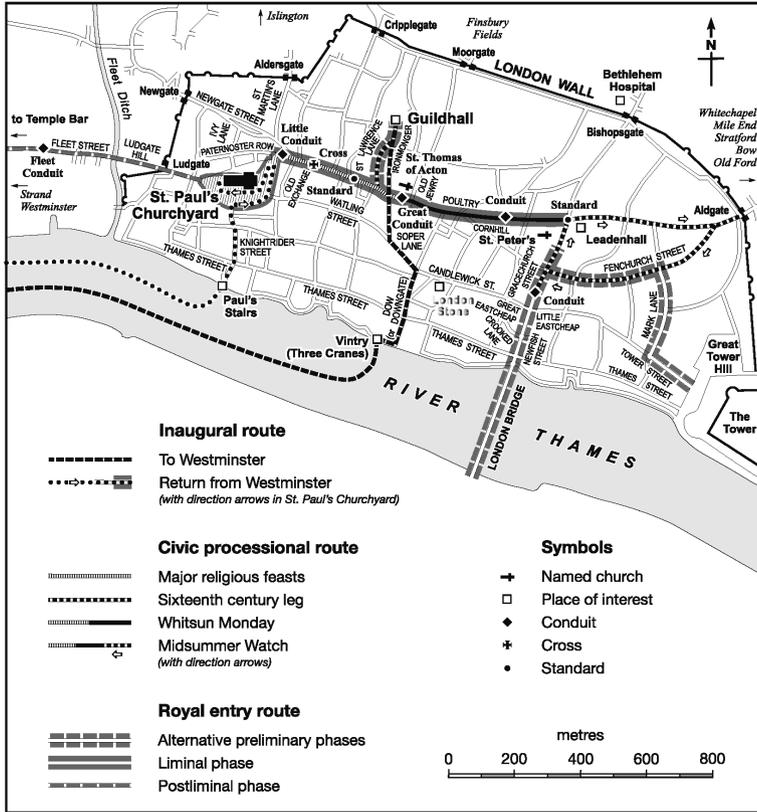


‘From low-obscure Beginnings raysde to Fame’: critical and historical contexts of the Lord Mayor’s Show

The London Lord Mayors’ Shows were high-profile and very lavish entertainments that were at the centre of the cultural life of the City of London in the early modern period. Staged annually in the course of one day in late October to celebrate the inauguration of the new Lord Mayor, the Show – or Triumph, as it was often called – was usually composed of an eclectic mixture of extravagantly staged emblematic tableaux, music, dance and speeches, together with disparate crowd-pleasing effects such as fireworks and giants on stilts.¹ The Lord Mayor proceeded by water to Westminster to take his oath of office before representatives of the sovereign, and then processed back through the City in all his finery accompanied by hundreds of others, including civic dignitaries, members of the livery companies and ‘poor men’ dressed in blue coats. The impact of the Shows has been testified to in various contemporary sources, perhaps most valuably in the eyewitness accounts that survive in surprisingly large numbers. The Shows themselves, as events, also survive – in a more complex way than one might assume – in the printed texts often produced as part of the event. These texts were produced by a body of professional writers, including Thomas Middleton, Thomas Dekker, Anthony Munday, Thomas Heywood, John Taylor and John Webster, who worked in collaboration with artificers and others to design and stage the entertainment. The Shows have a presence elsewhere in early modern culture too, featuring, often satirically, in a wide range of other dramatic and prose works. Their heyday (and the period covered by this book) was also the heyday of the early modern stage, when theatrical modes of celebration and entertainment were ubiquitous in the rapidly expanding city.

I will address the lived experience of the Shows in more depth



1 The route of the Lord Mayor's Show in the early modern period

in Chapter 3, and will discuss the ways in which the ceremonial elements of the day developed over time further below, but it is worth providing at the outset a brief overview of the structure and content of a 'typical' Lord Mayor's Day (one should note that the Shows did not follow exactly the same format every time, but they were broadly similar from year to year from the late sixteenth century onwards). First thing in the morning, both the new and previous incumbent Lord Mayors were escorted (normally from the Guildhall) in a formal procession across Cheapside and along Soper Lane down to the river Thames (see Figure 1 for the route of the Show). Here the party embarked on barges, usually at Three Cranes Wharf, to be taken up river to Westminster for the oath-taking in front of the representatives of the Crown at the Exchequer.

Occasionally, speeches were given to the procession as it passed by one or more of the pageant stations on the route through the City to the river for the first leg of the trip. The journey along the river to Westminster was marked by fireworks and cannon set off from the river banks, and the barges themselves were ornately painted and decorated with flags, banners, and the like; musicians usually travelled in the barges too. A series of emblematic figures and/or mythical beasts usually called the ‘water show’ entertained the Lord Mayor and his entourage on the river. On arrival at Westminster, the new Lord Mayor was presented by the Recorder of London to the Barons of the Exchequer for the royal imprimatur; this ceremony comprised reciprocal speeches (these are further discussed in Chapter 3). Following the actual oath-taking, the barges returned to the City, usually disembarking at Barnard’s Castle or Paul’s Stairs, a moment emphasised by cannon-fire.

At this point the pageantry which was so central a feature of the day’s entertainment really got under way. Practice varied, but the usual arrangement was to stage emblematic pageants, featuring speeches and songs, at certain symbolic locations in the City, often existing edifices such as conduits. The mayoral procession moved from the river up to Paul’s Churchyard, the location of one of the pageant stations. From there, the procession continued along Cheapside, where the pageant stations tended to be placed at the Little Conduit and at the end of Lawrence Lane, near the Standard. These pageants were either fixed or peripatetic. The next stage of the day, in the afternoon, was the formal banquet at the Guildhall, hosted by the new Lord Mayor and his sheriffs. After this feast, the pageantry continued as the Lord Mayor and entourage made their way back to St Paul’s for a sermon marking the inauguration. By then, given that it was late October, darkness would have fallen, and one gains from the printed texts an evocative impression of the torchlit procession escorting the Lord Mayor back to his house at the end of the day, with one final speech of farewell and moral exhortation traditionally presented at ‘his Lordship’s gate’. The extraordinary effect of speech, music, song, pyrotechnics, cannonfire and the lavish costumes worn by the performers as well as the assembled dignitaries comes across very powerfully from the printed texts of the Shows, as well as from the eyewitness accounts further explored in Chapter 3.

These were, then, magnificent occasions. However, despite their undoubted importance in their own day, as well as for our understanding of early modern civic culture and for an appreciation of the

full diversity of the careers of a number of high-profile writers, the Shows have too often been sidelined by modern scholars in favour of the professional theatre and courtly entertainments like the masque. Under the general heading of ‘civic pageantry’, even the more apparently glamorous royal entries, staged to celebrate accessions and visiting VIPs, have received scant attention, beyond the work of a few devotees like Gordon Kipling.² In the context of an urban population which was, in Glynne Wickham’s phrase, ‘addicted to spectacle’, such an omission is hard to explain, and certainly almost impossible to justify.³ Civic pageantry, in both its written and visual forms, offers a treasure trove of symbolic meanings and contemporary resonances. The printed works alone – of which thirty-one survive from a period of over fifty years – are rich documents, offering multiple insights into early modern culture and politics. As we’ll see further below, the Shows could transcend the boundaries of the civic and parochial to comment on events of national significance. In addition, the Shows themselves were such *public* events, witnessed by thousands: Gary Taylor remarks that ‘anyone could attend the annual Lord Mayor’s pageant for free’, and, as with playgoing, ‘neither spectacle demanded literacy’.⁴ As we’ll see, both the printed texts and eyewitness accounts of the Shows testified repeatedly to the wide appeal of these entertainments. Therefore, as Richard Dutton argues,

to ignore the civic pageants of the Tudor and Stuart period is to ignore the one form of drama which we know must have been familiar to *all* the citizens of London, and thus an important key to our understanding of those times and of the place of dramatic spectacle in early modern negotiations of national, civic and personal identity.⁵

John Astington puts forward an even wider claim: ‘renowned in London culture’, he writes, ‘the shows formed one of the central icons by which London was memorialised in European civilisation at large’.⁶

So why has the Lord Mayor’s Show been repeatedly sidelined? It appears that for generations of critics and scholars, pageantry – or at least that pageantry produced by and *for* the City – is both one-dimensional and relentlessly lowbrow. In this respect E. K. Chambers’s view is typical and probably did much to entrench the view of the Shows’ alleged mediocrity: ‘a full analysis of all this municipal imagery would be extremely tedious’, he writes, with his nose held high.⁷ As an explanation of what might underlie Chambers’s attitude, Ceri Sullivan has astutely noted a kind

of scholarly snobbery about citizens and civic oligarchs, who are implicitly regarded as 'coarse businessmen'; such 'coarseness' has evidently, in the eyes of many scholars, rubbed off on the writers they employed and the works they commissioned.⁸ Curiously enough, the involvement of playwrights in *monarchical* pageantry is not generally regarded as a stigma. Rather the reverse, in fact: Graham Parry says that it was 'appropriate' that Dekker and Jonson, 'two of London's leading dramatists', should have written parts of James I's 1604 royal entry.⁹

There is clearly an element of discrimination at work here about the status of these writers and their civic productions, although it is rarely so overt as in Chambers. Heywood, Dekker, Taylor and Munday, in particular, have too often been treated as a plebeian bunch of hacks (although one can only imagine how the Cambridge-educated Heywood might have reacted to his subsequent treatment as the 'citizen' playwright of the despised Red Bull playhouse). Sergei Lobanov-Rostovsky typifies this approach. Middleton, in particular, he argues, when compared to his contemporaries, advanced the formal literary and dramatic qualities of civic pageantry in ways which were beyond Munday, for instance. The livery companies' allegedly culturally illiterate preference for Munday in the years immediately following Middleton's 1613 Show, *The triumphs of truth* (a work which actually was, as we will see, a collaboration with the benighted Munday), is therefore seen by Lobanov-Rostovsky to illustrate their inability to tell good art from bad. In his view it demonstrates the livery companies' 'unease with the introduction of theatrical mimesis' into civic entertainments.¹⁰ There is scant evidence for this argument, however. As I will show in Chapter 2, the reasons for choosing one team of producers over another were rarely aesthetic, as Middleton would have known just as his peers did. Lobanov-Rostovsky is aware that the Grocers' accounts reveal Munday and Middleton to have been collaborators in 1613, but he finesses this unfortunate fact (which he calls 'ironic') by underplaying Munday's contribution and by imagining that Middleton was 'forced' to work with him.¹¹ Indeed, the widespread critical preference for Middleton's first mayoral text quite possibly derives from the fact that more than some of its peers it resembles a stage play, the cultural form with which a number of commentators are most comfortable. As I will argue further below, however, the qualities of the Shows do not always cohere with the artistic values rated for drama; one should approach them with more nuanced critical criteria.

