

A CRITICAL EDITION OF FOUR ENTERTAINMENTS BY THOMAS
MIDDLETON FOR THE DRAPERS' COMPANY: THE SUNNE IN
ARIES (1621), THE TRIUMPHS OF INTEGRITY (1623),
THE TRIUMPHS OF HEALTH AND PROSPERITY (1626), AND
AN INVENTION PERFORMED FOR...EDWARD BARKHAM (1622)

by

CHRISTINA J. BURRIDGE
B.A., University of Leicester, 1972

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Department of English

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
September 1978

© Christina J. BurrIDGE 1978

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study.

I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of ENGLISH

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date 9 October 1978

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a critical old-spelling edition of Thomas Middleton's three Lord Mayor's Shows for the Drapers' Company, The Sunne in Aries (1621), The Triumphs of Integrity (1623), The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity (1626), and the related An Invention (1622) for the Draper Lord Mayor, Edward Barkham. The general introduction to the edition sets these four pieces in the tradition of London civic pageantry. It discusses the history, nature, and organization of the Lord Mayor's Show and its social and political, as well as dramatic, context, concentrating particularly on the extent to which such shows can be said to represent the growing political independence of London. The importance, often underestimated, of the civic work to Middleton's career is demonstrated, and his contribution to the form summarized. The critical introduction to each text provides a detailed analysis of the entertainment, drawing on material in the Drapers' Company archives to examine the relationship between Company, dramatist, and others involved in the Show. Problems of production are accorded a special importance. The critical notes following each text explain specific references, relate images, ideas, and techniques to other works by Middleton and his contemporaries, and gloss difficult passages.

The texts themselves have been edited in accordance with the principles formulated by Sir Walter Greg, R. B. McKerrow, and Fredson Bowers. Each text is accompanied by: a textual introduction discussing the text and its copy, printing-house procedures, and any bibliographical problems

arising from this; a list of substantive changes; a textual commentary discussing such alterations, refusals to emend, textual cruces, etc.; a list of press-variants; a list of emended accidentals. A statement of editorial procedures follows the general introduction. An Invention is in MS and has therefore been treated more conservatively. The textual introduction outlines the history and state of the MS and the modifications of procedure followed.

Appendix I is a brief consideration of the printing of Lord Mayor's Shows. Appendix II consists of extracts from the Drapers' Company records relating to Middleton and the Shows he wrote for the Company.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	vi
Preface	vii
 INTRODUCTION	 1
I. 29 October: The Lord Mayor's Show	1
II. The Genesis of the Lord Mayor's Show: the Procession of October 29, the Midsummer Watch, and the Royal Entry	7
III. The Development of the Lord Mayor's Show	16
IV. The Lord Mayor's Show and Drama	18
V. Audience	23
VI. The Lord Mayor's Show and its Authors	25
VII. Devices, Machines, and Stages	29
VIII. Actors	46
IX. Finances and Organization	48
X. The Political Context of the Lord Mayor's Show ...	59
XI. The Drapers' Company in the Early Seventeenth Century	66
XII. The Company and the Drama	68
XIII. "The Politics of Spectacle"	70
XIV. Middleton and Civic Pageantry	74
Notes	86
EDITORIAL PROCEDURES	100
<u>THE SUNNE IN ARIES</u>	104
Critical Introduction	106
Textual Introduction	128
Text	135
Textual Apparatus	148
Critical Notes	152
Notes	168

	<u>Page</u>
<u>THE TRIUMPHS OF INTEGRITY</u>	172
Critical Introduction	173
Textual Introduction	189
Text	196
Textual Apparatus	209
Critical Notes	212
Notes	221
<u>THE TRIUMPHS OF HEALTH AND PROSPERITY</u>	224
Critical Introduction	225
Textual Introduction	238
Text	243
Textual Apparatus	253
Critical Notes	256
Notes	267
<u>AN INVENTION</u>	269
Critical Introduction	270
Textual Introduction	276
Text	282
Textual Apparatus	287
Critical Notes	291
Notes	293
SELECTED REFERENCES	295
APPENDIX I	308
APPENDIX II	312

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
I. Plan of London showing the traditional route of the Lord Mayor's Show	5
II. <u>Chrysanaleia</u> : The Fishing Busse	36
III. <u>Chrysanaleia</u> : The King of the Moors	37
IV. <u>Chrysanaleia</u> : Merman and Mermaid	38
V. <u>Chrysanaleia</u> : The Chariot of Richard II	39
VI. <u>Londons Tempe</u> : The Chariot of Oceanus, Tethys on a sea-lion, an Indian boy on an ostrich	40
VII. <u>Londons Tempe</u> : The Lemnian Forge, the Field of Happiness, and the Palace of Apollo	41
VIII. A Greenman; from John Bate, <u>The Mysteries of Nature and Art</u>	57
IX. Title-page of <u>The Sunne in Aries</u> , Huntington Library copy	104
X. Title-page of <u>The Sunne in Aries</u> , National Library of Scotland copy (slightly enlarged)	105
XI. La Serre's engraving of the entry of Marie de Medicis (1638), showing the Cheapside Cross and the new Standard	122
XII. Title-page of <u>The Triumphs of Integrity</u> , Huntington Library copy	172
XIII. Title-page of <u>The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity</u> , Huntington Library copy	224
XIV. Two pages of the Crane MS of <u>An Invention</u>	269
XV. Edward Barkham's crest	281

PREFACE

Middleton's entertainments for the Drapers' Company form a small part of the civic pageantry of Renaissance London. By the early seventeenth century the most significant of these public displays was the Lord Mayor's Show, a complex event whose development owed much to the various medieval and Tudor ridings and entertainments, especially the Mayor's inaugural procession on 29 October, the Midsummer Watch, and the Royal Entry. The introduction to this dissertation concentrates on the historical, social, and political, as well as the dramatic context of civic entertainments in general and Middleton's for the Drapers in particular. Detailed analysis of these latter works is reserved for the introduction to the individual pieces, The Sunne in Aries (1621), The Triumphs of Integrity (1623), The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity (1626), and An Invention performed for...Edward Barkham (1622).

Except for these four entertainments, all quotations from the works of Middleton are from A. H. Bullen's edition (London, 1885); these have been checked against the original texts. I have substituted the modern use of i/j and u/v in quotations from Middleton's contemporaries and have expanded all MS contractions and abbreviations in the extracts from Company records quoted in the introduction, but have otherwise retained the spelling and punctuation of the originals. Those entries from the Drapers' Company records relating to Middleton's work for the Company are transcribed, according to Malone Society procedures, in the Appendix.

I am greatly indebted to the Drapers' Company for its generosity in financing much of my graduate work and for permission to use its archives and library during my research. In particular, I wish to thank the Company's Education Officer, Mr. Robert Brown, for his kindness in providing me with copies of documents and for his constant interest in my project. My thanks are due also to my advisor, Professor Joel H. Kaplan, whose help and encouragement at all stages have contributed greatly to the final result. Lastly, I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Professor S. K. Heninger, Jr. and Mr. Roy Stokes in checking information and offering advice.

INTRODUCTION

Search all chronicles, histories, records, in what language or letter soever; let the inquisitive man waste the dear treasures of his time and eyesight, he shall conclude his life only in this certainty, that there is no subject upon earth received into the place of his government with the like state and magnificence as is the Lord Mayor of the city of London.

Thomas Middleton

The flamboyant hyperbole of Middleton's claim reminds us that the Lord Mayor's Show reached its zenith in the thirty-five years from 1605-39, a period corresponding approximately to the growth of London's consciousness of itself as a metropolis, a centre of political, financial, and cultural life, able to compete with any in Europe. The unparalleled magnificence of the Show became a visible symbol of London's prosperity and effective government; as another writer of the Show, Thomas Dekker, explained: "London in Forraine Countries is called the Queene of Cities, and the Queene-mother over her owne....As thus in State, shee her selfe is Glorious; so have all our Kings held it fit to make her chiefe Ruler eminent, and answerable to her greatnesse." ¹

I. 29 October : The Lord Mayor's Show

The Lord Mayor's Show was, from its inception, the major public manifestation of this "greatnesse." Designed to celebrate the formal inauguration of the Lord Mayor on 29 October, it was organized and paid for by the City Company to which the new Lord Mayor belonged. As the Haberdashers' Court of Assistants expressed it succinctly in 1586, its

function was "the honor of the Citie & worshipp of this Company."²

To this, all else was subordinate. The triumph focused on three important events: the Lord Mayor's swearing of the oath at Westminster, the feast at Guildhall, and the thanksgiving service at St. Paul's. The three together signified the harmony of the external and internal relations of the City government, and the triumph, in theory if not always in practice, celebrated this. Essentially, this triumph was an elaborate procession whose various components were designed to honour the chief magistrate and, in so doing, entertain the citizens, uniting all in a festive occasion that fostered the Londoners' sense of community. One of the most important of these components was the semi-dramatic pageants, essentially processional tableaux vivants, which from the turn of the sixteenth century became both more numerous and complex.³

The basic elements of the procession remained the same from the early Shows in the mid-sixteenth century to that of 1639, the last Show before the Interregnum. In 1575 the day's events were described by William Symthe, a citizen and Haberdasher of London. The similarity of this procession to those fifty years later and the vivid detail of Smythe's account make it worth quoting in full:

The day of St. Simon and Jude he (the Mayor) entreth into his estate and offyce: and the next daie following he goeth by water to Westmynster, in most tryumph-like manner. His barge beinge garnished with the armes of the citie: and nere the sayd barge goeth a shypp-bote of the Queenes Majestie, beinge trymed upp, and rigged lyke a shippe of warre, with dyvers peces of ordinance, standards, penons, and targetts of the proper armes of the sayd Mayor, the armes of the Citie, of his company; and of the marchaunts adverturers, or of

the staple, or of the company of the newe trades; next before hym goeth the barge of the lyvery of his owne company, decked with their owne proper armes, then the bachelers barge and so all the companies in London, in order, every one havinge their owne proper barge garnished with the armes of their company. And so passinge alonge the Thamise, landeth at Westmynster, where he taketh his othe in Thexcheker, beffore the judge there (which is one of the chiefe judges of England), which done, he returneth by water as afforsayd, and landeth at Powles wharfe, where he and the rest of the Aldermen take their horses, and in great pompe passe through the greate streete of the citie, called Cheapside. And fyrste of all cometh ij great estandarts, one havinge the armes of the citie, and the other the armes of the Mayors company: next them ij drommes and a flute, then an ensign of the citie, and then about lxx or lxxx poore men marchinge ij and two togeather in blewe gowmes, with redd sleeves and capps, every one bearinge a pyke and a target, whereon is paynted the armes of all them that have byn Mayor of the same company that this newe mayor is of. Then ij banners, one of the kynges armes, the other of the Mayors owne proper armes. Then a sett of hautboits playinge, and after them certayne wyfflers, in velvett cotes, and chaynes of golde, with white staves in their handes, then the pageant of tryumphe rychly decked, whereuppon by certayne fygures and wrytinges (partly towchinge the name of the sayd Mayor) some matter touchinge justice, and the office of a majestrate is represented. Then xvj trumpeters, viij and viij in a company, havinge banners of the Mayors company. Then certayne wyfflers in velvet cotes and chaynes, with white staves as aforesayde. Then the bachelers ij and two together, in longe gownen, with crymson hoodes on their shoulders of sattyn; which bachelers are chosen every yeare of the same company that the Mayor is of (but not of the lyvery), and serve as gentlemen on that and other festivall daies, to wayte on the Mayor, beinge in nomber accordinge to the quantetie of the company, sometimes sixty or one hundred. After them xij trompeters more, with banners of the Mayors company, then the dromme and flute of the citie, and an ensigne of the Mayors company, and after, the waytes of the citie in blewe gowmes, redd sleeves and cappes, every one havinge his silver coller about his neck. Then they of the liverie in their longe gowmes, every one havinge his hood on his lefte shoulder, halfe black and halfe redd, the number of them is accordinge to the greatnes of the companye whereof they are. After them followe Sheriffes officers, and then the Mayors officers, with other officers of the citie, as the comon sargent, and the chamberlayne; next before the Mayor goeth the swordbearer, having on his headd the

cappe of honor, and the sworde of the citie in his right hande, in a riche skabarde, sett with pearle, and on his lefte hande goeth the comon cryer of the citie, with his great mace on his shoulder, all gilt. The Mayor hath on a longe gowne of skarlet, and on his lefte shoulder, a hood of black velvet, and a rich collar of gold of SS. about his neck. Then all the Aldermen ij and ij together (amongst whom is the Recorder), all in skarlet gownes; and these that have been Mayors, have chaynes of gold, the other have black velvett tippetts. The ij Shereffes come last of all, in their black skarlet gownes and chaynes of golde.⁴

The crucial difference between the Show as Smythe describes it and the mature seventeenth-century form is the vastly elaborated pageantry. In 1575 there is one tableau only, but in 1602 the Merchant Taylors arrange to have "a pagon[t], a shipp, a Lyon And a Cammell."⁵ Their next show, The Triumphs of Re-United Britànnia (1605) by Anthony Munday, is still more elaborate, having four tableaux, each with a speech or dialogue. Hereafter, four or five tableaux are customary. Each of these was stationed at some point along the route from the Thames to the Guildhall and St. Paul's, and generally joined the procession after it had been seen by the Mayor. In 1591, with Peele's Descensus Astraeae, the pageantry included a water show, a tableau mounted on a barge which accompanied the Lord Mayor on his journey by water to Westminster and back. This quickly became an integral part of the celebrations; its elaborateness, however, varied from year to year.

The essentially conservative nature of the Lord Mayor's Show enables us to use Smythe's 1575 description as a supplement to Company records and the printed texts in order to reconstruct the day's events. The celebrations began early in the morning when the new Lord Mayor, accompanied by his predecessor and the most important members of the City

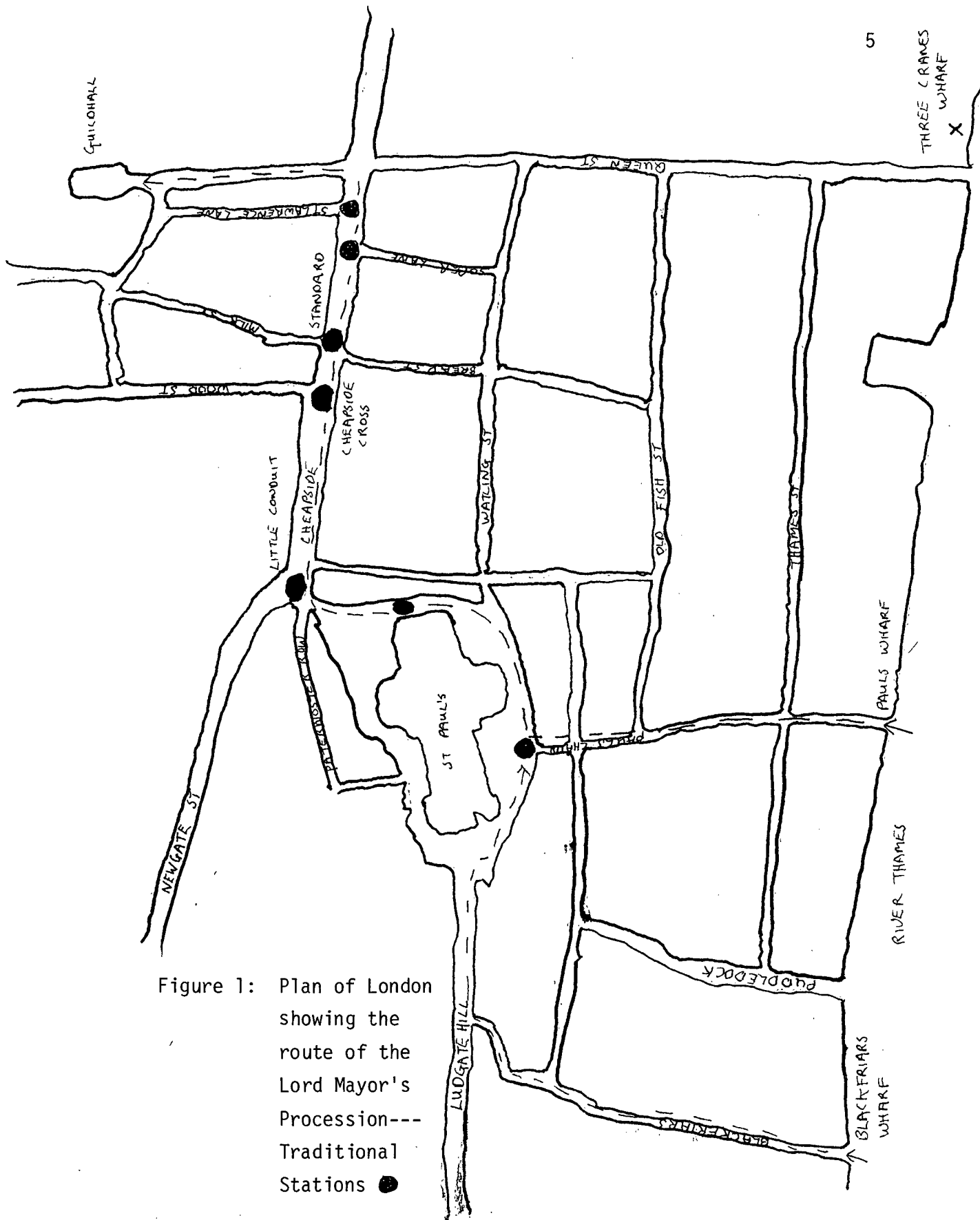


Figure 1: Plan of London showing the route of the Lord Mayor's Procession--- Traditional Stations ●

Companies, processed from the Guildhall to Three Cranes Wharf where they embarked for Westminster. There the Lord Mayor took his oath before the King or, more usually, his Justice. On the return journey he was honoured by salutes fired from both the shore and a gallyfoist (a barge laden with ordnance), and by the water show, in Middleton's Show of 1623 "a proper and significant Maister-peece of Triumph, called the Imperiall Canopy, being the Antient Armes of the Company" (11.29-30).⁶ (The tableau is re-used by Middleton later in this Show, The Triumphs of Integrity.) The Lord Mayor and his entourage disembarked, usually at Paul's Wharf, and were joined by all the other participants who had meantime been breakfasting. The procession, following the order described by Smythe (that is, essentially one of ascending order of importance then began in earnest. In 1623 the first halt was in St. Paul's Churchyard where the Lord Mayor was entertained with "a Mount Royall, on which Mount are plac't certaine Kings and great Commanders...that were originally sprung from Shepheards" (11.37-9). This device was then carried at the rear of the procession and the Lord Mayor was "gracefully conducted toward the little Conduit in Cheape" (11.106-7) and the Chariot of Sacred Memory where worthy Drapers were represented under figures of their virtues. The final tableau of the "Fore-noones Triumph" took place near St. Lawrence Lane, from this complex structure, the Crystal Temple of Integrity, the Lord Mayor was instructed in the virtues and duties of magistracy. The afternoon was occupied by the Guildhall feast, after which the participants processed to St. Paul's for divine service, accompanied by the various tableaux of the pageant. These awaited the Lord Mayor afterwards, and, decked elaborately with torches and links, escorted him homeward.

This effect was often most spectacular: Middleton describes the gold, silver, and crystal Temple of Integrity "adorned and beautified with many Lights, dispersing their glorious Radiances on all sides thorough the Cristall" (11.195-7). On the way, at the entrance to Wood Street, the procession halted for the final tableau, the Imperial Canopy, previously seen in the water show. This represents a typical order for the day; variations, of course, were frequent. Sometimes different wharves were used, and this could affect the placing of the tableaux. On other occasions, as with The Triumphs of Truth in 1613, the pageantry might start earlier with a tableau stationed on the Lord Mayor's route from the Guildhall to the water. Essentially, however, the proceedings were governed by a mixture of convenience and custom.

II. The Genesis of the Lord Mayor's Show: the Procession of 29 October, the Midsummer Watch, and the Royal Entry.

The seventeenth-century Lord Mayor's Show had its roots in two other celebrations of the dignity of London's chief citizens, the Mayor's inaugural procession on 29 October and the Midsummer Watch. A further important influence on the development of the early Show was the Royal Entry. The first of these, the procession accompanying the Mayor when he went to take his oath before the King or his Justice, dates from King John's establishment of yearly elections for the office in 1215 and gave the Show its form. From the earliest days this procession to Westminster was a dignified affair; the Mayor being accompanied by the Aldermen, the senior brethren of his Company, and a variety of other dignitaries and officials.

By 1400 the procession was elaborate enough to require marshalls and minstrels. The opportunity for display can be gauged by the cost of Sir Robert Ottley's procession in 1436; the charges for clothing alone amounted to £100 and another £55. 13. 09½ was spent on the rest of the riding.⁷ At first the Mayor and his associates rode to Westminster along the Strand, but from 1422 it became customary to go by barge along the river. Middleton and the other pageant poets, following Fabyan and Stow, mistakenly attribute the establishment of this custom to a Draper, Sir John Norman. Again the display was magnificent, the barges were festooned with banners and pennants and draped with plunket. Norman's barge in particular seems to have made a great impression, its silver oars and general opulence were still being commented upon two hundred years later. However, the behaviour of those involved did not always correspond to the grandeur of the occasion. In 1483 the rivalry of the Skinners and Merchant Taylors over precedence resulted in loss of life; 150 years later in 1638 the Drapers' Company paid their bargemen 2/6 "for their extraordinary paines in outrowing the Lord Maiors Barge and landing the Company before the Lord Major and Aldermen were landed (the Lord Maiors Barge being almost out of sight rowing towards Westminster before our Company tooke water)."⁸ This difficulty of ensuring an orderly progress to and from Westminster was a constant problem for the organizers. Despite its elaborateness, the procession did not include any pageants until the 1540s when the Midsummer Watch was in decline.

The Midsummer Watch was a combination of Midsummer folk festival, civic muster, and guild celebration. According to Stow it was instituted by Henry III "for the better observing of peace and quietnesse amongst his

people"⁹ and was kept on the eves of the Feasts of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter, 24 and 29 June. The fusion of the various elements is well-caught in Stow's description of the event:

every mans doore being shadowed with greene Birch, long Fennel, St. Johns wort, Orpin, white Lillies, and such like, garnished upon with Garlands of beautifull flowers, had also Lampes of glasse, with oyle burning in them all the night, some hung out braunches of yron curiously wrought, contayning hundreds of Lampes light at once, which made a goodly shew, namely in new Fishstreet, Thames streete, &c. Then had ye besides the standing watches, all in bright harnes in every ward and streete of this Citie and Suburbs, a marching watch, that passed through the principal streets thereof, to wit, from the litle Conduit by Paules gate, through west Cheape, by the Stocks, through Cornhill, by Leaden hall to Aldgate, then backe downe Fenchurch streete, by Grasse church, about Grasse church Conduite, and up Grasse Church streete into Cornhill, and through it into west Cheape again, and so broke up: the whole way ordered for this marching watch, extendeth to 3200. Taylors yards of assize for the furniture whereof with lights, there were appointed 700. Cressetes, 500. of them being found by the Companies, the other 200. by the Chamber of London: besides the which lightes every Constable in London, in number more than 240. had his Cresset, the charge of every Cresset was in light two shillinges foure pence, and every Cresset had two men, one to beare or hold it, an other to beare a bag with light, and to serve it, so that the poore men pertayning to the Cressets, taking wages, besides that every one had a strawne hat, with a badge painted, and his breakfast in the morning, amounted in number to almost 2000. The marching watch contained in number about 2000. men, parte of them being olde Souldiers, of skill to be Captains, Lieutenants, Sergeants, Corporals, &c. Wiflers, Drommers, and Fifes, Standard and Ensigne bearers, Sword players, Trumpeters on horsebacke, Demi-launces on great horses, Gunners with hand Guns, or halfe hakes, Archers in coates of white fustian signed on the breast and backe with the armes of the Cittie, their bowes bent in their handes, with sheafes of arrowes by their sides, Pike men in bright Corslets, Burganets, &c. Holbards, the like Bill men in Almaine Rivets, and Apernes of Mayle in great number, there were also divers Pageants, Morris dancers, Constables, the one

halfe which was 120. on S. Johns Eve, the other halfe on S. Peters Eve in bright harnesse, some overgilte, and every one a Jornet of Scarlet thereupon, and a chaine of golde, his Hench man following him, his Minstrels before him, and his Cresset light passing by him, the Waytes of the City, the Mayors Officers, for his guard before him, all in a Livery of wolsted or Say Jacquets party coloured, the Mayor himselfe well mounted on horseback, the sword bearer before him in fayre Armour well mounted also, the Mayors footmen, & the like Torch bearers about him, Hench men twaine, upon great stirring horses following him. The Sheriffes watches came one after the other in like order, but not so large in number as the Mayors, for where the Mayor had besides his Giant, three Pageants, each of the Sheriffes had besides their Giances but two Pageants, ech. their Morris Dance, and one Hench man their Officers in Jacquets of Wolsted, or say party coloured, differing from the Mayors, and each from other, but having harnised men a great many, &c.

It is likely that the more entertaining aspects of the Lord Mayor's Show, the pageants, the giants, and the City Waits, as well as some of the organizational features, came from the Midsummer Show.

The arrangements for the Watch were, from its inception, in the hands of the guilds. In the early days they were responsible for providing the armed men and the cressets, but as the Watch became more elaborate the major City Companies seem to have taken an increasingly prominent role, making use of the occasion to honour their members who had achieved the office of Mayor or Sheriff, illustrate their history and associations, and generally entertain the citizenry. The earliest mention of pageants in the Watch makes it plain that they were provided by the Companies who provided the Mayor and Sheriffs. The first record of any pageants is from 1504 when the Drapers' Company paid £38. 13. 10½ "for xiiij pageantes for mydsomer watch for the said Mair."¹⁰ The "xiiij" is most likely a scribal error. According to Stow the Mayor had three pageants and the

Sheriffs two each, and even at the height of the Midsummer Show the Mayor had no more than four and each Sheriff three.

The pageants, as Stow says, were peripatetic, being "boren before the Mair" in the procession. They were generally on religious subjects, familiar from both the Royal Entry and the guild drama, although, as Sheila Williams points out, they seem to have been in "a discontinuous process of being secularized" throughout the early sixteenth century.¹¹ Pageants were frequently made new, although ones from previous years were at times refurbished and made to serve again. In addition they were occasionally borrowed, along with the Giants, from religious guilds or other Companies.¹² Characters in the pageants were generally played by children; however, adult actors and Company members also sometimes took part.¹³ The cast was also often supplemented by figures constructed of wire and paper. There is no evidence of speeches before 1541, although the children generally "played and sang" (MSC III, p.xxi-ii). If the meaning of the tableaux needed to be made clear, written inscriptions were affixed, but most of the pageants must have been very familiar to the spectators. In addition to the singing children, professional musicians were often hired for the pageant; these included players of virginals, regals, harps, lutes, shawms, and rebecks. By 1522 the Midsummer Show was impressive enough for Lodovico Spinelli, secretary to the Venetian Ambassador, to send home an enthusiastic account of it. All the tableaux he describes, except St. George and St. John the Baptist, were provided by the Drapers:

Next came another band of musicians, with 50 men and naked boys dyed black like devils, with the dart and buckler in their hands, goading the followers of Pluto,

who was on a pulpit under a canopy seated on a serpent that spat fire; he himself being naked, with a drawn sword in his hand: so contrived that, when he brandished it, it made the serpent vomit very fetid sulphuric fireballs: and on the pulpit in front of Pluto were figures of an ox, a lion, and some serpents.

Another band of steel-clad halberdiers marched next, preceding all the Prophets, with the tree of life sprouting from the belly of a recumbent male figure, and by certain mechanism the Prophets turned about from one side to the other.

They were followed by a band of halberdiers, next to whom came a platform on which was a castle accompanied by musicians, and within it some armed men, who as they moved caused the draw-bridges to fall and rise, and on the walls were men standing with stones in their hands for its defence against a Turkish horseman in pursuit, armed with a very long tin sword tinged with blood, who terrified those within, shouting in English ["wo be"?].

Then came another band of halberdiers, followed by choristers on foot in white surplices, who preceded a stage on which was a very beautiful little girl under a canopy of brocade, representing the Virgin Mary, with four boys, also in white surplices, chanting "lauds"....

Next came a band of halberdiers with a stage, on which was Saint George, in armour, choking a big dragon and delivering Saint Margaret.

Then came a morris dance, followed by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and their entourage, and finally more pageants: "the isle of Patmos with Saint John the Evangelist and some towers, from one of which he was leaning, and beneath were two little boys" and "Herod at table, with Herodias' daughter, the tumbler, and the executioner who beheaded St. John the Baptist, who was represented as being in prison on the pulpit described above." Spinelli's account pays the Show a considerable compliment: "nor do I believe that anywhere else in the world a similar mark of rejoicing is usual."¹⁴

The Drapers had two favourite pageants; one, of the Assumption, honoured their patroness the Virgin Mary, the other, the Castle of War, sometimes borrowed the name of the Sheriff or Mayor for the year, hence the Castle of

Monmouth in 1536. Both of these were sometimes paid for by the Bachelors or Yeomanry of the Company whereas all the others were paid for by the Livery. Other pageants of theirs include St. Blythe, Achilles, the Story of Jesse, St. John the Evangelist, St. Ursula, and a King of the Moors and his pavilion. In 1522, probably as a result of Charles V's entry into London, they planned a pageant of the Golden Fleece.¹⁵

The religious theme of most of these pageants suggests the possibility that the decline of the Midsummer Show in the late 1530s and 1540s may have been a result of an attempt to suppress them on religious and political grounds, paralleling the control and ultimate suppression of the Cycle plays in this period. The editors of *Malone Society Collections III* claim that the reason for the disappearance of the Midsummer Show was that its "principal features had been transferred to the day of the Lord Mayor's inauguration" (p.xxiii). But although this is what happened, it neither explains the reason for the transfer nor the reduction in pageantry in the early Lord Mayor's Show. And on the face of it this decision to transfer the pageantry to 29 October is strange, for from the point of view of both participants and spectators 24 and 29 June are eminently preferable days, given the English climate for outdoor civic festivities.

The official explanation was financial. During this period there were indeed complaints from members of the Companies concerning the expense, but this is so throughout the history of the Show. In 1541 the Wardens of the Drapers complained to their Court of Assistants "that they for evryry grote in tyme past/ ar now Fayne to gyve v...Whiche hathe rysyne by a wanton and superfluows precydence begon by mayres and Shereffes of

the mercery/ And after the same so recyted The seyde Assistens sayd what remedy but go through wyth all."¹⁶ Furthermore, the Show of 1539 was suppressed by order of Henry VIII on the grounds of expense. Since, however, the citizens were not informed until two days before the Show was due to take place when all the money had already been spent, the King's explanation seems distinctly specious.¹⁷

This suggests that although there is virtually no firm evidence to go on, we may be justified in assuming that the overt religious content of most of the pageants, at a time when the crown was beginning to censor and restrict other forms of theatrical entertainment, in conjunction with the convenient excuse of their cost, caused their decline. P. D. Lusher has argued that the Drapers' pageant of the Assumption of 1534 provides an example of their dangerous political and religious implications.¹⁸ Instead of referring to it as a pageant of the Assumption as was usual, the Drapers' books describe it as "A pagentt of A ladye havyng A Romaine M. gilt in her hond or A dyademe iiij square with A grete M. at everye corner."¹⁹ Lusher argues that such an atypical description, coming a mere two months after the officers of the Company, along with other City dignitaries, had sworn to accept the illegitimization of Princess Mary, indicates a deliberate gesture of political support for her. This is almost certainly going too far; it is hard to imagine Henry ignoring such blatant defiance. However, even without the specific political reference that Lusher suggests, pageants of the Assumption were unlikely to be thought highly of by royal authority. It is noteworthy that among the early changes in the Cycle plays after the break with Rome is the abandoning of plays on this very subject.²⁰

Under such conditions it is possible that the transfer and adumbration of the pageantry was a deliberately judicious move by the City Fathers to cut the costs of the Show, but at the same time retain it, in spite of any royal interference, as an integral part of City tradition. This would be consonant with the attempts by other municipal authorities to preserve their Cycle plays.²¹ For despite the complaints about the expense of the pageants, Londoners must have benefited commercially from them. As Dekker points out in the seventeenth century "besides all the twelve Companies, (every one of which is a gayner by this imployment:) it would puzzle a good memory to reckon up all those Trades-men (with other extraordinary Professions which live not in the City) who get money by this Action."²²

The fully developed Lord Mayor's Show of the seventeenth century also owes much to the Royal Entry, already a well-established ceremonial in the mid-thirteenth century. Indeed the earliest example of a trade pageant occurs in the victory celebrations for the Battle of Falkirk in 1298 when the Fishmongers had "4 storions [sturgeons] gylded caryed on 4 horses and after 4 horses caryed 3 samons of sylver and after xlvi knyghts all armed uppon luges of the water [pike] and St Magnus among the rest."²³ The early Shows seem to have borrowed the subject matter of their pageants from the Royal Entry, but as they grew more complex, the relationship between the two ridings became one of mutual influence. This is not surprising in view of the processional nature of both, their common function of fostering a sense of communion between people and ruler, and the involvement of the Aldermen and leading members of the great Companies in their organization. Certainly in 1532 Hall comments that the City's preparations

to accompany Anne Boleyn on the Thames to her coronation were of a similar nature to those it made for the Lord Mayor.²⁴ After the 1604 Entry, however, the Lord Mayor's Show, by reason of its frequency and grandeur, eclipses its royal counterpart.

The most important differences between the two ridings were the early use of speeches in the Royal Entry (customary from the mid-fifteenth century) and its use of fixed rather than peripatetic stages. The introduction of speeches into the Lord Mayor's Show in the mid-sixteenth century opens up another area of influence in addition to organization and subject matter. And as the mayoral Show became more elaborate, stationary stages, sometimes built around the conduits and fountains used so often in the Entries were occasionally erected. With the advent of the printed description of tableaux and speeches we are in a better position to compare effectively the two ridings. Certainly the description of Elizabeth's Coronation was a direct source for Heywood's Londons Jus Honorarium (1631); more generally Sheila Williams has traced the influence of its style in Peele's pageants.²⁵ The relationship becomes closer still in the case of James I's Entry, for of the three dramatists involved, Jonson wrote the speeches for the non-extant 1605 Lord Mayor's Show, and Dekker and Middleton were regularly employed by the Companies, and did, in fact, draw heavily on this initial experience with the pageant form in their mayoral Shows.

III. The Development of the Lord Mayor's Show

For a description of the Lord Mayor's Show in embryo we must turn to Henry Machyn's account of the 1553 Show.²⁶ There is one pageant, that of

St. John the Baptist the patron saint of the Merchant Taylors, transferred from the Midsummer Show to the procession of 29 October; by this time it has acquired some "goodly speeches." The procession itself with musicians, giants, greenmen, and a devil, is in essence the same as the later ones. By 1575 when William Smythe described the Show, the function of the pageant has already become formalized: "Then comes the Pageant of Tryumphe rychly decked, whereuppon by certaine fygures & writings, (partly towching the name of the sayd Mayor) some matter towching Justice, & the office of a majestrate is represented." In the next twenty-five years the show became largely secularized, with historical or mythological characters replacing saints; for example, Jason rather than the Virgin becomes the mainstay of Drapers' iconography. At the same time the number of tableaux increased from one to between four and six, sometimes including a water show, and the employment of men with a known theatrical background and interest in seeing their work in print became habitual. These last coincide with the increased willingness of the Companies to pay out large sums of money to honour their brethren and their city.

Speeches came late to the Lord Mayor's Show. We know that Machyn mentions that they were "goodly" in 1553 and that those for 1556 were written by "Mr. Grimbald," presumably Nicholas Grimald (MSC III, pp.39-40). In 1561, however, the Merchant Taylors preserved the speeches in their Books. Interestingly, these already correspond to the pattern described by Smythe in 1575; the Lord Mayor was William Harper, and accordingly such famous harpers as David, Orpheus, Amphion, Arion, and Iopas expound upon the nature of good government.²⁷ Shortly after this we begin to get the names of authors more regularly: James Peele, father of George, devised the speeches

for the 1566 show, and Richard Mulcaster those for 1568. In 1585 the pageant was written by George Peele, the first instance of the employment of a practising professional dramatist and also the first time that a printed text, The Device of the Pageant Borne Before Woolstane Dixi, survives. The coincidence is not completely fortuitous. From then until the cessation of the Shows in 1639 it becomes increasingly rare for someone outside the theatrical profession to be called in. Inevitably, this resulted in the dramatic sophistication of the pageants; the process, however, was not an evolutionary one, for the most "dramatic" of the seventeenth-century Shows are the relatively early Troia-Nova Triumphans (1612) by Dekker and The Triumphs of Truth (1613) by Middleton. Perhaps more important to the Companies was that their employment of the dramatists enabled them to draw on other aspects of these men's skill than the mere ability to write effective speeches, such as their familiarity with dealing with actors, stage business, props, and costumes.²⁸

IV. The Lord Mayor's Show and Drama

The question of how far the pageants were "dramatic" is important, for of late the attempt to rescue the study of pageantry in general, and Lord Mayor's Shows in particular, from the confines of mere antiquarianism and to see these pageants in the context of the whole range of dramatic activity of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period has sometimes resulted in a distortion of their true nature. Stephen Orgel has insisted that we should not view the masque as "drama manqué," and the same is true of pageantry.²⁹ As Orgel argues "drama exists in time: things happen and characters act on each other"; but this excludes most of the significant

features of the Lord Mayor's Show. On the whole things do not happen, they are only expounded, and characters exist primarily only as static exemplars, not as figures capable of change. In short there is no sense of process, and little plot or dialogue. The emphasis instead is on spectacle and its exposition. Of course the Lord Mayor's Shows do have dramatic elements, sometimes, as in Troia-Nova Triumphans and The Triumphs of Truth, more pronounced than at other times, but never combined into a whole. Pageants, then, must be accorded their own laws; it is a distortion to use the extent to which they approach the dramatic as a criterion of their excellence. This is not to deny, as Glynne Wickham has so clearly demonstrated, that an understanding of pageantry is essential to an understanding of the development of drama during this period or that there are many correspondences between pageantry and the regular drama, but rather that, in dealing with the Lord Mayor's Show, it is essential not to forget that the occasion which it celebrated, its nature, its form, and its organization inevitably inhibited any truly dramatic action.³⁰

A major impediment to the dramatic development of the Show was the strict control exercised by the Companies. The day's triumphs were organized and paid for by whichever Company the new Lord Mayor belonged to. As the Haberdashers' statement quoted earlier suggests, the Companies had a clear idea of what they wanted and since they paid the piper they called the tune. Their increasing willingness to pay out large sums of money for these celebrations is as important for the development of the form as their employment of professional dramatists. Without this financial support, the proliferation in the number of tableaux and the growing

elaboration could never have occurred. It is probably not coincidence that the most expensive Show before the Restoration, the Grocers' 1613 celebrations for Sir Thomas Myddleton, includes the most dramatic of the pageants, written by Middleton for his namesake, while one of the least dramatic (and one of the worst, although the two are by no means synonymous), Middleton's The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity (1626), formed part of the cheapest triumph, that for Cuthbert Hacket, Draper. The Grocers paid out about £1300 of which just less than half was expended on the pageant itself; the Drapers spent £545. 13. 08 of which about one quarter went on the pageant (MSC III, pp.86, 110).

The heavy expenditure entailed constant supervision by Company officials; in a matter as important as the honour of the City and its own members, no Company would have relinquished much in the way of control to a representative of the dangerous profession of the theatre. On the whole, the Companies got what they wanted and were well-served by the men they employed; however, the extent of their control could not but inhibit innovation. For instance, as long as the tableaux were skilfully executed, the Drapers could be relied upon to be satisfied with ones featuring sheep and shepherds, or Jason and the Golden Fleece. Or, as Ben Jonson more disparagingly put it in his satirical portrait of Munday in The Case is Altered, "such things ever are like bread, which the staler it is, the more holesome."³¹ Certainly when the Companies complained, it was not on account of the tableaux per se, but rather the "ill performance thereof." In 1609 the Ironmongers objected that "the children weare not instructed their speeches...that the Musick and singinge weare wanting, the apparrell most of it old and borrowed, with other defects" (MSC III,

p.76). Similar considerations may have prompted the Drapers' complaints in 1626.³² In such cases, however, the Company had effective remedies; first it could withhold part of the payment and second, it could decline to employ the offending dramatist or artificer in the future.

A further limitation on the dramatic development of the Lord Mayor's Show was its occasional nature and its function as a celebration of the mutual social responsibilities of ruler and ruled. Stephen Orgel has argued that in the case of the masque it took the talents of Jonson to overcome the limitations inherent in the form, unify its disparate elements, and create a text independent of performance.³³ This never happened with the Lord Mayor's Show, and one important reason why it did not was that its outdoor, peripatetic form made it very difficult, even if dramatist and Company had so desired, to achieve anything other than what Orgel calls the unity of a pageant-- that is, a variety of discrete devices, unified essentially by symbolic and thematic means rather than by dramatic interplay of character.³⁴ It is no coincidence that the Royal Entry never developed beyond this point either, despite the disbursement in 1604 of vast sums of money and the employment of Jonson, Dekker, and Middleton. Jean Jacquot's comments on the essential diversity of the Royal Entry are equally applicable to the Lord Mayor's Show: "Le pouvoir monarchique se donne en spectacle à la cité; la cité se donne en spectacle au souverain-- et à elle-même car elle prend alors conscience de son unité, de son harmonie dans la diversité des responsabilités, des rangs, des professions. Les sentiments de fidélité et de protection, l'idée de concorde nécessaire au travail pacifique et à la prospérité ne s'expriment pas seulement

dans un cortège solennel aux costumes éclatants et accompagné de musique, mais pas des décors, des tableaux vivants commentés par des devises ou des discours."³⁵ Since, in addition, the writers were obliged to celebrate the same event in very much the same way year in and year out they probably deserve congratulation for the changes they managed to ring on the basic themes and tableaux than criticism for their lack of invention.

The problem was still further complicated by other aspects of the occasion. The processional nature of both the Lord Mayor's Show and Royal Entry inevitably acted as a brake on the incorporation of dramatic action into the pageant form. Middleton tried to surmount this difficulty in The Triumphs of Truth (1613), to a modern reader the most interesting of and satisfying of the Shows, by using a morality-like structure to unify its parts. But it was an experiment that neither he (nor Dekker who attempted something similar in Troia-Nova Triumphans, 1612) ever repeated, and it is fair to consider that there were other grounds for this than the "dotage" suggested by David Bergeron.³⁶ He argues that these first shows by Dekker and Middleton are praiseworthy because they are "an attempt to add dramatic value by giving the conflict between virtue and vice a significant, dramatized tension, not merely a visual statement." In comparison, the later shows are "sorely lacking": "rich in spectacle they may be, but the dramatic 'soul' is almost non-existent." However, it is arguable that this development of the dramatic "soul" was essentially at odds with the spectacular, occasional, and processional nature of the Lord Mayor's Show, that Dekker and Middleton recognized this, and so abandoned their initial experiments. Certainly one wonders how many people under-

stood the innovations of The Triumphs of Truth; indeed as R. C. Bald comments, the sustained allegory of this pageant must have been "quite unintelligible to any except the Lord Mayor and those beside him."³⁷

V. Audience

It is reasonable to suppose that given the conditions likely to prevail on the day--a good chance of bad weather and an enormous crowd--the effective part of the Show for most of those who watched it must have been the spectacle. Only those close to the Lord Mayor himself could have been assured of understanding the speeches, and whether they always listened very attentively may be doubted. This difficulty must certainly have been exacerbated by the turbulence of the crowd. The description of the triumphs of 1617, for which Middleton wrote The Triumphs of Honor and Industry, by Orazio Busino, chaplain to the Venetian Ambassador, makes it clear that the behaviour of the spectators was far from sedate:

On looking into the street we saw a surging mass of people, moving in search of some resting place which a fresh mass of sightseers grouped higgledy piggledy rendered impossible. It was a fine medley: there were old men in their dotage; insolent youths and boys, especially the apprentices alluded to; painted wenches and women of the lower classes carrying their children, all anxious to see the show. We noticed but few coaches and still fewer horsemen; only a few gentlewomen coming in their carriages for a view at some house in the Row belonging to their friends or relations, for the insolence of the mob is extreme. They cling behind the coaches and should the coachman use his whip, they jump down and pelt him with mud. In this way we saw them bedaub the smart livery of one coachman, who was obliged to put up with it. In these great uproars no sword is ever unsheathed, everything ends in kicks, fisty cuffs and muddy faces.

From the windows an incessant shower of squibs and crackers were thrown into the mass beneath, for which the boys scrambled when they were cold. On surveying the windows along the street, as far as the eye could reach, we perceived sundry gallants in attendance on fine ladies...we were assured that the gallants were the servants of these ladies, which in plain language means their lovers....Some of our party saw a wicked woman in a rage with an individual supposed to belong to the Spanish embassy. She urged the crowd to mob him, setting the example by belabouring him herself with a cabbage stalk and calling him a Spanish rogue, and although in very brave array his garments were foully smeared with a sort of soft and very stinking mud which abounds here at all seasons.³⁸

When we read Middleton's description of these "noble Solemnities" we should not forget the reality of pushing, shoving, and revelry that lay behind them. For if the ridings were on one level the celebration of a mystic social communion, on another they had always provided for such as Perkin Revelour, the irresistible opportunity for a holiday:

For whan ther any ridyng was in Chepe
Out of the shoppe thider wolde he lepe--
Til that he hadde al the sighte ysein,
And daunced wel, he wolde nat come ayeyn--³⁹

The spectators are indeed one of the fascinating elements of the Show, for behind the desire to honour City and Company comes the intention of entertaining the citizens. The popularity of the Shows is adequately attested to by the decision to execute Sir Walter Raleigh on 29 October so "that the pageants and fine shewes might drawe away the people from beholding the tragoedie of the gallants worthies that ever England bred."⁴⁰ The prime audience was, of course, the Lord Mayor and his retinue; however, they, in turn formed part of the show for everyone else.⁴¹ And indeed all London was there. The Companies were, in a sense, a microcosm of the

society of the capital. Although essentially representing the established merchant class of London, kings, queens, and nobles belonged to them, while the humblest apprentice might aspire, in the tradition of London success stories, to rise through their ranks to the ultimate dignity of Lord Mayor. As Spendall in Greenes Tu Quoque exclaims "by this Light I doe not thinke but to bee Lord Maior of London before I die, and have three Pageants carried before me, besides a Shippe and an Unicorne."⁴² In keeping with this the triumphs were sometimes graced by members of the royal family; representatives of the Privy Council were always there, and fashionable society turned out to amuse itself by looking at everyone else. And the great mass of citizens were present since it was their show. Thus the devisers of the pageants had to please an audience of great social diversity, the "sharpe and learned" and those of "grounded judgements."⁴³ Busino's description makes it clear that those of any social standing did not mingle with the crowds in the street but stationed themselves at the windows of houses along the route. This suggests that they may have found it difficult to hear the speeches (Busino makes no mention of them) or discern much of what was happening in the pageants. So it seems likely that Dekker and Middleton were right to stress that "The multitude is now to be our Audience, whose heads would miserably runne a wooll-gathering, if we doo but offer to breake them with hard words."⁴⁴

VI. The Lord Mayor's Show and its Authors

Although it is true that there are occasions when the pageant poets rely on formula-writing (Middleton's 1626 Show, essentially cobbled up from

earlier ones is a case in point), on the whole they took their responsibilities seriously and produced effective pageants. "Inevitable monotony in spite of endless variations" is the comment of a modern reader, one who has read too many pageants too quickly to appreciate their diversity.⁴⁵ Certainly if we turn to what the authors themselves had to say about what they were doing we find that they had a firm grasp of both the potential and the limitations of the form in which they were working. Dekker's comments on triumphs are especially illuminating:

Tryumphes, are the most choice and daintiest fruit that spring from Peace and Abundance; Love begets them; and Much Cost brings them forth. Expectation feeds upon them, but seldome to a surfeite, for when she is most full, her longing wants something to be satisfied. So inticing a shape they carry, that Princes themselves take pleasure to behold them; they with delight; common people with admiration. They are now and then the Rich and Glorious Fires of Bounty, State, and Magnificence, giving light and beauty to the Courts of Kings: And now and then, it is but a debt payd to Time and Custome: And out of that debt come These.

(III, 230)

His clear realization that peace and abundance are necessary political conditions for the flourishing of such events is particularly interesting, for the Shows were abandoned when it became obvious that London's peaceable estate (Londini Status Pacatus was the title of Heywood's 1639 Show, the last before the Interregnum) was a myth.

Besides Dekker and Middleton the two major writers of mayoral pageants before 1639 were Munday and Heywood. Munday has had the misfortune to be maligned by both contemporary and modern critics.⁴⁶ However, a careful reading of his pageants suggests that some, at least, of this criticism is

misplaced. Sheila Williams comments that his pamphlets read "like the work of a man who is inventing the form of what he is writing as he goes along."⁴⁷ This is true; the credit for a logically organized text appears to belong to Dekker. But this does not mean that Munday could not write a good pageant, simply that he had not learnt how to organize a written description of the event. In fact, one suspects that some of his pageants, especially for instance Metropolis Coronata (1615) with its speech and song from Robin Hood and his Merry Men and their request for further employment at Christmas, were found more entertaining by many of the spectators and even Company officials than some of the more pious moralizings of Middleton or Dekker. Munday, writing at the beginning of the heyday of the Show, has little interest in the theoretical aspects of the form; the same is true of Heywood writing at its close. In his case this may be the result of the reduced status of the writer, for, as in the case of the masque, by the mid-1630s the responsibility for the "devise" and "invention" of the pageant has clearly passed to the artificer; in 1638 and 1639 the Drapers negotiate with John and Mathias Christmas who are made responsible for paying Heywood.⁴⁸ By this time the texts were printed before the performance, but Heywood uses the freedom of no longer having to describe the tableaux in detail, not to explain the nature of triumphs but rather to display his erudition and expound at length the appropriateness of his rather idiosyncratic and recondite symbolism. Indeed Sir Morris Abbot (for whom Porta Pietatis, 1638, was written) may well have felt very grateful for an explanation of why he was to resemble a rhinoceros.⁴⁹

Middleton, however, like Dekker, is concerned to explain both what a

triumph is and what it should do, but in his case the effectiveness of this is reduced by his determination to prove himself a better artist than his rival Munday. The opening to The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity (1619) shows that he had a firm grasp of what was required: "there is fair hope that things where invention flourishes, clear Art and her graceful proprieties should receive favour and encouragement from the content of the spectator, which, next to the service of his honour and honourable Society, is the principal reward it looks for" (VII, 315). The honour of the magistrate and the content of the spectator are not in themselves, however, sufficient; as Dekker had also emphasized, the enticing shape of the pageant is a means to an end--the instruction of both magistrate and people in their mutual duties: "Nor have these kind of triumphs an idle relish, especially if they be artfully accomplished: under such an esteemed slightness may often lurk that fire that may shame the best perfection. For instance what greater means for the imitation of virtue and nobleness can anywhere present itself with more alacrity to the beholder, than the memorable fames of those worthies in the castle..." (The Triumphs of Honor and Industry, VII, 295). So the pageants of the Lord Mayor's Show are intended to function as miniature Mirrors for Magistrates, and it is as well to recall that the age genuinely believed in the potential of art to affect directly the moral behaviour of an individual. To us the pageant poets seem at times to be indulging in grossly unwarranted flattery; however, at a time when flattery was an accepted mode of expression, they were endeavouring (admittedly with varying degrees of success and little of Ben Jonson's literary ability) to be "mirrors of mans life, whose ends, for the excellence of their exhibitors (as being the donatives, of great Princes, to their

people) ought alwayes to carry a mixture of profit, with them, no lesse then delight."⁵⁰ And second in the manner described by Bacon, "a form due in civility to kings and great persons, laudando praecipere, when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be."⁵¹

VII. Devices, Machines and Stages

The devices on which the pageant poets relied were the familiar ones of medieval and Tudor theatre and entertainment. Variations on the mount, arbour, tower, fountain, and chariot abound in the Lord Mayor's Show; essentially, the skill of writer and artificer lay in the changes they could ring on these basic devices rather than in the invention of new ones. So, for instance, Middleton's Chariot of Honour in The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity (1626) seems unsatisfactory not because it is yet another use of a chariot, but because Middleton (although Christmas must presumably share some of the blame) has simply lifted the Chariot of Sacred Memory from The Triumphs of Integrity (1623), renamed it, and attached a speech which has little connection to the tableau. He has failed to invent a new fiction for an old device and the one he does provide, by its breach of decorum, draws attention to his lack of originality. The Drapers would have been justified if they had felt they had seen it before.

The continuity of tradition apparent in the devices and their importance for an understanding of Renaissance stagecraft have been well-demonstrated by George Kernodle and Glynne Wickham;⁵² accordingly I propose to examine only those devices used regularly by Middleton. The

two most ubiquitous are the chariot and the mount/island; they appear in all his Shows. The popularity of the chariot in processions may owe something to the influence of the Renaissance triumphal parade, but it is more likely to have been adapted from the Court entertainments where it was in regular use by at least the 1540s.⁵³ And of course chariots also appear on the public stage in plays like Tamburlaine and The Battle of Alcazar; one is listed in Henslowe's 1598 Inventory.⁵⁴ For the Lord Mayor's Show the chariot provided an adaptable means of transport for a group of kings, worthies, virtues, or whatever, whether live or carved, particularly suited to a procession. It was generally drawn by the mythological or heraldic beasts, carved or made of lath and plaster, that were a constant element of the Show's attractions. Chariots in the Drapers' pageants were always drawn by two pelltied (i.e. spotted) lions, the supporters of the Company's arms. The device itself could vary considerably in size from the scallop shell of Oceanus in Dekker's Britannias Honor (1628) to the massive chariot in Munday's Chrysanaleia: The Golden Fishing (1616) which contains at least nineteen figures. The chariot could also be combined with other devices: Dekker considers it to be synonymous with throne in both Troia-Nova Triumphans and Britannias Honor, a glance at the hierarchical arrangement of the seating in the Chrysanaleia drawing confirms the genesis of this.

The mountain is a basic device of early pageants, entertainments, tournaments, and the Cycle plays. Its symbolic possibilities are obvious; often it represents the commonwealth. The two mountains in the pageants for Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon in 1501 represent England and

Spain respectively. It is used to particular effect in Elizabeth's Coronation Show where a green mountain and a barren mountain symbolize Respublica bene instituta and Ruinosa Respublica. This device was consciously re-used by Heywood in Londons Jus Honorarium (1631).⁵⁵ Middleton's propensity for the mount/island can be explained by the dictates of the iconography of the Companies for which he wrote. Of his seven Shows three were written for the Grocers and three for the Drapers. The Grocers always expected a representation of the spice islands from which they derived their wealth and the Drapers were equally enthusiastic about their sheep. The mount/island is an obvious choice to fulfil both these requirements. Again varying degrees of elaboration are possible. In 1613, when the Grocers spent a small fortune on the Show, Middleton and his artificer produce five islands, a castle on the largest, middle one, and a ship as well; in 1617, when they spent less, they got only the Continent of India. For the Drapers Middleton uses the mount as an harbour on whose beauty "woolly creatures" graze, but it also appears as a mount royal for those shepherds who "rise to be kings" in The Triumphs of Integrity. In The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity (1619) the Parliament of Honour, a device which we might have expected to be of the sanctuary type is described by Middleton as "a Mount of Royalty."

Other important devices used by Middleton are the tower/castle, the fountain, and the sanctuary/pavilion. The tower is a common device in pageantry from at least the thirteenth century, especially at the conduits which provided appropriately semi-castellated structures for the artificer to base his designs upon. Like the mountain, the tower was often

used in both medieval drama and later pageantry to symbolize the city or the kingdom. However, there are good grounds for thinking that the classical triumphal arches of James I's Royal Entry in 1604 affected the type of design.⁵⁶ Certainly the descriptions of Middleton and Dekker often seem closer to a castle or temple than a tower. For instance, Britannia's Watch Tower in Britannias Honor (1628) is "a Magnificent Structure, Advancing itselſe from the Platforme, or Ground-worke upward with the Bewty of eight Antique Termes, By whose strength is supported a Foure square Building; The Toppe of which is a Watch-Tower, or Lanthorne, with eight Columnes of silver" (IV, 91).

The fountain is described by Kernodle as "perhaps the most protean of the scenic devices. On one occasion a symbol of a garden, on others it was an independent monumental and scenic form; at still other times it became an open pavilion, a castle, a temple, a grotto, a cross, a fleur-de-lis, an Agnus Dei, a tree, a triumphal arch, or a structure to support an upper stage or an orchestra of musicians."⁵⁷ It was very popular in fifteenth-century Royal Entries when it was often built around one of the conduits, as for instance with Lydgate's three wells celebrating the return of Henry VI from his Paris Coronation in 1432. However, the fountain became less popular in later civic pageantry, appearing only some five times. Peele uses it Descensus Astraeae (1591), and Dekker has a Fountain of Virtue in the Nova Felix Arabia arch of The Magnificent Entertainment (1604), as does Heywood in Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo (1632). Middleton uses it The Sunne in Aries and The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity. None of the texts of these pageants includes

much in the way of description of the device; this may be because of its familiarity rather than the dramatist's lack of interest.⁵⁸

Like many of the other devices, the elaborateness of the sanctuary varies; at one end of the scale is the simple pavilion, sometimes containing a throne, and at the other is such a complex neo-Grecian structure as the Temple of Integrity in The Triumphs of Integrity whose crystal appearance is the visual embodiment of the moral purity of its occupant. At times the sanctuary closely resembles the tower/castle, doubtless this owes much to the influence of classicism in architecture. The Booth sketch of Dekker's Pallace of Apollo from Londons Tempe (1629) gives some idea of the appearance of such structures (see p.41). One interesting feature of this sketch is the existence of curtains.⁵⁹ This corresponds to their use in earlier drama as in the "cowncel hous" of the Ludus Coventriae. The curtains were presumably used on occasion for discoveries or scene changes. The fog which covers London's Triumphant Mount in The Triumphs of Truth seems to be a curtain device and it is possible that it was by this means that the Temple of Integrity opened at "fit and convenient Times."

Curtains, however, were among the simpler spectacular effects of the Lord Mayor's Show. Again the continuity of tradition between medieval drama and entertainment and later theatre and pageantry is apparent. The mechanical marvels in the Shows range from the gold-spotted laurel tree that "shoots up" from the top of the Pageant of Several Nations in The Triumphs of Honor and Industry to the Globe of Honor in The Triumphs of

Honor and Vertue "which Globe suddenly opening and flying into eight cants, or distinct parts, discovers in a twinkling eight bright personages most gloriously decked, representing (as it were) the inward man..." (VII, 365). This opening globe was an especially popular device, being used by Dekker, Webster, and Heywood as well as Middleton. The basic machine used to contrive these effects was the vice or windlass, presumably usually concealed in the framework of the structure.⁶⁰ By the late fifteenth century such machines were in regular use in the Cycle plays, Royal Entries, and entertainments; indeed, there is nothing mechanical in the Lord Mayor's Show that cannot be paralleled in the pageants for the reception of Catherine of Aragon in 1501. However, it is also probable that the development of elaborate scenic machinery for the masque affected the Lord Mayor's Show. Certainly Garret Christmas' special effects in The Triumphs of Integrity seem to resemble some of those contrived by Inigo Jones for Oberon.

