had been made through his connections with James' court. Inflation had plagued James throughout his reign and England's economy had begun to decline somewhat. To raise money being refused him by Parliament, James, at the urging of Buckingham, sold peerages, employed trade impositions or duties, and granted monopolies. Each of these revenue-gaining schemes later proved unwise politically and irritated peers and commoners alike in Parliament. The selling of monopolies, however, had perhaps the most serious effect on the stability of the economy of the nation.

One such monopoly was granted to Cockayne and some other merchants to export dressed and dyed cloth. Until then cloth had been exported undressed and undyed, to be finished in the Netherlands. It was argued by Cockayne that increasing exports and decreasing imports of finished cloth would create employment in England and increase James' income by about £300,000 per year. After some discussion and the payment of lavish bribes, the exportation of undyed and undressed cloth was prohibited in 1614. The project was a failure from the start as the new company could not cope with the quantity of cloth to be dealt with in England and the work done was of a very poor quality. The Dutch in turn prohibited the importation of dressed and dyed cloth into the Netherlands and began to manufacture cloth themselves of a much better quality than the English product. By the time James

abolished the new company and allowed the old system once more, much of the market had been lost and the English textile industry had suffered an immense set-back. Meanwhile, Cockayne and a few others had made a fortune.³¹

The first line of the opening song, "Roome, roome, make roome", and the opening remarks of the speaker describing a debate between the sun and Minerva are two occurrences which put this entertainment within the interlude genre. The concept upon which the piece is built is the pun on Cockayne's name and the cock-cups being used at the banquet.³²

The entertainment consists of a speech set off by opening and closing songs, the latter accompanied by a small orchestra. It is likely that professional actors and musicians were hired for the performance.⁸⁴ It begins with an actor dressed as a servant or waiter entering singing the first song and carrying a cup fashioned to resemble a cock. After the song, he begins his speech which roughly falls into three parts. In the first, the debate between the sun and Minerva over the cock and their reconciliation through harmony is described. The aspects of the bird being claimed by the two are, it is suggested by the speaker, combined in the Lord Mayor. The qualities and symbolic implications of the bird are then described and applied to Cockayne. The speaker finishes his description by noting the aspects of the cock which apply to a magistrate as a dispenser of justice. This aspect of the Lord Mayor is often referred to, both in these entertainments and in the Lord Mayor shows, and was a very popular theme. Finally the speaker addresses the aldermen, asking them to follow the example of the cock and exhibit the qualities

it represents. They should provide an example to the citizens of the city as the Lord Mayor provides an example for them. This address culminates in a description of the cock-cup's practical use as a drinking vessel and the health of everyone is drunk. This move from the symbolic implications of the cock to the practical use of it as a cup is in keeping with the shift from the Lord Mayor to the aldermen. The mayor was the source and symbol of the city's power and as such the office was an idealization of certain values and beliefs. The aldermen, however, were the practical executors of policy and justice in the city. In this they may be associated with the Privy Council who served a similar function under the King.

The drinking of the city's health is the culmination of the entertainment and its themes. To allow this to take place the actor gave his cup to the Lord Mayor and then began the final song. While he was singing, the cup was passed around the head table and presumably other similar cups were being passed around the other tables.³³ The passing of the cup represented the equality and freedom of all the guests to share in the bounty symbolized by the feast where "at this time power is laid apart."

Entertainment Two

Shooting-day had been of considerable practical importance in earlier times and had been encouraged by both the city officials and the crown. The survival of the country had depended on the expertise of the archers of a citizen army and its long-bows. Annual competitions were held to encourage and keep the citizens trained in its use.

By the 1620's however, the English long-bow had ceased to be very militarily effective. Despite its range and the accuracy of the English bowmen, it was no match for cannon and musket. The shooting-day gradually degenerated somewhat though it still symbolized a golden age when the long-bow had been decisive in giving England victory at battles such as Agincourt in 1415. Stow records the following about the event:

In the Moneth of August about the feast of S. Bartholomew the Apostle, before the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Shiriffes of London placed in a large Tent neare vnto Clarken well, of olde time were diuerse dayes spent in the pastime of wrestling, where the Officers of the Citie: namely the Shiriffes, Sergeants and Yeoman, the Porters of the kings beame, or weigh house, now no such men, and other of the citie, were challengers of all men in the suburbs, to wrestle for games appointed: and on other dayes, before the sayd Maior, Aldermen and Shiriffes, in Fensburie field, to shoote the Standard, broad Arrow, and flight [sic], for games: but now of late yeares the wrestling is onely practised on Bartholomew day in the after noone, and the shooting some three or foure dayes after, in one after noone and no more. What should I speak of the auncient dayly exercises in the long bow by Citizens of this Citie, now almost cleane left off and forsaken? I ouerpass it: for by the meane of closing the common grounds, our Archers for want of roome to shoote abroad, creepe into bowling Allies, and ordinarie dicing houses, nearer home, where they have roome enough to hazard their money at vnlawfull games: and there I leaue them to take their pleasures.³⁴

From this it is likely that the entertainment was presented either on August 24th or "some three or foure dayes after."

The entertainment is a single speech given by one, "habited like an Archer," mainly praising the qualities represented by the sport and defending it as a pastime. The speaker begins by noting that "Old Time made much on't, & it thought no praise / Too deere for't, nor no honour in those dayes," and observes that past kings had actively encouraged it.³⁵ Significantly, the Lord Mayor and aldermen are acting as patrons of the activity, as the sovereign had in the past.

The reference to past royal patronage and the general high esteem in which archery had once been held seems to imply that this is perhaps no longer the situation.

The speaker continues by saying that archery is a craft, but unlike spinning and weaving, it and music came to man as gifts from Apollo. The speaker links music, wisdom, and Apollo in a rather complicated metaphor:

Musicke and Archery from Apollo came:
 He calls himself great Maister of this Sport,
 In whose bright name faire Wisedome keepes her Court:
 Well may this Instrument be first in Fame,
 Aboue all others that haue got a Name, (ll. 16-20)

Referring to the bow as an "instrument" and the resemblance between a bow and a musical instrument such as the lyre would have served to reinforce the idea of archery being an equal art with music. Even the name "bow" is proven significant:

Well may this Instrument be first in Fame,
 Aboue all others that haue got a Name,
 In war or peace; when Heauen it selfe doth show,
"The Couenant of Mercy, by a Bow: (ll. 19-22)

This allusion to the rainbow's use as a sign of God's mercy after the flood and the purely nominal connection this has with the archery bow seems almost pedantic at first. That such an association could be seriously put forward merely because of the similarity in the names, emphasizes Middleton's reliance on the pun as a stylistic device. This may have had its basis in the belief that things and people with similar names must be similar, if only in an allegorical or symbolic sense. Cockayne never seems to have tired of having his name linked to the cock and similar associations are made with other Lord Mayors' names by other authors, with equal success. Such feats of association combined with long speeches observing flattering similarities must have been considered

clever, without being so absurd as to be thought ludicrous, for the device to have continued to be so popular for so long.

After giving archery some respectability by virtue of previous authority and association, the speaker argues that "though this be a meere delight, a Game," it represents the administration of justice. He begins his comparison:

Since the greatst power is oft through weakenesse known,
What are Reproofs? with them I first begin,
But Arrowes shot against the Brest of Sin; (11. 28-30)

The whole speech to this point has been an example of the skilful use of rhetorical devices such as appealing to authority and elevation by association. If archery at this time had lost some or most of its previous respectability and was continuing mainly as a diversion, then the "reproofs" mentioned here may be a subtle reference to current attitudes towards archery and the shooting-day festivities. On the literal level, the bowman is being likened to a magistrate and the arrows are the reproofs and sentences which he delivers against sin. It is possible however, that Middleton is using a device, popular in formal debating, to rebuke those who might have objected to the civic sanctioning of a secular and pleasurable pastime. If reproofs were being directed at archery and the shooting-day, then Middleton is turning them around by comparing those that deliver them to the bowmen, shooting arrows. If this is what is happening to some extent, then Middleton is once again using nominal association with considerable effect.

The speaker ends his argument by observing that the competition of the games teaches men to strive for perfection and that they are conducted in the open in daylight which implies that they are both honest and healthy recreations of social value.

Entertainment Three

The venue of this entertainment is difficult to ascertain with any certainty. We are told that the custom of visiting the springs and conduit heads had been "long discontinued" and it is probable that this ceremony had ancient antecedents. It is known that conduit heads were amongst some of the earliest stages for the performing of pageants and they provided an important influence on later theatrical presentations.³⁶ The conduit head where this speech is given is said to be near the "Banquetting-House," but just which banqueting-house this refers to is not clear. Most of the guilds had their own halls and the Guildhall itself, which was the seat of the Court of Aldermen, was also used for feasts. R.C. Bald felt that the Paris Garden may have been the location for the entertainment and cites:

On 15 September 1612 a payment of 50 shillings was authorized by the Court of Aldermen to the masters of Paris Garden 'for the sport and pastyme shewed wth their beare and Bull at the Conduit heade when my lord Maio^r and Aldermen of this Citty were there to view the said Conduit heade according to auncient custome', and similar payments were ordered on 5 October 1613 and 10 October 1620 (Malone Society Collections, ii. 319). From these records it is clear that Middleton's entertainment of 1620 had to share the honours of the day with bull and bear baiting.³⁷

Bald may be correct about the entertainment being only a small part of some longer ceremony or other festivities. The speech is quite short and may have been merely a small piece of spectacle to acknowledge the arrival of the civic dignitaries and the official beginning of the festivities.

The date of this visitation is also uncertain. If Bald is correct in dating Entertainment Four on the 11th of April then this entertainment would have been presented sometime in the previous week. This would mean

that the accounts were not settled for it until five months later and that the entertainments in this collection are out of chronological sequence.³⁸

The reason for the seven year lapse in the visitations (see line 10) was probably due to the new system of supplying water to the city which had been developed by the New River Company under Hugh Middleton, a member of the Goldsmith Company. He and some others were partners with King James in a project which brought water from the Chadwell and Amwell springs and the River Lea in Hertfordshire to a reservoir in Islington, just north of London. For putting up half the money for the project, James received a half interest in the property.³⁹ Before this, water had been taken either from springs and conduits within the city or transported from wells and springs just outside its boundaries. Gradually, as the city grew, water-bearers had to travel further afield to find new supplies. One of these sources of water had been the conduit in the Paris Garden just south of the River Thames. Nearby stood the Paris Manor which was used for banquets.

The exact reason for the revival of the custom of visiting the springs is not given in the entertainment. It may have arisen from a general need to renew old traditions thus re-affirming the stability of society and its structure or it may have occurred merely to satisfy desires for more recreational activities or another holiday.

Although having a water-nymph "seeming to rize out of the Ground by the Conduit Head" is not an unusual device, it is a rather spectacular opening to a rather short and simple speech.⁴⁰ The entrance of the nymph and her rather insolent opening lines:

Hah? let me cleare mine Eyes, me thinks I see
Comforts approach, as if They came to me;

I am not vsde to e'm; I ha beene without,
How comes the Vertue of the Times about? (ll. 1-4)

suggest that the audience would have been in good humour and needed something spectacular and amusing to capture its attention, despite the somewhat ironic reference to it as a "Graue Assembly." The speech allows considerable scope for comedy while being careful not to rebuke the audience too severely. The strongest condemnation is reserved for the water-bearers who "like the dull wormes that haue no sence at all, / Lick vp the Dewes, ne're look from whence they fal."

The speech is mainly a mild admonishment of the city for neglecting the visitations. The nymph cites her good service to the city in her quenching of fires and the beneficial effect her water has on the complexions of the women in London. Her reference to her contribution to "yon'd faire Cities health" suggests that the conduit head may have been outside the city and lends further support to Bald's location of the entertainment at the Paris Garden. The speaker ends by reminding the audience that possibly more gratitude should be shown for the blessings of life.

Entertainment Four

This entertainment was to have taken place on the Tuesday following the visitation to the springs but for some reason it was deferred.

Bald argues for the date 11th of April, 1620, citing entries in the Index to Remembrancia for subsequent years.⁴¹ This date did fall on a

Tuesday this year and it is the more likely of several possibilities.

It seems, however, that there may have been more than one general

mustering of men in a year. This is suggested by two entries in the Acts of the Privy Council for 1621. In a letter to the Lord Mayor dated the 21st of February, the Council requested a general muster in Finsbury fields either "friday or saturday next."⁴² Again, on the 30th of April, they point out that "it hath ben usuall in former yeares to drawe some competent number of the trayned bands into Finsburie-fields upon Mayday, and there to exercise and trayne them" in order to suppress any disorders arising out of the May-day festivities.⁴³

A letter from the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor and aldermen for a muster on the 11th of April 1622, the date favoured by Bald for the annual training, suggests that these "general trainings" may have been used to produce political effects.

They [the Privy Council] had already signified their approval of the mustering and training of the Trained Bands on the 11th April, but as Finsbury Field was somewhat out of the way, they had thought good, in order that the Foreign Ambassadors then at His Majesty's Court might take notice of the troops, that all the companies should march through Fleet Street and the Strand into St. James' Fields, and be there mustered and trained.⁴⁴

Military preparedness seems only to have been one of many benefits arising out of these trainings.

The tone of the speech in the entertainment is quite different from that of Entertainment Three, although both entertainments serve similar functions. Both are given outdoors at the arrival of the Lord Mayor and aldermen and both are only preludes to further lengthy activities which are being revived after a lapse of some years. It is the natures of these activities that account for the different tones of the speeches. As some humour may have befitted the visitation to the conduit head and the festivities which followed, the seriousness of

the general training is reflected in the speech given in Entertainment Four.

Pallas is presented on horseback, wearing a helmet with a figure of a cock on it, out of deference to the Lord Mayor, Sir William Cockayne. As observed in Entertainment One, Cockayne never seems to have tired of the comparison of himself with a cock. The speech relies in the main with the association of the city leaders with Pallas and the greatness of Rome, however. Along this theme is the implication of the neglect which brought about the fall of Rome. Pallas says that she feels she is being suitably honoured by the assembled army, but:

I can complaine of nothing but Neglect,
That such a noble Cities Arm'd Defence
Should be so seldome seene; I could dispence
With great occasions, but alasse, whole yeares
To put off exercise, giues cause of feares;
"In getting wealth all care should not be set,
"But some, in the defending what you get: (11. 26-32)

This and other references to money suggest that the reason for such neglect has been the expense incurred by such affairs. This may have even been the reason why the muster, for which this entertainment was written, was cancelled. Pallas argues that by such neglect, the wealth of the city is put in jeopardy. She ends by pleading that the muster become an annual event once more.

It would seem that although there may have been several musterings of men for various reasons, there must have been one day for such activity which was of some special significance, perhaps involving larger numbers of men. Middleton's speech is a serious warning about the consequences of the neglect of such trainings, while complementing Cockayne on his revival of the event. The inclusion of this entertainment in Honorable Entertainments, after the cancellation of the training, might have offended Cockayne and others, considering the content of the speech. This may indicate Middleton's sincerity in the convictions which Pallas articulates, especially when it is remembered that the Thirty Years War

was being fought in Europe at this time and feeling for involvement in it was running high amongst some English Protestants.

Entertainment Five

In this period, the installation of the new Lord Mayor every year and the accompanying pageantry occurred on the day following St. Simon and St. Jude's day, the 29th of October. This entertainment appears to have been presented on the same day and the heading:

At the House of Sir William Cockayne. Vpon Simon and Iudes day following, being the last great Feast of the Magistrates Yeare, and the expiration of his Pretorship.

suggests that the feast may have been an annual occurrence. The lack of references or accounts in city or guild records for such an event may be due to it being financed by the retiring Lord Mayor. The only time on the day of the new Lord Mayor's installation which could have been set aside for such a feast would have been the late morning as the other activities occupied the afternoon and evening. This would have accounted for such a short entertainment at what is described as a "great Feast."

The speech is delivered by someone dressed as a mourner, who enters the hall following a prepared food of some sort which has been fashioned to resemble a hearse. The speech itself is divided into three parts. It begins by the mourner explaining the scene to the guests. The old year has died but left a will which is then read. The entertainment winds up with an epitaph summing up the year and its qualities. The main images used are the sun, the zodiac, and the magistrate's year, all of which are equated with the Lord Mayor, Sir William Cockayne.⁴⁵ The speaker then finishes by observing that the year is ending with increased splendour, much as when the sun sets, and he wishes the city many more years of such Lord Mayors.

Entertainment Six

Most likely this entertainment was given either in the evening after the installation of the Lord Mayor, Sir Francis Jones, on October 29, 1620, or within a few days of that date. Like Entertainment Five the speech is quite short and use is made of food which has been fashioned or moulded, this time to resemble part of the Haberdashers' coat of arms.⁴⁶ The function of the feast may have been to express Jones' gratitude to the Company of Haberdashers, of whom he was a member, for providing and paying for the pageantry of his progress on being installed as Lord Mayor.⁴⁷ The similarities between this entertainment and Entertainment Five may suggest that the latter might have been attended only by Cockayne's company, the Skinners, and served to show his gratitude to them for their work and support during his mayoralty.

The venue of Entertainment Six is Jones' house and it is likely that he paid for the feast. This is commented upon, along with the brevity of the entertainment, by the speaker:

... put Ioy into all the Guests,
That they may truely taste in fewest words,
Th' Abundant welcome yon'd Kind Lord affords, (ll. 5-7)

The speech is delivered by a "seruant to Comus" and is in part an invocation of that "great Sir of Feasts." The guests, who are all members of Jones' company, are welcomed and praised for the show which they have provided for the Lord Mayor.

Midway through the speech the food, shaped into two arms holding a laurel branch, is presented and commented upon. The speaker notes that the coat of arms not only represents the Haberdashers company, but also the virtues of a good mayor and especially a good magistrate. This theme of law and justice being embodied in the Lord Mayor was quite common as

he was the chief magistrate over the Court of Aldermen.