In fact, as the history of the making of the Shows eminently demonstrates, the production of culture in early modern London invariably went on in ways which have been frequently stigmatised as those relating to 'hack' writing, although, as Mary Osteen and Martha Woodmansee remark, 'we should never know this from our literary histories'.¹² Until quite recently the literary-historical canon tended either to exclude these writers entirely or to filter their civic works out. The works of John Taylor, for instance, are still very rarely discussed, and Julia Gasper has ably critiqued the ways in which Dekker's work (and his personality) have too often been patronised and dismissed as both 'popular' and 'naïve'.¹³ Related to the question of the literary canon and its impact on our interpretations of these works is the issue of collaboration, which, as many have argued, presents problems for those who value sole authorship and artistic unity. My discussion of these works has thus been usefully informed by a lively series of recent publications on dramatic collaboration, including Heather Hirschfeld's *Joint Enterprises* and Mark Hutchings and A. A. Bromham's *Middleton and His Collaborators* (although the latter, strangely, do not discuss collaboration within Middleton's Shows); the massive *Middleton: The Collected Works* has also gone to some lengths to excavate the collaboration that lies behind so many of Middleton's works.

Another feature of mayoral Shows that may have led to their exclusion from critical attention is the way in which they were undertaken, from the initial commission to the staging on the river and streets of London. As Sullivan comments, the livery companies' bureaucratic and financial approach to the putting together of the Shows can be seen to make indecorously evident the 'taint' of treating 'art' as a commercial transaction.¹⁴ Osteen and Woodmansee reflect on the ways in which 'Romantic ideology' has 'defined literature (and indeed the arts generally) in opposition to commerce'; this, they argue, has resulted in 'the belief in the separation of aesthetic value from monetary value that endures to this day' which has in turn had an impact on the critical assessment of the Lord Mayor's Show.¹⁵ I would prefer to see the fact that the Shows breach this separation as a more positive opportunity to take advantage of the insights recently produced by what some have called 'a new economic criticism'.¹⁶ Indeed, the case of the Lord Mayor's Show exemplifies what John Guillory has called 'the expressly economic institutions and practices' which underpin cultural production.¹⁷ Perhaps this is the problem with the Shows, for some. This book, in contrast, will focus on the social, cultural and economic contexts

in which the Shows were designed, presented and experienced. Utilising a diverse methodology that includes textual, historical, bibliographical and archival material, I will explore the Shows in all their manifold contexts.

We will see in due course the intricate ways in which ‘culture’ and ‘economics’ are entwined in the Shows. Indeed, the very fashion in which the Shows were commissioned and then brought to life on the streets demonstrates in revealing ways the operation of the literary and cultural markets in this period.¹⁸ I would argue, in addition, that there is considerable interest in exploring texts and events so close to that which they represent. Indeed, their ‘social purpose’, in David Middleton and Derek Edwards’s phrase, is entirely explicit and would have been understood in those terms by the domestic audience, unlike many other cultural forms in early modern London.¹⁹ Sullivan rightly states that mayoral pageantry was one means of ‘manag[ing] . . . the public image’ of merchants.²⁰ William Hardin goes further still, arguing that the Show was ‘one of the most powerful means of shaping the public’s conception of London’.²¹ The Shows were also an annual demonstration of the way in which, as Philip Withington puts it, ‘the principle of election was ubiquitous’ in the government of London (as we will see, this was an aspect of its government that was highlighted on Lord Mayor’s Day). Withington goes on to argue that

the precepts and practices of civic community – in terms of practical responsibilities and dependencies, ceremony and ritual, and its structuring of everyday living – formed an important context for a citizen’s social relations and sense of self.²²

Such a civic community, as he comments, ‘carried obvious symbolic significance’, a significance that was eminently exploited by mayoral pageantry.²³ In Charles Phythian-Adams’s words, investiture into civic office had ‘solemn and social attributes over and above the practical demands of annual executive position’.²⁴ Along with the street pageantry, the oath-taking and attendance at prayers and feasts associated with mayoral inaugurations constituted important aspects of this moment of transition.²⁵ The interconnection between power and culture in early modern London thus had many dimensions. The London mayoralty was therefore not simply an entity of civic power but always had its ritual and ceremonial dimensions. It is therefore of considerable interest to examine texts and events so attuned to the power structures of the City.

Patricia Fumerton has recently argued that in this period

‘everyday life . . . expands to include not only familiar things but also collective meanings, values, representations, and practices’.²⁶ Although the Shows themselves were not ‘everyday’ events, as such, they certainly are excellent examples of ‘collective practices’ in this period. Furthermore, they were still closer to the quotidian lives of early modern Londoners than court or aristocratic cultures, for they celebrated people and entities – the Lord Mayor and the livery companies – that would have impinged on these people’s lives rather more than the remote vicissitudes of court politics. Ephemeral events like the Shows have a particular ability to preserve the everyday; they operate as one contemporary, John Selden, remarked of other ephemeral works: ‘More solid Things’, he wrote, ‘do not shew the Complexion of the times so well, as Ballads and Libels’.²⁷ The Lord Mayor’s Show was also, importantly, a high-profile moment – the apex, in a way – within the *ongoing* processes of civic government, processes which were a central aspect of everyday life in early modern London. Unlike much more sporadic events such as the coronation entry, which by definition marked a momentous transition in the life of the country at large, the mayoral Show was what Manley calls ‘a calendrical rite, a periodic collective ceremony, linked to an annual cycle of events’.²⁸

Indeed, as a manifestation of collective practices, the Lord Mayor’s Show was aided by its regularity. The very existence of an annual ritual which the citizenry could (almost always) depend upon happening helped, as Alan Fletcher writes, ‘to structure the year and thus also to lend definition to individual citizens’ sense of civic identity’.²⁹ The Shows can therefore be said to have functioned as an exercise in what has been called ‘collective remembering’.³⁰ Although, as Robert Tittler comments, ‘such memories may easily be induced or manipulated . . . in order to fit the requirements of the dominant or ruling element of a particular era’, the invocation of a collective sense of the metropolitan past – for whatever reason – is undeniably a consistent feature of civic ceremony.³¹ The recitation of the names and notable deeds of previous civic dignitaries which one sees repeatedly in the Shows serves as only one example of this phenomenon, and aptly embodies the way, as Tittler puts it, ‘locally situated collective memories . . . embrace . . . [a city’s] own particular heroes and worthies’. As he concludes, in this respect civic culture ‘served as the foundation for the local identity’.³² Ian Archer too has written of the ways in which, as part of a civic ‘theatre of memory’ (which included the livery company halls as well as more obviously cultural forums), the ‘theme of commemoration [of

worthy deeds] as a spur to further charity struck a chord with the London reading public and theatre-goers', to whom one can add witnesses of Lord Mayors' Shows.³³ Even at the level of the banners and other paraphernalia carried during mayoral Shows a sense of both history and corporate identity was present, in the form of coats of arms and other heraldic emblems. All of these aspects of civic commemoration contain, in Archer's phrase, 'a very strong performative element' – the Lord Mayor's Show perhaps more than all the others, although Archer does not cite it in this regard.³⁴

The rhetoric of the Shows, with its recurrent invocation of notable historical and mythical moments and figures, would have gained most of its effect from the audience's ability to relate what they were seeing and hearing to a collective narrative of the past. As Lawrence Manley puts it, 'in a traditional community like London, [the] customary "steps of the forefathers" could literally be followed along the routes and pathways where generations of calendrical reiteration has traced a pattern of civic precedents onto the urban space'.³⁵ Indeed, in important ways the Shows can be said to fashion or even create that sense of the past through what they include, what they highlight and what they omit (at times there is as much a collective forgetting as a collective remembering).³⁶ Mayoral pageantry was in itself a means by which civic traditions were preserved – history was very often their keynote – which in itself constitutes another reason why they deserve attention. The Shows therefore become an interesting series of examples of the presentation of what Middleton and Edwards call 'events and persons that are part of [the citizenry's] jointly acknowledged . . . cultural identity and common understanding'.³⁷

The Shows were not relentlessly focused on the past, though: they often had contemporary significance, and could be made to serve various agendas. Although I would rebut Peter Lake's unhelpfully dismissive description of the Shows as 'inherently venal and self-serving' and containing 'celebratory rant', at the same time one should not understate the *latently* coercive elements of civic entertainments, at least in terms of the kind of community they routinely invoked.³⁸ Richard Halpern writes that 'the power of sovereignty works primarily by making itself *visible*; it promulgates and extends itself through public progresses, entertainments, and propaganda, on the one hand, and overt force or threats of force, on the other'.³⁹ The Shows were prime examples of the former. An informed contemporary witness, Thomas Dekker, neatly stated in the prologue to his 1612 Show that through pageantry 'the Gazer may be drawne

to more obedience and admiration' (*Troia-Noua triumphans*, sig. A3v). However, although ample evidence survives of such 'admiration', the 'obedience' Dekker invokes was not necessarily forthcoming. Withington has argued that 'what was prescribed or initiated from "the summit" was not necessarily accepted and absorbed "on the ground"'.⁴⁰ It's worth bearing in mind that civic festivity of the kind that included the Lord Mayor's Show was not spontaneous, but rather a managed representation of collective virtues and priorities (which some of the citizenry may well not have shared). As Catherine Patterson puts it, within the rhetoric of civic ceremonial 'it is as if acting and speaking as though harmony exists . . . will help to bring it about in reality'.⁴¹

The Show itself was a decisive moment in the City's ritual year in which tradition loomed large. Hardin argues that the 'invocation of . . . historical origins and customs' integral to the Shows was largely a response to a 'suspicion of development and innovation' on the part of the City.⁴² Furthermore, the Lord Mayor's progress through the City, Sheila Lindenbaum notes, 'was a powerful symbolic gesture [where] the mayor affirmed his territorial interests . . . The visual splendor of the mayor's "riding" enforced his claim to the civic terrain.'⁴³ The necessity of the physical presence of the Lord Mayor and his cohorts on the streets of the City is further demonstrated by the fact that there were no Shows between 1666 and 1671 in the aftermath of the Great Fire: during this period the streets were in no fit state to host the display. As with royal progresses, the passing of the Lord Mayor through the City worked as a literally visible assertion of his authority over this domain. Ian Munro writes that 'by tracing a time-honoured route through the ceremonial heart of the city, the shows sought to enact an urban space in which the power of the civic authorities was not only calendrically visible but . . . installed in the physical space of the city'.⁴⁴