Most of the tableaux joined the procession after they had done their part in welcoming the Lord Mayor. The exceptions to this practice are rare. Sometimes, as in Dekker's Forlorn Castle from Troia-Nova Triumphans, the stability of a fixed stage seems to have been desirable and the Little Conduit provided an effective backdrop to the stage-castle. At other times the devisers wanted to use architectural features or symbolic associations of particular buildings and so incorporated these into a tableau, as in that at the new Standard in The Sunne in Aries. The continuing use of the peripatetic stage is clearly a survival from the earlier Midsummer Show when the pageants were "boren befor the Mair"; it is perhaps surprising

that the advantages of a fixed stage were so rarely drawn upon, but one reason for the reliance on the earlier type must have been the added spectacle which this gave to the procession--after all the heart of the show.⁶¹ There is a strong possibility that the use of fixed stages became more common towards the end of the period; at any rate the texts are less specific about this, and some of the more elaborate tableaux are likely to have been stationary. Nonetheless, the continued payments for "Land-carriage by porters" confirm that most of the tableaux were still carried around in the procession.⁶²

Although both devices and tableaux were of the traditional type it is not always easy to visualize what they looked like. The task is made easier by the existence of two sets of drawings. The first, preserved in the Fishmongers' Company archives, and reproduced in John Gough Nichols' edition of Chrysanaleia is the most useful, providing detailed representation of almost every aspect of Munday's 1616 pageant.⁶³ The second group, the sketches made by Abram Booth, secretary to the delegation of the Netherlands East India Company, of Dekker's Londons Tempe (1629) gives a reliable general impression of each tableau, but the details by no means always correspond to Dekker's description. The two sets, however, in conjunction with details gleaned from Company records and the texts themselves, provide a necessary counterpoise to the wilder flights of imagination of many of the critics who have considered the problems of the appearance and transport of the pageant structures. Students of the Lord Mayor's Show have generally either failed to treat these difficulties or have produced theories that contradict the evidence of the drawings; drawings which they frequently reproduce.

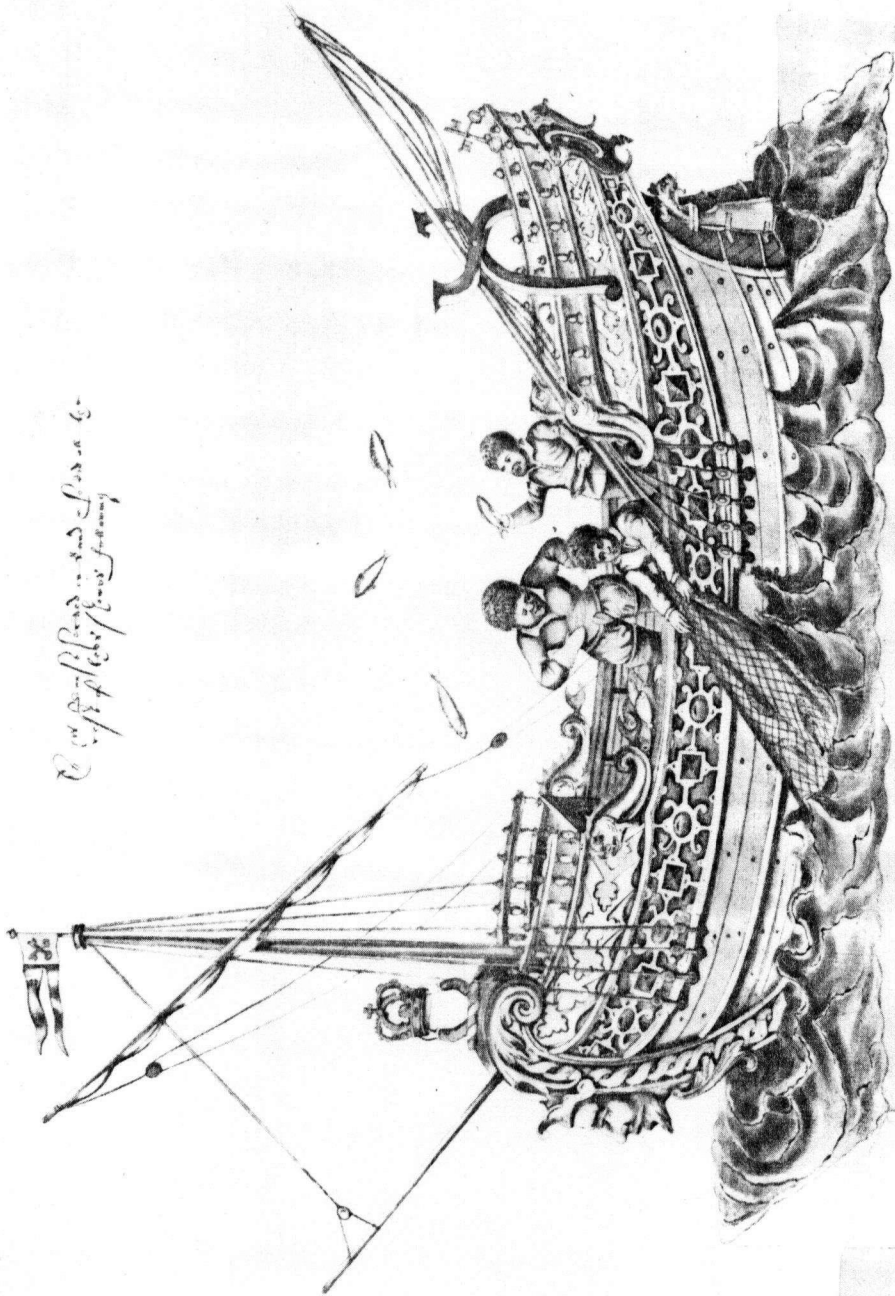


Figure 2: Chrysanaleia: The Fishing Busse

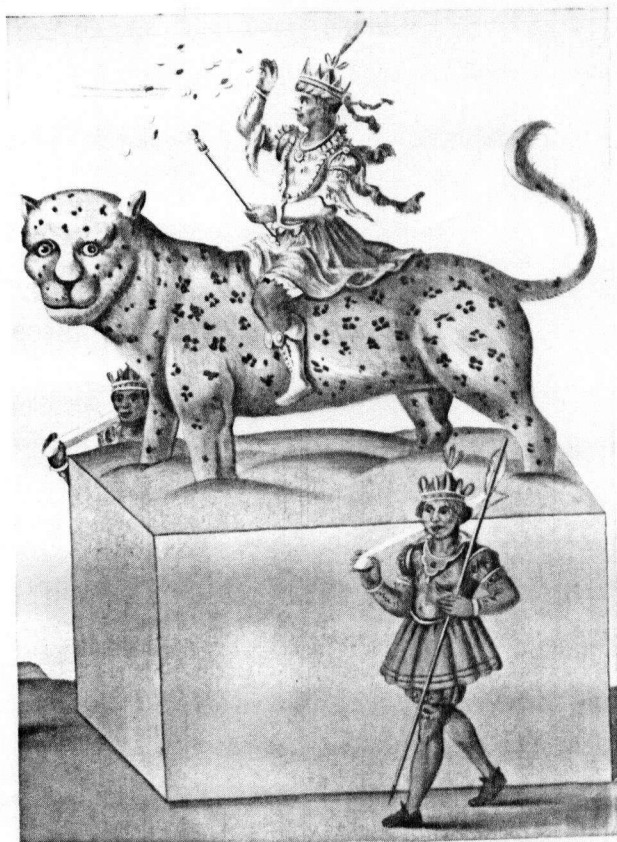


Figure 3. Chrysanaleia: The King of the Moors.



Figure 4: Chrysanaleia: Merman and Mermaid

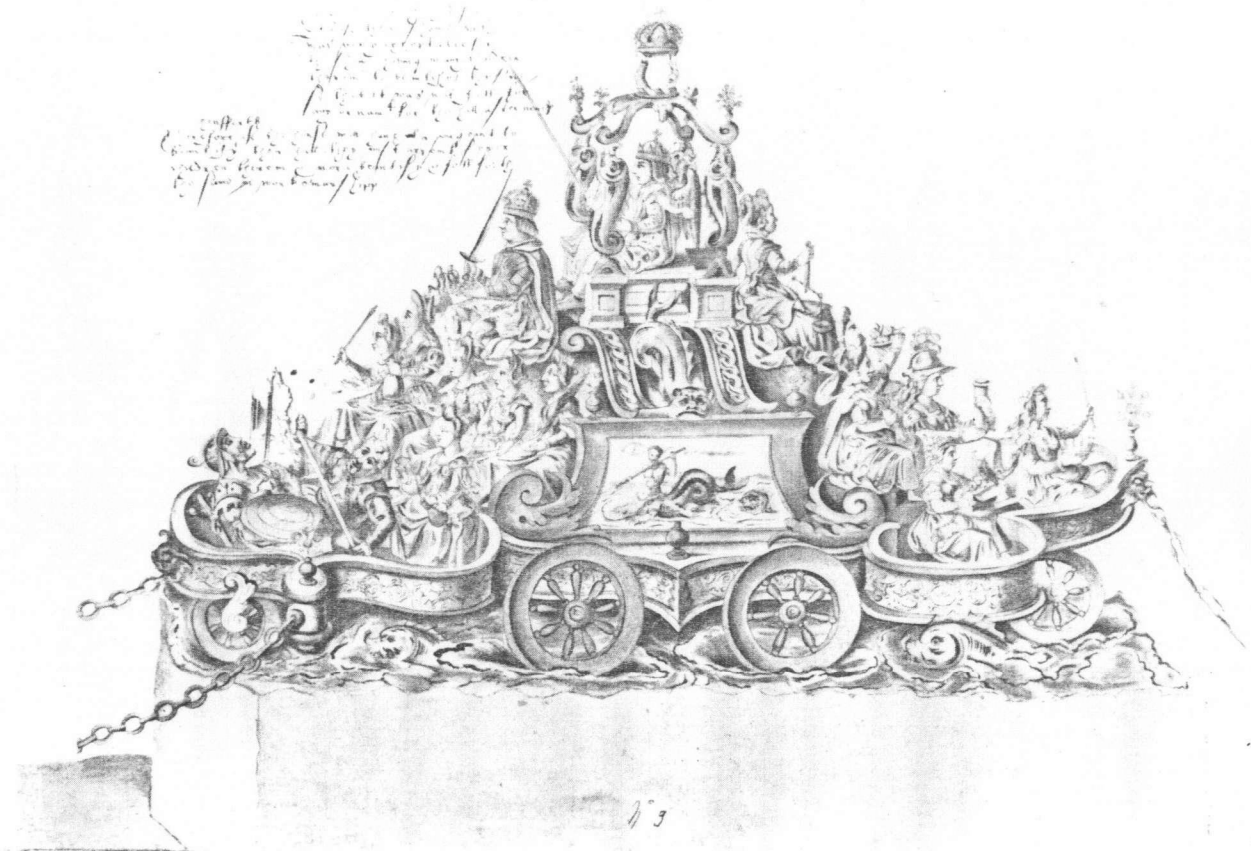


Figure 5: Chrysanaleia: The Chariot of Richard II

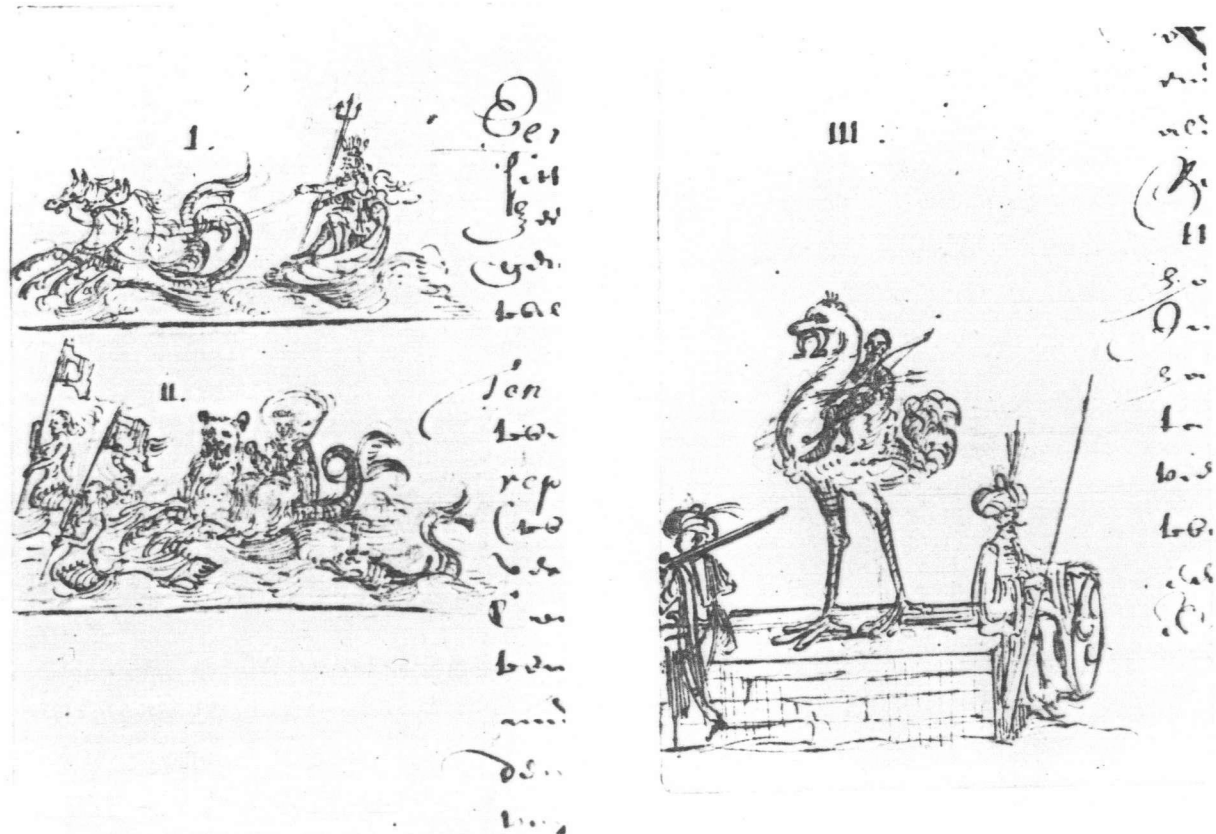


Figure 6: Londons Tempe. The Chariot of Oceanus, Tethys on a Sea-Lion, and an Indian boy on an Ostrich

It is clear from the Chrysanaleia set that the tableaux were mounted on a cubic structure, the "Quadrangle frame" mentioned by Munday in Chruso-thriambos, the Triumphes of Golde (1611, sig. A4). The obvious purpose of this was to provide a raised playing area; it presumably superseded the hogsheads required in the early Shows (MSC III, p.46). The continued use of this frame is confirmed on the whole by the Booth sketches. In addition it may have provided an area in which the sometimes complex machinery for the tableau could be concealed. I am unable to find any convincing authority for the assertions made by J. G. Nichols, Sheila Williams, and Glynne Wickham that the space was used to conceal either wheels, horses, or men. Nichols claims, in discussing the Chrysanaleia Fishing Busse, that "it was drawn along the streets upon wheels, which were hidden by the dependant curtains."⁶⁴ The wheels are an interesting possibility; although there is no mention of them in contemporary accounts, their use would be a logical way of easing the problem of transportation. The curtains are improbable, being scarcely warranted by the drawing which suggests, as would presumably be necessary, a more solid base for the pageant, after all a rather heavy structure. Sheila Williams, more justifiably, sees the plates as indicating "the extensive, indeed almost entire use of porters," but her inference from this, that the cubic structures could conceivably conceal horses but more likely the porters, is equally suspect.⁶⁵ It seems clear from Dekker's description in 1612 that the tableaux were normally carried openly by the porters. This is confirmed by Company records: in 1610 the Merchant Taylors pay 100 porters £12. 10. 00 for carrying the pageants, apparently three major tableaux and some animals. Porters cost the same Company £10 in 1612 (MSC III, p.85);

presumably again a large number were required.⁶² So many men are unlikely to have been concealed within the structure.

Glynne Wickham, also deals with the problem of moving the pageants. He claims that the heraldic beasts of the Companies' arms "were taken out of their normal setting and used again and again in lifesize or larger re-creations to conceal the men who pulled the pageant-wagons through the streets or rowed them on the water," but while such a procedure may sometimes have been followed, it would seem to have been unnecessarily cumbersome.⁶⁶ In the case of the water show the tableau seems usually to have been mounted on a gallyfoist and it is unlikely that there would have been any need to conceal the oarsmen. Similarly, the evidence for the procession points overwhelmingly to the open pulling or carrying of pageants and beasts through the streets. Wickham reprints a good selection of the Chrysanaleia drawings, but there is nothing in any of them to confirm his assertion. Indeed, the drawing of the merman and mermaid who pulled the chariot suggests precisely the opposite. And it is probable that the heraldic beasts generally bore a greater resemblance to the leopard from Chrysanaleia than to Wickham's description.

The only contrary evidence comes from Dekker's Troia-Nova Triumphans, a pageant particularly interesting for the insight it offers into conditions of production. Almost all commentators on the Lord Mayor's Show have noted its importance, but few have endeavoured to determine its precise significance. Most, like David Bergeron (who is conspicuous for lack of interest in production matters), are content to remark that "certain

changes in production are taking place."⁶⁷ The crucial passage describes the Chariot of Neptune:

Before this Chariot ride foure Trytons, who are feyned by Poets to bee trumpeters to Neptune, and for that cause make way before him, holding strange Trum-pets in their hands, which they sound as they passe along, their habits being Anticke, and Sea-like, and sitting upon foure severall fishes, viz, two Dolphins, and two Mer-maids, which are not (after the old pro-creation), begotten of painted cloath and browne paper, but are living beasts, so queintly disguised like the natural fishes, of purpose to avoyd the trouble and pestering of Porters, who with much noyse and little comlinessse are every yeare most unnecessarily employed.

(III, 232-3)

Unfortunately, the meaning of this passage is not completely clear; the mind boggles at deciding exactly what sort of "living beasts" (horses? men?) were "queintly disguised" as dolphins and mermaids.⁶⁸ The extract does confirm that porters normally carried the pageant structures through the streets, and also suggests that the early pageant figures were rather crude affairs of cloth and brown paper. Perhaps the reference is simply intended to stress the life-like qualities of these particular dolphins and mermaids in contrast to the older, cruder ones, but this would presumably still entail the use of porters. Whatever the precise form of Dekker's innovation, it did not succeed in displacing the porters; even for this Show the Merchant Taylors found it necessary to employ a large number of "porters which carried some part of the shows" (MSC III, p.85). And in this year there was another tableau, the Forlorn Castle, which, being built on a stationary stage, definitely did not require porters. Twelve years later, in 1624, porters are still clearly the rule; Webster draws attention to the use of horses to pull the Chariot of Kings in

Monuments of Honor: "for Porters would have made it move tottering and improperly."⁶⁹ Even after the Restoration payments to as many as one hundred porters are not infrequent.⁷⁰

However, Dekker was evidently right in commenting on the growing sophistication of the devices and figures throughout the period. As Jean Robertson has pointed out, the credit for much of this belongs to Garret Christmas, who, unlike most of his rivals, was an architect and carver rather than a painter.⁷¹ This was recognized by Heywood who extravagantly compared him to Augustus finding Rome built of brick but leaving it built of marble: "So he who found these Pageants and Showes of Wicker and Paper, rather appearing monstrous and prodigious Births, then any Beast (presented in them) in the least kind imitating Nature: hath reduc't them to that sollidity and substance for the Materialls, that they are so farre from one dayes washing to deface them, that the weathering of many Winters can not impeach them: and for their excellent Figures and well-proportioned lineaments, (by none preceding him) that could be sayd to bee paralleled."⁷²

There are no exact indications of the sizes of the tableaux given in either texts or Company records, and the danger of estimating this from the drawings is obvious. However, L. J. Morrissey has produced reasonably accurate dimensions for the wagons of the post-Restoration Lord Mayor's Show. His intention is to provide an alternative estimate to Richard Hosley's of the size of medieval pageant wagons, arguing that the physical conditions (narrow streets, etc.) and the inherent conservatism of pageantry make it reasonable to suppose that the wagons of the post-

Restoration show "were not significantly different in structure and size from those that moved through the streets of medieval London."⁷³ This is debatable, but it is much safer to assume, given the reliance of the Companies on precedent and the impossibility of further developments during the Commonwealth, that the dimensions of the pre-Restoration wagons were close to those used after. Morrissey argues that the typical wagon was rectangular, approximately 8 by 14 feet, with a structure (chariot, arbour, etc.) "filling most of the eight-foot front to a depth of three or four feet, with the stage stretching out behind."⁷⁴ He concludes "square wagons 8 feet by 8 feet, or at most 10 feet by 10 feet, and rectangular ones 8 feet by 14 feet with structures on them from 6 to 12 feet high, and certainly under 15 feet, would have been extremely maneuverable by porters in the narrowest streets."

VIII. Actors

It has been generally accepted that the roles in the pageants were usually taken by children (MSC III, p. xxxi). Certainly children seem to have taken part in all the Shows from the mid-sixteenth century until 1639, and at times, as in 1566, 1568, 1585, 1602, and 1604 undoubtedly took the speaking roles.⁷⁵ In 1609, however, Munday, while suggesting that the use of children was customary, had reservations about their effectiveness and indeed seems not to have used them. In the text of Camp-bell or the Ironmongers Faire Field he comments on their limitations: "the weake voyces of so many Children, which such shewes as this doe urgently require, for personating each devise, in a crowde of such noyse and uncivill turmoyle,

are not any way able to be understood, neither their capacities to reach the full height of every intention, in so short a limitation for study, practise, and instruction."⁷⁶ It should be noted that the Ironmongers complained this year that "the children weare not instructed their speeches" (MSC III, p.76). Despite such disadvantages, firm evidence of the participation of adult actors is scant. In 1611 the Goldsmiths "required" their brother John Lowen, a King's Man, to play Leofstane in Chruso-thriambos and in 1639 the Drapers paid William Hall, a member of the King's Revels, for "musicke and actions" and one Mumford (John Mountsett?) for "feates and Actions."⁷⁷ The editors of Malone Society Collections III think that these payments were for a separate entertainment that was not part of Heywood's Londini Status Pacatus; however, David Bergeron has suggested that Hall took the role of Orpheus.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, there is some indication in Company records that, especially at the height of the Lord Mayor's Show, adults were more often involved than has generally been realized. So in 1613 the Grocers distinguish twice between children and players, in 1624 the Merchant Taylors arrange dinner for the men and children of the pageants, and in both 1629 and 1635 the Ironmongers differentiate between children and speakers.⁷⁹ It seems likely that as the Shows became more elaborate, the major roles, at least, were more often taken by adults. Unfortunately, the responsibility of writer and artificer in the seventeenth century for most matters of production has obscured the identity of those involved. In the late sixteenth century the children came from schools such as St. Anthony's, St. Paul's, Westminster, and Merchant Taylors', but after 1602 they are

identified only as "the children of the pageants." Some may well have been the offspring of Company members, as was sometimes the case with both the Midsummer Show and the post-Restoration Lord Mayor's Show, although since the provision of children was generally the author's responsibility, it is possible that those children with speaking roles had some professional training. It has proved similarly impossible to determine whether the men and speakers referred to in Company accounts were professionals or associated in some way with the Company.

IX. Finances and Organization

The organization of the Show as a whole was directly controlled by the Company involved. The arrangements made by the different Companies of course varied somewhat, but ultimate responsibility generally lay with the governing body, the Court of Assistants.⁸⁰ The most common procedure, which was followed by the Drapers, was for the Court to undertake the initial arrangements and then delegate all further responsibility for the procession and pageants to a committee or committees appointed by it. This as a rule included the senior representatives of the Bachelors or Yeomanry who were largely responsible for the financing of the celebrations. The choice of tableaux, writer, and artificer lay either with the Court or with the committee; they sometimes formulated their wishes and appointed a writer and artificer to carry them out or, at other times, accepted tenders from interested parties.⁸¹ Whatever the exact procedure, the important point is that the choice was directly controlled by the most powerful men of the Company. The Drapers' Court of Assistants in 1621

appointed the Master, the four Wardens, and two senior members of the Livery "to take viewe and consideracion of suche plottes & thinges as are offered to be presented to this Companie by severall persons touchinge the pageantes and shoues" (p.320). It was presumably this committee that was responsible for accepting the proposal of Middleton, Christmas, and Munday. In 1623 and 1626 the Court ordered that "the fower Master wardens shall take present course for the fittinge providinge and compoundinge for of all things as shalbee fitt and necessarie for or towchinge the said shoues and triumphes" (p.331). From this point on, responsibility for overseeing the making of the pageants and organizing the procession was transferred to the Wardens of the Bachelors.

The decision as to the exact means of financing the whole affair also lay with the Court of Assistants, as did the final authorization of the expenditure. Again, it is important to note that although the Bachelors paid in one way or another for the triumphs, the most important procedural decisions belonged to the governing body. The Companies, according to their individual traditions and circumstances, used a variety of means to raise the necessary money. The most common was the levy on those Bachelors appointed to serve in the procession, with heavier fines for any who refused.⁸² A variant on this was a fine levied on all members of the Bachelors, with additional dues from those who participated in the procession. In addition certain Bachelors might be raised to the Livery on payment of a set amount. Other methods included the carry-over of surpluses from previous years and contributions from the Livery or Court of Assistants.⁸³

The Drapers seem generally to have collected between 1/3 and 1/2 of the necessary money from raising eight to ten of "the fittest and most sufficient persons of the yeomandry of this Company selected out and admitted by the Master warden of this Company into the Livory of the Company every of them payinge before hee bee admitted the accustomed fyne of xxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d" (p.331). In 1615 the Court of Assistants authorized the admitting of ten at the same rate,⁸⁴ and in 1621 the Wardens' Accounts record the payment to the Wardens Bachelors of "the moneyes received of such as weare lately taken into the clothinge the some of CCC^{li} towards the defrayinge of the charge of the shoves & triumphes for the day Sir Edward Barkeham lord Mayor tooke his oath at Westminster" (MSC III, pp:100-101). In 1623 for Martin Lumley's triumph the Court authorized the entry of eight to ten Bachelors to the Livery, but, in the event, twelve were admitted, thereby raising £320 (p.332). In 1626 the same procedure was followed for Cuthbert Hacket, the Court of Assistants first suggesting the raising of some six or eight Bachelors, but finally accepting ten.

The bulk of the rest of the money for all the Drapers' Shows was raised by nominating and fining Bachelors to serve in either foynes (the skin of the beech marten) or budge (lambskin with the wool dressed outwards) in the procession. In 1614 forty were appointed to serve in foynes and forty in budge;⁸⁵ in 1621 thirty-nine serve in foynes and thirty-two in budge. In 1623 the forty-two in foynes paid £122. 10. 00 and thirty-three in budge £98. 10. 00 (total: £269. 10. 00, p.335). If these two methods were insufficient, any surplus from the previous year's entry fines was made over to the Bachelors, or the Court itself might make a

contribution, as in its gift of £50 in 1623.⁸⁶ In addition, the Livery generally paid the cost of beautifying the new Mayor's house, provided cakes and wine for its barge, and on occasion paid part of the trumpeters' fees.⁸⁷

The problem of financing the celebrations was frequently a thorny one. From the days of the Midsummer Show until the changes that took place in the early eighteenth century members of the Companies complained, with varying degrees of bitterness and effectiveness, about the cost. The Grocers experienced the worst difficulty in getting their Bachelors to pay up; doubtless this was due, in large part, to the expensiveness of their triumphs. Certainly every Show of theirs between 1613 and 1639 met with grumbles and often refusals to pay.⁸⁸ The Drapers, despite having eight Lord Mayors between 1614-40, had less trouble than might be expected. Their reluctance to accept Edward Barkham into their number in 1621 because of this very problem was a special case--for once the entire Company, Assistants, Livery, and Bachelors were in complete agreement.⁸⁹ More usually the opposition came only from those who had to pay, the Bachelors. For instance, in 1623 the Company had to resort to the sanctions of the Lord Mayor: the Wardens' Accounts note the payment of 2/6 "to Mr. Atkins for his attendance at the hall when divers obstinate young men refused to pay their fines and be conformable to the charge for the Lord Mayors Showes" (p.333). This may indicate the general lack of enthusiasm for providing Martin Lumley's triumph so soon after Edward Barkham's. Somewhat surprisingly, there is no indication of any reluctance to pay for Cuthbert Hacket's in 1626; this may have been because he was Master of

the Company at the same time, but more likely because the Company, presumably deliberately, contrived to keep the expenses down to £545. 13. 08. In the late 1630s the complaints begin again, but A. H. Johnson is probably right in seeing this as part of the larger problem of collecting dues of any kind from the Bachelors who were increasingly at odds with the political sympathies of leading members of the Company.⁹⁰ Undoubtedly, one reason for the relative infrequency of complaint during the 1620s was the Court of Assistants' awareness of the "state" of the Bachelors and its willingness to provide for their "better ease" by keeping costs down and even contributing themselves.

In most Companies, including the Drapers', the Wardens of the Bachelors were responsible for organizing the Show in accordance with the general principles laid down by the governing body. From the time preparations were started, frequently a mere five or six weeks before 29 October, they worked hard to arrange all the details of the procession.⁹¹ The payments for "diverse dinners and meetinges whilist we satt and weare dayly employed in the busines" were well-earned (p.341). As Sheila Williams points out, the routine choice of tableaux and the awarding of contracts to the same individuals eased their position, but their lack of previous experience must have been a handicap;⁹² hence the keeping of full and meticulous accounts which served as hand-books and guides to bargaining for their successors. It is unfortunate that for Middleton's Drapers' Shows all details of the production of the pageants are dismissed in these accounts by making the writer and artificer responsible for "all Chardges incident to those showes" (p.329). The remaining items deal primarily with the

procession, excluding the pageant, for which the Company itself undertook all the organization. Despite this we do learn a certain amount about the pageants' production from the accounts, and, moreover, the rest of the information sheds valuable light on the celebrations as a whole. This can provide a useful corrective to our tendency to consider the Shows as more literary/dramatic than they in fact were.

The exact responsibilities of writer and artificer appear to have varied from year to year. As a rule, however, either together or separately, they were paid a lump sum for devising, making, and decorating the tableaux, providing child and adult actors, together with their costumes and props, and land and water carriage. In addition, they seem sometimes to have provided musicians for the pageant, greenmen and fireworks, breakfast and dinner for the children, and to have arranged printing of the text. The Drapers' records are less specific than many of the other Companies' about these duties; however, a full contract exists for Dekker and Christmas' Londons Tempe (1629) which gives a thorough account not only of their responsibilities but also of some of the spoils. The two contracted with the Ironmongers' Company to provide a sealion, two sea horses, an ostrich, Lemnion's forge, the Tempe or Field of Happiness, and the Seven Liberal Sciences. For this they demanded £200

which theis present conceived to be an overvalue, and thereupon offerred them 180^{li} which they accepted of for the making and finishing of the said Pageants to be furnished with Children and Speakers and their apparell and necessities thereunto belonging. Landcariage by Porters; Watercariag by boats and Watermen as is accustomed. The Green-men with their Fireworks; the Musicke

for the Pageant; And to give the company 500 bookes
of the declaracion of the said Shewe And the Comittees
demanded that

the Sea Lyon

The 2: Sea horses

& the Estridge

} be brought into the hall

(after the Solemnity) there to be sett upp for the
Companies use, whereunto Mr Crismas excepted but was
contented to deliver backe the Sea Lyon and the Estrige,
and desired to retaine the Seahorses to himselfe. All
the rest he undertooke to performe for the said some of
180^l effectually and sufficiently to the Companies
Liking In witnes whereof they have herunto subscribed,

Tho: Dekker.

Garett Christmas,

(MSC III, p.115)

Records of other Companies confirm that on occasion a Company kept and
sometimes re-used particularly spectacular components of a tableau, while
others were kept by the artificer who presumably remodelled them.⁹³

It is again unfortunate that the custom of paying a lump sum makes it
almost impossible to determine what was spent on what and how much profit
both writer and artificer could hope to make. Undoubtedly the bidding
system entailed working to a tight budget; this is confirmed by occasional
requests for extra money.⁹⁴ A. M. Clark, without giving any authority
for the statement, claims that Heywood netted £10 a year from writing the
Shows; this figure is almost certainly too high.⁹⁵ The division of labour
between poet and artificer seems to have varied according to the experience
of the individuals involved and the development of the Show itself.⁹⁶ In
the early days the artificer was the most important, frequently devising
the tableaux before a poet was hired to write the speeches. This is
clearly a result of the relative novelty of having speeches at all; however,
as these became an integral part of the Show and as the writer became pre-

pared to take on more of the organization, functioning essentially as a producer, he achieved primacy. But the long successful career of Garret Christmas and his sons redressed the balance. There are signs of this in Londons Tempe (1629) where Dekker, despite his joint contract with Christmas, claims only to have "written" the show and praises his partner for its "invention" (IV, 97, 112). By 1638 all the organization is in the hands of the Christmas brothers who are responsible for paying Heywood.⁹⁷ The pageants for the Drapers in the 1620s, however, bespeak a mutually harmonious relationship between Middleton and Christmas which reflects at the same time the development of the show to "a point where each of the component items needed to be considered as part of a single artistic scheme, not only in its own particular terms of reference."⁹⁸ In contrast to the quarrel of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones over the masque, the relationship between the writer and artificer remained harmonious throughout all its fluctuations. This is a measure not only of the men involved, but also of the reduced stakes: "les poètes qui composaient les vers pour le cortège du Lord Maire ne semblent pas avoir considéré comme l'« âme » des pageants leurs vers de bons ouvriers des lettres--et Garrett Christmas non plus n'avait pour ses constructions de prétention pareille."⁹⁹

While writer and designer took responsibility for all aspects of the pageant, the Wardens Bachelors, in addition to keeping an eye on their progress, organized the procession. In the 1620s this was in essence the same as that described by William Smythe in 1575. From their point of view the major headache was the poor men, to the number of between 70 and 100, who had to be provided with caps, gowns or coats in the Company

colours (red, azure, and yellow for the Drapers), banners, javelins, and staves, and watched carefully to see that they did not evade their responsibilities; hence the provision of dinner (usually in Blackwell Hall abutting on to the Guildhall) to keep them together during the feast.¹⁰⁰ Similar precautions had to be taken for the children and the trumpeters. These poor men were the nucleus of the procession; in addition to them were the standard-bearers, the Bachelors previously deputed to serve in foynes or budge, and the gentlemen ushers or rich whifflers.¹⁰¹

A variety of means was used to keep the procession--and the crowds--in order. The Company generally paid the City marshall to provide men for this purpose and sometimes paid a marshall of their own as well. In addition the Drapers' Bachelors' Accounts mention payment to several poor men who were given the difficult task of keeping "the Crowde from of the Company as they went in the street" (p.355). More spectacular, if less safe, were the sword players and the greenmen with their fireworks. The Drapers regularly paid Thomas Jones, Master Swordsman, for his men to clear the way, twenty-five in 1621, twenty-five again in 1623 and eight in 1626. They are perhaps a survival of the military aspect of the Midsummer Watch. Another survival, the greenmen, were to judge from contemporary references, one of the most popular ingredients of the entire Show. These seem sometimes to have appeared in the guise of giants or devils as well as the more conventional attire illustrated here. They used squibs and fireworks to clear the way, apparently sometimes with unfortunate effects: "Come there a Pageant by/Ile stand out of the greene mens way, for burning my vestment."¹⁰² Another account claims that they "put the people in such a feare,/That some their hose any'd there."¹⁰³



Figure 8: A Greenman

Music in the procession was provided by a band of trumpeters, most often the King's, and the City's drums and fifes. The City waits, who had originally marched in the procession, were from the early 1600s stationed along the route, usually on the porch of St. Peter's, Cheapside.¹⁰⁴ In addition, there was often music for individual tableaux. Some Lord Mayor's Show's, for example Metropolis Coronata, Troia-Nova Triumphans, and The Triumphs of Truth, include songs in the printed texts; for others, Company records confirm that musicians were hired to play for specific tableaux. So in 1623, the Drapers' Bachelors' Accounts note payments to "a litle boye a drumer of the Argoe," "a fiffe for the Argoe," and "a litle boy a drumer in Middletons shewes" (p.338).

Analysis of the Drapers' Company records suggests that the men employed to work on the Show fall into two categories. Some, such as Thomas Hinxman the capper, or Tilbury Strange who provided the gallifoist and John Richardson who supplied greenmen and fireworks, are employed year after year whatever the Company. Others, such as William Uffington the waxchandler and Edward Snowden the upholster, seem to owe their employment to their either belonging to the Company or being closely associated with it.¹⁰⁵ Of course, the categories do, to some extent, overlap. Anthony Munday's son Richard, who like his father was a freeman of the Company, was employed year round, as well as at pageant time, in painting and renewing banners and pictures; he was also employed by other Companies, such as the Grocers, for similar work. The question is important since it has sometimes been argued that certain of the writers and artificers were hired because of their Company connections.¹⁰⁶ Undoubtedly one of the many reasons for the

employment of Munday was his membership of the Drapers but the precise significance of this cannot be determined; more clearly Webster seems to owe his employment in 1624 to his membership in the Merchant Taylors' Company. Similarly, Francis Tipsley, the artificer of Squire's Tes Irenea Trophaea or The Tryumphs of Peace (1620), was like the Lord Mayor a Haberdasher.

X. The Political Context of the Lord Mayor's Show

I have already suggested that it was no accident that the increasing elaborateness of the Lord Mayor's Show coincided with the growth of London's awareness of itself as "the flower of cities," metropolis coronata. In this respect, of course, the Show is not an isolated phenomenon. As Muriel Bradbrook puts it "a new sense of metropolitan community established itself, closely joined to a new self-consciousness about the nature of theatrical experience. These two kinds of awareness developed together."¹⁰⁷ However, the precise extent to which the Shows can be said to reflect the aspirations and tensions of the City is open to question. On the one hand, Frederick Fairholt, one of the earliest students of mayoral pageantry, claimed that "in former times, these pageants and their allusions, connected themselves in no small degree with the history of the country, and its political movements; and shadowing forth as they do, the opinions of the metropolis, they are worthy of more attention than may be at first imagined...."¹⁰⁸ In conscious opposition to this, A. M. Clark has argued that "Their 'history' is lore from the past, rather than the events of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century present; and their 'politics' are

purely conventional" and that this must considerably qualify Fairholt's assertion.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, Fairholt is right: recent studies of pageantry have emphasized the importance of "the politics of spectacle," analysing the ways in which it could be directed to consciously political ends.¹¹⁰ The Lord Mayor's Show does not stand aloof from this; indeed the very conventionality of some of the rhetoric is of political interest in itself. In a general sense, the pageants as an expression of London's pride in itself are necessarily a political gesture, albeit one that is not always easy to interpret, while at the same time individual pageants or tableaux may also reflect on contemporary situations. In addition, the maturity of the form coming, as it does, in the 1620s and 1630s, a time when social and political relationships were undergoing changes of considerable complexity, gives an added impetus to the need to determine the precise significance of the pageants in historical and political terms. The importance of this general issue for the three Shows Middleton wrote for the Drapers is twofold. First, between 1614 and 1640 the Drapers provided eight Lord Mayors and so were in a position to exercise considerable influence over City politics; and second, Margot Heinemann in an important article on Middleton has argued that his "Parliamentary-Puritan sympathies" were in close accord with those of his City patrons, some of whom may have been instrumental in protecting him from any unfortunate consequences of the Game at Chess affair.¹¹¹

It is necessary, therefore, to consider the political outlook of London, and the extent to which the Drapers' Company reflected it, in the period leading up to the "Eleven Years Tyranny" of 1629-40. The role of

the guilds in this is of great interest, for they supplied most of the officials of City government; however, their influence has been relatively little studied.¹¹² The difficulty here is that, if the Drapers' records are anything to go by, the Companies studiously avoided commenting on current events unless they touched directly upon their trading and financial interests. This makes it hard to determine the political and religious affiliations of both individuals and the Companies themselves. These, in any case, given the political complexities of the time, were inevitably far from precise. This difficulty of categorization should be remembered; it was quite possible to be both strongly Puritan and strongly royalist at the same time, and moreover, shifts of emphasis within any individual position were common.¹¹³

The government of the City was essentially tripartite. The most "popular" body was Common Hall, an electoral assembly made up of the Liverymen, summoned and dissolved by the Lord Mayor. The legislative body was Common Council, theoretically elected by the freemen at the ward-mote; in fact the Court of Aldermen exercised considerable authority over both the elections and its legislative power. The most powerful of the assemblies was the Court of Aldermen: "Chosen for life from among the wealthiest citizens, by the indirect election of the Aldermen themselves, the Court was oligarchic and almost self-perpetuating."¹¹⁴ Basically, then, the administration of the City was in the hands of an oligarchical group of the most powerful members of the Livery Companies. The great mass of shopkeepers, artisans, and apprentices had little influence on its government. It is hardly appropriate to call the City fathers

"tradesmen";¹¹⁵ the days when such as these had been closely connected with the trade of the guild to which they belonged was long past. By the turn of the sixteenth century they were the great merchants of the time and had little in common with small masters and journeymen. Their eminence, as R. H. Tawney points out, was due to their "versatility as economic pluralists," active in overseas rather than domestic trade.¹¹⁶ The most powerful of them, the Lord Mayor, was "the master of the mysteries of trade, the steward of the kingdom's stock, the perfect merchant."¹¹⁷ Inevitably then, the ties between City and Court were close, and this was compounded by the City's dependence on the Crown for its chartered privileges. Within this, of course, there was room for individual variations, some of the City fathers had closer ties of family, business, and patronage than others.¹¹⁸ In addition the ascendancy of Lionel Cranfield, City merchant turned royal servant, from 1616-24, despite his personal unpopularity, gave the trading interest a highly placed spokesman, thus mitigating James I's unease at dealing with the financial community. Cranfield saw clearly that "political stability had as its condition a prosperous economy and a contented City";¹¹⁹ hence the necessity to include its views in formulating policy, if the government were to be able to draw on its wealth without unduly antagonizing it.

During the 1620s, however, the religious tenor of the Court of Aldermen was moderately Puritan, and this inevitably brought its members into conflict with the King and Privy Council: "as late as 1629 the City government openly supported activities which smacked strongly of Puritanism, notwithstanding the fact that the City was subject to continual pres-

sure from two high places, the Privy Council and the Bishop of London.... That the City continued for ten years to support Puritan projects in the face of opposition from the King, Privy Council, Archbishop, and Bishop indicates strong Puritan motivation among the Aldermen."¹²⁰ The most important of these projects was the financing of the St. Antholin's lectures; in 1621 the Lord Mayor, Edward Barkham, for whom Middleton wrote The Sunne in Aries, appointed a committee to consider providing a "competent supply of mayntenance toward the dayly exercise of preachinge every morning at six of the clock at St. Antholynes."¹²¹ This committee included three other patrons of Middleton; Sir Thomas Myddleton, Peter Proby, and Martin Lumley and recommended a grant of £40. However, this gesture of Puritan sympathy was modified somewhat by the increasing attempts of the Court of Aldermen between 1622 and 1630 to impose control over the lectures, especially over the right of appointment. Other indications of Puritanism include the appointment of preachers, especially for occasional sermons, and attempts to enforce sabbatarianism, this last involving a conflict of jurisdiction with the Bishop of London in 1629. Nevertheless, it is dangerous to overstress the implications of this. The Puritanism of, say, Sir Thomas Myddleton was far removed from the sectarian activity of a Grocer journeyman, and does not necessarily imply hostility to other government policy. The peace of 1604 was well-received by City merchants and, although by the 1620s when the cause of international Protestantism was more obviously at stake, opinion had shifted towards war, the enthusiasm of the Companies was not noticeable when it came down to paying for men and munitions for England's entry into the war.¹²² So although many merchants favoured a naval war with Spain on mercantilist

grounds, Cranfield was not the only one to prefer peace.

Another reason for not over-emphasizing the Puritanism of the Court of Aldermen is the relative speed with which its attitude changed in the 1630s, despite considerable continuity of personnel. This is most obvious in religious affairs, in part due to the increased efficiency of discipline in the diocese of London after Laud took over, and is demonstrated by the Corporation's willingness to contribute to his projects. In political affairs differences with the Crown grew more serious, not surprisingly given the crude attempts to extract money from the City, but as the years of personal rule continued a general realization is apparent among many of the leading members of London government that ultimately their interests lay with the Crown.¹²³ Valerie Pearl assesses the situation accurately: "Charles I enjoyed throughout his reign a small but powerful nucleus of support in the City government ...in particular the most influential section of the aldermanic Bench and probably of the Court of Common Council, although unwilling to commit themselves to support Charles in 1640, preferred to back the Crown by the autumn of 1641 and...substantial changes in the City government were needed to give power to the supporters of Parliament."¹²⁴

The main differences in policy between government and City, other than over religion, were essentially financial. The 1620s were a period of marked decay in trade, and concern over this united both Livery and Yeomanry of a Company like the Drapers, closely involved with exports. Cranfield described the situation in 1621: "the City undone; the trade of the kingdom lost; the merchants, to use their own term, 'bought and

sold."¹²⁵ Since no one knew the precise cause of the decline, it was natural, and often justified, to blame inept government policy. The importance of this to the Drapers may be judged by Tawney's claim that "three-quarters to nine-tenths of the value of London exports were estimated under James to consist of woollen textiles."¹²⁶ This unsatisfactory situation was exacerbated in 1625 by the uncertainties of the new reign, the outbreak of the plague, and the subsequent failure of the harvest.

Given the decay of trade, the attempts of the Crown to tap the wealth of London, especially when Parliament was recalcitrant about voting supplies, were much resented.¹²⁶ Since the reign of Elizabeth, the Crown had claimed to collect Corn money and enforce loans by right not grace; however, where Elizabeth almost invariably repaid eventually the money she borrowed, the first two Stuarts were both less scrupulous and more desperate, and some of their financial expedients were dubious in the extreme.¹²⁸ The Companies' objection to the loans at least, however, was not always on the grounds of principle, rather their reluctance and occasional refusal to pay should be seen as attempts to get better terms and increased security for their money.¹²⁹ More damaging to harmony was the Crown's attitude to the problem of concealed lands and the Companies' Irish holdings.¹³⁰ However, the chief hostility to government policy before 1640 did not derive so much from the semi-oligarchical governing bodies of the greater Companies and the City government itself. Rather, this stemmed from the Companies' lesser members, especially the Bachelors, on whom the demands of the Crown for money fell more heavily, from the

minor Companies, and from those Londoners outside the Companies who resented their privileges.

XI. The Drapers' Company in the Early Seventeenth Century

The position of the Drapers as the third of the London Companies and their growing isolation from the craft aspects of the wool trade contributed to their apparently increasing support for the King. Although in the 1620s such important members as Edward Barkham, Martin Lumley, Allen Cotton, and John Ranye seem to have been among the more strongly Puritan section of the Aldermanic Bench, by the late 1630s the Company was clearly in the hands of royalist sympathizers. Then a succession of four royalist Masters, two of whom, Morris Abbot and Henry Garway, were also Lord Mayors (in 1638-39 and 1639-40) made the Company relatively acquiescent to the demands of the King.¹³¹ In comparison to some of the other Companies, especially those where the craft element was still strong, the Drapers paid their contributions without much demur. The Company historian, A. H. Johnson, suggests, however, that this acquiescence was in large measure a result of the control over the Company exercised by the Court of Assistants. He speculates that, given the hostility of Londoners evident at the 1638 entry of Marie de Médicis, mother of Henrietta Maria, Abbot's mayoral triumph (Porta Pietatis by Heywood) cannot have been received with much enthusiasm by them either.¹³²

The connection of the Drapers with drapery per se had long been in decline. Originally manufacturers of woollen cloth, by the fifteenth century they had become primarily retailers of it and, in accordance with

this trend, soon were closely involved in the export not only of wool and cloth but also corn and other staples. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the number of members who had no connection with the trade grew to the point where, by the reign of James I, "the Company is rapidly coming to be composed, as it is to-day, of a motley group of men of numerous professions and callings, whose only bond of union is to be found in their common association in one Fraternity--a Fraternity, or Company, which is rapidly assuming the character of a mere Friendly Society."¹³³ This increasing diversity affected the organization of the Company. By the mid-fifteenth century the split between the Bachelors or Yeomanry and the Livery or Clothing was almost complete. The Bachelors were a subordinate organization composed of small shopkeepers, retail dealers in cloth, tailoring and haberdashery, and journeymen of other trades; the more successful of them or those with connections in the Livery were from time to time called to the senior organization, having usually first served as Wardens of the Bachelors, unless the expenses of a mayoral triumph made it desirable to admit more to the Livery than usual. The liverymen, on the other hand, from whose most powerful members the Assistants were drawn, were essentially merchants, frequently involved with the joint-stock companies and with overseas trade. Several indeed had their principal residences overseas, primarily in the Levant.¹³⁴

The reign of Elizabeth had been a difficult one financially for the Drapers; the 1585 records claim "nothing remayning of value to shoue in store but deedes of charitie and too savage Lawe and souche like Comparisons,"¹³⁵ but by the end of the century, partly as a result of judicious

investment in joint stock companies, the situation improved and the Drapers, along with the majority of the other Companies, felt increasingly inclined to spend their surplus funds on feasts and pageants. This willingness was, as I have already argued, a *sine qua non* for the development of the Show itself, and must have been partly due to the rise in membership of the Company which spread the burden of cost more equably. In 1603 the Livery, including the Master, Wardens, and Assistants, totalled 116; this number sunk to a mere 71 in 1612.¹³⁶ But by 1621 the Livery was at its largest with 136 members. Figures for the Bachelors are harder to come by because regular records of Quarterage payments (their annual dues) were not kept before 1617; it was, however, a much larger organization than the Livery, although the great majority of members were not active in Company affairs. In 1574 487 paid Quarterage. This compares with 617 (out of a total of 2,106) in 1617 and 644 in 1619. But numbers declined again in the mid-1620s as a result of the plague; probably another reason for the relative inexpensiveness of Cuthbert Hacket's triumph. Certainly in 1626 the Livery had declined to 108 members. No figures are available for the Bachelors, but as they would presumably be more susceptible to death by the plague, their losses were probably proportionately higher. The numbers did not rise again in the 1630s, due in part, as Johnson suggests, to the political unrest--membership of a Company made one more liable to the demands of the Crown.¹³⁶

XII. The Company and the Drama

The attitude of the Drapers and the other Companies to the drama is of

considerable interest. It is, of course, a critical commonplace that the City fathers were hostile to the drama, but this view needs some modification. One of the valuable aspects of Margot Heinemann's study of A Game at Chess is her insistence that Puritans were not opposed "root and branch" to the drama, and moreover that some, including Middleton's City patrons, were aware that properly controlled, it could be an effective means of propaganda.¹³⁷ In the early years of the sixteenth century, the halls of the City Companies, like the halls of the nobility and gentry, were regular playing places for groups of players. The Drapers records reveal that "companies of players were engaged to perform a play after dinner on both Monday and Tuesday in every year between 1515 and 1541 in which dinners were held."¹³⁸ After this, dramatic activity at the Hall seems to have declined enormously, doubtless for a variety of reasons including lack of money, the growth of Protestantism, and the increasing hostility towards drama.¹³⁹ By the 1570s and 1580s, of course, the City government had become the spearhead of the attack on permanent acting companies--in 1582 the Livery Companies were ordered by the City not to "suffer any of ther sarvants, apprentices, journe-men, or children, to repare to goe to annye playes, peices, or enterludes."¹⁴⁰ By the turn of the century, however, it was clear that the opposition of the City government was not essentially on grounds of principle, but rather on the issue of control--and the actions of James in the next reign soon settled that. From this point on, although the City might oppose the development of particular playhouses or endeavour to enforce sabbatarian restrictions, it must have felt that the drama was there to stay.

In this atmosphere, dramatic activity revived again in the halls of

the Companies, although not on the earlier scale. In any case private performances there had always been exempt from most restrictions. However, instead of being a regular part of the hall feasts, dramatic performances seem to have been of an essentially occasional nature, intended primarily to honour and entertain guests. These included plays, masques, and such slight pieces as The Invention performed for...Edward Barkham included in this edition. Middleton was one of those most often employed to create these entertainments. In January 1613/14 he wrote the no longer extant Masque of Cupid to honour the Somerset marriage on behalf of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; this took place at Merchant Taylors' Hall. His appointment as City Chronologer in 1620 meant an increase of such commissions; it is safe to assume that he wrote more than the ten pieces collected in Honourable Entertainments (1621) and the 1622 An Invention. These occasions were not always as successful as their organizers wished; John Chamberlain informs Sir Dudley Carleton in 1616 that "on Saterdag the Knights of the Bath were entertained by the Lord Mayor at Drapers Hall with a supper and a play, where some of them were so rude and unruly and caried themselves so insolently divers wayes but specially in putting citizens wives to the squeake, so far foorth that one of the sheriffes brake open a doore upon Sir Edward Sackvile, which gave such occasion of scandall, that they went away without the banket though yt were redy and prepared for them."¹⁴¹

XIII. "The Politics of Spectacle"

The preceding analysis of Company attitudes and London politics suggests that it would be pointless to expect direct treatment in the Shows

of the views of either the Parliamentary-Puritan opposition or the vast majority of Londoners. The entire proceedings were tightly controlled by the governing body of each Company or by committees appointed by it. Such men, even if at times their attitudes were those of the Parliamentary-Puritan opposition, were not likely to sanction anything with even remotely seditious implications; hence the orthodoxy, the conventionality of which Clark complains. Nonetheless, the sheer magnificence of the display, reaching its zenith in the 1620s and 1630s is itself, however frequently combined with pious protestations of loyalty to the king, an assertion of London's new sense of itself. And with this every Londoner could identify. Both Glynne Wickham and Muriel Bradbrook have pointed out that "in the underlying basis of flattery and inflated self-esteem, in the extravagance of the expenditure, and in the spectacular quality" of both masque and Lord Mayor's Show, we may perceive "a similarly dangerous and aggressive spirit beneath the theatrical cloak."¹⁴² Professor Bradbrook goes further and argues that "As the split between court and city widened, the Lord Mayor's pageants concentrated rather on the history of the city itself than on the glories of a united monarchy." This needs partial qualification. The early pageants are indeed remarkable for the emphasis they place on the sovereign rather than the City; Peele's Descensus Astraeae is more concerned with Elizabeth than William Webbe, the new Lord Mayor. More equably, Munday in The Triumphs of Re-United Britannia (1605) carefully uses the Brutus myth to honour both James, the unifier of the kingdom, and Leonard Holliday, at the same time achieving a previously unknown degree of unity among the various tableaux. However, even at the end of James' reign when, we are told, his popularity had waned from those

heady early days, the pageant poets still celebrate at length his virtues as peacemaker and second Brutus. So in 1623, Middleton devotes an entire tableau, based on the Drapers' Company arms to lauding "that Royall Peacemaker, our King" (l. 274). There seems nothing perfunctory in Middleton's and Webster's eulogies of James in the 1620s; however, such praise for the Crown does seem to decrease during Charles' reign. It is perhaps possible to see this process at work in the first Show of the new reign, Middleton's The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity (1626). Certainly, given his earlier work, it is strange not to find Middleton making the most of the accession of a new monarch. Is it straining the evidence too much to interpret his assertion that the City owes to the sovereign "all duties that just service comprehends" and will always be first in any "duty [that] toward good supplies (ll. 156, 180; my italics) as a qualification of the absolute loyalty of City to Crown usually expressed in the earlier Shows. And in Heywood's Shows the relationship between City and sovereign is of almost negligible importance.

Heywood's final Show, Londini Status Pacatus (1639), which includes a tableau contrasting the horrors of "the Calamities of War, & the blessednesse of peace" has been singled out by Clark as indicating the reluctance of the pageant poets to admit that "there was or could be a cloud in the sky."¹⁴³ This is unfair to Heywood; his Show, ironically the last before the Restoration, although setting the ravages of civil war in Germany, must have been intended, and was undoubtedly read, as a comment on the current political situation. And as such, it shows, as Wickham has pointed out, "a degree of common-sense realism entirely lacking among the courtiers

responsible for the production of Davenant's Salmacida Spolia in the same year."¹⁴⁴

Within this general framework of a gradual inward turning to concentrate on the glories of London, and the significance of this as a political gesture, reference to contemporary events can sometimes be discerned in particular pageants. Sheila Williams, considering The Triumphs of Truth (1613), comments that Truth in the pageant is a religious Truth, in fact, a strongly Protestant one, and suggests that the Show is "a serious interpretation of the political and religious situation in 1613"; the year of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine.¹⁴⁵ Sometimes contemporary allusions are obvious; for instance, the relief of the entire nation at Prince Charles' safe, brideless return from Spain in October 1623 is reflected in The Triumphs of Integrity later that month. In others current happenings may have given added meaning to otherwise conventional sentiments. So in The Sunne in Aries (1621) Middleton, as he had frequently done before, deplores bribery in the magistrate; the fall of Bacon in the same year sharpens the point. And in The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity in 1626 the unaccustomed heavy emphasis on Drake's victories may have been intended to recall the Cadiz fiasco of the previous year. Part of Middleton's work for the City involved compiling accounts of significant events and what we know of the contents of these now lost works assures us of his keen interest in the political climate of the day, including the fall of Bacon. According to Oldys they were

entitled I. Annales: or a Continuation of Chronologie;
conteyninge Passages and Occurences proper to the
Honorable City of London: Begininge in the Yeare of

our Lorde 1620. By Thomas Middleton then received by their Honorable Senate as Chronologer for the Cittie. There are in it, these Articles under the year 1621.--On Good Fryday in the Morn died John (King) Lord Bishop of London.--28 May Francis Lord Verulam committed to the Tower. (Seal taken from him the last day of April).--27 December Sir Edward Coke Committed to the Tower.--December The Fortune Play House, situate between White Cross Street and Golding Lane, burnt, &c. II. Middleton's Farrago: In which there is--The Earl of Essex his Charge against Viscount Wimbleton, & the Viscounts Answer.--The Treaty and Articles of Marriage between Prince Charles & Henrietta Maria.--Parliamentary Matters, 1625-26.--Habeas Corpus 1627 &c.¹⁴⁶

XIV. Middleton and Civic Pageantry

Middleton's involvement with civic pageantry spans almost his entire dramatic career; he writes plays from 1602-24 and pageants from 1604-26. We first know of him as a playwright in 1602, from Henslowe's diary, when, in conjunction with Dekker, Munday, Drayton, and Webster, he contributed to a lost play called Caesars Fall or Two Shapes.¹⁴⁷ Two of these collaborators, Dekker and Munday, were to be important in his pageant career. Although the diary also tells us that Middleton was writing plays on his own at this time, his first undisputed extant play is The Phoenix of 1603-4. Meanwhile his collaboration with Dekker continued: the two produced The Honest Whore I in 1604 and in the same year Dekker presumably co-opted Middleton and generously credited him with the speech of Zeal in the New World Arch of the Coronation Show for James I.