Entertainment Seven

Feasts at Christmas were quite common, and this rather long entertainment would suggest they were occasions which called for more than merely a flattering speech. Stow remarks as follows on such entertainments:

Thus much for sportfull shewes in Triumphes may suffice: now for sportes and pastimes yearely vsed, first in the feaste of Christmas, there was in the kinges house, where-soeuer hee was lodged, a Lord of Misrule, or Maister of merry disports, and the like had yee in the house of euery noble man, of honor, or good worshippe, were he spirituall or temporall. Amongst the which the Mayor of London, and eyther of the shiriffes had their seuerall Lordes of Misrule euer contending without quarell or offence, who should make the rarest pastimes to delight the Beholders. These Lordes beginning their rule on Alhollon Eue, continued the same till the morrowafter the Feast of the Purification, commonlie called Candlemas day: In all which space there were fine and subtle disguisings, Maskes and Mummeries, with playing at Cardes for Counters, Nayles and pointes in euery house, more for pastimes then for gaine. 48

Christmas 1620 probably consisted of similar revels at Lord Mayor Jones' house. The entertainment would have called for at least four participants, possibly boys as the characters are all female. Along with these singers, a small orchestra was also present and is referred to on several occasions. Middleton sometimes used song in his plays and his knowledge of music may have been quite good. The "echo" song in this entertainment is a rather complicated piece which would have needed either close collaboration between a composer and Middleton or Middleton would have had to arrange the music himself.

The opening of the entertainment calls for "Leuity, a person attired sutable to her condition, from a Window, vnexpectedly thus

greet the Assembly in the midst of the Feast." This direction may be explained in the following description of a banquet hall:

Most Tudor halls follow a standard pattern...There are commonly two doors (sometimes three) in the wall nearest the kitchen, when a passage divides the kitchen from the hall; or at other times, particularly when the hall directly adjoins the kitchen, these two doors are in a wooden partition near the kitchen end of the hall. In either case these doors are called the screen doors, and the wall or partition in which they are placed is called the screen. In some halls, but not all, the screen supports a gallery.⁴⁹

Although this is referring to Tudor halls, they had remained largely unchanged since the medieval period and Jones' hall probably had a screen/partition of some sort at one end and this may have provided the two windows called for in the stage directions and a gallery for the musicians.

Levity interrupts the meal from the musicians' gallery and comments favourably on the good cheer being exhibited by the guests. Severity then appears "from an opposite window" and reproves Levity. She calls for a porter to remove Levity and tells the musicians that she will spoil their harmony. Both characters have a short exchange of insults where Levity at first incorrectly identifies Severity as Nicety, but then, when she discovers who it really is, the discussion rapidly degenerates into name calling. In some ways this opening functions similarly to that of Entertainment Three in that it is surprising and amusing enough to capture the audience's attention. The traditional interlude device of having a debate between two characters or personifications of virtue and vice is reduced to Levity and Severity screaming abusive names at each other. Before this goes too far, Temperance enters from below and rebukes them for their behavior before such an assembly. She dismisses them by saying that they both are unwanted

extremes and they leave or "giue place."

Temperance then greets the guests and asks for music to help invoke delight. The song that follows has been difficult to arrange so that it makes sense, but there seem to be four participants: Temperance, Delight and two Echoes. Much of the song would require the repeating of lines if only one echo were used, as is suggested by the text as it stands. Taking into consideration Middleton's use of dashes to separate speeches it has been possible to break the song down into parts being sung by four different singers.⁵⁰ Much of this is, of course, speculative, but it does provide an understandable version of the song. The most efficient way for the song to have been managed would have been to have the actors who played Levity and Severity re-appear at their windows as the two echoes. This would perhaps account for their earlier dismissal. Delight enters by asking, "Who calls me from my Cane." This suggests that the actor playing this part has entered from one of the doors in the screen, most likely not the one which Temperance came through, and is standing on the banquet floor with Temperance.

The entertainment closes with Temperance first thanking the musicians and then wishing the guests well.

Entertainment Eight

This entertainment and Entertainment Eleven are similar in a number of ways. They both celebrate the same occasion, "the memory of Pious workes in this Cittle, at Saint Mary Spittle," both are called "Inventions," and both consist of a main speech given between two songs. This entertainment is the better of the two and contains seven characters: the Four Seasons, Flora, Hyacinth and Adonis, while Entertainment Eleven has only the figure of Honor and possibly some anonymous singers.

The date of the entertainment may have been the 5th of April 1621. Entertainments Eight, Nine and Ten all appear to have taken place in the Easter season of that year. The heading of Entertainment Nine reads:

Here followes the worthy and Noble Entertainments of the Lords of his Maiesties most Honourable Priuy Councill; at the Houses of the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffes.

The first Entertainment vpon Thursday in Easter weeke beeing the fift of Aprill, 1621. And vpon the sixeteenth of the same Month those Persons of Honor receiued their second Noble welcome, in a free and Generous Entertainment, at the house of the Right Worshipfull, Mr. Sheriffe Allen; Flora the Person vsed before, thus prepared for them.

Entertainments Nine and Ten represent the entertainments given at the sheriffs' houses and it is likely that Entertainment Eight represents the first entertainment which used the character of Flora and is mentioned in the heading as occurring at the Lord Mayor's house on the 5th of April. The first part of this heading and possibly the first sentence of the second part which refers to the first entertainment, may have been printed in the wrong place here and should have appeared before Entertainment Eight.⁵¹

Of the traditional civic observances at Easter, Stow makes the following comments:

... Saint Marie Spittle, founded by Walter Brune, and Rosia his wife, for Canons regular, Walter Archdeacon of London laid the first stone, in the yeare 1197 ... And against the said Pulpit on the Southside ... remaineth also one faire builded house in two stories in height for the Maior, and other honourable persons, with the Aldermen and Shiriffes to sit in, there to heare the Sermons preached in the Easter holydayes. In the loft ouer them stood the Bishop of London, and other Prelates, now the ladies, and Aldermens wiues doe there stand at a fayre window, or sit at their pleasure. And here is to be noted, that time out of minde, it hath beene a laudable custom, that on good Friday in the after noone, some especiall learned man, by appoyntment of the Prelats, hath preached a Sermon at Paules crosse, treating of Christs passion: and vpon the three next Easter Holydayes,

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the like learned men, by the like appoyntment, haue vsed to preach on the forenoones at the sayde Spittle, to perswade the Article of Christs resurrection: and then on low Sunday, one other learned man at Paules Crosse, to make rehearsall of those foure former Sermons, either commending or reprouing them, as to him by iudgement of the learned Diuines was thought comenient. And that done, he was to make a sermon of his owne studie, which in all were fiue sermons in one. At these sermons so seuerally preached, the Maior, with his brethren the Aldermen were accustomed to bee present in their Violets at Paules on good Fryday, and in their Scarlets at the Spittle in the Holydayes, except Wednesday in violet, and the Maior with his brethren, on low sonday in scarlet, at Paules Crosse, continued vntill this day ... I find also that the afore said house, wherein the Maior and Aldermen do sit at the Spittle, was builded for that purpose of the goods, & by the Executors of Richard Rawson Alderman, & Isabell his wife, in the yeare 1488.

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Lines 99-101 confirm that the mayor and aldermen were in scarlet for this particular day. Easter was April 1st this year, which would make the 5th a Thursday. If this was the date of the entertainment then the mayor and aldermen were not at church to hear one of the sermons mentioned by Stow, but probably attending a special service commemorating the charitable works of the city.

The entertainment begins with the four seasons singing an invocation of Flora who then appears in a bower "deckt with Artificiall Flowers." Flora "rising in her Bower" calls forth her two servants, Hyacinth and Adonis, both of whom, it is observed, represent flowers as well as classical figures. These two are sent by Flora to "the two Assisting Magistrates," likely the two sheriffes, Ducey and Allen, (Entertainments Nine and Ten). From Flora's comments it is obvious that three banquets are taking place simultaneously, this one probably having the Lord Mayor and at least some aldermen present (see line 144.1-144.2).

Flora then turns to the guests of this banquet and welcomes them. She commends them on their charities and observes the advantages of such good works. They are reminded of the church service they have attended

and the orphans who were present. The whole speech is worked out in floral metaphors and similes praising the city's magnanimity.

Flora next asks the four seasons to welcome her now that they have finally summoned her to them. This they do in a song cataloguing the flowers in her bower. The lyrics suggest that the seasons went over to the bower and picked or gestured towards the flowers as they were singing about them. This suggests that Middleton may have had some part in the bower's design or at least knew what flowers were to be represented on it. Most of the flowers mentioned have medicinal qualities as well as beauty and an analogy between them and the charitable works of the city is implied. The list is ended with a plant called 'Live-long' that produces a purple flower, an allusion to the violet livery worn by the orphans when they attended the church service earlier. This is meant to imply that the city's good works will endure, bringing them fame and praise. The present charity shown towards the orphans will bring future honor when they are grown.

The entertainment closes with Flora again addressing the Lord Mayor and aldermen wishing them good health, again using a flower motif. At the end of the entertainment the short address given by Hyacinth and Adonis at the other banquets is given. It is a brief greeting from Flora offering her excuses for not attending and it is followed by her two servants repeating her earlier speech, probably lines 60-108.

Entertainment Nine

On the 31st of October 1620, the Privy Council had written to the city officials asking them to look into a complaint that had been received from the French Ambassador about some incident which had occurred

in the streets of London.⁵³ Such incidents were not infrequent and were in the main caused by the anti-Catholic feeling which was being aroused over the Spanish match. On Easter Monday, the 2nd of April, 1621, the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, was accosted by a crowd as he travelled through London. He was furious about the affront and complained to King James. The Privy Council took swift action and wrote to the city the next day detailing the punishment to be carried out on the culprits. One young apprentice, who had reportedly called the Ambassador several names, was apprehended and two more were caught soon after. In their letter to the City Recorder, Heneage Finch who is mentioned in the dedication to Honorable Entertainments, they demanded that the three young men "to-morrow in the forenoon betweene the howers of 8 and 9 of the clock, shalbe publickly and very sharply whipped through London."⁵⁴ The extent to which this was carried out may be judged from the following extract from a letter by John Chamberlain:

Upon some sleight abuse offered to the Spanish ambassador and his litter as he passed thorough the streets on Monday, three young fellowes (or prentises) were whipt at a carts taile on Wensday, but the punishment was lightly laide on (as yt were par acquit) and they yet so pitied that divers affronts and insolencies were don to those that were overseers of the execution, wherwith the King was so much moved, that he came yesterday of purpose from Tiballs to the Guild-hall (which was trimmed up with hangings, a cloth of state and a throne at the upper end) meaning (as was thought) to make some sharpe speach against these disorders; but going by first into the maiors court, yt seemes he was mitigated by the relation of the recorder and others, who having examined the cause to the full, found yt nothing so hainous nor fowle as yt was painted, nor worth his Majesties shewing himself in yt. Wherupon after some privat admonition to the Aldermen to looke better to the government, and to see these younge fellowes with their abettors and rescuers thoroughly punished, he departed without comming to the place where he intended, and was expected to speake.⁵⁵

This incident is reflected in Entertainment Nine in lines 26-50.

It is likely therefore, that this entertainment was written after the incident and perhaps to some extent because of it. The initial

lines suggest that some of the Privy Council were present and the whole speech seems to be addressed to them rather than the aldermen.

All through his reign, James did his best to steer a middle course, both politically and religiously. From the beginning he attempted to continue many of the policies pursued by Elizabeth, but he was not able to meet with the same successes as she did. In matters of religion both monarchs considered themselves unswervingly Protestant and the divinely appointed leaders of the true church. Both tried to avoid extreme persecution of Roman Catholics and other non-conformists however, which would have had the effect of causing considerable bloodshed (as had been experienced during Mary's reign and would recur in the 1640's), if not civil war, as well as inviting European involvement to defend the rights of the respective factions within the country. James employed enough restrictions to keep non-Anglicans, especially Catholics, politically and militarily impotent, especially after the Gunpowder Plot, while refusing to be too extreme in their persecution. Puritans were also controlled but he did not hinder them from emigrating to the New World (as did the French) and in 1620 the 'Mayflower' arrived in New England.

In 1613 James gave his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to Frederick, Count Palatine, a fervent Protestant. This would have allied Britain with the acknowledged leader of Protestantism in Germany but for James' moves to marry his son and heir, Charles, to the Spanish Infanta. This latter match was very unpopular in a Protestant country still remembering the Armada and the Gunpowder Plot, and aware of the impending Thirty Years War which was beginning in Germany.

The question of religion was highly charged with emotion and the British populace made its displeasure felt by means as varied as demon-

strations in the London streets like those described above, and formal parliamentary protestations to the King over the danger of Catholics to the realm (Dec. 8, 1621). Much of this hysteria was politically motivated at the highest levels and used as a lever by both Parliament and the King to influence and restrain each other. The Thirty Years War did little to quiet fears of the Protestants and persuade them towards peaceful co-existence. The years 1619-23 were decisive in the Protestant struggle against the counter reformation, and James' policies, in particular the Spanish marriage for his son, did little to help the Protestant cause abroad.

Entertainment Nine was held at the house of Sheriff Allen on Monday, the 16th of April, 1621. As previously observed (Entertainment Eight), the first part of the heading to this entertainment may belong to Entertainment Eight. Flora greets the guests, praising them and commenting upon their importance in the kingdom. As in Entertainments Eight and Ten, Flora is here presented in her bower (see heading to Entertainment Ten). This bower was made with artificial flowers, according to the heading to Entertainment Eight, and some thought is therefore likely to have been given to its re-use.

Flora praises the King and very skillfully describes how the admonishment which had been given to the city had been taken seriously and acted upon without readily admitting to any serious crime. The whole affair is described in terms of an illness for which the King had now initiated a cure. The cause of the admonition is quickly passed over as an incident "where manners failde," and the speech moves on to praising the King, at one point comparing him to God, which would have pleased him and those amongst the Privy Council who believed in the doctrine of divine right, to which James was always laying claim. The short speech

is closed with a remark which seems to be directed at the city, through those citizens present, suggesting that the King has reproved the city out of love. While James is "King of Men," London is the "Prince of Citties." This not only expresses loyalty but also perhaps the status of the city in relation to James. The lines "Thou art his Chosen Cittie, and wilt prooue / (As thou hast euer beene) faithful and free, / The Chamber of his sweete Security" are again subtle assertions of the city's independent position. There follows a song of welcome to the guests and then some closing remarks to the Privy Council.

This entertainment is in the tradition of the sophisticated and propagandistic early Tudor pageants. While not comparable to many of them in artistic achievement, it is of similar quality as a political piece. To convince the Privy Council of the loyalty and repentance of the city was necessary considering the King's mood but it was just as necessary that it be done in such a manner as to preserve the dignity of the city and to placate those whose sympathies lay with the three young men who had been punished. Of all the pieces included in this edition, this most clearly shows the subtlety of Middleton's mind and his ability to produce quickly a piece of fairly complex political manoeuvring in a diplomatic and inoffensive manner. Middleton's own feelings in this controversy are perhaps better seen in his play, A Game at Chess, than in this carefully constructed comment on the relationship between the city and the crown over the Spanish match.

Entertainment Ten

This entertainment was held at Sheriff Ducey's house on Saturday,

the 21st of April. Again, the Privy Council seem to have been present and the speech of Flora is directed towards them. The reason for the presence of the Privy Council on this occasion is not certain.

There is reference here, and on the title page to Honorable Entertainments, to some task which the Privy Council had just finished. From this entertainment it seems the city and the sheriffs must have been involved in some way. It may be that their presence at this banquet and the one a week earlier at Sheriff Allen's house (Entertainment Nine), were part of an inquiry into the Gondomar incident. Another possibility is that the impeachment of Chancellor Bacon is being referred to, as the City Recorder, Heneage Finch, had been actively involved in his prosecution.⁵⁶

This is the third time Flora is used with her bower scene. As she begins to speak she is interrupted by Hyacinth and Adonis who claim she is getting to speak too often and, as they were sent originally to this and Sheriff Allen's house (Entertainment Eight), one of them should be allowed the honor of speaking. Flora rebukes them much as the King had done the city over the Gondomar incident. They both beg her pardon, which is granted. She then proceeds to point out that they have erred through too much love rather than malice. This may be a veiled reference to several events. The most obvious of these is the Gondomar incident outlined earlier. As London exerted considerable influence in national politics, however, the councilors may have been present to discuss more important affairs. The population of the city generally supported the House of Commons who were, in the opinion of many of the Privy Councilors, usurping the King's responsibility in several areas, especially foreign affairs where they refused to grant money for expeditions and projects over which they had no control and about which they were not given any information.

The closing remarks by Flora may be an allusion to the trial of Francis Bacon:

For each Hearts Grievance, (to its full content)
By this high Synode of the Parliament;
Before whose fair, cleare, and Vnbribed Eyes,
(When it appeares) Corruption sincks and dies,
Secure Oppression once, comes trembling thither
(Stead of her hard heart) knocks her knees together
This Benefite is purchas'd, this Reward
To which all Coyne is drosse to be compar'de: (lines 52-9)

His trial for accepting bribes while holding the office of Lord Chancellor took place in March, though he was not finally sentenced until May.⁵⁷ The exact involvement of the Privy Council in this trial is difficult to determine. Under the impeachment proceedings, Bacon was tried by the House of Lords with representatives of the House of Commons acting as the prosecution. While many of the Privy Councilors were members of the House of Lords or the House of Commons, this did not officially involve the Council itself. Sir Edward Coke led the Commons in their prosecution and was still, at this time, a member of the Privy Council. Significantly, Middleton refers to the Privy Councilors present at the entertainment as the "Synode of the Parliament" rather than associating them exclusively with the King. This may suggest they were being employed by Parliament, perhaps to investigate and gather evidence through the various avenues of the judiciary over which they maintained control.

The power and influence of the Privy Council in this and earlier periods was considerable. Although the Commons had the all-important control of money to bring to bear in influencing James, he in turn, had a most effective means of influencing people and controlling situations through the Privy Council. From the first Parliament in his reign, he tried to fill the Commons with landed gentry and succeeded in getting a number of Privy Councilors elected in 1620/1.⁵⁸ Although this

included men like Coke who would later join the opposition, it is a measure of his ability to influence the middle class that they were elected. As a body, relatively independent of Parliament, the Council controlled all the prerogative courts such as the Star Chamber, the Chancery, the Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, and the Councils of Wales and of the North.⁵⁹ Beyond this they were advisors to the King, helping to shape his policies and then aiding him in the execution of those policies. Much of the everyday business of ^{the} government and the judiciary was within their influence as they controlled the local magistrates. The retention of James' powers of prerogative and the strengthening of his political control was therefore in their best interest as it strengthened their own positions.