Indeed, the staging sites and other stopping points of the Show were meaningful landmarks, ranging from the sacred (St Paul's) to the mercantile (Cheapside). As this suggests, the time-honoured route to and from Westminster and then back through the heart of the City was structured around locations that had ceremonial or ritual significance. Manley has adeptly explored the 'symbolically climactic' status of the run along London's principal street towards its cathedral church within both specifically civic as well as royal pageantry (traditions which otherwise followed quite different routes): he writes that 'on ceremonial occasions . . . the customary processional route helped to link the city's open, outdoor public

spaces, forming a single interior of contiguous ritual zones'.⁴⁵ Even down to the siting of the individual pageant stations, a meaning was thereby being transmitted to the onlookers. The use of public amenities like the Conduit on Cheapside as pageant stations, for example, edifices that were founded largely by endowments, pointed to the tangible impact on the City's inhabitants of the benevolence of the civic hierarchy.⁴⁶ As an instance, in Middleton's *Triumphs of truth*, the figures in one of the pageants at Paul's Churchyard both refer to and physically gesture towards that 'faire temple', the cathedral (sig. C1v). Geography and symbolism are thereby combined. One can imagine that such a tactic would have had a particular impact on those onlookers nearest the place in question when the King of the Moors directed their attention to it. The printed texts, a more permanent although ambiguous record of the event, also embody what Daryl Palmer has called a 'vision of hospitable practices tied to particular localities . . . [and] a kind of cartography of civil obedience'.⁴⁷

R. G. Lang has emphasised the relatively self-contained nature of civic identity, arguing that London's merchant class 'were deeply bound to the city . . . most of all by the respect, prestige, and honour that attended success in the city and which could not be translated, like so much capital, to another social milieu'.⁴⁸ The interest of the civic hierarchy is an important consideration, for naturally the City and its constituent companies did not put on these Shows simply out of an altruistic desire to entertain the populace. The Shows were a striking aspect of the legitimation and dignification of civic rule in this period, and one for which (as we'll see further below), the City's livery companies were prepared to expend considerable sums. Malcolm Smuts has written that mayoral Shows 'articulated the hierarchical structure of the [civic] community's elite, while at the same time emphasizing the broad distinction between that elite and everyone else'.⁴⁹ This is not to assume, however, that the intended effects were always successful. The Shows were a complex, hybrid mixture of the 'popular' and the elite. They were first and foremost entertainments put on to foreground and celebrate the wealth and prestige of a civic oligarchy, but at the same time they encompassed elements that had been characteristic of 'popular' culture for centuries. Furthermore, as Smuts argues, and as we will see further in Chapter 3, 'the behaviour of the crowd of ordinary Londoners and people from up country' on these occasions was not as 'passive and deferential' as the authorities may have intended.⁵⁰

The people who created, witnessed and participated in civic

pageantry – from the Lord Mayor himself, to the writers and artificers, to those who fired the cannons on the waterside – are therefore at the heart of this book. It's my argument here that if we want to comprehend the role of cultural forms in the lives of early modern Londoners, as well as to recuperate the *agency* of those responsible for producing and consuming such culture, we have to try to gain an understanding of what Wells, Burgess and Wymer call 'the alien world of assumptions, attitudes and values that circumscribe the range of meanings' available to these producers and consumers of culture.⁵¹ Using the correct terminology is a start. No one in this period called the secular livery companies 'guilds', despite the way so many modern commentators treat these terms as interchangeable or even prefer the older word.⁵² The term 'guild' refers to the quasi-religious fraternities which were the ancestors of many of the livery companies of the sixteenth century onwards; the companies themselves never used the term. In addition, as we will see further below, it is inaccurate to call the Lord Mayor's Show in its entirety a 'pageant'.⁵³ This is not just pedantry. If we are, as Peter Meredith puts it, to restore the 'human dimension' of 'theatrical activity or entertainment' 'it seems . . . to be important to tell the stories, to draw together the characters where they can be drawn together, [and] to set them against what background there is'.⁵⁴ Maureen Quilligan has also recently argued that

if we ask what . . . objects and the material practices associated with them might look like if we didn't insist that they mark early modernity, but *remain embedded in a particular moment in time*, we might be in a better position to understand how historically deracinated our sense of the 'early modern' subject has become.⁵⁵

Julian Yates calls the renewed attention to materiality 'a variously Marxist counternarrative', and I agree that it is important not to assume that such materialist criticism is invariably a form of conservative antiquarianism, denuded of politics, as some commentators have recently done.⁵⁶ My focus on material culture is also closely associated with the way in which much recent criticism has sought to temper the over-generalised, over-argued tendencies within New Historicism and its followers. Back in 1991 Halpern was arguing that 'new historicism has tended to avoid the materiality of the economic in order to focus on political or sovereign models of power'. The answer, however, as he points out, is 'not to argue that *everything* is an economy', as in Greenblatt's 'circulation of social energy' model, with its potential to 'obliterate the

specificity of the economic' within 'a sort of specious metaphor'.⁵⁷ Loading up early modern culture with massive, epochal significance is not only often unsustainable in itself, it also runs the risk of erasing the small, local meanings – what Quilligan calls 'specifying histories' – that might have had the most valency in that actual space and time. My argument, following the helpful formulations just cited, is that we can attempt to bring back those lost 'meanings', or, in Smuts's useful formulation, 'the cultural frame' of civic pageantry, by paying suitable attention to the cultural events, and the contexts in which they took place, that were significant to early modern people, and not just to us, some four hundred years later. To gain a comprehensive understanding of civic pageantry and the ways in which it was appreciated (in both senses) by its contemporaries, as Smuts writes, 'we will need to examine both the symbolism of the [pageantry] itself *and* the responses and expectations of those who watched it'.⁵⁸

There is, therefore, a revisionist tenor to this book. Early modern criticism across the range of literature and history has been increasingly concerned in recent years with material culture, and historical studies in particular have moved away from large-scale explanatory narratives. As Smuts argues, 'the "history" in which "literature" is embedded invariably consists, not only of large ideological movements and social trends, but a host of highly specific circumstances that we can only hope to unravel through focused research'.⁵⁹ This book's focus on the material aspects and the lived experience of the Lord Mayor's Show therefore sits within more current critical trends, and its approach will eschew the pseudo-historical generalisations upon which so much historicist criticism of the last two decades has rested. In terms of methodology, I have refrained from interpreting the Shows anthropologically, as a form of predetermined and fixed ritual, with predictable effects on a monolithic and, crucially, passive audience. My account is rather more interested in contingency – 'the inevitable and thwarting element of chance', as Alice Hunt neatly puts it.⁶⁰ This book is also concerned with the perceptions and experiences of the 'consumers' of the Shows as much as with those of the producers and sponsors. With the benefit of hindsight, we might think we can perceive clear ideological patterns in civic pageantry but that does not guarantee that this is how they came across to contemporary audiences and readers. Hence, perhaps, the surprising neglect of eyewitness accounts of the Shows as a medium that may provide just such a perspective, which I discuss at greater length in Chapter 3.

In this vein, Gary Taylor has posed the question as to whether one of Middleton's mayoral Shows should be considered to be 'news or art', thereby foregrounding the currency and ephemerality of the text versus its aesthetic qualities in a way that might have registered with a contemporary spectator or reader.⁶¹ Although the input of the writers was, of course, intrinsic to the creation of mayoral Shows, Smuts has rightly suggested that to treat such entertainments as exclusively literary is both 'limiting and fundamentally misleading'; pageantry, he argues, 'derived instead from social and religious conventions deeply embedded within English culture'.⁶² These writers and artificers had therefore to work within existing cultural parameters, such as with highly traditional material, with only a limited autonomy to invent. Perhaps the Shows' consistent emphasis upon the livery companies' 'ethics of community over individualism', as Andrew McRae puts it, is one of the reasons why they seem to be antithetical to modern commentators, given the sway of individualism in western culture after the early modern period.⁶³ It is my view that one should attempt to interpret the mayoral Shows, and the texts which they generated, in their own terms, as far as this is possible.

With that approach in mind, the Lord Mayors' Shows – especially when studied en masse, as here – can offer us access to a rich range of the symbolic meanings available to an inhabitant of, or visitor to, early modern London. Civic pageantry, after all, was derived from numerous cultural and historical traditions. Few forms of culture in this period, indeed, are so multi-faceted. There has also been considerable scholarly interest in recent years in the history and culture of cities per se, which makes the sustained attention I propose here to the celebratory culture of London, the chief city of England, all the more timely.⁶⁴ As J. R. Mulryne notes, there has been 'an increasing focus among academic commentators on the place of the city in the initiation and maintenance of a common culture'.⁶⁵ This book is a contribution to that enterprise. Within that wider context, foregrounding the Shows acts as a useful corrective to the focus on monarchical and governmental power that one often encounters in writing about this period. The presumption tends to be that court and/or aristocratic culture was the model. There is, however, an alternative approach, as outlined by Tittler: 'a number of aspects of civic culture, including . . . civic ceremony, emerged . . . from indigenous traditions of urban life, and to suit urban requirements, with far less need to be appropriated from elsewhere than has commonly been recognised'.⁶⁶ Relatedly, Paul

Griffiths has asserted that London's 'self-image' in the early modern period manifested itself in 'decidedly civic rhetoric for civic concerns', which did not always mesh with 'attempts by Stuart kings to turn London into a gleaming capital city that would outshine rivals on mainland Europe'.⁶⁷ Indeed, Manley argues that civic pageantry 'called attention to the urban wealth and security on which . . . courtly splendor depended'.⁶⁸ Like it or not – and as the seventeenth century progressed the relationship grew more strained – these two bodies, the City and the Crown, were forged into a mutual interdependence.