This was Middleton's first venture into civic pageantry; one not repeated until 1613. In the interim he produced the set of comedies of

London life which represent the other side of the coin displayed in the mayoral entertainments. In these plays Middleton presents an ironic view of the seamy side of London society, a world where the old ties of kinship and social responsibility have been perverted by the rampant desire for money or sex. Here we find such citizens as Quomodo, the scheming Draper of Michaelmas Term, a far cry from the moral paragons of Middleton's later Shows for that Company. Quomodo exults at the prospect of the wealth to be derived from term time: "you know 'tis term time, and Michaelmas term too, the drapers' harvest for foot-cloths, riding-suits, walking-suits, chamber-gowns, and hall gowns." (I, 254). In the Drapers' Shows, however, their trade is metamorphosed into a symbol of order: "there we shall finde the whole Livery of this most renowned and famous City, as upon this Day, and at all Solemne meetings, furnished by it; it clothes the Honorable Senators in their highest and richest Wearings, all Courts of Justice, Magistrates, and Judges of the Land" (II, ll. 99-104; THP, ll. 55-9). The hostility of Middleton's attitude to the citizenry in this period has led Muriel Bradbrook to speculate that perhaps the Companies "thought him worth buying off."¹⁴⁸ It is more plausible, however, that Middleton, always something of an opportunist, perceived the prospects for a skilful writer of city entertainments and seized upon the entrée given to him in 1613. That his attitude to his civic patrons remained at least somewhat ambivalent is suggested by Hengist, King of Kent (c. 1616-20). Here Simon the Mayor and his fellow townsmen prepare, according to the precedent of the Town Book, a "conceit of mickle wight" for Vortigern; he, however, is not impressed by their "tedious and ridiculous duties" (II, 69).

Middleton's first mayoral entertainment, The Triumphs of Truth (1613), was produced, in some sort of association with the more experienced Munday, for Sir Thomas Myddleton. To judge from the fulsome address to Sir Thomas in the opening of the pageant, Middleton may well have owed his employment to the intervention of his namesake. The "collaboration" with Munday, however, was evidently not a happy one. Over the previous fifteen years Munday had acquired an enviable position as unofficial factotum in the preparation of Lord Mayor's Shows; he is known to have written five between 1602 and 1611 and was likely responsible for some of the missing ones from 1597-1601.¹⁴⁹ The involvement of the writer in all aspects of the pageant--devising, writing, and organizing the production--is due to him. Middleton appears to have regarded The Triumphs of Truth as an opportunity to supplant Munday. This leads to the slightly ludicrous spectacle of his attacking the artistic limitations of his rival, "the impudent common writer," and lamenting "so glorious a fire in bounty and goodness offering to match itself with freezing Art, sitting in darkness, with the candle out, looking like the picture of Black Monday," but yet being compelled at the end of the text to commend him for the furnishing of apparel and porters (VII, 233-4, 262). As Jean Robertson points out, the dispute between the two strongly suggests that enough was at stake financially to provoke such rivalry.¹⁵⁰ The Grocers' Accounts, however, suggest an additional explanation. Munday is paid for the "devyse of the Pageant and other shewes," for providing porters, and also actors and costumes for all tableaux except the pageant. Middleton is paid for "the ordering overseeing and wryting of the whole Devyse & alsoe for the appareling the personage in the Pageant."¹⁵¹ The difficulty here lies in

the interpretation of terms. Clearly, however, Munday was responsible for the initial devising or invention of the whole scheme, although this basic conception may well have changed during the writing. Such a relationship, as the history of the masque shows well, provides ample ground for quarrels, and if we assume that Middleton was eager for financial and artistic reasons to take over as much of Munday's work as possible, then the friction caused by such an arrangement is not surprising. This would also explain Middleton's insistence on the title-page that the pageant was "Directed, Written, and Redeem'd into Forme, from the Ignorance of some former times, and their Common Writer, By Thomas Middleton" (VII, 229). Such hostility in their first collaborative effort bodes ill for future joint work.

The spectacular effects and general magnificence of The Triumphs of Truth must have pleased the Grocers and ensured serious consideration for any future projects devised by Middleton. This is borne out by his employment in 1614, by the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Myddleton, and the Aldermen to write a (no longer extant) masque in honour of the Somerset marriage. Three years later, in 1617, he competes successfully against Munday to write his second mayoral pageant, this time for George Bowles, another Grocer. The strength of Munday's position, however, lay in his versatility. This has generally been attributed to his being a practising draper. Discussions of this are bedevilled by lack of accuracy over what a draper actually was: nonetheless, most concur that he kept a draper's shop. But I have been unable to find any evidence to support this.¹⁵² That he was, as J. H. P. Pafford describes him,¹⁵³ "a keeper and apparently a hirer-out of clothing

and properties used in pageants" is undeniable, but it is much more likely that he relied on his contacts both in the theatrical world and in the Company to do this effectively.

Munday was indeed to prove hard to supplant. The Ironmongers remained faithful to him in 1618, and he uses the opportunity of that pageant, Sidero-Thriambos or Steele and Iron Triumphant to protest his vilification. However, in the following year Middleton again triumphed and continued the quarrel by sneering in the opening to The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity (his pageant for the Skinner, William Cokayne) at previous triumphs "wherein Art hath been but weakly imitated and most beggarly worded" (VII, 315). The two are again yoked together in The Sunne in Aries in 1621. The Drapers' Bachelors' Accounts make it clear that the Company contracted with Middleton, Christmas, and Munday for all aspects of the pageant (p. 322). Sheila Williams, something of a partisan of Munday's, comments that "the only reason for thinking Munday second to Middleton is that the Drapers' Company bought scarves to be worn for Christmas and Middleton but not for the poor old draper Anthony Munday."¹⁵⁴ However, the evidence of the text suggests strongly that Middleton was solely responsible for its writing even if Munday did have a considerable say in the planning and organization of the Show.

Undoubtedly the employment of Munday by the Drapers in these years owed something to his being a member of the Company as well as to his command over organization. To judge from the situation in 1623 the chances are that the collaboration of 1621 was not particularly happy. This time

the Company employed both Middleton and Munday but on an entirely separate basis. Munday prepares the Argoe for the water show, a tableau of Jason, Medea, and the Argonauts with no speeches, and writes a separately published description of it, The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece. It makes no mention of any other tableaux. Middleton writes the pageant proper, but far from crediting Munday with the water show, claims that it consisted of his own Imperial Canopy. It seems probable that the Drapers, wishing to employ Middleton while not neglecting their brother Munday, hit on this as a satisfactory way of eliminating any bad feeling engendered by the previous collaboration.

The period 1613-20 marks Middleton's growing interest in "public" and occasional literature. During this time his output includes, in addition to the mayoral pageants, The New River Entertainment (1613), Civitatis Amor (1616), The Peacemaker (1618), The Inner Temple Masque (1619), and some of the entertainments in Honorable Entertainments (1621). In 1620, during the mayoralty of Cokayne, his aptitude for this sort of work was recognized by his appointment as City Chronologer, his duties being to "collect and set down all memorable acts of this City, and occurrences thereof, and for such other employments as this Court shall have occasion to use him in," for which he was paid £6. 13. 04.¹⁵⁵ The "other employments" included such pieces as those in Honourable Entertainments (1621) and An Invention (1622). These, despite being essentially private entertainments, closely resemble in function and technique the more elaborate, popular Lord Mayor's Show. The more important works, the so-called "Annales" and "Middleton's Farrago," were extant in the eighteenth century. Middleton's performance in this office, unlike that of his

successor Ben Jonson, must have been highly satisfactory, for he was given a pay increase in January 1620/21, frequent grants of money, and the occasional nomination of one person to the freedom of the City; in addition his widow received a free gift of money after his death.¹⁵⁶ After this appointment he wrote all but one of the inaugural pageants until his death in 1627, and was in addition employed in partnership with Christmas to produce the abortive Coronation Show for Charles I in 1625-26.¹⁵⁷

The interest in public affairs displayed by Middleton in these works emerges powerfully in his final play, A Game at Chess (1624). The dramatist here combines his fascination with politics and both the satiric technique of the London comedies and the emblematic technique of the pageants, thus creating the greatest success of the pre-Restoration theatre. Moreover, the play may have more in common with the pageants than political interest and technique. Margot Heinemann points out that Middleton had used the figure of Error to great effect ten years earlier in The Triumphs of Truth; she also suggests that the Spaniard in The Triumphs of Honor and Industry (1617) was an early sketch for the Black Knight.¹⁵⁸ Certainly Busino's account of this Show makes it clear that the Spaniard, although respectable on the page, behaved so ridiculously as to "elicit roars of laughter from the multitude" (CSPV, XV, 62). Middleton, in effect the producer of the Show, must have sanctioned this capitalizing on popular prejudice; it was a technique he was to exploit to the full in A Game at Chess. In that case, too, contemporary accounts of the play remind us of the discrepancy between what actually happened onstage and the text itself. According to John Chamberlain the players "counter-

feited his [Gondomar] person to the life, with all his graces and faces, and had gotten (they say) a cast sute of his apparell for the purpose, and his Lytter."¹⁵⁹

As a result of his interest in contemporary affairs, attempts have been made to define Middleton's political and religious opinions. Margot Heinemann is probably right in seeing him as a moderate Puritan, but her attempt to ally him closely with the Parliamentary-Puritan opposition needs some qualification. First, although some of the dramatist's patrons can be identified as committed Puritans, others such as William Cokayne and Francis Jones were not.¹⁶⁰ Second, she fails to deal with the implications of such works as The Peacemaker (1618) which so closely conformed to royal policy as to be directly encouraged by James I.¹⁶¹ This insistence on the virtues of peace is duplicated in almost all the "public" works written by Middleton, and there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of his praise. It is also necessary to remember that the views expressed in A Game at Chess should not necessarily be taken as a direct expression of Middleton's own. At the very least, Middleton was eminently capable of writing well whatever his patrons or employers wished to have presented.

The importance of this occasional work, especially that done for the City, has generally been underestimated, even ignored, in studies of Middleton.¹⁶² In fact, far from being an isolated aspect of his career, it forms an integral part of it, and an awareness of this is valuable for an understanding of his plays. The interest in allegory and emblem remains constant from The Phoenix (concerned like the pageants with the

well-being of the commonwealth) to A Game at Chess. Recognition of the congeniality of this technique is of value even to a study of the city comedies, reducing the tendency to over-emphasize their "photographic realism,"¹⁶³ and thus eliminating many of the difficulties associated with scenes such as those with Dampit in A Trick to Catch the Old One (1604-5) or Penitent Brothel's repentance in A Mad World, My Masters (1604-5). A Game at Chess then becomes a fitting culmination to both aspects of Middleton's career, the dramatist and the chronologer.

Middleton's contribution to the form of the Lord Mayor's Show lies, as David Bergeron has suggested, in his endeavour to use the techniques of the moral interlude to unify the various tableaux.¹⁶⁴ In his first pageant, The Triumphs of Truth, he experiments with using the dramatic form itself of the moral interlude as the structure of the Show. Man in the person of the Mayor is confronted with the ongoing choice between Truth and Error: if he chooses Error then his destruction will be as assured as that of Error in the Show, for Truth alone can ensure salvation.¹⁶⁵ This experiment, however, can at best be considered a partial success; certainly Middleton abandons it and concentrates instead on using images of light and dark, suggesting the recurrent conflict, to unify otherwise essentially discrete tableaux. All Middleton's Shows are moral allegories; he demonstrates little of Munday's or Dekker's interest in history and none of Heywood's in "hieroglyphs." This parallels the influence of the moral interlude on his plays. It is instructive to compare the treatment of the inevitable Jason tableau in three Shows by different writers for the Drapers' Company, Middleton's The Sunne in Aries (1621), Munday's Metropolis Coronata (1615), and Heywood's Londini Status Pacatus (1639).

In The Sunne in Aries Jason appears as a type of heroic virtue, a precedent for the Lord Mayor on his voyage for the Fleece of Fame. Middleton subordinates everything to the moral allegory, ignoring all other aspects of the myth, and even only mentioning the hero's association with the Company in so far as this makes him peculiarly suited to be the speaker from the Chariot of Honour. Munday and Heywood, while not neglecting Jason the heroic exemplar, are less single-minded. In both, the presence of Jason's associates, Medea and the Argonauts in Metropolis Coronata and Medea alone in Londini Status Pacatus, signifies the community of effort necessary in City government, an essentially co-operative venture rather than the heroic struggle of one man. And both stress the Fleece as the symbol of England's prosperity. Munday's tableau also relies heavily on spectacle: the Argo "is rowed by divers comely Eunuches, which continually attended on Medea, and she favouring them but to passe under the fleece of Golde, had all their garments immediatly sprinkled over with golde, even as if it had showed downe in droppes upon them" (sig. A4). And Heywood, typically, uses his tableau to discourse upon the symbolic and natural value of camels, both Bactrian and Arabian, and sheep.

The literary qualities of Middleton's pageants are not great, but it must be remembered that the form of the pageant required little more than the ability to express appropriate sentiments in acceptable, dignified verse. The Shows were not designed to provide showcases for the writer's literary talents. Remembering this, the censure heaped upon Middleton and the other pageant poets is not generally deserved. Writing of Munday's Chruso-thriambos (1611), J. H. P. Pafford argues that the style is "rather heavy

and stilted, particularly in the verse, but there is no doubt that this was conventional. Some of the speeches are from ghosts of the long-departed, and an antique form of speech is in character. But it is the speech used for choruses and sometimes by apparitions in Shakespeare and this style was almost certainly an established convention for the pageants. Hence, while there is nothing in Chruso-thriambos to justify the claim that Munday was a poet of excellent merit, it must be noted that such poetry would not be expected in a pageant."¹⁶⁶ This applies to Middleton too, a poet of rather greater merit than Munday. Certainly, the choruses and songs of Hengist, King of Kent (1616-20) are in essentially the same style as the pageants.

Middleton wrote in all seven mayoral entertainments, one for the Skinners' Company, and three each for the Grocers' Company and the Drapers' Company. Two of these three for the Drapers are typical of Middleton's mayoral pageants. By 1621 he has eschewed almost all elements of the dramatic; each tableau is peopled with a different set of figures, none of whom has any dramatic relationship to the others, apart from their presence on the same scaffold. There is no dialogue, only an expository, hortatory speech by the most appropriate of the figures. The unity of the tableaux is entirely thematic and symbolic, and is most effectively achieved in The Sunne in Aries where Middleton uses the manifold implications of the image of the sun to draw the different elements of the pageant together. The Drapers would, I think, have felt that they got good value for money with both this Show and the rather more spectacular Triumphs of Integrity in 1623, but the pageant for 1626, The Triumphs of Health.

and Prosperity, is a different case. The Drapers withheld money from various employees, but principally Middleton and Christmas, on account of its "ill performance." This is dealt with fully in the introduction to the pageant, but there are certainly good grounds for concluding that Middleton had become rather tired of writing such shows by the end of his career. Nevertheless, I can see little ground for the charge of speculation that R. C. Bald brings against the two.¹⁶⁷

Middleton's mayoral pageants appear in the "modernized" Victorian editions of Alexander Dyce and A. H. Bullen of the dramatist's works. The latter also contains the 1622 An Invention...for Edward Barkham. Their texts, however, are neither reliable nor fully annotated. It therefore seemed worthwhile to take one of the two main groups of Middleton's pageants and, using Company records, produce a critical, old-spelling edition. The kindness of the Drapers' Company in allowing me the run of its archives determined my choice of the pageants written for them. This choice proved fortunate in two other respects. First, the Company's records for the period of the development of the Midsummer Watch, the predecessor of the Lord Mayor's Show, are unusually full, thus providing the opportunity to study the early flourishing of civic pageantry. Second, the number of Lord Mayors drawn from the Drapers' Company during the peak period of the Shows, eight between 1614 and 1639, has allowed me to compare the ways in which Middleton on the one hand, and Munday and Heywood, on the other, tackle writing Shows for the Company.

NOTES

¹Dekker, Britannias Honor in Dramatic Works, IV, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1961), 82. All quotations from Dekker's dramatic works will be from this edition.

²Quoted in Sheila Williams, "The Lord Mayor's Show from Peele to Settle," Diss. London Univ., 1957, p.50.

³"Pageant" originally referred to the scaffold itself, whether fixed or not, and later came to signify the representation on that scaffold. The term finally comes to include the entire entertainment. Company records generally refer to the principal tableau as the "pageant," the others being subsidiary "shows." It should always be clear from the context which sense is intended here.

⁴Guildhall MS 2463; printed in Nathan Drake, Shakspeare and his Times, 2nd ed. (1838; rpt. New York: Franklin, 1969), p.424.

⁵Jean Robertson and D. J. Gordon, eds., A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640, Malone Society Collections, III (Oxford: Malone Soc., 1954), p.58; hereafter referred to as MSC III.

⁶Of the three LMSs included in this edition, The Triumphs of Integrity (hereafter II) provides the fullest account of the procession's route; I have accordingly used it to flesh out the day's events. For this purpose I have ignored the problems raised by Munday's The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece (London, 1623) in relation to II, see pp. 174-6 for a discussion of this.

⁷S. Williams, "The LMS in Tudor and Stuart Times," Guildhall Miscellany, 1, No. 10 (1959), 3; "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p.2.

⁸Robert Withington, English Pageantry, 2nd ed. (1918; rpt. New York: Blom, 1963), I, 9. Drapers' Co. Bachelors' Accounts 1615-91, fo. 88.

⁹John Stow, A Survey of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), I, 101-3. All further quotations will be from this edition.

¹⁰Drapers' Co. Warden's Accounts, 1475-1509, +403, 77^a; MSC III, p.1. The accuracy of the "xij" is considered in MSC III, p.xix.

¹¹S. Williams, "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p.18.

¹²Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, II,i(London: Routledge, 1963), 325-6 (hereafter EES), considers whether the Midsummer pageants might not be "survivors of a London guild cycle or cycles." Unfortunately, the evidence is too scanty to admit of any conclusions. The tableaux can, however, all be paralleled in the better documented Royal Entry.

¹³MSC III, p. xxii; L.J. Morrissey, "Theatrical Records of London Guilds 1655-1708," Theatre Notebook, 29 (1975), 100, 108.

¹⁴Calendar of State Papers Venetian, 1520-26 (London, 1869), III, 136-7 (hereafter CSPV). This description raises interesting questions about the political nature of the tableaux. The ed. of CSPV suggests that "the tumbling girl, Salome, may have played a more prominent part than usual...to remind Londoners of her mother, Herodias, 'for John had said unto Herod, it is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.'" Certainly, it was just at this time that Henry VIII's initial qualms about his marriage became public; all other dramatic representations of John the Baptist that I know of deal with his preaching in the wilderness rather than his execution. There is also the possibility of an allusion to the siege of Belgrade, although Sydney Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), p.177, disputes this on the grounds that tableaux such as this castle are too common in the Shows for any specific meaning to be intended. The pageants of St. George and St. John the Baptist were probably provided by the Skinners and the Merchant Taylors respectively for the Sheriffs.

¹⁵The pageant never actually took place, but it is frequently cited as the first e.g. of classical symbolism in a trade pageant. This honour may, however, belong to the Achilles who featured in the 1512 Show for Sir Roger Achilly. This depends on whether he was the Greek hero or an obscure king of Iceland, see F.P. Wilson, ed., A Calendar of the Dramatic Records in the Books of the London Clothworkers' Company, Malone Soc. Collections, V (Oxford: Malone Soc., 1959), p.4 n.2.

¹⁶Drapers' Co. Repertories 7, 642, 13 June; MSC III, p.32.

¹⁷According to Wriothesley "the watche kept in London at Midsommer was put downe by the kinges commaundement because the citizens had bene at great charge in their muster; howebeyt the mayor and sheriffes had prepared divers pageantes with lightes and other thinges for to have had the said watche, and had no knowledge till two dayes afore Midsommer that it should not be kept, which was a great losse to poore men" (Withington, I, 42). Monarchs were frequently hostile to the expenditure of the Companies on festivities, especially if they were reluctant to pay Crown levies and dues.

¹⁸P.D. Lusher, "Studies in the Guild Drama, 1515-1550," Diss. London Univ., n.d. p.81.

¹⁹Drapers' Rep. 7, 468-9; MSC III, p.21.

²⁰The plays on the Virgin in the York Cycle were excised in 1548, see H.C. Gardiner, Mysteries End (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1946), p.61.

²¹Gardiner, pp.80-85.

²²Britannias Honor, Bowers IV, 83.

²³Withington I, 124.

²⁴S. Williams, "The LMS in Tudor and Stuart Times," p.3, from E. Hall, Chronicle (London, 1578), fo. CCxiii^v.

²⁵"The LMS from Peele to Settle," p.208.

²⁶The Diary of Henry Machyn, ed. J.G. Nichols (London, 1848), p.47f.

²⁷Printed in MSC III, pp.42-3; the eds. suggest that Richard Mulcaster may have been responsible for them. It should be noted that Mulcaster was particularly interested in drama, developing it as part of the curriculum of Merchant Taylors' School. This school sometimes provided the children for the early Shows.

²⁸Wickham, EES, II,i,240.

²⁹Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965), pp.129,194.

³⁰The most recent study of civic pageantry, David Bergeron's English Civic Pageantry (London: Arnold, 1971), uses their dramatic qualities (plot, character conflict, dialogue, etc.) to judge their excellence; see also Wickham, EES, I, 51-111, II, 206-44.

³¹Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, III, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 107; all quotations from Jonson will be from this edition, cited as H&S.

³²See p.226.

³³The Jonsonian Masque, passim.

³⁴The Jonsonian Masque, pp.32-34.

³⁵Les Fêtes de la Renaissance (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956), I, 11.

³⁶Bergeron, Civic Pageantry, pp.177, 164 (Dekker) and pp.179,200 (Middleton). "Soul" is used in both pageant and masque to refer to the poetic and allegorical elements. The "body" was the contribution of the artificer.

³⁷"Middleton's Civic Employments," Modern Philology, 31 (1933), 75.

³⁸CSPV, 1617-19, XV, 60-61. The contrast between ideal and actual behaviour was sometimes apparent at masques too, see the Harington account of the disorders at the entertainment for the King of Denmark at Theobalds, E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 2nd ed. (1923; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon, 1951), I, 172.

³⁹Chaucer, "The Cokes Tale," Works, ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (1933; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), p.61.

⁴⁰John Aubrey, quoted in MSC III, p.xlii.

⁴¹The focussing of the mayoral shows on a VIP who is both spectator and participant provides another parallel with the masque.

⁴²Jo. Cooke, Greenes Tu Quoque (London, 1614), sig, C2.

⁴³H&S, VII, 91.

⁴⁴Dekker, The Magnificent Entertainment, Bowers, II, 255.

⁴⁵S. Williams, "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p.200.

⁴⁶He was satirized in The Case is Altered, Histrion-mastix, and Kind Hearts Dream. Middleton attacks him in his 1613 and 1619 Shows and Dekker's 1612 criticism of earlier Shows is perhaps directed at him.

⁴⁷S. Williams, "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p.28.

⁴⁸MSC III, pp.127,129.

⁴⁹Heywood, Porta Pietatis (London, 1638), sig. B3^v.

⁵⁰H&S, VII, 735. I doubt if Jonson would appreciate having his analysis of the purpose of the masque transferred to pageantry; certainly in his part of James' Coronation Show he was concerned to differentiate between his own creation and mere pageantry (VII, 104). Nevertheless, if we substitute the Lord Mayor for Jonson's great princes, his remarks are equally valid for the LMS.

⁵¹"Of Praise," in Works, ed. James Spedding, R.L. Ellis, and D.D. Heath, 2nd ed. (1860; rpt. London, 1870), VI, 502.

⁵²George R. Kernodle, From Art to Theater (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1944), pp.72-108; Wickham, EES, II, 209-225.

⁵³Kernodle, p.62; for Revels Office payments for the construction of chariots, see Wickham, EES, II, 296.

⁵⁴Henslowe's Diary, ed. R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1961) p.319.

⁵⁵The Quenes Majesties Passage, ed. James M. Osborn (New Haven: Elizabethan Club, 1960), pp.46-7; Heywood, Londons Jus Honorarium (London, 1631), sigs. B2-B3^v.

⁵⁶Bergeron, Civic Pageantry, p.267.

⁵⁷Kernodle, p.73.

⁵⁸Wickham, EES, II,i,217, suggests that this is true of Middleton's use of the fountain in The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity (hereafter THP). In this case, however, Middleton's lack of interest extends to the entire pageant.

⁵⁹See Wickham, EES, II,i,221 for the genesis of curtains.

⁶⁰Wickham, EES, I, 93-7, II, 225-6.

⁶¹In addition, various parts of the physical structure of the pageants were sometimes kept by either Company or artificer (see pp.54,93); their concern for valuable property may be another practical reason for the continued use of processional staging. Certainly, we know from Middleton's The Black Book (1604) what could happen to anything portable on civic occasions. He describes Pierce Pennyless' coverlet as "made of pieces a' black cloth clapt together, such as was snatched off the rails in King's-street at the queen's funeral (VIII, 25).

⁶²E.g. in 1613, 1622, 1629, and 1635; see MSC III under these years. Unfortunately, none of these references indicates how many were hired.

⁶³Chrysanaleia, ed. J.G. Nichols (London, 1844)

⁶⁴Chrysanaleia, p.12.

⁶⁵S. Williams, "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p.70.

⁶⁶EES, II, 228. It seems clear from Wickham's notes to the illustration of the artificial animals from the Alsloot painting of the Archduchess Isabella's entry into Brussels, EES, I, 395, that he bases this assertion on inferences from this painting and a reference to a tournament chariot "drawyn w^t foure m(a)rvellous bests...ev(er)y oon havyn^g w^t in them two men" II, 224). However, it seems more likely to me that the massive animals in the Alsloot painting concealed wheels not men; furthermore, concealing the manpower within animals would be more practicable for a tournament or indoor entertainment than a procession covering several miles.

⁶⁷Civic Pageantry, p.165.

⁶⁸We know that horses in tournaments were sometimes allegorically decked. Nashe in The Unfortunate Traveller, describes the elaborate trappings of Surrey's horse, designed to resemble an ostrich, Works, ed. R.B. McKerrow, II (Oxford; Blackwell, 1958), 272-3.

⁶⁹Webster, Complete Works, ed. F.L. Lucas (London: Chatto, 1927), III, 321. All quotations from Webster will be to this edition.

⁷⁰Morrissey, "Theatrical Records," p.106.

⁷¹"Rapports du Poète et de l'Artiste dans la Préparation des Cortèges du Lord Maire (Londres 1553-1640)" in Fêtes de la Renaissance, I, 275.

⁷²Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo (London, 1632), sig. C2^v; reprinted, ed. A.M. Clark, in Theatre Miscellany (Oxford: Luttrell Soc.), p.45.

⁷³L.J. Morrissey, "English Pageant-Wagons," Eighteenth-Century Studies, 9 (1976), 360.

⁷⁴Morrissey, "Pageant-Wagons," pp.368-9.

⁷⁵See MSC III entries for these years.

⁷⁶Camp-bell (London, 1609), sig. B2^v-B3; because of these problems the speeches were delivered by St. George and St. Andrew, "men of action and audible voices."

⁷⁷MSC III, pp.81,130. For Lowen see Edwin Nungezer, A Dictionary of Actors (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1929), pp.238-42 and G.E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, II (Oxford: Clarendon, 1941), 499-506; Hall: Nungezer, p.171 and Bentley II, 458-9; Mountsett: Bentley II, 515.

⁷⁸MSC III, p.128; Bergeron, "Actors in English Civic Pageantry," Renaissance Papers, 1972 (1973), 27.

⁷⁹MSC III, pp.87,108,115,123.

⁸⁰The Court of Assistants, which included the Master and Wardens of the Company, was drawn from senior members of the Livery or Clothing. The Company's junior organization, the Bachelors or Yeomanry, was governed by four wardens, subject to the authority of the Court of Assistants.

⁸¹For instance, in 1635 two parties bid for the production of the pageant: Robert Norman and John Taylor proposed five tableaux for £190 and John Christmas and Thomas Heywood offered five for £180. The Ironmongers accepted the latter bid, see MSC III, pp.122-123.

⁸²The Merchant Taylors and the Haberdashers covered all their costs in this way, MSC III, p.xxix.

⁸³The Livery of the Skinners' Co. generally contributed about 2/7 of the cost, MSC III, p.xxx.

⁸⁴Drapers' Rep. +131, 116^a.

⁸⁵Rep. +131, 105^a.

⁸⁶A.H. Johnson, The History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of London, IV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922), 91.

⁸⁷See p.332 and MSC III, p.xxx.

⁸⁸S. Williams, "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p.54.

⁸⁹See pp.107-9.

⁹⁰Johnson, III, 173-5.

⁹¹Occasionally the preparations began in June or July, but September, or even early October, was more common. The Drapers began preparations for the 1621 Show on 19 Sept.

⁹²S. Williams, "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p.61. When the Wardens Bachelors had served their term they were admitted to the Livery.

⁹³The ostrich from 1629 is still at Ironmongers' Hall. The ship from the Grocers' 1613 Show, for instance, was retrimmed for the 1617 Show.

⁹⁴E.g. 1566, 1616, 1618; see MSC III entries for these years.

⁹⁵A.M. Clark, Thomas Heywood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1931), p.112. Even after the Restoration the writer rarely cleared more than £8.

⁹⁶The best discussion of this is Robertson's "Les Rapports," pp. 264-78. Much of the credit for the rise of the writer must be given to Munday; in contrast to Ben Jonson, who merely wrote the speeches, he was a veritable factotum. The characterization of the writer as producer is drawn from Wickham, EES, II, 242; I am not sure, however, that his contention that the poet was paid more than the artificer is correct. The contracting to them in tandem, especially in the 1620s, makes it hard to be certain.

⁹⁷This trend continues and by 1708 speeches are abandoned altogether.

⁹⁸Wickham, EES, II, i, 242.

⁹⁹Robertson, "Les Rapports," p.277.

¹⁰⁰In 1621 the Drapers bought "27 pownds weight of cheese...7 dozen of bread...a barrell of beere...and...pottes to drinke in...which was provided to make all the blewe gowne men dyne in the Cellor to keepe them within the hall untill the Companies goinge to Paules" (p.324).

¹⁰¹Whifflers were originally marshalls armed with staves or javelins to keep the crowds off. In theory, the staves were purely decorative by the 1620s.

¹⁰²Robert Wilson, The Cobblers Prophecy (London, 1594), sig. C1^v.

¹⁰³From an anonymous, humorous 17th century poem on the LMS, printed in F.W. Fairholt, Lord Mayor's Pageants, Percy Soc. X (London, 1844). p. 263.

¹⁰⁴For the duties of the waits on civic occasions, see Walter L. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1953), pp.33-53.

¹⁰⁵Uffington was a tenant of the Company and Snowden was one of the Bachelors in foynes in 1621. In 1540 the Court of Assistants ordered that "the Company shall at all assemblies preferne such as be brothren of this felyschip afore a straunger in all maner of thyngs, for the wyche else they schall dysburse any money, be yt for wares, workmanschepe, vytaylls, or any other thyngs necessarie, provided always that they may be served as well and as good chepe of our said brothren as of a straunger" (Johnson, II, 76; from Rep. 7, 469). It is reasonable to suppose that this policy was still adhered to in the 17th century.

¹⁰⁶Johnson, III, 10, n.3, claims that Middleton was a Draper. This was scotched by Bald who points out that the Thomas Middleton in the Freedom List was the son of Richard Middleton, not the William Middleton who was the dramatist's father, "Middleton's Civic Employments," p.73 n.24. The title page of the British Library copy of Dekker's Troia-Nova Triumphans has "marchant taylor" added in an early hand. The lack of supporting evidence makes this doubtful.

¹⁰⁷Muriel Bradbrook, The Living Monument (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976), p.84.

¹⁰⁸Fairholt, p.ii.

¹⁰⁹Clark, in Theatre Miscellany, p.3.

¹¹⁰See for instance, Anglo, Spectacle, passim, and Roy Strong, Splendour at Court (London: Weidenfeld, 1973), pp.19-78.

¹¹¹Margot Heinemann, "Middleton's A Game at Chess: Parliamentary-Puritans and Opposition Drama," English Literary Renaissance, 5 (1975), 233-35, 247-9. She cites William Hammond, dedicatee of the Malone MS of A Game at Chess, and Sir Thomas Myddleton who she claims must have been a business associate of the Earl of Pembroke, the likely patron of the play.

¹¹²The Recorder and the Remembrancer were generally royal nominees. Johnson, the historian of the Drapers is atypical in the consideration he gives to political and social history. The best accounts of City politics before 1642 are Valerie Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan

Revolution (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1961), and D.A. Williams, "Puritanism in City Government 1610-1640," Guildhall Miscellany, I, No. 4 (1955), 3-14; I am greatly indebted to these analyses.

¹¹³This is a flaw in Heinemann's argument; she tends to assume that political and religious opinions were more stable in the 1620s than they in fact were. I am not sure that it is safe to assume that because Sir Thomas Myddleton was a "strong Puritan" (p.233) he was automatically a member of the "Parliamentary-Puritan opposition."

¹¹⁴Pearl. p.60.

¹¹⁵Clark, in Theatre Miscellany, p.4.

¹¹⁶R.H. Tawney, Business and Politics under James I (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958), p.79.

¹¹⁷Mun, Englands Treasure by Forraign Trade, quoted in Tawney, p.77.

¹¹⁸Cf, for instance, William Cokayne (Lord Mayor 1619-20) who married his daughter to Baron Howard of Effingham, and Sebastian Harvey (Lord Mayor 1618-19) who, despite threats and cajoleries on the part of James, refused to marry his daughter to Buckingham's feckless brother Kit Villiers. Other Lord Mayors with close Court connections included John Swinnerton (1612-13) and Francis Jones (1620-21), both Customs Farmers.

¹¹⁹Tawney, p.284. Cranfield is a good example of the complexity of London politics; his sharp business practices and Court connections made him many enemies among the aldermanic Bench, but he was no friend to the Cokayne party either, and may indeed have been responsible for James' abandonment of him. R.C. Bald in his edition of A Game at Chess (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1929), p.11, identifies the White King's Pawn as Cranfield.

¹²⁰Quoted in D.A. Williams, p.3.

¹²¹Corporation of London Record Office (hereafter CLRO) Rep. 36, 205v, quoted in D.A. Williams, p.5; St. Antholin's was the most fashionable Puritan church. Its lectures later formed the basis for the operations of the Feofees for Impropriations.

¹²²Johnson, III, 70-72.

¹²³So in 1627 we find Barkham, Lumley, Cotton, Hacket, Ranye, Abbot, and Garway among the Drapers willing to lend money to Charles, Johnson, III, 119 n.3.

¹²⁴Pearl, p.3.

¹²⁵Quoted in Tawney, p.186.

¹²⁶Tawney, p.34.

¹²⁷Clarendon (quoted in Pearl, p.71) commented after the Restoration that "the City of London was (by the court) looked upon too much of late time as a Common Stock not easily to be exhausted, and as a body not to be grieved by ordinary acts of injustice." This is precisely what the Black Knight claims to have achieved in A Game at Chess: "The court hath held the city by the horns / Whilst I have milk'd her" (VII, 65).

¹²⁸One source of resentment was James' lotteries. On occasion the prizes were trivial or even non-existent. William Herbert, The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London (London, 1837), I, 154, records this amusing annotation from the Merchants Taylors Books, 1612: "One byrde in the hand is worth two in the wood, / If we get the great lot it will do us [no] good."

¹²⁹Pearl, p.72.

¹³⁰The first issue arose in the 1570s and involved a dispute between Crown and Companies over the amount of rent charges fixed for lands previously devoted to "superstitious" uses. It was not settled until 1623 when subjects were protected against accusations of concealment by Act of Parliament. Johnson, II, 208, was not able to find any trace of concealment by the Drapers, although they were accused of so doing. In 1609-10 James persuaded the Companies to settle Ulster; in 1625 Charles I attempted unsuccessfully to sequester the lands, but in 1638, as a result of Wentworth's Irish policy, the Companies were forced to surrender their holdings by order of the Star Chamber.

¹³¹The difficulty of categorizing political and religious opinions is apparent here. Abbot, the brother of Archbishop Abbot, had earlier opposed government fiscal policy, refusing to pay the tax on currants in 1628, but by 1637 (perhaps as a result of jobbery--he had been charged with remissness in fitting out the City's quota of ships and this charge was dropped in 1637) he was clearly a supporter of the King's. Similarly, Garway was at first reluctant to enforce the collection of the 1639/40 loan.

¹³²Johnson, III, 1414. There is not direct evidence for this, but, given the increasing tension and Abbot's political change of heart, it is not impossible. Garway's Londini Status Pacatus was the last pageant before the Interregnum, the era of love, peace, and abundance being clearly over.

¹³³Johnson, III, 95. The Company's diversification away from the cloth trade is indicated by its lack of interest in any of the ramifications of the Cokayne project.

¹³⁴Johnson IV, 96-102 analyses the trades and occupations of members of the Comapny.

¹³⁵Quoted in Johnson, II, 236.

¹³⁶Johnson III, 87-88, 191-93; the following figures are all from this source.

¹³⁷Heinemann, pp.249-50.

¹³⁸Lusher, "Guild Drama," p.158. The companies included the King's Players, the Prince's, the Duke of Norfolk's, the Duke of Suffolk's, John Slye's, John English's, Thomas Yely's, David Sothurne's, Hinstok's, and Killingworth's. At times the personnel of these companies seems to have overlapped.

¹³⁹The reign of Edward VI marks the beginning of the Court of Aldermen's attempts to inhibit plays and players. In 1549 they appointed two Secondaries of the Compters to "peruse" plays (Chambers, I, 275).

¹⁴⁰Quoted in Wickham, II, 84.

¹⁴¹The Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. N. McClure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), II, 35.

¹⁴²Wickham, EES, II,i,237 and Bradbrook, The Living Monument, p.78; at the same time there is an element of the City aping the Court's magnificence.

¹⁴³Clark, in Theatre Miscellany, p.3.

¹⁴⁴EES, II, 238.

¹⁴⁵"Two 17th Century Semi-Dramatic Allegories of Truth the Daughter of Time," Guildhall Miscellany, 2, No. 5 (1963), 212-16.

¹⁴⁶Printed in Alexander Dyce, Works of Middleton (London, 1840), I, xxiii-iv. Note to p.370, Langbaine's Account of English Dramatic Poets (BM).

¹⁴⁷Diary, pp.201,202.

¹⁴⁸Bradbrook, The Living Monument, p.94.

¹⁴⁹Pearl, p.9, refers to Munday as the official City Chronologer, but I have found no evidence that he ever occupied the position. He did, however, undertake a considerable amount of work either directly or indirectly on behalf of the City from at least 1580 on.

¹⁵⁰Robertson, "Les Rapports," p.273.

¹⁵¹MSC III, p.87. It is interesting to note that even in such a unified Show as The Triumphs of Truth (hereafter TT), the Grocers see the whole in the old way as a pageant (i.e. the principal tableau, in this case the Mount Triumphant) and subsidiary tableaux.

¹⁵²The Company Quarterage Books (+259, 168, +261, 163) refer to him only as a poet and, in fact, given the increasing involvement of Drapers in trades other than drapery, the likelihood is small. In addition, although Munday was a Draper by patrimony, his father Christopher was one of those members who were in fact stationers, and apprenticed his son to John Allde, the printer, see Mark Eccles, "Anthony Munday," in Studies in the English Renaissance Drama, ed. Josephine W. Bennett (New York: New York Univ. Press), p.97.

¹⁵³A. Munday, Chruso-thriambos, ed. J.H.P. Pafford (London: privately printed, 1962), p. 45.

¹⁵⁴"The LMS from Peele to Settle," p.142.

¹⁵⁵Quoted in Bald, "Middleton's Civic Employments," p.67.

¹⁵⁶Bald, p.67, but see Dyce I, xix-xxvii for full details.

¹⁵⁷The Coronation show was first delayed because of the plague and then abandoned at the King's insistence.

¹⁵⁸Heinemann, p.255 n.11.

¹⁵⁹Chamberlain, II, 578.

¹⁶⁰Heinemann, pp.247-8, identifies as important patrons of Middleton's the Puritans, Myddleton; William Hammond, dedicatee of the Malone MS of A Game at Chess; and Richard Fishborne and John Browne, dedicatees of The Marriage of the Old and New Testament (1620). Yet Cokayne, perhaps impressed by the judicious praise meted out to him in The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity (1619); hereafter TLA) was ultimately responsible for appointing Middleton as City Chronologer, an important and lucrative post. And he did not belong to the Parliamentary-Puritan opposition.

¹⁶¹See Rhodes Dunlap, "The Making of The Peacemaker," in Studies in the English Renaissance Drama, pp.82-94.

¹⁶²One of the most recent, David Holmes, The Art of Thomas Middleton (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970) barely mentions the City work (and then in passing, in an appendix), let alone taking it into account in interpreting the dramatist's achievement.

¹⁶³T.S. Eliot, Elizabethan Essays (London: Faber, 1934), p.99; this "realism" has become a commonplace in Middleton criticism.

¹⁶⁴Bergeron, Civic Pageantry, p.200.

¹⁶⁵S. Williams, "Two Semi-Dramatic Allegories," p.213, notes the "curious ambiguity" between worldly and spiritual values that this gives rise to.

¹⁶⁶Pafford, Chruso-thriambos, p. 16.

¹⁶⁷"Middleton's Civic Employments," p.76.

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

The procedure followed is a modified version of the Clarendon Press edition of The Works of Thomas Middleton, eds. J. H. Kaplan and G. B. Shand (7 vols., in progress). The Crane MS of An Invention has been treated more conservatively and the procedure followed for it is outlined in the textual introduction to the entertainment.

Text

1. The spelling is that of the copy-text apart from the substitution of modern forms for s; i, j; u, v; vv for w has been silently reproduced as w.
2. Digraphs in Q have been indicated in the text by ^, e.g. ægle. Their wide use is characteristic of Middleton.
3. The punctuation is that of the copy-text, altered only when clearly mistaken, or seriously misleading to a reader familiar with Jacobean usage. All changes have been noted in the apparatus.
4. The copy-text's use of the query for exclamatory sentences in the form of a question has been retained.
5. The use of the apostrophe follows the copy-text even where placement does not correspond to a missing letter, e.g. ha's, e'm, do's. This usage is a common Middleton form.

6. The copy-text's use of opening quotation marks to indicate sententiae has been followed.
7. All dashes have been normalized to --.
8. The spacing of words, lines, and sections of the text has been normalized.
9. Abbreviated forms using the tilde and superscript contractions have been expanded silently. The common abbreviations of &, Mr., St. (for both street and Saint) have been retained. Other abbreviated forms such as L. for Lord have also been silently expanded.
10. The capitalization is that of the copy-text.
11. No attempt has been made to note or reproduce the appearance of ornamental initials or other letters, display or swash capitals, swash letters, ligatures, wrong-fount type, broken type or turned letters that do not give the appearance of a new word. Capital letters immediately following display or ornamental capitals have been silently reduced to lower case.
12. Italics: the verse speeches, which are printed in italic in the copy-text, have been reproduced in roman in order to avoid long underlined passages in the typescript. Words printed in roman in these sections of the copy-text have correspondingly been changed to italic; however, the initial roman capital of the verse speeches has been retained. These changes have been noted in the list of emended accidents. Otherwise the copy-text's use of italics has been retained.
13. Marginal notes and braces in the copy-text have been retained. Rules have been omitted.
14. Prose passages in the text have been indented in conformity with

the copy-text.

15. Catchwords are not given in the text but non-matching catchwords have been included in the list of emended accidentals.

16. Line numbers (for every five lines) have been supplied in the right-hand margin, commencing with the first line of the dedication and including the head title and headings to speeches. The lineation of these follows the copy-text.

17. Signatures have been supplied in the left-hand margin; a vertical line is used to mark the precise beginning of a page.

Textual Apparatus

Each entertainment is accompanied by:

1. A textual introduction discussing the text and its copy, printing-house procedures, and any bibliographical problems arising from this.
2. A list of substantive changes and refusals to emend. Emendations by earlier editors are included where they present a serious alternative or establish an accepted reading. Alterations made merely to regularize Middleton's verse or make the orthography conform to modern usage are not recorded.
3. A textual commentary discussing substantive changes, refusals to emend, textual cruces, etc.
4. A list of press-variants, recording corrected and uncorrected formes.

5. A list of emended accidentals.

THE SVNNE in Aries.

**A NOBLE
SOLEMNITY PER-**
formed through the Citie, at the sole
cost and charges of the Honourable and anci-
ent Fraternity of DRAPERS, at the confirmation
and establishment of their most Worthy Brother
the Right Honourable, EDWARD BARKHAM,
in the high Office of his Maiesties Lieute-
nant, the Lord *Maier* of the famous
Citie of LONDON.

Taking beginning at his Lordships
going, and perfecting it selfe after his returne
from receiuing the Oath of Maioralty at WE ST-
MINSTER, on the morrow after SIMON and
IUDAS day, being the 29. of
October. 1621.

By THO. MIDDLETON. Gent.

AT LONDON:
Printed by Ed. All-de, for H. G. 1621.

THE SVNNE in Aries. *1621*

A NOBLE SOLEMNITY PER-

formed through the Citie, at the sole
cost and charges of the Honourable and ancient
Fraternity of DRAPERS, at the confirmation
and establishment of their most Worthy Brother
the Right Honourable, EDWARD BARNHAM,
in the high Office of his Majesties Lieut-
enant, the Lord Mayor of the famous
Cittie of LONDON.

Taking beginning at his Lordships
going, and perfecting it selfe after his returne
from receiuing the Oath of Maioralty at WEST-
MINSTER, on the morrow after SIMON
IUDAS day, being the 29. of
October. 1621.

By THO. MIDDLETON, Gent.

AT LONDON:

Printed by Ed. All-de, for H. C. 1621.

Figure 10. Huntington Library copy.

THE SUNNE IN ARIES

Critical Introduction

The Sunne in Aries celebrated the inauguration of Edward Barkham in "the high Office of his Majesties Lievtenant, the Lord Maio of the famous Citie of London." In his capacity as Alderman, Barkham was already one of Middleton's patrons (he is one of the dedicatees of Honourable Entertainments) and the dramatist was to write An Invention for a feast of his some months later. Nonetheless, there is no indication of a close relationship between the two men.¹

Barkham was a younger son of a good Norfolk family and followed a successful career of law and trade in London.² He was admitted to Gray's Inn in February 1607/8 and became Alderman of Faringdon Within in 1610; from 1621 until his death in 1634 he was, according to his prerogative, Alderman of Cheap. He served as Sheriff in 1611-12, as Lord Mayor in 1621-22, and was knighted while in office in June 1622. He was originally a member of the Leathersellers' Company and its Master from 1605-6 and again from 1608-9. However, City custom demanded that the Lord Mayor belong to one of the twelve great Companies, and it was therefore necessary that Barkham be translated from the Leathersellers, a minor Company, in preparation for his term of mayoralty. He joined the Drapers in July 1621, and was Master of the Company in 1622-23. Like most other members of the City oligarchy, Barkham was primarily a rich merchant with large-scale commercial and financial interests in overseas trade; he was

an important member of the Levant Company. His son acquired a baronetcy in 1623, and Barkham himself became a substantial benefactor to his adopted Company.

Unlike some Lord Mayors of the period, Barkham, despite his trading interests, does not seem to have had particularly close connections with the Court.³ His political and religious beliefs were at least moderately Puritan, for during his mayoralty, as throughout the 1620s, the City government "openly supported activities which smacked strongly of Puritanism, notwithstanding the fact that the City was subject to continual pressure from two high places, the Privy Council and the Bishop of London."⁴ It was during his term of office that the City government started financing the St. Antholin's lectures.⁵

Barkham's choosing to translate to the Drapers' Company did not immediately delight its members and they were very reluctant to accept him. The prime reason for this hostility was the unwillingness of Court of Assistants, Livery, and Bachelors to incur the expense of celebrating his assumption of office. In addition, however, the Company felt itself particularly hard done by because it considered that Barkham, as part of a financial arrangement concerning his house in Dowgate which he rented from it, had promised to choose one of the other Companies.⁶ The Drapers therefore spent some six weeks attempting to refuse him before the translation finally took place in mid-July. At one meeting of the Company it was requested that all those who wanted Barkham "to be received into this companie shulde holde upp their hands, noe one hande

was helde upp for him," but when they were asked to vote against him, then "every man helde upp his hande" (p.317). The Court of Assistants of the Company accordingly endeavoured to explain to both Barkham and the Court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that an investigation had shown the state of "the yeomandry to be very weake & the nomber fewe, the Chardge greate to the Companie of the yeomandry if Mr Alderman Barkeham be of our companie, & the stocke of the yeomandry as nothinge in respecte thereof. Consideringe alsoe the greate chardge this Companie was Latelie putt to by the Maioraltie of Sir Thomas Hayes & Sir John Jolles knightes late Maiors of this cittie nowe deceased & the chardge shortlie to be expected when Mr Alderman Lumley & Mr Alderman Cotten maie come to the office of Maioraltie..." (p.313). Neither Barkham nor the Court of Aldermen was apparently much impressed. Barkham continued to insist that "he woulde never be Lord Maior of London "unles he weare a Draper" (p.315), and, finally, after considerable wrangling and the intervention of the Privy Council the Drapers were obliged to acquiesce. Even so, they still hoped to free themselves of complete responsibility for the charges of the triumph:

Whereas this Companie by authoritie of the Lordes of his Majesties moste honorable privie Councill weare compelled for the receavinge of Mr. Alderman Barkeham into this Companie Yet the said Lordes for the matter of chardge touchinge the triumphes expected lefte the Companie to themselves not requiringe anie performance thereof at their hands It is ordered that the Master and wardens nowe to be chosen for the yeare ensewinge together with the nowe present fowre Master wardens and with Mr. Cartwrighte shall repaire to the Courte of Lord Maior and Aldermen and move them to take suche good course for this Companies ease or fredome of the matter of chardge expected as aforesaid whereby this cittie maie not be disgraced nor this Companie

occasioned to complaine elles where as they without
precedent have byn Complained of/ (p.319)

In the end, however, the Company seems to have found all the money itself. And although it was ultimately fairly generous, the events lend some unintentional irony to Middleton's panegyric on the love that the Company has by the pageant shown to the new Lord Mayor: "Their Love is showne / With a Content past Expectation:/ A Care that ha's beene comely, and a Cost / That ha's beene Decent; cheerefull..." (ll. 277-280).

The total cost of the day's triumphs amounted to something over £600.⁷ The bulk of the money was raised from the Yeomanry in the usual ways: by elevating twelve Bachelors to the Livery, by appointing others to serve in foynes or budge at the appropriate rate, and by fines for exemption from service. The Wardens of the Bachelors received £564. 06. 08 from these sources and paid out £548. 04. 00. Their Accounts break down the receipts as follows:

of Master wardens,	300. 00. 00
of Rowland Griffèth for his fyne	013. 06. 08
of the Batchelers that fyned	143. 18. 00
of those as served in foynes	075. 02. 00
of those as served in Budge	032. 00. 00
Total Received	564. 06. 08 (p. 322)

The additional cost represents the customary payment to the Lord Mayor of 100 marks (£66. 13. 04) for improving his house. The actual payment is recorded in the Wardens' Accounts: "Item paid to Edward Barkeham Lord Mayor by order of a Court of Assistants for the paintinge & bewtifyinge of his howse against his Mayorolty Lxvi^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d" (p. 320). This item brings the total cost of the celebration to £614.04.01. In comparison Munday's Himatia-Poleos (1614) cost £685. 04. 01 and Middleton's other

Drapers' Company pageants £707. 18. 10. (Triumphs of Integrity) and
£545. 13. 08 (Triumphs of Health and Prosperity).

Company preparations for the triumph began in mid-September. A minute of the Court of Assistants, dated 19 September 1621, which has not previously been noticed by students of Lord Mayors' Shows, reveals that the Drapers followed the common practice of other Companies by setting up a committee to accept tenders for the pageant. This committee made its choice and then delegated responsibility for overseeing the making of the tableaux and the organizing of the procession to another committee headed by the Wardens of the Bachelors:

Consideracion of the plotts and devyses for the Lord Maior Showes referred/	Item this daie the righte worshippfull the Master and wardens with Mr Raine & Mr Abbott are entrede and ap- pointed by this Courte to take viewe and consideracion of suche plotts and thinges as are offered to be presented to this Companie by severall persons touchinge the pageants and showes intended to be performed by this Companie the daie as Mr Alderman Barkham is to be sworne to the place of Maioraltie and to report to this Courte of their doings touching the same
---	--

(p. 320)

Presumably the committee found the "plott," "devyse," or "thing" submitted by Middleton and his partners to be the most acceptable.⁸ The date of the minute makes it clear that all parties must have worked with great speed. This is confirmed by a payment in the Wardens of the Bachelors' Accounts: "Item paid to Mr Walrond the Marshall to paie a poore man for watching the Pageantes 7 daies iij^s vj^d," suggesting that work was largely complete one week before the date of performance,

October 29. This would mean that Middleton and his associates had less than four weeks to turn their "plott" into a completed pageant. The concerted activity by all involved is also reflected in this entry: "Item spent by ourselves at divers dinners & meetinges whilest wee sate and weare daylie ymployed in the busines xiij^{li} xvj^s." (p.329) Undoubtedly, the organization of the triumph must have required most of the Wardens' attention for the month or so beforehand.

The same Accounts show that Middleton, Garrett Christmas, and Anthony Munday contracted with the Company for the pageant. They were paid £140 for the "makinge and settinge out of the Pageantes and shewes viz the one in forme or likenes of a Mountaine one other of a fountaine with a triple Crowne a third called the tower of vertue or the brazen tower and the fowrth a Chariott drawne with twoe pellited lyons and for all Chardges incident to those shewes" (p.322). This payment should be compared to Middleton and Christmas' receipt of £150 for The Triumphs of Integrity and £125 for The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity. The extent of Munday's involvement must, on such scant evidence, remain uncertain. Bentley lists The Sunne in Aries as being by Middleton "with Anthony Munday?";⁹ however, there is, no need to go as far as this. The evidence of the printed text (pace Sheila Williams) is sufficient for us to credit Middleton with its writing. Munday most likely participated in the initial discussions between the partners, and so may have been partly responsible for its "devyse"; he may also have been involved in the costuming, decorating, etc.

The records for all three of these Drapers' Shows demonstrate that

writer and artificer were responsible for most details of production of the pageant, for "all Chardges incident to those shewes." The items in the Accounts thus refer primarily to the procession for which the Company itself was responsible. However, from the Wardens Bachelors' Accounts for Barkham's triumph we learn that the pageant structures were built in a barn in Whitecross St. (perhaps the same as that used by Munday in 1623), rather than the traditional place of the Leadenhall. The workmen were supervised by Christmas who would presumably have been responsible for designing the tableaux and attending to the more complex painting and carving. We do not know how many workmen were commonly employed; the Drapers generally reward them with 5/- for drink. Study of the Accounts for 1621, 1623, and 1626 suggests that the basic minimum reward for any service was 1/-, and this would indicate a maximum of five men. Payment for scarves to Middleton for Christmas (but not Munday) implies that both were expected to participate in the procession. Neither of the two entries relating to "the Children of the Pageant" (providing their breakfast and recompensing those who had to look after them for their "trouble") identifies them. In contrast to the records of some other Companies, there is no indication that any adults were involved, so it is possible that some or all of the speaking roles may have been taken by the children.

Other entries in the Bachelors' Accounts for this year remind us of the means used to organize the procession: swordsmen, beadles, marshalls, and greenmen with fireworks. Also participating were thirty-two trumpeters and an assortment of other musicians, some one hundred and twenty poor men clad in gowns of blue and yellow and carrying staves, thirty-odd standardbearers, a number of gentlemen ushers or whifflers,

and, of course, those deputed to attend in either foynes or budge. Other attractions included salutes of ordnance and the City waits. The payment to Munday's son Richard probably does not relate to any work done about the pageant itself; a Draper like his father, as well as a painter-stainer, he was frequently involved in refurbishing banners and pictures for the Company.

The pageant itself cost a little over £150 or approximately one quarter of the £540 disbursed by the Bachelors. David Bergeron asserts that the tableaux of The Sunne in Aries are organized similarly to those of Middleton's 1619 Show, The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity, but are rather more elaborate.¹⁰ There seems to be little ground for this; the Skinners' Show was considerably more expensive, costing £728. 04. 07,¹¹ and for this one would expect accordingly more elaborate tableaux. And this appears to be the case. On the other hand, the first and last tableaux of The Sunne in Aries are fairly rudimentary and the third requires little in the way of stage or props. In fact, the efforts of Christmas and the bulk of the Drapers' money seem to have been primarily employed in the master-triumph, the Brazen Tower of Vertue: appropriately enough since not only does Middleton tell us that "Vertue being indeed as a brazen wall to a City or Common-wealth" brings material prosperity as well as spiritual well-being, but the device itself has to make a double appearance.

Had Middleton not chosen to depart from his usual practice of titling his pageants The Triumphs of plus the particular virtue or

virtues he had decided to celebrate that year, he might well have called The Sunne in Aries, The Triumphs of Fame and Justice, for it is the intimate association of these two in the person of the magistrate that preserves the peace and prosperity of the commonwealth. Throughout the pageant Middleton emphasizes that it is the exercise of virtue in the heroic task of just government which leads both private individuals (who are "best Knowne" to their virtues) and magistrates (be they Lord Mayor or sovereign) to the reward of Fame. If Barkham is successful (and the pageant does not admit much doubt), then he himself will, in due course, become one of the luminaries who guides "those to come."

The atypical title The Sunne in Aries is important for this reason; it stresses the cyclical, endless nature of the quest for justice in this world embarked on by each magistrate. David Bergeron has commented that this emphasis on the cyclical is a typical feature of civic pageants, deriving ultimately from the structure of the mystery cycles, and allying the form closely with the history play.¹² In connection with The Sunne in Aries, he discusses the typologically significant figure of Jason and the references to the deeds of former Draper worthies. Jason and the worthies are precedents whose example the new Lord Mayor can do no better than to follow: their "Tracts / 'Tis comely to pursue all Thy Lifes Race, / Taking their Vertues, as thou holdst their place." What Bergeron does not mention is the extent to which this idea of cyclical time unifies the pageant. In contrast to The Triumphs of Truth there is no attempt to attain unity through dramatic means. Middleton simply presents us with four relatively discrete tableaux, explicated by speakers who expound the relationship of virtue and government and at the same

time honour the Lord Mayor, who is the current exemplar of that relationship, and the Company which, in theory at least, has nurtured him. Pervading all the tableaux, however, is the notion that the Lord Mayor, by embodying the virtues of his worthy predecessors, will in turn prove a guide to his successors. The work of Justice "lights into a Noble hand to Day, / And ha's past many; Many more, it may."