Whether the Privy Council was present on some particular official business or as part of an annual or periodic visit or perhaps both, is not known. What is clear however, is that there were direct ties between the Council and the city and that the city was considered important enough to demand their personal attention.

The entertainment closes by Flora emphasizing the loyalty of the city:

But, the faire Workes concluded, on all parts,
 Your Care, which I place first of all deserts,
 And it becomes it, t'as beene nobly Iust,
 You have discharg'd with Honor your hie Trust:
 The Cities Love, I must remember next,
 And Faithfull Duty, both deuoutly mixt;
 And (as the State of Court sets last, the Best,)
 His boundlesse Goodnesse, not to be exprest,
 That is your King and Master, Blessings fall
 Vpon His Actions; Honor, on you All. (lines 60-9)

which is also a suitable close to the collection of civic pieces in Honorable Entertainments.

Entertainment Eleven

This entertainment is not part of the collection of entertainments printed in 1621 under the title Honorable Entertainments, but it is very similar to some included in that collection, especially Entertainment Eight. There is only one extant contemporary MS copy of this piece. It is preserved in the state papers of the Public Record Office in London along with a nineteenth century transcript. The only printed edition is in Middleton's collected works edited by A.H. Bullen in 1885-6.

The MS is in the Conway collection and it is possible that Sir Edward Conway was present at the presentation of this entertainment. He had been knighted in 1596 and on January 30th, 1622/3 he was made a principal Secretary of State in the Privy Council.⁶⁰ As such, when he died in 1631, his papers would have been deposited in the Public Record Office. Just how this particular entertainment came to be amongst his state or official papers is not certain. It may be that if his attendance at the function was official, he may have thought it proper that a copy of the entertainment should be preserved. The MS is in the hand of a professional scribe named Ralph Crane and it is likely that the copy was presented to Conway or that he asked for a presentation copy to be made.⁶¹ While he was not to be appointed Secretary of State for some months, at the time of this entertainment, Conway was still likely to have held a position of some importance and a copy of the piece may have been given to him as a souvenir. The entertainment, however, may have been mixed up with the state papers by accident. Often, the acquisition of the papers of a deceased or resigned

Secretary of State or other minister was difficult and a warrant would have to be issued for the papers to be seized. The collection of the papers, even when offered by relatives, may have been somewhat haphazard. It is fortunate, though, that James and his civil servants had some idea of the value of these papers to future generations and that they went to every effort to obtain them.⁶²

The date of performance of this entertainment has been a matter of some controversy. Bentley notes:

There has been some confusion about the date. Bullen said 1623, but the Calendar of State Papers ... gives the date as '1622 ... April 22? Bullen himself gave a different transcription in his first volume (p. lviii): 'Invention by Thomas Middleton, being a musical allegory performed for the service of Edward Barkham, Lord Mayor of London, when he entertained his brother aldermen at a feast in the Easter holidays, Ap. 22, 1622.' As Fleay noted (Biog. Chron. 11, 371-2), Edward Barkham was installed as Lord Mayor in the autumn of 1621 and served 1621-2, and in the autumn of 1622 Sir Peter Proby was elected. (Joseph Haydn, Book of Dignities [1890], p. 491.) The correct date must be 1622. 63

To the above statement may be added that Bullen dates The Svnne in Aries, which appears in the same volume as this entertainment, as being performed in 1621 in honor of Edward Barkham being installed as Lord Mayor. Bullen further dates The Triumphs of Honor and Virtue as being performed in 1622 for the installment of Peter Proby as Lord Mayor.

The modern transcription accompanying the MS had originally dated the entertainment 1623 but this was later deleted with a line and 1622, April 22nd, written in what appears to be another hand. The query registered in the Calendar of State Papers may either refer to April 22nd, which is not clearly written and may possibly be April 28th, or it may be querying the original 1623. The latter date may have been an error in transcription as the second '2' is oddly written in the MS and could be mistaken for a '3'. Another possible explanation may be that the transcriber was aware that Conway was not made Secretary of State until

1623 and had assumed that the entertainment must have been of that year. What led the compiler of the Calendar of State Papers and the corrector of the transcript, if they were not the same person, to date the performance as taking place on April 22nd is another mystery. It may have been, however, that they were recalling the extract from Stow, quoted above in the introduction to Entertainment Eight. Easter 1622 fell on April 21st and a better case might be made for this entertainment having been performed on Thursday, April 25th, as Entertainment Eight was likely to have taken place on Thursday in Easter week, 1622.

This "Invention" consists of a main speech flanked by two songs. As has been seen in previous entertainments, this was a fairly common pattern. The device, to which Middleton relates the central speech, is an emblem showing two hands holding a sheaf of arrows tied with a ribbon. It is likely that this was Lord Mayor Barkham's personal coat of arms or emblem.⁶⁴

The first song is sung "in seuerall parts," and includes a base, a mean, and a chorus. It is difficult to determine how many singers were involved or whether there was any musical accompaniment. The song announces the figure of Honor who approaches the high table. His appearance is described, perhaps for those who might not have been afforded a clear view, and Barkham's latin motto is quoted as expressing the quality of both the Lord Mayor and the guests.

Honor begins his speech by immediately associating the way he is dressed with "yond Noble Crest." This is probably a reference to a crest displayed somewhere in the room. As previously mentioned, this use of wall hangings or furnishings was a common convention of the interlude.⁶⁵ The association of Honor and the crest is also an association of Barkham

and the ideal of honor and all the flattering comments made about the figure of the crest or Honor's representation of it are also references to Barkham, whose crest it is.

Honor explains the significance of the emblem in terms of a good magistrate and Christian. From this he moves to suggest implications of the crest in "An other way: to make it more generall" (line 55) in order to refer its attributes to the aldermen present. This is in keeping with the manner in which Barkham's motto was used in the opening song to praise the whole assembly as well as the Lord Mayor. The aldermen are now the arrows while the Magistrate, Barkham, is the ribbon holding them together. Broadening the implications once more, Honor says that the sheaf is the good works of the aldermen such as the relief of "the poore fatherles." He finally ends by referring to "Th' Almightyes Arrowes" thus moving to the divine implications of the crest. The general movement of the speech is one of ever widening significance ending with its religious importance.

The use of Barkham's crest and the general construction of Honor's speech were old conventions and Middleton was very adept at using them. He was conscious of the uses of spectacle and costume to amuse and gain the interest of an audience, but this was only the first step in his entertainments. He explains this clearly in the opening lines of Honor's speech:

Though in this Martiall habit I [appeare],
 I bring nor cause of doubt, nor thought [of feare].
 'Tis onely a wale found to expres best
 the worthie Figure of yond Noble Crest.
 Nor barely to be showne is the Intent
 And scope of this Times Service: More is ment.
 There's Vse and Application, whence arise
 Profit and Comfort to the Graue and Wise. (ll. 23-30)

The final song is a wish for the guest's and the city's health and prosperity, which it is hoped will "Spred as far as Morne shootes Daie." This refrain is the most poetic line of the entertainment and it is well suited as a concluding variation on the central emblem.⁶⁶

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

The aim of this edition is to bring together the surviving examples of civic interludes in such a format and manner as to make them accessible to a reader familiar with Renaissance language and printing conventions. It is a conservative edition which preserves, as far as possible, the original spelling and punctuation which reflect the eccentricities of Middleton's MS habits. At the same time it seeks to solve problems such as that presented by the song in Entertainment Seven, and to present the material with some consistency of form. The first ten entertainments of this edition are from a unique printed volume in the Huntington Library and the final entertainment is from a MS preserved amongst the Conway Papers at the Public Record Office. Together these provide the only surviving examples of civic interludes for this period.

History and State of the Huntington Copy of Middleton's 'Honorable Entertainments'

The publication date for this book is given on the title page as 1621. The volume would have been prepared for printing before October of that year as Sir Francis Jones is designated as still being the Lord Mayor in the dedication to the collection. The reference to a recent official employment of the Privy Council which appears on the title page, along with a similar reference in Entertainment Ten, make it likely that the book was prepared shortly after the performance of the final entertainment which took place on the 21st of April, 1621.

It may even be that the book was prepared to mark the completion of some task involving the Privy Council and the city. In view of the dedication, which lists Middleton's civic patrons only, it is likely that the volume was specifically designed to please civic interests.

In his 1953 Malone Society facsimile edition, R.C. Bald summarizes the volume's history and state as follows:

Middleton's Honourable Entertainments has survived in a unique copy now in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. The existence of the book was first announced in The Athenæum for 2 October 1886 (No. 3075), in a letter from Frank A. Wheeler dated September 20 of that year, in which he speaks of his discovery of the volume 'a few days since'. The book appeared in the sale-room about eighteen months later; it was sold at Sotheby's on Monday, 19 March 1888 (item 114), as the property of 'an American Amateur, a well-known Collector'. By this time it was (as it still is) 'elegantly bound in red morocco super extra, by Lortic, and enclosed in a brown morocco case'. It was purchased for £70 by B.F. Stevens, who was evidently acting as agent for Robert Hoe, since the book was shortly afterwards in his possession and bears his label. It next came on the market at the Anderson Galleries in New York on 8 January 1912 in the second part of the Hoe sale (item 2301), where it was acquired by the New York bookseller George D. Smith on behalf of Henry E. Huntington. The price was \$925.

The book was printed, without entry in the Stationers' Register, by George Eld in an ordinary roman and italic fount approximating in size to modern pica (20 ll. = 83 mm.). The collation is: 8vo, A2 B-D8 E4. The Huntington copy, in which the blank leaf E4 is present, measures 4 by 5 3/4 inches. It seems probable, as Wheeler suggested, that the book was privately printed in a relatively small edition intended for distribution among the City dignitaries such as those whose names are so conscientiously set forth in the dedication.⁶⁷

The only other statement on the state of the book which Bald makes is in his short note on irregular and doubtful readings. He notes that:

Several irregularities occur in the running-title and signatures, and should be recorded here. Entertainment instead of Entertainments is found in the running-title on B7, B8, and C8; and D, D2, D3, and E2 are erroneously signed C, C2, C3, and D2 respectively.⁶⁸

To this may be added that the copy is particularly decorative. Each page has an ornate head-piece made up of printer's flowers, probably single units, and there are two printer's ornaments, one on the title page as might be expected and another in Entertainment Ten (sig. E). Neither of these are in McKerrow's Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640 (1913), and are therefore reproduced below: 69



Imprinted at London by G.E. 1621.

Title Page



Sig. E

The irregularities mentioned by Bald and the position of the ornament in Entertainment Ten are aspects of the book which call for some comment. When combined with some observations on variants in the format chosen by the printer for the presentation of each of the entertainments, these irregularities suggest how the book was printed and the nature of the printer's copy-text.

The appearance of the same running-titles and head-pieces on each page suggest that the formes may have been re-used. Rather

than re-setting the whole page, the compositor may merely have replaced the text leaving the head-piece, running-title and surrounding furniture in the forme.

An examination of the head-pieces reveals a pattern of arrangement which is reproduced throughout the book. The head-piece of sig. A2v is the fullest example:



The head-piece of the page opposite (sig. B1) is:

1.



This is alternated with:

2.



for the first four pages of each sheet. The pattern established is as follows:

1: 1, 2, 3, 3v, 4, 4v, 5, 6, 7, 7v, 8, 8v

2: 1v, 2v, 5v, 6v

There are two variants of this head-piece:



Sig. B2



Sig. E1v

The only other certain breaking of the pattern is on sig. E2 where example 2 is given rather than 1.

This sequence of head-pieces suggests the use of a single skeleton for both inner and outer formes. Generally, ornament 2 appears on 1v and 5v (inner forme) and 2v and 6v (outer forme). If the ornaments were part of the furniture as is suggested then the same skeleton was used to print both inner and outer formes since the place occupied by 2v and 6v on outer are occupied respectively by 1v and 5v on inner, if reversed. This also means that only one press was used to print this volume, and since Eld had at least two in his shop it is unlikely that there was any haste in the book's production.⁷⁰

On B7, B8, and C8, a variant running head-title, "Honorable Entertainment", appears but not on C7. This suggests that the inner forme was printed first. What probably happened was that inner B was printed with the wrong running title on B8, then outer B with the mistake on B7, then inner C with it on C8. The error was caught and corrected before the next forme, outer C, was printed and so the correct running title appears on C7.

If the above hypothesis is true then the volume may have either been set by formes or seriatim. The former possibility is the more likely, however, because of the use of the printer's ornament on E1, apparently to fill up space originally set aside for the title to *Entertainment Ten*. What seems to have happened here is that the title was inadvertantly set at the foot of D8v. This is the only title in the book not to appear at the head of a page. Inner E was next set from cast off copy, and when it was time to set outer E, the compositor of E1 saw that he had an awkward gap on his page. This was remedied by the inclusion of an irrelevant *type* ornament of

approximately the same size as the displaced title.

Such an occurrence does not necessarily suggest two compositors but such a suggestion might be supported by the mis-signaturing of D, D2, D3 and E2, which appear as C, C2, C3 and D2 respectively. Such mis-signaturing cannot be the result of leaving the signatures in the forme, as the C2 on D2 has an italic C, which the authentic C2 lacks. In any event, if a single skeleton was used, this would be ruled out. Wrongly distributed type is also an unlikely cause of a series of mis-signatures such as this. The most plausible hypothesis is that a second compositor came to work on the book during work on D, and that he believed he was working on C.⁷¹ If this compositor (henceforth B) then went on to work on E inner, compositor A being responsible for the correctly signed D4, this would account for the mis-signaturing of E2 as D2 which is the only signature to appear on inner E. If compositor B was a late-comer to the project, he may have been responsible for the setting on the foot of D8v of the title for Entertainment Ten. If so, it was up to compositor A, the one responsible for the correctly signed E1, to make up for this by adding the woodcut to his page.⁷² This procedure may also account for the possible misplacing of part of the heading to Entertainment Eight (D2 mis-signed C2) in front of Entertainment Nine (D7). (see critical introduction to Entertainment Eight)

It is both difficult and unwise to build elaborate theories around Eld's compositors. Both Price and Murray have pointed out in their work on Eld's shop that it is often impossible to distinguish between them by the usual tests of spelling and punctuation preferences.⁷³ All seem to follow their copy with great fidelity.

This accounts for the appearance of many of Middleton's spelling preferences and MS habits in Honorable Entertainments. This suggests that the copy-text was in Middleton's hand or that it was a MS closely derived from his holograph. The punctuation in the book is somewhat uncharacteristic of Middleton however, as he hardly ever used full stops or colons.⁷⁴ An examination of the use of italics in the book reveals that they are employed with some consistency and co-ordinated with such things as lineation in the headings. As these are often in prose it may be assumed that both lineation and the use of italics have been the result of the compositors. That they did not strictly adhere to copy-text in the matter of italics is clearly shown in the use of the catch-word "Flora" on sig. D8v, and "Flora" on sig. E1. The catch-word probably follows the MS while compositor A has amended this to roman to stand out from the rest of the line which he has set in italics in his arrangement of the heading.⁷⁵

Although the compositor may have exercised some control over accidentals in this manner, there is a preference for commas revealed and the texts are full of Middleton's preferred spellings such as "you'le", "h'as", "Ile", "i'st", and "h'a".⁷⁶ These spellings are found in the type-setting ascribed to both compositors and may therefore be taken as likely existing in the copy-text. Examples of these and their frequency of use by Middleton in comparison to his contemporaries are given in table form in Peter B. Murray's A Study of Cyril Tourneur.⁷⁷

Another characteristic of Middleton's hand is the use of dashes to separate speeches.⁷⁸ This may be seen in the song in Entertainment Seven where the compositor appears to have adhered very closely to his text. (see critical introduction to Entertainment Seven and textual notes).

The varying format for the headings of the entertainments suggests that the compositors may have been dealing with a collection of MSS. The amount of emendation present to give the headings consistency is limited, which suggests their reticence to emend the texts as well. The result is that despite the compositor emendations outlined above, the printed volume remains more representative of Middleton's holograph than the MS upon which this edition's Entertainment Eleven is based.

History and State of the MS

Entertainment Eleven of this collection is derived from a MS preserved amongst the Conway Papers in the Public Record Office of Great Britain (State Papers, Domestic, 14, vol. 129). The title page of the work reads:

An Invention
performed for the Service of y^e Right
honorable Edward Barkeham, L.
Majo^r of the Cittie of London: At
his LPS. Enterteinment of the
Aldermen his Brethren, and the h^{ble}
and worthe Guests: (At his
House assembled & ffeasted)
In the Easter Hollidajes: 1622.

written by
Tho. Middleton.

The scribe responsible for this MS was first identified by F.P. Wilson as Ralph Crane.⁷⁹ Wilson, in his article on Crane, provides many examples and a clear commentary on the scribes manuscript habits, such as his italic "d" which is made with two strokes of the pen.⁸⁰ The identification of the scribe along with

the current provenance of the MS suggest that it was a presentation copy to someone of importance, probably Sir Edward Conway himself, within whose collection of papers it is now preserved.⁸¹

The hand of the MS is a mixture of secretary and italic styles. The greatest difficulty in transcription has arisen from the condition of the MS and not the style of the hand. The MS measures approximately 8.5 cm x 15 cm, and the bottom left of the verso and right of the recto corners of the pages have been torn away leaving gaps in the text. This has most likely been due to water damage at some time when the MS was separate from the volume of papers it is now bound with. The script itself is legible but not consistent in the forming of letters and contractions. It is often difficult to distinguish the order of letters when minims are involved in groups such as "in" and "cr", etc. Fortunately this problem only occurs in words where the spelling is not variable and the word referred to is quite obvious from the other letters. The scribe also freely uses both "y^e" and "the", "&" and "and", and "y^t" and "that" quite interchangeably. Capital "F" is used but also the "ff" convention of the secretary style. Another instance of the mixture of italic and secretary hands are the representations of capital and lower case "t". Often the upper case "T" is made in such a way as to make it distinguishable from the lower case italic "t" only by size. Generally however, the script presents few problems.