It seems perverse, then, that when he comes to discuss civic entertainments Chambers should prioritise the very occasional coronation entry over the annual Lord Mayor's Show in the chapter on 'pageantry' in his voluminous *The Elizabethan Stage*. Indeed, Chambers is so monarch-centric that he asserts that 'the opportunities for spectacular display, which provincial towns enjoyed during a [royal] progress, fell to London chiefly at the time of a coronation'.⁶⁹ By the time he eventually gets round to discussing what he disparagingly calls 'municipal pageantry' the damage has been done, and the message that entertainments for the monarch and his or her family (or even for some minor courtier) are inherently the most important, regardless of their size and significance, has been made. The brief account of the mayoral Shows that he does provide is prefaced with a grudging 'Even in the absence of the sovereign . . .'. The little he does have to say about the Shows is laced with haughty disdain: 'there were personages mounted on strange beasts. Speeches and dialogues afforded opportunities for laudation of the Lord Mayor and his brethren. There was generally some theme bearing on the history of the company or the industry to which it was related.'⁷⁰

As I have shown above, Chambers's approach and its inherent prejudices have tended to linger in critical discourse. The mayoral Show cannot fairly be likened to a 'municipal' entity like a public toilet, however. For the Companies this was a day when they and their chiefs were in the limelight and, crucially, within their own domain, and being celebrated as such. David Cannadine has argued that 'politics and ceremonial are not separate subjects . . . [and] ritual is not the mask of force, but is in itself a type of power'.⁷¹ Power – or rather, the projection of power – was indeed a central dimension of the Shows. Alexandra Johnston writes that

the overwhelming sense one receives . . . is that . . . 'solemn pomps' were essentially about power – how to get it, display it, share it,

and retain it . . . [R]enaissance cities, though powerful communities jealous of their own jurisdiction, were constantly negotiating their relationships with other secular and religious authorities.⁷²

The ‘display’ of power that Johnston cites, in particular, is central to what the Shows were all about, and in London’s case the ‘secular authority’ with which it was the most engaged, in various ways, was the Crown. At the height of its power and influence the City of London, as an entity itself and in its constituent parts – the livery companies and trading companies such as the Merchant Adventurers – dominated England’s greatest city. And London in turn dominated the country. As the monarch’s alternative in extremis the Lord Mayor was, after all, the most important commoner in the country: in Jonson’s words, ‘for his yeere, [he] hath Senior place of the rest’.⁷³ Orazio Busino, a seventeenth-century Venetian eyewitness of one of the Shows (of whom more in Chapter 3), offers an outsider’s perspective, calling the Lord Mayor ‘a chief for the government of the city itself, which may rather be styled a sort of republic of wholesale merchants than anything else’. For the Show itself, Busino commented that ‘the cost incurred exceeded the means of a petty or medium duke’.⁷⁴ Explicit reference to the Lord Mayor’s standing in relation to the monarch occurs in quite a few of the Shows, such as Munday’s 1611 Show *Chruso-thriambos*, where advantage is taken of the coincidence of celebrating a mayor, James Pemberton, who shared the King’s name.⁷⁵ Munday takes this opportunity to highlight the authority of the Lord Mayor that derived from his role as the monarch’s substitute.

Indeed, the zenith of the mayoral Shows in the early seventeenth century came about partly because of a decline in royal civic entertainments under James I and his successor. The Lord Mayor’s status as monarchical ‘surrogate’ was thereby realised, in practice, as mayoral pageantry increasingly eclipsed that of the king. In the context of mayoral Shows, the new incumbent of the role demonstrates what David Bergeron calls ‘office charisma’, analogous to that embodied in the monarch during royal entries, progresses and the like.⁷⁶ In these events, the Lord Mayor *became* London. The presence of the new Lord Mayor at the performance – and many pageant speeches address him directly – is an important aspect of these events. The Lord Mayor himself, processing in all his civic regalia, was as much a part of the spectacle as the pageants. As Hardin has commented, ‘people expected to see their leaders . . . [and] to witness the mayor hearing [the pageant] speeches . . . His

visibility in ceremonies of election provided the populace with a source of power.’ Such visibility, he continues, ‘served the interests of the status quo because it illustrated at least the illusion of openness and accountability’.⁷⁷

The central presence of the Lord Mayor in the Shows demonstrates the ways in which there were parallels as well as significant differences between the mayoral Shows and monarchical entertainments, and, in some instances, with the court masque. For one thing, the civic elite performed an important ceremonial role during the royal entry as well as contributing large sums towards these events.⁷⁸ Although triumphal *arches* appear to have been the exclusive preserve of royal events, the printed texts of the Lord Mayors’ Shows themselves underscored the parallels by repeatedly calling the mayoral Shows ‘Triumphs’, the term that points directly to classical, especially Roman, precedent. However, Manley writes, ‘the lord mayor’s shows were modeled formally on the Roman republican *prosessus consularis* and the military “triumph”’, not on the imperial Roman triumph as were the royal entries.⁷⁹ Accordingly, twenty-two of the existing thirty-one printed Shows mention ‘Triumphs’ in some fashion on their title pages.⁸⁰ There are also analogies at the level of content. For instance, where Mulryne argues that in Renaissance triumphs ‘records of past greatness were harnessed to create, or shore up, modern reputations. Henri IV or Maximilian I became (it was hoped) new and greater monarchs by association with figures from the history of pre-Christian Rome’, one thinks of the ways in which previous and famed Lord Mayors (such as William Walworth) function in very similar ways to cast reflected glory on the new incumbent.⁸¹ As James I is represented as London’s ‘bridegroom’ in his royal entry of 1604, so is John Leman, the new Lord Mayor, for Anthony Munday’s Show in 1616.⁸² Furthermore, as we will see further elsewhere, in many of the Shows the new Lord Mayor – and, by implication, all those who watched the entertainment – are reminded that the former is the monarch’s ‘lieutenant’, with all the consequent political undertones. Although it was understood that the monarch had the power over the Lord Mayor as over all his or her subjects, and this point was affirmed through the act by which the monarch’s representatives had conferred the Lord Mayor’s authority upon him at the start of the inaugural day at Westminster, the absence of the monarch during the main part of the day within the City itself would make the Lord Mayor the sole figure of authority.⁸³

At a thematic level, as in the royal entry with the relative positions

of monarch and people, the mayoral inauguration was sometimes likened to a marriage between the Lord Mayor and the City. Indeed, in terms of their gendering of the relationship between ruler and ruled there is little difference between the two genres. For Munday's *Chrysanaleia* (as I have discussed elsewhere) the City is John Leman's bride, as she is for Middleton, more briefly, in *The triumphs of loue and antiquity*. In the last speech of the latter text 'Loue' declares that the Lord Mayor is 'the Cities Bride-groome'. As her husband, he is told to be, 'according to your Morning-Vowes,/ A Carefull Husband, to a Louing Spouse' (sig. D1r).⁸⁴ More generally, there is in this period a use of gendered language to represent civic government. Hardin writes that 'the "feminization" of civic space was conducive to building ideologies of social domination and control'.⁸⁵ Indeed, Gail Kern Paster notes that 'because the city is walled for most of its history, it is early associated with the female principle . . . As a fortified place subject to siege and assault, this personified city becomes associated with sexual possession'.⁸⁶ Middleton, true to form, takes his own idiosyncratic approach in *The triumphs of truth*, where, in contrast to the norm, London, who gives the first speech, is the new Lord Mayor's mother. Her status as a representation of the City overrides the lack of propriety of a woman speaking: 'esteeme [not] / My words the lesse, because I a Woman speake, / A womans counsell is not alwayes weake', she says (sig. A4r). As we will see further below, the Shows repeatedly used gendered figures in the pageantry, usually inflected by the standard misogyny that underlines so much early modern culture. For Middleton in *The triumphs of truth*, the ultimately triumphant figure of Zeal is male, and the tempting but eventually defeated figure of Error, female.

Despite the likenesses between the various forms of ceremonial entertainment, a number of critics have tended to see the courtly and civic varieties as antithetical, if not openly at odds. Some time ago Wickham established the view of a rivalry between the court masque, in particular, and the Lord Mayor's Show. Paster subsequently followed Wickham in arguing that mayoral pageantry developed as an attempt to 'emulate' court entertainments, as part of an 'unofficial dramatic rivalry between court and city'.⁸⁷ This position has been slightly qualified more recently by Bergeron, who writes that 'perhaps [the Lord Mayors' Shows] rival the court masque . . . [although] I am uncertain that the mood becomes as sinister as Wickham implies'.⁸⁸ Even someone as expert on the Shows as Sheila Williams, however, is prone to the view that Bergeron is sceptical about. In her account of why John Taylor

rather than Heywood wrote the 1634 Show, breaking the latter's ubiquity in this decade, she writes that 'one possible explanation lies in Heywood's defection [to the masque] . . . Thus having risen from bourgeois to Court spectacle, Heywood may have declined to divide his energies.'⁸⁹ Her use of the term 'defection' shows that the notion of competition or rivalry between the Lord Mayor's Show and the court masque underlies her interpretation. The word 'risen' also, probably unthinkingly, replicates the elite priority usually given to court entertainments. In fact, as Williams concedes, there is another – and more plausible – reason why Heywood may not have received (or even contested) the commission for that year, for Garret Christmas, Heywood's influential collaborator and the one of the pair who had increasingly handled their business, had recently died, and Heywood may well have felt unable to take on the responsibility without him.

Rather than being the 'rival' of court culture, then, one can at times see the Shows as a way of presenting a displacement of monarchical authority. To illustrate the point, Kipling's interpretation of the underlying meaning of royal entries can be applied without undue misrepresentation to the mayoral processions. He writes that 'because [royal entries] celebrate the first advent of the new king, they necessarily focus sharply on a single ruler [who] must enter the city . . . making . . . his first manifestation as king'.⁹⁰ Replace the word 'king' with 'mayor', and this acts as a succinct summary of the purpose of the Lord Mayor's inaugural celebrations too. Only the emphasis on 'a single ruler' should be qualified by an acknowledgement of the importance of the Lord Mayor's livery company as the corporate entity to which he belongs and the one which sponsors the Show. In the civic arena 'self-fashioning' was on the whole more collective than individual. The presence of notable dignitaries in the Shows was thus significant inasmuch as it was representative of general civic virtues, and the individual qualities mentioned tended to be foregrounded as exemplary. For example, in the brief printed text of Peele's 1585 Show Wolstan Dixie, the new Lord Mayor, is mentioned by name within the text only once (although he is elsewhere addressed more impersonally as 'your honour').⁹¹ With some provisos (further explored in due course), Lord Mayors' Shows also tended to be more uniform, in terms of funding and political emphasis, than other triumphs, and their predictable regularity acts as another marker of difference with the more ad hoc royal entertainments. The mayoral entry into his City can be seen, in a useful phrase used by Edward Muir, as 'an urban

rite of passage', a shift from the rule of the preceding Lord Mayor (only mentioned if a member of the same Company, of course, and not always then) in favour of London's (temporary) new ruler.⁹² The Shows therefore had to negotiate both continuity and transition at the same time, a difficult ideological position.