Middleton's introduction to the pageant emphasizes that Barkham's inauguration represents the beginning of a new year; the sun has entered Aries (as Barkham himself has joined the Drapers' Company) and this will now prove "the Spring time of Right and Justice." The image of the zodiac provides a suitable fiction for beginning the pageant, although it actually took place in October. At the same time the controlling analogy of the sun, "perhaps the most ubiquitous and ancient politico-religious image," is initiated.¹³ The sun is both Sol Iustitiae and its incarnation on Earth, the magistrate, who owes "To Justice his lifes Flame, (shot from Above)," and now must "cheere oppressed Right with lookes of Love" (ll. 242-43). Aries, which marks the exaltation of the sun is, of course, a most appropriate period for the new magistrate to start his task.¹⁴ The image of the Sun of Justice is one that Middleton uses elsewhere. In The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue, 1622, a sun appears above the Continent of India and the black Queen of Merchandise explains its significance:

And as yon sun his perfect splendour shows,
Cheering the plants, and no clouds interpose,
His radiant comforts, so no earthy part,
Which makes eclipses in a ruler's heart,
(As in that glorious planet) must come nigh
The Sun of Justice: all such mists must fly.

(VII, 359)

The sun and the mists which block it are favourite images of Middleton's, but they are particularly suited to the pageants he wrote for the Drapers' where they represent the verbal equivalent of the Company's arms. It is interesting to speculate on the likelihood of Middleton knowing that the grant conferring the arms describes Christ as "le celestiel et Imperial soleile le plus glorious Roy et sire de toute Justice," thus making clear the significance of the charge of the sun's rays.¹⁵ If he did, he preferred to ignore the overtly religious symbolism in favour of interpreting the Triple Crown as Faith, Hope, and Charity; the Cloud as Care; and the sunbeam as a "Care discharg'd with Honour."

The opening tableau of The Sunne in Aries is the Chariot of Honor; it "attends his Lordships most wished arrivall, in Pauls Church-yard." In the chariot are several worthies of whom Caesar, Alexander, Hercules, and that inevitable figure of Drapers' iconography, Jason, are identified. The Bachelors' Accounts specify that it was "drawne with twoe pellited lyons," the supporters of the Company's arms; there is no mention of them in the text, but this was doubtless an oversight on Middleton's part. Each of the worthies carries an appropriate emblem; Jason's is, of course, the Golden Fleece. To him, as the "Personage most proper" is given the task of addressing the Lord Mayor. None of this suggests a very complex tableau; only a chariot is required, presumably mounted on the usual "quadrangle frame," seeming to be drawn by the lions, and large enough to contain some half-dozen children.¹⁶

The occupants of the chariot are all types of heroic virtue who

"have got Trophies of Honour by their Labours & Deserts." Jason, by reason of his "manifestation" is spokesman and elucidates the parallel between himself and Barkham. The association of hero and Company is an obvious one, first used by the Drapers in 1522 when they planned, although did not execute, a pageant of the Golden Fleece for the Midsummer Show.¹⁷ The Fleece is the Company's crest and so this tableau is an example of a technique common in civic pageantry, the use of the armorial bearings of an individual or Company as the basis of a tableau. Jason explains that just as he "Assisted by the noble Hopes of Greece" set forth on his dangerous voyage to Colchis to obtain the Fleece, so the Lord Mayor, assisted by his brethren, must brave the perils of his year's voyage in order to return from the land of Justice with "Honour, Lifes most precious Trading." The basis of the analogy is stated explicitly, if conventionally, by Jason:

"State is a Sea; he must be wise indeede
 "That sounds It's Depth, or can the Quick sands heede;
 And Honour is so nice and rare a Prize,
 'Tis watcht by Dragons, Venamous Enemies;
 (ll. 67-70)

The image of the mayoralty as a "Yeares Voyage" reminds us of the opening reference of the pageant to the sun entering the zodiac.

The next tableau is the Brazen Tower of Vertue, referred to by Middleton as "the Master-Triumph." His description of it suggests that it was the most elaborately decorated tableau in the Show, and this is fitting since it is used again, this time in conjunction with the Fountain of Justice, for the final presentation to the Lord Mayor. The tower is supposedly made of brass, but "the Top-Turrets or Pinacles...shine bright

like Golde." On these battlements "stand 6. Knights, 3. in Silvered, and 3. in Gilt Armour, as Vertues Standerbearers or Champions." These are presumably identical with the six warders mentioned in Fame's speech from the tower. Each holds a banner displaying the arms of a Company worthy, "An Ensigne of good Actions." Barkham's ensign is in the centre of this group, and Fame's insistence that "all may reade, and see" his motto suggests that the tower cannot have been very high. If we accept L. J. Morrissey's figures for the dimensions of pageant wagons, then the maximum height of the tower would be 15 feet.¹⁸ This is certainly too high since it would make the effective display of Barkham's arms very difficult. Morrissey's lower figure of 6-12 feet, presumably towards the upper limit, seems more likely. The two remaining figures are Fame, and Antiquity "the Register of Fame," presumably the latter carries a scroll. It is possible that these two would be at scaffold level, but since Fame is described as speaking "from" the tower, it seems more likely that they were either located on a niche or platform at some level on the tower, or that they appeared with the other figures on the battlements.

The nature of pageantry and of Lord Mayor's Shows in particular made Fame a popular figure. According to Middleton, she is here "properly adorned," indicating that the frequency of iconographical representation of this figure made it unnecessary to waste time and space on a more elaborate description. However, Dekker's description of her in The Magnificent Entertainment (1604) allows us to visualize her appearance: she wore "a Watchet Roabe, thickly set with open Eyes, and Tongues, a

payre of large golden Wings at her backe, a Trumpet in her hand, a Mantle of sundry cullours traversing her body: all these Ensignes displaying but the propertie of her swiftnesse, and aptnesse to disperse Rumors."¹⁹ Antiquity is a frequent companion of Fame's. She appears with a scroll in her hand as the Keeper of Honor's records in The Triumphs of Honor and Industry (1617). In fact, this tableau, the Castle of Honor, bears a marked resemblance to the Tower of Vertue. She is also an important figure in The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity (1619), where she describes her function as the "Mother of Truths," recording good works "that after-times may see / What former were, and how they ought to be / To meet heaven's blessings, to which much is owing."²⁰ The six warders are all suitable figures for the defence of Vertue; Zeal is a familiar Middleton figure, first used by the dramatist in his contribution to The Magnificent Entertainment, and Wisdom is a minor figure in the Chariot of Fame in The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue (1622).

Jason's references in the previous tableau to the grave senators who will accompany Barkham and act as guides and instructors are made explicit in this segment of the Show. Here the results of the magistrate's personal voyage for Honour and Justice are represented by the Brazen Tower of Vertue; "Vertue being indeed as a Brazen wall to a City or Common-wealth, & to Illustrate the prosperity it brings to a Kingdome, the Top-Turrets or Pinacles of this Brazen Tower shine bright like Golde." The role of the Lord Mayor in promoting a peaceful, prosperous kingdom is expounded by Fame who reinforces her argument by pointing to Antiquity whose Golden Legend contains the names and titles of such previous

worthies of the Drapers' Company as Henry Fitz-Alwin, Francis Drake, Simon Eyre, and a variety of other benefactors.²¹ Their good deeds and Barkham's worthiness to join them are symbolized by the ensigns held by the warders, another example of the frequent use of armorial bearings. The end of Fame's speech eulogizing Fitz-Alwin, the first mayor of London, who held office for twenty-four consecutive years, as the watch of Truth drives home the import of the tableau; Barkham is urged that in the same way as "Men set their Watches by the Sunne," he must "Set Justice" according to what Fitz-Alwin has achieved. Perfect Justice will then be assured.

The Tower of Vertue then joins the procession which conducts the Lord Mayor to the new Standard where the third tableau takes place. This presentation is particularly interesting for the manner in which it incorporates a topographical feature of the City into the symbolic framework of the tableau. R. B. Parker in his Revels edition of A Chaste Maid in Cheapside comments on Middleton's ability in that play to integrate setting and theme, remarking that he was able to put this to effective use in his City pageants.²² Middleton's use of the new Standard here is a fine example of that technique, but it is one that has not been noticed by previous commentators on the pageant who have assumed that this tableau is simply a continuation of the previous Tower of Vertue, ignoring the practical problems that this assumption entails.²³ How, for instance, did Fame and the warders metamorphose themselves during the procession into the figure in "a cloudy Ruinous Habit" and six monarchs? The confusion arises largely from Middleton's syntax; it is

necessary to realize that his reference to the "Turret" (l.170) against which the figure is leaning is to that of the new Standard, not the "turret" of the Brazen Tower. Middleton is thus using the architectural features of the Standard as a visual symbol, giving dramatic effect to the words of the speaker.

At the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century the Standard was in a poor state of repair and indeed had been partially pulled down.²⁴ It had been adorned with statues and, on the top, with a figure of Fame blowing a trumpet.²⁵ Its rebuilding "in more strong and beautifull manner" was completed in 1621; according to Middleton, the City government had given orders for this at the same time as it elected Barkham to the dignity of Lord Mayor.²⁶ That it was rebuilt to much the same design is demonstrated by La Serre's engraving of the entry of Marie de Médicis in 1638 which shows it conforming to earlier descriptions. Middleton uses the "turret," that is the railed dome at the top, as an "upper stage" for the speaker who surely represents the spirit of the new Standard, and incorporates the figure of Fame and her trumpet into the imagery of his speech. The spirit is animated and transformed, casting off his "ruinous" attire to be revealed in bravery by the sound of the trumpet, and, looking up, he sees indeed "Fame fixt upon my Head." It is as if the whole structure has come to life to praise the beneficent government of King, City, and Lord Mayor. The Spirit is then able to use the Standard, "Vertues faire [^]AEdifice" as another concrete instance of the "Cities Goodnes." Beneath the Spirit, presumably on some sort of scaffold stage, sit six royal figures, the Tudors and King James. (These



Figure 11: The entry of Marie de Médicis, showing the Cheapside Cross and the new Standard.

may have been either children or carved figures.)

The function of the magistrate as preserver of the peace and well-being, both spiritual and material, of the kingdom is one of the two themes of the speech by the newly-transformed spirit of the Standard. In this tableau, however, it is the magistrate as king which is emphasized. Touching on a topic that he was to develop in The Triumphs of Integrity, Middleton insists that goodness as well as high birth is necessary in the ruler, for otherwise he will inherit only an earthly kingdom. The Lord Mayor as the King's substitute must imitate his master's chief virtue, that of peacemaker; it is of course a virtue that James considered to be peculiarly his own:²⁷

Strive to preserve this Famous Citties peace
Begun by yon' first King, which do's encrease
Now by the last; from Henry that joynde Roses
To James that Unites Kingdomes, who encloses
All in the Armes of Love, Malic't of None.

(11.203-7)

The repetition of the phrase "Armes of Love" from the preceding tableau strengthens the typological significance--James, like Jason and the Draper worthies, is an exemplar for the new Mayor.

The other theme of the tableau emphasizes concrete examples of the City's good works, the rebuilding of the Standard and the wisdom of its choice of Barkham as Mayor. Middleton neatly uses the restored fountain, a building that must have been something of a talking-point in 1621, as a scenic device; its figure of Fame and her trumpet providing the impetus that causes the transformation of the speaker. The speech, however, is much less effective than the visual symbol. The comparison of ruined

men and monuments is rather strained, and one may wonder whether Barkham, if he paid sufficient attention to the words to take in their full import, found the "instance" apparent.

The fourth tableau "neere S. Lawrence Lane" is an elaboration of the basic device of the mountain. This one is "Artfully raysde and replenisht with fine woolly Creatures," the sheep from which the Drapers and England derived much of their wealth. On the top are Phoebus, Aries, and the other signs of the zodiac.²⁸ All previous editors and commentators assign the speech from the mountain to Aries; this, however, necessitates emending the punctuation of Q (see p.149). The uncertainty leads to difficulties in reconstructing the appearance of the tableau. If Aries is the speaker, what did he look like? Aries does not appear as a human character in any dramatic work of the period,²⁹ nor do I know of any pictorial representation of the sign in human form. In contrast, Phoebus is a regular character in plays, entertainments, and pageants, and so there are frequent descriptions of his appearance.³⁰ Given the conservative nature of the Lord Mayor's Show, with tableaux and characters generally having a long history of use, it is more probable that the speech belongs to Phoebus. If this is so, the phrase "the proper Signe for Illustration" would simply mean that Aries, that is the ram as Golden Fleece, exemplifies the nearness of the Drapers' Company to the fountain of light, the sun.

According to the text, Phoebus is "shining in a full Glory" surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac, with Aries nearest "the

principall Rayes." A glory was a device used in medieval and pageant theatres (and indeed until the nineteenth century), deriving ultimately from the analogous mandorla of painting, the almond-shaped enclosure for heavenly beings. In dramatic use it could vary, according to George Kernodle, from a simple enclosure to a complex machine for ascents and descents.³¹ The OED cites examples of glory in an artistic context from the mid-seventeenth century, but makes no mention of it in a dramatic sense. However, it is certainly used in a similar way in John Sadler's closet masque Mascarade du Ciel (1640) where the Great Queen of the little world is visualized sitting "Circled about with a Glory of Rayes."³² This suggests that Phoebus, perhaps played by a child, sat on the top of the mountain, circled by rays and then by the signs of the zodiac, with Aries nearest to him.

The tableau functions as a distillation of all that has gone before; we return to the sun, both the symbol of all magistrates and the light which tests all deeds and reveals them in their true colours. The good works of Barkham, which were displayed emblematically in the second tableau, are now so illumined and refined by the sun's light that they can stand

Undazled, as one Beame
Faces another, as we match a Jem
With her Refulgent fellow;

(11. 226-228)

Barkham's example can now illuminate the way for others. Middleton continues by explaining the significance of the tableau. The mount is, of course, the City, and, by extension, the commonwealth; the sheep the people; the sun the magistrate--as the dramatist remarks a time-honoured

analogy. And as the beams of the sun cheer and warm the sheep, so the actions of the magistrate who derives his own light from that of the sun must "cheere oppressed Right with Lookes of Love," ensuring that in turn "the Beames of all cleare Comforts" will continue to shine upon him. The speech effectively gathers up the threads of the previous tableaux: the transforming power of light, which we have seen earlier in the Golden Fleece and the Brazen Tower with its golden battlements, is here revealed as yet another attribute of the sun, the fountain of light and justice, represented on Earth by the magistrate.

The final tableau is the triple-crowned Fountain of Justice. It, in conjunction with the Brazen Tower, stands "ready planted" outside Barkham's house to welcome him on his return from the service at St. Paul's. In the same description Middleton claims that "the whole state of the Triumph" attends the Lord Mayor to and from the Cathedral; however, for the two tableaux to be "ready planted" they would have to have left the procession at some point in order to be reassembled outside the house. The use of two tableaux may well be an example of the "multiple-staging" described by L. J. Morrissey as being common in the post-Restoration Shows.³³ The fountain, however, lacks a speaker of its own, borrowing Fame from the Brazen Tower to explicate its significance. The fountain is presumably triple-tiered to allow for the representation of the Drapers' arms, the triple crown with cloud and sunbeam. On the stage area around it are a host of allegorical personages representing the "Graces and Vertues" appropriate to a magistrate. Each holds an identifying emblem in one hand and a taper in the other signifying purity.

Since this tableau must have been presented after dark the tapers also helped to light it. Some of these figures are familiar to us from other Middleton pageants: Industry with the golden ball on which stands a Cupid, and Truth with her fan of stars.

Middleton uses the fountain to signify that the virtues of a magistrate spring from justice, but extends its implications by associating it with the Drapers' arms and the Brazen Tower. The light-dark antithesis that we have seen throughout the pageant is continued in this final tableau. The charges of the armorial bearings, with the sun issuing through the cloud, make it, of course, particularly appropriate. In this case the light is intended to represent the love that the Company has shown Barkham in celebrating his triumph; these lines and the comparison of its love to the sun after an eclipse, although conventional enough, take on a certain picquancy when we consider the effort the Company made to avoid paying. Fortunately, as Fame points out, Barkham is worthy of the Drapers' love; his actions are luminous like diamonds and would speak for themselves even without magnificent celebrations. This is because they spring from the man's internal qualities and owe nothing to other people. The pageant ends with Fame's explication of the significance of the arms:

The Triple Crowne, is Charity, Truth, and Hope,
 Those three Caelestiall Sisters, the Cloude too.
 That's Care, and yet you see the Beame strikes through;
 A Care discharg'd with Honour, it presages,
 And may it so continue, to all Ages;

(11. 300-304)

Although Middleton eschews dramatic unity in The Sunne in Aries, the

pageant is, nevertheless, a tightly controlled series of expositions on the theme of the office of a magistrate. This control is achieved largely by Middleton's variations in the use of the imagery of the sun, drawing effectively on the range of attributes of this popular symbol both to define the heroic task which Barkham is about to begin and to encourage him to complete it with honour. The sun becomes the ultimate exemplar, transcending by its light those others who act as precedents for him.

However, for all Middleton's and Christmas' skill, the pageant did not particularly impress one spectator. John Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton on 10 November, 1621: "I forbare the last weeke because here was nothing to write but of my new Lord Maiors Pageants, and the old Mayors failing, who the night before he shold have accompanied his successor to Westminster did sgombrare [clear out], conveyeng all of worth out of his house and himself with his wife into some secret corner in the countrie, where ever since he hath plaide least in sight."³⁴ Not surprisingly, Chamberlain is interested only in the scandalous behaviour of Sir Francis Jones and not in the "noble solemnity" of The Sunne in Aries.

Textual Introduction

The Sunne in Aries was printed in 1621, probably shortly after its performance on 29 October, by Edward Allde for Henry Gosson.³⁵ It is the only one of Middleton's mayoral pageants not printed by Nicholas Okes.

As with both The Triumphs of Integrity and The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity, there is no entry for it in the Stationers' Register and no record of arrangements for its printing in the Drapers' Company accounts. It seems likely, however, that Middleton, Christmas, and Munday's joint responsibility for all "Chardges incident to those shewes" (p.322) included this. The involvement of a publisher is unusual in the printing of Lord Mayor's Shows, and Gosson's connection with The Sunne in Aries suggests that some copies were intended for public sale rather than distribution by the Drapers. If so, then the edition size was probably somewhat larger than the five hundred copies generally required by the Company putting on the Show. Gosson had a long-standing partnership with Allde; five of the nine books listed by Morrison as printed by Allde in 1621 were for him.³⁶ The Sunne in Aries was printed during the last ten years of Allde's career when the output of his shop appears to have declined from its peak period of 1608-18; despite this he possessed two presses, although it is doubtful whether both were fully used.³⁷

The text is in quarto, collating A-B4 (eight leaves). The contents are A1, A1^V blank, A2 title, A2^V blank, A3 dedication, A3^V blank, A4-B4^V text. The verse speeches are printed in italic (reproduced in roman in this edition) and the prose descriptions of the pageant in roman. Three copies are extant, preserved in the British Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library and the National Library of Scotland.

Analysis of the printing-house history of all three of Middleton's pageants for the Drapers' Company, and of many other texts of Lord

Mayor's Shows, is complicated by two factors. First, the scarcity of copies makes it dangerous to speculate on the nature and extent of the proof-reading and press-correction. And, second, the brevity of the texts, often running to no more than two sheets, makes it often difficult to identify the sequence of running-titles and hence skeleton formes: sheet A for instance of The Sunne in Aries has only one running title--on A4^V.

Two of the three extant copies of Q are invariant, but inner A is corrected in the copy belonging to the National Library of Scotland. Since the rest of the text is clean with no literals or obvious misprints, it is possible that this represents a second round of press-correction. Two of the variants in the NLS copy, those on the title page (A2), indicate that it is the corrected state. The missing and has been added after SIMON in l.16 and the line correspondingly re-justified, and, in the following line, the s of IVDEs has been replaced by a small cap. The variant ornament on A4 in the NLS copy is therefore also the later state. Presumably it was changed either to improve the look of the text (as would be consonant with the title-page corrections) or because the ornaments in the uncorrected state were required elsewhere.³⁸

The most likely order of formes through the press would seem to have been outer A, inner A, inner B, outer B. There are no running-titles on inner A and only one, The Sunne in Aries. on A4^V, on outer A. This title was transferred to B1^V and three new titles set. A new set, The

Sunne in Aries., was constructed for outer B. This suggests that two skeletons were used, one for outer A which was then transferred to inner B with the addition of three new titles, and a second for inner A which was then transferred to outer B. Sheet A was set with little regard to saving space: A1, A1^V, A2, and A3^V are blank, and the text is set with generous spacing between prose description and verse speech. With sheet B, however, a decision seems to have been made to avoid running over into a third sheet. In contrast to sheet A, the text on both formes of B is cramped; a smaller roman type face is used for the prose passages and the number of lines to a page increased, with a corresponding reduction in spacing. This is especially true of inner B, suggesting that copy for the pageant was cast-off; by the time inner B was set it would have been obvious that the change of type face and general economizing on space were insufficient, hence the extra crowding in this forme.

There is no evidence from spelling-variants to suggest that the text was set by more than one compositor; however, the difference in handling prose and verse passages on B2^V and B3 compared to the rest of Q may point to the presence of a second workman. Elsewhere in the text the first line of the prose descriptions is indented and the remainder set flush with the left-hand margin. On each of these two pages, however, the first line is set flush in the larger roman type used in sheet A, and the remaining lines, in the smaller type, are slightly indented. In addition, neither of the speeches on these pages have headings identifying the speakers and the speeches themselves lack the large initial capital found in the rest of the text. However, the random distribution of spelling and punctuation

preferences, which do not coincide with any bibliographical units, argues against such a conclusion. Some habits of the compositor of Q can be traced in the setting of the final sheet of John Taylor's A Shilling or the Travailes of Twēlvepence. This was printed by Allde in 1621, having been entered in the Stationers' Register to Gosson on 3 November, and was therefore probably printed within a month or so of Q.³⁹ Characteristics in common include an addiction to emphasis capitals, including their frequent erroneous use for adjectives and verbs, the lack of a strong preference for either form of me/mee etc., and certain preferred spellings, for example cittie, neere. In The Sunne in Aries the letters most often erroneously capitalized are I, G, R, and N. Although a few of these may have derived from copy, the evidence of the Trinity MS of A Game at Chess, suggests that most are compositorial.

The spelling of Q indicates that Middleton's holograph, as would be most likely, served as printing-house copy. The evidence for this and for the compositor's fidelity to copy is not as strong as David Lake, in his brief treatment of Middleton's pageants, claims; nevertheless, there seems no reason to doubt his conclusions.⁴⁰ The Trinity MS provides considerable holograph material for tracing Middleton's orthographical habits. It is of course contemporaneous with the Drapers' pageants. The strongest evidence for holograph copy is the consistency of Middleton's preferred spellings for 'em (e'm), has (ha's), and does (do's). E'm occurs twice (B2^V, B4^V), but there is also one instance of them; ha's seven times (B2, B2^V, B4) with no instance of hath; do's five times, not four as Lake claims, (A3, A4^V, B2, B3, B3^V) with no instance of doth.⁴¹ I have examined

on microfilm four other books printed by Allde in 1621 and there is no instance of ha's or do's in them and only one of e'm. Other Middleton preferences in Q include the use of the suffix -nes (constant) and the long form of me/mee, he/hee, etc. The distribution of these variant spellings does not fall into any discernible bibliographical pattern (for example, on B2^V there are two instances each of me and mee in unjustified lines), suggesting that the compositor did not have a strong preference for either form. Examples of Middleton's frequent formation of the voiced preterite and past participle in -d or de occur some twelve times, but -'d or ed are more usual. In addition Middleton's predilection for the digraph survives in certain words, for instance, not just in Caesar, Phoebus, etc., but also caelestiall, cohaerd, aequality, aedifice, aegle. This occurs only rarely in the other Allde books and The Triumphs of Integrity and The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity, both printed by Nicholas Okes. Less conclusive is the spelling of other words listed by Price et al as characteristic of Middleton, for example, agen, toward, onely, favour, beene, bloud, loose (lose); some of these are too common to be much use and others are probably preferences shared with the compositor.

The punctuation of the text is essentially compositorial. Middleton himself punctuated lightly, favouring the comma sometimes even at the end of a speech. In contrast, the punctuation of Q is heavy and not especially clear. The colon and semi-colon are frequent; the period is not. Little attempt has been made to break the prose passages into sentences; the colon is generally used where modern usage would require

a period. The semi-colon is used essentially to indicate a long pause and this, as in l. 81, can sometimes be confusing. The contrast between the rather tangled punctuation of Q and the much clearer pointing found in The Triumphs of Integrity and The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity suggests some of the options open to composers setting from lightly punctuated copy.

The Sunne in Aries has been reprinted three times--in John Nichols' Progresses of King James, vol IV (1828) and in the editions of Middleton's Works by Dyce (vol V, 1840) and Bullen (vol. VII, 1886). Nichols, however, had not seen a copy of the pageant, but instead relied on a transcript made by Malone and purchased for two guineas at the Boswell sale. This might account for most, if not all, of the numerous errors in his edition. The Dyce text is preferable to Bullen's; both alter the orthography, including regularizing false concords, to conform to nineteenth-century usage, but Dyce is the more careful and sometimes footnotes the reading of Q. The three extant copies have been collated for this edition; the British Library copy being used to prepare the text.

A3

TO
 THE HONOUR
 OF HIM, TO WHOM
 THE NOBLE FRATERNITY
 of Drapers, his worthy Brothers have dedica-
 ted their loves in costly Triumphes, the Right
 Honourable EDWARD BARKHAM, Lord
Maior of this renowned
 CITIE.

5

Your Honour being the Center, where the Lines
Of this Dayes glorious circle meetes and joynes;
Love, Joy, Cost, Triumph, all by You made blest;
There do's my Service too, desire to rest:

10

At your Lordships
 command,
 THO. MIDDLETON.

15

A3^v] blank

A4]

THE SUNNE

IN ARIES.

Pisces, being the last of the Signes, and the Wayne of
 the Sunnes Glory; how fitly and desiredly now the Sunne 20
 enters into Aries, for the comfort and refreshing of the
 Creatures, and may bee properly called the Spring time
 of Right and Justice; observed by the Shepheards Kalender
 in the Mountaine, to prove a happy Yeare for poore mens
 causes, Widdowes, & Orphans Comforts; so much to make 25
 good the Sunnes Entrance into that noble Signe; I doubt
 not but the Beames of his Justice will make good them-
 selves.

And first, to begin with the Worthy love of his
 Honourable Societie to his Lordship, after his Honours 30
 returne from Westminster, having received some service
 upon the water: the first Tryumph by land attends his
 Lordships most wished arrivall, in Pauls Church-yard, which
 is a Chariot most Artfully framed & adorned, bearing the
 Title of the Chariot of Honour: In which Chariot many 35
 Worthies are plac'd, that have got Trophies of Honour by
 A4^V] their Labours & Deserts, such as Jason, whose Illustration
 of Honour is the Golden Fleece, Hercules with his Ne plus
ultra; upon Pilasters of Silver, a fayre Globe, for con-
 quering Alexander; a Gilt Lawrell for triumphant Cæsar, &c. 40
Jason at the approach of his Lordship, being the Personage

most proper (by his Manifestation) for the Societies Honour,
lends a voyce to these following words.

The Speech presented by Jason.

Be favourable Fates! and a faire Skie 45
Smile on this Expedition, Phœbus Eye
Looke cheerefully, --the Barke is under Sayle
For a Yeares voyage, and a blessed Gale
Be ever with it; 'Tis for Justice bound,
A Coast, that's not by every Compasse found; 50
And goes for Honour, Lifes most precious Trading,
May it returne with most Illustrious Lading;
A Thing both wisht and hop'te for;--I am Hee
To all Adventurous Voyages, a free
And bountifull well-wisher, by my Name 55
Hight Jason, first Adventurer for Fame,
Which now rewards my danger, and o're-tops
The Memory of all Perill, or her stops;
Assisted by the noble Hopes of Greece,
'Twas I from Colchis fetcht the Golden Fleece; 60
Am One of the first Brothers (on Record)
Of Honour got by Danger: So, great Lord!
There is no Voyage set forth to Renowne,
That do's not sometimes meete with Skies that frowne,
With Gusts of Envie, Billowes of despight, 65
Which makes the Purchase once atchiev'd, more bright:

"State is a Sea; he must be wise indeede

"That sounds It's Depth, or can the Quick sands heede,

And Honour is so nice and rare a Prize,

'Tis watcht by Dragons, Venamous Enemies;

70

Then no small care belongs too't,--but as I

With my assisting Argonautes, did try

The Utmost of Adventure, and with bold

And constant Courage, brought the Fleece of Gold;

Whose Illustration decks my Memory

75

Through all Posterities, naming but Mee:

So, Man of Merit, never faint or feare,

Thou hast th' Assistance of Grave Senators, here,

Thy Worthy Brethren; some of which have past

All dangerous Gulfes, and in their bright Fames plac't,

80

They can Instruct and guide thee and each one

That must adventure, and are comming on

To this great Expedition; , They will bee

Cheerefull and forward to Encourage Thee;

And Blessings fall in a most infinite Summe

85

Both on those past, Thy Selfe, and those to come.

Passing from this, and more to encourage the labour of
the Magistrate, hee is now conducted to the Master-Triumph
called the Tower of Vertue, which for the strength, safety
and perpetuity, beares the Name of the Brazen Tower; of
which, Integrety keeps the Keyes, Vertue being indeed as

90

a Brazen wall to a City or Common-wealth, & to Illustrate the prosperity it brings to a Kingdome, the Top-Turrets or Pinacles of this Brazen Tower shine bright like Golde, and upon the Gilded Battlements thereof, stand 6. Knights; 95
 3. in Silvered, and 3. in Gilt Armour, as Vertues Stander-bearers or Champions, holding 6. little Streamers, or
 B1^V] silver Bannerets, in each of which are displayed the Armes of a Noble Brother and Benefactor, Fame sounding forth their praises to the world, for the Encouragement of after 100
 Ages, and Antiquity the Register of Fame containing in her Golden Legend, their Names & Titles; as that of Sir Henry Fitz-Alwin Draper, Lord Maior foure and Twenty yeares together; Sir John Norman, the first that was rowed in Barge to Westminster with Silver Oares, at his owne cost and 105
 charges; Sir Francis Drake, the Sonne of Fame, who in two Yeares and tenne Monthes, did cast a Girdle about the world: The unpareld, Sir Symon Eyre, who built Leaden Hall (at his owne cost) a Storehouse for the Poore both in the upper Lofts and lower; the Generous & memorable Sir Richard 110
Champion, and Sir John Milborne, two bountifull Benefactors; Sir Richard Hardell in the Seat of Magistracy 6. yeares together, Sir John Poultney, 4. yeares, which Sir John founded a Colledge in the Parish of St. Lawrence Poultney, by
Candlewicke streete, John Hinde, a Reedifier of the Parish 115
 Church of St. Swithin by London Stone; Sir Richard Pipe, who being Free of the Leathersellers, was also from them translated to the Ancient and Honorable Society of Drapers;

and many whose names for brevitie cause I must omit, and
 hasten to the Honour and Service of the Time present: From 120
 the Tower, Fame a personage properly adorned, thus salutes
 the Great Master of the Day and Triumph.

The Salutation of Fame.

Welcome to Vertues Fortresse, strong, and cleere,
 Thou are not onely safe, but glorious, heere; 125
 It is a Tower of Brightnes; such is Truth,
 Whose Strength and Grace feelles a perpetuall Youth;
 The Walls are Brasse, the Pyramid's fine Gold;
 Which shoves, 'tis Safeties and Prosperities Hold;
 Cleare Conscience, is Lievtenant; Providence, there, 130
Watchfulnes, Wisedome, Constancy, Zeale, Care,
 Are the sixe Warders keepe the Watch-tower sure,
 That nothing enters but what's just and pure,
 B2 For which effect, both to affright and shame
 All slothfull Blouds, that blush to looke on Fame, 135
 An Ensigne of good Actions Each displayes,
 That worthy Workes may justly owne their Praise;
 And which is cleareliest to be understood,
 Thine, shines amidst thy Glorious Brotherhood,
 Circled with Armes of Honour, by those, past, 140
 As now with Loves Armes, by the Present, grac't,
 And how thy Word do's thy true Worth display;
Fortunæ Mater, Diligentia,

Faire Fortunes Mother (all may reade, and see)

Is Diligence, endeavouring Industrie:

145

See here the Glory of Illustrious Acts

All of thy owne Fraternity, whose Tracts

'Tis comely to pursue all Thy Lifes Race,

Taking their Vertues, as thou hold'st their place:

Some, Colledge Founders, Temple-Beautifiers,

150

Whose blest Soules sing now in cœlestiaall Quires;

Erecters some, of Granaries for the Poore,

Though now converted to some Rich mens Store

(The more the Ages misery) some so rare

For this Fam'd Citties Government, and Care,

155

They kept the Seate foure Yeares with a faire name,

Some sixe; but One, (the Miracle of Fame)

Which no Society, or Time can match,

Twenty foure Yeares compleate; he was Truths Watch,

He went so right and Even; and the Hand

160

Of that faire Motion, Bribe could ne're make stand:

And as Men set their Watches by the Sunne,

Set Justice but by that which Hee ha's done,

And keepe it Even, so, from Men to Men,

No Magistrate neede stirre the Worke agen:

165

B2^V]

It lights into a Noble hand to Day,

And ha's past many; Many more, it may.

By this Tower of Vertue, his Lordship being gracefully con-

ducted toward the new Standard, one in a cloudy Ruinous
 Habit Leaning upon the Turret, at a Trumpets sounding, 170
 suddenly starts and wakes, and in Amazement throwes off
 his unseemely Garments.

What Noyse is this? wakes me from Ruines Wombe,
 Hah? blesse me, (Time) how brave am I become?
 Fame fixt upon my Head? beneath me, round, 175
 The Figures of Illustrious Princes, crownde
 As well for Goodnes, as for State by Birth,
 Which makes e'm true Heires both to Heaven and Earth?
 Just 6 in Number; and all blessed Names,
 Two Henryes, Edward, Mary, Eliza, James, 180
 (That Joy of honest Hearts;) and there behold
 His honour'd Substitute, whom Worth makes bold
 To undergoe the Weight of this Degree;
Vertues faire ^AEdifice rais'd up like mee:
 Why here's the Cities Goodnes; shoven in either, 185
 To raise two worthy Buildings both together;
 For when they made that Lords Election free
 I gesse, that Time their charge did perfect Mee:
 Nay note the Cities Bountie in both, still,
 When they restore a Ruine, 'tis their Will 190
 To be so Noble in their Cost and Care
 All blemish is forgot, when they repaire:
 For what ha's beene Reedified alate
 But lifts it's Head up, in more glorious State:

" 'Tis Growen a Principle; Ruines, built agen,

195

"Come betterd both in Monuments and Men:

B3

The Instance is apparent; On then, Lord,

Ee'n at thy Entrance thou'dst a Great mans Word,

The noblest Testimonie of faire Worth

That ever Lord had, when he first stood forth

200

Presented by the Citie: Loose not then

A Praise so deere, bestowde not on all Men;

Strive to preserve this Famous Citties peace

Begun by yon' first King, which do's encrease

Now by the last; from Henry that joynde Roses

205

To James that Unites Kingdomes, who encloses

All in the Armes of Love, Malic't of None,

Our Hearts find that, when Neighbouring Kingdoms grone;

Which in the Magistrates Duty, may well move

A Zealous Care, in all, a Thankfull Love.

210

After this, for the full close of the Fore-noones Triumph;

neere S. Lawrence Lane, stands a Mountaine Artfully raysde

and replenisht with fine woolly Creatures; Phœbus on the

Top shining in a full Glory, being circled with the 12.

Cælestiall Signes, Aries plac't neere the principall

215

Rayes, the proper Signe for Illustration; thus greetes his

Lordship.

Bright Thoughts, Joy and Alacrity of Heart

Blesse thy great Undertakings, 'tis the part

And property of Phœbus, with his Rayes, 220
 To cheere and to Illumine Good-mens Wayes;
 Eagle-Eyde Actions, that dare behold
 His Sparkling Globe, depart, tryed all like Gold;
 'Tis Bribery and Injustice, Deedes of Night
 That flye the Sunne-beame, which makes good Works bright 225
 Thine looke uppon't, Undazled, as one Beame
 Faces another, as wee match a Jem
 B3^v] With her Refulgent fellow; from Thy Worth
 Example Sparkles, as a Starre shootes forth:
 This Mount, the Type of Eminence and place, 230
 Resembles Magistracies Seate, and Grace;
 The Sunne, the Magistrate himselfe, Implies;
 These woolly Creatures, all that Part which Lyes
 Under His charge and office, (not unfit)
 Since Kings and Rulers are (in holy Writ) 235
 With Shepherds paraleld, nay from Shepherds Rear'd,
 And People and the Flock as oft cohaerd;
 Now, as it is the Bounty of the Sunne
 To spread his Splendors, and make Gladnes runne
 Over the drooping Creatures; it ought so 240
 To be His proper Vertue, that do's owe
 To Justice his lifes Flame, (shot from Above)
 To cheere oppressed Right with lookes of Love,
 Which nothing doubted; Truths reward light on you,
 The Beames of all cleare Comforts shine upon You. 245

The Great Feast ended, the whole state of the Triumph
 attends upon his Lordship both to Paules, and homeward; and
 neare the Entrance of his Lordships House, two Partes of the
 Triumph stand ready planted, viz. The Brazen Tower, and the
 Triple-Crowned Fountaine of Justice; this Fountaine being 250
 adorn'd with the lively Figures of all those Graces and
 Vertues which belong to the faithfull discharging of so
 high an Office; as Justice, Sincerity, Meeknes, Wisdome,
 Providence, AEquality, Industry, Truth, Peace, Patience,,
 Hope, Harmony; all Illustrated by proper Emblems and 255
 expressions; as Justice, by a Sword; Sincerity, by a
 Lambe; Meeknes, by a Dove; Wisdome by a Serpent; Providence,
 by an AEgle; AEquality, by a silverd Ballance; Industry, by
 a golden Ball, on which stands a Cupid; intimating, that
 Industry brings both Wealth and Love; Truth with a Fanne 260
 B4 of Starres, with which she chases away Error; Peace, with
 a Branch of Laurell; Patience, a Sprig of Palme; Hope, by a
 silver'd Anchor; Harmony, by a Swan; Each at Night holding
 a bright burning Tapor in her hand, as a Manifestation of
 Purity: His Lordship being in sight, and drawing neare to 265
 his Entrance; Fame, from the Brazen Tower closes up the
 Triumph, his Lordships honourable welcome, with the noble
 Demonstration of his worthy Fraternities Affection; in
 this concluding Speech.

Fame.

270

I cannot better the Comparison

Of thy faire Brotherhoods Love, then to the Sunne

After a great Ecclipse; for as the Sphaere

Of that Caelestiall Motion, shines more cleere

After the Interposing Part is spent,

275

Then to the Eye before the Darknes went

Over the bright Orbe; so Their Love is showne

With a Content past Expectation:

A Care that ha's beene comely, and a Cost

That ha's beene Decent; cheerefull, (which is most

280

Fit for the Service of so great a State,

So fam'd a Cittie, and a Magistrate

So worthy of it all) ha's beene bestowde

Upon thy Triumph, which ha's clearely showde

The Loves of thy Fraternity; as great,

285

For thy first Welcome to thy honour'd Seate:

And happily is Cost requited then,

"When Men Grace Triumphs, more then Triumphs, Men;

"Diamonds will shine though set in Lead, True worth

"Stands alwayes in least neede of setting forth:

290

What makes Lesse Noyse then Merit? or Lesse Showe

Then Vertue? 'tis the Undeservers, owe

All to Vaine-glory, and to Rumour, still;

Building their Praises on the Vulgar Will;

B4^v]

All their Good, is without e'm, not their owne,

295

When wise men to their Vertues are best Knowne:
 Behold yon' Fountaine with the Tripled Crowne,
 And through a Cloude the Sunne-beame piercing downe,
 So is the worthy Magistrate made up;
 The Triple Crowne, is Charity, Faith, and Hope, 300
 Those three Cælestiaall Sisters, the Cloude too
 That's Care, and yet you see the Beame strikes through;
 A Care discharg'd with Honour, it presages,
 And may it so continue, to all Ages;
 It is thy Brotherhoods Armes, how well it fits 305
 Both Thee, and All, that for Truthes Honour sits:
 The Time of Rest drawes neere; Triumph must cease
 Joy to thy Heart, to all a Blessed peace.

FINIS.

For the Frame-Worke of the whole Triumph; with all the proper 310
 Beauties of Workmanship, the Credit of that, justly apper-
 taines to the deserts of Master Garret Crismas, a Man excel-
 lent in his Art, and faithfull in his Performances.

Press-variants in Q (1621)


Copies collated: BM (British Library C.33.e.7.18), CSmH (Henry E. Huntington Library), NLS (National Library of Scotland).

Sheet A (inner forme)

Corrected: NLS

Uncorrected: BM, CSmH

Sig. A2

16 SIMON and]  (line correspondingly rejustified)

17 IVDES] IVDEs

Sig. A4

Change of HT ornaments

Substantive Changes

215 Signes,] Q;~;Nichols;~. Dyce, Bullen

216 Illustration;] Q;~;Nichols, Dyce, Bullen

Textual Notes

130 Lievtenant] Q's Lieutenant may indicate Middleton's pronunciation, corresponding to his spelling Lieutenant.

215-16] Nichols and the rest emend without comment to "circled with the 12 celestial signs; Aries, placed near the principal rays, the proper sign for illustration, thus greets his lordship;" this reverses Q's assignment of the speech. In favour of their emendation, it should be noted that the punctuation of Q probably owes much to the compositor; throughout the text the semi-colon is used as a long pause, sometimes obscuring the logical relationship of clauses. In addition, the speaker does not identify himself although he makes reference to Phoebus; there are no examples of totally third person speeches by a named speaker in any of Middleton's other pageants. Furthermore, the phrase "the proper Signe for Illustration" could mean that Aries is the appropriate speaker to elucidate the tableau. However, the phrase may well simply mean that Aries, the sign representing the Drapers' Company, is fittingly nearest to Phoebus. The break with convention involved in assigning the speech to Aries is a strong argument against the emendation (see p.124). Without more convincing evidence to the contrary, I prefer to follow Q and retain Phoebus as the speaker.

279-86] A good example of the way the heavy punctuation of Q can obscure the precise sense of the text. Dyce and Bullen place a semi-colon after it (l. 283), thus making all the subject of bestowde, but this change unnecessarily alters the meaning. The semi-colon and comma of l. 286 may have become transposed.

Emended Accidentals

45-86] italic in Q

81 thee_^]~;

116 Stone;]~.

124-67] italic in Q

132 Warders_^]~;

173-210] italic in Q

217-45 italic in Q

271-308] italic in Q

280 [which]_^which.

280 most_^]~;

283 all)]~,

285 Fraternity;]~.

285 great,]~;

Critical Notes

Title-page

5-6 sole cost] A typical formula: the Company presenting a Show did not care to have its generosity minimized, cf. Munday, Chruso-thriambos, sig. C2. In the case of SA, the Drapers tried hard to be relieved of sole responsibility for the cost.

7-8 confirmation and establishment] The confirmation by the King of the City's choice.

13-16] See pp.4-7 for details of route and procedure.

Text

10-13 Your Honour...rest] Compare TLA (Bullen VII, 330): "For love is circular, like the bright sun, / And takes delight to end where it begun." The four line dedicatory verse seems to be typical of those pageants where Middleton did not have a close relationship with the dedicatee.

15 command] Since Middleton was City Chronologer and supplier of entertainments for civic functions this is literally true.

19-28] From the evidence of No Wit, Middleton does not seem to have held much brief for astrology. However, at least two of his City patrons, Thomas Myddleton and Martin Lumley, were interested in the subject. Whatever Middleton's personal feelings about it, it provides an ap-

propriate fiction for introducing the pageant, cf. Dekker, Britannias Honor (IV, 89): "Your this dayes Progresse(rising like the Sunne,)
/ Which through the yearely Zodiacke must runne."

21 Aries] the first of the signs of the zodiac; the sun enters it at the vernal equinox (Spring time," 1.22). The legal new year also begins under this sign; hence its appropriateness despite the pageant being performed on 29 Oct. Aries also marks the exaltation of the sun, see John Sadler, Mascarade du Ciel, sig. C4: "Aries, Mars House, is by all Astrologers called the Suns Glory or Exaltation."

23 Shepheards Kalender] A reference to the often reprinted almanac. It contains much astrological lore, including the properties of the signs of the zodiac.

25 Orphans] The City Chamber administered the estates of orphans; Middleton and his sister received their inheritances from it; see Mark Eccles, "TM a Poett," Studies in Philology, 54 (1957), 516. Cf. Dekker, Britannias Honor (IV, 82): "All the City-Orphans call him Father: All the Widdowes call him their Champion."

27 Beames...Justice] Sol Iustitiae; cf. Honourable Entertainments (hereafter HE) ent. v, ll. 11-14: "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 Justice dry their griefes."

31 some service] Neither the text nor the Drapers' Accounts specify what

this was; it may have been of the type bemoaned by Dekker, Troia-Nova Triumphans (hereafter T-NT; III, 247): "The Title-page of this Booke makes promise of all the Shewes by water, as of these On the Land; but Apollo having no hand in them, I suffer them to dye by that which fed them; that is to say, Powder and Smoake. Their thunder (according to the old Gally-foyst-fashion) was too lowd for any of the Nine Muses to be bidden to it."

38-39] Hercules...Silver] The silver pilasters represent the pillars of Hercules on which was supposedly inscribed ne plus ultra (no more beyond); by the 17th century the words frequently signified the ultimate in perfection, Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases, 1892.

39-40 a fayre...Caesar, &c.] The globe and the laurel are appropriate for triumphant conquerors; the &c presumably indicates that there are more figures in the Chariot than the four named.

42 Manifestation] the Golden Fleece.

46-47 Phoebus...cheerfully] The function of the sun as defined in ll. 238-39.

47 Barke] perhaps with a quibble on Barkham.

48 Yeares voyage] the year of Barkham's mayoralty.

51 Trading] The mercantile imagery is particularly appropriate.

63-68] The state/sea analogy is a familiar one and is much used by Middleton and other pageant writers. Cf. II (VII, 254): "For power's

a dangerous sea, which must be sounded / With truth and justice, or man soon runs on / 'Gainst rocks and shelves of dissolution"; THP, ll. 112-121; also Dekker, T-NT (III, 233-34): "thou must saile / In rough Seas (now) of Rule: and every Gale / Will not perhaps befriend thee.../ For (Spite of Fowle gusts) calmer Windes shall fill / Thy Sayles at last."

66 Purchase] "gains, winnings, acquisitions, especially booty, plunder, prize" (OED). In an honourable sense here.

70 Dragons] The Golden Fleece was guarded by a dragon.

71-74] Munday uses the same image in Metropolis Coronata, sig. B1^V: the Mayor is told "You are our Jason, Londons glorie, / Now going to fetch that fleece of Fame, / That ever must renowne your name."

75 Illustration] "The action or fact of making clear or evident to the mind; setting forth clearly or pictorially; elucidation; explanation; exemplification" (OED, sense 3).

78 Grave Senators] Members of the Drapers' Company, including the past Worthies whose actions are reviewed in the next tableau in order to "instruct and guide" the new Mayor. Senators is more often used to refer to the aldermen. The Roman terminology was common, cf. Dekker, Britannias Honor, (IV, 82): "The Praetorian Dignity is therefore come from the ancient Romans, to invest with Robes of Honor, our Lord Maior of London: Their Consuls are our Sheriefes: their Senators our Aldermen."

87-88] to encourage...the Magistrate] One of the prime purposes of all Lord Mayor's Shows. As early as 1575, William Smythe comments that an

essential ingredient of "the Pagent of Tryumphe" is "some matter tow-chinge Justice, & the office of a majestrate," Drake, Shakespear and his Times, p.424.

91 Integrety] TI develops further the role of Integrity in a prosperous commonwealth.

91-92] Vertue...Common-wealth] Friar Bacon proposed to "circle England with Brass" Greene, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, ii. 171. Regents ed.

96 Standerbearers] standard-bearers; Middleton's form is not given in OED, although stander appears as an alternate form of standard.

103 Fitz-Alwin] The first Mayor of London, holding office "from at least as early as 1193 till his death in 1212"; whether or not he was a Draper is uncertain (Beaven, II, 225). In Chruso-thriambos Munday uses him to celebrate the Goldsmiths, a lapse (blamed on Stow) that he apologises for profusely in Himatia-Poleos, sig. A4. He has a major role in both Himatia-Poleos and Metropolis Coronata and appears or is referred to in all Middleton's and Heywood's pageants for the Drapers' Company.

104 Norman] Mayor 1453-54; Master of the Drapers' Co. 1462-63; died 1468. According to the pageant writers he was responsible for instituting the custom of going to Westminster by barge, see, Stow, Survey, II, 175. In fact, the custom seems to have been already established by 1422 (Herbert, I, 100). S. Williams, "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p. 3, considers that his importance lies in his being the first to go by barge "at his owne cost and charges." This may be so, although many

Companies did not acquire a barge of their own until considerably later.

106 Drake] Another voyager who successfully seized the prize of Fame, cf. Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes, ed. John Horden (London: Scholar, 1969), p. 203 "this noble minded DRAKE, / Did bringe away his goulden fleece." This emblem and its relationship to the pageants of Middleton and Webster (Drake appears as one of seven famous navigators in Monuments of Honor, 1624) is discussed by Bergeron, Civic Pageantry, pp. 293-94. Middleton's use of Drake here should be compared to that in THP where he is given greater prominence, probably for political reasons. Drake was admitted to the Drapers' Co. by redemption on 17 Nov., 1588, and later became tenant of the Herber, one of its most substantial properties.

107 cast...world] Bullen quotes Dick of Devonshire, c. 1626, referring to Drake: "They would have thought themselves as famous as their Country-man / That put a girdle round the world." The phrase itself is semi-proverbial, cf. MND, II, i. 175.

108 Eyre] A Draper not a shoemaker. Mayor 1445-46; died 1458. He was never knighted. According to Stow he built the Leadenhall in 1419 "of his owne charges, for the common utilitie of the said Citie...He builded it of squared stone, in forme as now it sheweth, with a fayre and large chappell in the East side of the Quadrant, over the porch of which hee caused to be written, Dextra Domini exaltavit me," Survey, I, 153-54. He also left 5000 marks to charitable uses, hence his appearance in TI under the figure of Charity. However, Stow claims that the Drapers

failed to perform the terms of his bequest (I, 154). The Leadenhall had a close association with pageants; Stow describes how "three sides were reserved for the most part to the making and resting of the pageants shewed at Midsommer in the watch"(I, 159). Many 17th century Lord Mayor's pageants, though not SA, were built there too. Eyre, as well as appearing in The Shoemaker's Holiday as a citizen hero, is used as an exemplar by Munday and Heywood as well as Middleton in their pageants for the Drapers.

109 Storehouse] Eyre built it "for a common Garner of corne to the use of this Citie," Survey, I, 110.

111 Champion] Mayor 1565-66; knighted 1566; Master of the Drapers' Co. 1557-78, 1560-01, 1568; died 1568. A benefactor to the Co.

111 Milborne] Mayor 1521-22; knighted 1522; Master of the Drapers' Co. 1515-16, 1522-23, 1528-29, 1533-34; died 1536. A benefactor to the Company. According to Stow, Survey, I, 112, he "builded almes houses fourteene in number, by the crossed Friers Church in London, there to be placed fourteene poor people, and left to the Drapers certaine Messuages, Tenements, and Garden plots, in the parish of St. Olave in Hartstreete, for the performance of stipends to the sayd Almes people, and other uses." He adds later: "These poyntes not performed: the Drapers have unlawfully solde these tenements, and garden plots, and the poore be wronged"(I, 148). Milborne continued to be honoured by the Company, however; the Wardens' Accounts for 1619-20 (+ 469/4, 42^b) list the following payment : "to Mr. Christmas for makeinge & payntinge the pictures of Sir John Milborne and Sir Richard Champion which are sett upp in the parloure in their

remembrance as benefactors to this Companie x^{li}." Similarly in 1621-22 Richard Munday, the painter-stainer and son of Anthony, is paid "for paintinge the escutchions of the Armes of Sir Richard Champion, Sir John Milbourne & Mr. Clomee & for the subscription of their names upon byse & in gold."

112 Hardell] His Christian name was Ralph and he was Mayor for four years, from 1254-58 (Beaven, I, 372).

113 Poultney] Mayor 1330-32, 1333-34, 1336-37; knighted 1337; died 1348. He "būilded a fayre Chappell in Paules Church, wherein he was buried. He founded a Colledge in the parrish Church of St. Laurence called Poultney; he builded the parish Church called little Alhallowes in Thames streete; the Carmelite Friers Church in Coventree: he gave reliefe to prisoners in Newgate, and in the Fleet, and ten shillings the year to S. Giles Hospitall by Oldborne for ever, and other legacies long to rehearse" (Stow, Survey, I, 106).

115 Hinde] or Heende. Mayor 1391-92, 1404-05; died 1418.

116 Pipe] Mayor 1578-79; knighted 1579; Master of the Leathersellers' Co. 1566-67; translated to the Drapers' Co. 1571; Master of the Drapers' Co. 1573-74, 1577-78, 1581-82; died 1587. He is included here as a compliment to Barkham.

[21] properly adorned] see p.118.

126 such is Truth] Truth was often represented carrying a sun to indicate her piercing splendour, see Allan H. Gilbert, Symbolic Personages in the

Masques of Ben Jonson (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1948), p. 242.

She appears with this property in II (VII, 245).

128 Pyramid] "any structure of pyramidal form, as a spire, pinnacle, obelisk, etc" (OED). Hence identical with the "Top-Turrets or Pinacles" of ll. 93-94.

130 Clear Conscience...Care] Presumably the 6 warders are identical to the 6 knights of l. 95.

134-35 For which...Fame] Cf. the effect of the sun, ll. 222-25.

136 An ensigne...Actions] either imprese or coats of arms.

140-41 Armes] Punning on both senses of arms. Barkham's shield is surrounded by those of past Drapers in the same way as he himself is surrounded by the loving arms of his Company. Barkham's crest and motto are used again by Middleton in An Invention.

142 Word] motto.

147 Tracts] "fig. Course (of action)" (OED). Barkham is told that he must endeavour to inherit his predecessors' virtues as well as their office.

150 Colledge Founders] Poultney.

150 Temple-Beautifiers] Hinde.

152-54 Erecters...misery] Eyre. The flash of satire recalls Middleton the pamphleteer and satiric dramatist, cf. II, l. 145 "This Age sits

laughing upon Heapes of Gold." It also reminds us that although civic pageants present an idealized view of the commonwealth, Middleton is well aware that ideal and reality do not always correspond.

155 Fam'd Cittie] another child of Fame.

156 foure] Milborne.

157 sixe] Hardell.

157 One] Fitz-Alwin

159 Watch] quibbling on watch as guard as well as time-piece.

159-65] Cf WBW, IV. i. 1-18 where Bianca and her ladies discuss the reliability of their watches. Bianca sets hers by the sun (i.e. the Duke), implying "that her sexual behaviour is above reproach, the sun never varying" (J. R. Mulryne, *Revels* ed. p. 119). Barkham's justice, administered according to the principles of Fitz-Alwin, is to be as invariable as the sun.

161 Bribe] see also l. 224. Bribery is, of course, an appropriate thing to deplore in a civic pageant, cf. TI and ILA (VII, 260, 320), but in 1621 these references would have been given particular point by the fall of Bacon earlier in the year. Middleton alludes to this in HE, ent. ix, ll. 67-69: "this high Synode of the Parliament, / Before whose faire, cleare and Unbribed Eyes, / (When it appeares) Corruption sincks and dies." Middleton's interest in this event is further attested to by Oldys' note on the contents of the now lost "Annales," see p. 74.

169 the new Standard] The standard was rebuilt in 1620-21 (Sugden, p. 485). It was used as the playing area in this tableau, see pp. 120-3. There is a bad joke about the new Standard in Middleton and Webster's Anything for a Quiet Life (Lucas, IV, 78); David Lake, The Canon of TM's Plays, p. 182, assigns it to Webster.

169 one] the spirit of the new Standard.

169 Ruinous] "dilapidated" (OED).

170 Turret] the new Standard, not the Brazen Tower.

170 Trumpets] There was a figure of Fame blowing a trumpet on the top of the Standard.

175 Fame...Head] see, p. 121.

184 Vertues Ædifice] Mulryne (WBW, Revels ed., p. 123) comments that Middleton's predilection for building imagery may owe something to his father having been a builder or bricklayer.

186 To raise...together] Glossed by Nichols as "The rhymster here seems to allude to a repair the New Standard had undergone, and perhaps also to the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral." Dyce repeats this with the addition of [!] after rhymster. Bullen was the first to point out that while one building is undoubtedly the Standard, the other is the metaphorical one of Barkham himself who is now being raised to the mayoralty. The speaker explains that when the City elected Barkham it also ordered the rebuilding of the Standard. Whether Barkham would have appreciated the

description of himself as a blemished ruin is another matter.

198 Great mans] Jason.

203 peace] Praise for James' policy of peace is common in Middleton's public and civic works, see especially The Peacemaker (1618). It may have sounded slightly ironic in 1621: the summoning of Parliament earlier in the year "released a wave of anti-Spanish sentiment in the country; memories of 'eighty eight mingled with indignation over the Palatinate; renewed instincts of Elizabethan rapine with relief at the King's final waking from his Spanish trance" (Robert Zaller, The Parliament of 1621 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971), p. 26. However, an influential section of City opinion favoured peace.

205-6] Cf. Webster, Monuments of Honor (III, 322): "the Uniter of the devision and houses, Henry the Seaventh, both with White and Red [roses], from whence his Royall Majesty now rainging tooke his Motto for one peice of his Coyne, Henricus rosas regna Jacobus." James fostered the idea of himself as successor to Henry VII, even ordering that he be buried in Henry's tomb in Westminster Abbey.

208-10] The troubles of neighbouring kingdoms which impress upon us the mutual love of king and subject should stimulate the magistrate's zeal in the performance of his office and the gratitude of everyone. The Palatinate and Bohemia were overrun by the Catholic armies during 1620-21.

213 fine...Creatures] sheep.

213-17 Phœbus...Lordship] see pp. 124, 149. for the relative merits of

Phoebus and Aries as speakers.

214 Glory] see p.125.

222 Eagle-Eyde Actions] keen-sighted, capable of discrimination, cf. TT (VII, 244) where Truth wears a robe of white silk "filled with the eyes of eagles, showing her deep insight and height of wisdom."

See also Heywood, Londini Emporia, sig. B1, where the Mayor is urged to "alwayes have an Eagles eye / To out gaze the Sun, and keepe that Aquilant sight / To see what's wrong, and to distinguish right."

223 tryed] refined.

234-37] As Middleton remarks, an ancient analogy--but one, of course, particularly suited to the Drapers' Co.