Accompanying the MS in the Conway Papers and bound into the same volume, is a more recent transcript. Bullen first notes its existence in his edition of the entertainment in 1886, though he does not seem to have known when or by whom it was made. This transcript is of some

authority for both accidentals and substantives as it was made at a time when the MS may possibly have been in a better condition. The transcriber provided square brackets for his conjectures. If this was done accurately and consistently, then the condition of the MS has since deteriorated as many current lacunæ are supplied in the transcription and not bracketed. While retaining the old spelling of the MS, the transcript is sometimes casual about accidentals such as capitalization and punctuation. The use of "your" in the transcript and Bullen for what is clearly "yond" in the MS (this edition line 26) would suggest that Bullen based his text on the transcript. Other examples such as this may be seen in the textual notes.

Bullen's version of the entertainment is the first printed edition of the work known, as the earlier editor of Middleton's works, Alexander Dyce, was apparently unaware of the existence of the MS.⁸² Bullen provides few notes and misreads or silently amends the text in many instances. The most blatant example of misreading occurs in line 42 (this edition) where he reads "To see" where the MS and transcript give "For see". There are other instances which may be found as variant substantive readings in the textual notes to the present edition. Bullen seems to have altered punctuation and capitalization with minimal referral to either the MS or transcript. His edition reads:

Two armed arms--to what may they allude
 More properer than to truth and fortitude,
 The armour of a Christian, to be strong
 In a just cause? Then to these arms belong
 The sheafs of arrows: what do they imply
 But shafts of justice 'gainst impiety? 83

where the MS and transcript read:

Two armed Armes: to what may they allude
 more properer then to Truth, and Fortitude?
 the Armo^r of a Christian? To be strong
 in a iust Cause then to theis Armes belong.
 The Sheafe of Arrowes, what doe they Implie
 but Shafts of Iustice 'gainst Impietie? (lines 35-40, this ed.)

Bullen's perversion of the sense of the passage is clear. As the copy-text for this edition has been the MS, supplemented by the transcript where necessary, Bullen's emendations of accidentals have not been included in the textual notes. It should be observed that the quantity and frequency of his emendations make his text quite unreliable.

This Edition

The line numbering and format of this edition generally follow that of the Revels Series of English Drama. Only lines of speech have been given whole numbers, while lines of headings and descriptive commentary, including square-bracketed editorial insertions, are decimalized. Where a speaker metrically completes a half line begun by another speaker, the second's speech has been indented silently and the whole counted as one line. The signatures of the Huntington copy and the leaf numbers of the MS have been supplied in square brackets in the left margin. In the case of the mis-signaturing which occurs such errors have been silently emended.

The main emendations which have been undertaken have been the normalization of the headings for the entertainments, stage directions and the altering of spacing and format in some speeches. Editorial insertions and conjectures have been square-bracketed.

The copy-texts for this edition have been the printed copy of

Middleton's Honorable Entertainments (1621) and the MS for Entertainment Eleven, supplemented by the transcript. Two other texts which have been collated with the copy-texts are Bald's carefully reproduced type facsimile of Honorable Entertainments and Bullen's edition of "An Invention, etc.," which appears as Entertainment Eleven in this edition. Of the two, Bald's work has proven the most useful and many of his suggested emendations have been either noted or interpolated into the text of this edition.

Generally, the copy-texts have been followed for accidentals. This has led to the preservation of some peculiarities such as the setting off of proverbs which occur throughout the entertainments. These are given within quotation marks, but while opening the quotation for each new line, there are no closing quotation marks. All italicization also has been allowed to stand, though often, especially in the headings, it had been co-ordinated with the lineation in the copy-text. As the headings are in prose, their lineation often has been altered in this edition. For consistency, however, all speech prefaces have been silently italicized and abbreviated where required. These are followed by a full stop and the songs and speeches indented.

MS conventions such as the use of tildes and superscript contractions such as "w^{ch}" have been silently expanded and normalized. Contracted forms of address such as "Sr" and "L.M." have been allowed to stand or in the case of "Sr", the superscript lowered. Where they have been partially superscript and lowering would produce an unconventional contraction, such as in the case of "H^{ble}", they have been expanded. Long's' and ligatures are not reproduced whereas the convention of 'u' for 'v' and vice versa has been retained. The use of the latter is not consistent and may reflect the copy-text which the compositor was using, rather than being a typographical convention. The rationale

behind the above decisions is based on ~~typographical modernization~~ with retention of old spelling and punctuation. Lines where the type has been crowded because of the lack of space or where the final work has been placed on the previous or following line with an opening parenthesis, have been silently normalized as this probably reflects printing rather than manuscript practice.

The descriptive headings for the entertainments are in prose and have been put against the left margin. Following the style of the copy-text, the descriptive comments and headings within each entertainment have been allowed to remain centered.

The song in Entertainment Seven has been supplied with missing singers' names in square brackets. Lineation has been changed and a dash used to denote breaks in the song for echoes and interrupted lines. Each new speech and line is given an initial capital, including the echoed lines. All this has been noted in the textual notes and these emendations are based on usage established in the copy-text version of the song (see introduction to Entertainment Seven).

In Entertainment Eleven square brackets denote conjectures by the transcript. These have been noted only when the MS provides some clue to support or refute the conjecture. Un-bracketed words in the transcript which appear as lacunæ in the MS have been left un-bracketed in this edition, but noted. It is quite likely that the original MS was in much better condition when the transcript was made and its emendations have some authority. All the contractions of the MS, including "y^e", "y^t", "&", "L^{ps}.", "H^{ble}.", etc., have been silently expanded. Paleographic conventions, such as 'ff' for 'F', have also been silently normalized, though the old spelling has been preserved along with the use of 'i' for 'j' and 'u' or 'v' as they appear, as was done in those entertainments based on the printed volume.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ David Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642 (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), pp. 2-3.
- ² Ibid., p. 3.
- ³ Glynn Wickham, Early English Stages: 1300 to 1660 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), I, 52.
- ⁴ Ibid., 122ff.
- ⁵ Sydney Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
- ⁶ This had been delayed a year because of the plague in 1603.
- ⁷ Alice V. Griffin, Pageantry on the Shakespearean Stage (New York: College and University Press, 1951), pp. 92, 98.
- ⁸ Wickham, I, chapter 6. He sees the masque, not as an importation from Italy, but as developing directly out of mummings and disguisings. This gives the masque much earlier beginnings than previously recognized and it may thus be seen as having a parallel development to civic pageantry, at least in terms of chronology.
- ⁹ Anglo, p. 3.
- ¹⁰ Wickham, I, 58; II part 1, 239.
- ¹¹ Wickham, I, chapter 6; Dieter Mehl, The Elizabethan Dumb Show (London: Methuen, 1965), pp. 3ff.
- ¹² Wickham, II part 1, 209.
- ¹³ Bergeron, chapter 11.
- ¹⁴ Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London, 1948), pp. 4-5; cited in Bergeron, p. 275.

¹⁵ T.W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume, and Acting (London: Leicester University Press, 1967), p. 24-6.

¹⁶ Wickham, I, 234-6.

¹⁷ The circumstances surrounding Middleton's Civitatis Amor are an example of this; see Bergeron, p. 101, and Entertainments Eight, Nine and Ten where Flora's bower is re-used.

¹⁸ Examples of the use of the banquet symbolically may be seen in the many comedies and romances which end with a feast and reconciliation, for instance, Dekker's The Shoemaker's Holiday and Shakespeare's As You Like It.

¹⁹ Wickham, I, 59-61.

²⁰ Miss Jean Robertson and D.J. Gordon, eds., Malone Society Collections III: A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640 (London: Malone Society, 1954), p. xxxii.

²¹ See p. 12; In 1623 Middleton was paid for producing an entertainment which may have been quite similar to Entertainment Two in this edition.

²² Repertory of the City of London, vol. xxxiv, fol. 540v, printed in the Analytical Index to the 'Remembrancia' of the City of London, p. 305n; cited in R.C. Bald, "Middleton's Civic Employments" Modern Philology xxxi (1933), 67.

²³ Bald, "Middleton's Civic Employments," 67.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Griffin, p. 46; Robertson, p. xxxii.

²⁶ R.C. Bald, ed., Honorable Entertainments by Thomas Middleton (1621; facs. rpt. London: Malone Society, 1953), p. vi.

27 Ibid.

28 Bald, Honorable Entertainments, p. vii, notes "The muster of the trained bands, arranged for Tuesday, 11 April 1620 but cancelled (Ent. iv), was nevertheless held on the same day in subsequent years (Index to Remembrancia, pp. 533-4);" in a letter dated 31 March 1621 sent to the Privy Council and printed in the Analytical Index to the Series of Records known as the Remembrancia, 1579-1664 (London: Francis, 1878), p. 533, the following is recorded: "Letter from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to the Lords of the Council, intimating that, having taken into consideration the long disuse of arms in the City of London, and being desirous that both men and furniture should be always in readiness for His Majesty's service, they proposed, subject to the approval of the Council, to appoint the 11th of April for a general training of the City's Bands."

29 DNB

30 See introduction to Entertainment Eight for comments on annual Easter festivities.

31 Godfrey Davies, The Early Stuarts: 1603-1660, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 332-3; DNB.

32 Middleton was fond of the association of Cockayne's name with this bird as is shown by his use of it again in Entertainment Four; see critical note to Entertainment One, line .15.

33 William Herbert, The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London (1834-7; rpt. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1968) II, 319, makes the following observations on contemporary election ceremonies in the Skinners' Company: "The principals of the company being assembled, on the day of annual election, ten Christ-church scholars, or 'Blue-coat boys,' with the companies' almsmen, and trumpeters, enter the hall in procession to the flourish of trumpets. Three large silver cocks or fowls so named, are then brought in and delivered to

the master and wardens. On unscrewing these pieces of plate, they are found to form drinking cups, filled with wine, and from which they drink."

³⁴ John Stow, A Survey of London, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), I, 104.

³⁵ Middleton may possibly have had Edward III in mind here as Edward VI died in his late teens and was not particularly athletic; see Wickham, I, 20; the support of these kings "By Act and Favour" may mean that Middleton had some piece of legislation promulgated by Edward VI in mind, perhaps a royal proclamation.

³⁶ Wickham, I, 51ff.

³⁷ Bald, Honorable Entertainments, p. vii.

³⁸ See pp. 14-5 and introduction to Entertainment Four, pp. 25-6.

³⁹ E.H. Sugden, "New River," Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925).

⁴⁰ For a possible explanation of how this was accomplished see Wickham, II part 1, 226.

⁴¹ See footnote 28 above.

⁴² Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1619-1621 (London: HMSO, 1930), p. 350.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 377.

⁴⁴ Index to Remembrancia, p. 534.

⁴⁵ This combination was revived a year later when Middleton wrote The Sun in Aries for Edward Barkham's installation as Lord Mayor.

⁴⁶ The Haberdashers' coat of arms, notice particularly the two arms at the top center:



- ⁴⁷ Wickham, II part 1, 263ff, see especially pp. 238-40 for remarks on the increasing costs of pageants in this period.
- ⁴⁸ Stow, II, 97.
- ⁴⁹ Craik, Tudor Interlude, p. 9.
- ⁵⁰ See the textual notes to Entertainment Seven, ll. 71-115.
- ⁵¹ See the textual introduction, p. 53.
- ⁵² Stow, I, 166-8.
- ⁵³ Acts of the Privy Council, 1619-1621, p. 52, letter to the city dated 31 Oct. 1620.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 373.
- ⁵⁵ McClure, ed., Letters of John Chamberlain, II, 361; cited in Bald, Honorable Entertainments, p. viii.
- ⁵⁶ A Collection of the Proceedings in the House of Commons against the Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, Lord Chancellor of England, for Corruption and Bribery: with the several Debates and Speeches in the House thereupon, by Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Recorder Finch, Sir Robert Philips &c. Together with the Judgement given by the Lords against the said Lord Chancellor, A.D. 1620 (London: Printed for A. More, near St. Paul's, 1621).

⁵⁷ Ibid., this selection reveals that the actual trial took place mainly between the 15th and 21st of March, while Bacon was not finally sentenced until the 3rd of May.

⁵⁸ J.P. Kenyon, ed., The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 28-9.

⁵⁹ G.M. Trevelyan, English Social History (New York: Longmans, Green, 1942), p. 184.

⁶⁰ DNB

⁶¹ See textual introduction, pp. 55-6.

⁶² "Whenever a Secretary of State or other Minister resigned office or died it was usual to issue a warrant for the delivery of his papers to the Keeper of the Papers, but such papers were frequently detained and only recovered by the indefatigable exertions on the part of successive Keepers. Sir Thomas Wilson, in the reign of James I, spared no pains to increase the importance of his office and to recover any papers which he judged ought rightly to be in his custody, and the King gave him every encouragement to do so. In a memorial of about 1613, he says that there were then two sorts of papers in the State Paper Office, 'those that have been long kept at Whitehall and those brought from Salisbury House by himself since the Lord Treasurer's decease, which were far the greater in number'." Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office, Vol. II, "State Papers and Departmental Records," rev. and extended (to 1960) from the guide by the late M.S. Giuseppe (London: HMSO, 1963), pp. 1-2.

⁶³ G.E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), IV, 882.

⁶⁴ See critical notes to Entertainment Eleven, lines 17-8 and 26.

⁶⁵ Wickham, I, 210ff.

⁶⁶ See introduction to Entertainment Two for further comments on archery and its symbolic associations, also Ascham's Toxophilus provides a good example of the popularity of the symbolic implications of archery.

⁶⁷ Bald, Honorable Entertainments, p. v.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. ix; see list of irregular and doubtful readings, p. ix.

⁶⁹ The second ornament on Sig. E also appears in Middleton's The Ghost of Lucrece (London: Simmes, 1600), Sig. A4. The printer's flowers used as head-pieces in Honorable Entertainments also appear in this volume.

⁷⁰ George R. Price, "The Authorship and the Bibliography of The Revenger's Tragedy," The Library, 5th Series XV (1960), pp. 272-3.

⁷¹ See also the catchword on Sig. D1 which is "Ecch-", while the first word on Sig. D1v is "Ecch-".

⁷² See also the catchword on Sig. D8v which is "Flora", while the first word on Sig. E1 is "Flora".

⁷³ Peter B. Murray, A Study of Cyril Tourneur (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 162. Murray remarks that Eld's compositors usually followed their texts and that neither George Price nor Fredson Bowers had been able to identify them in their studies of works printed by Eld.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 158, "Price's study of the punctuation and spelling in the RT indicates that the play is Middleton's. As in the holograph Middleton manuscript of A Game at Chess, there is frequent use of the comma, sometimes even to end speeches, and infrequent use of the colon and period."

⁷⁵ There is a fair amount of variation between the headings of the various entertainments. These are described in the textual notes and suggest that the book is a compilation of several MSS which were written at different times.

⁷⁶ Other examples may be found in the critical notes.

⁷⁷ Murray, pp. 174-89.

⁷⁸ R.C. Bald, ed., A Game at Chesse by Thomas Middleton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 35.

⁷⁹ F.P. Wilson, "Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players," The Library, 4th Series VII(1926/7), 197-8.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 202; for a discussion of the differences between Middleton's and Crane's hands, see Bald, A Game at Chesse, pp. 34-7.

⁸¹ See critical introduction to Entertainment Eleven.

⁸² A.H. Bullen, ed., The Works of Thomas Middleton (1885-6; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1964), VII, 371.

⁸³ Ibid., 375.

⁸⁴ Wickham, II part 1, 241, contains a list of pageants in which professional actors appeared; also see Craik, p. 46ff.

A Critical Old-Spelling Edition of Thomas Middleton's

Honorable Entertainments (1621)

and

"An Invention" (1622)

[A1]

H O N O R A B L E

ENTERTAINMENTS,

Compos'de for the Seruice of this

Noble Cittie.

S O M E O F W H I C H W E R E

5

fashion'd for the Entertainment of the Lords of

his Maiesties most Honorable Priuie Councell,

vpon the Occasion of their late Royall

Employment.

Imuented by Thomas Middleton.

10

[ornament]

Imprinted at London by G.E. 1621.

[A2] TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE Sir Francis Ihones, Knight,
L. Maior of the Citty of London; the Right Worship-
 full, Sir Iohn Garrard, Sir Thomas Bennet, Sir
Thomas Lowe, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Iohn Iolles,
Sir Iohn Leman, Sir George Bolles, Sir William
Cokayne, Knights and Aldermen; The truely Generous
and Noble, Heneage Finch Esquire, Master Recorder;
Master Edward Barkham, Master Alexander Prescott,
Master Peter Probye, Master Martin Lumley, Master
William Goare, Master Iohn Goare, Master Allen
Cotton, Master Cuthbert Hacket, Master William
Halliday, Master Robert Iohnson, Master Richard
Herne, Master Hugh Hamersley, Master Richard Deane,
Master Iames Cambell, Aldermen.

5

10

Master Edward Allen.
Master Robert Ducye. { Sheriffes and Aldermen.

15

All Brethren-Senators, Presidents of religious and
worthy Actions, Carefull Assistants in the State of so
vmatch'd a Gouvernement; And all of them being his
Worthy and Honorable Patrons.

20

T. M. Wisheth the Fulnes of that Honor,
 whose Obiect is Vertue, and Goodnesse.

Those Things that haue tooke Ioy (at seuerall Feasts)
To giue you Entertainment, as the Guests

25

[A2v] They held most truely Worthy, become now
Poore Suiters to be entertaynde by you,
So were they from the first; their Suite is then,
Once serving you, to be receiude agen,
And You, to equall Iustice are so true,
You alwaies cherish that, which honors You.

30

Euer obedient in his Studies, to the Seruice of
 so compleate a Goodnes.

Tho. Middleton.

[B1]

HONORABLE

ENTERTAINMENTS.

[The first Entertainment.]

On Monday and Tuesday in Easter weeke, 1620. the first Entertainment, at the house of the right worthy, Sr. William Cockaine then L. Mayor: Which on the Saturday following was fashioned into seruice for the Lords of his Maiesties most Honourable Priuy Councell; vpon which day, that noble Marriage was celebrated betwixt the Right Honourable Charles L. Howard Baron of Effingham, and Mary, eldest Daughter of the said Sr. William Cockaine, then L. Mayor of London, and L. Generall of the Military forces.