The preceding discussion has, I hope, shown how the importance and complexity of mayoral pageantry makes it ripe for reappraisal. It is certainly the case that materialist and historicist criticism has some ground to make up here. As I have already suggested, such criticism has been largely indifferent to civic pageantry, preferring to tackle the theatre, the royal entry, or the court masque. This trend Bergeron calls the "Whitehall syndrome", [one] which focuses exclusively on the court at the expense of understanding other sites of power'.⁹³ The neglect the Lord Mayor's Show has largely experienced, Bergeron comments, is deliberate: 'we do not lack evidence about the importance of pageants', he writes, 'we lack the scholarly will to explore them . . . [T]he benign neglect of pageants . . . marks a failure of scholarship'.⁹⁴ As with Chambers back in the 1920s, even Wickham's magisterial *Early English Stages* privileges the royal entry and royal progress over the Lord Mayor's Show as exemplars of civic pageantry; indeed, he excludes the Shows entirely from the volume covering the period of their dominance.

Of course, this is not to say that the Shows have been entirely overlooked. Bergeron has produced on his own a sizeable proportion of the extant scholarship and criticism on these works and their contexts. My work is greatly indebted to his, as it is to the careful scholarship of Jean Robertson and D. J. Gordon in the livery company archives, as well as to pioneers like Manley, whose *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* offers an exemplary reading of civic pageantry. In addition, as Sullivan has more recently observed, there has at last been 'a move away from new historicism's court based narrative [resulting in] a growing interest in alternative social capitals' – literally so, in the case of London.⁹⁵ My intention here to bring this essential groundwork up to date and to explore some of the assumptions that have yet to be fully critiqued. One of these is the place of the Shows within literary history. In his thoughtful introduction to the revised edition of *English Civic Pageantry* Bergeron remarks that 'most of the major dramatists of the period, *excepting Shakespeare*, [wrote] civic pageants'.⁹⁶ He does not take the point very far, however, and his argument is somewhat undermined by the fact that almost the only stage plays he mentions in relation to the Lord Mayors' Shows are

by Shakespeare rather than those writers with a keen interest in pageantry, such as Middleton or Heywood. In fact, it is very likely that Shakespeare's absence from the civic scene is one of the main reasons why the Shows (and other forms of civic pageantry, to an extent) have so often been overlooked.⁹⁷ The Shows were significant cultural productions and they employed some of the most talented and high profile writers of the day. It is an overlooked significance of these productions that the role of the 'poet' should, by and large, be so celebrated by the printed texts they generated, unlike the usual case with royal triumphs and entertainments, a large number of which were published anonymously.⁹⁸

In themselves these writers constitute one of the most significant connections between the mayoral Shows and other cultural forms in this period. Although it seems obvious when one thinks about it, it has hardly ever been remarked upon that the zenith of the mayoral Shows was virtually the same as that of the professional early modern stage, i.e. from the late sixteenth century through to the outbreak of the first civil war. This is not a coincidence, and there is a case to be made that the one led to the other. Dutton asserts that 'given that many of the principal Jacobean dramatists . . . wrote for the civic pageants, it is hardly surprising that [the] influence [of the latter] should be perceived in plays written for the theatre'. As he comments, what is 'more surprising [is that] . . . this influence has been largely overlooked or ignored'.⁹⁹ The seemingly unlimited appetite of early modern Londoners for visual and aural entertainment underlies the success of both cultural forms in this period. These writers were very aware of the status of various forms of cultural production, and especially of the high profile of the Lord Mayor's Show, which is surely one reason why they undertook these commissions. Indeed, Heather Easterling has recently proposed that 'by far Middleton's greatest *contemporary* fame derived from his long career as the author of [these] annual pageants'.¹⁰⁰ The consequence of such 'fame', as Angela Stock argues, was that a writer involved in the production of mayoral Shows did so under the pressure 'of acquitting himself creditably as an impresario competing with other London writers and other forms of civic drama, knowing full well that his inventions would be noted by the satirical eyes and parodic quills of his colleagues'.¹⁰¹ The parallels are, after all, numerous: these writers were engaged in a collaborative dramatic enterprise in both arenas.

However, despite the undoubted links between the theatre and civic pageantry, and although one would have thought that

studying mayoral Shows would be of obvious value to critics of the works of Middleton, Heywood, Dekker and Webster (and even, to an extent, Jonson), critics have, in the main, neglected to tackle the full range of texts produced by these writers. One consequence of this is that they can have only a partial sense of these writers' oeuvres. Over the last two decades or so, for instance, neither Jacqueline Pearson's *Tragedy and Tragicomedy in the Plays of John Webster* nor Rowlie Wymer's *Webster and Ford* mentions Webster's Lord Mayor's Show; more significantly still, given his importance for the genre, Swapan Chakravorty entirely overlooks all of Middleton's numerous Shows in *Society and Politics in the Plays of Thomas Middleton*.¹⁰² For Dekker and Heywood, the story is often the same: for example, McLuskie's *Dekker and Heywood* does not discuss the mayoral Shows written by either of her protagonists.¹⁰³ Jean Howard's more recent *Theater of a City*, which, as its title suggests, focuses extensively on Dekker, Heywood and Middleton as London writers, at the same time disregards their mayoral Shows completely in favour of the plays. Furthermore, she does not mention Munday – surely a key figure in any study of urban writing – in any regard whatsoever.

Partly, no doubt, the separation within so much criticism of the two closely related spheres of pageantry and playwrighting is due to the persistence of the old story of wholesale civic opposition to the stage, which is gradually being chipped away but still largely retains its status as orthodoxy.¹⁰⁴ In fact, as Hirschfeld points out, 'players, dramatists, and other professionals affiliated with the theater were not simply surrounded by civic companies but were intimately involved with them'; the livery company structure was as a consequence 'a palpable context for the playwrights' work'.¹⁰⁵ Not only were the professional dramatists more linked to civic entertainments than most commentators are prepared to admit, the dramatists themselves could make a good living from such commissions, which tended to be better remunerated than writing for the stage. Bergeron also points out that 'patronage by the guilds reached a wider array of artists than did that of the court'.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, as Hirschfeld reminds us, such work was not necessarily sought for purely monetary reasons, but can be seen to have 'deriv[ed] from professional, political, and emotional as well as financial desires' – especially when, as we'll see further below, the writers had other forms of investment in civic employments.¹⁰⁷

The all-too-frequent exclusion of their civic cultural productions from the analysis of these writers' works has led to a partial

view on a wider scale, too. As Stock argues, ‘the intertextual relations between early modern civic pageantry and London drama are a mine of material that has been neglected’.¹⁰⁸ There are so many missed opportunities to bring canonical and non-canonical together, whether within the corpus of one writer or across a range of contemporaries. As an indicative instance of the latter, consider what critics of *Othello* might make of Middleton’s ‘King of the Moores’, his Queen and entourage in *The triumphs of truth* some ten years later.¹⁰⁹ Even within that one mayoral text, one can see fascinating – and until quite recently unexplored – verbal and conceptual parallels with other Middleton works written for the theatre, demonstrating another form of intertextuality worth considering. For example, *The Changeling*’s repeated insistence on the connection between sight and desire is echoed in *The triumphs of truth*, where one of the characters, Truth’s Angel, says of the Lord Mayor ‘I haue within mine Eye my blessed Charge’ (sig. B1v). In addition, the similar phrases ‘sweet-fac’d devils’ and ‘fair-fac’d saints’ occur, respectively, in the mayoral Show and the play.¹¹⁰ Such congruence does not apply solely to Middleton: the dialogue between Vulcan and Jove in Dekker’s *Londons Tempe*, for instance, recalls that between Simon Eyre and his workers in *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* by the same writer.

The use of emblems, in particular, shows how widespread was the cross-fertilisation between civic pageantry and other theatrical forms of culture in this period. Frederick Kiefer’s *Shakespeare’s Visual Theatre* has valuably juxtaposed plays to pageantry to show how certain cultural tropes worked across genres.¹¹¹ The Oxford Middleton project, and, yet to come, an equivalent complete works of Heywood, have also broken some of the ground to which this book contributes. More widely, given the paucity of evidence about the experience of theatregoing in this period, those contemporary eyewitness accounts which have survived to retell the experience of watching the Lord Mayor’s Show should surely be prized, not neglected. I will demonstrate below how significant the Shows are in terms of our understanding of early modern performance technology, too. The writers and artificers took full advantage of the general munificence associated with the making of the Shows, and they produced prodigious spectacles.

Of course, this is not to say that mayoral Shows are all unfairly neglected works of genius. They are, as one would imagine given the constraints on their production, of varying quality and sometimes repetitive. But one has to bear in mind that the writers and artificers

were working to commissions and had to please a committee of city bureaucrats who inspected proceedings as they went on. It's also salutary to remember that in early modern culture imitation tended to be more prized than originality. The Shows were hybrid productions in any case, drawing upon varying and perhaps competing traditions. For one thing, they were composed of both procession and spectacle, a combination that does not lend itself to the kind of artistic coherence usually valued by literary critics. The concept of 'unity', as Bergeron states, 'raises the wrong expectation for these pageants'.¹¹² In addition, Williams argues that 'the mayoral pageant-poets were engaged in the difficult task of trying to use in an unlearned commercial context the apparatus of classical myth and allegory which an aristocratic Renaissance culture had made more or less obligatory in public festivities'.¹¹³ She goes on to illustrate how Taylor's work is 'an example of the pageant-poets' disregard for the decorous keeping apart of materials usually considered incongruous'.¹¹⁴ As well as having issues of genre and form to deal with, the writers and artificers were increasingly responsible for overseeing the whole production and they often had very little time: Munday was contracted to produce his 1618 Show with less than three weeks' notice, for instance.¹¹⁵ Commonly, the sub-committee for planning the Show was established only at the beginning of October; at the earliest, the detailed preparations did not generally commence until late September, for the Lord Mayor was elected on Michaelmas Day, 29 September. Only in 1613 did the production team appear to have had much time to prepare the entertainment (Munday had already submitted a proposal to the Grocers' Company in February of that year). In contrast, as Mulryne points out, more 'elaborate and memorable festivals', where the spectacle usually excelled that of mayoral Shows, 'must have entailed exceedingly time-consuming and expert conception and management'.¹¹⁶

There certainly was competition between writers and artificers for the job of producing the Shows, as discussed further below. There is therefore no evidence that I am aware of to back up Wickham's assertion that pageant-writing commissions were 'probably more keenly sought after to stave off a visit to the debtors' prison than for artistic satisfaction comparable with that derived from plays written for a Public Theatre'.¹¹⁷ Paster corrects this view when she argues that 'the professional writers of the city were delighted enough with pageant commissions to compete eagerly for them'.¹¹⁸ Despite his assertion elsewhere that one should not disparage 'the distinguished company of dramatists who devised