242 shot from Above] from Sol Iustitiae, cf. Dekker's T-NT (III, 230) "For the Chaires of Magistrates ought to be adorned, and to shine like the Chariot which carries the Sunne; And Beames (if it were possible) must be thought to be shot from the One as from the Other."

246 the whole state] but presumably excluding the Brazen Tower which has to be set up outside Barkham's house.

247 homeward] In July 1621 Barkham was the tenant of a property belonging to the Drapers' Co. in Dowgate, see p.315.

248 two Partes] see p.126.

249 ready planted] already set up.

251 lively] This could mean either living or lifelike; since the figures have to hold tapers at night it would be easier if they were children.

253-55 as Justice...Harmony] There may be more than the twelve named figures on the tableau.

256 Justice...Sword] One of the two common properties of Justice; the scales belong here to Equality. That Justice was an instantly recognizable figure is indicated by Dekker's comment on Astraea in The Magnificent Entertainment (II, 295): "Havinge tolde you that her name was Justice, I hope you will not put mee to describe what properties she held in her hands, sithence every painted cloath can informe you."

257 Meeknes...Dove] Cf. II (VII, 253) where Meekness appears "with a garland of mingled flowers; . in her hand a white silk banner with a red cross, a lamb at her feet."

257-58 Providence...Egle] see note to l. 222.

258 Equality...Ballance] see note to l. 256.

258-60 Industry...Love] In THI, (VII, 298) Industry is "holding a golden ball in her hand, upon which stands a Cupid, signifying that industry gets both wealth and love." Cf. Dekker's figure of Industry in T-NT (III, 235) "in the shape of an old Country-man, bearing on his shoulder a Spade."

260-61 Truth...Error] Cf. II, (VII, 244) where the fan of stars is a property of Truth who uses it to chase away Error and her minions.

263 Harmony...Swan] In THI (VII, 304) Harmony holds a golden lute; in The Inner-Temple Masque (VII, 213) the figure is referred to as a "white and glorious friend."

271-78] The precise significance of the eclipse analogy is not clear. Perhaps Barkham would have been amused by the references to cheerfulness.

289-90 Diamonds...forth] semi-proverbial; cf. Webster, "A Monumental Columne" (III, 275): "But as a perfect Diamond set in lead, / (Scorning our foyle) his glories do breake forth." Diamonds were thought to be luminous. For Middleton's variations on the image, see The Changeling II. i. 15-16 (VI, 27) "A true deserver like a diamond sparkles; / In darkness you may see him."; WBW, V, i. 48-9 (VI, 361) "A goodness set in greatness; how it sparkles / Afar off, like pure diamonds set in gold!"

293 Vaine-glory...Rumour] Gilbert, p. 254, defines Vainglory as the opposite of Truth, and Rumour as the opposite of Fame.

294 Vulgar Will] by ingratiating themselves with the commonalty.

297-98] See p.116 for the original significance of the arms. Middleton develops his own interpretation more fully in II.

300-01 Charity...sisters] the theological Graces.

312 Crismas] A noted carver and sculptor, responsible for the design of Aldersgate and the front of the Northumberland House. He became carver to the Royal Navy in 1614 and was involved with civic shows from 1618 until his death in 1634.

313 Jean Robertson, "Les Rapports," p. 276, comments that fidelity to his promises as well as professional excellence seem to have been characteristic of Christmas.

NOTES

¹The dedications of IT (to Thomas Myddleton) and The Triumphs of Honor and Virtue (hereafter THV; to Peter Proby) suggest a closer relationship than that implied by the rather perfunctory four line dedications of the other pageants. In the case of IT, Middleton may have owed his employment to his namesake.

²Biographical details are drawn from G. E. Cokayne, The Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of London: 1601-25 (London, 1897), p. 92 and A. B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London, II, (London: Corporation of London, 1913), 54. Cokayne refers to a late 17th century description of Barkham as "the pedlar on horseback"; I have not been able to trace the significance of this.

³Cf. Sir William Cokayne whose daughter married Baron Howard of Effingham. Barkham was not even one of the Customs Farmers.

⁴D. A. Williams, "Puritanism in the City Government," p. 3.

⁵For St. Antholin's, see pp. 63,95.

⁶See p. 315.

⁷Johnson, III, 12, quotes the total cost as £615. 07. 06. including the payment for beautifying Barkham's house. However, the total disbursed by the Bachelors, £548. 04.00, and the £66.13.04 amounts to only £614. 17. 04; I have been unable to account for the remaining 10/2. Johnson also misquotes the payment from those in foynes as £75. 00. 00, thereby arriving at the incorrect total for receipts of £564. 04. 00.

⁸There is a payment in the Bachelors' Accounts which may refer to a bid by a competitor: "Item paid to a straunger that drew the forme of a Pageant for the service x1^s" (p.326).

⁹Bentley, IV, 895; Sheila Williams, "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p. 142 argues that, other than his lack of a scarf, there is no reason for not crediting Munday equally with Middleton for the pageant. For the place of SA in the collaboration and quarrel between Munday and Middleton, see p.78.

¹⁰Civic Pageantry, p. 191.

¹¹MSC III, p. 99.

¹²"Civic Pageants and Historical Drama," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 5 (1975), 89, 95-6.

¹³Anglo, Spectacle, p. 81.

¹⁴John Sadler, Mascarade du Ciel (London, 1640), sig. C4, explains that "Aries...is by all Astrologers called the Suns Glory or Exaltation."

¹⁵John A. Goodall, "Heraldry and Iconography," The Coat of Arms, 4, No. 29 (1957), 173, n.8. The crowns represent the triple crown of the Virgin, patroness of the Company.

¹⁶See p.112; it is possible that Jason was an adult; the silent roles would certainly have been taken by children.

¹⁷Withington, I, 39-40, 179, and PMLA, 30 (1915), 113; Johnson, II, 11 and MSC III, p. 11 all assume that the pageant actually took place. MSC V, p. 4 notes correctly that it was planned, but abandoned because of the pageants (including one of the Fleece) already standing from the entry of Charles V. Perhaps the use of a Fleece pageant to honour the Holy Roman Emperor (head of the order of the Golden Fleece) drew the Drapers' attention to its applicability to themselves. This planned pageant may have been the first e.g. of classical symbolism in a trade pageant, but see p. 87.

¹⁸L. J. Morrissey, "English Pageant-Wagons," pp. 368-9.

¹⁹Bowers, II, 276; Middleton describes her in II (VII, 253): "on her head a crown of silver, and a silver trumpet in her hand, showing both her brightness and shrillness."

²⁰VII, 323; Antiquity also has a speaking role in THV (VII, 360-2).

²¹Eyre (pace Deloney and Dekker) was a Draper not a shoemaker.

²²R. B. Parker, ed., A Chaste Maid in Cheapside (London: Methuen, 1969), p. xlvii.

²³See, for instance, Bergeron, Civic Pageantry, p. 192.

²⁴John Stow, Annales, cont. by Edmund Howes (London, 1631), p. 1034.

²⁵E. H. Sugden, Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare (Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1925), p. 485.

²⁶Annales, p. 1034. The account given by Howes makes it clear that the restoration work had been in progress for some years. Since mayoral elections took place on Michaelmas Day (29 Sept), Middleton's version can refer to no more than the final authorization for completion of the work.

²⁷Middleton had already capitalized on this in The Peacemaker (1618); it is a theme to which he returns in II.

²⁸Wickham, EES, II,i,214 notes that the tableau is in the same tradition as that of "the Sphere of the Sun," one of the pageants that welcomed Catherine of Aragon in 1501; see also Anglo, Spectacle, p. 72.

²⁹Thomas L. Berger and William C. Bradford, Index of Characters in English Printed Drama to the Restoration (Englewood, Colo.: Microcard Eds. Books, 1975) list a variety of signs of the zodiac as "characters," but not one of their e.g.s requires an actor to play the role; typical is the inclusion of the signs in No Wit (IV, 324) which are made of "banqueting-stuff."

³⁰See, for instance, Dekker, Britannias Honor (IV, 93): "the Sunne sits, with golden Beames about his Face; an Attire glittering like gold; and a mantle as bright as his garment, fringed with gold, his haire curled and yellow."

³¹From Art to Theater, pp. 62, 142.

³²Mascarade du Ciel, sig A4^v.

³³Morrissey, "English Pageant-Wagons," pp. 369-73.

³⁴Letters, II, 405.

³⁵See Appendix I, p. 308, for an account of the printing of the LMS, 1602-39.

³⁶Paul G. Morrison, Index to the Short-Title Catalogue (Charlottesville, Va.: Bibliographical Soc. of Univ. of Virginia), p. 1.

³⁷R. B. McKerrow, "Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer," The Library, 4th ser., 10 (1929), 144. Earlier in 1621 Secretary Calvert had ordered Allde's imprisonment and the taking down of his presses for having printed an unlicensed book, W. A. Jackson, Records of the

Court of the Stationers' Company (London: Bibliographical Soc., 1957), p. 137.

³⁸Ornaments from both sets were used by Allde during 1621. The initial two blocks of the uncorrected state appear in three rows on sigs. Q2^v and Q3 of The French Garden, and the NLS ornament occurs, though not in the same pattern, in John Taylor's A Shilling or the Travailes of Tweluepence.

³⁹Edward Arber, Register of the Stationers' Company, IV (London; 1887), 23.

⁴⁰David Lake, The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays (Cambridge: Univ. of Cambridge Press, 1975), p. 270. Middleton's orthography has been analysed by Lake, pp. 10-43 and passim; Peter B. Murray, A Study of Cyril Tourneur (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), pp. 147-87; George R. Price, "The Early Editions of A Trick to Catch the Old One," The Library, 5th ser., 22 (1967), 207-13.

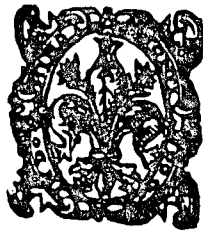
⁴¹Lake, p. 273.

THE TRIVMPHS OF Integrity.

A Noble Solemnity, performed through the
City, at the sole Cost and Charges of the Honorable
Fraternity of Drapers, at the Confirmation and
Establishment of their most worthy Brother, the Right
Honorable, MARTIN LUMLEY, in the high Of-
fice of his Majesties Lieutenant, Lord
Mayor and Chancellor of the famous
City of London.

Taking beginning at his Lordships going, and perfecting
it self after His Returne from receiving the Oath of
Allegiency at Westminster, on the Morrow after
Simon and Iudas Day, being the 29. of
October. 1623.

By THO. MIDDLETON Gent.



LONDON,
Printed by Nicholas Okes, dwelling in
Foster-Lane. 1623.

Figure 12.

THE TRIUMPHS OF INTEGRITY

Critical Introduction

The Triumphs of Integrity was Middleton's contribution to the celebration of the inauguration of Martin Lumley as Lord Mayor in 1623. Unlike Edward Barkham and Cuthbert Hacket, Lumley was a Draper by patrimony; his father, James, having amassed a substantial fortune from his mercantile interests during the reign of Elizabeth.¹ The Lumleys, however, were not a long-established English family. Martin's grandfather was Domenico Lomelin or Lomeley who settled in England and became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Henry VIII, maintaining a troop of horse for him. Martin was born c. 1580, but little is known of his early life; he seems to have entered his father's business, part of which was concerned with retail drapery. In July 1595 he consulted several times with Simon Forman over the stealing of some cloth from his shop in Watling St., apparently a favourite abode of Drapers.² By 1611 he was fully involved with Company affairs, becoming an Assistant and serving as Warden in that year. In 1614 he entered City government as both Alderman of Vintry and Sheriff. The following year, 1615-16, he was Master of the Company, a position he was to hold again during his mayoralty in 1623-24.³ He was knighted in office in May 1624, served as Alderman of Broad St. from 1626 until his death in 1634, and was President of Christ's Hospital from 1632-34.

Lumley seems to have been one of the more strongly Puritan members

of the Aldermanic Bench in the 1620s. In 1621 he was a member of the committee that recommended the financing of the St. Antholin's lectures (see p.95) and he provided in his will for a series of lectures at St. Helen's Bishopsgate, the church where he is buried. His son acquired a baronetcy, became M.P. for Essex in 1640, and two years later was one of the members who contributed "horses, money, and plate for the defence of Parliament"--his share amounting to four horses.

Perhaps as a result of his long association with the Company, Lumley's triumph was more elaborate and expensive than those of his Draper predecessors. Certainly, as Master of the Company during the preparations he would have been able to influence spending. The entire Show, including contributions from both House and Bachelors, cost £708. 01. 04.⁴ Its most interesting feature, however, was the employment of two authors, Middleton and Munday, who were paid individually to provide separate parts of the Show; each then published a separate account of his work. Middleton wrote The Triumphs of Integrity which consisted (according to his text), of a water-show, called the Imperial Canopy, and four land devices: a Mount Royal, the Chariot of Sacred Memory, the Temple of Integrity, and the Imperial Canopy again. Munday wrote The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece, a tableau without speeches of the Argo with Jason, Medea, and the Argonauts which, he claimed, constituted the "water-service." Munday further asserts that "the Service being performed upon the Water, the like is done on the Land, all the rest of the day following alwayes attending his honors service, and for adding the more splendor to the Triumphs Solemnitie" (sig. A4^V). The curiously vague phrase "the like" seems to indicate that Munday's tableau was part of the land procession. Both authors are con-

spicuous for their failure to mention the existence of the other's work, each giving the impression that his was the sole pageant.

This strange state of affairs was first noticed by Robert Withington.⁵ He at first thought that the Munday tableau was a rejected plan for the Show, but on consulting the Drapers' records realized that the Company's separate payments precluded this. He then conjectured that "after Middleton's pamphlet had been printed, the Argo was substituted for the Canopy which he had intended to put on the river....Munday planned the festivities on the water, and Middleton confined himself to those on land. If the latter had intended to show an Imperial Canopy on the Thames, his plans were evidently changed; for it is clear that the Argo appeared on the river when the show took place." Withington's hypothesis is not very convincing but has been generally accepted.⁶

What is certain is that the Drapers' Company employed both dramatists on a separate rather than collaborative basis. Middleton and his partner Christmas were paid £150 for "making and setting out of the pageants and Shewes vizt the one in forme or liknes of a Mountayne one other a Charriott drawne with twoe Pellited Loyons a Third a Christall Temple and the fourth a royall Canopy of state and for all Chardges incident to those shewes" (p.335). Munday was paid £35 for "an Argoe." In addition there are payments to him for the hire of a barn to make the Argo in, to a drummer and fife for the Argo, to his men for drink, to his man "for bringing the bookes," and to his partner and himself in lieu of scarves (pp. 337-38). It is possible that the books mentioned here were, as Sheila Williams claims, the

printed copies of The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece, but even assuming this to be so, I can see no grounds for her suggestion that Munday's contribution was therefore the authorized one.⁷ In all, Munday's Argo seems to have cost £41. 00. 06 which compares proportionately with the four Middleton-Christmas devices costing a total of £196. 00. 06.

The most likely explanation of the dual authorship seems to be that the Drapers wished to employ both Middleton and their brother Draper, Munday, but not, as in the past, in collaboration. Separate payment, production, and publication would have been a means of ensuring that the quarrels of the past (see pp.78-9) did not detract from "the service of the day." There would then be no need to postulate elaborate (and unlikely) theories of substitution. After all there is no reason why there should not have been two devices on the river--perhaps Middleton was unwilling to allow his rival all the glory of this. The lack of reference to each other's work in the printed text can be explained as a petulant desire on the part of both to refrain from giving credit where it was due. There is, however, a suggestion in Middleton's text that the Argo did join the procession; he refers to the Imperial Canopy being "accompanied with foure other Triumphall Pegmes [pageant structures]." Since he and Christmas devised only four tableaux altogether, this must either be a slip of the pen or include the Argo. The precise circumstances of the production of this Show cannot, of course, now be determined, but that Munday would have liked a greater share is perhaps implied in his dedication of "this poore pains of mine, which might have beene more had time so favoured" (sig. A2) to his brethren of the Company.

The combined pageants cost £196 or approximately 2/7 of the entire cost of the celebrations. The bulk of the money was raised in the usual way from entry fines and the payments of those Bachelors nominated to serve in the procession. Arrangements for financing commenced on 22 September 1623 when the Court of Assistants "ordered and soe thought fitt for the better easeinge of the chardge of the yeomandry...that there shalbee to the nomber of eight or tenne of the fittest and most sufficient persons of the yeomandry of this Company selected out and admitted by the Master warden of this Company into the Livory of the Company every of them payinge before hee bee admitted the accustomed fyne of xxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiiij^d" (p.331). It was further agreed that "if the fynes of those that are to bee admitted into the Livory the present stocke belonginge to the said yeomandry and the fynes and payments to bee raised by such as shall either fyne or serve in the same busines shall not suffice to performe the chardge of the said triumphes that then the some of Cxxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiiij^d...receaved upon the takeinge in of the last livory shalbee disbursed for the purpose aforesaid." In the event, twelve Bachelors were raised to the Livery, their entry fines amounting to £320. This was supplemented by £50 from the previous year's fines. A further £98. 10. 00 was raised from those Bachelors who refused to serve in the procession, while the forty-two who served in foynes contributed £112. 10. 00 and the thirty-three in budge £48. 10. 00. The Bachelors' recéipts thus totalled £639. 10. 00 of which £629. 09. 02 was disbursed. Further payments, amounting to £78. 12. 02, were made on behalf of the House by the Wardens and the Renter.

The same Court of Assistants meeting ordered that "the fower Master Wardens shall take present course for the fittinge providinge and compound in so far as all things as shalbee fitt and necessarie for or towchinge the said showes and triumphes" (p.331). Whether they were responsible for the choice of Middleton and Christmas and Munday or whether they promptly delegated their responsibilities to the Wardens of the Bachelors is not known. The dedication of The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece to these last, rather than to the Lord Mayor, suggests that Munday may have owed his employment to them. Certainly it was the Wardens of the Bachelors, as was usual, who were responsible for the organization of the celebrations. It seems from their Accounts that, in keeping with the expense of this Show, the arrangements were slightly more lavish and the number of participants larger. Payments for caps and gowns and coats suggest that about one hundred and fifty poor men took part, accompanied by the seventy-five Bachelors in foynes and budge, and thirty-nine gentlemen ushers.⁸ A comparison of the Wardens Bachelors' Accounts for 1626 with those for this year suggests that the Company paid more for almost every aspect of the celebrations except food and meals. This unusually high cost, however, did not meet with the unanimous approval of those who had to pay; indeed the sanctions of the Lord Mayor had to be invoked to enforce payment from "divers obstinate Young men [who] refused to pay theire fines and bee Conformable to the chardge for the Lord Maiors Showes" (p.333).

Although, of course, the Accounts deal primarily with the organization of the procession, leaving the pageants largely to the care of

authors and artificers, they do reveal some interesting points of procedure. One problem concerns where the tableaux were actually built. In 1621 Garret Christmas had hired a barn in Whitecross St. to make them in; in 1623 this (assuming it was the same one) is hired by Munday for the construction of his Argo, and Christmas is paid "for the hiring of boardes to make a place for the making of the Pageants in &c" (p.338). The Wardens Bachelors' Accounts also include the customary payments of 5/- to both Munday's and Christmas' men when the Wardens inspected their respective work (p.337, 342). However, the Wardens' Accounts for 1623-24 include a payment of 10/- "given in reward to the workemen of the Pageants against my Lord Maiors Day when the Company went to veiwe them at Leadenhall" (p.332). It is difficult to know how to reconcile the two Accounts. Clearly, they relate to different occasions, the Wardens' payment being for when the Company, rather than just the Wardens Bachelors, viewed the pageants. Presumably then, the structures were transferred when they were all but complete to the Leadenhall, the traditional pageant making and storing place, where they were finally assembled and inspected. Alternatively, the boards hired by Christmas could have been used at the Leadenhall and only the Argo transferred there.

The Bachelors' Accounts also reveal that this year the "making of a Breakefast and fyer for the Children of the Pageants" fell to Middleton's lot (p.338).⁹ He was paid £3 for this unenviable task. It was a responsibility which was given in other years to the keeper of the Bell Inn at Carter Lane, conveniently close to St. Paul's or to the keeper of Blackwell Hall, conveniently close to the Guildhall. A further detail of

pageant production to be gleaned from these Accounts concerns the provision of musicians for the devices. A drummer and a fife for the Argo were paid 7/6 and 12/- respectively whereas "a little boy a drumer in Middleton's shewes" receives only 5/- (p. 338). There is no mention of music in either Middleton or Munday's texts, but this is true of all other pageant texts except those that include songs. Usually the writer and artificer undertook to provide music for the pageant, but it would seem that a Company might occasionally employ additional musicians.

The decision of the Company to spend more money than in previous years is reflected in the pageants themselves. Munday's Argo was clearly extremely elaborate, and two of the devices of The Triumphs of Integrity, the Crystal Temple of Integrity and the Imperial Canopy, are singled out by Middleton as manifesting "the Invention, & the Art of the Engineer." Middleton himself responds to the "Arte and Workmanship" of Christmas with a well-organized pageant designed to show the concomitant triumph of Virtue and those who cleave to her. The two men succeed particularly well in integrating structure and speech to present the "vertuous strife" demanded of all individuals, but especially of the Christian magistrate. According to Middleton's scheme, the Show begins with the Imperial Canopy, a tableau based on the Drapers' arms, which honours the new Lord Mayor on the Thames. This device is, of course, a particularly appropriate opening since it "specifies" for all to see the love that the Drapers bear their brother Martin Lumley. The full description and exposition of this device, however, is reserved for its reappearance at the end of the Show; its double use suggesting the cyclical nature of time so often expounded in mayoral pageantry.

The first tableau on land, set up in St. Paul's churchyard, is a Mount Royal occupied by "certaine Kings and great Commanders, which Antient History produces, that were originally sprung from Shepheards, and humble beginnings." These "Honorable Worthies" are Viriat of Portugal, Arsaces of Parthia, Primislaus of Bohemia, Marcus Julius Lucinus, the Emperor Pertinax, and Tamburlaine, all of whom have, by their deserts, enobled "their meane Originals." As Joel H. Kaplan points out, these figures are not likely to have been as unfamiliar to the spectators as the editors of *Malone Society Collections III* suggest: Jack of Newberry in Deloney's tale keeps pictures of Viriat, Pertinax, and Primislaus as worthy examples for his servants to imitate, and Viriat, Primislaus, and Tamburlaine are used by Dekker in *Old Fortunatus*.¹⁰ Middleton also refers to Pertinax, albeit as a type of parsimony, in *A Game at Chess* (VII, 122). The inclusion of Tamburlaine amongst those who "tooke their ascending / From the strong hand of Vertue," is particularly interesting for the contrast it presents to Marlowe's hero.¹¹ The use made of him here, however, is not unique in mayoral pageantry. In 1634 the Water Poet John Taylor wrote his sole Lord Mayor's Show, *The Triumphs of Fame and Honour* for the Clothworker, Robert Parkhurst. The fifth device is of Endimion on a ram's back who praises shepherds as "the noblest, ablest men." The two he singles out are Apollo who "kept Admetus sheep (tis said) / And Tamburlaine (whom Mighty Kings obey'd)."¹²

The structure itself is one of the simpler ones in the Show, requiring only a mount and six kings; nonetheless, it is admirably suited to both the pastoral connotations of the tableau and the virtuous

aspirations of its occupants. They are deliberately held up as exemplars for the spectators to note in the opening of the speech:

They that with Glory-enflamde hearts, desire
To see Great Worth deservingly aspire,
Let e'm draw neere and fixe a serious Eye,
On this Tryumphant Mount of Royaltie.

(11. 59-62)

The lesson to be drawn is one which must have been pleasing to the citizen audience, low birth is no bar either to the exercise of virtue or to rising in the world. The application of the speech is reinforced by the association of the successful worthies with the Aldermen and the Lord Mayor as those on whom the favour of Vertue "hath reflected most and best."

The pastoral nature of the tableau has a dual function. First, it reminds us of the Drapers' sheep, the basis of their "Antient and Honorable Mistery,"; the shepherd kings are thus especially appropriate precedents for a Draper Lord Mayor. Second, it draws on the Christian implications of the good shepherd. The kings owe their rise to their virtuous deeds; this makes them worthy of admiration even though, as pagans, they cannot claim the "farre Holier Stile" of David "Who being King Annoynted, did not scorne / To be a Shepheard after." So as chief magistrate of London, Lumley must not only demonstrate the "vertuous Strife/That makes the compleate Christian," but also the care of shepherd for his sheep.

The application of this tableau to both the Lord Mayor and the spectators is made clearer still in the following one, the Chariot of Sacred Memory, which greets the Lord Mayor at the Little Conduit. In it are displayed those Draper worthies who have previously allied them-

selves with Virtue and so become "Famous for State and Government"; they include such well-known figures as Henry Fitz-Alwin, Francis Drake, and that citizen hero Simon Eyre. They are the London counterparts of the virtuous kings and commanders. The chariot itself is familiar from other Drapers' Shows; as usual it is "drawn" by two pelted lions, the supporters of the Company's arms. Mounted on these beasts are two figures bearing the banners of Lumley and the Company, thereby signifying the fusion of power and honour exemplified by the actions of eminent Drapers--the theme of Memory's speech.

Memory's insight into past men and their deeds makes it clear that the Draper worthies are to be equated with the shepherd kings. They too have "heapt up Vertues, long before they were old," and it is this alone that has made them particularly suited to hold high office. The speech extends the previous tableau's concentration on virtuous strife by considering the qualities necessary for the Complete Magistrate. Lumley's year in office becomes the test of his worth: his task is difficult for he must strive against the materialism of this Age of Gold, but he has the advantage of his predecessors' "faire Examples, large and hie, / Patternes for us to build our Honors by." Assuming that he is successful then Memory will revive in his "faire Deportment...the Antient Fame of all His Brothers Lives."

So far Middleton has presented us with shepherds who became kings and Drapers who achieved especial prominence by their virtuous actions. In the next device, the Crystal Sanctuary of Temple of Integrity,

positioned "neere St. Lawrence-Lane," he concentrates on what he conceives to be the essential virtue of magistracy, integrity. This tableau is both thematically and structurally the centre-piece of the Show, "an unparaleld Maister-peece of Art." The body itself is an elaborate variation on the sanctuary/pavilion. The pillars are gold, the battlements silver, and the rest "crystal"; it probably bore some resemblance to the Palace of Apollo in Dekker's Londons Tempe (1629) whose appearance is preserved in the Booth sketches of that Show (p. 41). Inside sit Integrity and her "Sanctimonious Concomitants...transparently seene through the Crystall." Middleton explains that "more to expresse the Invention, & the Art of the Engineer, as also for Motion, Variety and the content of the Spectators, this Crystall Temple is made to open in many parts, at fit and convenient Times, and uppon occasion of the Speech."

This description raises certain problems of production: what was the crystal and how did the temple open and close? The Booth drawing suggests that the spectacular effects might have been achieved by curtains, presumably of white gauze. However, the praise that Middleton bestows upon Christmas, and the use of similar structures in the masque suggest that this solution is probably too simple. For instance, the palace of Oberon (of which a Jones drawing exists), is described by Jonson as "a bright and glorious palace whose gates and walls were transparent."¹³ Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong suggest that this transparent effect may have afforded a "partial vision of Oberon and his court in tableau behind."¹⁴ The Crystal Temple opening to reveal Integrity and her concomitants is clearly a primitive relation of Jones' palace. It

is therefore unfortunate that his drawing offers little help in determining the precise mechanics of his effect. Allardyce Nicoll argues that it was achieved by the use of flats made of calico and oiled paper similar to those which we know were used to create transparent clouds.¹⁵ Such a technique, however, is much better suited to an indoor banqueting-hall than to an outdoor procession. Nonetheless, Middleton draws our attention to the effect created for the "Night Triumph," that part of the procession which took place after dark when the Lord Mayor was escorted first to St. Paul's for evening service and then homeward. The Temple of Integrity was then "adorned and beautified with many lights, dispersing their glorious Radiances on all sides thorough the Cristall."¹⁶ Whatever the precise mechanics of the effect, the citizen spectators, as Middleton notes, regarded spectacle as an essential part of the Lord Mayor's Show and were doubtless as much impressed by Christmas' invention as courtiers were by Jones'.

The complex structure, however, functions as more than spectacle; it is the visual embodiment of the nature of Integrity herself, "one that is ever what she seems to be." So "manifest, perspicuous, plaine, and cleere is she that her thoughts can be immediately apprehended. In terms of the tableau itself these are her "Sanctimonious Concomitants," Equity, Truth, Love, Peace, and Meekness. The structure has, in addition, a further significance, for it is an allegorical representation of the Compleate Magistrate himself. As Integrity explains, "The Temple of an upright Magistrate/Is my faire Sanctuary, Throne and State." Lumley must therefore imitate her nature and actions, presenting such a clear

front to the world that none will be able to doubt his motives:

As Thou art Eminent, so must they Acts
Be all Tralucent, and leave worthy Tracts
For future times to finde, thy very Brest
Transparent, like this Place wherein I rest:
(ll. 227-230)

The conspicuousness of the office of Lord Mayor and the problems this entails is a frequent theme of Middleton's Shows. The Mayor's is an heroic task and his performance of it open to the scrutiny, and sometimes malicious detraction, of all. Hence the need for scrupulous Integrity who alone can ensure success and salvation.

Up to this point Middleton's scheme for The Triumphs of Integrity has involved a constantly narrowing focus on the virtues of government, culminating in Integrity's instructions to Lumley on the fulfilment of his trust. The final tableau, the Imperial Canopy, which awaited Lumley "Neere the entrance of woodstreet," takes a wider perspective and contemplates "the Fulnesse of all Blessings to this Land." As with the Temple of Integrity, the precise appearance of this device is not easy to determine. Middleton tells us that it was based on the Drapers' Company arms: "the three Imperiall Crownes cast into the Forme and Bignesse of a Triumphall Pageant, with Cloude and Sun-beames, those Beames by Enginous Art made often to mount and spred like a Golden and Glorious Canopy over the Deified persons" under it. These represent the Eight Beatitudes. In addition the King's motto, Beati Pacifici, is "set in faire great Letters, neare the uppermost of the three Crownes." One possible solution to this problem is that the device could have

resembled the Triple-Crowned Fountain of Justice in The Sunne in Aries where the three crowns appear to have formed a triple-tiered fountain. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this with the sunbeams that either mechanically, as the text indicates, or as a curtain "heavens" formed a canopy over the Beatitudes. It is more likely that the crowns, as depicted on the arms, were on top of this canopy. Study of the Booth sketches for Londons Tempe confirms the feasibility of this. They suggest that the basic structure of this type was a vaguely classical, canopied pavilion supported by pillars, with ample room on top of the "battlements" for extensive architectural embellishment or carved figures. This hypothesis is strengthened by both the plate of Faringdon's Tomb from Chrysanaleia (1616) and the Goldsmiths' plates from post-Restoration shows.¹⁷ Indeed these drawings show elaborate representations of coats of arms that form a "frontispice" to the device. Middleton explains that a frontispiece should function as "a remembrance of Honour," "reflecting" upon the King. And this "Royall Businesse," as is made clear in the speech, is precisely one significance of the Company's arms.

Certainly it is this coalescing of the interests of Company and kingdom that Middleton chooses to present in the device. Like Dekker and Heywood, he realizes that such solemnities as the Lord Mayor's Show can only be enjoyed under peaceful government. The Lord Mayor himself cannot provide this alone, for he is only the King's substitute. As in The Sunne in Aries, King James becomes the final precedent whose example the Lord Mayor is exhorted to follow. Hence the visual and verbal

prominence given to Beati Pacifici. The unity of interest between King and Company is represented by the dual function of the Drapers' arms in the tableau. On the level of the Company, the three crowns signify the love, care, and cost that the Drapers have shown on this day towards their brother Lumley, but they also have a national significance, representing both the theological graces, Faith, Hope, and Charity and the three kingdoms that James rules. Without the King's maintenance of true religion, neither city nor kingdom can prosper. This is made explicit by the significance attached to the cloud and sunbeams of the Drapers' arms--the dissipation of the envious mist of Heresy by the "sun-beames of the Gospell." James is credited with this achievement, but its continuance is assured to "Succeeding Men" by the safe return of Prince Charles from Spain earlier in October.

The speech thus comments on the political and religious manoeuvrings of 1622-3, drawing, like A Game at Chess the following year, on the widespread fear of the Spanish match. Fortunately, however, good government, as exemplified by the "Royall Sute" of King, Prince, and Mayor, has prevailed, assuring the peaceful prosperity of England in general and the City in particular. In terms of the tableau itself, these blessings are symbolized by the "Deified persons," the Eight Beatitudes. The representation of the Beatitudes is not unique to this pageant; they also appeared in Elizabeth's Coronation Show where they were "applyed to our soveraigne Ladie Quene Elizabeth."¹⁸ Their use here is similar, for although they signify the blessed condition of England, Middleton again uses Beati Pacifici to emphasize the particular virtue of King James.

The speech is in fact remarkable for the praise it bestows on both James' policy of peace and its frustration by the failure of the negotiations for a Spanish alliance. Nonetheless, it provides an effective climax for The Triumphs of Integrity, drawing together Company, City, and kingdom in an expression of national rejoicing for the blessings of political and religious stability. The Show as a whole indicates how accurately Middleton could attune his City work to the demands of the citizens for whom he was writing. In contrast to his comedies which view the citizens' strivings for upward mobility satirically, his insistence here on the necessity of virtuous strife and the benefits that can accrue to the individual of humble origins who practises this is calculated to appeal to both the wider audience of Londoners and the immediate one of Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and senior Drapers.¹⁹ This inclusiveness is designed to involve everyone, spectators as well as participants in the communal experience, the celebration of both London and its inhabitants by the "State and Magnificence of that Pompe prepared to receive his Majesties Great Substitute into his Honorable charge."

Textual Introduction

The Triumphs of Integrity was printed by Nicholas Okes in late 1623, probably shortly after 29 October, the date of the Lord Mayor's Show. Like the Sunne in Aries and The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity, the pageant was not entered in the Stationers' Register and there is no record of payment for its printing in the Drapers' Company Accounts

for 1623. Middleton and his partner were again made responsible for all "Chardges incident to those shewes," a phrase which may have covered arranging the printing (p.335). In contrast to The Sunne in Ariës, however, there is no evidence that an independent publisher was involved. Okes' association with mayoral shows began in 1612 with Dekker's Troia-Nova Triumphans; he was also responsible for the Middleton pageants of 1613, 1617, 1619, 1622, and 1626 (that is, all but The Sunne in Ariës). From 1622 his shop acquired a virtual monopoly on the printing of the shows. On the whole he produced satisfactory work; the texts are attractively laid out, and are relatively free of errors, although in some cases a high number of literals, turned letters, and other typographical infelicities remain. Few copies of most pageants are extant, so it is possible that these would have been corrected during printing. In 1623 (in especial contrast to 1626) Okes' shop was extremely busy, producing at least eleven books including such substantial titles as Daniel's Works. With only one press,²⁰ the shop must have been well-organized and efficiently run, although the heavy work load entailed shortages of type.²¹

The pageant is in quarto, collating A-B⁴ C² (ten leaves). The contents are A1 title, A1^V blank, A2 dedication, A2^V blank, A3-C1^V text, C2 blank. The speeches are in italic (reproduced in roman in this edition) and the prose descriptions in roman. Two copies of a probable minimum edition of five hundred are extant, preserved in the Henry E. Huntington Library and the Pierpont Morgan Library. The Huntington copy has been cropped so that the catchword on A4^V is missing; it

also lacks the blank leaf C2. The title-page device and ornaments were all in frequent use in Okes' shop in the early 1620s.²²

The pageant seems to have been printed by two skeleton formes.²³ The two running-titles on inner A are identical with those on C (A3^V=C1^V; A4=C1), suggesting that the skeleton used for inner A also printed C by half-sheet imposition. Outer A seems to have been machined first, its single running title, The Triumphs (A4^V), appearing nowhere else in the text. A second skeleton may have been constructed for sheet B. The order of printing of this sheet, however, is obscured by press-variants in the running-titles: in the Morgan copy swash Is have been substituted on B1, B3, and B4. for the italic capital of Integrity. Since the title on B3^V is identical with that on B2^V and, allowing for a substituted I in The, that on B1 with B4, the same skeleton was clearly used to print both formes. It seems most likely that the Huntington copy was the prior state of outer B, the inner forme being machined first.²⁵ If this is so, then the title on B2 was originally set with a swash I and that on B4 with a non-swash I, this latter being changed during printing to the swash of the Morgan copy. The skeleton was then transferred to the outer forme and some copies, including the Morgan, printed with the swash I; however, before printing was complete both swash letters were pulled and non-swash capitals substituted. No attempt was made while the press was stopped to correct turned letters or wrong fonts type nor was the substantive error on B4 rectified. There also appear to be slight variations between the two copies in the position

of the running-titles on B1^V, B2^V, B3, B3^V, and B4^V and in the position of the signature on B2; presumably this occurred when the press was stopped and the formes unlocked.

The complexity of these changes on sheet B in a text as short as The Triumphs of Integrity (and one that needed to be printed quickly) demonstrates the dangers of over-simplifying printing-house procedures in this period. Given the workload in Okes' shop it seems at first surprising that the press should be stopped twice during the printing of a short work in a small edition to make such minor changes. However, this may be explained by supposing that the original substitution was done to improve the look of the text. From 1622 on, Okes prints almost all of the Lord Mayor's Shows and he may have felt it worthwhile to produce an attractive looking text for Middleton and the Drapers, but since he unfortunately was also very short of type, an urgent need for swash capitals elsewhere may have necessitated their removal and the substitution of the more common italic capital I.

The use of two formes and the printing of C by half-sheet imposition is consonant with Robert K. Turner, Jr.'s study of dramatic texts (excluding pageants) issued from Okes' shop from 1615-26.²⁶ He also concludes that customarily copy was cast-off and that two compositors worked on a text, although they rarely set simultaneously. I have not found any clear evidence in The Triumphs of Integrity to suggest either cast-off copy or the presence of a second compositor. However, given the text's brevity, it is unlikely that the labour of casting-off would have been considered worthwhile. On the other hand the need to print

it quickly might account for the use of two formes. Despite the work done by Turner and by John Russell Brown on Okes' compositors during this period, it has not proved possible to identify the compositor of Q with any studied by them.²⁷

There are good grounds, however, for arguing that Q was set by the compositor responsible for Middleton's Show of the previous year, The Triumphs of Honor and Virtue. The consistency of spelling and punctuation preferences throughout the two pageants suggests that the same compositor set both texts. The significant variations between the two are a stronger preference in Honor and Virtue for -ie endings and absolute preferences for ancient (antient in Q) and -nesse. In Q, however, all but one of the instances of -nes occur in justified lines. Both texts show a constant preference for honor, city (pl. cities), triumph and a mixture of long and short spellings of he/hee etc. In addition the compositor of Honor uses beene in preference to bin-- the preferred form of the compositors studied by Brown and Turner. Q has one example of each. Such consistency is what one would expect given two similar works of much the same date, written by the same author and set by the same compositor, probably from holograph in both cases. At any rate, The Triumphs of Integrity was set by a compositor who had a copy of Honor and Virtue in front of him. The lay-out of title-page, dedication, head-title, and running-titles corresponds very closely. The only differences between the two title-pages are the same preference for -y endings found in the rest of Q rather than the -ie of Honor and Virtue and two variations in the use of italic type.

The printed text retains sufficient of Middleton's orthographical habits to allow the assumption that the compositor's copy was holograph. Contractions again provide the strongest evidence: Middleton's do's occurs twice (B2^V, B4^V) with no spelling variant or instance of doth. In contrast to The Sunne in Aries and The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity, ha's is not used, although there are four instances of hath (A3, A4^V, B4, B4^V). Sh'as, however, occurs on A4. E'm occurs on A4 and C1 with no examples of 'em or them; other dramatic works from Okes' shop use 'em. Other spellings which follow Middleton's known preferences are: honor (honour once in a justified line), toward, improove/proove, the five examples of the preterite in -cst, the retention of -d and -de in about one third of the instances of the voiced preterite and past participle, the retention of the digraph in præceding and cælestiall, and the long form of he/hee etc. in verse lines. Some of these (honor, for example) are likely to be the compositor's preference also. On the other hand, the compositor appears to have preferred the long form of the suffix -nes/nesse (confirmed by Honor and Virtue), setting this nine times and -nes five times. In 4/5 of these instances there was no room for -nesse. He also preferred upon to uppon and the short form of he/hee etc. (both confirmed by Honor and Virtue), although the latter cannot have been a strong preference since the long form occurs seven times in unjustified lines. Other distinct preferences which may be Middleton's as well as the compositor's are city and triumph; both of these are apparent in Honor and Virtue as well as Q, but not in The Sunne in Aries, or Health and Prosperity.

The punctuation of Q is most probably a sophisticated version of Middleton's. In contrast to The Sunne in Aries, its clarity is remarkable, despite heavy use of the comma. Either the copy was cleaner and better arranged or Okes' compositor more adept at dealing with the problems of light authorial punctuation. In Q, for instance, the prose descriptions are subdivided into paragraphs and sentences, rather than being printed, as in The Sunne in Aries, as one long sentence. The reliance on commas is typical of Middleton, even occurring in such short non-spoken directions as The Speech, in the Chariot. The colon is rarely used: ten times in the entire pageant.

The two extant copies of The Triumphs of Integrity, in the Huntington and Morgan Libraries, have been collated for this edition; the Huntington copy being used as copy-text. The pageant has been reprinted twice: in vol. V of Dyce's Works and in vol. VII of Bullen's. Bullen, however, had not seen a copy of it and so merely reproduces Dyce's text, but without always reprinting Dyce's information about his departure from Q.

A2]

TO

The Honor of him, to whom the Noble
Fraternity of Drapers, his Worthy Bro-
thers have Consecrated their Loves, in costly
Triumphs; the Right Honorable, MARTIN
LUMLEY, Lord Maior of this
Renowned City.

5

Thy Descent Worthy, (Fortunes Early Grace)
Sprung of an Antient, and most Generous Race
Mac'ht with a Vertuous Lady; justly may
Challenge the Honor of so Great a Day.

10

Faithfully devoted to the
Worthines of you Both,
Tho. Middleton.

A2^v] blank

A3

THE TRIUMPHS OF

15

Integrity, or a Noble Solemnity
through the City.

Of all Solemnities, by which the Happy inauguration of a Subject is celebrated, I find none that transcends the State and Magnificence of that Pompe prepared to receive his Majesties Great Substitute into his Honorable charge, (the City of London,) Dignified by the Title of the Kings Chamber Royall, which that it may now appeare no lesse hightned with Brotherly Affection, Cost, Art, or Invention, then some other præceeding Triumphs (by which of late times, the Cities Honor hath beene more faithfully 20 illustrated) this takes it's fit occasion to present it selfe. 25

And first to specifie the love of his Noble Fraternity after his Lordshippes returne from Westminster, having received some service upon the water, by a proper and significant Maister-peece of Triumph, called the Imperiall Canopy, 30 being the Antient Armes of the Company, an Invention neither old, nor enforst, the same Glorious and Apt Property, accompanied with foure other Triumphall Pegmes, are in their convenient Stages planted to honor his Lordships progresse through the City; the first for the land, attending his most 35 wished arivall in Pauls-Church-yard, which beares the inscription of a Mount Royall, on which Mount are plac't certaine Kings and great Commanders, which Antient History produces, that were originally sprung from Shepherds, and

humble beginnings; onely the number of Six presented, some
 with Crownes, some with gilt Laurels, holding in their hands
 silver Sheephooke, viz. Viriat, a prime Commander of the
Portugals, renowned amongst the Historians, especially the
Romans, who in battailes of 14 yeares continuance, pur-
 chased many great and honorable victories; Arsaces King
 of the Parthians, who ordained the first Kingdome that
 ever was amongst them, and in the reverence of this Kings
 Name and memory, all others His Successors were called
Arsacides after his Name, as the Roman Emperours tooke the
 Name of Cæsar, for the love of Great Cæsar Augustus;
 Also Marcus Julius Lucinus, Bohemiaes Primislaus, the
 Emperour Pertinax, the Great Victor Tamburlayne, Con-
 queror of Syria, Armenia, Babilon, Mesapotamia, Scythia,
Albania, &c. Many Honorable Worthies more I could pro-
 duce; By their deserts enobling their meane Originals.
 But for the better expression of the purpose in Hand, a
 Speaker lends a voyce to these following words!

40

45

50

55

The Speech in the Mount Royall.

They that with Glory-enflamde hearts, desire
 To see Great Worth deservingly aspire,
 Let e'm draw neere and fixe a serious Eye,
 On this Tryumphant Mount of Royaltye;
 Here they shall finde faire Vertue and her Name,
 From low-obscure Beginnings raysde to Fame,

60

Like Light struck out of Darknes; the meane wombes 65
 No more Eclipse brave Merit, then rich Toombes
 Make the Soule happy; 'tis the Life, and Dying
 Crownes both with Honors Sacred Satisfying;
 And 'tis the Noblest Splendor upon Earth,
 For man to adde a Glory to his Birth 70
 (All his Lifes Race with honor'd Acts commixt)
 Then to be Nobly-borne and there stand fixt;
 A4^v] As if 'twere Competent Vertue for whole Life
 To be Begot a Lord; 'tis vertuous Strife
 That makes the compleate Christian; not high Place, 75
 As true Submission is the State of Grace,
 "The Path to Blisse, lyes in the humblest Feild,
 "Who ever rise to Heaven that never kneeld,
 Although the Roofe hath Supernaturall Height,
 Yet there's no Flesh can thither goe upright: 80
 All this is instanc'st onely to commend,
 The low condition whence these Kings descend;
 David. I spare the * Prince of Prophets in this File,
 And preserve him for a farre Holier Stile,
 Who being King Annoynted, did not scorne 85
 To be a Shepheard after; these were borne
 Shepheards, and rise to Kings, tooke their ascending
 From the strong hand of Vertue, never ending
 Where Shee begins to rayse, untill shee place
 Her Love-sicke Servants equall with her Grace; 90

And by this Dayes great Honor it appeares
 Sh'as much prevaylde amongst the Reverend yeares
 Of these Grave Senators, chiefe of the rest
 Her Favour hath reflected most and best,
 Upon that Sonne whom wee of Honor call,
 And may't Successively reflect on all.

95

From this Mount Royall beautified with the Glory of
 B1 deserving Aspirers, descend we to the Moderne use of this
 Antient and Honorable Mistery, and there we shall finde
 the whole Livery of this most renowned and famous City,
 as upon this Day, and at all Solemne meetings, furnished
 by it; it clothes the Honorable Senators in their highest
 and richest Wearings, all Courts of Justice, Magistrates,
 and Judges of the Land.

100

By this time his Lordship and the Worthy Company being
 gracefully conducted toward the little Conduit in Cheape,
 there another part of the Triumph waytes his Honors happy
 approach, being a Chariot Artfully framde, and properly
 garnished; And on the Conspicuous part thereof is plac't
 the Register of all Heroicke Acts and worthy Men, bearing
 the Title of Sacred Memory, who for the greater Fame of
 this Honorable Fraternity presents the Never-dying Names
 of many memorable and remarkable Worthies of this Antient
 Society, such as were then Famous for State and Government,
 Sir Henry Fitz-alwin Knight, who held the Seate of Magi-

105

110

115

stracy in this City twenty foure yeares together, He sits
 figured under the Person of Government: Sir John Norman,
 the first Lord Maior rowed in Barge to Westminster with
 B1^V] silver Oares at his owne cost and charges, under the
 person of Honor; the Valiant Sir Francis Drake, that rich 120
 Ornament to Memory, (who in two yeares and ten moneths
 space did cast a girdle about the world) under the person
 of Victory; Sir Simon Eyre, (who at his owne cost built
 Leaden Hall, a Granary for the Poore,) under the figure
 of Charity; Sir Richard Champion, and Sir John Milborne, 125
 under the person of Munificence or Bounty; Sir Richard
Hardell, and Sir John Poultney, the one in the seate of
 Magistracy sixe yeares, the other foure yeares together,
 under the figures of Justice, and Piety, That Sir John
 being a Colledge-Founder, in the Parish of St. Lawrence 130
Poultney, by Candle-wick streete; & sic de cæteris.
 This Chariot drawne by two pellited Lyons, being the
 proper Supporters of the Companies Armes, those two upon
 the Lyons presenting Power and Honor, the one in a little
 Streamer or Banneret bearing the Lord Maiors Armes, the 135
 other the Companies.

The Speech, in the Chariot

I am all Memory, and me thinkes I see
 Into the fardest Time, Act, Quality;
 As cleere as if 'twere now begun agen, 140

The Natures, Dispositions, and the Men;

B2

I finde to Godnesse they bent all their powers,

Which very Name makes blushing Times of ours;

They heapt up Vertues, long before they were old,

This Age sits laughing upon Heapes of Gold,

145

We by great Buildings strive to rayse our Names,

But they more truely wise built up their Fames,

Erected faire Examples, large and hie,

Patternes for us to build our Honors by;

For instance onely Memory relates,

150

The Noblest of all City-Magistrates,

Famous Fitz-alwin, naming him alone,

I summe up twenty foure Lord Maiors in one,

For He by free election and consent

Fild all those yeares with vertuous Government;

155

Custome and Time requiring now but one,

How ought that yeare to be well dwelt upon,

It should appeare an Abstract of that worth,

Which former Times in many yeares brought forth,

Through all the life of Man, this is the yeare,

160

Which many wish, and never can come neare,

Thinke and give thanks; to whom this yeare do's come,

The Greatest Subject's made in Christendome;

This is the yeare for whom some long preparte,

And others have their glorious Fortune sharde,

165

But serious in thanksgiving, 'tis a yeare,

B2^V]

To which all Vertues like the people heere
 Should throng and cleave together, for the Place
 Is a fit Match for the whole Stocke of Grace;
 And as men gather wealth, 'gainst the Yeare comes,
 So should they gather Goodnesse with their Summes,
 For 'tis not shewes, Pompe, nor a House of State
 Curiously deckt, that makes a Magistrate,
 'Tis his faire Noble soule, his Wisedome, Care,
 His upright Justnes to the Oath he sware
 Gives him compleate; when such a Man to mee,
 Spreads his Armes open, there my Pallace bee,
 He's both an Honor to the Day so grac'st,
 And to his Brother-hoods love that sees him plac'st,
 And in his faire Deportment there revives,
 The Antient Fame of all His Brothers Lives.

170

175

180

After this, for the full close of the Fore-noones
 Triumph, neere St. Lawrence-lane, his Lordship Receives an
 Entertainment from an unparaleld Maister-peece of Art,
 called the Cristall Sanctuary, stilde by the name of the
 Temple of Integrity, where her Immaculate selfe with all her
 glorious and Sanctimonious Concomitants sit transparently
 seene through the Crystall; and more to expresse the In-
 vention, & the Art of the Engineer, as also for Motion,
 Variety, and the content of the Spectators, this Crystall
Temple, is made to open in many parts, at fit and convenient

185

190

B3

Times, and uppon occasion of the Speech; the Columnes
 or Pillars of this Cristall Sanctuary, are Gold, the
 Battlements Silver, the whole Fabrick for the Night
 Triumph adorned and beautified with many Lights, dis- 195
 persing their glorious Radiances on all sides thorough
 the Cristall.

The Speech from the Sanctuary.

Have you a minde thicke Multitude to see
 A Vertue, neere concernes Magistracy, 200
 Here on my Temple throw your greedy eyes,
 See me, and learne to know me, then y'are wise;
 Looke, and looke through me, I no favour crave,
 Nor keepe I hid the Goodnesse you should have,
 Tis all transparent what I thinke or do, 205
 And with one looke your Eye may pierce me through,
 There's no disguise, or hypocriticke vaile,
 (Usde by adulterous Beauty set to sale)
 Spread o're my actions, for respect or feare,
 Onely a Cristall which approves me cleare; 210
 Would you desire my Name? Integritie,
 One that is ever what she seemes to be,
 B3^V] So manifest, perspicuous, plaine, and cleere
 You may ee'n see my thoughts as they sit here,
 I thinke upon faire Equity and Truth, 215
 And there they sit crownde with eternall Youth,

I fixe my Cogitations upon Love,
 Peace, Meeknes, and those thoughts come from above,
 The Temple of an upright Magistrate,
 Is my faire Sanctuary, Throne, and State; 220
 And as I dare Detractions evillest Eye,
 Sore at the sight of Goodnesse, to espie
 Into my wayes and actions, which lie ope
 To every censure, arm'd with a strong Hope:
 So of Your part ought nothing to be done, 225
 But what the envious Eie might looke upon:
 As Thou art Eminent, so must thy Acts
 Be all Tralucent, and leave worthy Tracts
 For future times to finde, thy very Brest
 Transparent, like this Place wherein I rest: 230
 Vaine doubtings; al thy Daies have bin so cleare
 Never came Nobler Hope to fill a yeare.

At the close of this Speech, this Cristall Temple of
Integritie with all her cœlestiall Concomitants, and the 235
 other parts of Triumph take leave of his Lordship for that
 B4 time, and rest from service til the great Feast be ended,
 after which the whole Body of the Triumph attends upon his
 Honor, both toward St. Paules, and homeward, his Lordship
 accompanied with the Grave and Honorable Senators of the
 City; amongst whom the two worthy Consulls, his Lordships 240
 Grave Assistants for the yeare, the worshipfull and

Generous, Mr. Raph Freeman, and Mr. Thomas Moulson,
 Sheriffes and Aldermen, ought not to passe of my
 respect unremembred; whose Bounty and Noblenesse will
 proove best their owne Expressers.

245

Neere the entrance of woodstreete, that part of
 Triumph being planted to which the concluding Speech hath
 chiefly reference, and the rest, about the Crosse, I
 thought fit in this place to give this it's full Illustra-
 tion; It being an Invention both glorious and proper to 250
 the Company, bearing the name of the thrice Royall Canopie
 of State, being the honored Armes of this Fraternity, the
 three Imperiall Crownes cast into the Forme and Bignesse
 of a Triumphall Pageant, with Cloude and Sun-beames, those
 Beames by Enginous Art made often to mount and spred like 255
 a Golden and Glorious Canopy over the Deified persons that
 B4^v] are plac't under it, | which are eight in number, figuring
 the eight Beatitudes, To improove which conceite, Beati
Pacifici, being the Kings word or Motto, is set in faire
 great Letters, neare the uppermost of the three Crownes; 260
 and as in all great Edifices or Buildings, the Kings Armes
 is especially remembred, as a Honor to the Building and
 Builder in the Frontispice: so is it comely and requisite
 in these matters of Triumph framed for the Inauguration of
 his great Substitute, the Lord Maior of London, that some 265
 remembrance of Honour should reflect upon his Majesty, by
 whose peacefull Government under Heaven we enjoy the

Solemnity!

The speech, having Reference to
this Imperiall Canopy, being
the Drapers Armes.

270

The Blessednesse, Peace, Honor, and Renowne,
This Kingdome do's enjoy under the Crowne,
Worne by that Royall Peace-maker, our King,
(So oft preservde from Dangers menacing)
Makes this Armes, (glorious in it selfe) outgoe
All that Antiquity could ever showe,

275

And thy Fraternity hath strivde t'appeare
In all their course, worthy the Armes they beare,

C1

Thrice have They Crown'd their Goodnes this one Day
With Love, with Care, with Cost; by which they may
By their Deserts most justly these Armes claime,
Got once by Worth, now Trebly held by Fame:

280

Shall I bring Honor to a larger Feild,
And show what Royall Businesse these Armes yeild?

285

First the three Crownes affords a Divine scope,
Set for the Graces, Charity, Faith, and Hope;

Which Three the onely safe Combiners be,

Of Kingdomes, Crownes, and every Company;

Likewise with just propriety they may stand

290

For those three Kingdomes swaide by the meek Hand
Of Blest James; England, Scotland, Ireland;

The Cloud that swells beneath e'm, may imply
 Some Envious Mist cast forth by Heresie,
 Which through his happy Raigne, and Heavens blest will, 295
 The sun-beames of the Gospell strikes through still;
 More to assure it to Succeeding Men,
 We have the Crowne of Brittaines Hope agen,
 (Illustrious Charles our Prince,) which all will say,
 Addes the chiefe Joy and Honor to this Day: 300
 And as three Crownes, three Fruites of Brotherhood
 By which all Loves Worth may be understood,
 So threefold Honor makes the Royall Sute
 In the King, Prince, and the Kings Substitute:
 Cl^v] : By th' eight Beatitudes, Yee understand 305
 The Fulnesse of all Blessings to this Land,
 More chiefly to this City, whose safe Peace
 Good Angels guard, and Goodmens prayers encrease:
 May all succeeding-Honor'd Brothers bee,
 With as much Love brought Home, as Thine brings Thee. 310

For all the Proper Adornments of Arte and Workmanship
 in so short a Time so gracefully setting forth the Bodie of
 so Magnificent a Triumph the prayse comes as a just due to
 the Exquisit Deservings of Mr. Garret Crismas, whose faith-
 full performances still take the upper hand of his promises. 315

FINIS.

Press-variants in Q (1623)

Copies collated: CSmH (Henry E. Huntington Library), NNP (Pierpont Morgan Library).

Sheet B (inner forme)

Corrected: NNP

Uncorrected: CSmH

Sig. B4

RT Integrity.] Integrity.

Sheet B (outer forme)

Corrected: CSmH

Uncorrected: NNP

Sig. B1

RT Integrity.] Integrity.

Sig. B3

RT Integrity.] Integrity.

Substantive Changes

114 then] ed.; the Q, Dyce

258 which] Dyce; with Q

Emendations of Accidentals

29 service] serviee

57 following] followings

59-96] *italic in Q*

119 charges,] ~,

120 Honor;] ~,

123 Victory;] ~,

125 Charity;] ~,

126 Munificence] Munificenee

126 Bounty;] ~,

138-81] *italic in Q*

191 Temple] (Tem/ple); cw. ple

199-232] *italic in Q*

272-310] *italic in Q*

Critical Notes

8 Thy...Grace] Perhaps Middleton had forgotten this when he praised the lowly origins of the kings and commanders on the Mount Royal.

9 Race] Lumley's grandfather, Domenico Lomelin or Lomelili was a Genoese who settled in London and became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Henry VIII.

10 Lady] Lumley married twice: 1) Margaret Whithorne or Witham 2) Mary Symons. I have been unable to determine the dates of the marriages.

18-21 inauguration...London] Cf. Dekker, Britannias Honor (IV, 82), "More to Proclaime his Greatnesse, what Vice-roy is install'd with louder popular acclamations? What Deputie to his Sovereigne goes along with such Triumphes?"

22 Kings...Royall] A common term for the capital city, signifying the harmony between it and the Crown.

23-26 no lesse...illustrated] The two previous pageants had been written by Middleton himself. Repeated in THP.

27 specifie] "To exhibit or show (a quality, etc.) to advantage or in a special manner." The OED cites no e.g. later than 1575 for this sense.

29-30 some service...Canopy] For the vexed question of the relationship between Munday's The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece and TI, see pp.174-76.