One habited like a Gentleman Sewer, bearing in his hand an Artificiall Cocke, conducted by the City Musicke, toward the high Table, a Song giuing notice of his Entrance.

[Biv]

Song.

Roome, roome, make roome,

You Friends to Fame,

Officers of worth and Name,

Make roome, make roome,

Behold the Bird of State doth come,

Make roome,Cleere the place,O doe it all the grace;It is the King of Birds, whose chaunting,And early-morning Crowing,

10

So quicke and strongly flowing,Doe's make the King of Beasts lye panting;How worthy then to be brought in with Honour,That daunts the proudest in that humble manner.

[B2]

The Speech.

Two powers at strife about conceiued wrong,

15

To whom this Bird should properly belong,

Were reconcil'd by Harmony: First, the Sunne

Cald it his Bird, cause still when day begun

To ope her modest Eye, this Creature then,

Proclaimes his glory to the world agen;

20

Minerua next, Goddesses of Armes and Art,

Claymd it for hers (not without iust desert)

He, like the Morning being the Muses friend,

And then for courage, 'tis his life, his end;

Without wrong then those properties related,

25

To both, hee may be iustly consecrated:

But, Worthy Lord, how properly to you,

Whose place pertakes of both; it is so true

An Emblem of your worth, charge, power, & state,

None, Noblier can expresse a Magistrate;

30

For all that is in this Bird, Quality,

Is in you Vertue, Iustice, Industry,

What do's his early morning note imply?

But in you, early care and vigilancie;

[B2v] A Duty that begets Duty to you,

35

So Vertue still payes, and receiues her due:

What do's the striking of his wings import,

Ere to his Neighbour hee his sounds retort?

But the deere labours and inccessant paines

Of a iust Magistrate, that e'en constraines

40

His Nerues, to giue more Vertue to his word,

And beate in sense into the most absurd:

The Sharpest is the easiest to apply,

For his quicke Spurre, Lawes sword doth signifie;

The execution of your Charge and Place,

45

To cut off all crimes that are bold and base:

"Vertues should be with kind embraces, heap'd,

"But with a Sword, Sins haruest must be reap'd.

To the Aldermen.

My reuerence next to you, to you, that are

The Fathers of this City; by whose care,

50

Wisedome & watchfulnes, the good cause thrives,

You that are Lights and Presidents in Liues,

Noble Examples, Honours t'Age and Time,

[B3] This is the Top which your good cares must climbe,

"A ceaslesse labour Vertue hath impos'd,

55

"Vpon all those, whom Honour hath enclos'd;

And such are you, selected from the rest,

Works then that are most choice become you best;

Place before all your Actions and Intents,

The rare gifts of that Bird, this but presents;

60

Behold the very shape and Figure, now,

Serues for a Noble Welcome, turnd into

A Cup of Bounty, and t'adorne the Feast,

Loaden with loue comes to each worthy Guest;

And but obserue the manner, there's in that,

65

Freenesse exprest, humility, yet State;

First you take off his head, to tast his heart,

Which shoves at this time power is laid apart,

And bounty fills the place; then he goes round;

To shew a Welcome of an equall Sound,

70

To euery one a free one, through the Boord,

So plaine hee speakes the goodnesse of his Lord,

Take then respectfull Notice through the Hall,

That heere the noble Health begins to All.

[B3v] The Cock-cup then deliuered by this Gentle man Sewer
to the L. Mayor, hee beginning the Health, a second
Song thus honouring it.

2. Song.

The Health's begun,

75

In the Bird of the Sun,

Pledge it round, pledge it round,

With hearty welcome it comes crownd,

O pledge it round:

The Ceremonies due

80

Forget not as they were begun to you,

When you are dranke to, y'are by duty led,

First to kisse your hand, then take off the head,

You cannot misse it then,

To put it on and kisse it agen;

85

[B4] The next to whom the Health doth flow,

It taught to honour your Pledge so,

So round, round, round, round, let it goe,

As aboue, so below;

For Bounty did intend it alwayes so.

90

[B4v]

The second Entertainment.

At Bun-hill, on the Shooting day; Another habited like
an Archer did thus greet the L. Mayor and Aldermen after
they were placed in their Tent.

Why this is nobly done, to come to grace
 A Sport, so wel becomes the Time & Place,
 Old Time made much on't, & it thought no praise
 Too deere for't, nor no honour in those dayes,
 Not only Kings ordaind Lawes to defend it, 5
 But shinde the first Examples to commend it,
 In their owne Persons honord it so farre,
 A Land of Peace show'd like a field of Warre;
 But chiefly Henry, (Memories Fame) the Eight,
 And the Sixt Edward; gaue it worth and weight, 10
 By Act and fauour, (not without desert)
 It being the comliest and the Manliest Art,
 And whereas meaner Crafts took their first forme
 From humble Things, as Twisting from a worme,
 And Weaning from the Spiders limber frame; 15

[B5] Musicke and Archery from Apollo came:

He calls himself great Maister of this Sport,
 In whose bright name faire Wisedome keeps her Court:
 Well may this Instrument be first in Fame,
 Aboue all others that haue got a Name, 20

In war or peace; when Heauen it selfe doth show,

"The Couenant of Mercy, by a Bow,

And as each Creature, nay, each sencelesse Thing,

Is made a Glasse to see Heauens goodnesse in;

So though this be a meere delight, a Game,

25

Iustice may see heere somthing she may claime,

(Without wrong done to State) and cal't her own,

Since the greatst power is oft through weakenesse known.

What are Reproofs? with them I first begin,

But Arrowes shot against the Brest of Sin;

30

Who hits Vice home, & cleaues a wrong in twaine,

So that it neuer comes to close againe,

Shewes not he noble Archery? Ile pray euer,

He may be followed, mended he can neuer:

And as a cunning Bowman markes his ground,

35

And from light things (which being tost vp) is found

Where the winde sits (for his aduantage best)

[B5v] Before he let his Arrow passe his Brest;

So the graue Magistrate, discretely wise,

Makes vse of light occasions that arise,

40

To lead him on to weightier, windes a Cause,

From things but weakly told, much substance draws

And will the state of Truth exactly trye,

Before he let the Shaft of Iudgement flie:

Then in this Art, there's Vertue still exprest,

45

For euery man desires heere to be Best,

Their Ayme is still Perfection, to outreach,
 And goe beyond each other; which do's teach
 A Noble Strife in our more serious Deeds,
 Assuring Glory to him best exceeds:

50

And where some sports seek corners for their shame
Day-light and open Place, commends this Game;
 Much like an Honest Cause, it appeares Bold
 In publicke Court, for all Eyes to behold;

To the Archers.

On then, Apolloes Scholers, You ne're found
 Nobler Spectators compast in this Ground;
 To whom I wish (worthy their Vertuous Wayes)
 Peace to their Hearts, long Health, & Blessed daies.

55

[B6]

[The third Entertainment.]

Vpon the renewing of that worthy and laudable Custome
of Visiting the Springs and Conduite Heads, for the
Sweetnesse and Health of the City. A Visitation long
discontinued.

A Water-Nymph, seeming to rize out of the Ground by
the Conduit Head, neare the Banquetting-House, thus
greetes the Honourable Assembly.

Hah? let me cleare mine Eyes, me thinks I see

Comforts approach, as if They came to me;

I am not vsde to e'm; I ha beene long without,

How comes the Vertue of the Times about?

Ha's Ancient Custome yet a Friend? of Weight?

5

So many? rare! Goodnesse is wak't alate

Out of her long Sleepe sure; that ha's laine still

Many a deere Day, charm'd with Neglect and Will,

I thought I'de beene forsaken, quite forsooke,

For none these 7. yeares, ha's bestow'd a Looke

10

Vpon my watry Habitation here;

I meane, of Power, that ought to see Me cleere,

[B6v]

For yon'd faire Cities health, which Sweetnes blesse

And Vertue in full Strength, euer possesse;

Well fare thy Visitation, Noble Lord,

15

And this most Graue Assembly; that accord

In wayes of Charity and Care with Thee;

Ioyes visit You, as Your Loues visit Me:

The Water stands so full now in mine Eyes

I cannot chuse but weepe; but the Teares rise

20

From Gladnesse, not from Sorrow, for that's lost

Now I see you, Vnkindnesse yet ha's cost

Many a deere Drop, since I beheld the Face

Of the last Magistrate, in Power and Place;

I h'a done good Seruice; t'is no boasting part

25

In one forgot, to speake her owne desert:

I grant my kind and louing Sisters both

Chadwell and Amwell, haue exprest no Sloth

In their Pipe-Pilgrimage, but fairely proou'd

Most excellent Seruants, hous'de, and welbelou'd;

30

And haue, when hard Necessity requires,

Giuen happy Quench to many merciless Fires;

Therefore am I neglected? An old Friend?

The Head? that to the Heart a'th City send

[B7] My best and cleerest Seruice, take Delight

35

To be at hand, make your Dames Pure and White;

Who for their ciuill Neatnesse, are proclaim'd

Mirrours of women, through all Kingdoms fam'd:

Can I be so forgot? and daily heare

The noise of Water-bearers din your eare?

40

Those are my Almes-folkes, trotting in a Ring,

And liue vpon the bounty of my Spring,

Yet like dull wormes that haue no sence at all,

Lick vp the Dewes, ne're look from whence they fal,

The head's not minded, whence the goodnes flows:

45

So with the worlds condition right it goes;

"Blessings are swallowed with a greedy loue,

"But Thanks flye slowly to yon'd place Aboue;

From whence the Euerliuing Waters spring,

Which to your soul's eternall comforts bring:

50

The Dewes of Heauen fal on you; prosperous Fates

Like fruitfull Riuers, flow into your States.

[B7v]

[The fourth Entertainment.]

A Speech intended for the generall Training, being appointed for the Tuesday next ensuing the Visitation of the Springs, but vpon some occasion, the Day deferred. Vpon discontinuance, and to excite them to practise.

Pallas on Horsebacke, on her Helmet the figure of a Cocke, her proper Crest, thus should haue greeted the L. Generall the L. Mayor Sir William Cokaine, at his entrance into the Field, the worthy Colonels, the right Generous Mr: Alderman Hamersley, President of the Noble Councill of Warre, for the Martiall Garden; the Captaines, &c.

Why here's my wish, the Ioy I liue vpon,
Wisedome and Valour when both meet in one,
Now tis a Field of Honor, Fames true Sphere,
Me thinks I could eternally dwell here;
Why here's perfection, tis a place for me,
Pallas delights in such community;

5

This Bird of Courage, (Enemy to Feare)

[B8]

Whose Figure on my Helmet now I weare,

And haue done euer from my Birth in Heauen

Is consecrate to Me, as to Thee giuen,

10

Our Crests alike, and fits both warre and peace,
 The Vertues are, Valour and Watchfulnesse,
 And both shine cleare now in thy present State,
Field-Generall, and City-Magistrate:

As I from Arts and Armes deriue my name;
 So thou suppliest two Offices, with Fame:

15

Why here the Ancient Romane Honor dwels,
 A Pretor, Generall; Senators, Colonels;
 Captaines, graue Citizens; so richly inspir'd,

They can assist in Councell, if requir'd,

20

And set Court-Causes in as fayre a Forme,
 As they doe Men, here, without Rage or Storme:

Lieutenants, Ensigners, Seriants of Bands,
 Of worthy Citizens the Army stands,

Each in his place deseruing faire respect;

25

I can complaine of nothing but Neglect,

That such a noble Cities Arm'd Defence

Should be so seldome seen; I could dispence

With great occasions, but alas, whole yeares

[B8v] To put off exercise, giues cause of feares;

30

"In getting wealth all care should not be set,

"But some, in the defending what you get:

There's fewe but haue their prouidence so pure,

(Blest with a faire estate) to make it sure,

By strength of writings, and in good mens hands

35

Putting their Coyne, secur'd by Lifes and Lands,

This is the common Fort to which all flye,

Euery man labours for Security;

But what's all this? (I speake in Truths behalfe)

If neither Men, City, nor Deeds be safe;

40

Where's now Security of State? that day,

When life stands doubtfull of her house of clay;

A ruine, which neglect of glorious Armes

H'as brought on many a Kingdome, rockt with charmes

Of lazy dulnesse, by vnpractis'd men

45

Fit for no seruice; I resolute you then;

This is Security, if you'le rightly know,

And do's Secure that Word which you call so:

Let not a small pecuniary Expence

(Which is but drossie dotage) keeps you hence,

50

You lose all that you saue, after that manner

[C1] What i'st to rise in riches, fall in honour?

Nay to your Safeties to commit selfe-treason,

Which euery thing prouides for, blest with reason,

Let this graue Lord's Example, (in its Prime)

55

Who perfects all his Actions with his Time,

Makes euen with the Yeare, to his faire Fame,

Gines His Accounts vp with a Glorious Name

In Field and Court, moue all men to discharge

Their manly Offices and paines at large;

60

Let euery Yeare (at least) once in his Round,

See you like Sonnes of Honour tread this Ground;

And Heauen that both giues, & secures iust welth,
The City blesse with Safety, You with Health.

[C1v]

[The fifth Entertainment.]

At the House of Sir William Cokaine; Vpon Simon
and Iudes day following, being the last great Feast
of the Magistrates Yeare, and the expiration of his
Pretorship.

One attir'd like a Mourner, enters after a made
dish like a Herse, stuck with sable Bannerets, Drums
and Trumpets expressing a mournfull Seruice.

[C2]

The Speech.

Imagine now, each apprehensiuue Guest
 The Yeare departed; this his Funerall Feast,
 I, a chiefe Mourner, this a sad Pageant, here,
 Set with the Orphans Sigh, the Widowes Teare,
 All seeme to mourne, as lockt from their reliefes,
 Till the New Sun of Iustice dry their griefes;
 And as there is no Glorious thing that ends,
 But leanes a Fame behind it, that commends
 Or disapproues the Progresse of his Acts:
 So in this Epitaph, sad Truth contracts
 A spacious Story, which spread forth at large,
 Might instruct All, built vp for Power & Charge.

5

10

[C2v]

The Last Will and Testament of 1620.finishing for the City.

Inprimis, I Annus 1620. do bequeath to my Successor
 21. all my good wishes, paines, labours and reform-
 ations, to bee nobly perfected by his endeouours and
 diligence.

15

Item, I make Iustice my Executor, and Wisedome my
 Ouerseer, which is, that Honorable Court which neuer
 failed yet to see Iustice performed.

Item, I giue and bequeath to all the Officers, for
 Legacies; Truth, Temperance, Example of Humility and
 Gentlenesse.

20

Lastly, I Bequeath to the whole Body of the beloued
 Commonalty, three inestimable Iewels, Loue, Meeknesse
 and Loyaltie; which are alwaies the forerunners of a
 blessed prosperity; which heauen grant they may euer-
 lasting enjoy.

25

[C3]

The Epitaph.

Here ends a Yeare that neuer mispent day,
 Through Fames celestial Signes made his own way,
 By discrete iudgement all his time still led,
 Which is the onely Signe gouernes the Head,
 Mercy to wants, and Bounty to Desert,

30

The speciall Signe that rules the noble Heart,

A Yeare of goodnesse, and a Yeare of right,

In which the honest cause sued with delight.

35

A Yeare wherein nothing that's good, was dull,

Began at Moones Encrease, and ends at Full;

Full cup, full welcome: adding the Suns gift,

Who nearer his declining, the more swift

In his illustrious course, more bright, more cleere,

40

Such is the glorious setting of this Yeare,

His beamy substance shines e'ne through his shroud

As the faire Sun shoots splendor through his cloud;

May euery Yeare succeeding this, still haue

No worse an Epitaph to decke his Graue,

45

And so my last farewell (this Teare for me)

Wishing that many may conclude like Thee.

[C3v]

[The sixth Entertainment.]

At the House of the Right Honorable Sir Francis Ihones.
The First Entertainment, at his first Great Feast
preparde to giue Welcome to his Owne Noble Fraternitie,
the Company of Haberdashers.

The property, to which this Speech especially hath
 Respect, was a deuice like a made Dish, expressing
 Two naked Armes breaking through a Cloud, supporting
 a wreath of Lawrell, being part of the Haberdashers
 Armes.

[C4]

The Speech presented by a seruant to Comus,
the great Sir of Feasts.

Free Loue, full welcome, bounty fayre, & cleere,
 E'en as it flowes from Heauen, inhabit here,
 And with your Liberall Vertues blesse the yeare,
 Make this thy Pallace thou smooth youth of Feasts,
Comus! and put Ioy into all the Guests,
 That they may truely taste in fewest words,
 Th'Abundant welcome yon'd Kind Lord affords,
 Especially to You, aboue the rest,
 Of all most worthy to be First and Best;
 You challenge two Respects, in Brotherhood, one,

5

10

Which had desert enough came it alone,
 Without a second Vertue, but to adde
 Vnto Your Worthinesse, Your Loue was clad
 With Honor, Cost, and Care, and how applide,
 The late triumphant Day best testified,
 Stands in no need of my applause and praise,
 Your Worth can of it selfe, it selfe best raise;
 So much for Noble Action in your Right,

15

[C4v] Which I presume his goodnesse will requite"
 Now for Himselfe, (not far to wade or swim)
 I borrow of your Honours to fit him,
 Which both preserues me in my first bounds still,
 And may agree best with his Loue and Will:

20

Here the Property is presented.