[civic shows]’, Wickham appears to have started from an assumption about the cultural superiority of the professional stage and then generalised across from Dekker’s particular situation, though there is nothing to show that even the indebted Dekker wrote his Lord Mayor’s Shows purely out of impecuniousness.¹¹⁹ In the same vein, David Horne asserts that ‘it is unlikely that [George] Peele himself was enthusiastic about [the Shows] but it was a way of earning a livelihood’. Peele’s feelings about his pageant productions have not survived: Horne has imposed his own prejudices about the Shows’ ‘pedestrian’ qualities and lack of ‘originality of form’ on to their maker.¹²⁰ Especially for those writers who were also members of the livery companies (which is surprisingly many), getting the job to write such a high profile, one-off entertainment must have been substantial incentive on its own. Neither Middleton nor Heywood was likely to have been that short of funds (unlike Dekker and, probably, Munday), and of course Jonson, who was keenly aware of the relative statuses of various kinds of literary production, was involved in at least one Lord Mayor’s Show.¹²¹

It is surely more productive to see these two important traditions of urban culture as complementary rather than antithetical, for it is no coincidence that mayoral Shows reached their zenith of imaginative and dramatic power at pretty much the same time as the professional stage, for they shared many protagonists as well, naturally, as an audience. One should therefore see civic pageantry as an aspect of a culture full of confidence in its creative abilities, both on the street and on the stage. It should hardly need restating, as Margot Heinemann argued some thirty years ago, that the ‘lavish expenditure on shows, entertainment and dressing-up should in itself qualify some of our simpler conventional notions about the City fathers as a set of kill-joys who objected in principle to “fictions”, disguisings or spending money on enjoyment’.¹²² Old critical habits die hard, though. Hardin, for instance, finds an imagined incongruity in the livery companies’ employment of dramatists and actors, and is compelled to argue for a wider separation between theatre and civic pageantry than was the case.¹²³ The theatricality of the Shows is highly evident, in fact, as one might expect with the central input of professional dramatists. Indeed, one can imagine that the dramatists relished the theatrical opportunities offered by the lavish expenditure conferred on the Shows by the livery companies. Dekker’s first Show, *Troia-Noua triumphans*, as an example, includes both dialogue and action that would not have been at all out of place on the stages of Bankside or Shoreditch; in

the printed text the scenes are even set out like those from a play, complete with stage directions. Indeed, the room for ‘special effects’ was even greater than that offered by the playhouses: in the latter Show Envy and Virtue debate their relative superiority in speeches accompanied by spectacular rockets and fireworks. Plenty of audience response to the Shows has survived, too. Artefacts like Abram Booth’s sketches of the 1629 Show and the lavish images produced for the 1616 Show are of tremendous value and would doubtless have been much more discussed had the disparagement suffered by the Lord Mayor’s Show not excluded them from the view of so many. Indeed, these images are more illuminating of seventeenth-century dramatic practices than the much-reproduced and second-hand ‘de Witt’ picture of the Swan theatre, or the Longleat drawing of what may be a performance of *Titus Andronicus* at the Rose.

Civic culture is inherently multi-faceted and benefits from an interdisciplinary approach. As Mulryne has commented, ‘festival is pre-eminently a composite topic of study . . . Music, choreography, visual design and script are as crucial to the presentation and interpretation of festival as political intent and economic supply.’¹²⁴ This book therefore attempts what Smuts has called ‘a deeper and more thoroughgoing kind of interdisciplinarity’.¹²⁵ The chapters of this book deal with these aspects in turn, building to present a wholesale account of these important entertainments. The theoretical and conceptual issues outlined above underpin the book in its entirety. The approach of each ensuing chapter is then, to an extent, modelled by its subject matter. Archival sources are the key focus of much of Chapter 2, whereas bibliographical concerns dominate Chapter 4. Chapter 5 is where I focus most on the *content* of the Shows and their contemporary significance. As in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 also mines the livery company records, alongside the printed books, for information about the performance of the Shows, and foregrounds eyewitness accounts of these too. I start, however, with a discussion of the antecedents of the Shows, and of the forces that lead to their rise to prominence in the later sixteenth century.

‘In Those Home-spun Times’: the historical antecedents of the Shows

Although in many ways they were a distinct cultural phenomenon, the Shows did not emerge from nowhere, fully formed, in the 1580s when they began regularly to appear in print. Forms of pageantry were employed by guilds and livery companies from the medieval

period onwards on many occasions and for a variety of purposes. Performances (often by professional players) were central to the livery companies' collective celebrations from at least the fifteenth century.¹²⁶ As forms of public pageantry, the mayoral Shows' roots can be traced to these antecedents. Their 'back story', however, is far from transparent. Any exploration of the early days of civic pageantry is inhibited by a lack of certainty as to when pageantry on Lord Mayor's Day began to be established practice, although the Shows' continuities with existing traditions were, on the whole, numerous.¹²⁷ Some kind of celebration was held prior to the 1580s to mark a mayoral inauguration, even if it was simply a feast.¹²⁸ By 1635 (the City's inveterate tendency to claim great antiquity for its customs notwithstanding), the Ironmongers' Company felt able to refer to the day's events as deriving from 'ancient custome'.¹²⁹ In a related sense, Heywood refers in *Londini status pacatus* of 1639 to the 'Annual argument' outlining the venerability of the City's offices and inaugurations (sig. A3r). Even at the relatively early dates of 1601 and 1604 the Haberdashers were requesting arrangements for the Show 'according as it hath bene done in former yeres'.¹³⁰ Tittler argues that 'the attribute of antiquity . . . conferred precedence, seniority, and virtue', which we will see to be aspects of the lexicon of mayoral pageantry as well as other forms of civic culture.¹³¹ Rhetoric aside, there is some truth in these claims of antiquity, of course. On the basis of three different eyewitness accounts spanning some 70 years (Henry Machyn, Lupold von Wedel and Abram Booth), one can see considerable continuity in the practice of the livery companies on these occasions. As Robert Lublin comments, 'this is not to suggest that the ceremony was performed in exactly the same way year after year, but that it is *understood* by those involved to be unchangeable'.¹³² The Lord Mayor himself may (in almost all cases) have been a different individual from year to year, but as with sovereign power the continuity of tradition in itself demonstrated that the role was uninterrupted.

This is not to say that civic ceremonies and entertainments proceeded wholly unchanged since time immemorial. Civic drama as a genre reflected changing times, and the livery companies themselves had experienced considerable upheaval in the run-up to the mid-sixteenth century. Although a number of the livery companies derived from religious fraternities (such as the Fraternity of St John the Baptist, from which emerged the Merchant Taylors' Company), as Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis write, 'by the reformation, they had become sufficiently distinct from these that, for the most part,

they survived the Edwardian legislation that annihilated religious guilds'.¹³³ In London, there was a consequent secularisation of civic ritual, resulting in an emphasis on celebrating the Lord Mayor, his Company, and the City of London: as Tittler writes, 'the thrust of a good number of these transformations was to place the mayor and his brethren in the limelight once occupied by the pantheon of biblical and other religious figures'.¹³⁴

As far as continuities are concerned, from the fourteenth century onwards the guilds had had the responsibility for urban processions and plays. The Lord Mayors' Shows thus had connections with precursors such as the Midsummer Watch, guild plays and mummings held on religious festivals such as Twelfth Night, and other quasi-religious processions. Guild members performed roles in as well as watched these entertainments. Even in the early fifteenth century, over a hundred years before the Reformation, religious entertainments had a distinctly civic focus. One consistent theme of royal entries from the fourteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century, for instance, was the personification of London as a New Jerusalem.¹³⁵ Such forms of adaptation, as we'll see further below, became a consistent feature of the Shows too in due course. Indeed, Clare Sponsler asserts that 'the liturgical message of Epiphany could readily be appropriated within the context of a guildhall performance to reaffirm structures of authority and patterns of obligation linking mayor and merchants'.¹³⁶ Another context for the rise of the Shows, paradoxically, is the relative decline in the economic hegemony of the livery companies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the light of which the high profile of the Shows at this juncture seems defiant rather than celebratory. Munro has noted that 'the Lord Mayor's show rose to civic prominence at the same time that London first began to noticeably suffer from the negative effects . . . [of] its rapid population growth . . . The presentation of the ideal community of the shows was in response to the perceived loss of urban significance and clarity'.¹³⁷ Although the companies still dominated the urban scene in this period, their survival was never absolutely guaranteed: Gadd and Wallis comment that 'the derivative processions, ceremonies, fur-and-velvet pomp and circumstance that even the newest companies adopted were . . . driven by [a] sense of insecurity'.¹³⁸

As well as early forms of dramatic entertainment specific to the guilds, one of the main predecessors of the Lord Mayor's Show in London was the Midsummer Watch, held overnight on the eve of St John the Baptist's Day, 23–24 June, and St Peter and St Paul's

Day, 28–29 June. Henry III, according to Stow, established the Watch in 1253; however, the earliest surviving records for London are from 1504.¹³⁹ The Watch took two forms, the Standing Watch and the Marching Watch; the former, in Penelope Hunting's words, entailed 'lining the streets from 11pm to 2am so that the Marching Watch of some 2,000 soldiers could parade, thereby assuring the citizens that their City was secure and would remain so during the forthcoming year'.¹⁴⁰ As one might expect, the livery companies were expected to play their part, especially the Company of which the new Lord Mayor was a member. Indeed, Hunting writes that they 'vied with each other to present an impressive show of strength and the grand military muster was accompanied by torch bearers, trumpets, morris dancers [and] sometimes pageants'.¹⁴¹ The general consensus is that pageantry became part of the Watch in the course of the fifteenth century.¹⁴² The Watch was temporarily halted by the King in 1539 and then revived, briefly, about ten years later.¹⁴³

Williams posits an implicitly competitive relationship between the two forms of street pageantry, asserting that 'London civic pageantry was principally represented from about 1500 to 1540 by the Midsummer Show, whose splendours possibly delayed the development of the Lord Mayor's Show'.¹⁴⁴ There was apparently an attempt to reinstate the Watch in 1583, a date very close to the date of the beginnings of *printed* Lord Mayors' Shows in 1585. Watches took place in 1567, 1568 and 1571, but with no pageantry to accompany them. Ian Doolittle writes that when the Watch took place in 1568 'it was no more than a brief resuscitation of a dying tradition . . . [for] the real hub of the City's ceremonial year was now the Lord Mayor's Show'.¹⁴⁵ Certainly, its principal features were inherited by the increasingly spectacular and important celebrations on Lord Mayor's Day, as one can see from Hunting's description of the Watch: 'the time, effort and expense involved in the presentation of [its] pageants was phenomenal. The frame or stage had to be specially constructed by carpenters and painters, children were hired and clothed to act in the drama; drums, flutes and harps played, giants and dragons appeared'.¹⁴⁶ The resemblance to the Lord Mayor's Show is striking.