31-32 Invention...enforst] Middleton seems to be forestalling any charge of lack of originality in either the conception or making of the device. He and Christmas had used a variant on it in 1621, and while perhaps the inclusion of such a tableau was not "enforst," the Drapers undoubtedly expected that one part at least of the Show would focus on their history and traditions.

32 Property] Dyce and Bullen define respectively as "article" and "furniture" for the pageant. Clearly, however, the reference is not to a "prop" of any kind, but rather to the tableau as a whole. OED does not include this sense.

33 four] In addition to the Imperial Canopy, Middleton only describes the Mount Royal, the Chariot of Sacred Memory, and the Temple of Integrity. The missing tableau may be Munday's Argo.

33 Pegmes] pageant structures. OED, citing Jonson (H&S, VII, 90) "In the centre...of the Pegme, there was An Aback or Square, wherein this Elogie was written" and this e.g., defines as "movable stage or scaffold used in theatrical displays." From the Latin pegma.

37 Mount Royall] Middleton also used a Mount Royal for the Parliament of Honour in TLA (VII, 325).

39 Shepheards] especially appropriate in a Drapers' pageant.

41 Crownes...Laurels] The crowns are for the kings and the laurels for the commanders.

42 Viriat] or Viriathus; a shepherd who became a skilful guerilla leader in the Lusitanian rebellion against the Romans. Between c. 145 and 139 BC (when he was assassinated) he made himself master of the Iberian peninsula. He appears in Jack of Newberry's picture gallery in Deloney's tale, Works, ed. F. O. Mann (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), pp. 40-42; and as one of Fortune's minions in Dekker's Old Fortunatus (I, 122).

43-44 Historians...Romans] Viriat's career is examined in Appian's history of the Roman conquest of Spain (based on non-extant material by Polybius); his origin as a shepherd is recorded by Pliny.

45 Arsaces] Of obscure origins he became the first king of Parthia c. 250 BC, and reigned two years before being assassinated.

51 Lucinus] There is no entry for anyone of this name in Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi. It is possible that Middleton intended to refer to Valerius Licinianus Licinius, a Dacian peasant who became Augustus from AD 308-24. He was deposed and executed by Constantine.

51 Premislaus] Premysl the legendary founder of the Premyslid dynasty; originally a ploughman and later a noted law-giver. He appears in both Deloney and Old Fortunatus.

52 Pertinax] Supposedly the son of a weaver, he became a distinguished general under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. With the support of the Praetorian Guard he succeeded Commodus on 1 January AD 193, but was assassinated on 28 March of that year. In A Game at Chess the Black Knight comments on "the parsimony of Pertinax, / Who had half-lettuces

set up to serve again" (VII, 122). Another occupant of Jack of Newberry's gallery.

52 Tamburlayne] see J. H. Kaplan, "Middleton's Tamburlaine," English Language Notes, 13 (1976), 258-60. He is also used by John Taylor as an e.g. of an honourable shepherd in Taylors Pastorall (1624), sig. B3 and The Triumphs of Fame and Honour (1634), sigs. B1^V-B2^V. Another of Fortune's minions in Old Fortunatus.

54 Honorable Worthies] The moral worth of most of these figures, despite their worldly success, seems questionable.

56-57 But...words] repeated in THP.

63 Name] "The name of a person or group of persons, with the implication of all the individuals bearing, or comprehended under, it; those having a certain name; hence family, clan, people" (OED, sense 4b). Hence all those united by Virtue.

65 Like...Darknes] Middleton's use of the opposition of light and darkness to reinforce the moral allegory is common to all his mayoral shows. Similar images also occur in the plays, see WBW, II, ii, 425-8; The Changeling, III, iv, 14-17; V, i, 58-60.

72 stand fixt] perhaps glancing at "Race," 1.71.

83 File] "a catalogue, list, roll," obs. (OED, sense 3c).

85-86 Who...after] David for a time continued looking after his father's sheep after he had been anointed by Samuel (1 Samuel 17).

93 Grave Senators] Directed at the speaker's immediate audience, the Aldermen and Lord Mayor.

95 Sonne...Honor] a frequent designation of Middleton's for his patrons, cf. II (VII, 236).

98-104] Middleton expresses this sentiment less politely in Michaelmas Term "you know 'tis term time, and Michaelmas term too, the drapers' harvest for foot-cloths, riding-suits, walking-suits, chamber-gowns, and hall gowns" (I, 254). Cf. Dekker's eulogy of furs in the Skinners' pageant Britannias Honor (IV, 90):

The reverend Judge, and all that climbe the trees
Of Sacred Artes, ascend to their Degrees,
And by the colours chang'd of Furres are knowne:
What Dignity, each Corporation,
Puts on by Furres...

109-11 Conspicuous...Memory] suggesting that again an inscription was used to indicate the significance of the tableau.

115 Fitz-alwin] See notes to SA, p. 156-7 for biographical details of Fitz-Alwin and the other worthies. Fitz-Alwin, Norman, and Eyre reappear figured by the same or similar virtues in the Chariot of Honor in THP.

120-21 rich...Memory] The Grocers' worthies in THV are similarly described as "fair ornaments to memory" (VII, 363).

133 Supporters] heraldic beasts granted to the Company in 1571.

145 This...Gold] Cf. THV (VII, 367) where Middleton deplores the worldliness of those who make "friends / Of Mammon's heaps, got by unrighteous

ends"; Father Hubbard's Tale (VIII, 104) "The golden age that was is coin'd to gold."

162 Thinke...thanks] Cf. the admonishing of the Lord Mayor in THV (VII, 361) to "think and be thankfull still."

172-73 House...deckt] The Companies generally contributed towards beautifying the Lord Mayor's house when one of their members held the office.

188-89 Invention...Engineer] Middleton praises both Christmas' conception of the structure and his execution of it.

194-85 Night Triumph] That part of the triumph which took place after dark, i.e. the procession to St. Paul's and to the Mayor's house. The speech marks the end of the morning's celebrations.

199 thicke Multitude] vocative; thick=crowded.

201 greedy] non-pejorative, "eager."

202-10 See me...cleare] Cf. Truth in II who wears "on her breast a pure round crystal, showing the brightness of her thoughts and actions" (VII, 244). Zeal explains that "by that crystal mirror at her breast// The cleareness of her conscience is exprest."

208 adulterous...sale] combining comment on Beauty's lack of purity as well as her essentially spurious, counterfeit nature.

208 set to sale] put up for sale.

209 respect] probably pejorative, "discrimination, partiality, or favour in regard of persons or things" (OED).

215 Equity and Truth] two of Integrity's "glorious and Sanctimonious Concomitants." The others are the Love, Peace, and Meekness of ll. 217-18.

219 Temple] punning on the bodily and spiritual meanings of temple. The Temple of Integrity is an allegorical representation of the "upright Magistrate," see ll. 227-30.

221 Detractions] Middleton frequently warns the magistrate against the envious spite of others. Cf. "the Gusts of Envie, Billowes of despight" to be negotiated by the Lord Mayor in SA, l. 65 and the "Detraction to Peace" of The Peacemaker (VIII, 327-334). As early as 1598 Middleton prefixed to Micro-cynicon "His Defiance to Envy" (VIII, 114).

225 Your] referring now to the magistrate not the multitude.

226 envious Eie] Detraction's.

228 Tracts] combining the senses of both track and the modern tract.

242 Freeman] a Clothworker; Alderman of Bishopsgate 1622-32 and of Cornhill 1632-34; Sheriff 1623-24; Lord Mayor 1633-34; died 1634 while in office. A leading member of the Levant Co.

242 Moulson] one of a family of London merchants, brother-in-law to Nicholas Rainton; Alderman of Queenhithe 1623-27 and of Broad St. 1627-38; Sheriff 1623-24; Lord Mayor 1634 after Freeman's death; knighted

1634. He was a leading member of the Merchant Adventurers and was M.P. for London 1628-29.

247 planted] "Set up" during the ceremony at St. Paul's.

249 Illustration] explanation.

251 Royall Canopie] i.e. the Imperial Canopy of the water show. The three crowns originally signified the Imperial crowns of the Virgin. However, when the Company obtained a fresh coat-of-arms in 1613 William Seger, Garter King of Arms, "corrected" them, giving them arches as in royal crowns. Hence the "Royall Busnesse" implied by them.

253 Forme and Bignes] see p.186.

255 Enginous] probably combining both senses in OED 1) clever, ingenious 2) partaking of the nature of an engine. The canopy may resemble the "bright-spreading canopy, stuck thick with stars, and beams of gold shooting forth round about it" of IT (VII, 252).

258 eight Beatitudes] Middleton alludes to these the previous year in the Globe of Honor in THV. They also appeared in Elizabeth's Coronation show.

263 Frontispice] usually applied to either "the decorated entrance of a building" or "the pediment over a door, gate, etc." Middleton probably also intends the now obsolete sense of "the summit of a building" (OED). The Drapers' arms are the summit of this tableau.

267-68 peacefull...Solemnity] Cf. Dekker, T-NT (III, 230), "Tryumphes,

are the most choice and daintiest fruit that spring from Peace and Abundance." The same theme is sounded in Heywood's Londini Status Pacatus (1639).

274 Peace-maker] The title of Middleton's 1618 pamphlet.

280-81 Thrice...Cost] i.e. corresponding to the three crowns. Similarly, Deserts, Worth, and Fame in the next two lines.

284 Field] glancing at the heraldic sense, the surface on which the charge is depicted.

287-89 Graces...Company] the three theological virtues. The triple crowns also represent them. In THP Middleton uses the four Cardinal Virtues in a similar way as the foundation of all institutions.

292 Blest] for his peace-making and his meekness.

293-300] The cloud is an adumbrated version of the mist of Error in II. A reference to fears of Catholic domination if Prince Charles had married the Infanta. His safe return from Spain earlier in October had been greeted by wild rejoicing.

303 Royall Sute] The analogy is from cards; a royale is to hold King, Queen, and Jack of the same suit.

312 so...Time] no exaggeration; the Company started preparations on 22 Sept.

NOTES

¹Biographical details are drawn from Beaven, II, 53, 177; Cokayne, pp. 97-8; and Johnson, IV, 418, 449.

²A. L. Rowse, Sex and Society in Shakespeare's England (New York: Scribner, 1971), pp. 182-3. 1595 is the most likely date; the sense of this passage in Rowse is confused--he refers only to July. This would make Lumley only about fifteen; however, the reference cannot be to his father because James Lumley died in 1592. Munday claims in his 1633 continuation of Stow's Survey that Watling St. was favoured by Drapers.

³In the 17th century it seems to have been increasingly common for a Draper Lord Mayor to serve as Master of the Company at the same time. In the case of Lumley, Abbot, and Garway, it was their second term as Master.

⁴Johnson, IV, 96, gives a figure of £707. 18. 10, but he does not include all the minor expenses from the Wardens' and the Renter's Accounts. The Renter was the official in charge of rents from Company property.

⁵"The LMS for 1623," PMLA, 30 (1915), 110-16. There is no evidence that TI was printed before 29 Oct., see p. 310.

⁶Bentley, IV, 926, apparently accepts Withington's contention; Bergeron, Civic Pageantry, pp. 161, 193 and "Anthony Munday: Pageant Poet to the City of London," Huntington Library Quarterly, 30 (1967), 366-367, refers only to the "collaborative" effort of 1623.

⁷S. Williams, "The LMS from Peele to Settle," p. 142. In view of the Drapers' expenditure on Middleton and Christmas' share of the Show and the briefness of Munday's contribution, this seems exceedingly unlikely. If the reference is to Munday's text this would be the first certain instance of printing taking place before the show. It is equally possible, however, that the "books" were Munday's accounts.

⁸In 1621 71 Bachelors participated, together with about 130 poor men, and perhaps 44 gentlemen ushers. The 1626 procession was on a slightly smaller scale.

⁹Again, there is no evidence as to who the children were or whether they were the only participants.

¹⁰"Middleton's Tamburlaine," English Language Notes, 13 (1976), 259, n.4; MSC III, p. xxxviii.

¹¹Kaplan, pp. 258-60.

¹²The Triumphs of Fame and Honour (London, 1634), sigs. B1^V-B2^V. The sentiments of the speech seem to have been drawn from an earlier work of Taylor's, Taylor's Pastoral (London, 1624) sigs. B1, B3 where Apollo and Tamburlaine are featured as honourable pagan shepherds (the pamphlet also praises recent Draper Lord Mayors), see S. Williams, "A LMS by John Taylor the Water Poet," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 41 (1959), 527-28.

¹³H&S VII, 346.

¹⁴Inigo Jones (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1973), I, 216.

¹⁵Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage, 2nd ed. (1938: rpt. New York: Blom, 1963), pp. 136-7.

¹⁶Lighting was also important in Oberon, see Orgel and Strong, I, 206.

¹⁷The Goldsmiths' plates are reproduced in Morrissey, "English Pageant-Wagons," p. 356.

¹⁸Osborn, The Quenes Majesties Passage, p. 41. Middleton also alludes to the Beatitudes in THV (VII, 367).

¹⁹The emphasis on citizen virtues varies from pageant to pageant of Middleton's, cf. the stress on industry in THI. He is always more subtle, however, than Taylor who, in The Triumphs of Fame and Honour, sig. A8, urges the apprentices: "Worke on my Lads, and you in time may be, / Good members of this Honour'd Company."

²⁰W. A. Jackson, Records of the Stationers' Co., p. 158.

²¹John Russell Brown, ed. The Duchess of Malfi (London: Methuen, 1964), p. lxii.

²²These are described and traced by C. W. Miller, "A London Ornament Stock: 1598-1683," Studies in Bibliography, 7 (1955), pp. 125-51.

²³In drawing the following conclusions, I am indebted to J. H. Kaplan for measuring and analysing the rts on the Huntington copy.

²³It is possible that a different skeleton was used to print outer A, although in this case one might expect the sole rt to reappear in one forme of sheet B.

²⁴The alternatives involve stopping the press three times during the printing of the two formes or, assuming that the Huntington outer B was the prior state and went through the press first, the substitution of the more common non-swash Is, followed by the replacement of only one of them. This seems less likely.

²⁶"Notes on the Text of Thierry and Theodoret, Q1, 1621," Studies in Bibliography, 14 (1961), 222-3.

²⁷Brown, The Duchess of Malfi, pp. lx-lxvi; "The Printing of John Webster's Plays II," Studies in Bibliography, 8 (1956), 123-7; Turner, ed. Philaster and Thierry and Theodoret in The Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, gen ed. Fredson Bowers, I, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966), 373, 376; III, (1976), 107. Application of their evidence to TI produces contradictory results, partly because the majority of words used in their spelling tests are not common enough in TI to be of much use.

THE TRIUMPHS OF Health and Prosperity.

*A Noble Solemnity performed through
the City, at the sole Cost and Charges of the Ho-
norable Fraternity of DRAPERS, at the Inauguration
of their most Worthy Brother, The Right Honorable
CUTHBERT HACKET, Lord Mayor of the
Famous City of London.*

BY THO. MIDDLETON Gent.



Imprinted at London by Nicholas Okes, dwelling in
Foster-lane. MDC XXVI.

Figure 13.

THE TRIUMPHS OF HEALTH AND PROSPERITY

Critical Introduction

The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity celebrated the inauguration in 1626 of the sixth Draper Lord Mayor in twelve years, Cuthbert Hacket. In fact, Hacket had been a member of the Dyers' Company until 1626 but was then translated to the Drapers' Company in accordance with City custom so that he might serve as Lord Mayor.¹ Little is known of his career; he was Alderman of Portsoken from 1616-24 and of Bridge from 1624 until his death in 1631. In marked contrast to their reluctance over Edward Barkham, the Drapers apparently accepted him without demur. He was listed as an Assistant in the Minutes for 1625-26 and, like Martin Lumley in 1623, was Master of the Company during his mayoralty. Since the Master's year of office began in August he was therefore in a position to influence the preparations made for his triumph.

These preparations parallel those for Martin Lumley's inauguration in 1623. On September 20 1626 the Court of Assistants consider the financial provisions for "the better ease of the yonge men of this Company in their chardge towardes those Showes." It orders the raising of six to eight Bachelors, over and above their Wardens, to the Livery at the accustomed rate of forty marks (£26. 13. 04.) and empowers the Company's Wardens "in the meane tyme" to "provyde to make such Showes and tryumphes as the tyme and occasion will require."² Three weeks later, however, on October 13 the Assistants decide that it will be necessary to admit ten

men to the Livery. Should the £266. 13. 04 raised by this means, in conjunction with the fines "for and aboute the service" be insufficient, then the balance shall be "supplied had and disbursed out of this Companies moneys by the Rentor warden or the Rentor" (p.346). In fact, the remaining £284. 12. 06 was obtained in the usual way by nominating fifty-four Bachelors to serve in foynes and fifty-two in budge at a fixed rate, and fining those who refused to participate.

Unfortunately, none of the information available tells us who was responsible for choosing Middleton and Christmas to prepare the Show, or even whether, as in 1621, the committees scrutinized several applications before making their choice. If the Company determined on Middleton and Christmas on the basis of their satisfactory performance in 1621 and 1623 they were to be sadly disappointed this time. The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity is one of the few pageants where the Company involved was sufficiently discontented with the result of the writer's and artificer's labours to deny them complete payment.³ On 31 December 1626, the Minutes of the Court of Assistants note "Mr Middleton and Mr Christmas referred to the Wardens for their demaundes touchinge the pageantes/ Item the paymente of Mr Middleton and Mr Christmas for the Pageantes and of others for the fireworkes and providinge of Chambers beinge hetherto putt of in regarde of the ill performance thereof is nowe referred to the wardens Batchelors of this Company whoe are willinge to compound and agree with the parties the best they may giving them contentmente as the busines shall deserve and as shalbe fitt the credit of this Company." (p.346). The result of this negotiation can be seen

in the Wardens Bachelors' Accounts. The Bachelors' year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas and so the figures in the 1626/7 account for Hacket's triumph must be those finally agreed upon. Middleton and Christmas receive £125 for four devices whereas they had received £140 in 1621 and £150 in 1623. Similarly Richard Jones is paid £8 for greenmen and fireworks, although John Walker had been paid £8. 10. 00 for the same services in 1623. Jones also provides 140 chambers for £31 whereas his predecessor had supplied 120 for £35. One reason for these lower figures is the Company's dissatisfaction with the work.

R. C. Bald has coupled the Drapers' disappointment with this pageant to the City's reluctance to pay Middleton and Christmas for their work on the abandoned Coronation Show for Charles I of 1625-6. He suggests that "the two charges, coming so close together, seem to point to some sort of peculation; whether Middleton and Christmas, having control of the expenditure of the money, spent as little as possible so that there would be the more left over for them, or whether they entered into a profit-sharing agreement with the contractors cannot, of course, be known."⁴ While this interpretation is possible, it is not necessary to conclude that Middleton and Christmas were guilty of fraud in either or both instances. The case for the Coronation show rests on two entries in the City Repertories: in Janaury 1626 the Court of Aldermen "upon informacion given unto this Court by the maister and wardens of the company of Paynter-stayners London...of abuses and badd workmanshapp in and about the contrivings and payntings of the Pagents" order certain senior Aldermen, including Barkham, Lumley, and Hacket, and certain Painter-stainers to

"vêiwe the Pagents also the Crosse in Cheape, and the work done in the Exchange, and sufficientlie to informe themselves of the abuses any waie comitted in and aboute the workmanship thereof." Unfortunately we do not know what these men decided, but it is unlikely that Hacket and the other two Draper Assistants would have been willing to employ the two later in the year had they been seriously delinquent. Since, however, the charges were made by the Painter-stainers (who, on account of their expertise, were customarily made responsible for overseeing the workmanship of the Royal Entry),⁵ it seems improbable that they were completely unfounded. In any case, whatever dissatisfaction there was seems aimed primarily at Christmas and his workmen rather than Middleton.

The second entry is from June 1626; the Aldermen, considering the money already paid to Christmas for the Coronation show for "the fynishing of the three pageants, and for the performance of the shewes" thought "fitt and soe ordered the said Mr.Christmas and Mr Middleton referring themselves unto this Court, that noe further moneys shalbe paid unto either of them, but that Mr Christmas shall forthwith cause the said Pagents to bee taken downe, and to have the same for his full satisfaccion." Later that month the Aldermen authorize the payment of £100 "over and above what alreadie hee hath received out of the Chamber of London in full sattisfaccion and demande for the settinge upp of three pageants." The important point here is that these entries refer to decisions made after the King's order to cease preparations and pull down the pageants already set up had been received (on 26 May). Naturally, the Aldermen were, from this point on, anxious to minimize any further unnecessary expenditure, and it is probably on this account

rather than from any dissatisfaction with the work that the Court ordered a stop in payment. In the end, Christmas at least, having received the three pageants, £100, and whatever had previously been disbursed, cannot have done too badly. The evidence of the Coronation show suggests that there may well have been some bad workmanship, but that ultimately the City did not seem to have been dissatisfied with the performance of the partners.

In the case of The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity the complaints clearly centre on its "ill performance." Since the Assistants include the provider of fireworks and chambers, Richard Jones, in their censure, it seems that their discontent was directed primarily at what happened on the day itself, rather than at the conception of the Show or the workmanship involved. This would square with the control exercised by the Wardens Bachelors over the entire proceedings; it is doubtful that they would have tolerated shoddy work. But, as Munday's experience in 1609 shows, many things could go wrong during the performance, and such lapses were viewed sourly by the Company when it came to settle accounts.

Having said this to rescue Middleton from Bald's charge of peculation, it cannot be denied that The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity is his worst pageant. The occasion itself offered an unusual opportunity to depart from the customary sentiments and express the City's rejoicing at the accession of a new monarch, the abatement of the plague, and the restoration of plenty, but the Show fails to live up to the promise of its title. If Bald is wrong in imputing dishonesty to Middleton, he is

certainly right in commenting on the loss of enthusiasm apparent in the text. This is especially demonstrated in Middleton's reliance on previous work in the genre. He does manage some originality in the speeches, although two of these, the speech of Gouvernement from the Chariot of Honor and the final one, have no intrinsic connection with their physical settings. However, the prose descriptions are almost completely cobbled up from previous pageants. The potential of the first tableau is dissipated by lack of organization in the remainder of the text, and the final tableau is not even described; Middleton perfunctorily informs us in passing that the Fragrant Garden of England takes its farewell of the Lord Mayor "accompanied with the Fountayne of Vertue, being the fourth part of the Tryumph." In addition the pageant is conspicuous for its brevity--running to a mere 230 lines.⁶ Had the Drapers chosen to take issue with Middleton for the carelessness of his writing they would surely have been justified.

Nevertheless, the reasons behind the unsatisfactory performance may reflect on the Company as well as on Middleton, Christmas, and Jones. The celebrations for Lord Mayor Hacket cost a mere £545. 13. 08, making it one of the two cheapest Lord Mayor's Shows in the period 1610-39.⁷ Its low cost is presumably in part a result of re-negotiating the payments to Middleton, Christmas, and Jones, but a comparison of the Bachelors' Accounts of 1623 for Martin Lumley's triumph with those of 1626 shows that wherever possible the Company paid less for the same or only slightly reduced services.⁸ Thus in 1626 Tilbury Strange is

paid £18 for the gallyfoist, compared to £23 in 1623. Similarly the cost of the thirteen cloths for making poor mens' gowns and coats is down from £108. 10. 00 to £106. Other economies are in the making of the gowns, the Under-Marshall's fee, and the reduced number of musicians. In addition, the lack of any elaborate mechanical devices in the pageant such as those Christmas and Middleton provided for The Triumphs of Integrity indicates the Company's unwillingness to pay for them. Certainly it seems that where possible the Company drove a harder bargain than in the past; under such conditions it would not be surprising if it did not get such good service.

This attempt to economize, which must have been sanctioned by Hacket as Master of the Company, can be explained by two factors. First, 1625 had been an especially bad year for the City, approximately one sixth of its population died of the plague, and the unusually wet spring and summer produced a disastrous harvest with attendant famine and poverty; this further depressed trade, never very healthy throughout the 1620s. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the Company wished to cut back on expenses. Furthermore, the Bachelors had been required to pay out an unusually large amount over the preceding twelve years for the triumphs of their brethren, and it seems likely that Hacket and the Assistants would thus endeavour to forestall any discontent among the depleted ranks of the Bachelors on whom the burden of costs fell. These circumstances are reflected in the reduction of the number of poor men to about one hundred and twenty and the other economies.

The pageant itself starts well; even if he has used it before, Middleton's declaration that "there is no Subject upon earth received into the place of his Gouvernement with the like State and Magnificence" effectively draws on the Londoner's response to the pre-eminence of his city. And this is especially appropriate since the City, as Middleton explains in the first speech, is now restored to fruitfulness and plenty after its recent tribulations. The opening tableau, in the form of a Beautiful Hill or Fragrant Garden complete with flowers, fruit, lambs, sheep, and a rainbow, represents London, the "most pleasant garden of England." Glynne Wickham includes this structure in his discussion of the arbour, but while as a garden it obviously has close affinities with this, it is essentially yet another variation on Middleton's favourite device, the mount.⁹ As with so many of the pageant structures, there is a two-level playing area, the raised "platforme" or Hill and the bed of the wagon. On the Hill itself is a variety of symbolic flowers and fruits, presumably similar to the ones "most artificially molded to the life" in the Hortus Euporiae arch of James I's Coronation show,¹⁰ and, arched above it, is the rainbow, symbol of God's mercy. On the lower level are the lambs and sheep, the woolly creatures that "graze on the Beautie" of the tableau. It is elucidated by an unnamed speaker; the frequency of such unidentified spokesmen in this Show being perhaps another instance of Middleton's lack of interest. Despite this, the close relationship of speech to structure makes it the most successful of the entire Show.

The calamities of 1625 and early 1626 were followed by the abatement

of the plague and an unusually good harvest, so that by August the City was able to celebrate a service of thanksgiving for the restoration of plenty. It is against this background of disaster followed by renewed prosperity that Middleton sets his tableau. The use of the garden to represent the flourishing of the city or nation is, of course, common in European pageantry, and Middleton combines this aspect of the tableau with the Drapers' own iconography to reinforce his point. The Drapers' sheep are not only the basis of the wealth of that Company, but of the entire kingdom. Even in London, centre of diversified trade that it was, 3/4 to 9/10 of exports were derived in some way from wool.¹¹ Its symbolic value is stressed by Middleton immediately before the speech: "this renowned and famous City furnished by it, it clothes the honorable Senators in their highest and chiefest wearing, all Courts of Justice, Magistrates and Judges of the Land." The society of Drapers becomes a microcosm of the wider society; the flowers and fruits decorating the tableau represent "the sweete odors of their Vertue and Goodnesses, and the fruites of their workes of Justice and Charity, which have bene both Honorable Brothers and bounteous benefactors of this antient Fraternity."

Middleton is able to use the implications of the images of garden and rainbow to combine both an allegorical and a more literal presentation of the City's situation. On one level the speech celebrates the cessation of the storms which have flooded the garden and destroyed its prosperity:

The Garden springs agen, the Violet Beds,
The lofty Flowers beare up their fragrant heads;
Fruit over-lade their Trees, Barnes cracke with store.
(11. 76-78)

This reflects the actual situation of 1625 and 1626, but, of course, the storm has a significance beyond the merely climatological. The "Cloude of grieve" becomes the plague which has hung over the City, symbol of the wrath of God;¹² its dissipation, signified by the covenant of the rainbow, marks the return of London to God's grace, and this in turn is manifested allegorically by the abundance of fruit and flowers. And, as the anonymous speaker points out, what better way for the City to celebrate this than when "like Jems unvalued her best joyes she weares," she honours her chief citizen in a public festival which reminds all men of their responsibilities to others?

what's requir'd?
That which in conscience ought to be desir'd;
Care and Uprightnesse in the Magistrates place,
And in all men Obedience, Truth and Grace.
(11. 82-86)

This alone will ensure the City's continuing well-being, both material and spiritual.

The second tableau, the Sanctuary of Prosperity, focuses more closely on the duties of the magistrate. This is an arched structure, built on pillars, probably closely resembling the Pallace of Apollo in Dekker's Londons Tempe (1629), for which a sketch by Abram Booth survives. Its physical shape symbolizes the virtues necessary to society: "the foure faire Corinthian Columnes or Pillars, imply the foure principall Vertues Wisedome, Justice, Fortitude, Temperence, the especiall upholders of Kingdomes, Cities and Honorable Societies." Again Middleton uses the Drapers' Company as a microcosm of the city and the kingdom. The

manifestation of prosperity that hangs on the top arch of the Sanctuary is the Golden Fleece, crest of the Drapers and symbol of English wealth. The two exemplars used by the speaker to instruct the Lord Mayor, Jason and his English incarnation Sir Francis Drake, are both closely associated with the Company. Like them, the Mayor is embarking on a perilous voyage in search of the Fleece, in his case the Fleece of Fame. On the sea of the world, however, the physical dangers of rocks, gulfs, and quicksands faced by Jason and Drake, have become "malice, spite, / Envy, Detraction of all Noble Right." These moral perils can only be safely navigated by "th' Compasse of a Vertuous name." The tableau thus effectively follows from the preceding one by emphasizing the magistrate's role in the maintenance of prosperity. His virtue becomes a mainstay of society and, in reward for his successful practise of it, he will attain the Fleece of Fame. At the same time, Middleton, by his choice of precedents, contrives to honour the Company to which Hacket belongs.

From this point on, however, the coherence of the pageant deteriorates. "More to encourage the Noble endeavours of the Magistrate," the Lord Mayor is conducted to the third device, the Chariot of Honor, which had previously done service as the water show. Unfortunately, the physical structure of the device has been lifted directly from the Chariot of Sacred Memory in the previous Show by Middleton and Christmas for the Drapers' Company, The Triumphs of Integrity. Like that Chariot, this one is drawn by Power and Honor seated on the two pelted lions, supporters of the Company's arms, and contains Virtues representing the usual crop

of Drapers' worthies. In this case, however, only the three most important, Fitz-Alwin, John Norman, and Simon Eyre merit description, the rest being dismissed with an Et sic de cæteris. The chariot itself is one with hierarchical seating, the "most Eminent seate" being given to Governement, "the proper Vertue by which we rayse the noble memory of Sir Henry Fitz-Alwin, who held the Seate of Magistracy in this City twenty foure yeares together."

Although this is the only speech in the pageant with an identified speaker, it has virtually nothing to do with the tableau itself. If Middleton really intended it to raise the noble memories of worthy Drapers; then it must be accounted a failure. The speech, a disquisition on the responsibilities of various parts of the body politic (each symbolized in good conventional fashion by the appropriate part of the human body), concentrating on the duties of London, the heart of the kingdom, is suitable for a figure named Governement, but not, even allowing for its appropriateness to Fitz-Alwin, to Governement in that particular setting. Having outlined the function of sovereign, Privy Council, temporal and spiritual lawgivers, and soldiers in terms of head, eyes, lips, and arms, Middleton devotes the rest of the speech to the City, situated "ith' middle of the Land / It ha's as in the body the Heartes place...The place where now you are." As the heart is the fountain of the body's life, so London is the fount of Affection, Duty, and Zeal. These qualities she has always shown to the King and, in accordance with her role, has taught them to "all Cities through the Common-weale." The love of the City for its chief citizen and, through him, the King whose

substitute he is, is demonstrated in miniature by the Drapers' readiness to provide this triumph for Hacket. All this is quite appropriate to a Lord Mayor's Show, but Middleton makes no attempt to give the speech any relevance to the worthies in the Chariot.

The final tableau takes place "Betweene the Crosse and the entrance of Woodstreet" and is a joint one: the Garden of England with its rainbow joins the "fourth part of the Tryumph," the Fountain of Vertue. Since Middleton neither troubles to describe it, nor makes any reference to it in the concluding speech, there is no way of knowing how it fitted into the scheme of the pageant as a whole. One possibility, which of necessity can only be speculative, is that it was similar to the Fountain of Justice, the last device of The Sunne in Aries. This fountain was "triple-crowned" with the charges of the Drapers' arms, and peopled by Justice, Wisdom, Truth, and a variety of other Graces and Virtues suitable to high office. Something of this sort that would again link the Lord Mayor to his Company may have been used here. Whatever it was, it clearly did not engage Middleton's interest. The speech itself applies the moral of the rainbow to Cuthbert Hacket. His year, like the pageant itself, must both begin and end with Mercy, God's covenant to Man. If he so tempers Power with Mercy, following the example of his Draper predecessors, then the springing again of the City, the Garden of England, will reflect upon him; his year in office will be "vertues harvest time... a time given / To treasure up good Actions fit for Heaven."

Middleton makes some effort in this speech to link the tableaux to-

gether again; nonetheless it is impossible not to suspect that the references to the harvest are more fortuitous than deliberate. The pageant suffers in comparison with his other Drapers' Shows in two respects in particular. In contrast to The Sunne in Aries, The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity lacks a strong central image which can unify the disparate elements and, in contrast to The Triumphs of Integrity, there is little evidence (with the exception, I think, of the first tableau) that Middleton was much stimulated to produce imaginative speeches. There is nothing in this pageant, presumably because of the straitened financial circumstances with which Middleton and Christmas had to contend, that corresponds to the Crystal Sanctuary in The Triumphs of Integrity or the Globe of Honor in The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue (1624). In fact, the evidence points to a considerable failure of imagination on the part of both men. We can adduce, in addition, Middleton's lifting of linking material from earlier Shows as an indication of this.¹³ Admittedly this would not be apparent during the performance, and so has no bearing on the reasons for the Drapers' dissatisfaction, but, in conjunction with the limitations of the speeches, the unusual unoriginality of the Chariot of Honor, the bad organization, and the presumed incompetence in making arrangements for the day itself, it suggests that in this particular instance the "Inquisitive Man" of Middleton's introduction might have had second thoughts about the unique magnificence of the celebrations.

Textual Introduction

The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity was printed by Nicholas Okes

in 1626, probably shortly after 29 October, the date of its performance. As is the case with Middleton's other pageants for the Drapers' Company, there is no entry for it in the Stationers' Register, nor record of payment for its printing in the Drapers' Accounts. As in previous years, however, Middleton and his partner were made responsible for "all chardges incident to theis shewes" and this may have included the printing costs (p.348). 1626 was a slack year for the Okes' shop; Morrison lists only a reprint of Thomas Trussel's The Souldier Pleading his own Cause in addition to Q.¹⁴ Neither are very long books.

The pageant is in quarto, collating A-B⁴. The contents are A1 title with a woodcut of the Drapers' Company arms, A1^V blank, A2 dedication, A2^V blank, A3-B4 text, B4^V blank. The speeches are printed in italic (re-produced in roman in this edition) and the prose descriptions in roman.

Two copies of a probable minimum edition of five hundred remain, one in the Guildhall Library, London and the other in the Henry E. Huntington Library. The Guildhall copy has been laid down, the lower parts of some pages have been torn or damaged and corrections (sometimes inaccurate) have been made in ink (especially sigs. A3, A3^V, A4, B1, B1^V, B2). This copy lacks a in l. 50 (A3^V) and of in l. 138 (B1^V); in addition, on B3 it wrongly substitutes semi-colons for the colons after Right (l. 117) and Shore (l. 119). A pencil note on the verso of the binder's leaf following B4 of the Guildhall copy reads "perhaps the rarest of all the City Pageants: no copy but Garrick's was known to Lowndes." A note in another hand, in ink, follows this: "Bought at Deputy Whitby's sale May 1838, Cost BK." This is the date of acquisition

by the Guildhall Library. The implication of the first note is that this copy was not Garrick's. If so, then Garrick's (which is traceable as far as the Heber sale of 1834) has disappeared, for the Huntington copy seems never to have belonged to him.¹⁵

The pageant was printed using two skeleton formes. The identification of these is complicated by no forme having a complete set of running-titles; however, it seems that one skeleton was used for both formes of sheet A and for outer B, with a second skeleton being constructed for inner B. The one running-title on outer A The Triumphs of (A4^V) also appears on A3^V of inner A with the addition of another running-title, Health and Prosperity. It is this last title which reappears on B3 of outer B in conjunction with two new titles. Since B4^V is blank, outer B would be ready for imposition after B3 had been set and so might have preceded inner B through the press.

One page, A4, of inner A has been corrected in the Guildhall copy. Four of the variants are straightforward substitutions for wrong letters (graze for grace, etc.). The change in the punctuation, however, requires the proof-reader to have read the (long) sentence with attention to sense, though not necessarily against copy. None of the corrections suggest the presence of Middleton at the printing-house. There is also one instance where a comma has failed to ink, thus giving the impression of a press-variant: on B3 the Guildhall copy lacks the Huntington's comma after Rain-bow, l. 198. It is possible that this was accidentally pulled during inking.

The random distribution of spelling variants suggests that the pageant was set by one compositor, probably from Middleton's holograph. There is no indication that the copy was cast-off. The same workman seems also to have been involved in the setting of Trussell's A Souldier, the other book printed by Okes in 1626. A distinctive characteristic of his is the modern use of initial lower case j and medial j instead of the more usual i. He also shows a tendency toward modern u/v usage--there are eight examples of medial v, none of which seem due to type shortage. Spellings attributable to him include preferences for the suffix -nesse, the short form of he/hee etc., upon, doe, little, -ie as in chiefe, griefe, etc., -y rather than -ie endings, and the voiced preterite and past participle in -ed or -'d.¹⁶ Other characteristics include a fondness for justifying lines by spacing and a less frequent use of emphasis capitals than that of the compositors of The Sunne in Aries or The Triumphs of Integrity.

The compositor's copy was probably holograph; however, far fewer of Middleton's orthographical habits remain in Q than in either The Sunne in Aries or The Triumphs of Integrity. Of Middleton's favoured contractions e'm does not occur, dos occurs once (B2) and ha's once (B2); however, there are two instances of has (B3^V) and three of hath (A4, B2, B2^V). Only one example each of Middleton's frequent formation of the voiced preterite in -d or -de remains. In addition, there are no examples of Middleton's preferred suffix -nes and only one long form of he/hee etc. (beeing B1^V). Features of Middleton's orthography, as listed by David Lake, which do occur are amongst, between, toward, and the one example of

the preterite in -cst (advanc'st B2).¹⁷ Lake's figures for these features are not, however, very reliable. There are two not three instances of both between and toward and ha's occurs 1/3 times not 0/2 (the variant spelling is has). Spellings which conform to Middleton's practice in A Game at Chess but which may also be compositorial are beene, bin, honor, and a preference for -ay as in rayse. The strong preference in Q for city, cities may well be compositorial; the word occurs once in A Game at Chess spelt cittie. I have been unable to assign the various spellings of triumph to either author or compositor.

As with The Triumphs of Integrity, the punctuation in Q is probably a sophisticated version of Middleton's; certainly his fondness for the comma is apparent. In contrast to The Triumphs of Integrity, the colon is used frequently, but parentheses are rare. The punctuation is essentially rhetorical, but the sense is always clear and Dyce's emendations are unnecessary.

The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity has been reprinted in the editions of Dyce and Bullen. The latter, however, had again not seen the original and so reprints Dyce's text. It would seem that Dyce used the uncorrected state since he notes Q's unvaleed on A4; however he does not mention any other errors on this page. The two extant copies have been collated for this edition; the Guildhall copy being used as copy-text, supplemented by a xerox of the Huntington copy for the damaged portions.

A2

TO

THE HONOR OF HIM,
 to whom the Noble Fraternity of
Drapers, his Worthy Brothers have
 Consecrated their loves in Magnificent
 Tryumphs, the Right Honorable
 CUTHBERT HACKET Lord
 Maior of the City of
 LONDON.

5

The Cities choyce, thy Companies free love,
This Dayes unlookt for Tryumph, all three prove,
The Happinesse of thy life to be most great;
Adde to these, Justice, and thou art Compleate.

10

At your Lordships
 Command,
Thomas Middleton.

15

A2^v] blank

A3

The Triumphes of
Health and Prosperity.

If you should search all Chronicles, Histories, Records, in
what Language or Letter soever; if the Inquisitive Man should 20
waste the deere Treasure of his Time and Ey-sight, He shall
conclude his life onely with this certainty, that there
is no Subject upon earth received into the place of his
Governement with the like State and Magnificence, as is his
Majesties great Substitute into his Honorable charge the 25
Citty of London, bearing the Inscription of the Chamber
Royall: which that it may now appeare to the world no lesse
illustrated with brotherly Affection then former Tryumphall
A3^V] times have beene partakers of, this takes delight to present
it selfe. 30

And first to enter the worthy love of his honorable
Society, for his Lordships returne from Westminster, having
received some service by water, by the Triumphant Chariot of
Honor, the first that attends his Lordships most wished
Arrivall, beares the Title of the Beautifull Hill, or Fragrant 35
Garden, with flowry bankes, neere to which, Lambes and Sheepe
are a grazing, this platforme so cast into a Hill, is adorned
and garnisht with all variety of Odoriferous flowers, on the
top Archt with an Artificial and curious Raine-bow, which
both shewes the Antiquity of colours, the diversity and 40
Noblenesse, and how much the more glorious and highly to be

esteem'd, they being presented in that blessed Covenant of
 Mercy, the Bow in the Clouds, the worke it selfe incompast
 with all various fruites, and beares the name of the most
 pleasant garden of England (the Noble City of London) the 45
 flowers intimating the sweete odors of their Vertue and
 Goodnesses, and the fruites of their workes of Justice and
 Charity, which have bene both Honorable Brothers, and
 bounteous benefactors of this antient Fraternity, who are
 presented in a device following, under the types and figures 50
 A4] of their Vertues in their life|time, which made them famous
 then, and memorable for ever, and since we are yet amongst
 the woolly Creatures that graze on the Beautie of this
 beautifull platforme, come we to the moderne use of this
 Noble mystery of Antient Drapery, and we shall find the 55
 whole Livery of this renowned and famous City furnished by
 it, it clothes the honorable Senators in their highest and
 chiefest wearing, all Courts of Justice, Magistrates and
 Judges of the Land. But for the better expression of the
 purpose in hand, a Speaker gives life to these following 60
 words.

The Speech in the Hill where the

Raine-bow appeares.

A Cloude of grieve hath showrde upon the face
 Of this sad City, and usurpt the place 65
 Of Joy and Cheerfulnesse, wearing the forme,

Of a long blacke Ecclipse in a rough storme,
 With showers of Teares this garden was oreflowne,
 Till mercy was like the blest Rain-bow showne.

Behold what figure now the City beares,

70

Like Jems unvalued, her best joyes she weares;

Glad as a faithfull Hand-mayde to obay,

And waite upon the Honour of this Day;

A4^v]

Fixt in the Kings great Substitute, Delight,

Triumph, and Pompe had almost lost their right:

75

The Garden springs agen, the Violet Beds,

The lofty Flowers beare up their fragrant heads;

Fruit over-lade their Trees, Barnes cracke with store,

And yet how much the Heavens wept before,

Threatning a second mourning; who so dull,

80

But must acknowledge Mercie was at full

In these two mighty blessings; what's requir'd?

That which in conscience ought to be desir'd;

Care and Uprightnesse in the Magistrates place,

And in all men Obedience, Truth and Grace.

85

After this awaites his Lordships approach, a Maister-
 peece of Triumph, called the Sanctuary of Prosperity, on the
 Top Arch of which hangs the Golden Fleece, which raises the
 worthy memory of that most famous and renowned Brother of
 this Company, Sir Francis Drake, who in two yeares and ten
 moneths did incompasse the whole world, deserving an eminent

90

remembrance in this Sanctuary, who never returned to his
 Countrey without the Golden Fleece of Honour and Victory.
 The foure faire Corinthian Columnes or Pillars, imply the
 foure principall Vertues, Wisedome, Justice, Fortitude, 95
Temperance, the especiall upholders of Kingdomes, Cities
 B1 and Honorable Societies.

The Speech in the Sanctuary upon
 the Fleece.

If Jason with the noble hopes of Greece, 100
 Who did from Colchis fetch the Golden Fleece,
 Deserve a Story of immortall fame,
 That both the Asiaes celebrate his name,
 What Honor, Celebration and Renowne,
 In Vertues right, ought justly to be showne, 105
 To the faire memory of Sir Francis Drake;
Englands true Jason, who did boldly make
 So many rare Adventures, which were held
 For worth, unmatched, danger, unparalleled,
 Never returning to his Countries Eye, 110
 Without the Golden Fleece of Victory.
 The World's a Sea, and every Magistrate
 Takes a yeares Voyage, when he takes this state,
 Nor on these Seas, are there lesse dangers found,
 Then those, on which the bold Adventurer's bound: 115
 For Rockes, gulfes, quicke-sands, here is malice, spite,

Envy, Detraction of all Noble Right:

Vessels of Honor, those doe threaten more,

Then any Ruine betweene Sea and Shore:

B1^V] Sayle then by th' Compasse of a Vertuous name, 120
And spite of Spites, thou bringst the Fleece of fame.

Passing from this, and more to encourage the Noble
endeavours of the Magistrate, his Lordship and the worthy
Company, is gracefully Conducted toward the Chariot of
Honor, on the most Eminent seate thereof is Gouvernement 125
Illustrated, it being the proper Vertue by which we rayse
the noble memory of Sir Henry Fitz-Alwin, who held the
Seate of Magistracy in this City twenty foure yeares to-
gether, a most renowned Brother of this Company: In like
manner, the Worthy Sir John Norman first rowed in Barge to 130
Westminster with silver Oares, under the person of Munifi-
cence: Sir Simon Eyre that built Leaden Hall, a Granary
for the poore, under the Type of Piety, Et sic de cæteris.
This Chariot drawne by two Golden pellited Lyons, beeing
the proper Supporters of the Companies Armes, those two that 135
have their Seates upon the Lyons, presenting Power and
Honor, the one in a little Streamer or Banneret, bearing
the armes of the present Lord Maior; the other of the late,
the truly Generous and Worthy, Sir Allen Cotton Knight,
B2 a bounteous and a Noble House-keeper, one that hath spent 140
the yeare of his Magistracy, to the great Honour of the City,

and by the sweetnesse of his Disposition, and the upright-
 nesse of his Justice and Government, hath rays'd up a
 fayre lasting Memory to himselfe and his Posterity for ever;
 at whose happy Inauguration, though Tryumph was not then in 145
 season, (Deaths Pageants being onely advanc'dt upon the
 shoulders of men,) His Noble deservings were not thereby
 any way ecllipsed.

Est Virtus sibi Marmor, et Integritate Triumphat.

The Speech of Gouvernement. 150

With just propriety dos this City stand,
 As fixt by fate, ith' middle of the Land,
 It ha's as in the body the Heartes place,
 Fit for her workes of Piety and Grace:
 The Head her Soveraigne, unto whom she sends 155
 All duties that just service comprehends;
 The Eyes may be compar'd (at wisdomes rate)
 To the illustrious Councillors of State,
 Set in that Orbe of Royalty, to give light
 To noble actions, Starres of truth and right: 160
 The Lips, the Reverend Cleargy, Judges, all
 That pronounce Lawes Divine, or Temporall;
 B2^V] The Armes to the defensive part of men,
 So I descend unto the Heart agen:
 The place where now you are, witnesse the love, 165
 True Brother-hoods cost and Tryumph, all which move

In this most grave Solemnity, and in this
 The Cities generall love abstracted is:
 And as the Heart in it's meridian seate,
 Is stil'd the Fountayne of the bodies heate: 170
 The first thing receives life, the last that dyes,
 Those properties experience well applies
 To this most loyall City, that hath beene
 In former ages as in these times seene;
 The Fountayne of Affection, Duty, Zeale, 175
 And taught all Cities through the Common-weale,
 The first that receives quickning life and spirit,
 From the Kings grace, which stil she strives to inherit.
 And like the Heart will be the last that dyes,
 In any duty toward good supplies: 180
 What can expresse affections nobler fruite,
 Both to the King, and You, his Substitute.

At the close of this Speech, this Chariot of Honor, and
Sanctuary of Prosperity, with all her gracefull Concomitants,
 and the two other parts of Tryumph, take leave of his Lordship 185
 for that time, and rest from service till the great Feast
 B3 at Guild-hall be ended, after which the whole Fabricke of
 the Triumph attends upon his Honour, both toward Saint
Paules and homeward, his Lordship accompanied with the grave
 and Honourable Senators of the City, amongst whom the two 190
 worthy Shrieffes, his Lordships Grave Assistants for the yeare,

the Worshipfull and generous Maister Richard Fen, and
 Master Edward Brumfield ought not to passe of my respect
 unremembred, whose bounty and Noblenesse for the yeare,
 will no doubt, give the best expression to their owne 195
 Worthinesse. Betweene the Crosse and the entrance of
Woodstreet, that part of Tryumph being planted, being the
Fragrant Garden of England, with the Raine-Bow, to which
 the concluding Speech hath chiefly reference, there takes
 its farwell of his Lordship, accompanied with the 200
Fountayne of Vertue, being the fourth part of the Tryumph.

The Last Speech.

Mercies faire Object, the Caelestiall Bow,
 As in the morning it began to show,
 It closes up this great Tryumphall day, 205
 And by example shoves the Yeare, the Way,
 B3^V] Which if Power worthily, and rightly spend,
 It must with Mercy both begin and end;
 It is a yeare that crownes the life of man,
 Brings him to Peace with Honor and what can 210
 Be more desir'd, 'tis vertues harvest time,
 When Gravity and Judgements in their prime,
 To speake more happily, 'tis a time given
 To treasure up good Actions fit for Heaven,

To a Brother-hood of Honor thou are fixt
 That has stood long faire in just Vertues eye;
 For within twelve yeares space, thou art the Sixt,
 That has bin Lord Maior of this Company:

215

This is no usuall grace, being now the last,

Close the Worke Nobly up, that what is past,

220

And knowne to be good in the former Five:

May in thy present Care be kept alive;

Then is thy Brotherhood for their Love and Cost,

Requited amply; but thy owne Soule most.

Health and a happy Peace fill all thy dayes,

225

When thy Yeare ends, may then begin thy prayse.

B4] For the Fabricke or Structure of the whole Tryumph, in so
 short a time, so gracefully performed, the Commendation of
 that, the Industry of Maister Garret Christmas may justly
 Challenge, a man not onely excellent in his Arte, but faith-
 full in his Undertakings.

230

FINIS.

Press variants in Q (1626)

Copies collated: G (Guildhall Library), CSmH (Henry E. Huntington Library).

Sheet A (inner forme)

Corrected: G

Uncorrected: CSmH

Sig. A4

graze] grace

platforme,] ~.

come] Come

unvalued] unvaleed

Hand-mayde] hnnd-mayde

waite] waire

Substantive Changes

68 showers] Dyce; flowers Q

Textual Notes

68 showers] The compositor most likely caught fl from oreflowne at the end of this line.

73-74] Dyce emends the punctuation to read "And wait upon the honour of this day, / Fixt in the King's great Substitute: Delight..." However, Q makes good sense without emendation.

211 desir'd 'tis] Dyce inserts a query after desir'd, but the rhythm of the passage argues against this. Desir'd surely modifies vertues harvest time.

Emendations of Accidentals

64-85] *italic in Q*

79 before,] ~:

80 mourning;] ~,

81 full_^] ~.

100-21] *italic in Q*

151-82] *italic in Q*

203-31] *italic in Q*

Critical Notes

Title-page] The custom of using a cut of the relevant Company's arms began in 1624 with Webster's Monuments of Honor, also printed by Okes. This is the first pageant for the Drapers' to have one on the title-page; it is not the same as those used for the Drapers' pageants of 1638 and 1639.

Text

10 The Cities...love] Cf. IT (VII, 259) "The power that heaven, love, and the city's choice / Have all conferr'd on thee.."

11 unlookt for] either "unsought after," or because only the abatement of the plague in early 1626 allowed the celebrations to take place.

12-13 The...Compleate] The compounding of personal virtue with that appropriate to office is a familiar theme of Middleton's pageants.

14-15 At...Command] See note to SA, l. 15.

17-18 Health and Prosperity] The summer of 1626 marked the country's recovery from the ravages of the plague and the associated poverty and famine.

19-27 If...Royall] Cf. IT (VII, 233) "Search all chronicles, histories, records, in what language or letter soever; let the inquisitive man waste the dear treasures of his time and eyesight, he shall conclude his life

only in this certainty, that there is no subject upon earth received into the place of his government with the like state and magnificence as is the Lord Mayor of the city of London." It seems likely that Middleton retained copies or drafts of previous pageants and was not averse to re-using parts of them. Cf. Dekker, Londons Tempe, 1629 (IV, 102) "Were it possible for a Man, in the Compasse of a Day, to behold (as the Sunne does) All the Citties in the World, as if he went with Walking Beames about him; That Man should never see in any Part of the yeare, Any Citty, so Magnificently Adorned with All Sorts of Tryumphes, variety of Musicke, of Bravery, of Bewty, of Feastings, of Civill (yet Rich) Ceremonies, with gallant Lords and Ladies, and Thronges of People as London is inriched with, on the first Day, that Her Great Lord (or Lord Maior, for tis all one) Takes, That Office upon him."

25-30 Majesties...it selfe] Cf. II, ll. 20-26 "...his Majesties Great Substitute into his Honorable charge, (the City of London,) Dignified by the Title of the Kings Chamber Royall, which that it may now appeare no lesse hightned with Brotherly Affection, Cost, Art, or Invention, then some other praeced^{ing} Triumphs (by which of late times, the Cities Honor hath beene more faithfully illustrated) this takes it's fit occasion to present it selfe."

26-27 Chamber Royall] See note to II, l. 22.

27-28 no lesse illustrated] possibly either a reference to Middleton's previous pageants (1621, 1622, 1623), or a compliment to Webster for his Monuments of Honor (1624), but more likely simply conventional. It follows a similar passage in II very closely.

29-30 this...it selfe] Used in TLA (VII, 315) and THV (VII, 357).

33-34 some service...Honor] Middleton generally used one part of the pageant as a silent tableau on the water. The Grocers' traditional islands appear, appropriately enough, in their pageants, but for the other Companies the tableau seems to be chosen at random. TLA is his only Show to have a speech on the water. Unlike most of the other pageant poets, Middleton does not seem to have been particularly interested in the water show; we find no Neptune or Tethys praising England's sea-power in his pageants.

36 Lambes and Sheepe] Representing the ultimate source of the Drapers' wealth, and so essential in their pageants.

42-43 Covenant...Clouds] A reference, of course, to Noah's covenant with God (Genesis 9). Middleton uses the same image to praise the antiquity of the bow in HE, ent. ii, l. 26.

46-48 flowers...Charity] Cf. HE, ent. vii, ll. 88-89, where Flora tells the Aldermen that "blessed fruits are found / Upon the Stocks you graft on, marke the encrease," explaining that "Faith is the Sent and Odour of the Flower, But Work's the Vertue, that makes good the power" (ll. 119-20).

54-59] Cf. TI, ll. 98-104 "...descend we to the Moderne use of this Antient and Honorable Mistery, and there we shall finde the whole Livery of this most renowned and famous City, as upon this Day, and at all Solemne meetings, furnished by it; it clothes the Honorable Senators in their highest and richest Wearings, all Courts of Justice, Magistrates, and Judges of the Land." See note to this passage in TI.

57 Senators] See note to SA, l. 78.

59-61] Cf. II, ll. 56-57 "But for the better expression of the purpose in Hand, a Speaker lends a voyce to these following words!"

64-69 A Cloude...showne] A metaphorical reference to the tribulations of the City in 1625 (the plague and the death of James I), but also a literal reference to the unusually wet weather throughout 1625 and early 1626. The rainbow thus symbolizes the restoration of the City to God's good graces, shown by both the alleviation of the plague and the improvement in the weather. It should not be forgotten that the plague was commonly regarded as a visitation from God.

67 Ecclipse] "Absence, cessation, or deprivation of light, temporary or permanent" (OED).

70-73] A neat comment on the lavishness of the celebrations.

74-75] A reference to the much adumbrated inauguration ceremonies of Allen Cotton in 1625.

76-80] Middleton is again manipulating the literal and metaphorical senses of this passage. After the appalling weather of 1625 and early 1626, there was a good summer and an excellent harvest, see Wither, Britains Remembrancer, "And Harvest came, which fild our Granards more / Then in the fruitfull'st, of sev'n years before" (quoted in F. P. Wilson, The Plague in Shakespeare's England, p. 170).

76 Violet] Violets were particularly noted for their fragrances, see

Eleanour S. Rohde, Shakespeare's Wild Flowers (London: Medici Soc., 1935), pp. 3-7.

80 a second mourning] Probably referring to the fear of famine as a result of the rain-damaged harvest as well as to the plague deaths. Perhaps a reference to the death of James I is also intended.

82 two mighty blessings] the alleviation of the plague and the good harvest. In August 1626 there had been a general fast and service at St. Paul's giving thanks for the restoration of plenty.

82-83 what's...desir'd] Cf. TLA (VII, 330): "what's desir'd? / That which in conscience ought to be requir'd."

86-87 a Maister-péece of Triumph] perhaps intended as the most elaborate of the tableaux.

95 principall Vertues] the Cardinal Virtues; as the "natural" as opposed to the "theological" virtues (Faith, Hope, and Charity) they are especially suitable public virtues. They surround the Globe of Honor in THV (VII, 365). Pillars representing virtues are a common feature of civic pageantry.

98 The Speech] The speaker, perhaps Prosperity, is not identified.

103 both...Asiaes] major and minor.

106-111] Although Middleton makes reference to Drake as a famous Draper in the prose descriptions of both SA and II, his prominence here is unusual. The emphasis on his never returning without the Fleece of

Victory may be glancing at the disastrous Cadiz expedition of 1625 which aroused unfavourable comparison with Drake's exploits there.

107 Englands true Jason] See note to SA, ll. 71-74.

112 The World's a Sea] Cf. SA, ll. 67-68. There too the Mayor embarks on a metaphorical voyage for the Fleece of Fame. See also TI (VII, 254) "For power's a dangerous sea..."

119 Ruine] a wrecked ship.

120 Sayle...name] Cf. Dekker, T-NT (III, 234), "Every good mans cause / Is in all stormes his Pilot: He that's sound / To himselfe (in Conscience) nere can run-a-ground."

122-24] Cf. SA, ll. 87-88 "Passing from this, and more to encourage the labour of the Magistrate, he is now conducted..."

124-25 Chariot of Honor] last seen on the water. Remarkably similar to the Chariot of Sacred Memory in TI.

125-29 Gouvernement...Company] Fitz-Alwin is also "figured" under Government, his proper virtue, in TI. See note to SA, l. 103 for biographical details.

130-32 Norman...Munificence] See note to SA, l. 104. In TI he is figured under Honor while Sir Richard Champion and Sir John Milborne are represented by Munificence.

132-33 Eyre...Piety] See note to SA, l. 108. He is figured under Charity in TI.

133 Et...cæteris] The rest of the Drapers' worthies probably appear, figures by their virtues, in the chariot. This may be another indication of Middleton's lack of interest in the pageant.

136-37 Power, and Honor] The Chariot of Sacred Memory in II was also drawn by the supporters of the Company's arms ridden by these two. On that occasion their banners were of the Company's arms in addition to Martin Lumley's.