Behold in this rare Symbole of Renowne,
 The Embleme of all Iustice, and the Crowne
 The faire reward for't, euer fresh and greene;
 Which imitates those Ioyes Eye hath not seene;
 These Armes, that for their nakednesse resemble
 E'en Truth it selfe, no couering, to dissemble,
 Nor shift for Bribe, but open, plaine, and bare,
 Shows, Men of Power should keep their conscience faire
 And were their Acts transparent, without vaile
 Disguize of Vizard, and such neuer faile;

25

30

Obserue this more, tis not one Arme alone

That beares this Laurell, but two ioyn'd in one,

35

Mercy and Iustice, the two Props of State,

They must be both fixt in the Magistrate;

[C5] If wanting either, subiect to much harme,

For he that ha's but one, ha's but one Arme;

Iudge then the Imperfection; marke agen,

40

They breake both through a Cloud; which instructs Men

How they should place their Reuerence and their Loue,

Seeing all lawfull power, comes from Aboue;

And as the Laurell (which is now your due)

Being due to Honour, therefore most to you,

45

Feares no iniurious Weather the Yeare brings,

But spite of Storms looks euer greene and springs,

Apolloes Tree, which Lightenings neuer blast,

So (Honor'd Lord) should burning Malice cast,

Her pitchy Fires at your Triumphant State;

50

You are Apolloes Tree, (a Magistrate),

Which no foule Gust of Emuy can offend,

Nor may it euer to your Lordships End,

Health and a Noble Courage blesse your Dayes;

To this your worthy Brotherhood, fame and praise.

55

[C5v]

[The seventh Entertainment.]

At the house of the Right Honorable Sir Francis Ihones
 L. Mayor, For the Celebration of the Ioyfull Feast
of Christmas last.

Leuity, a person attired sutable to her condition,
 from a Window, vnexpectedly thus greets the Assembly
 in the midst of the Feast.

Leu. Why well said, thus should Christmas be

Lightsome, Iocond, blithe and free,

Now it lookes like Bounties Pallace,

Where euery Cup ha's his full Ballace,

Drowne Cares with Iuice that Grapes haue bled,

5

And make Times cheeke looke fresh and red,

Let nothing now but Healths goe round,

And no sooner off, but crown'd

With sparkling Liquors, bounding vp,

Quicke in Pallet, as in Cup:

10

To be heany, to be dull,

[C6]

Is a fault so pittifull,

We bar it from the course of Reason,

Care must not peep abroad this Season,

Nor a sad looke dare appeare

15

Within ten Mile of Christmas cheere;

Sighes are banisht ten leagues farder,
 Either Cellar, Hall or Larder;
 To be Iouiall then and blithe
 Is truely to pay (Christmas) Tithe,
 And where free Mirth is and impartiall,
Christmas there h'as made me Marshall.

20

[C6v] Seuerity, from an opposite window, as vnexpectedly
reproues her.

Seu. Why how now? know you where you are? rude thing;
 Bold and vnmanner'd Licence, dare you bring
 Your free Speech hither, before me begin?
 Who let this Skittish thing of Lightnesse in?
 Some call the Porter hither, yet stay, stay.
 I'ue power in words to chase this toy away;
 I wonder that the Musique suffers thee
 To come into their roome?

25

Leu. Why Nicety?

30

Seu. Beleeeue me honest Men (what e're you be)
 She's able to spoyle all your Harmony,
 Corrupt you ayres with Lightnesse.

Leu. Oh fie, fie,

How ill you blaze my Coate, Seuerity?

Seu. Is this a place for you? can Lightnesse here

35

Vnder the Hazard of her Shame appeare?

[C7] Leu. Why thou dull lumpish Thing, void of all fashion,
 Mirths poyson, Enemy to Recreation,
 Thou Melancholly wretch, so fil'd with spite
 Thou eat'st thy heart, when others take delight,
 I must be merry, tis my nature--

40

Seu.

Foole.

Leu. Dull dogbolt.Seu.

Skit.

Enter below, Temperance.Temp.

What? this a Scolding Schoole,

How now? so hie got? and so lowd withall?

Whose doing wa'st plac'st you two there to braule?

Pray marke the Assembly, looke vppon e'm well,

45

Thinke where you are, and let that rude thought quell

Your vnbeseeeming difference, tis not heere

As at a Pit, here's Reuerence, Worth, and Feare.Leu. She sayes this place and season suites not me,Temp. She sayes but right in that,Seu.O Leuity,

50

Temp. No, nor you neither,[C7v] Leu.

You may be gon too,

Temp. Y'are Both Extreames, therefore no place for you,Lightnes becomes not, nor Seuerity,

It must be betweene both, and I am Shee,
 Too Light, is bad, and too Seuere as Vilde, 55
 But both well temperd, makes the mixture milde,
 As I stand now betweene you, so it makes
 A perfect Vertue vp, when it pertakes
 Of each, and comes no neerer then I doo,
 And Vertue made, We haue no neede of you, 60
 Vanish, be gon.

Seu. I giue place willingly
 To You, but not to Her.

Leu. Nor I to thee.

They giue place.

Temp. So, Thus things should haue their becomming grace,
 For Temperance fits the Reuerence of this place:
 Graue Senators, in goodnes still increast! 65
 [C8] Long may you Liue to celebrate this Feast,
 This blessed Season of true Ioy compilde
 In which faire Heauen and Man were reconcilde:
Musique? thou modest Seruant to this place,
 Raise chast Delight, to doe this Season grace. 70

[C8v]

A Song

Answered at seuerall places.

Eccho! Eccho! by thy loue once to Narcissus,

I now coniure thee not to misse vs,

But make thy Sound

Vppon the Woods rebound

And Mountains--

75

Ecch. And mountaines,

[Temp.] And to thy neighbouring Sisters cal,--

[Ecch.] Sisters cal,

[Temp.] Lodg'd in Caue or hollow Wall

And those resounding neere faire Fountaines--

80

Ecch. Neere faire Fountaines,

[Temp.] Let e'm call to one another--

[Ecch.] To one another--

[Ecch.2] One another

[Temp.] And one Sister rayse vp tother--

85

Ecch. Vp tother

[Temp.] Let it goe from me to you--

[Ecch.] From me to you--

[Ecch.2] Mee--

[Ecch.] To you,

[Temp.] From you to them, be iust and true--

90

[Ecch.] Iust and True

[Temp.] Neuer cease your Voyces Fight,

Till you raise vp chast Delight--

[Ecch.] Vp chast Delight.

Delight. Who calls me from my Caue--

[Temp.] Twas I-- 95

[Ecch.] Twas I,--

[Ecch.2] Twas I;

[Temp.] This is no Time in silence now to lye--

Delight Who I?

[Ecch.] O I; 100

[Temp.] This is a Season of all Ioy compilde,

In which faire Heauen and Man were reconcilde--

[Ecch.] Heauen and Man were reconcilde,--

[Ecch.2] Reconcilde;

[Temp.] Behold how many a worthy Guest 105

Are met to celebrate this Feast.

Delight. I see it plaine, O blame me then,

I ne're will showe such Sloth agen;

For whose delight am I now raisde?--

[Temp.] Oh for the Citties!--

Delight. How? for the Citties?-- 110

Ecch. For the Citties:

Delight. To faile a Mistris so renown'd it were a thousand pitties,--

[Div] Ecch. Thousand pitties.

[Temp.] Those are her Honor'd Sonnes you now behold,

Delight. Heauen blesse them all, with Graces manifold. 115

To the Musique.

Temp. So!

Tis thankfully accepted, y'haue exprest,
 Your seruice well and fully to this Feast:
 Adorn'd and honor'd in each happy part,
 With those most reuerend Patrons to Desert:

120

The Close!

Ioy neuer faile your meetings, good successe
 All your Endeouours, and your Fortunes blesse,
 Gladnes of heart dwell euer in your Brests,
 And Peace of faire Workes bring you glorious Rests.

[D2]

[The eighth Entertainment.]

At the House of the Right Honorable Sir Francis Ihones, L. Maior.

For the Solemne feast of Easter last, vpon the Times of that blessed
and laudable Custome of Celebrating the memory of Pious workes in
this Cittie, at Saint Mary Spittle.

The Inuention. The foure Seasons of the Yeare, Spring, Summer,
Autumne and Winter, In a Song into foure parts diuided, Call vp
Flora, the Goddess of the Spring, who in a Bower, deckt with
Artificiall Flowers, appeares vpon the Musically Inuocation.

[D2v]

The Song! at seuerall Windowes.

Spr. Flora, Flora!

We call thee heere,

Sun. We call thee heere,

From forth thy fragrant Bower,

Spr. Thou Queene of euery laughing Flower,

5

Appeare!

Appeare to vs,

Sum. To vs appeare:

Thou Banquet of the Yeare,

Spr. Or if a Name may be more sweet, more deere,

Harke, Summer harke,

10

Sum. Marke, Autumne, marke
How coughing Winter mournes to see
This smiling Houre,

Win. Would it were nipt for me,
But soft I feele no such decay
But I may liue to kisse faire May,
And in the Morne and Euening howers,
Leaue my cold sweats vpon the Flowers.

15

[D3] Spr. Alasse poore Mumps, at thy weake power
We laugh,
The Sun will rise and take thy cold Kisse off.
And now behold.

20

Win. -- Oh --Oh--O--

Aut. He's strucke cold
At Floraes first appearing,
Looke, in a Sound,
Will drop to'th ground.
Helpe, helpe, helpe, he wants your cheering.

25

Win. Oh I confesse
Feild Emperesse,
The Beauty of thy power amazes,
I am content to ioyne
With those three Friends of thine,
And helpe to chant thy prayes;

30

All. Now all the Seasons of the Yeare agree
To giue, (Faire Flora) the prime place to Thee.

[D3v] Flora rising in her Bower, calls forth two of her Seruants.

Flo. Where's Hyacinth! the Boy Appollo loude,

35

And Turnde into a Flower?

Hy. Here Queene of sweetnes.

Flo. Adonis! thou that for thy beauteous chastity,

Wert turnde into the chastest of all Flowers,

(The closse-infolded Rose) blownen into Blushes

40

It is so mayden-modest,

Ad. What's thy pleasure

Faire Empresse of sweete Odours,

Flo. Willing Seruants!

I haue Employment for you both, and speedy,

45

Both. We waite with much Ioy to receiue the charge on't;

Flo. Hast, to the two Assisting Magistrates,

Those worthy Citty Consulls,

Beare our sweete wishes to e'm, and speade Ioy

From vs, to both their Feasts,

50

And to that part of their Graue-worthy Guesse

[D4]

Which here we misse to day, though here be those

Whom we ought more especially to Honor,

Say though we cannot there our selfe appere,

Because we owe our greater seruice here,

55

Yet that they shal not faile of all their due,

We send the wishes of our Heart by you.

Hy. Which shall be faithfully tendred,

Flo.

Tis presum'd

But to this faire Assembly present now

I, and these yeelding Sweets all their heads bow

60

In honour of this Feast, of the Day, chiefe,

Made solemne by the workes of your Reliefe,

Your Cares, your Charities, the holy Vse

Of pious exercise; all which infuse

Blessings into your Fortunes, you abound

65

In temporall things, 'cause blessed fruits are found

Vpon the Stocks you graft on, marke the Encrease;

You plant poore Orphans in a ground of Peace,

And carefully prouide, when fruit time comes,

You gather Heauens Ioyes for't, in infinite Summes;

70

This day you view'd the Garden of these Deeds,

That blesse the Founders; and all those succeeds

In Zeale and Imitation; you saw there,

Vertues true Paradise, drest with your Care;

(Your most religious Care) and those Blew Sets,

75

They are the Cities Bancke of Violets

That smels most sweet to Heauen; neuer cease then

You worthy Presidents for Times and Men,

Till Charitie spring, (by your Examples giuen)

As thick on Earth, as Rewards stand in Heauen;

80

If there were sloth or faintnes tow'ard good works;

(As blest be Heauen there is not) Time instructs,

The Season of the Yeare, for as the Ground,

The heauiest and dul'st Creature can be found,

Yet now begins both in her Meades and Bowers

85

[D4v]

To offer vp her Sacrifice, in Flowers,
 How much more ought that Earth with a Soule blest,
 Which is of euery of you here possest,
 To spring forth Workes of Piety and Loue,
 To gratifie those Dewes fall from Aboue
 And as the humblest Flower that euer grew,
 Ha's not his Sent alone, but Vertue too,
 Good for Mans griefes; so tis not Mans full Fame
 To haue a Christian Sauour, or a Name
 An empty voice of Charity and Reliefe,
 He must apply Ease to his Brothers grieve;
 "Faith is the Sent and Odour of the Flower,
 "But Work's the Vertue, that makes good the power;
 Tis like the Tincture of those Roabes you weare,
 In which cleare Vesture you to me appeare
 Like Borders of faire Roses; and worne hie
 Vpon the Cities forehead; that rich Dye
 As it is reuerend, honourable, graue,
 So it is pretious, wholesome; which doth craue
 A double Vertue at the Wearers hands,
Iustice and Mercy; by which goodnesse stands:
 Thus Honour still claimes Vertue for his Due,
 And may both euer lay iust claime to you:
 What? the foure Seasons of the Yeare stuck dumbe?
 I lookt for a kind Welcome, now Im'e come.

90

95

100

105

110

[D5]

2. Song, by the foure Seasons! called
the Song of Flowers.

Spr. Welcome, O welcome, Queene of sweetnes welcome,
in the noblest manner,

[D5v]

With all thy Flowers, thy sweete breath't Maides
of Honour;

Sum. Flower gentle! I begin with Thee

Aut. Fayre Flower of Chrystall! that's for me,

Spr. Apples of Loue! there sweetnesse dwels;

1115

Win. Puh, giue me Canterbury Bels;

Spr. Faire double-Gold cups, griefes expelling,

Sum. Agnus Castus, all excelling,

Aut. Venus Bath! the loueliest pride of Iune,

Win. Giue me that Flower, cald, Go to bed at noone,

120

Spr. Blessed Thistle, fam'd for good,

Sum. Shepheards Pouch, for stanching blood,

Aut. Faire yallow Knight-wort, for a foule relapse,

Win. And Ladies-Mantle, good for Maydens Paps,

Spr. Tuft Hyacinth! that crownes the Bower,

125

Cal'd of some, the Virgins Flower;

Win. Take that for me, more good I feele

In Ruffling Robin, and Larkes Heels.

Spr. There is a Sweete, Vnnamed yet,

The root is white, the Marke of pure Delight,

130

[D6]

Bearing his Flowers faire and hie,

The colour like a purple Dye;

Win. What is the name tis blest withall?

Spr. Liue-long! it so the Shepheards call;

Win. Liue-long? tis Vertues promis'd Due

135

And may it Long remaine with You

Honor'd Patrons,

Vertuous Matrons,

Whose Lives and Acts this City graces,

Daily striuing,

140

And reuiuing

Workes worthy your renowne and places.

Flo. So ya're confirm'd; from your harmonious Closes

May Sweetnesse drop, as Hony-Dew from Roses,

Then turning, to the Lord Mayor

and Aldermen.

A blessed Health possesse you, and a long,

145

That in this latter Spring of your graue yeares,

[D6v]

You may be greene in Vertues, and grow strong

In works of Grace, which soules to Heauen endeers;

Your good Cares, here, Iustice, and well spent houres

Crowne you hereafter with eternall Flowers.

150

Hyacinth, and Adonis, sent forth by Flora, to the
 2. other Feasts, thus sets off their Employments.

The goddesse Flora, Empresse of the Spring,
 Chusing (this Feast) her Flowry Soiourning,
 Vnder the Roofe of the chiefe Magistrate,
 Whose power layes iust claime to the greatest state,
 Hath sent me forth, not meanest in her Grace, 155
 To breath forth her sweet wishes to this place;
 First to the Master of this bounteous Feast,
 To speake her ioy; next, to each worthy Guest;
 And though she cannot now her Selfe appeare,
 Because she woes her greater Seruice there, 160
 Yet her Hearts Loue to euery one I bring,
 To whom sh'as sent a Present of the Spring.

Then fals into the former speech of Flora, making
Vse of her diuine instructions.

[D7]

[The ninth Entertainment.]

Here follows the worthy and Noble Entertainemnts of the Lords of his Maiesties most Honourable Priuy Councell; at the Houses of the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffes.

The first Entertainment vpon Thursday in Easter weeke beeing the fift of Aprill, 1621. And vpon the sixeteenth of the same Month those Persons of Honor receiued their second Noble welcome, in a free and Generous Entertainment, at the house of the Right Worshipfull, Mr. Sheriffe Allen; Flora the Person vsed before, thus prepared for them.

Flo. Am I so happy to be blest agen?

With These! the choice of many thousand men,

For Royall Trust selected, and a Care

That makes you Sacred; may the world compare

[D7v]

A Confidence with yours? from so compleate

5

And excellent a Master? Or so great

And free a Loue can any Nation shoue

In Subiect to the Soueraigne, then doth flow

From this most thankfull Citty? Waues of Loue

Ee'n ouerwhelme each other, as they moue,

10

All striuing to be first, they runne in one

To'th Oceans Brest! (The Kings Affection.)

And you of Honor! that doe oft appeare

In presence of a Maiesty so cleere,

So mighty in Heauens blessings, be so kind 15
 To grace with Words what He shall euer find,
 And tis a glorious Truth, and well beseems
 Places and Persons of your faire Esteemes,
 Not all the Kingdomes of the Earth, containe
 A Citty freer to her Soueraigne, 20
 More faithfull, and more carefull; obserue here
 His Highnes excellent Tryall; Loue and Feare
 Make vp a Subjects duty, to his King,
 As Iustice and sweete Mercy makes vp Him;
 So two fold Vertue two-fold Dutie, cheeres, 25
 He knew their loues, now came & toucht their fears
 To try their Temper, (O blest Heauen) he found
 It was the Feare he lookt for, had it's ground
 Vpon Religion, Reuerence, sweete Respect,
Loue lookt not Louelier, nor Diuinelier deckt, 30
 Each Reprehensiu word He did impart
 Flewe, and cleaude fast to their obedient Heart,
 Twas fire within their bosome, 'could not rest,
 Till in some serious manner, the'de exprest
 Their duteous Care, with all speede put in Act 35
 Their Soueraignes sacred pleasure, to coact
 Where manners failde, and force, as with a Pill
 From Humours rude, the Venom of the Ill;
 "A Kings owne Admonition, against Crimes,
 "Is Phisicke to the Body of the Times. 40

[D8]

And herein did He Imitate the Highest,
 (To whom it best becomes Him to be nighest
 To chasten, where he loues, it is the Seale
 Of the Almighties fauour, He doth deale
 So with his Chosen, doe not languish then,
 Thou Prince of Citties, cause the King of Men
 Diuinely did reprocue thee, Know, tis Loue,
 Thou art his Chosen Cittie, and wilt prooue
 (As thou hast euer beene) faithfull and free,
 The Chamber of his sweete Security:
 Then in a Health of Ioy your Hearts expresse,
 Whilst I breath welcome to those Noble Guesse.