139 Allen Cotton] Alderman of Dowgate 1616-25, and of Candlewick 1625-28; Sheriff 1616-17; Lord Mayor 1625-26; Master of the Drapers' Company 1616-17; knighted 1626. Middleton here takes the opportunity to commend another patron.

144 Memory] monument (OED, sense 11).

145-46 Inauguration...season] There were no pageants at Cotton's inauguration and all ceremony was much reduced on account of the plague. The Court of Assistants notes in October 1625: "It is ordered that in regard of the great visitacion of the plague, and that the Lord Maiour Electe is to take his oath at the Tower on the Morrowe after Symon and Judes day and that only this Company is to attend his Worshipp & his brethren to the same place" (+131, 195^a). This cost the Co. £191. 05. 04.

146-47 Deaths...men] Referring to the deaths from the plague (and perhaps that of King James). The passage suggests that, despite Dekker's attempts at innovation, the use of porters to transport the tableaux was still customary. The image of the triumph of Death is used by other

writers on the plague. It recurs several times in Britain's Remembrancer, most notably when, inspired by the half-built structures for Charles I's Entry, Wither muses on England's ruin as symbolized by a pageant of the Chariot of Death:

But when those works, imperfect, I beheld,
 They did new causes of sad musings yeeld,
 Portending ruine. And, did seeme, me thought,
 In honor of Deaths trophees to be wrought;
 Much rather, then from purposes to spring
 Which aymed at the honor of a King.
 For, their unpolisht forme, did make them fit
 For direfull Showes: yea, DEATH on them did sit.
 His Captives passed under ev'ry Arch;
 Among them, as in Triumph he did march;
 Through ev'ry Street, upon mens backs were borne
 His conquests.

(p. 220)

149 Est...Triumphat] Virtue is marble unto itself and triumphs through its integrity. Source untraced.

153] According to conventional Renaissance physiology the heart was the seat of the soul and the generator of heat and vital spirits. The use of the body as a metaphor for the component parts of the body politic is commonplace, cf. Coriolanus I, i. 114-6: "The kingly crown'd head, the vigilant eye, / The counsellor heart, the arm our soldier, / Our steed the leg, the tongue our trumpeter..."

158 illustrious...State] The Privy Councillors. Some members were generally present at every LMS. In addition, Middleton may have deemed it expedient, having come under their jurisdiction in 1624 for The Game at Chess affair, to praise their virtue. The comparison of the Councillors

to the eyes is particularly appropriate to their function as chief advisors to the King; they are thus illustrious because they are both "renowned" and "stars of truth and right."

163 defensive...men] soldiers.

170 Fountayne] The heart was supposedly the source of the body's heat, see R. R. Simpson, Shakespeare and Medicine (Edinburgh: Livingstone, 1959), pp. 18-19.

175 Fountayne] Kernodle, From Art to Theater, p. 72, explains that "as the city fountain was a symbol of the generosity of the city, so the tableau fountain--now as fleur-de-lis, now as the garden of the city or of the country--was a symbol of the flourishing realm of the prince."

177-80 The first...supplies] The City owes its prosperity to the King's grace in the same way that the heart receives "quickenning life" from God. In return its loyalty can be counted on in any duty tending toward good. Duty is the subject of supplies.

185-95] Cf. II, ll. 235-45 "...take leave of his Lordship for that time and rest from service til the great Feast be ended, after which the whole Body of the Triumph attends upon his Honor, both toward St. Paules, and homeward, his Lordship accompanied with the Grave and Honorable Senators of the City; amongst whom the two worthy Consulls, his Lordships Grave Assistants for the yeare, the worshipfull and Generous...ought not to passe of my respect unremembred;; whose Bounty and Nobleness will proove best their own Expressers." As City officials, the Sheriffs were patrons of Middleton.

186-87 great...Guildhall] The custom of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs providing an impressive feast for Aldermen, Liverymen, and honoured guests was instituted by Sir John Shaa in 1501. In THI (VII, 305) Middleton insists that from it all "epicurism is banished; for where Honour is master of the feast, Moderation and Gravity are always attendants." The 1616 feast cost £475. 16. 06 which does not encourage belief in Middleton's assertion, see J. G. Nichols, Chrysanaleia, p. 29.

192 Fen] or Venn; Alderman of Castle Baynard 1626-34 and of Tower 1634-39: Mayor 1637-38; knighted 1638. He was a Haberdasher and prominent member of the East India Co. whose mercantile interests were closely bound up with those of Cranfield.

193 Brumfield] Leatherseller and Fishmonger; Alderman of Dowgate 1626-37 and Walbrook 1637-42; Mayor 1636-37; knighted 1637. A soap monopolist and strong supporter of Charles I, Bromfield was discharged from the Aldermanic Bench in 1642, imprisoned in 1644, and had his estates sequestered in 1646. See Pearl. pp. 293-94 for further details.

197 planted] Presumably the Fragrant Garden and the Fountain of Virtue were set up while the rest of the procession attended the service at St. Paul's.

201 Fountayne of Vertue] We are told nothing more of this tableau.

207-08] The need to temper Power with Mercy is also stressed by Middleton in An Invention, ll. 66-67 and HE, ent. vi, ll. 50-53.

215-18] The brace in Q is presumably meant to indicate the change in the rhyme scheme.

217-18] From 1614-1626 six Drapers achieved the office of Lord Mayor: Thomas Hayes, 1614-15; John Jolles, 1615-16; Edward Barkham, 1621-22; Martin Lumley, 1623-24; Allen Cotton, 1625-26; Cuthbert Hacket, 1626-27.

223-24 Then...amply] The idea that only the Lord Mayor's virtuous performance of his office can requite his brethren's generosity is also expressed by Middleton in IT (VII, 260-1) and TLA (VII, 330).

227-28 so...time] The Co. started preparations on 20 Sept.

NOTES

¹Biographical details are drawn from Beaven II, 54 and Johnson, III, 117, 119 n.2, 198 n.3. These authorities, although citing the same source (City Rep. 40, 80), differ as to the date of his translation: 24 Jan. 1623 in Beaven and 24 Jan. 1626 in Johnson. 1623 is the date given (without source but presumably from Beaven) by Tom Girtin, The Triple Crown (London: Hutchinson, 1964), p. 200. It is unlikely, however, that Hacket would be translated so far in advance. Drapers' Rep. +301, 29 lists Hacket as Assistant for 1625-26, suggesting that he did not enter the Co. until 1626.

²MSC III, pp. 108-9; Rep. +131, 201^a.

³Cf. the Ironmongers' complaints in 1609 over Munday's Camp-bell, MSC III, p. 76: "Mr Antonie Mondaye came into Courte and the objections then made weare theise, that the children weare not instructed their speeches which was a spetiall judgment of the consideration, then that the Musick and singinge weare wanting, the apparrell most of it old and borrowed, with other defects..."

⁴R. C. Bald, "Middleton's Civic Employments," pp. 75-6. The following entries from City Rep. 40, fos. 84, 243, 268 are taken from Withington, I, 234-235.

⁵Bergeron, Civic Pageantry, p. 261.

⁶Both SA and TI run to approximately 315 lines.

⁷£545. 13. 08 is the figure given by Johnson, III, 117. It corresponds to the total disbursed by the Wardens Bachelors. A further £66. 13. 04 was paid to Hacket to beautify his residence from House funds. The cheapest Show in this period was Munday's Sidero-Thriambos (1618) for the Ironmongers; it cost £523. 11. 09 (MSC III, p. 98).

⁸The major exception to this is the cost of food; dinners, breakfasts, and provisions invariably cost more in 1626. This is probably a result of rising food prices after the plague and bad harvest of 1625. The customary fees generally remain the same.

⁹Wickham, EES, II, i, 212.

¹⁰Bowers, II, 285. These included cucumbers, pumpkins, grapes, apples, pears, cherries, roses, and lillies.

¹¹Tawney, Business and Politics under James I, p. 34.

¹²This was not an uncommon image, cf. Wither, Britains Remembrancer, reprinted by the Spenser Soc. (Manchester, 1880), "the meaning of the title-page": (*italics reversed*)

I saw a dismall Cloud
Exceeding Blacke, as from the Sea ascending,
And over all this Isle it selfe extending:
With such thicke foggie Vapours, that their steames
Seem'd, for a while, to darken MERCIES beames.
Within this fearfull Cloud, I did behold
All Plagues and Punishments, that name I could.
And with a trembling heart, I fear'd each houre,
God would that Tempest on this Island poure.
Yet, better hopes appear'd: for, loe, the Rayes
Of MERCY pierc'd this Cloud...

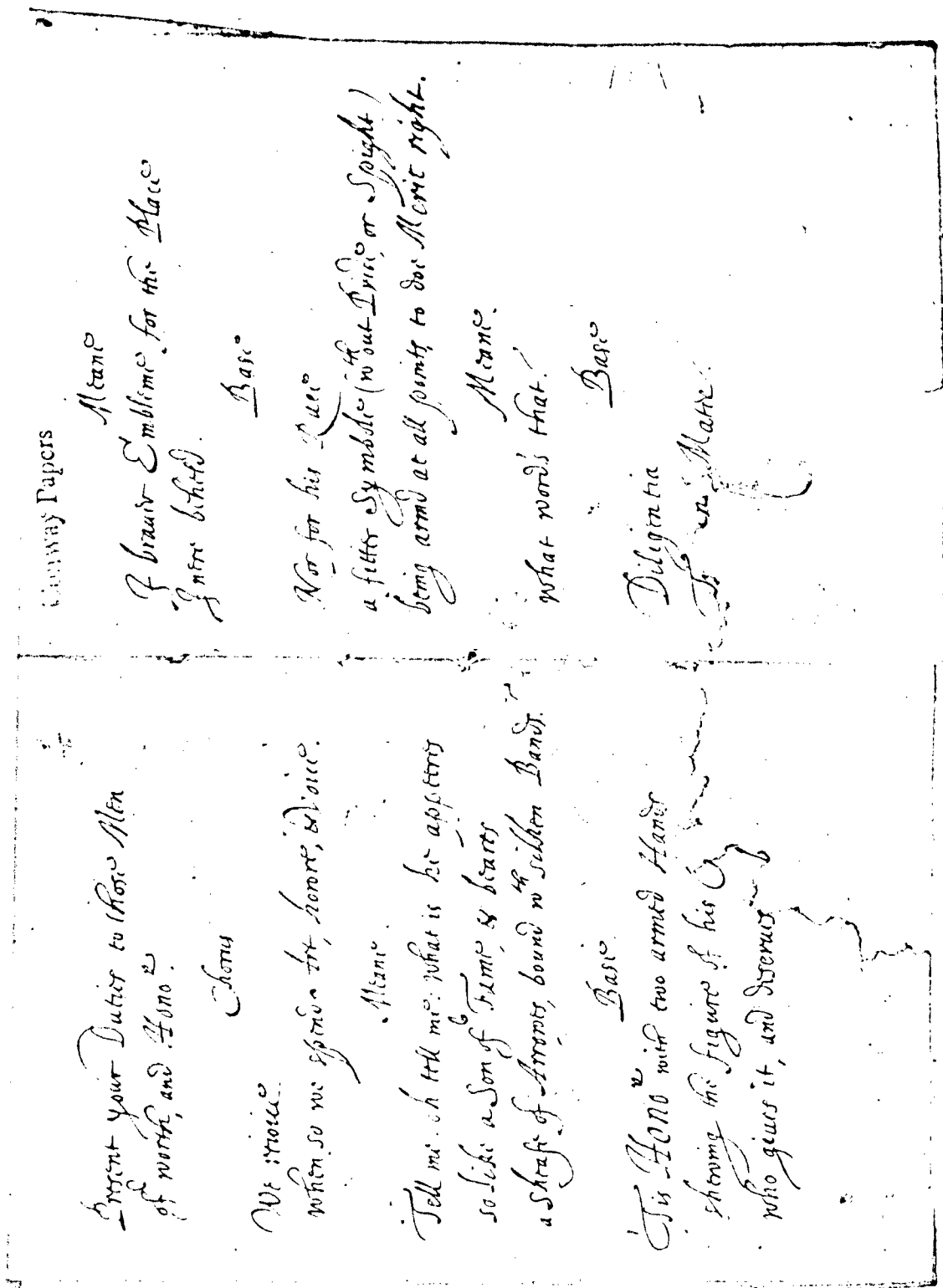
¹³This is to some extent apparent in Middleton's previous pageant, THV (1624) for the Grocers' Co. There, however, it is mitigated by his obvious interest in the tableaux themselves.

¹⁴Index to the STC, p. 56. C. W. Miller, "A London Ornament Stock," p. 131 notes that after Nicholas Okes' son John took up his freedom in January 1626. the partnership arrangements that they "entered into with each other and with others cannot always be determined with any certainty." Such arrangements may explain the apparent lack of work in Okes' shop in 1626.

¹⁵John Nichols, "London Pageants in the Reign of Charles I," The Gentleman's Magazine, 94, No. 2 (1824), 412 knew only of Garrick's copy which he had not seen. He quotes, apparently from the title-page, but without giving a source for his information: "The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity, at the Inauguration of the most worthy brother, the Right Hon. Cuthbert Hasket, Draper. Composed by Thomas Middleton, Draper, 1626." It is most improbable that this is accurate; it bears no resemblance to the title-page of the extant copies. In view of Johnson's assertion (III, 10; see p. 94) that Middleton was a Draper, Nichols ascription of membership to him is interesting. However, his failure to get the Lord Mayor's name right does not inspire confidence.

¹⁶These spelling preferences can also be traced in A Souldier.

¹⁷Lake, p. 273.

Figure 14. Two pages from the Crane MS of An Invention.

AN INVENTION

Critical Introduction

The last of these entertainments is very different. The Invention performed for...Edward Barkham is a slight, indoor piece intended to ornament a feast given during Easter week 1622 for the Aldermen by Lord Mayor Barkham, whose inaugural pageant Middleton had written some months earlier.¹ Although Middleton and his contemporaries would have called such entertainments pageants, they are usually excluded from modern considerations of civic pageantry on the grounds of their being indoor, private celebrations.² However, similarities of function, content, and technique ally them closely to the Lord Mayor's Show. Although not intended for a wide audience, the willingness of the City to employ a professional dramatist to write them indicates its awareness of the value of ceremonial drama as an expression of its power and standing. Furthermore, despite the unsuitability of the lavish spectacle of the street shows to the banquet hall, the tableaux devised by Middleton in both this entertainment and the similar ones in Honourable Entertainments (1621) bear a striking resemblance to some in his Lord Mayor's Shows. So, for instance, he has already used the device of Barkham's arms and motto as a component of the Tower of Vertue tableau in The Sunne in Aries, before featuring it as the centre-piece of this entertainment. And the emblematic technique employed here by Middleton (picture, motto, and verse) is in essence the same as in his mayoral shows.

Banquet entertainments were, in fact, a long-established tradition with civic officials and Livery Companies. Glynne Wickham discusses the allegorical mummings and disguisings written by John Lydgate between 1425-35 for the Mercers, Goldsmiths, and other groups to present to the Lord Mayor on such occasions as May Day, Candlemas, and Epiphany.³ Essentially, these pieces involved the entry of disguisers bearing gifts, accompanied by a Presenter who expounded the allegorical basis of the entertainment. So, for instance, at a Goldsmiths' feast for the Lord Mayor at Candlemas, a herald called Fortune introduces a group of Levites, ambassadors from King David, who present Lord Mayor Eastfield with gifts

both heavenly and moral,
Apperteyning un-to good governaunce
Un-to the Mayre for to do plesaunce.

The gifts are appropriately symbolized by a gold ark containing a "wrytt" that specifies "Where yee shall punyssh and where as yee shal spare / And howe that Mercy shal Rygour modefy." The Levites do not speak, but they are instructed to sing by Fortune.

Despite the passage of two hundred years, the continuity of tradition between Lydgate and Middleton is immediately apparent; certainly Middleton's invention is scarcely more dramatic. In effect he has simply reversed Lydgate's order, the singers present an allegorical personage who discourses upon the nature of "good governaunce" and explicates the device. Although there is little evidence to go on, it seems likely that similar entertainments took place on important feast days throughout the intervening period. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth

centuries the Drapers regularly hired players and minstrels to celebrate festive occasions; for instance, in 1517 they paid 8/8 to "John Slye & his company for ij plays for monday and tuysday & for a mery conseyt for the Bachillers Brekefast."⁴ In the second half of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth, dramatic entertainments at the halls of the Companies or at the residences of civic officials included plays, masques, and "conceits" or inventions that cannot have differed in essentials from those written by Middleton in the 1620s.

This type of entertainment is clearly something that Middleton was adept at. Honourable Entertainments, printed in 1621, includes ten others that vary from simple speeches to more complex semi-dramatic presentations. The early pieces in this volume were composed before Middleton was appointed City Chronologer in September 1620; Lord Mayor Cokayne and the Aldermen must, therefore, have been well-satisfied with his work. One of the explicit duties of his new post was as "Inventor of honorable entertainments for this Citty," and the remaining pieces in the printed volume and this MS represent a fair sample of the sort of work involved.⁵ Payment for such entertainments was covered by his salary as Chronologer. On occasion, however, he received extra payment or benefits: one such, on 7 May two weeks after the performance of An Invention, granted him the nomination of one person to the freedom of the City, for "the better encouragement in his labours," suggesting that Lord Mayor Barkham was pleased with the entertainment.⁶

The date of An Invention has been open to some question. The

formation of the final 2 of 1622 is somewhat irregular, leading the nineteenth-century transcriber of the MS to read it as 1623. This date was followed by Bullen in vol. VII of his edition, even though this same volume contains the correctly dated pageants for Barkham and his successor Peter Proby. The transcript's 1623, however, has been emended by another hand to 1622, April 22nd, and this date also appears in vol. I of Bullen's edition and (with the addition of a query) in CSPD. I have been unable to find any evidence for the provenance of this date. The MS itself tells us that the entertainment was presented "in the Easter Hollidajes." 22 April, 1622 was Easter Monday and so, in fact, is a possible date. The content of Honor's speech makes it clear that the piece was designed for a similar occasion to entertainment viii of Honourable Entertainments, the Easter banquet that followed "the Times of that Blessed and laudable Custome of Celebrating the memory of Pious workes in this Cittie, at St. Mary Spittle."⁷

The Easter sermons on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Easter week at the Spital were a tradition dating back to the late fourteenth century.⁸ They were attended by the civic dignitaries and the Master and Children of Christ's Hospital. Although nominally on the topic of Christ's resurrection, the sermons had, by early in Elizabeth's reign, become associated with the City's charitable works and the collection was devoted to the relief of London's needy.⁹ Thus this invention must have taken place on one of these three days, but there is no indication which of these days is the most likely.

An Invention was performed during or after a feast at Lord Mayor Barkham's house, and in the tradition of banquet interludes and conceits, makes use of the layout of the great hall.¹⁰ The Lord Mayor and his most important guests would be seated at the upper end of the hall, with the remainder of the guests at side tables, thus leaving a central space for the performers. At the lower end of the hall would have been some kind of hall screen with doors to shut off the kitchens. There is some indication in the text that Barkham's hall also possessed a gallery over the screen, some at least of the musicians may have been stationed here.

The entertainment's centrepiece is a long speech by Honor focusing on the allegorical significance of the Lord Mayor's crest, two arms in armour embowed proper, holding a sheath of arrows or, feathered argent, and banded with a ribbon gules.¹¹ However, the invention opens and closes with part songs for Mean, Base, and Chorus. This is a technique that Middleton had used before: in the first piece in Honourable Entertainments (also written for an Easter feast) Middleton describes the Gentleman Sewer (who functions equivalently to Honor) being "conducted by the City Musicke, toward the high Table, a song giving notice of his Entrance" (ll. 14-16). It seems likely that the City waits, as was a regular part of their duties, were similarly employed in 1622.¹² Meane begins the first song with the traditional cry of interluders at feasts: "A hall: a hall: below: stand cleere." The use of "below" strongly suggests that Meane, and perhaps Base, the Chorus, and any accompanying musicians, were in the gallery. Meane's cry for room and the ensuing song thus cover the entry of Honor at the lower end of the hall and his approach to the High Table, the

position most appropriate to the demonstration of the significance of his emblematic attire and properties.

This opening song indicates clearly the ceremonial nature of the entertainment by proffering the singers' service to the Aldermen. For those who had not already guessed, Honor's identity is established and the import of Barkham's crest and motto expounded. They represent not only his honourable descent and suitability for high office, but also the moral character of his guests, as demonstrated earlier in the day by their good works. The extension of significance from the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen is further developed in the speech by Honor that follows. His martial habit notwithstanding, his intention is to make clear the "Vse and Application" of the device, thereby contributing to the "Profit & Comfort" of the guests. This he achieves by considering the various elements of the crest: the mailed arms signify the armour of a Christian, the arrows justice modified by the silken band of mercy. But, he explains, "an other way: to make it generall" is to see the crest as an emblem of the community of City government, the arrows are now the Aldermen and the band the Mayor who unites them. On yet another level, the sheaf of arrows stands for the pious deeds of the City fathers celebrated earlier that day; as they protect the weak, so may God with His arrows protect them. The final song again relates the occasion to the tableau. The feast is another manifestation of the bounty required of those who hold high office. Such lavishness ensures "that this Citties honor maie/ Spred as far as Morne shootes Daie." And if the Aldermen remember and continue to act upon the significance of the entertainment they have

just seen, relieving the wants of the unfortunates of London, then Vertue as well will "spred forth as Morne shootes Daie."

The striking image of spreading light in this final refrain develops neatly from the arrows of the device, reminding us at the same time of Middleton's insistence throughout his civic works on the duty of magistrates to be "Lights and Presidents in Lives,/Noble Examples, Honours t'Age and Time."¹³ The piece is indeed slight, but the banquet demanded no more, and Middleton shows again his ability to highlight the communal, ceremonial nature occasion with an entertainment that must have amused, flattered, and encouraged the Lord Mayor and his worthy guests.

Textual Introduction

An Invention performed for...Edward Barkham is a MS entertainment in the hand of Ralph Crane preserved among the Conway Papers in the Public Record Office, London (State Papers, Domestic, 14, vol. 129, document 53). The title page reads:

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

written by
Tho. Middleton.

The MS is in octavo with eight unwatermarked leaves, each measuring

approximately 145 x 95 mm., but is bound in two blank conjugate leaves of vellum. The foot of the leaves has been severely damaged, perhaps by damp, and some of the text is missing.

The scribe was first identified as Crane by F. P. Wilson.¹⁴ The entertainment is in fact his first dated MS and may mark the beginning of his association with Middleton. Certainly in the mid 1620s Crane made several transcripts of Middleton's work, perhaps to his order: The Witch (c. 1625?), and the Malone, Lansdowne, and Folger (Archdall) MSS of A Game at Chess (1624-25). It is likely that Middleton wanted a transcript of his invention for presentation to Lord Mayor Barkham for whom the entertainment was tailor-made. However, the poor quality of the paper and the relatively unelaborate calligraphy of the MS suggest that Crane did not consider it a particularly important piece of work. The presence of the MS in the papers of Sir Edward Conway when they were acquired by the State Paper Branch Record Office in 1857 has not been accounted for.¹⁵

Crane's hand in the MS intermixes secretary and italic forms; its characteristics have been described by F. P. Wilson and T. H. Howard-Hill.¹⁶ It is extremely legible, although problems do arise in differentiating majuscule and minuscule forms of certain letters, especially w, s, l, v, and y. Contractions, particularly wth, y^e, hono^r, and armo^r, are used frequently in the text as well as in the title-page and stage directions.¹⁷ Although it is probably safe to assume that Middleton's holograph underlies the MS, the majority of the accidentals are Crane's. This is especially noticeable in the punctuation: the frequent colons

are certainly Crane's who regularly preferred them to Middleton's commas.¹⁸ However, the final line of the second song ends with a comma and this may well be Middleton's; the Trinity MS and the Middleton sections of the Bridgewater MS of A Game at Chess show that Middleton was not averse to ending speeches with such a light mark of punctuation. The spelling of the MS of this entertainment closely follows the spelling preferences identified as Crane's by Howard-Hill,¹⁹ although some preferences, such as -nes and perhaps cittie, are Middleton's as well. The absolute preference shown for -s plurals of nouns with short vowels (e.g. hands) is distinctively Crane's, as are such spellings as nobeler, woond, and howre. The calligraphy and orthography of the MS are plainer than in Crane's other transcripts and it is probably for this reason that some characteristics of these, such as his fondness for hyphens and Jonsonian elisions (the use of an apostrophe to indicate elision even though no letters are omitted, e.g. I'am), are absent. In addition, all speech headings in the MS are centred, rather than placed in the left-hand margin as is the case with his dramatic transcripts.

The MS is accompanied in the State Papers by a nineteenth-century transcript. This makes some attempt to follow the spelling of the original while partially regularizing the punctuation and other accidentals. The unknown transcriber has inserted conjectural readings within square brackets for the damaged portions of the MS. Since the conjectures are less extensive than would now be necessary, it is possible that the decay was less advanced when the transcript was made. However, the transcript's readings are so unreliable as to deny it any authority. The transcriber's

carelessness and lack of familiarity with the secretary hand and early seventeenth-century idiom lead him into a variety of errors in both conjectural and non-conjectural readings. For instance, in l. 43 the transcript reads your for what is clearly yond, in l. 48 it reads noble for nobeler, and in l. 92 land for hand. The unreliability of the transcript's conjectural readings is demonstrated in ll. 22-23: the transcript reads "Shewing the figure of his [worth] / Who give it and deserves it both." Leaving aside the misreading of give for gives, it is clear from the MS that whatever the final word of l. 22 is, it does not begin with w. No w, majuscule or minuscule, secretary or italic, in either this MS or in the Crane facsimiles printed by Wilson is formed like this. This must cast severe doubt on the reliability of the transcript's apparently non-conjectural it both in the following line.

In addition to these errors we also find others deriving from the transcriber's failure to understand the nature of the occasion for which the entertainment was written; an example of this is the conjecture wicked deafe in l. 98. While there is no palaeographic ground for dismissing this reading, the sense of the passage requires a different conjecture. The transcriber has not realized that the entertainment was presented to celebrate the City government's pious works. The arrows here signify these good works, and are therefore charitable rather than destructive. The point of the song is not that the deaf, lame, and dumb are wicked, but that their wants need relieving. I have therefore denied any authority to the transcript's readings of lacunae in the MS unless these can be confirmed either palaeographically or by the sense of the passage.

Angle brackets enclose missing text, and letters within these can be conjectured from traces in the MS. Square brackets enclose editorial conjectures.

The MS was apparently unknown to the first editor of Middleton's work, Alexander Dyce, but it was printed by Bullen in his edition. Bullen at times, however, seems to have based his text upon the transcript, thus perpetuating such misreadings as your and land. In addition, he introduces new ones such as matre in l. 31 and To for for in l. 59, and occasionally discards Crane's sound punctuation in favour of his own, thereby completely altering the sense of the original. In short his edition cannot be trusted.

The damage to the MS and its being in the hand of Crane, a scribe important to the drama generally and Middleton particularly, have dictated a more conservative approach to the text than is appropriate to the printed texts of the three Lord Mayor's Shows. I have therefore retained Crane's use of i/j and u/v and his secretarial contractions and abbreviations, although no attempt has been made to reproduce any calligraphic flourishes or to distinguish between italic and secretary versions of the same letter. I have also retained Crane's punctuation, including his use of question marks in exclamatory sentences; however, faulty or missing punctuation at the end of a speech has been corrected. Stage directions have been centred and appear in italic; names of characters within these appear in roman. Speech headings have been shifted from the centre of the page to the left-hand margin; missing punctuation at the end of these

has been altered to a full stop. Crane's lineation in the songs and speeches has been preserved in order to assist reconstruction of damaged passages even when this does not correspond to lines of verse. Lines of verse which Crane did not begin with a capital, a common practice of his, have not been regularized.

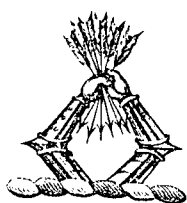


Figure 15: Barkham's crest.

- 1] An Invention performed for the Service of y^e Right honorable Edward Barkeham, L. Majo^r. of the Cittie of London:
At his L^{ps}. Enterteinment of the Aldermen his Brethren,
and the h^{ble} and worthie Guests: (At his House assembled &
ffeasted) In the Easter Hollidajes: 1622. 5
written by Tho. Middleton.

1^v blank]

- 2] A Song in seuerall parts: vssherring toward the high
Table, a Personage in Armo^r, representing Hono^r.
holding in his Hands a Sheaffe of Arrowes.

Meane. A hall: a hall: below: stand cleere: 10
what? are you readie?

Base. < >

Meane. < >he< >

- 2^v] Present your Duties to those Men
of worth, and Hono^r. 15

Chorus. We reioice
when so we spend Art, howre, & Voice.

Meane. Tell me: oh tell me: what is he appeeres
so like a Son of Fame, & beares
a Sheaffe of Arrowes, bound wth silken Bands? 20

Base. 'Tis Hono^r with two armed Hands
shewing the figure of his <Cr[est]>
who giues it, and deserues <[it]> b<[est]>

3] Meane. I; brauer Embleme for the Place
I nere beheld.

25

Base. Nor for his Race
a fitter Symbole (wthout Pride, or Spight)
being armd at all points, to doe Merit right.

Meane. what word's that?

Base. Diligentia
F<[ortu]>n<[ae]> Mater.

30

Meane. <[This hono]>rd Daie

3^v] makes good that Motto: 'tis exprest
not in Him onely but in euerie Guest
I ioy to see.

35

Chorus. Wee ioy to see
Your Places, and your Works agree.

Finis. 1 Song.

Then Hono^r deliuers this speech.

Though in this Martiall habit I <[appeere]> 40

I bring nor cause of doubt, nor tho<[ught of feare]>

4] 'Tis onely a waie found to expres best
the worthie ffigure of yond Noble Crest
Nor barely to be showne is the Intent
and scope of this Times Service: More is ment.

45

There's Vse & Application, whence arise
Profit & Comfort to the Graue & Wise!

A nobeler Embleme of Charge, Powre, & Place

Iusticé & Valour, neuer yet did grace

⟨[Occas]i⟩ on: more. A Crest becoms y^e State

50

⟨ Ch⟩ampion (a good Magistrate).

4^v]

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.

55

The Sheafe of Arrowes, what doe they Implie

but Shafts of Iustice 'gainst Impietie?

Yet they must passe through a Iuditious hand

for see, they'r tyde wth Mercies silken Band.

They must not inconsideratly be spent

60

but vsd like Weapons of iust Punⁱ⟨[shment.]⟩

5]

And as it is in course of Combat knowne

'tis not the propertie of one hand alone

both to defend, and offend at one time,

So let not one hand passe vpon a Crime

65

the waight may fall too heavy: but take both

Mercie wth Iustice, Twyns of equall growth:

those carry a Cause leuell through a Land,

for no man shootes an Arrow wth one hand,

⟨[Beleeue we]⟩ this: doe Envie what it can

70

⟨ C⟩onscience is an armed Man.

5^v]

An other way: to make it generall

For 'tis an Embleme that concernes you all

You of the hono^rable Brotherhood

knitt altogeather for the Citties good.

75

In whose grave Wisedomes, her faire Strength doth stand.
 You are the Sheafe: the Magistrate y^e Band
 whose Loue is woond about you: witnes be
 his Bountie, and his Welcom, both most free.
 And as this Daie you saw the g<[ol]>den Sheafe 80
 of this blessed Citties works in <[t]>he <[releife]>
 6] of the poore Fatherles: May you behold
 that Sheafe of Glorie, y^t makes drosse of Gold.
 th' Almightyes Arrowes, on your Enemies fall,
 and heauens armed Armes, protect you all. 85

2. Song.

Meane. Ioie be euer at your Feastes.
Base. Bountie <[wel]>com all your Guests.
Chorus. [That this] Citties honor maie
 [Spred as far] as Morne shootes Daie. 90
 6^v] Meane. Faire your Fortunes euer be.
Base. Plentie bles the hand that's free.
Chorus. That this Citties hono^r maie
 spred as far as Morne shootes Daie.
Meane. Health your Powres with gladnes fill. 95
Base. Iustice be your Armo^r, still.
Meane. Pious Works the golden Sheafe.
Base. Those Arrowes strike the [blind and deafe]
 7] Meane. and dombe.
Base. and Lame. 100
Chorus. So Vertue maie

spred forth as far as Morne shootes Daie.

finis

7^v blank]

8 blank]

8^v blank]

Substantive Changes

5 1622] MS; 1623 I, Bullen.

12-13 <...>he<...>] MS; [Come] enter / then I; [enter.] / then Bullen.

22-23 <Cr[est]>...<[it]> b<[est]>] ed; [worth]...it both I, Bullen.

24 I,] Ay, Bullen; I MS.

31 F<[ortu]> n<[ae]>] I.

31 Mater] MS, Bullen; Matre I.

32 <[This hono]>rd] I.

40-41 <[appeere]>...tho<[ught of feare]>] MS; thought [of feare] I.

50-51 [Occas]i)on]...< Ch)ampion] ed; [A station]...[A christian]
I, Bullen.

70 [Beleeue we]]] I; [Believe me] Bullen

71 < >] MS; [Religious] I.

80-81 g<[ol]>den...<[t]>he<[releife]>] I.

88 <[wel]>com] MS; welcome I.

89-90 <[That this]>...<[Spred as far]>] I.

92 hand] MS; Land I, Bullen.

98 <[blind and deafe]]] ed; [wicked deafe] I, Bullen.

Textual Notes

5 1622] See p.273 for the question of the date.

12-13] Neither T's nor Bullen's reading is satisfactory. First, enter does not rhyme with cleere. Second, Crane nowhere else in An Invention begins a line in the centre of the page rather than at the left-hand margin, so it is extremely unlikely that l. 13 consists simply of then. Only the he is now clear in this line although traces of preceding and succeeding letters which could be t and n respectively are visible. It is probable that a full line has been lost.

22-23] T's conjecture worth is palaeographically unsound. Traces of the initial letter(s) of this word remain, but do not correspond to any of Crane's ws. They strongly resemble, however, the Cr of Crest in l. 43. This casts serious doubt on T's apparently non-conjectural reading it both in l. 23; only b is now visible. I suggest that Crest...it best is more convincing palaeographically and, by introducing immediately the significance of Barkham's crest, makes better sense.

24 I,] This reading makes good, if rather inelegant, sense. However, Bullen may well be right in suggesting that Crane caught I from the following line when he should have read A.

50 <[Occas]i>on] T's conjecture A station makes sense, but is rather repetitive. The passage seems rather to demand the application of the crest to the occasion: Barkham's crest effectively symbolizes the significance of the celebration of the City's pious works.

51] T's conjecture anticipates the development of the speech as well as being syntactically and metrically clumsy.

52-56] Bullen jettisons the sound punctuation of the MS in favour of his own, thereby changing the meaning of the entire passage. His version runs:

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...

(VII, 375)

71] T's Religious is a possible, but not entirely convincing, reading.

92 hand] T and Bullen both misread the italic h as l, although no form of Crane's l in the MS corresponds. The italic h, however, is common.

98 <[blind and deafe]>] T's conjecture wicked deafe suggests that he has failed to realize that the arrows of Barkham's crest operate on more than one level of significance. Although in l. 57 the arrows function as "Shafts of Iustice," by l. 80 they represent the City's pious works. This sense is developed in the final song, and, therefore, the handicapped must be objects of charity not targets for destruction.

Emendations of Accidentals

24 I,] $\sim \wedge$

51 Magistrate).] $\sim \sim \wedge$

Critical Notes

2 Barkeham] The Lord Mayor for whom Middleton had written SA in 1621.

See p.106 for biographical details.

5 Easter...1622] See p.273 for a consideration of problems regarding the date.

7 seuerall parts] base, mean, and chorus; possibly sung by the City waits. A pun is intended.

8 a Personage] Honor is dressed to represent Barkham's crest. He appears in different guise in THI (1617) and THV (1622).

10 a hall...stand cleere] the traditional cry for room. Cf. HE, ent. i, l. 18, "Roome, roome, make roome."

22 his $\langle \text{Cr}[\text{est}] \rangle$] Barkham's.

29 word] Presumably Barkham's motto, Diligentia Fortunae Mater, was inscribed on the representation of his crest.

30-31] Diligence is the mother of Fortune. Middleton also makes use of an inscription of Barkham's motto in SA. As Meane goes on to point out, it is a motto especially appropriate to City officials, cf. the "ceaslesse labour" required of the Aldermen in HE, ent. i. l. 74.

43 Crest] It is possible that Honor is referring to a representation of Barkham's crest decorating the banqueting room, rather than the one he himself is carrying.

48] In ent. i of HE, ll. 47-48, Cokayne's symbol, the cock-cup, is described as "An Emblem of your worth, charge, power, & state, / None, Noblier can expresse a Magistrate."

52 Two armed Armes] part of the crest.

54 the...Christian] commonplace derived ultimately from Ephesians vi. 11-17.

57 Shafts of Justice] The necessity for the magistrate to temper justice with mercy is a common theme of Middleton's civic works, cf. especially HE, ent. vi, l. 50; ent. ii uses a similar archery analogy.

70 Envie] a common Middleton villain in the civic entertainments, see IT (VII, 244).

80-82] The sheaf is golden as in Barkham's crest. The entertainment was specifically designed to celebrate the City's charitable works; it had an especial responsibility for the relief of orphans.

84 Almighties Arrows] not to be confused with either the arrows of l. 56 or those of l. 98.

90 Cf. HE, ent. v, l. 54, "the faire Sun shoots splendor through his cloud."

NOTES

¹An Invention is sometimes referred to as A Song in Several Parts; this, however, is derived from the directions for the first song and not from the title-page, and I have, therefore, avoided using it.

²So Middleton refers to ent. iv of HE as "this sad Pageant" (1. 11). Cf. David Bergeron's definition of civic pageantry as entertainments "generally accessible to the public...[that] always occurred outdoors" Civic Pageantry, pp. 2-3. Nevertheless, he includes the essentially private, albeit outdoor, entertainments provided for Elizabeth at Kénilworth and Elvetham.

³EES, I, 191-202. The following quotations from Lydgate are taken from this source.

⁴MSC III, p. 136; see also Lusher, "Guild Drama," p. 158.

⁵Dyce, I, xix-xxvii, prints most of the entries from City records relating to Middleton's employment.

⁶Analytical Index to the Remembrancia (London, 1898) p. 305.

⁷HE, ent. viii, ll. 2-5. Unfortunately, the headings to ents. viii-x are confusing, and it is hard to determine the day when ent. viii took place. It is not clear whether ll. 7-8 in ent. ix, apparently fixing the date of ent. viii as Thursday of Easter week, refers to ent. viii in the form printed. There were no Spital sermons on the Thursday.

⁸Survey of London, XXVIII, ed. F. H. W. Sheppard (London: Athlone, 1957), 44; see also Stow, Survey, I, 104.

⁹Remembrancia, pp. 52-53. In 1582 there was a dispute between the Queen and the City over the right to nominate recipients of the money collected at these sermons.

¹⁰See Richard Southern, The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare (London: Faber, 1973), pp. 45-54, for a discussion of the adaptation of the interlude to the great hall.

¹¹Fairbairn's Book of Crests, 4th ed. (1859; rpt. London, n.d.), I, 34; II, 194:6.

¹²Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, pp. 33-53 discusses the duties of the waits at City banquets and festivities.

¹³HE, ent. i, ll. 71-72.

¹⁴F. P. Wilson, "Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players," The Library, 4th ser., 7 (1926), 197-8.

¹⁵It is unlikely that the MS was made for presentation to Conway. According to Collier, his papers at one time included another dramatic MS, Massinger's now lost Philenzo and Hippolyto, see Works, I, xxvii, but it is not known either how this got included with state documents. Since, however, Conway was Secretary to the Privy Council at the time of A Game at Chess, it is possible that some Middleton papers were called in for examination, and this might explain the presence of An Invention among his papers.

¹⁶Wilson, p. 202; T. H. Howard-Hill, Ralph Crane and Some Shakespeare First Folio Comedies (Charlottesville, Va.: Univ. of Virginia Press, 1972), pp. 16-68.

¹⁷Howard-Hill, p. 43, comments that Crane's use of contractions diminishes sharply after his transcription of Barnavelt in 1619. Their high incidence in An Invention may be another example of Crane's un-elaborate style in this transcription.

¹⁸Howard-Hill, p. 38.

¹⁹Ibid. pp. 61-68.

SELECTED REFERENCES

Books

Akrigg, G. P. V. Jacobean Pageant or the Court of King James I. London: Hamilton, 1962.

Analytical Index to the Series of Records known as the Remembrancia, 1579-1664. London, 1878.

Arber, Edward. A Transcript of the Register of the Court of Stationers of London. 1554-1640 A.D. 4 vols. London, 1875-77.

Anglo, Sydney. "The Court Festivities of Henry VII: A Study Based upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 43 (1960), 12-45.

-----, "The London Pageants for the Reception of Katherine of Aragon November 1501." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 26 (1963), 53-89.

-----, Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.

Bacon, Francis. The Works of Francis Bacon. Ed. James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis, and Douglas D. Heath. 2nd ed. London, 1870. Vol. VI.

Bald, R. C. "Middleton's Civic Employments." Modern Philology, 31 (1933), 65-78.

Barker, Richard Hindry. Thomas Middleton. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1958.

Bate, John. The Mysteries of Nature and Art. London, 1634.

Beaumont, Francis, and John Fletcher. The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon. Gen. ed. Fredson Bowers. Vols. I - III. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966-76.

Beaven, Alfred B. The Aldermen of the City of London. 2 vols. London: Corporation of London, 1908, 1913.

Bentley, G. E. The Jacobean and Caroline Stage. 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1941-68.

Berger, Thomas L. and William C. Bradford. Index of Characters in English Printed Drama to the Restoration. Englewood, Colorado: Microcard Editions Books, 1975.

- Bergeron, David M. "Actors in English Civic Pageants." In Renaissance Papers, 1972. A Selection of Papers Presented at the Renaissance Meeting in the Southeastern States. Columbus, S.C.: n.p., 1973.
- . "Anthony Munday: Pageant Poet to the City of London." Huntington Library Quarterly, 30 (1967), 345-68.
- . "Anthony Munday's Son, Richard." American Notes and Queries, 7 (1969), 115-117.
- . "Charles I's Royal Entries in London." The Guildhall Miscellany, 3, No. 2 (1970), 91-97.
- . "The Christmas Family: Artificers in English Civic Pageantry." English Literary History, 35 (1968), 354-64.
- . "Civic Pageants and Historical Drama." Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 5 (1975), 89-105.
- . "The Elizabethan Lord Mayor's Show." Studies in English Literature, 10 (1970), 269-285.
- . "The Emblematic Nature of English Civic Pageantry." In Renaissance Drama I. Ed. S. Schoenbaum. Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1968, pp. 167-98.
- . English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642. London: Arnold, 1971.
- . "Harrison, Jonson, and Dekker: The Magnificent Entertainment for King James (1604)." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 31 (1968), 445-48.
- . "Prince Henry and English Civic Pageantry." Tennessee Studies In Literature 13 (1968), 109-16.
- . "Jack Straw in Drama and Pageant." The Guildhall Miscellany, 2, No. 10 (1968), 459-63.
- . "Symbolic Landscape in English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642." Renaissance Quarterly, 22 (1969), 32-37.
- . "Thomas Dekker's Lord Mayor's Shows." English Studies, 3 (1970), 2-15.
- . "Two Compositors in Heywood's Londons Ius Honorarium (1631)." Studies in Bibliography, 22 (1969), 223-26.
- . "Venetian State Papers and English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642." Renaissance Quarterly, 23 (1970), 37-47.

- , and H. B. Caldwell. Comps. Twentieth-Century Criticism of English Masques, Pageants, and Entertainments, 1558-1642. San Antonio: Trinity Univ. Press, 1972.
- Bradbrook, Muriel C. The Living Monument: Shakespeare and the Theatre of his Time. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976.
- Brown, John Russell. "The Printing of John Webster's Plays (II)." Studies in Bibliography, 8 (1956), 113-27.
- Byrne, Muriel St. Clare. "Anthony Munday and his Books." The Library, 4th Ser. 1 (1921), 225-56.
- Calendar of State Papers Domestic. Vol. X. London, 1858.
- Calendar of State Papers Venetian. Vols. III - XVIII. London, 1869-1912.
- Chamberlain, John. The Letters of John Chamberlain. Ed. Norman Egbert McClure. 2 vols. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939.
- Chambers, Edmund K. The Elizabethan Stage. 4 vols. 2nd ed. 1923; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon, 1951.
- Clark, Arthur M. Thomas Heywood: Playwright and Miscellanist. Oxford: Blackwell, 1931.
- , "Two Pageants by Thomas Heywood; 1632, 1633." In Theatre Miscellany. Oxford: Luttrell Soc., 1963.
- Campbell, Lily B. Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923.
- Clode, Charles M. The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist. 2 vols. London, 1888.
- Cokayne, G. E. The Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of London: 1601-1625. London, 1897.
- Cooke, Jo. Greenes Tu Quoque. London, 1614.
- Cope, Jackson, I. "The Date of Middleton's Women Beware Women." Modern Language Notes, 76 (1961), 295-300.
- Craik, T. W. The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume, and Acting. Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1958.
- Dekker, Thomas. The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker. Ed. Fredson Bowers. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1953-61.
- Drake, Nathan. Shakespeare and his Times. 2nd ed. 1838; rpt. New York: Franklin, 1969.

- Dunlap, Rhodes. "The Making of The Peacemaker." In Studies in the English Renaissance Drama: In Memory of Karl Julius Holz knecht. Ed. Josephine W. Bennett. New York: New York Univ. Press, 1959, pp. 82-94.
- Eccles, Mark. "Anthony Munday." In Studies in the English Renaissance Drama: In Memory of Karl Julius Holz knecht. Ed. Josephine W. Bennett. New York: New York Univ. Press, 1959, pp. 95-105.
- ". "Thomas Middleton: a Poett." Studies in Philology, 54 (1957), 516-536.
- Fairbairn, James. Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland. 2 vols. 4th ed. 1859; rpt. London: Jack, 1912.
- Fairholt, Frederick W. The Civic Garland: A Collection of Songs from London Pageants. London, 1845.
- ". Lord Mayors' Pageants: Being Collections Towards a History of these Annual Celebrations. Percy Soc., X. London, 1843-44.
- Foakes, R. A. and R. T. Rickert, eds. Henslowe's Diary. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1961.
- Freeman, Rosemary. English Emblem Books. London: Chatto, 1948.
- Gibbons, Brian. Jacobean City Comedy. London: Hart Davis, 1968.
- Gilbert, Allan H. The Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson. Durham N. C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1948.
- Girtin, Tom. The Triple Crown: A Narrative History of the Drapers' Company 1364-1964. London: Hutchinson, 1964.
- Goodall, John A. "Heraldry and Iconography: A Study of the Arms granted to the Drapers' Company of London." The Coat of Arms, 4, No. 29 (1957), 1-15.
- Gordon, D. J. "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 12 (1949), 152-78.
- Grego, Joseph. "The Artistic Aspect of Lord Mayors' Shows." In The Magazine of Art. London, 1870, pp. 8-15.
- Griffin, Alice Venezky. Pageantry on the Shakespearean Stage. New York: Twayne, 1951.
- Harrison, Stephen. The Arches of Triumph. London, 1604.

- Heath, John Benjamin. Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers. 3rd. ed. 1829; rpt. London, 1869.
- Heinemann, Margot. "Middleton's A Game at Chess: Parliamentary-Puritans and Opposition Drama." English Literary Renaissance, 5 (1975), 232-50.
- Herbert, William. The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London. 2 vols. London, 1837.
- Heywood, Thomas. Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo: or, Londons Fountaine of Arts and Sciences. London, 1632.
- . Londini Emporia, or Londons Mercatura. London, 1633.
- . Londini Sinus Salutis, or, Londons Harbour of Health, and Happiness. London, 1635.
- . Londini Speculum: or, Londons Mirror. London, 1637.
- . Londini Status Pacatus: Londons Peaceable Estate. London, 1639.
- . Londons Jus Honorarium. London, 1631.
- . Porta Pietatis, or, The Port of Harbour of Piety. London, 1638.
- Holmes, David M. The Art of Thomas Middleton. Oxford, Clarendon, 1970.
- Howard-Hill, Trevor H. Ralph Crane and Some Shakespeare First Folio Comedies. Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press, 1972.
- Jackson, W. A. Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957.
- Jacquot Jean, Ed. Les Fêtes de la Renaissance. 2 vols. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956, 1960.
- Jonson, A. H. The History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of London. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1914-22.
- Johnson, Ben. Ben Jonson. ed. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson. 11 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1925-52.
- . The Joyfull Returne of the Most Illustrious Prince Charles ...from the Court of Spaine. London, 1623.
- Kahl, William F. The Development of London Livery Companies: An Historical Essay and a Select Bibliography. Boston: Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1960.

- Kahrl, Stanley J. Traditions of Medieval English Drama. London: Hutchinson, 1974.
- Kaplan, Joel H. "Middleton's Tamburlaine." English Language Notes, 13 (1976), 258-60.
- Kernodle, George R. From Art to Theater: Form and Convention in the Renaissance. Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1944.
- . "Renaissance Artists in the Service of the People: Political Tableaux and Street Theaters in France, Flanders, and England." The Art Bulletin, 25 (1943), 59-64.
- Knights, L. C. Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson. London: Chatto, 1937.
- Lake, David J. The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays: Internal Evidence for the Major Problems of Authorship. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975.
- Lambert, John J. Records of the Skinners of London. London: privately printed, 1933.
- Laver, James. Isabella's Triumph. London: Faber, 1947.
- Lavin, J. A. "William Barley, Draper and Stationer," Studies in Bibliography, 22 (1969), 214-23.
- Leggatt, Alexander. Citizen Comedy in the Age of Shakespeare. Toronto: Toronto Univ. Press, 1973.
- Lusher, P. D. "Studies in the Guild Drama, 1515-1550." Diss. London Univ. n.d.
- Lyly, John. The Complete Works of John Lyly. Ed. R. Warwick Bond. 3 vols. Oxford: 1902.
- Machyn, Henry. The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London. Ed. John Gough Nichols. London, 1848.
- McKerrow, R. B. "Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer." The Library, 4th Ser., 10 (1929), 121-62.
- Malone Society, Collections III: A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London 1485-1640. Ed. Jean Robertson and D. J. Gordon. Oxford: Malone Soc., 1954.
- . Collections V: A Calendar of Dramatic Works in the Books of the London Clothworkers' Company. Ed. F. P. Wilson. Oxford: Malone Soc., 1959.

- Massinger, Philip. The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger. Ed. Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1976.
- Mehl, Dieter. The Elizabethan Dumb Show: The History of a Dramatic Convention. London: Methuen, 1965.
- Middleton, Thomas. A Chaste Maid in Cheapside. Ed. R. B. Parker. London: Methuen, 1969.
- . A Game at Chess. Ed. R. C. Bald. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1929.
- . Hengist, King of Kent. Ed. R. C. Bald. New York: Scribner's 1938.
- . Honourable Entertainments. Ed. R. C. Bald. Oxford: Malone Soc., 1953.
- . The Sunne in Aries. London, 1621.
- . The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity. London, 1626.
- . The Triumphs of Integrity. London, 1623.
- . Women Beware Women. Ed. J. R. Mulryne. London: Methuen, 1975.
- . The Works of Thomas Middleton. Ed. A. H. Bullen. 8 vols. London, 1886.
- . The Works of Thomas Middleton. Ed. Alexander Dyce. 5 vols. London, 1840.
- Miller, C. William. "A London Ornament Stock, 1598-1683." Studies in Bibliography, 7 (1955), 125-51.
- Morrison, Paul G. An Index of Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers in the Short-Title Catalogue. Charlottesville: The Bibliographical Society of the Univ. of Virginia, 1950.
- Morrissey, L. J. "English Pageant-Wagons." Eighteenth-Century Studies, 9 (1976), 353-74.
- . "Theatrical Records of London Guilds, 1655-1708." Theatre Notebook, 29 (1975), 99-113.
- Morse, Harriet K. Elizabethan Pageantry. London: Studio, 1934.
- Munday, Anthony. Camp-bell or the Ironmongers Faire Field. London, 1609.

- . Chruso-thriambos, The Triumphes of Golde. London, 1611.
- . Chruso-thriambos. Ed. J. H. P. Pafford. London: privately printed, 1962.
- . Chrysanaleia: The Golden Fishing. London, 1616.
- . Chrysanaleia. Ed. John Gough Nichols, London, 1844.
- . Himatia-Poleos, The Triumphes of Olde Draperie. London, 1614.
- . Londons Love to the Royal Prince Henrie. London, 1610.
- . Metropolis Coronata, the Triumphes of Ancient Drapery. London, 1615.
- . Sidero-thriambos or Steele and Iron Triumphant. London, 1618.
- . The Triumphs of Re-United Britannia. London, 1605.
- . The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece. London, 1623.
- Murray, Peter B. A Study of Cyril Tourneur. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.
- Nashe, Thomas. The Works of Thomas Nashe. Ed. R. B. McKerrow. 5 vols. 2nd ed. 1904-10; rpt. Oxford: Blackwell, 1958.
- Nelson, Thomas. The Device of the Pageant. London, 1590.
- Nicholl, John. Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers. London, 1851.
- Nichols, John. "London Pageants in the Reign of James I." The Gentleman's Magazine., 94, No. 2 (1824), 411-14.
- . "London Pageants in the Reign of King Charles I." The Gentleman's Magazine., 94, No. 2 (1824), 113-118.
- . The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth. 3 vols. London, 1823.
- . The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First. 4 vols. London, 1828.
- Nichols, John Gough. London Pageants: Accounts of Fifty-Five Royal Processions and Entertainments. London, 1837.
- Nicoll, Allardyce. Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage. 2nd ed. 1938; rpt. New York: Blom, 1963.

- Nunzezer, Edwin. A Dictionary of Actors...in England before 1642. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1929.
- Ong, Walter J. "From Allegory to Diagram in the Renaissance Mind: A Study in the Significance of the Allegorical Tableau." Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 17 (1959), 423-40.
- Orgel, Stephen. The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1975.
- , The Jonsonian Masque. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965.
- , "The Poetics of Spectacle." New Literary History, 2, No. 3 (1971), 367-89.
- , and Roy C. Strong. Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court 2 vols. London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1973.
- Payne, Robert. The Roman Triumph. London: Hale, 1962.
- Pearl, Valerie. London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics, 1625-1643. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1961.
- Peele, George. The Life and Minor Works of George Peele. Ed. David H. Horne. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1952.
- Phialas, Peter G. "Middleton and Munday." Times Literary Supplement, 23 November, 1956, p. 697.
- Potter, Robert A. The English Morality Play: Origins, History, and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition. London: Routledge, 1975.
- Price, George R. "The Early Editions of A Trick to Catch the Old One." The Library, 5th Ser., 22 (1967), 205-27.
- Price, John E. A Descriptive Account of the Guildhall of the City of London: Its History and Associations. London, 1886.
- Prideaux, Walter S. Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company. 2 vols. London, 1896, 1897.
- The Quenes Majesties Passage. Ed. James M. Osborn. New Haven: Elizabethan Club, 1960.
- Robertson, Jeane. "L'Entrée de Charles Quint à Londres en 1522." In Fêtes de la Renaissance II: Fêtes et Cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint. Ed. Jean Jacquot. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1960, pp. 169-81.

----- . "Rapports du Poète et de l'Artiste dans la Préparation des Cortèges du Lord Maire (Londres 1553-1640)." In Fêtes de la Renaissance. Vol. I. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956.

Rhode, Eleanour S. Shakespeare's Wild Flowers: Fairy Lore, Gardens, Herbs, Gatherers of Simples and Bee Lore. London: Medical Society, 1935.

Rowse, A. L. Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age: Simon Forman the Astrologer. New York: Scribner's 1974.

Sayle, R. T. D. Lord Mayors' Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company. London: privately printed, 1932.

✓ Schoenbaum, S. Middleton's Tragedies: A Critical Study. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1955.

----- . ed. Renaissance Drama I: Essays Principally on Masques and Entertainments. Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1965.

Schramm, Percy Ernst. A History of the English Coronation. Oxford: Clarendon, 1937.

Sharpe, R. R. London and the Kingdom. London, 1894-95.

Simpson, R. R. Shakespeare and Medicine. Edinburgh: Livingstone, 1959.

Southern, Richard. The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare. London: Faber, 1973.

Squire, John. Tes Irenes Trophæa or, the Tryumphs of Peace. London, 1620.

Stow, John. Annales, or A Generall Chronicle of England. Cont. Edmund Howes, London, 1631.

----- . The Survey of London. Ed. C. L. Kingsford. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1908.

Strong, Roy C. Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion. London: Weidenfeld, 1973.

----- . "The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 21 (1958), 86-103.

Strutt, Joseph. The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England. London, 1830.

Sugden, E. H. A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists. Manchester: Univ. of Manchester Press, 1925.

The Survey of London. Vol. XXVII. Gen. ed. F. H. W. Sheppard. London: Athlone, 1957.

Talbert, Ernest William. The Problem of Order. Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1962.

Tawney, R. H. Business and Politics under James I: Lionel Cranfield as Merchant and Minister. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958.

Taylor John, Taylors Pastorall. London, 1624.

----- The Triumph's of Fame and Honour. London, 1634.

Turner, Robert K. Jr. "Notes on the Text of Thierry and Theodoret Q1" Studies in Bibliography, 14 (1961), 218-31.

Unwin, George. The Guilds and Companies of London. 4th ed. 1908; rpt. London: Cass, 1963.

Wadmore, James F. Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Skinners. 2nd ed. 1876; rpt. London: Nichols, 1902.

Webster, John. The Complete Works of John Webster. Ed. F. L. Lucas. 4 vols. London: Chatto, 1927.

----- The Duchess of Malfi. Ed. John Russell Brown. London: Methuen, 1964.

Whitney, Geoffrey. A Choice of Emblemes. Ed. John Horden. London: Scolar, 1969.

Wickham, Glynne. "Contribution de Ben Jonson et de Dekker aux Fêtes du Couronnement de Jacques I^{er}." In Fêtes de la Renaissance. Ed. Jean Jacquot. Vol. I. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956.

----- Early English Stages 1300-1660. 2 vols. London: Routledge, 1959-63.

----- Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage: Collected Studies in Medieval, Tudor, and Shakespearean Drama. London: Routledge, 1969.

Williams, Dorothy Ann. "Puritanism in the City Government 1610-1640." Guildhall Miscellany, 1, No. 4 (1955), 2-14.

Williams, Sheila. "A Lord Mayor's Show by John Taylor, the Water Poet." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 41 (1959), 501-31.

----- . "The Lord Mayor's Show from Peele to Settle: A Study of Literary Content, Organization, and Methods of Production." Diss. London. Univ., 1957.

----- . "The Lord Mayor's Show in Tudor and Stuart Times." Guildhall Miscellany, 1, No. 10 (1959), 3-18.

----- . "Les Ommegangs d'Anvers et les Cortèges du Lord-Maire de Londres." In Fêtes de la Renaissance II. Ed. Jean Jacquot. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960.

----- . "Two Seventeenth-Century Semi-Dramatic Allegories of Truth the Daughter of Time." Guildhall Miscellany, 2, No. 5 (1963), 207-220.

Wilson, F. P. "Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players." The Library, 4th Ser., 7 (1926/27), 194-215.

Wilson, Robert. The Coblers Prophecy. London, 1594.

Wither, George. Britains Remembrancer. London: 1628. rpt. The Spenser Soc., Manchester, 1880.

Withington, Robert. English Pageantry: An Historical Outline. 2 vols. 2nd ed. 1918, 1920; rpt. New York: Blom, 1969.

----- . "The Lord Mayor's Show for 1623." PMLA, 30 (1915), 110-15.

Woodfill, Walter L. Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1953.

Wright, Celeste Turner. Anthony Munday: An Elizabethan Man of Letters. Univ. of California Publications in English, vol. 2, No. 1. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1928.

Wright, Louis B. Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England. Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1935.

Zaller, Robert. The Parliament of 1621. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971.

Manuscripts

Drapers' Company. Freedom Lists.

----- . Quarterage Books.

----- . Renter's Accounts.

----- . Repertories.

----- . Wardens' Accounts.

----- . Wardens of the Bachelors' Accounts.

Middleton, Thomas. An Invention performed for...Edward Barkham. 1622.
State Papers, Domestic, 14, vol. 129, document 53. Public Record
Office, London.

----- . An Invention performed for...Edward Barkham. n.d. State
Papers, Domestic, 14, vol. 129, document 53. Nineteenth-century
transcript of 1622 MS. Public Record Office, London.

APPENDIX I: THE PRINTING OF LORD MAYOR'S SHOWS, 1602-1639.

Information about the printing of the texts of Lord Mayor's Shows can be derived from three sources, the texts themselves, the records of the Companies responsible for the Shows and the Stationers' Register.¹ Analysis of these suggests that there was considerable variation from Company to Company and, even when the same Company is involved, from year to year. The custom of printing the text may date back to 1566, although as the editors of Malone Society Collections III point out, the printing may have been for the benefit of the performers (p.xxxii). Peele's Device of the Pageant borne before Woolstane Dixi survives from 1585 and his text for the 1588 Show was entered in the Stationers' Register upon condition that it be licensed; it is no longer extant. In 1602 Anthony Munday was paid 30/- for printing the books of the speeches for his now lost Show for that year.² In 1604 the Haberdashers' Company paid a similar sum for printing. Thereafter prices seem to have risen. £4 was usual, but in 1605 Munday received £6 for having the books of the speeches in the pageant and the other shows printed; perhaps extra copies were needed. From this time, probably as a result of Munday's involvement in all aspects of pageant production, the writer, sometimes in conjunction with the artificer, was usually responsible for arranging the printing and providing the Company with a fixed number of copies. When, in the 1630s, the artificer takes over the organization, this duty devolves upon him as well. The majority of texts were printed by Nicholas Okes. After 1621 either he or his son, John, was responsible for almost all of them.

Generally, as in 1609, 1611, 1617, 1622, 1629, and 1635 the Company involved seems to have wanted five hundred copies. In 1613 and 1617 the Grocers' Company, instead of making Middleton responsible for the printing, paid Nicholas Okes directly for their five hundred copies: these cost them £4. In 1631 and 1632 the Haberdashers required only three hundred copies, but in 1638 the Drapers paid John Okes 40/- for an unspecified number of "bookes printing for the Companie over and above the number [500] they were to have had by agreement from Mr.Christmas" (MSC III, p. 127). In some years at least, however, more copies were printed than were required by the Company. So the title-page of Troia-Nova Triumphans (1612) states that copies were "Printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by John Wright." And in December 1616 the Fishmongers' Company Court Ledger records that "Anthony Munday did exhibitt his petition to have some gratificacion gyven him for 200 bookes of the late shewes and speeches [Chrysanaleia] of the presentment of the Lord maior more than he agreed to delyver them" (MSC III, p. 91). This suggests that Munday had arranged the printing of at least two hundred extra copies in the hope of selling them and, having failed to do so, was desirous of cutting his losses. Furthermore, the involvement of an independent publisher, Henry Gosson, in 1621 and 1634, again suggests that some copies were designed for public sale. Finally, the existence of two editions for certain pageants, Chruso-thriambos (1611), set partly from standing type, and The Triumphs of Truth (1613) with the addition of the New River Entertainment, also indicates that not all copies were privately distributed.³

Until 1633 the Companies seem to have wanted the texts to commemorate

the occasion. All the evidence until this date from both the Stationers' Register and the texts themselves points to printing taking place after the performance.⁴ In Londini Emporia (1633), however, Heywood declines to describe the first tableau because "the Fabricke it selfe being visible to all, needeth not any expression from me" (sig. A4^v). And this use of the texts as programmes seems to have continued in the remaining Shows before the Interregnum.⁵ Whether the pageants were printed before or after 29 October, speed must have been of the essence. The Company would naturally want its presentation copies with all despatch, and if either writer, printer, or publisher were to make any money from public sales, they would also require copies to be available as soon as possible.

NOTES

¹The following pageants were listed in the SR: Peele's 1588 text, the non-extant 1604 text, Dekker's T-NT (1612), Middleton's TI (1613), Munday's Chrysanaleia (1616), and Taylor's The Triumphs of Fame and Honour (1634).

²The following figures are taken from MSC III entries for these years.

³MSC III, p. xxxiii suggests that "in 1611, 1613, and 1616, the Stationers' Register entries may refer to the second issues of the pamphlets"; however, the 1611 text (Chruso-thriambos) was not entered in SR. Scaturigo was not entered either.

⁴The 1588 text was entered on 28 Oct., the 1604 and 1616 texts on 29 Oct., and the 1613 text on 3 Nov. T-NT was entered on 21 Oct. "to be printed when further authorised." In addition, Camp-bell and T-NT refer to events occurring on the day of the performance and so were clearly written afterwards.

⁵So, for instance, TFH was entered in the SR on 14 Oct., allowing sufficient time for printing before 29 Oct.

APPENDIX II: EXTRACTS FROM THE BOOKS OF THE DRAPERS' COMPANY

The following extracts from the records of the Drapers' Company have been transcribed according to a slightly modified version of the procedures outlined in Malone Society, Collections III and V. I have not attempted to indicate deletions in the extracts, but any interlineation is indicated by half brackets, Square brackets enclose editorial interpolations. In the case of the first extract from 1621, I have lowered superscript t where this does not represent a missing letter as in the, this, etc. The hand in this entry is particularly difficult to read; the words are cramped and little care has been given to the formation of letters, especially minims. Accordingly doubtful readings and those where the text is in error have been indicated by [?].

THE INAUGURATION OF EDWARD BARKHAM, 1621

Drapers' Repertories, +301, Reverse, fos. 75-77. 25 June [sic; July?]

- 75] This daie M^r. Edward Barkham Aldr^{an} and free of y^e Companie of Lethersellers London (havige form'ly desired to speake w^th twoe of y^e M^r. wardens of this Companie of drapers) declared his mynde to M^r. Abbott & M^r. Rosse wardens That he beinge by course to be lorde Maior of this cittie of London the next yeare, was desierous to be accepted of by this Companie as a brother thereof. And to that

ende prayed y^e said wardens to procure a Courte of Assistant^e to
 be furthw^th warned. & to make that his desire knowne vnto them
 whereby he maie before Mondaie next vnderstande of y^e said Companies
 willingness to accepte of him of their brotherhood or not And
 therevppon M^r. Meredith y^e M^r of the said companie & others of y^e
 assistant^e beinge furthe of London in the cuntrey weare sent for &
 a courte of Assistant^e warned againste Saterdaie y^e Laste of this
 instant June And in y^e meane tyme viz^t ffrydaie in y^e afternoone
 assembled at drapers hall, M^r ^{At} Meredith y^e M^r. of this Companie
 M^r. Maurice Abbott & M^r. George Lowe Twoe of y^e wardens of the said
 Companie M^r. Aldrān Lumley, M^r. Aldrān Cotton., M^r. Ioⁿ Raine M^r.
 Abraham Cartwrighte, M^r. Richard Champion, M^r. Ioⁿ Hall & M^r.
 Richard Edward^e and after dispatche of other busines for w^{ch} they
 as Comitties mett together The wardens M^r. Abbott & M^r. Rosse
 acquainted the said Comitties of y^e motion & desire of the said M^r.
 Aldrān Barkeham And y^e M^r. wardens & reste of y^e p^ties before
 named enteringe into considera[~]con of y^e p^tmisses And findinge y^e
 state of y^e yeomandry to be very weake & y^e nomber fewe, y^e Chardge
 greate to y^e companie of y^e yeomandry if M^r. At^d Barkeham be of o^r
 companie, & y^e stocke of y^e yeomandry as nothings, in respecte thereof.
 Consideringe alsoe the greate chardge this Companie was Latelie
 putt vnto by y^e Maioraltie of S^r Tho: Hayes & Sr. Ioⁿ. Ioll^e. knight
 late Maio^rs of this cittie nowe deceased & y^e chardge shortlie to
 be expected when M^r. Aldrān Lumley & M^r Aldrān Cotten maie come to
 y^e office of Maioraltie: and for diverse other greate considera[~]cons
 & causes conceaved & propounded by y^e said Comitties It was then

conceaved and soe resolved as y^e fitteste course then to be taken that y^e said M^r. Aldrān Lumley & M^r. Aldrān Cotton wth M^r warden Abbott & M^r. warden Rosse shulde repaire to the said M^r. Aldrān Barkeham and acquainte him of y^e companies good respecte of his love in chosinge and desiringe to come & be of o^r companie, but wth hall of o^r Companies inhabillitie to p^rforme & vndergoe suche chardge & busines as of necessitie they muste be enforced to be at, bothe for y^e honor of this cittie & hⁱmsel^f when he shalbe maior, & y^e creditt & w^{pp} of this companie, and after suche causes & reasons shewed as then was conceaved fitt to be propounded & made knowne to the said M^r. Aldrān Barkeham Then to acquainte him of their greate doubte & feare they had vppon y^e meetinge of y^e said courte of Assistant^e. such woulde be y^e opynion & resolucōn of that courte touchinge y^e foresaid matter (as already they conceived by y^e private meetinge of y^e Comitties) that they ^{much} doubted his w^{pp} shulde not receave suche answeare & contentm^t as in that matter he expected at the companie. And therefore earnestly to p^rswade his w^{pp} to accepte of some other ^{of} the Twelve companies as he for^mlie alledged to M^r. wardens offered themselves to receave him, & to spare y^e saide companie of drapers in this behalfe yet notwthstandinge if his w^{pp} 76] woulde neede vrge y^e Companie of drapers to yelde him an answeare from the court of Assistant^e whether they are willinge to accepte him into their companie or not, the said M^r. wardens promised on the morrowe to attende him wth the Companies answeare in that behalfe Yet further intimated to M^r Aldrān that if the courte of Assistant^e

shall sende him a negative answeare they conceaved it woulde
tende in some sorte to his disgrace & doubted it woulde be much
discontentfull vnto him & therefore wished the companie maie not
be further vrged, but that he woulde take notice of the companies
desire nowe y^e matter beinge probably carryed & noe denyall given
And [after] there beinge a courte of Assistant^e And the matter
beinge treated vppon & debated At laste it was ordered that the
ffowre M^r. wardens of this companie shulde repaire to the said
M^r. Aldrān Barkham and acquainte him of the companies desire to be
excusde from havinge him of o^r said companie for y^e respect^e afore-
said And M^r. wardens that afternoone attendinge M^r Aldrān according-
lie wth y^e Message of y^e whole courte of Assistant^e the said M^r.
Aldrān Barkeham shewed him self thereat muche discontented accomptinge
himself wronged & vnkyndlie delt wth alledginge that as he conceaved
he had a righte to come vppon anie of the Companies as he thought
fitt, and noe companie had a power to refuse him & vttered
manie discontentfull word^e tuchinge that denyall sayinge he woulde
never be Lo. Maior of London vnles he weare a Draper. And the more
vnwillinge the companie was to receave him vppon that companie the
more earneste he woulde be to come vppon them The said M^r wardens
on the companies behalf alledged that the companie hoped he woulde
not offer in anie wise to come vppon the Drapers companie, for that
he made them a faithfull p^mise that (in considera^on of y^e
Companies condescendinge at his earnest request to suffer M^r. Paule
Bayninge some tyme the companies tenant of the howse at dowgate
wherein the said M^r Aldrān Barkham nowe dwelleth to assigne over

his interest & estate in that howse & other lande there) he would
 never come to be free of the Drapers companie or putt them to anie
 trouble or chardge what soever And that & that [sic] was a con-
 sidera[~]con bothe Lawfull & valuable in all equitie to binde the
 said M^r Aldr[~]an not to come vpon the drapers companie as aforesaid
 And After that y^e M^r. wardens (vpon a complainte made to the Lo:
 Maio^r and courte of Aldr[~]en by M^r. Aldr[~]an Barkeham) weare sent for
 to the courte of Aldr[~]en on Tuesday y^e seacond of Iuly 1621 and vpon
 the companies answeare & denyall in acceptinge of the said M^r.
 Aldr[~]an Barkeham, the said courte vpon the rysinge thereof willed
 that this companie maie have a further meetinge & be entreated to
 accepte of the said M^r. Aldr[~]an into this companie. But vpon y^e
 M^r. wardens replie that o^r companie conceived they oughte not to
 be bounde to receave him beinge not compellable by Lawe and noe
 p^rsedent order or custome beinge against them in that behalf Diverse
 of y^e said Aldr[~]en condiscended & said they did not see howe this
 companie coulde be compelled to receave him but yet wished he
 mighte be receaved in love & the companie called to that purpose
 And afterward^e on saterdaie the Seaventh of Iuly y^e said M^r wardens
 accordingleie caused to be warned to the drapers hall y^e Assistant^e
 lyvery and chiefest p^rte of the yeomandry (havinge firste obtained
 y^e Lo: Maio^r's consent to call together y^e whole gerfallity of the
 companie) and after declara[~]con made by y^e M^r. wardens of the whole
 matter & p^rceedinges & of the desire of the Lo: Maio^r & Courte of
 Aldr[~]en tuchinge the lovinge acceptance of the said M^r Aldr[~]an It

was putt to a question whether he shulde be receaved into the
 companie or not & desired that everie p^ticular p^{er}son of the companie
 p^{er}set shulde shewe his willinge mynde thereon by y^e holdinge
 vpp of his hande And it beinge published that all that woulde have
 M^r. Aldrān Barkeham to be receaved into this companie shulde holde
 vpp theire hande, noe one hande was helde vpp for him, but beinge
 declared that all that woulde not have him to come into this
 companie to holde vpp theire hande every man helde vpp his hande,
 whereby all the whole companie agreed he shulde not be receaved
 vppon this companie The nexte courte of Aldrēn beinge on the tuesday
 followinge w^{ch} was the xth of Iuly. y^e M^r wardens reported to that
 courte y^e companies devise & resolu^{ti}ō And the said M^r. Aldrān
 Barkeham then openly in the said courte of Aldrēn vowinge & pro-
 testinge that he woulde never be Maio^r of London vnles he be admitted
 into the said companie of drapers & beinge earneste in that courte
 tuchinge his comynge into this Companie The said courte of Aldrēn
 77] then by an order of that courte declared That the said courte con-
 ceaved it [?] & fittinge that this companie of drapers shulde
 receave the said M^r Aldrān Barkeham into this Companie And vppon
 the further requeste of the said Courte of Aldrēn on the behalf of
 the said M^r Aldrān Barkeham to the Companie to have other meetings
 and further considera^{ti}ōns of the said matter There was diverse and
 s^{er}uall court^e of Assistant^e warned & had vppon due & delib^{er}ate considera-
 ti^ōn had of the p^{er}misses & vppon due advisem^t howe farr they oughte to
 be chardged in that behalf continually resolved to deli^uer to the

said courte of Aldrẽn negative answeares as by the orders of those courte appeareth And the M^r & wardens & cten of the Assistant^e of this companie to that purpose being appointed from tyme to tyme after eache of the said courte of Assistant^e. c^tified the said courte of lo: Maio^r & courte of Aldrẽn of the resolu^õns & mynde of the Assistant^e of this companie Wherevpon the said courte of lo: Maio^r & Aldrẽn the xxiiijth of Iuly 1621 Ordered and thoughte fitt that this companie of drapers shall receave M^r. Aldrẽn Barkeham into this companie And by that order the M^r. & wardens & the reste of the said companie p^rsent weare by the said courte of Aldrẽn required to make it known to this companie & to see that order w^thall conveⁿit speed p^rformed At w^{ch} courte before the said order sett downe this companie beinge sent for appeared & by M^r. Gerrard theire counsell opened to the said courte All the companies reasons & causes as they had collected in wrytinge againste the receavinge in of the said M^r. Aldrẽn And M^r. Blanchard & M^r. Humfrey Downes as witnesses for y^e companie offered to depose to that courte y^e p^rmise of M^r. Aldrẽn Barkeham not to come vpon this companie & the valuable considera^õn. of this companie given in respecte thereof & when all y^e exceptions alledged by M^r. Recorder & others on the behalf of M^r. Aldrẽn against o^r companie weare fullie & clearelie answeared, & this companie onlie stood vpon this that there was nether Lawe, Customes, order in the pointe, or equitie to compell them to the receavinge in of the said M^r. Aldrẽn The said company weare willed to dep^rte the court And in their absence The said courte of Aldrẽn (consideringe howe farr

themselves had engaged & entered themselves into the busines & howe farr it maie tende to theire disreputacōn, for this company to pvaile in this behalf, and seeinge that M^r. Aldrān as clayminge in his owne righte was stopped by y^e testimonies of the foresaid pties in respecte of his pmise & a consideraōn accepted) made the foresaid order as of the power & p^rogative of that courte to appointe this companie to receave the said M^r. Aldrān, Wherevpon after at the comynge downe of the lo: keep Thre^t and diverse others of the Lorde of his Ma^{t^e} most ho. privie counsell for the ffirst paym^t of the seacond subsidie The M^r. wardens of this companie weare sent for to be before the said Lo^{d^e}, whoe appearinge at the Lo. Maio^r howse after dynn^t there beinge M^r. Aldrān Barkeham & diverse or most of the Aldrēn wth M^r. Recorder & The wardens of this companie weare required by the said Lo^{d^e} & enioyned to receave in the said M^r. Aldrān Barkeham vpon o^r companie, but for matter of chardge in shoves or otherwise tuchinge his receavinge in when he came to be lo: Maio^r lefte that to the Company to doe as they themselves shall please not compellinge them to be at anie chardge tuchinge the same /

Drapers' Company Repertories, +131, 164^a

Whereas this Companie by authoritie of the Lorde of his Ma^{t^e} moste ho. privie Councell weare compelled for the receavinge of M^r. Aldrān Barkeham into this Companie Yet y^e said lorde for the matter of chardge tuchinge the triumphes expected lefte the Companie to themselves not requiringe anie p^rformance thereof at their hande It is

ordered that the M^r. and wardens nowe to be chosen for the yeare
 ensewinge together wth the nowe p^sent fowre M^r. wardens and wth M^r.
 Cartwrighte shall repaire to y^e Courte of Lo: Maio^r and Aldreⁿ
 and move them to take suche good course for this Companies ease or
 fredome of the matter of chardge expected as aforesaid whereby this
 cittie maie not be disgraced nor this Companie occasioned to com-
 plaine ell^e where as they wthout p^rcedent have byn Complayned of/

19 September, *ibid.*, 165^a.

Considerai'n	Item this daie the righte w ^{pp} full the M ^r and
of y ^e plott ^e	wardens w th M ^r Raine & M ^r . Abbott are entreated
and devises for	and appointed by this Courte to take viewe and
the Lo Maio ^r s	considera [~] con of suche plott ^e & thing ^e as are
Showes referred/	offered to be p ^r sented to this Companie by
	severall p ^r sons touchinge the pageant ^e and shoues
	intended to be p ^r formed by this Companie y ^e daie as M ^r . Aldra ⁿ Barkeham
	is to be sworne to y ^e place of Maioraltie and to report to this Courte
	of theire doing touchinge the same/

Drapers' Company Wardens' Accounts 1621-22, +469/6, 42.

Item paid to Edward Barkeham Lord Mayo^r by order of a Court of
 Assistant^e for y^e painting and bewtifyinge of his howse against his
 Mayrolty Lxv[?]^j li xiiij^s iiij^d

Wardens of the Bachelors' Accounts 1615-1691, +178, 22-30.

- 22] The Accompt of Thomas Adams Allan ffuller Matyn Leader and Thomas Bynnion y^e fower warden batchello^{rs} of y^e yeomandry of y^e ho^{ble} Company of Drapers London of all such moneyes they received and paid toward^e the Chardge of the tryumphes and showes at the inauguracon of the right ho:^{ble} S^r Edward Barkeham knight lord Mayo^r of the Citty of London/

The Chardge of this Accompte

Inprimis wee chardge ourselves wth the receipt of CCC^{li} from M^r william Essington y^e Rentor warden of the Company of Drapers beinge parte of the moneyes he had and received of diverse of the said Company for their admission into the Livery or clothinge of that Company

CCC^{li}

More received for a fyne of Rowland Griffeth to be exempted from beinge called vpon y^e Livery and from all chardge and service in the yeomandry excepte for payment of his quarteridge

xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d

[Then follows a list of "Receipt^e of such as fyned for service," amounting to £143. 18. 00 contributed by 60 Bachelors. Next come the receipts from those "Batchellors here vnder named being xxxix in number

that did weare ffoynes," totalling £75. 02. 00.

Finally come the contributions of the 32 "that did weare budge"; this amounted to £32. 00. 00.]

25] Totall Receaved

Of y ^e M ^r . wardens	300 ^{li}	00	00
Of Rowland Griffeth for his fyne	013	06	08
Of y ^e Batchelers y ^t fyned	143	18	00
Of those as served in foynes	075	02	00
of those as served in Budge	<u>032</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>00/</u>
Totall R ^d	564	06	08/.

26] The dischargde of this Accompt

✓ Inprimis paid for 12 azure clothes of seyerall prizes viz some at viij^{li} v^s some at vij^{li} x^s and others at vij^{li} xv^s a clothe, to make poore mens gownes and coates

Lxxxxij^{li} vj^s

Item for fower yard of like cloth which was for the like vse

xxvj^s

Item paid to M^r Thomas Middleton Garrett Christmas and Anthony Monday by Agreem^t for makinge and settinge out of the Pageante and shewes viz the one in forme or likenes of a Mountaine one other of a fountaine wth a triple Crowne a third called the tower of vertue or y^e brazen tower and the fowrth a Chariott drawne wth twoe pellited lyons and for all Chardges incident to those shewes

CxL^{li}

Item to Richardson by composicōn for the
 Chardge of the greenemen and fyer worcke viij^{li} x^s
 and more paid him for a breakefast for himselfe
 and his men vj^s in toto

viij^{li} xvj^s

Item paid to the trumpeters beinge xxxij in number
 for their service that day as by the Agreem^t
 appeareth

xxvj^{li}

Item paid more to some of them for goinge by water ij^s

Item paid to Iohn Harman for furnishinge y^e
 gaallyfoyst &c℥ accordinge to Agreement &c℥

xxij^{li}

Item for makinge 77 poore mens gownes and 55
 Coates at xij^d a peice

vj^{li} xij^s

Item for makinge 75 payre of sleeves at ij^d
 the paire and for cuttinge 77 gownes and 55
 Coates at ij^d the paire

xxxiiij^s vj^d

Item for the hyer of Colours v^s and caryinge
 the Auntient to the gally xij^d

vj^s

Item to M^r Dunne the keep of Blackwellhall his
 fee for his howse roome and trouble and Chardge
 he had wth the Children of Pageant in dyninge
 at his howse

xL^s

Item paid to M^r Wallrond the Marshall for his fee L^s

Item paid to M^r Davys the vnder Marshall for his fee L^s

Item paid to M^r George Bell for marshallinge the
Company and findinge his men } iiij^{li}

Item given to xxxj standard bearers in that service xxxj^s

Item given to 16 Beadles of the hospitall for
their breakefaste } xvj^s

27] Item paid for 27 pownds weight of cheese at 3^d
a pownd vj^s ix^d for 7 dozen of bread vij^s a
barrell of beere 8^s and for pott^e to drinke in
8^d which was provided to make all the blewe gowne
men dyne in the Cellor to keepe them w^thin the hall
vntill the Companyes goinge to Paules, more given
then to each of y^e said 75 poore men iiij^d a peice
in money xxv^s ij^d in toto } xlvij^s vij^d

Item given to 4 poore men of the Company who took
paynes } iiij^s

Item paid to 3 Auntiente in the service iiij^{li}

Item to 6 Drumms & 3 fyfes ix^{li}

Item to a Drumme boy sente from y^e prince xx^s
and to his fife v^s } xxv^s

Item given and allowed for scarfes viz to M^r
Midleton and M^r Christmas to each of them
xxij^s & to Bell xx^s

} iiij^{li} iiiij^s

Item given to Edward Mathewes who did service to
see order amongst the Company in their goinge
and to buy him a feather

} v^s

Item paid to Lawrence y^e Lo: Mayors
officer for his attendance and paynes taken
about this busines in fetchinge the Company in

} xl^s

Item paid to Bartholomew hobson for boatehyer to
and from westminster

} iiiij^s

Item paid to poore men of y^e Company to keepe the
crowde from the Company as they goe in the streete

} x^s

Item paid & given to ffludd for makinge a silke
coate for y^e bardgeman and for three yard & $\frac{1}{4}$
of fustian

} vij^s vj^d

Item paid to Richard Monday y^e painter for worcke
done aboute this busines as by a Bill appeareth

} xv^{li} xv^s

Item given to the Pageantmakers to drinke when
the wardens went to viewe the worcke when they
weare makinge

} v^s

Item paid to Thomas Iones y^e fencer for his service
and his 25 men ^{the} ymployed for cleering the way
and attendinge y^e service of y^e daie

viiij^{li} v^s

Item paid to John Edwards for 30 dozen of whiffing
staves at iiij^s vj^d the dozen v^{li} xv^s for the hyer of
76 Iavelyns at vj^d a peice xxxviiij^s for 2 dozen and
a halfe of trunchions at iiij^s the dozen x^s for 8
banner staves for y^e bardge at viij^d a peice v^s
iiij^d more for a guilt trunchyon ij^s

viiij^{li}

Item paid to william Vffington waxechaundler
for 16 dozen of longe torches at xiiij^s y^e dozen
for the Companyes service

xj^{li} iiij^s

28] Item to Grace Hawyn waxechandler for 14 dozen of
longe torches at xiiij^s y^e dozen and 5 dozen of
short torches at viij^s y^e dozen and 3 dozen of
lincke at ij^s vj^d the dozen

xij^{li} iiij^s

Item paid to a straunger that drewe the forme
of a Pageant for the service

xl^s

Item paid for 57 dozen of watchett and yellow
Ribbon at ij^s viij^d the dozen

vij^{li} xij^s

Item paid for 4 oz of crymson in grayne and white
fréinge for the lo: Mayors banner at ij^s ix^d the
oz xj^s and for one oz ½ of silke iiij^s

xiiij^s

Item paid to M^r Thomas Hineksman for 6 dozen and
fower of rownd redd capps w^th bands at xxiiij^s
y^e dozen and for 4 dozen and 10 of longe redd
capps w^th ribbande at the like price of xxiiij^s
the dozen the some of

} xiiij^{li} vij^s

Item paid to M^r Thomas Bynnion Mercer for 23 ells
of taffety sarcenett at vj^s viij^d the ell vij^{li}
xiiij^s iiij^d for three ells and a quarter of
crymson in grayne ducape taffaty sarcenett at ix^s
the ell for y^e lo: Mayors banner xxix^s iiij^d And
for three double peeces of redd mocado lacke 5
yarde at xxxvj^s y^e double peece w^ch conteyned
about 26 yarde at about xvij^d the yarde v^{li} j^s iiij^d
and for 13 yarde of yellowe saye to face the Blewe
coates &c at xxiiij^d the yard xxvj^s iiij^d

} xv^{li} x^s

Item paid to M^r walrond the Marshall to paie a
poore man for watching y^e Pageante 7 daies

} iiij^s vj^d

Item more to him for 2 warrant^e hee had from y^e
lo: Mayo^r for y^e better orderinge of the busines

} iiij^s

Item paid to M^r Walter y^e Companyes Clarke w^th
y^e allowance & consent of the M^r wardens for his
fee for his paynes taken in this busines

} x^{li}

Item more to him for his allowance for his gowne

vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d

- Item paid to M^r Duche the vpholster for many daies
worke in mendinge the Banners & givinge his attend-
ance on y^e Company on y^e daie of the service } xxv^s ij^d
- Item paid to Robert Bevis for the Chardge of 120
Chambers to be dischardged the daie y^e 10: Mayo^r
tooke his oathe of which 70 weare placed against
westminster & 50 against S^t Paules wharfe } xxxiiij^{li}
- 29] Item paid to an Inkeeper in Carterlane for the
trouble of his howse and for a breakefast and
fyer there for the Children of the Pageant } iiij^{li} ij^s
- Item paid to Garrett Christmas to paie for y^e hyer
of a barne in whitecrosstreete for y^e tyme when
y^e Pageante weare makinge } iiij^{li}
- Item paid to the waight howse Porters for their
fee in attendinge at the guildhall } xx^s
- Item paid to william Weld for streamers and
hyer of flagges for the gallefoyst as by his
bill appeareth } iiij^{li} vj^s
- Item given to the Citties weighte for their fee } Liiij^s iiiij^d
- Item to the Clerkes man of this Company for his
accustomed allowance for his paynes } xx^s
- Item paid to ffludd the porter for his fee for his
paines } x^s

Item paid to M ^r Barnard y ^e Beadle for his gowne xxxiiij ^s and for his paynes xxx ^s	} iiij ^{li} iiij ^s
Item to Thomas Eaton the vnderbeadle for his hood & gowne lviij ^s and for his paynes xxx ^s	} iiij ^{li} vj ^s
Item paid to Bartholomew Hobson for his paynes	xl ^s
Item to Iohn Bullocke for sixe daies paynes	vj ^s
Item to the keep of the Guildhall y ^e fee for hauinge Mercers hanginge at the guildhall	} xij ^s
Item paid to M ^r Snowden the vpholster for p ^r viding hanginge for y ^e lo: Mayors Court old Cowncell Chamber Orphanes Court Chaires stooles Pictures and other like thinge that ffeast	} xl ^s
Item paid for pap and y ^e carydge of the clothe for the gownes to and from the hall at seual tymes	} xv ^s
Item paid to the gentlemen vsers for theire breakefast	} xliiiij ^s
Item paid for a breakefast the daie of the tryumphes for all the Batchellers	} xiiij ^{li} xiiij ^s
Item spent by ourselves at divers dynners and meetinge whilest wee sate and weare daylie ymployed in the busines	} xiiij ^{li} xvj ^s

Item paid to Valentyne Heyward for the hyer and
Chardge of two barges for y^e carryinge of the
Company to Westm^l and other chardges depending
thereon

v^li xv^s x^d

30] Item given to 3 poore men of the Company which
should haue had gownes and had not

xv^s

Item paid to y^e Churchwardens of S^t Peeters church
in Cheapeside for the waighters standinge on the
church porch at night when the Lord Mayor passed
from Paules

iiij^s iiij^d

Item paid to the Companye Clarke for his fee in
makinge vpp this Accompte

xl^s

li s d

Totall of all paym^{te} 548 - 04 - 00

li s d

Totall received 564 - 06 - 08

Totall paid is 548 - 04 - 00

Reste 016 - 2 - 8

THE INAUGURATION OF MARTIN LUMLEY, 1623

22 September, Repertories, +131. 182^b.

A newe Liurey to be Item yt is ordered and soe thought fitt for
 taken in for y^e ease y^e better easeinge of y^e chardge of y^e
 of y^e yeomandrys yeomandry & performance of y^e intended service
 chardge for y^e Lo. for y^e triumphes to bee performed by this
 Maiors Showe/ Company against the tyme of y^e inawguraçõn
 of the right wo^{pp}full M^r Aldrān Lumley to
 y^e place of Maioralty for y^e yeare ensuinge that there shalbee to y^e
 number of eight or tenne of y^e fittest and most sufficient persons of
 y^e yeomandry of this Company selected out and admitted by the M^r
 warden of this Company into y^e Livory of the Company every of them
 payinge before hee bee admitted the accustomed fyne of xxvj^{li} xiiij^s
 iiij^d And that the fower M^r wardens shall take present course for y^e
 fittinge providinge and compoundinge for of all things as shalbee
 fitt and necessarie for or towchinge y^e said showes and triumphes
 And towchinge y^e chardge to bee disbursed about y^e same It is agreed
 that if the fynes of those that are to bee admitted into y^e Livory
 the present stocke belonginge to y^e said yeomandry and the fynes and
 payments to bee raised by such as shall either fyne or serve in y^e
 same busines shall not suffice to performe the chardge of the said
 triumphes that then the some of Cxxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d nowe chardged in
 y^e Rentor wardens Accompts and beinge a remainder of the ffynes
 receaved vpon y^e takeinge in of y^e last livory shal bee disbursed for
 y^e purpose aforesaid/

1623-24, Wardens' Accounts 1623-24, 41, 43, 44, 46. + 470/1

41] Paid to the two younger wardens for their extraordinary allowance for the lord Maiors Messe v^{li} a man in toto } x^{li}

.

43] Item given in reward to the workemen of the Pageants against my Lord Maiors Day when y^e Company went to veiwe them at Leaden hall } x^s

Item paid to the wardens of the Yeomandry CCCxx^{li} for the fines of xij persons admitted into the livery at the rate of fferty markes a peice by order of Court of Assistants toward the defrayeing the Chardges for the Lord Maiors shewe I say paid } CCCxx^{li}

Item paid for bread and wine in the bardge vppon my Lord Maiors day when the Company went to westminster } vij^s x^d

.

Item paid to the M^r Batchellors L^{li} by order
of Court of Assistants towards the Chardge
of the Lord Maiors shewe

} L^{li}

- 44] Item paid my Lord Maio^r the accustomed
gratuity towards the trymming of his house by
order of Court of Assistants

} Lxvj^{li} xiijs^s
iiij^d

Item paid for a purse to put in the gold for
which the money was exchanged to give vnto him

} ij^s vj^d

.

- 46] Item paid more to M^r Atkins for his
attendance at the hall when divers obstinate
Young men refused to pay theire fines and bee
Conformable to the chardge for y^e Lo: Maio^r's Showes

} ij^s vj^d

.

1623-24, Renter's Accounts, 1623-24, 14.

ffor 2 gallons Canarie wyne & bread for
the company in the barge my Lord maiors day

} 0 - 09 - 00

.

ffor the hyere of 2 clothes for the barge

0 - 06 - 06

To wheatley for symon & Iudes day

0 - 00 - 06

.

1623-24, Wardens of the Bachelors' Accounts

1615-91, # 178, 33-39.

- 33] The accompt of Iohn Gualter Iohn ffoster Robert
Abney and Walter Coventrey the fower Wardens
Batchello^{rs} of the yeomandrye of the honorable
Company of Drapers London of all such moneyes
as they received and paid towarde the Charde [sic] of
Triumphes and shewes at the Mauguracõn [sic] of
the right honorable S^r Martyn Lumley Knight Lord
Maio^r of the Cittye of London./.

The chardge of this Accompt/

Inprimis wee Chardge our selves withe the receipt of

CCClxx^{li} From M^r Henry Garrway the rentor

Warden of the Company of Drapers beeing pte of the
moneyes hee had and received of diverse of the said

Company for theire admission into the liverye or

Clothing of that company

CCClxx^{li}

[Here follows (fo. 33-35) the receipts of those forty-eight bachelors who "fined for service", amounting to £98. 10. 00. Receipts from the forty-two who wore foynes totalled £122. 10. 00 and from the thirty-three who wore budge £48. 10. 00. The total receipts thus amounted to £239. 10. 00.]

36] The dischardge of this Accompt/

Blewe clothes	Inprimis paid for 13 Azure Cloathes	} Cviij ^{li} x ^s
for Gownes	of severall prizes vizt some at Eight	
& coates	pound and Tenne shillings and others	
	at Eight pounde a Cloath to make poore	

men gownes and Coates.

Item paid to M ^r Thomas Middleton and Garret x ^p imas	} cl ^{li}
by agreement for making and setting out of the	
pageants and Shewes vizt the one in forme or	
likenes of a Mountayne one other a Charriott	
drawne with twoe Pellited Loyons a Third a	
Christall Temple and the fourth a royall Canopy	
of state and for all Chardges incident to these	
shewes	

Item paid Anthony Munday for an Argoe

xxxv^{li}.

Greenemen	Item paid to Iohn Walker by Composition for the	} viij ^{li} x ^s .
ffyrework ^e	Chardge of the Greenemen and fyerworkes	

Alnutt y ^e M ^r shall/ Item, paid to Richard Allnutt for Marshalling the Company and finding his men	}	iiij ^{li} xv ^s
Gallifoyste/ Item, paid to William Guilford for furnishing a Gallyfoist according to agree- ment & c ^c e	}	xxij ^{li}
Trumpeto ^r s Item, paid to the trumpetors beeing Thirtytwoe in number for theire service that day as by the Agreement Appeareth xxvj ^{li} and given them to drinke twoe shillings & sixpence in tot	}	xxvj ^{li} ij ^s vj ^d
Item, paid to Eaton and Hobson for boate higher to & from westminste ^r	}	vij ^d
Item, given to a boy whoe should have beene a drumer but was disappointed	}	ij ^s vj ^d
Item, paid for the portradge of 12 azure Clothes to draps hall	}	xij ^d .
Item, paid to Richard Rudd for 3 ells and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Crymeson in grayne Taffatye sarcenett for the Lord Maio ^{rs} Banner	}	xxxij ^s vj ^d .
Item, paid him more for xxvj ells of Taffaty sarcenett watchet and yeallowe at six shillings & Eight pence the ell for scarfes	}	viiij ^{li} . xij ^s iiij ^d .

Item paid and given to Bell and Mabb for their often Attendance Concerning a Price	} x ^s
Item paid and allowed to Davys the Marshall in leiwe of his scarfe	} xx ^s
Item to M ^r Monday and his Partener for the like	xl ^s
Item paid to M ^r Mondays man for bringing the bookes	xij ^d
Item given to M ^r Mondays men to drinck when the wardens went to veiwe the Argoe when it was making	} v ^s
Item paid to the Gally ffoist men to drinck and boatehyer	} iij ^s
Item paid to M ^r Dunne the keep of Blackwell hall his fee for his house Roome and trouble hee had with the Children of the Pageants in dyning at his house	} xl ^s
Item given to 16 Beadles of the Hospitalls for their breakfasts	} xvj ^s
Item given to eleaven poore men of the Company which should have had gownes but hade none	} xx ^s

37] Item paid to M ^r Middleton for the making of a Breakefast and fyer for the Children of y ^e Pageants	}	iiij ^{li}
Item paid to Garrett Christmas for the hiring of boardes to make a place for y ^e making of y ^e Pageants in &c	}	xl ^s
Item paid to M ^r Monday for the hyer of a barne in Whitecrossestreete to make the Argoe in	}	lv ^s
Item paid to a little boy a drumer of the Argoe		vij ^s vj ^d
Item to a fiffe for the Argoe		xij ^s
Item to a litle boy a drum̃er in Middletons shewes		v ^s
Item to watermen for Carryeing the gentlemen vshers to and from westminster	}	vj ^s
Item paid to M ^r Wallrond the Marshall for his fee		L ^s
Item paid to M ^r Davys the vnder Marshall for his fee		L ^s
Item to 3 Antients in the service		iiij ^{li}
Item paid to Myne drumes and fouer fiffes		xiiij ^{li}
Item to a waterman for carryeing the wardens men to and from westminster	}	iiij ^s
Item to a drumme boy sent from my Lord Maio ^r		x ^s

Item to seaven poore men of the Company whoe kept the Crowde from the Company as they went in the streets	} vij ^s
Item paide to Hobson for boatehier to & from Westminster	} iiij ^s
Item paide to the waighthouse Porters for their fee in Attending at the Guildehall	} xx ^s
Item paid to fower men for the cutting out of Nyntyne gownes and three score Coats	} xxxij ^s
Item paid to Iohn Terry the paynter for workes done about this busines as by his bill appeareth	} vij ^{li} iiij ^s
Item paid to y ^e M ^r . Porters of Blackwelle hall for their fee	} xx ^s
Item paid to Thomas Lawrence the Lord Maio ^{rs} officer for his attendance & great paynes taken about this busines in fetching the Company in	} xl ^s
Item paid to Thomas Iones the fencer for his service and his 25 men hee employed for Clearing the waye and attending the service of the day	} viij ^{li} v ^s
Item paid to M ^r Downes for y ^e higher of twoe Bardge cloathes	} vj ^s viij ^d

Item given to the Cittyes waighes for theirre fee	liij ^s iiij ^d
Item paid to M ^r Duche for making the banner and doeing other workes as by his bill Appeareth	} vij ^s x ^d
Item paid to M ^r Thomas Bynnyon for three peeces of redd Mocado which conteyned about Nyne yard and a halfe at xxxvij ^s a peece and for 14 yearde & a halfe of yeallowe say	} vij ^{li} xij ^s
Item paid to 39 gentlemen vshers for theirre dinners	xxxix ^s
Item paid the Trumpetors towarde theirre dinner	ij ^s vj ^d
	lxv . xj ^s . x ^d .
38] Item paide the Ioyner for making the Pavyses and other work as by his bill Appeareth	} vij ^s iiij ^d
Item paid to Iohn ffoster for 77 douzen of watchett and yeallowe Ribbon at ij ^s viij ^d the douzen and for fower ownces lack three drames of fringe for the Lord Maio ^{rs} Banner at three shillings the ounce	} x ^{li} xvj ^s x ^d
Item paid to William Weld vpholster for making ensignes and Antients with the companyes armes in them for the Gallafoyst as by his bill Appeareth	} iiij ^{li} xvij ^s

Item paid William Vffington Grace Hardwyn Bartholomewe Hitch and Thomas Swayne wax- chaundlers for 32 douzen of great torches at xiiij ^s a douzen. 8 dozen of Small torches at viij ^s the dozen and foure dozen of Lincks at ij ^s vj ^d the dozen in toto	} xxvj ^{li} ij ^s
Item given to 34 standard bearers	xxxiiij ^s
Item for making Nynty gownes and three score Coates at xij ^d a peice	} vij ^{li} x ^s
Chambers Item paid to Robert Beuys for the Chardge of Cxx ^{tye} Chambers to bee dischardged the day the Lord Maior tooke his oath of which 70 weare placed against westminster and 50 against Paules wharfe	} xxxv ^{li}
Item spent by our selves at diverse dinners and meetings whilst we satt and weare dayly employed in the busines	} xv ^{li} viij ^s
Item given to M ^r Sheffeilde brother a poore man of this Company in leuwe of a gowne promised him	} viij ^s
Item to William Rushton for the like	vj ^s

Item paid to Valentyne Heyward for the hyer and
Chardge of twoe Bardges for the Carryeing of
the company to Westminster and other Chardges
depending thereon

vij^{li} iijs

Item paid for a Breakefast the day of the
Triumphes for all the Batchellors

xv^{li} xvij^s

Item paid to M^r Atkins the Lord Maio^{rs} officer
for his Attendance at the hall

x^s

Item given to M^r Christmas men when the wardens
went to see the Pageants

v^s

Item paid to M^r Walter the companyes Clarke
with the allowance and consent of the M^r
Wardens for his fee for his Paynes taken in
this busines

x^{li}

Item more to him for his allowance for his
gowne

vj^{li} xiijs^s iiijd

Item paid to M^r Barnard the Beadle for his
gowne xxxiijs^s and for his paynes xxx^s

iijs^{li} iiijs^s

Item paid for the printing of many severall
ticketts for the warning of the yeomandrye

xxvijs^s iiijd

Item to Thomas Eaton the vnder beadle for his
hood and gowne lvj^s and for his extraordinarye
paynes xxxv^s intoto

iiij^{li} xj^s

Item paid to Bartholomewe Hobson for his paynes

xl^s

Item paid to fflood the Porter for his paynes

x^s

154. 10. 10

~~xx~~ iiij. x^s .x^d.

39] Item paid to M^r Snowden the vpholster for
pviding hangings for the Lord Maiors Court
old Councell Chamber Orphans Court Chayres
stooles Pictures and other like things that feast

xl^s

Item paid the Clarkes man the accustomed allow-
ance for his paynes in the buisnes

xx^s

Item paid M^r Hicks man for cappes at
xxiiij^s the dozen

xv^{li} vj^s

Item paid Iohn Edward for staves

ix^{li} xj^d

Item for a barrell of Beere

vj^d

Item paid 90 Poore men Carryeing Torches

xxx^s

Item paid to the Porter of Herralls Hall when
diverse of the Company were there

v^s

Item to Thomas Eaton for bread and Cheese
for y^e Poore men for theire dinner } xix^s ix^d

Item paid to M^r Walter the Clarke the vsuall
Allowance to make vpp the Accompt } xl^s

Item given Mathewe Eemere a poore man disapointed
of a gowne } ij^s

Item paid to the Churchwardens of S^t Peeters in
westcheape the ordinarye allowance for suffering
the Cittyes waights to bee vppon the leads over
theire Church porchewhen the Lord Maio^r and his
bretheren came from Paules the 29th of October } iij^s iiij^d

Item paid to the Keeper of the guildhall the
vsuall allowance or fee for having and
hanging vpp the Company of Mercers hangings
in and about the Guilde hall at the Lord
Maio^{rs} ffeast } xij^s

Item paid for fower yearde and a halfe of blewe
cloth which was provided for a blewe Gowne to
give vnto Richard Trott the companyes Butler } xxx^s.

xxxv. v^s. j^d.

374. 01. 5

65. 11. 10

154. 10. 10

35. 5. 1

629. 9. 2

The totall received is 639: 10: -

The totall paid is 629: 9: 2Reste 010: 0: 10^d.

THE INAUGURATION OF CUTHBERT HACKET, 1626

Drapers' Repertories, +131, 201.

The complete entry for 20 September is reprinted in MSC III, 108-9.

The greater part of the entry for 13 October is also reprinted there;
the remainder runs:

...the same shalbe supplied had and disbursed out of this Companyes
moneys by y^e Rentor warden or ^ry^e Rentor as this Courte shall appointe./

11 December, *ibid.* +131, 202^a

It is ordered that y^e Rentor warden shall pay and p^rsent to y^e
righte Honorable y^e Lord Maier our M^r y^e some of one hundred Marke
as y^e accustomed allowance of this Company toward y^e bewtifiinge
of his howse provided for this tyme of Maioraltie/

.

M ^r Middleton & M ^r	Item the paymente of M ^r Middleton and M ^r .
Christmas referred to	Christmas for y ^e Pageante and of others for
the Wardene for their	y ^e fireworke and providinge of Chambers
demaunde touchinge	beinge hetherto putt of in regard of the
the pageante/	ill performance thereof is nowe referred to
	y ^e wardens Batchellors of this Company whoe
	are willinge to compound and agree with the parties the best they

may giving them contentment as y^e busines shall deserve
and as shall befitt y^e creditt of this Company./

Wardens of the Bachelors' Accounts 1615-1691, +178, 49-55

- 49] The Accompte of Nathaniell Downes Andrewe Cade Robert
Estrey and Andrewe Beeche the fower warden batchello^rs
of the yeomandry of the Hono^ble Company of Drapers
London of all such moneys as they receaved and paid to-
warde the chardge of y^e triumphes and Showes at the
inauguracōn of the Right. honorable Cutbert Hackett
Lord Maio^r of the Citty of London./

The Chardge of this Accompte

Inprimis wee chardge our selves with the Receipte
of Clx^{li} from M^r william Garway the Rentor Warden
of the Company of Drapers beinge moneys he re-
ceaved of diuerse of the saide Company for their
admission in to the livery or Clothinge of that
Company

Clx^{li}

Item wee chardge our selves with the some of
Clxxvj^{li} j^d by vs receaved of the precedent wardens
batchellors restinge due vppon the foote of their
Accompte

Clxxvj^{li} j^d

Item more Receaved of M^r wagstaffe his fine for
being dispensed with his place beinge warden
of the yeomandry the some of

} xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d

Totall supra

CCCxlix^{li} vj^s ix^d

[Here follows (fo. 49-51) the receipts from the
twelve Bachelors who "fined for service,"
amounting to £22. Contributions from the fifty-four
who wore foins totalled £107. 19. 00 and from the
fifty-two who wore budge £52. Together with £20 from
the Lord Mayor for the Bachelors' supper, the "Total
of Moneys Receaved to be disbursed for & aboute y^e
Tryvmphes for y^e Lo. Maio^r" amounted to £551. 05. 09.]

52] The Dischardge of this Accompte

Inprimis payd for 13 Azure Clothes at se^uall
prises to make poore mens gownes and Coat^e the
some of

} Cxi^{li} xvj^s

Item paid to M^r Thomas Middleton and Garrett
Christmas by agreement for makinge and setting
out of r^y^e Pageant^e and Shewes viz^t the one in
the likenes of a bewtifull Hill, one other a
Charriott of Honor drawn with twoe pellited lions
a third a Sanctuary of prosperitie the fowerth a
fountaine of virtue and all chardges incident to
theis Shewes the some of

} Cxxv^{li}

Item paide to Richard Iones for the chardge of
y^e Greenemen and fier worke

} viij^{li}

Item paide to him more for the Chardge of Cxl^{tie}
Chambers to be dischargd the day the Lord Maio^r
tooke his oathe Of w^{ch} seaventie weare placed
against westminster and seaventie againste Paules
wharffe

} xxxj^{li} v^s

Item paide to Richard Alnutt for Marshallinge the
Company and findinge his men

} v^{li}

Item paide to Tilberry Strange for furnishinge
a Gallyfoist accordinge to agreement

} xvij^{li}

Item payde to the Trumpeto^rs beinge 32 in number
for theire service that day as by agreemente
appeareth xxvj^{li} and given them to drinke
ij^s vj^d in toto

} xxvj^{li} ij^s vj^d

Item paide to Thomas Iones the ffencer for his
service and eighte men he imployed for clearinge
the way and attendinge the service of the day

} vij^{li} x^s

Item paid to william ffox for six dromes and
three ffiffes

} viij^{li} ii^s

Item given to the Citties waighte for theire fee

Lij^s iiij^d

Item payde to Iohn Terry the Paynter for worke
done aboute this busines as by his bill
appeareth

} ij^{li} xvij^s

Item payd to M^r Bruerton Silkeman for six elle
of Taffity at Sixe shillinge ^{viiij^d} the ell
and for eightene~~elle~~ of sarcenett at five
shillinge and eighte peence the ell for to
make Scarffes

} vij^{li} ij^s

Item paide to the Officer for warninge in M^r
wagstaffe at seuerall tymes

} ij^s

Item payde to william Piddocke the Lord Maio^rs
Officer for his attendance at the Hall and
paines in fetchinge in of the Companie

} xl^s

CCCLvj^{li} ix^s x^d

Item paide to M^r Bynnion for three ell and a
quarter of Crymson taffitie at xij^s x^d the ell
for the Lord Maio^rs Banner ij^{li} v^s and for three
peeces of Red Moccadoe at xxxvj^s the peece v^{li}
viiij^s and five yarde three quarters more of Redd
Mocado at xvij^d the yard, viij^s ij^d. to make sleeves
for y^e poore mens gownes. And xvij^{teene} yarde and
one quarter of yallowe say at xxij^d the yard
xxxiiij^s j^d and one yard and a halfe of Redd say at
ij^s iiiij^d the yard, iij^s vj^d to face the poores
blewe Coate in toto

} ix^{li} xvij^s

Item paid to M^r Crowthe for Ribbyn for y^e companies
 Cullors and ffringe for the Banners viz^t for
 twelue peeces of iiij^d fine watchett and yallowe
 Ribbyn and twoe ounces and a half of watchett and
 white nayle deepe ffringe, twoe ounces and a halfe
 one quarter and penny waighte of Crymson in graine
 and white ffreinge at ij^s ix^d the ounce and twoe
 peece of watchett and yallowe 4^d fine Ribbyn
 xiiij^s in toto

viiij^{li} vj^s

Item paide to Christofer Dragge and Grace Harding
 waxchaundlers for twenty and five dozen of longe
 and fower dozen of shorte Torchcs

xvij^{li} xv^s

Item payd to them for five dozen of Torchcs at
 twelue shillinge and six peence the dozen

iiij^{li} ij^s vj^d

Item payde to M^r Edward for Staves

x^{li} iiij^s vj^d

Item payde to M^r Dun the Keeper of Blackewellhall
 his fee for his howse Roome and trouble he had
 with the Children of the Pageante in dyninge at
 his howse

xl^s

Item payd to the Porters of Blackewell Hall for
 theire fee

xx^s

Item payde to M^r Davis the Marshall for his fee

l^s

- Item payde to M^r Pordishe y^e vnder Marshall for
his fee } L^s
- Item payde to the waighehowse porters for theire
fee in attendinge at the Guildhall } xx^s
- Item given to the Beadelle of the Hospitalls for
theire breakefaste } xvj^s
- Item paide to M^r Hicksman for Capps Longe and
fflatt xxiiij^s the dozen } xv^{li}
- Item payd to M^r Walter the Companies Clarke
with the allowance and consent of the M^r wardens
for his fee for his paynes taken in that busines } x^{li}
- Item payd more vnto him for his allowance for
his gowne } vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d
- Lxxxx^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d
- 54] Item paide to M^r Duche for mendinge the Banners
and doinge the worke as by his bill appeareth } xxiiij^s
- Item paide to Thomas Leverett Ioyner for mendinge
the targatte and other thinge } iiij^s
- Item paid to the Clarke man the accustomed
allowance for his paynes in the busines } xx^s

Item paid to Thomas Eaton beadle for his hood and
gowne lvj^s and for his extraordinari paines
xxxv^s in toto

} iiij^{li} xj^s

Item paid to M^r Snowden the Vphoulster for
puidinge Hanginge for y^e Lord Maio^rs Courte and
Councell Chamber and Orphan^e Court^e Chayres
stooles Pictures and other like thinge in y^e
Guildhall at that ffeaste

} xl^s

Item paid to M^r Valentine Hayward for the hyer
and chardge of twoe bardges for the careiinge
of the Companie to westminster and other Bardge
[sic; i.e. charges] depending thereon

} vij^{li} xix^s vj^d

Item paid to M^r Walter the Clarke the vsuall
allowance to make vpp the Accompte

} xl^s

Item paid for a breakefaste the day of the
Tryumphe for all the Batchello^rs

} xx^{li} ix^s ij^d

Item paid to severall Gentlemen Vshers for
theire dynners

} xxxv^s vj^d

Item given to M^r Christmas men when the wardens
went to see the Pageant^e

} v^s

Item payd to severall men for their boate hyer
to and from westminster

} vj^s

Item payd to three Aunciente in y ^e service	Lvj ^s
Item payd and spent when the wardens went to viewe the Gallyfoiste	} iij ^s ix ^d
Item spent by our selves at diuerse dynners and meetinge whilest wee sate and weare dayly ymployed in the busines	} xv ^{li} xj ^s iiij ^d
Item payd to fower men for cuttinge out of the poore mens gownes and Coate	} xxv ^s x ^d
Item payd to severall men for makeinge vpp gownes and Coate	} vij ^{li} xj ^s
Item payd more to M ^r Piddocke for warninge of M ^r Hodges and M ^r Oake which was bated to them	} ij ^s
Item paid to M ^r Barnarde wife for seaven dozen and seaven paire of redd sleeues makeinge	} xv ^s ij ^d
	Lxix ^{li} xix ^s ij ^d
55] Item paid to the Standerd bearers	xxxiiij ^s vj ^d
Item paid to the Porter of the Harrolle Hall when diuerse of the Company were there	} v ^s
Item paid to a littell boy a drumer in the Showe	} j ^s

Item paid to Barnard for his paines for warninge men in	} x ^l ^s
Item payd to Richard Downes a poore man of this Companie	} j ^s
Item payd to M ^r Trott for his attendance	x ^s
Item payd to Richard Iames one of the Vshers for his goinge to and from westminster by water	} j ^s
Item payd to nyne poore men of the Company whoe kepte the Crowde from of the Company as they went in the street	} ix ^s
Item payd to M ^r Trott for beare and Cheese for the poore men for their dynners	} xvij ^s ix ^d
Item payd to Isaacke Ieffery the Companies baker for bredd	} vij ^s
Item payd to M ^r Barnard for Candel ^e	vj ^d
Item payd to a Smyth for openinge the locke of a box in the greate Cheste in the ladyes Chamber	} vj ^d
Item payd for makinge of twoe keys for twoe Cheste ^e standinge in the Ladies Chamber	} ij ^s vj ^d

Item paid to the Keeper of the Guildhall the vsuall
allowance and fee for havinge and hanginge vpp
the Companie of Mercers hanginge in and aboute
the Guildhall at the Lord Maiors ffeaste } xij^s

Item paid to Iohn ffletcher for his dynner j^s

Item payd to Andrewe Iohnson and William
Arkinstall for theire goinge to and from
westminster by water and for theire dynners
ij^s a peece } iiij^s

Item paid to M^{rs} Barnard for scowringe the
Pewter and makinge cleene the howse and
Candlesticks at y^e Supper for y^e Batchello^rs } xij^s iiij^d

Item paid to y^e Church wardens of S^{nt} Peeters
in west cheape y^e ordinary allowance for
suffringe the Citties waighte to be vppon the
leade over theire Church porche when the Lord
Maio^r and his Bretheren came from Paules } iiij^s iiij^d

Item paid for allowaunce of a blewe Clothe w^{ch}
was retorned } x^s

Md. this j^{li} xix^s viij^d

is not allowed by the

Accomptant^e the xx^{li} is

allowed being before

charged to y^e accompt

accordinge to aunient Custome

Item paid the chardge of

a Supper for y^e batchel-

lors the some of xxj^{li}

xix^s viij^d whereof al-

lowed by my Lord Maior

the some of twenty pounde

xxj^{li} xix^s viij^d

xxvij^{li} xj^s iiij^d.

Total Receaved

v^clj^{li} - v^s ix^d

Total p^d out

v^cxlv^{li} - xiijs^s viij^d

Reste

v^{li} - xij^s - j^d

Appendix III

Mr. G. R. Proudfoot of King's College, London, who has recently examined the MS and transcript of An Invention, suggests the following readings:

4 h^{ble}] ho^{ble}.

13 he] ~~the~~

22 <Cr[est]>] C<r[...]>

31 F<[ortu]>n<[ae]>] F<[ort]>un<[ae]>

32 <[This hono]>rd] <[This]h<[ono]>rd

40 <[appeere]>] <a[p...]>

70 [Beleeve]>] third letter

80 g<[ol]>den] g<[o]>lden

He also points out that in three places I. erased a first thought and wrote over it.

22 [worth]

51 [A christian]

98 [wicked deafe] where "[blind]" was interlined above before being erased.