45

50

The Song of welcome, after which Flora thus
Closes the Entertainment.

A Trust of Honor, and a Noble Care
Still to discharge that Trust, Keepe your Fames faire,
You haue proceeded carefully; goe on,
And a full Praise Crowne your Progression.

55

[D8v]

[The tenth Entertainment.]

The last Entertainment full as Noble and worthy as the former,
vpon the Saturday ensuing, being the 21. of the same Moneth,
at the House of the equally Generous and Bounteous, the Right
Worshipfull, Master Sheriffe Ducy.

[ornament]

[E1] Flora, this the third time, in her Bower, beginning to speake,
interrupted, by her two Seruants, Hyacinth and Adonis.

Flo. Good Heauen--

Hy. Fye, this is vsurpation meerely,

Speake thrice together? there's no right in this:

Flo. What's that?

Ad. I haue the iuster cause to take exceptions,

5

This is the place I seru'd in. lately seru'd in,

[E1v] And by her own appointment, my wrong's greatest.

Flo. Here's a strange sudden boldnesse a' both sides a' me

Hy. Wa'st not sufficient grace for you to speake

At the chiefe Magistrates house, there, where that Bower

10

Was first erected, but to shift your feate

From place to place, pull downe, and then set vp,

I wonder how she scapes Informers, trust me.

Ad. Beleeue me so doe I, sh'as fauour showne her.

Flo. So, this becomes you well,

15

Hy. There's right in all things,

We might haue kept our places as we held e'm,

There's little Conscience in your dealing, thus,

You might haue left the Lower Bookes for vs,

For our poore seruice.

20

Flo. Thus I answere you,

Taking my President from the iust came

Of those cleere Lights of Honour, shining faire

[D2]

To their Workes End; you see before your Eyes

The Trust that was committed to their wise

25

And discreet Powers (for his Highnesse Vse)

They put not off to others, with excuse

Of wearinesse, or paines; as they begun,

In their owne Noble Persons see all done:

So by their sweet Example, I that am

30

Your Queene and Mistris, and may rightly blame,

And taxe the boldnesse of your ruder blood,

I doe not thinke, or hold my selfe too good

In mine owne Person, to commend their Cares

That haue som iustly seru'd their King, in Theirs,

35

Now you pull in your Heads.

Both.

Pardon sweet Queene.

Flo. Yet why should Anger in my brow be seene

They came but to shew duty to the Time,

Contention to doe Seruice was their Crime,

That no ill looking fault; but 'tis still knowne,

40

[D2v]

"They that giue Honour, loue to doe't alone,
 It brookes no Partnership:--To giue this last
Duty her Due, as others before past,
 Though it came now from men of meaner Rancke,
 Where welth was ne're known to oreflow the bank
 Like Spring-Tides of the Rich, that swell more hie,
 Yet tak't for Truth, it comes as cheerefully,
 All smiling Giuers; and well may it come
 With smooth and louing Faces, the small Summe
 That they returne, is thousand times repaide
 In Peace and Safety, besides Soueraigne Ayde
 For each Hearts Grieuance, (to its full content)
 By this high Synode of the Parliament;
 Before whose faire, cleare, and Vnbribed Eyes,
 (When it appeares) Corruption sincks and dies,
 Secure Oppression once, comes trembling thither
 (Stead of her hard heart) knocks her knees together
 This Benefite is purchas'd, this Reward
 To which all Coyne is drosse to be compar'de

45

50

55

But, the faire Workes concluded, on all parts,
 Your Care, which I place first of all deserts,
 And it becomes it, t'as beene nobly Iust,

60

[D3]

You haue discharg'd with Honor your hie Trust:
 The Cities Loue, I must remember next,
 And faithfull Duty, both deuoutly mixt;

65

And (as the State of Court sets last, the Best,)

His boundlesse Goodnesse, not to be exprest,

That is your King and Master, Blessings fall

Vpon His Actions; Honor, on you All.

FINIS.

[The eleventh Entertainment.]

- [1] An Invention performed for the Service of the Right honorable Edward Barkeham, Lord Maior of the Cittie of London: At his Lordships Enterteinment of the Aldermen his Brethren, and the honorable and worthie Guests: (At his House assembled and Feasted) In the Easter Hollidaies: 1622.

written by

Tho. Middleton.

[1v blank]

- [2] A Song in seuerall parts: vshering toward the high Table, a Personage in Armor, representing Honor, holding in his Hands a Sheaffe of Arrowes.

Meane. A hall: a hall: below: stand cleere

What? areyou readie?

Base.

[...] Enter!

Meane.

[...] Then

- [2v] Present your Duties to those Men
Of worth, and Honor.

Chorus.

We reioice

5

When so we spend Art, howre, and Voice.

Meane. Tell me: oh tell me: what is he appeeres

So like a Son of Fame, and beares

A sheafe of Arrowes, bound with silken Bands?

Base. 'Tis Honor with two armed Hands

10

Shewing the figure of his [worth]

Who giues it, and deserues it both.

[3] Meane. A brauer Embleme for the Place

I nere beheld.

Base. Nor for his Race

A fitter Symbole (without Pride, or Spight)

15

Being armd at all points, to doe Merit right.

Meane. What word's that?

Base. Diligentia

Fortunæ Mater.

Meane. [This honourd] Daie

[3v] Makes good that Motto: 'tis exprest

Not in Him onely but in euerie Guest

20

I ioy to see.

Chorus. Wee ioy to see

Your Places, and your Works agree.

Finis. 1. Song.

Then Honor deliuers this speech.

Though in this Martiall habit I [appeare],

I bring nor cause of doubt, nor thought [of feare].

[4] 'Tis onely a waile found to expres best

25

The worthie Figure of yond Noble Crest.

Nor barely to be showne is the Intent

And scope of this Times Service: More is ment.

There's Use and Application, whence arise
Profit and Comfort to the Graue and Wise.

30

A nobeler Embleme of Charge, Powre, and Place,
Iustice and Valour, neuer yet did grace
[A station] more. A Crest becoms the State
[A christian] Champion (a good Magistrate).

[4v]

Two armed Armes: to what may they allude
More properer then to Truth, and Fortitude?

35

The Armor of a Christian? To be strong
In a iust Cause then to theis Armes belong.

The Sheafe of Arrowes, what doe they Implic
But shafts of Iustice'gainst Impietie?

40

Yet they must passe through a Iuditious hand
For see, they'r tyde with Mercies silken Band.

They must not inconsideratly be spent
But vsd like weapons of iust Punishment.

[5]

And as it is in course of Combat knowne
'Tis not the propertie of one hand alone

45

Both to defend, and offend at one time,

So let not one hand pass vpon a Crime

The waight may fall too heavy: but take both
Mercie with Iustice, twyns of equall growth

50

Those carry a Cause leuell through a Land,

For no man shootes an Arrow with one hand.

[Beleeue we] this: doe Envie what it can

[Religious] Conscience is an armed Man.

[5v]

An other way: to make it generall

55

For 'tis an Embleme that concernes you all,

You of the honorable Brotherhood

Knitt altogeather for the Citties good,

In whose grave Wisedomes, her faire Strength doth stand.

You are the Sheafe: the Magistrate the Band

60

Whose Loue is woond about you: Witnes be

His Bountie and his Welcom, both most free.

And as this Daie you saw the golden Sheafe

Of this blessed Citties works in the reliefe

[6]

Of the poore fatherles: May you behold

65

That Sheafe of Glorie, that makes drosse of Gold.

Th'Almighties Arrowes, on your Enemies fall,

And heauens armed Armes, protect you all.

2. Song.

Meane. Ioie be euer at your Feastes

Base. Bountie welcom all your Guests

70

Chorus. That this Citties honor maie

Spred as far as Morne shootes Daie.

[6v]

Meane. Faire your Fortunes euer be

Base. Plentie bles the Land that's free

Chorus. That this Citties honor maie

75

Spred as far as Morne shootes Daie.

Meane. Health your Powres with gladnes fill

Base. Iustice be your Armor, still.

Meane. Pious Works the golden Sheafe

Base. Those Arrowes strike the [wicked deafe]

80

[7] Meane. And dombe

Base. And Lane

Chorus. So Vertue maie

Spred forth as far as Morne shootes Daie.

Finis

[7v blank]

[8 blank]

[8v blank]

TEXTUAL AND CRITICAL NOTES: Form and Abbreviations

In the notes which follow, the line number and word or punctuation to the left of the square bracket refer to the text of this edition. To the right of the bracket appears the source of the emendation followed by a semi-colon and variants. If the emendation is originated in this edition, then only the variants are given to the right of the bracket. Emendations denoted as "cited in Bald" are listed as irregular and doubtful readings on p. ix of his introduction to the 1953 facsimile reprint of Honorable Entertainments. This does not mean that the emendation is his but rather that he questions the original reading which is also included in the notes.

Abbreviations

<u>Bald</u>	<u>Honourable Entertainments</u> (1621; rpt. Malone Society, 1953).
<u>Bullen</u>	<u>The Works of Thomas Middleton</u> (1885-6; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1964).
<u>Eld</u>	<u>Honorable Entertainments</u> (London: George Eld, 1621).
<u>MS</u>	"An Invention, etc." Conway Papers, Domestic, SP 14, vol. 129, Public Record Office.
<u>trans</u>	modern transcript accompanying the above MS.
<u>Cheney</u>	<u>Handbook of Dates for Students of English History</u> (London: RHS, 1961).

- Ellacombe.....The Plant-Lore & Garden-Craft of Shakespeare, 2nd ed.
(London: Satchell, 1884).
- DNB.....Dictionary of National Biography.
- Herbert.....The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies
of London (London: Guildhall Library, 1834, 1837),
2 vols.
- OED.....Oxford English Dictionary.
- Rohde.....Shakespeare's Wild Flowers (London: Medici Society,
1935).
- Sugden.....Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare
and his Fellow Dramatists (Manchester: Manchester
University Press, 1925).
- Wickham.....Early English Stages, 1300-1660 (London: Routledge
and Kegan Paul, 1959, 1963), 2 vols.
- Woodcock.....Woodcock's Lives of Illustrious Lords Mayors and Aldermen
of London (London: Woodcock, 1846).

TEXTUAL NOTESTitle Page

10. Middleton.] cited in Bald; Middlevon. Eld and Bald.
 10.1 ornament] see textual introduction, p. 50.

Dedication

15. }] { Eld and Bald.
 21. Honorable] cited by Bald; Ho-/rable Eld and Bald.

Entertainment One

- .18 Song.] SONG. Eld and Bald.
 32. Industry] cited in Bald; Industry Eld and Bald.
 74.4 2. Song.] 2. SONG. Eld and Bald.
 77. Pledge] cited in Bald; pledge Eld and Bald.

Entertainment Three

- .2 laudable] lau-/dable Eld and Bald.
 .4-.5 A Visitation long discontinued.] centered as a heading
 over A Water-Nymph ... Assembly. Eld and Bald.

Entertainment Four

- .5-.6 Vpon discontinuance, and to excite them to practise.]

printed to the left and parallel to A Speech ... the Day deferred, and separated from it by a bracket Eld and Bald.

- .8 the] Bald; cited as possibly t he Bald; t he Eld.
- 3. true] cited in Bald; ttue Eld and Bald.
- 23. Ensigners] Eld and Bald; cited as sic. Bald.

Entertainment Five

- .5 Pretorship.] Pretorship, Eld and Bald.
- .2-.5 At the House of Sir William Cokaine;} printed to the left and parallel to Vpon Simon ... Pretorship, and separated from it by a bracket Eld and Bald.
- .6-.7 made dish] Eld and Bald; conj. dish made, but see Entertainment Six, line .7.
- 12. Charge.] Charge Eld and Bald; cited as possibly Charge. Bald; punctuation, if present in Eld, is obscured by a small ink blot.
- 12.1 1620.] 162 . Eld and Bald; it looks as if the missing figure has been erased Bald.
- 13. 1620.] cited in Bald; 620. Eld and Bald.

Entertainment Six

- .2-.10 At the House of ... Ihones.] centered as a heading Eld and Bald.
The property ... Haberdashers Armes.] printed to the left and parallel to The First Entertainment ... Haberdashers., and separated from it by a bracket Eld and Bald.
- 35. two] cited in Bald; rwo Eld and Bald.

45. Being] cited in Bald; Bring Eld and Bald.
 51. (a Magistrate),] a (Magistrate,) Eld and Bald.
 55. praise.] cited in Bald; praise Eld and Bald.

Entertainment Seven

- .2-.4 At the house ... Mayor,] printed to the left and parallel to
For the Celebration ... last., and separated from it by a bracket
Eld and Bald.
 31. Men] cited in Bald; Me Eld and Bald.
 54. be] cited in Bald; me Eld and Bald.
 60. Vertue] cited in Bald; Vertue Eld and Bald.
 61. place] cited in Bald; glace Eld and Bald.
 62. thee.] thee, Eld and Bald.
 62.1 They giue place.] this is placed between Severity's and Levity's
 speeches in line 62 Eld and Bald.
 70.1 A Song] A Song? Eld and Bald.
 70.2 places.] places, Eld and Bald.
 71ff. see critical introduction, p. 32.
 75-6. And Mountains--/ Ecch. And mountaines,] And mountains--Ecch:
 And moun-/taines, Eld and Bald.
 77-8. Sisters cal,--/ [Ecch.] Sisters cal,] Sisters cal,--Sisters cal,
Eld and Bald.
 79. Lodg'd] cited in Bald; Log'd Eld and Bald.
 82-4. to one another--/ [Ecch.] To one another--/ [Ecch.2] One another]
 to one another--To one another/--one another-- Eld and Bald.
 85. tother--] tother Eld and Bald.
 86. Vp tother] --vp tother-- Eld and Bald.

87-9. to you--/ [Ecch.] From me to you--/ [Ecch.2] Mee--/ [Ecch.]

To you,] to you--From me to you/--Mee--To you, Eld and Bald.

90. True--] true Eld and Bald.

91. Iust and True] --Iust and True Eld and Bald.

93. Delight--] Delight Eld and Bald.

94. Vp chast Delight.] --Vp chast Delight. Eld and Bald.

95-7. Caue--/ [Temp.] Twas I--/ [Ecch.] Twas I,--/ [Ecch.2] Twas I;]

Caue/ Twas I--Twas I, Twas I; Eld and Bald.

98. to lye--] to lye Eld and Bald.

99-101. Who I?/ [Ecch.] O I;/ [Temp.] This is a Season of all Ioy compilde,]

Who I?/ O I;/ This is a Season of all Ioy compilde, Eld and Bald.

102. reconcilde--] reconcilde Eld and Bald.

103-4. Reconcilde,--/ [Ecch.2] Reconcilde;] reconcilde,/ Ecch--Reconcilde;

Eld and Bald.

109. raisde?--] raisde? Eld and Bald.

Citties!--] Citties! Eld and Bald.

110. Citties?--] Citties? Eld and Bald.

112. thousand pitties,--] thou-/sand pitties, Eld and Bald.

Entertainment Eight

.2-.5 At the House of ... Maior.] printed to the left and parallel to

For the Solemne ... Spittle., and separated from it by a bracket Eld
and Bald.

.6-.10 The Inuention.] centered as a heading over The foure Seasons ... In-
uocation. Eld and Bald.

9. deere,] Eld and Bald; cited in Bald as possibly deere.

40. close-infolded] Eld and Bald; cited in Bald as possibly close-infolded; see critical note.

110ff. after lines 116., 120., 124. and 128. the text is double spaced Eld and Bald; see critical notes.

149. Your] cited in Bald; your Eld and Bald.

161. Yet] cited in Bald; Yer Eld and Bald.

Entertainment Ten

.6 ornament] see textual introduction, p. 50.

1. Good Heauen--] Good Heauen Eld and Bald.

57. knocks] Eld and Bald; cited in Bald.

Entertainment Eleven

.6 In the Easter Hollidaies: 1622.] MS and Bullen; In the Easter Hollidayes: 1623.1622 / April 22nd trans; see critical introduction, p.44.

.9 Table] trans; Table, MS.

2. readie?] trans; readie MS.

[...] Enter!] [Come] Enter conj. trans; lines 2. and 3. are badly damaged in MS and I am partly relying on trans here as it may have been done when MS was in better condition; the rhyming of the lines suggests that 'Enter' should be rhymed with 'cleere' which would make it metrically part of the preceeding line and eliminate the need for trans conj. '[Come]'.

3. [...] Then] then trans; again I am relying on trans as MS is damaged; in order for 'Then' to rhyme with 'men' of line 4., it would have to have been preceeded by a phrase to metrically fill out the line; trans gives no indication of anything having preceeded 'then'.

12. it both.] Bullen; it both conj. trans; lacuna in MS.
13. A] I MS and trans; Ay, conj. Bullen who suggests "that 'I' was caught from the line below, and that we should read 'A'." (Vol. VII, p. 374).
18. Fortunæ] conj. trans; F[...]n[...] MS.
 Mater] Bullen; Matre MS and trans.
 This honourd] conj. trans; [...]rd MS.
23. appeare,] Bullen; appeare conj. trans; lacuna in MS.
24. thought [of feare].] thought [of feare] conj. trans; th[...] MS.
26. yond] MS; your trans and Bullen.
 Crest.] trans; Crest MS.
31. Place,] Place MS and trans.
33. A station] conj. trans; [...]on MS.
34. [A christian] Champion] conj. trans; [...]ampion MS.
 Magistrate).] Magistrate) MS; Magistrate.) trans.
42. For see,] MS; To see Bullen.
44. Punishment.] conj. trans; Pun[...] MS.
56. all,] all MS and trans.
58. good,] Bullen; good MS and trans.
64. releife] conj. trans; lacuna in MS.
69. Feastes] Feastes. MS and trans.
70. welcom] conj. trans; [...]com MS.
71. That this] conj. trans; lacuna in MS.
72. Spred as far] conj. trans; lacuna in MS.
74. free] trans; free. MS.
81. dombe] trans; dombe. MS.
82. Daie.] Daie, MS; Daie trans.

CRITICAL NOTES

CRITICAL NOTESTitle Page

9. Employment.] see critical introduction to Entertainment Ten.
- 10.1 ornament] see textual introduction, p. 50.
11. G.E.] George Eld.

Dedication

1. Sir Francis Ihones] Lord Mayor of London 1620-1 and a member of the Haberdashers Co. John Squire wrote The Triumphs of Peace for Jones' inauguration. In his introduction to the facsimile edition of this collection, Bald remarks (p. vii):

The expense of the mayoralty proved too great for him and, to escape his creditors, he decamped on the night before his term of office expired, 'conveying all of worth out of his house and himself with his wife into some secret corner of the countrie' (Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. McClure, ii. 405).

3. Sir Iohn Garrard] Lord Mayor of London 1600-1 (Herbert).
Sir Thomas Bennet] or Benet; Mercer who was Lord Mayor in 1603-4 (Woodcock).
4. Sir Thomas Lowe] or Low; Lord Mayor of London in 1604-5 (Woodcock).
Sir Thomas Middleton] Lord Mayor of London in 1613-4 and a member of the Grocers Co. He was knighted on the 21st of July, 1603, and the pageant for his inauguration as Lord Mayor was Middleton's Triumphs of Truth (DNB).
Sir Iohn Iolles] Lord Mayor of London in 1615-6 and a member of the

Drapers Co. Anthony Munday wrote Metropolis Coronata for Jolles' inauguration. (Woodcock).

5. Sir Iohn Leman] Lord Mayor of London in 1616-7 (Woodcock).
Sir George Bolles] Lord Mayor of London in 1617-8 (Woodcock).
6. Sir William Cokayne] Lord Mayor of London in 1619-20, and a member of the Skinners Co. He was elected sheriff in 1609 and was an alderman from then until his death in 1626. The DNB entry includes the following information:

On 8 June 1616 the king honoured him with his presence at dinner at his house in Broad Street (Cokayne House, exactly opposite St. Peter's Church), where he dubbed him a knight. During Cokayne's mayoralty (1619-20) James visited St. Paul's Cathedral with a view to raising money to complete the spire, and was received by Cokayne in great state. (Dugdale's The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, 2nd ed., pp. 69, 137)

He was a member of the Merchant Adventurers Co. and Cockin's Sound, a harbour in Greenland, was named after him by William Baffin. His funeral sermon was preached by John Donne. See also the critical introduction to Entertainment One.

7. Heneage Finch Esquire, Master Recorder] Finch was called to the bar in 1606 and sat in Parliament for Rye in 1607. In the 1620-1 Parliament he sat for West Looe, Cornwall. In the debate on the Spanish Match (3 Dec. 1621) he took part supporting the proposal to petition the King against it. In February 1620/1 he was elected Recorder of the City of London (Index to Remembrancia, p. 295) and he represented the city in Parliament between 1623 and 1626. He was knighted on the 22nd of June, 1623, and elected Speaker of Parliament on the 6th of Feb., 1625/6 (DNB). The Recorder of London was appointed by the Lord Mayor and aldermen to 'record' or keep in mind the proceedings of their courts and the customs of the city, his oral statement of these being taken as the highest evidence of fact. In practice he was a magistrate or judge, having jurisdiction in both criminal and civil matters (OED).

Finch actively contributed to the trial of Sir Francis Bacon. (A Collection of the Proceedings in the House of Commons ... England (London: Printed for A. More, near St. Paul's, 1621)).

8. Master Edward Barkham] Lord Mayor of London in 1621-2 and a member of the Drapers Co. Middleton wrote The Sun in Aries for the pageant marking Barkham's inauguration as Lord Mayor. He was a Leatherseller by patrimony but was translated to the Drapers on July 10, 1621. This was done rather unwillingly by the Drapers as they did not wish to have to bear the expense of another Lord Mayor's pageant, having had two quite recently. It is a tradition that the Lord Mayor must belong to one of the twelve Great Livery Companies (Johnson's History of the Drapers Company, iii, pp. 9-10). On June 16, 1622, Barkham was knighted was during his term as Lord Mayor. He died in 1634. His daughter Susanna was the great-grandmother of Sir Robert Walpole (Beaven's The Aldermen of the City of London, i, p. 102; ii, pp. 52, 177).

Master Alexander Prescott] no reference found.

9. Master Peter Probye] Lord Mayor of London in 1622-3, and a member of the Grocers Co. Middleton wrote The Triumphs of Honour and Virtue for Probye's inauguration.

Master Martin Lumley] Lord Mayor of London in 1623-4, and a member of the Drapers Co. Middleton wrote The Triumphs of Integrity for Lumley's inauguration.

10. Master William Goare] Elected sheriff for 1615-6 (Woodcock).

Master John Goare] Lord Mayor of London in 1624-5, and a member of the Merchant Tailors Co. John Webster wrote Monuments of Honour for Goare's inauguration (Herbert).

11. Master Allen Cotton] Lord Mayor of London 1625-6 and a member of the Drapers Co. There were no pageants for his inauguration.

- Master Cuthbert Hacket] Lord Mayor of London in 1626-7 and a member of the Drapers Co. Middleton wrote The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity for Hacket's inauguration. (Herbert).
12. Master William Halliday] or Holyday; elected sheriff for 1617-8 (Woodcock).
Master Robert Iohnson] Elected sheriff for 1617-8. (Woodcock).
13. Master Richard Herne] or Hearne; elected sheriff for 1618-9 (Woodcock).
Master Hugh Hamersley] or Hammersley; elected sheriff for 1618-9 and Lord Mayor for 1627-8. He was a member of the Haberdashers and in Entertainment Four he is referred to as the "President of the Noble Councell of Warre, for the Martiall Garden". (Woodcock).
Master Richard Deane] Elected sheriff for 1619-20 and Lord Mayor of London for 1628-9. He was a member of the Skinners Co. and Thomas Dekker wrote Britannia's Honour for his inauguration. (Woodcock).
14. Master Iames Cambell] Lord Mayor of London in 1629-30 and a member of the Ironmongers Co. He was born in 1570 and elected sheriff in 1619. Thomas Dekker wrote London's Tempe for Cambell's inauguration. During his mayoralty, Cambell was knighted on the 23rd of May, 1630. (DNB).
15. Master Edward Allen] Elected sheriff for 1620-1 and presented Entertainment Nine. (Woodcock).
17. Master Robert Ducye] Lord Mayor of London in 1630-1 and a member of the Merchant Tailors Co. Thomas Dekker wrote an unknown pageant for Ducy's inauguration. He served as sheriff for 1620-1 and his home was the venue for Entertainment Ten.

Entertainment One

- .4 Monday and Tuesday in Easter weeke] 17th and 18th of April (Cheney).

- .6 William Cokaine] see note in Dedication, line 6.
 Saturday] 22nd of April (Cheney).
- .8 Priuy Councell] a list of members for Nov. 1, 1618 to Feb. 28, 1620,
 may be found in The Acts of the Privy Council, 1617-9, iv, p. 287-9.
- .10 Charles L. Howard Baron of Effingham] later second Earl of Nottingham.
 He was the son of Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham.
 See critical introduction to Entertainment One.
- .14 Gentleman Sewer] an attendant at a meal who superintended the arrangement
 of the table, the seating of the guests, and the tasting and serving of
 the dishes (OED).
- .15 Artificiall Cocke] Bald remarks (p. vi):

... set of five silver cups in the form of cocks,
 bequeathed by Cockayne's father to the Skinner's
 Company and still in their possession. Pictures
 of them may be seen in J.J. Lambert's Records of
the Skinners of London, 1934, or the Victoria and
 Albert Museum catalogue of An Exhibition of Works
of Art belonging to the Livery Companies of the
City of London, 1927.

On the use of these cups in ceremonies, see footnote 33 to the introduction.

- .16 City Musicke] the City waits, who often played at such functions.
1. Roome, roome, make roome,] a common opening in early drama, especially
 the interlude, see Craik's Tudor Interlude, pp. 19-20, for a short
 discussion of this and similar opening phrases.
- 9-12. It is ... panting;] the allusion here has not been found, but see
Hamlet, I, ii, 149-56, for the effect of the early morning crowing of
 the cock.
27. Worthy Lord] the Lord Mayor, Sir William Cockayne.
28. place] the office of Lord Mayor.
87. It Is conj.

Entertainment Two

- .2 Bun-hill] "A street in London, on the west side of the Artillery Ground, near Moorfields ... The name, originally Bone-hill, was derived from the depositing there of more than 1000 cartloads of bones brought from the charnel house of St. Paul's in 1549. The fields were used for archery practice, and were a common resort of the young Londoners. The neighbourhood had a somewhat unsavoury reputation. In Middleton's The Roaring Girl, iv, 2, Mrs. Openwork asks, "Didst never see an archer as thou'st walked by Bunhill look asquint when he drew his bow?" (Sugden).

Shooting day] see critical introduction, p. 20.

habited] dressed.

- .4 Tent] probably erected on the edge of the field, open on one side to afford the aldermen a view of the contests.
9. Henry ... the Eight] as a young man Henry showed considerable ability at archery.
10. Sixt Edward] possibly Middleton had Edward III in mind who was noted for his expertise in arms (Wickham, I, p. 20). The phrase "By Act and Faunour" in the next line suggests that Middleton may be referring to a royal proclamation in Edward VI's reign although the piece of legislation or royal edict that he had in mind is not clear. Henry VIII and Edward VI had been the two male rulers of England preceeding James, and this may also led to their use by Middleton.
14. Twisting from a worme] the spinning of a silk worm is used parallel to the weaving of the spider as an image for the humbleness of certain crafts.
22. "The Couenant of Mercy, by a Bow" an allusion to God's promise to Noah (Genesis 9).
34. mended] possibly 'improved' or 'bettered' (OED).

Entertainment Three

- .2-.8] see critical introduction, p. 23.
3. e'm] them.
5. H'as] Has.
8. Neglect and Will] possible allusion to the New River project, see introduction to Entertainment Three.
9. I'de] I had.
15. Noble Lord] Lord Mayor Cockayne.
16. Assembly] the aldermen.
28. Chadwell and Amwell] The New River rose at Chadwell springs in Herts., between Hertford and Ware, and drew further supplies of water from the Amwell springs and the river Lea. The Amwell springs were a mile or two east of Ware. In Middleton's Triumphs of Truth, an entertainment written for performance at the letting in of water to the New River Head at Clerkenwell, the title speaks of "the running stream from Amwell-Head into the cistern at Islington, being the sole cost of Mr. Hugh Middleton of London, 1613" (Sugden).
34. The Head? that to the Heart a' the City send / My best and cleerest Service, take Delight] the question mark after 'Head' may possibly be misplaced. A conjectural reading might be: "The Head that to the Heart a' the City send / My best and cleerest Service? take Delight".

Entertainment Four

- .2-.6] see critical introduction, p. 25ff.
10. Thee] Lord Mayor Cockayne.
- giuen,] giuen conj.
23. Lieuetenants, Ensigners, Seriants of Bands, / Of worthy Citizens the

Army stands,] Lieutenants, Ensigners, Seriants of Bands / Of worthy
Citizens, the Army stands conj.

36. Lands,] Lands. conj.

48. do's] does.

52. i'st] is it.

Entertainment Five

.2-.5] see critical introduction, p. 28.

.6-.7 made / dish] dish / made conj., but the phrase is used again in
Entertainment Six, line .7. On the use of such things in interludes,
see Wickham, I, p. 212.

3. a sad Pageant, here,] possibly a reference to the "made dish".

4. Set with the Orphans Sigh, the Widowes Teare,] possibly floral
decoration on the dish. The latter flower may be referring to Widow's
Wail which is a small shrub with linear-oblong leaves and yellow flowers,
sometimes called the guinea-hen flower (OED).

6. New Sun] new Lord Mayor.

7. Inprimis] Imprimis; 'in the first place', a term usually used in legal
documents such as wills.

Entertainment Six

.2-.5] see critical introduction, p. 29, and critical note for line 1. in the
Dedication for information on Lord Mayor Jones.

.6-.10] see footnote 46 to introduction for a sketch of the Haberdashers' arms.

15. late triumphant Day] Lord Mayor's inauguration on Oct. 29th.

Entertainment Seven

.2-.7] see critical introduction, p. 30.

17. farder] farther.

29-30. I wonder that the Musique suffers thee / To come into their roome?]

from this it seems that Levity is speaking from the musicians gallery.

42. dogbolt] blunt headed arrow (OED); term of contempt and reproach.

48. Pit] probably a reference to a bear or bull baiting arena.

55. Vilde] wild or possibly vile (OED); see Middleton's Women Beware Women III, 11, 320 (ed. Charles Barber).

69. Musique?] Temperance seems to be able to hear the musicians from where she is standing.

100. O I;] O Aye; conj.

Entertainment Eight

.2-.9] see critical introduction, p. 32ff; also, on the use of bower scenes, see Wickham, II part 1, pp. 210-13.

18. poore Mumps] a term of contempt or mock endearment (OED).

24. Sound] possibly a flourish supplied by the orchestra for Flora's entrance.

28. Feild] Field.

38-40. Adonis! thou that for thy beauteous chastity, / Wert...Blushes]

The flower usually associated with Adonis was the Anemone (Ellacombe, p. 14ff; Rohde, p. 129). The description "closse-infolded Rose" may just be referring to shape and colour, especially since it appears within parentheses.

closse-infolded] cited by Bald as irregular; a common Middleton spelling for 'close' however, see Murray, A Study of Cyril Tourneur, p. 165.

47. two Assisting Magistrates] probably Sheriffs Ducey and Allen, see critical introduction, p. 33.

51. Guesse] Guests, see Middleton's Phoenix, I, iii, "Sirrah, what guesse does this inn hold now" (OED); see also Entertainment Nine, line 52.
60. Sweets] flowers.
68. Orphans] The governors and children of Christ's Hospital attended the earlier church service dressed in violet livery (Bald, p. viii).
75. Blew sets] the orphans in their violet livery.
94. Sauour] possibly 'Saviour.'
99. the Tincture of those Roabes you weare] the aldermen are in their scarlet livery.
104. pretious] possibly 'precious' (OED).
113. Flower gentle] this may be descriptive of a quality of the flowers or may possibly be a reference to yellow gentian, a tall flowering herb whose roots have tonic properties (OED).
114. Flower of Chrystall!] the flowers used to decorate the bower were artificial (line .9) and this may be a reference to a glass representation of a flower.
115. Apples of Loue] tomatoes, at one time thought to be useful as a philtre.
- 116, 120, 124, 128.] the text is double spaced after these lines in Eld.
This divides the song up into verses of four lines each which are sung by the four seasons. The division is rather arbitrary and occurs only in the middle of the song. It may be the result of the compositor.
116. Canterbury Bels] one of the various cultivated bellflowers such as the nettle-leaved bellflower or throat-wort, coventry bells, or marian's violet (OED). In Norfolk this name was used to refer to lady-smocks or cardamine pratensis (Ellacombe, p. 134).
117. double-Gold cups, griefes expelling] possibly a reference to the Marigold which was thought to 'strengthen and comfort the heart' (Ellacombe, p. 156-7); may also be referring to something such as a king-cup which is rather like a large butter-cup.

118. Agnus Castus] a tree, species of vitex, once believed to be a preservative of chastity (OED).
119. Venus Bath] probably the wild teasel (OED).
120. Go to bed at noone] this may be a species of violet or pansy (Ellacombe, pp. 196, 309).
121. Blessed Thistle] probably the holy thistle which had a high reputation as a heal-all, being supposed to even cure the plague (Ellacombe, pp. 124-5). Usually identified with Scotland and therefore with James.
122. Shepherd's Pouch] a common cruciferous weed, bearing pouch-like pods (OED). This plant was evidently used to stop bleeding.
123. Knight-wort] the suffix 'wort' usually denotes an herb with medicinal qualities.
124. Ladies-Mantle, good for Maydens Paps] probably rosaceous herb, *alchemilla vulgaris*, used to relieve a breast ailment in young women (OED).
125. Hyacinth] see Ovid, x, 162ff; see lines 35-6.
128. Ruffling Robin] probably a reference to ragged robin, also known as crowflowers and buttercups (Rohde, p. 13; Ellacombe, p. 67).
- Larkes Heele] probably larkspur, Indian cress or garden nasturtium.
134. Liue-long] Gerarde's Herbal (1597), II, cxxxviii, 417, records Orpine or Liblong as other names; Parkinson's Theatr. Bot. (1640), p. 726, "In English Orpine, and of some Liuelong, because a branch of the greene leaves hung up in any place will keepe the verdure a long time" (OED).

Entertainment Nine

- .2-.10] see critical introduction, p. 35ff.
- .2] For a list of the Privy Council members for 4 March 1620 to 30 May 1623, see Acts of the Privy Council, p. 356ff.
2. These] the Privy Council.

52. Guesse] Guests, see critical note to Entertainment Eight, line 51.

Entertainment Ten

.2-.8] see critical introduction, p. 39ff.

.6 ornament] see textual introduction, p. 50.

8. a'me] of me.

11-13. Was first erected ... trust me.] This remark by Hyacinth is of interest as it shows that the statute against travelling players (1 James I c. 7) was being enforced with the aid of informers. This statute is given in Wickham, II part 1, Appendix E, pp. 335-6. For another reference to informers see Middleton's A Chaste Maid in Cheapside, II, ii, 53ff (ed. Parker).

19. Lower Bookes] possibly lesser ranks, that is those listed at the bottom of any list of the city hierarchy.

43. Duty] possible pun on the name of Sheriff Ducey.

69.1. FINIS.] end of Honorable Entertainments (1621).

Entertainment Eleven

.2-.6] see critical introduction, p. 43ff.

1. A hall: a hall: below: stand cleere] see critical note to Entertainment One, line 1.

4. Men] ~~aldermen~~.

13. A brauer Embleme] Barkham's coat of arms.

17. word's] motto.

17-18. Diligentia Fortunæ Mater] literally, "diligence is the mother of fortune". See The Synne in Aries (Bullen, VII, p. 344) which also makes use of Barkham's motto.

26. yond Noble Crest] Barkham's coat of arms.

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