There were, therefore, continuities as well as divergences between the two civic traditions. Although sometimes there was music, dancing and the ubiquitous giant, there were not always pageants, as such, as part of the Watch. In those instances where there *were* pageants for the Watch and other processions they were sometimes adapted for mayoral inaugurations, such as in 1539, when the King

cancelled the Midsummer Watch, and the pageants were then used for the Lord Mayor's procession.¹⁴⁷ Other similarities include the way the Midsummer Watch pageants 'referred to' the Mayor's name (a popular trope, as we'll see). Another overlap with the Shows is the ways in which the Watch contained aspects of trade symbolism as a way of gesturing towards the Company of which the Lord Mayor was a member. Local symbolism of this kind was common, and London was in some ways a privileged space for the creation of such iconography. As Daniel Woolf has argued, 'in London, more than in any other place, a wide assortment of tales had sprung up concerning men and sometimes women . . . who figured in the mythology both of the city itself and also of its sub-communities, such as the guilds'.¹⁴⁸ We will see in due course how these 'tales' figured in mayoral pageantry.

As with the Lord Mayor's Show, the pageantry of the Midsummer Watch utilised figures and tropes extracted from biblical and classical history and mythology, often in the form of allegory.¹⁴⁹ However, in contrast to the Lord Mayor's Show, partly owing to its post-Reformation context, myth featured less often in the Watch than biblical and other religious images and stories. Despite its roots in religious drama and pageantry, and although it preserved some of the moral themes of its predecessors, the Lord Mayor's Show took on a more secular note. To demonstrate the point, Elizabeth McGrath instances the camels which occasionally featured in pageantry, which would have had their roots in 'the sumptuous retinue of the Biblical Three Kings'; likewise, the Grocers' 'Spice Islands . . . are but the descendants of the exotic Paradise Garden of the East'. For the mayoral Shows, she states, the livery companies 'all bent their best efforts towards the invention of happily "decorous" subjects', with 'classical mythology [being] predictably a well-favoured source'.¹⁵⁰ The Shows also became more theatrical, in terms of the use of dramatic speeches, than their predecessors – the Watch seems rarely, if ever, to have had speeches.¹⁵¹

This medieval ancestry could pose problems in the post-Reformation period. The Reformation had presented a severe challenge to pre-existing forms of civic memory and culture, many of which were manifested in religious or quasi-religious modes. 'With the iconoclastic destruction of the material elements of the old faith', Tittler writes, 'many longstanding and central elements of the civic heritage, and much of the sense of the local past [were erased]'.¹⁵² In this light, one can see the inception of mayoral Shows in the immediate Reformation period as, implicitly at least, a means

by which local history and memory could be celebrated outside of the aegis of a now-deposed faith. One should not overstate the displacement of religious traditions, however. As McGrath argues, and as we'll see further below, the companies' patron saints were 'determinedly adhered to by many loyal guilds [and] would appear even where the context meant that they would have to strike up some rather unlikely relationships with their new pageant companions'. St Katherine, the patron saint of the Haberdashers, a figure who appears with considerable consistency in the early modern Shows, McGrath comments, 'must have looked a bit out of place riding in a scalloped sea-chariot she had borrowed from Amphitrite'.¹⁵³

The impact of the Reformation made itself felt in other aspects of the Companies' practice, too. For instance, the statue of John the Baptist that had been displayed at the Merchant Taylors' Hall was taken down, although the image of the saint was still used in the Company's pageantry in the 1550s, as Machyn's description of Thomas White's 1553 inauguration makes clear.¹⁵⁴ Although he was a Catholic, White's fame, as far as the City was concerned, stemmed from his role in preventing Wyatt's attempt to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne in preference to Mary and for the fact that he founded St John's College in Oxford.¹⁵⁵ Symbols and traditions did persist, even in altered forms. It was not until 1586 that the Merchant Taylors' coat of arms was denuded of its religious imagery of Our Lady and Child with St John, which was replaced, incongruously, by the camels that were to feature shortly in the pageantry of the Shows; the lamb was replaced with a lion, and the 'crest of the Virgin Mary' disappeared.¹⁵⁶ By 1637 Heywood was able to recast St Katherine as 'a Martyr . . . of the Church militant', showing her as entirely appropriated into Protestantism, and Protestantism of a radical flavour to boot (*Londini speculum*, sig. C4v).

The celebration of the Lord Mayor's inauguration itself, which traditionally took place on the day after the feast of St Simon and St Jude, can thus in general terms be traced back to the early medieval period (the first procession took place in 1215). It has even more historically remote links with the triumphal entries and processions of classical Roman times. Indeed, many pageant writers made explicit reference to the Roman triumph as a prototype for the London mayoral Show (Dekker repeatedly refers to the Lord Mayor as a 'Praetor', for instance).¹⁵⁷ It was, however, during the sixteenth century that the Shows took on the shape and format that was to dominate the next hundred years or so, the period when the Shows

came into their own as a cultural and political force.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, as we will see again and again, the emphasis, as always in civic culture, was on continuity and tradition. Middleton describes the Lord Mayor's prayers at St Paul's after the main entertainment was over as 'those yearely Ceremoniall Rites, which Antient and Graue Order hath determined' (*The triumphs of truth*, sig. D1r). His words bear out Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly's statement that ceremonies of this kind 'are repeated according to a pre-ordained pattern of words and gestures, often enshrined in official documents but always sanctioned by usage and custom'.¹⁵⁹ Heywood, as was his wont, was keen to stress the classical antecedents (and by implication, authority) of the City's governing elite. In the second dedication of *Londons ius honorarium* he informed the Sheriffs that their role demonstrated 'how neere the Dignities of this Cittie, come neere to these in Rome, when it was most flourishing'; the text proper commences 'When Rome was erected . . .' (sigs A3v–A4r). Paster writes that 'for Middleton, the presence of mythological figures in civic entertainments and the comparison of civic officials to their ancient Roman counterparts are ways of magnifying the men and the entertainments'.¹⁶⁰ Her statement applies, in fact, to most of the pageant writers of this period, who repeatedly accentuated the long lineage of the traditions to which they contributed.

The series of events of the mayoral inauguration itself evolved over time. Originally, the Lord Mayor rode to Westminster to take his oath of office before the Barons of the Exchequer, the official representatives of the sovereign, rather than travelling by barge as became the norm. According to Hunting, 'the Wardens' Accounts of the Drapers' Company for 1423–4 tell of fifteen minstrels in attendance on the Mayor's Riding of October 1423'.¹⁶¹ On this occasion there were also banners, made of blue buckram. Middleton's *The sunne in Aries* (following Stow, in an uncommon error) claims that John Norman, mayor in 1453, was 'the first that was rowed in Barge to Westmynster with Siluer Oares, at his owne cost and charges' (sig. B1v). Munday started this trend in 1614, ascribing Norman's legendary deed to a concern for impoverished watermen (*Himatia-Poleos*, sig. B2v), Middleton then repeated the assertion in *The triumphs of health and prosperity* and Heywood made the same claim later still in *Porta pietatis*.¹⁶² Hunting asserts, however, that it was in 1389 that it was 'agreed that the Sheriffs should not have a Riding but go [to Westminster] by water', an innovation then first taken up for the Lord Mayor's journey to Westminster in 1422.¹⁶³ Indeed, Dekker writes more accurately

in *Londons tempe* that ‘in the reigne of Henry 7. Sr. John Shaw Goldsmith, being Lord Maior, caused the Alderman to ride from the Guild-hall to the water-side, when he went to take his Oath at Westminster (where before they Rode by land thither)’ (sig. A3v–A4r).¹⁶⁴ It does seem to be the case that Norman’s inauguration was the first time when a livery company (in this case, the Drapers) had its own barge built, rather than hiring one.¹⁶⁵ Munday is therefore partly correct when he states in *Himatia-Poleos* that Norman ‘at his owne cost and charge . . . made a very goodly Barge for himselfe and his Brethren, to be rowed therein by water to Westminster’. ‘It was a costly Barge’, Munday adds, ‘and the Oares are said to be couered with siluer’ (sig. B2v). Confusion persists, however, for Munday has Norman himself claim that ‘I was the first Maior, that was presented to the Barons, [*sic*] of the Exchecquer’ (sig. B3r).

As the preceding discussion reveals, even in the early modern period dating the stages of the development of the Lord Mayor’s Show precisely was tricky, and it remains so. Its elements emerged gradually and in a piecemeal fashion. The livery company records for the period prior to the 1550s, for instance, indicate that music was part of the procession even if speeches were a later development. There is a specific reference in the Drapers’ records to ‘a pageaunt of thassimpcion boren before the mayre’ in 1540, which cites as a precedent the pageantry associated with the inauguration of John Allen, a Mercer, in 1535.¹⁶⁶ This event has almost invariably been regarded by scholars as the first such instance of pageantry taking place within the mayoral inauguration. Thus 1535 has become by repetition and general consensus an epochal date in the history of mayoral pageantry.¹⁶⁷ However, Anne Lancashire points out that on careful reading of the civic archives it is clear that the Mercers were referring specifically to a precedent relating to the Lord Mayor’s procession to *the Tower*, not to Westminster. For various reasons (often plague) the oath of fealty was sometimes taken at the Tower, with only limited associated ceremonial, as was the case in both 1592 and 1593, which were plague years.¹⁶⁸ The existence of pageants within the latter type of occasion would therefore have been particularly unusual, and it does not tell us anything about the usual Guildhall–Westminster inaugural route, as many scholars have presumed. There are no references to mayoral pageants in livery company records before 1528, although Lancashire cautions that ‘from silence nothing can with certainty be inferred’: Company records do not always survive, and those that do are not necessarily comprehensive.¹⁶⁹

With this caveat, however, the Drapers' records do show signs of pageantry having been employed in conventional mayoral processions to Westminster in both 1528 and 1533, although one must be aware of the frequent vagueness of the term 'pageant' in livery company archives. Owing to this ambiguity, and also to a lack of many relevant livery company records for much of the 1540s, 'it is only when we reach 1553', Lancashire writes, 'that the known records definitely indicate substantial pageant structures'.¹⁷⁰ As I will discuss further below, Henry Machyn's 'diary' does demonstrate that speeches accompanied the pageantry in the Shows at least as far back as 1553.¹⁷¹ In the light of these uncertainties, Lancashire carefully summarises what little we can know about the growth and development of the Shows in the pre-1553 period as follows:

'pageants' [may have come] into existence in the 1470s to 1480, [been] prohibited [by the Corporation] in 1481, reintroduced . . . in the 1520s or 1530s for reasons of Company (and/or individual mayoral) interest in and/or rivalry over visual display, and . . . [have] become elaborate constructions by at least 1553 because of a combination of factors including perhaps evolving custom and political/religious necessity and/or opportunism.¹⁷²

Indeed, Manley argues with some justice that 1568 is more of a marker for the establishment of the mayoral Shows than 1535. Along with a 'fully fledged pageant' for Thomas Rowe fortuitously preserved in the Merchant Taylors' records, 1568, as Manley points out, saw 'the appearance of the first printed calendar . . . of London's civic holidays' which constituted part of what he calls 'a concerted effort by London's leaders at about this time to revive and transform London's civic memory'.¹⁷³

As well as having historical antecedents, the Shows had synchronic relations with other forms of ceremonial, for the City of London had a complex variety of such ritual events, all of which contributed to its sense of itself as a political body founded on elective principles. As we have seen, and as Phythian-Adams remarks, a 'sequence of oath-taking ceremonies . . . regularly punctuated the life cycle of the successful citizen'.¹⁷⁴ For instance, ceremony was associated with the inception of a new Lord Mayor at the point of his election, which took place at Michaelmas (29 September), a month before the actual inauguration.¹⁷⁵ When Richard Dobbis, a Skinner, was elected Lord Mayor in 1551 the Company records indicate that Dobbis was accompanied by a retinue of civic dignitaries to be

presented to the current Lord Mayor 'accordinge to the custome', and after said 'solemyntie' he was escorted back to his house.¹⁷⁶ The Recorder of London made a formal speech at the hustings for the election just as he did for the oath-taking part of the inauguration itself.¹⁷⁷ The Lord Mayor was also formally presented by the Recorder on two other occasions: once to the Lord Keeper in early October when the purpose was to 'make [his] election known' to the monarch, and, usually, to the sovereign himself or herself midway through the year of mayoral office.¹⁷⁸ For Dobbis's actual Lord Mayor's Day in 1551 the Company requested the usual 'squibbes for the wilde menne' and a 'greate boate or foyst'. A painter, George Cabell, was to make a 'luzerne' (lynx) and furnish the wild men with clubs. Although the word 'pageant' is not used on this occasion, there are tantalising signs that theatrical-style entertainments were planned: three players were required to 'apparell and trime themselves with redd dubbelats of sarsenet and redd hose lynede with blewe'.¹⁷⁹ It is notable too that even as far back as 1551 the Skinners referred to the celebrations surrounding Dobbis's inauguration as being held 'accordynge to the aunciente custome'.¹⁸⁰

Another parallel form of civic festivity was the celebration of the election of a livery company's new master and wardens, which featured entertainments (sometimes over two days) and a feast.¹⁸¹ As with the Lord Mayor's Shows, boy singers and actors from schools, such as Paul's or Westminster school, at times performed before the members of the Companies. The Tallowchandlers' Company records show a payment of 13s 4d to the children of Paul's and 5s to 'Maister Philippes' for overseeing the boys' performance.¹⁸² The election of the sheriffs in June was another ritual moment of the governance of the City, and, here again, the Recorder made a formal speech. Alongside the Midsummer Watch, guild drama and the election of various civic officials, mayoral pageantry was also part of a wider annual cycle of civic ritual and entertainment, usually tied to feast days and other religious ceremonies, such as the annual St Mary Spital sermons after Easter, where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen processed formally (accompanied by children from Christ's Hospital in their blue coats) in a similar fashion to the inaugural Show.¹⁸³ These ceremonies were numerous and of long standing in most cases, and had for a considerable time been both recorded and regulated by the City in customals like the *Liber Albus*. As the sixteenth century progressed, as part of the increasingly self-conscious attitude to civic ceremony, printed calendars of civic ritual and pageantry were produced by the City.¹⁸⁴

Returning to the roots of the Shows themselves, prior to the period covered by this book there are recurrent references to pageants in livery company records; indeed, the Haberdashers' records imply that the inclusion of 'the pageant' in the triumphal day was standard practice in the 1580s. The terminology is persistent, indifferent to change and often ambiguous, and may in its conventionality disguise shifts in the form and content of the Shows through this period. Even as late as 1617, the Grocers' accounts tell of payments for '*the* pageant and *other* showes', although elsewhere in the same accounts where they list the separate devices it is not clear which is which.¹⁸⁵ The printed texts tend not to distinguish between the two terms; indeed, their titles habitually prefer 'triumph'. Even when we get towards the end of the sixteenth century uncertainties remain. A frustratingly throwaway comment in the Haberdashers' Company minutes is all that remains of the pageantry which would have accompanied George Barne in 1586, the year after the first surviving printed text of a Lord Mayor's Show: 'And as for the pageant and such like it is ordered that the same shalbe done in comely order for the honor of the Citie and worshippes of this companie according to form.'¹⁸⁶ The terminology used in the Court minutes on this occasion – 'according to form' – indicates that previous precedents for such pageantry might have included Haberdashers' Shows in 1579 and 1582.

The speeches for Thomas Offley, Lord Mayor in 1556, a Merchant Taylor, were probably written by Nicholas Grimald; the company records for this occasion show a lot of detail in terms of the content of the show and those who participated in making it.¹⁸⁷ Livery company archives from 1561 and 1568 also indicate speeches, and the Ironmongers' records from 1609 refer back to speeches written by James Peele for the 1566 inauguration.¹⁸⁸ The speeches for 1568 (and quite probably 1561 too) were written by Richard Mulcaster, the first headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, who is likely to have composed speeches in English and Latin for Elizabeth I's coronation entry into the City a few years previously, as well as acting in the same capacity for King James's entry in 1604.¹⁸⁹ The pageantry for the 1568 Show was explicitly framed to 'suit' Mulcaster's speeches, making 1568 one of the earliest years when the Show begins to sound more like those which dominated the scene some forty years later.¹⁹⁰ The actual speeches for both 1561 and 1568, as well as for 1553, unusually, were reproduced in the Merchant Taylors' records.¹⁹¹ In 1587 the Haberdashers' Court of Assistants ordered 'a pageant, a ffiost,

and all other things' for Lord Mayor's Day, although even at this relatively late date nothing more is known about the pageantry and there is no reference to a writer or artificer.¹⁹²

Although individuals like Grimald and Mulcaster were bought in to write the speeches for Lord Mayor's Day in the 1550s and 1560s, there does not seem to be the 'writer and artificer' arrangement that dominated most of the post-1585 period. Mayoral entertainments of this earlier period seem more to resemble the occasional events put on for members of the royal family, with the use of conventional 'morality' emblems, speeches written by schoolmasters and given by children, and the usual sideshows such as fireworks.¹⁹³ Indeed, chief among the enabling factors of the Shows proper was the extant dramatic tradition of 'the medieval cycle drama' usually sponsored by guilds, from which the resultant livery companies developed the habit of sponsoring entertainments, together with schools (some of which were also connected to the Companies) able to provide writers and performers for civic entertainments. The Merchant Taylors' records for 1556 leave the job of devising the pageant and arranging the participants, the music and apparel to those members of the Company appointed to oversee the event. The Company appointed 'p[er]sons to be devisors surveyors & overseers of all suche bussynes & doynge as shall conserne A Pageant . . . and to devise other conceyte as woodwarde [the wild man] & other pastymes to be had'.¹⁹⁴ With these demands in mind, it is quite understandable that as the pageantry got more elaborate professionals were bought in and given the task of organising the content of the Show whilst the Bachelors, the association of freemen whose responsibility the Show became, maintained an overview. As we will see further below, it is certainly the case that the ostentation and complexity of the pageantry increased over this period, in terms of the number of individual pageants and the sophistication of their content. Later still, the title cover of the first Show of the Restoration period (politically entitled *The royal oake*) boasts that it contains 'twice as many Pageants and Speeches as have been formerly shoven', which did not stop Pepys describing the former as 'many . . . but poor and absurd'.¹⁹⁵

As I have already indicated, there were also consanguinities between the Shows and related entertainments like the royal entry and other ad hoc events sponsored by the livery companies and/or the Corporation of London, such as those held to celebrate the investiture of the Princes of Wales, Henry and Charles, in 1610 and 1616, and the ceremony that marked the opening of the New

River in 1613. They were all forms of ‘occasional drama’, and, as with the Shows, royal entry pageants were located at particular places on the sovereign’s route (in some cases the same pageant locations, such as conduits, were used); the livery companies were expected to contribute towards these entertainments too.¹⁹⁶ Kipling notes that ‘the introduction of pageantry . . . transformed the civic triumph decisively in the direction of drama’.¹⁹⁷ The Shows echoed the development of royal entries in this regard too. One should not overstate the similarities between entertainments put on for the monarchy or aristocracy and the Lord Mayor’s Show, however. Wickham emphasises that civic pageants ‘were essentially bourgeois activities [where] responsibility for their devising and enactment [lay] with the municipality’.¹⁹⁸ In civic entertainments for the monarch, in contrast, as McGee writes, ‘the balance between local concerns and causes and those of the centre tipped in favour of the latter’.¹⁹⁹ Although the two genres are sometimes juxtaposed, and their titles can resemble each other, mayoral Shows share relatively little with the court masque.²⁰⁰ As Roze Hentschell points out, the masque took place ‘in an enclosed architectural space . . . in front of a limited and largely aristocratic audience invited to view the display’, and in its celebration of the monarch and aristocracy the masque can be seen as ‘antithetical’ to the mayoral Show.²⁰¹ In its form, content and purpose, the masque therefore differs significantly from Lord Mayors’ Shows, which were performed on the open streets of London in front of an audience of all comers.

Although they shared some characteristics with royal entries in terms of imagery and the placement of pageant stations, the Shows did present a specifically civic version of the inaugural entrance into the City of the new sovereign, an occasion when, as Caroline Barron puts it, ‘the culture of the court met London culture directly’.²⁰² Kipling highlights the ‘inaugural function’ of the royal entry, writing that ‘civic triumphs marked the king’s first advent; they celebrated his coming to his kingdom’.²⁰³ On a smaller scale, the same can be said of the Lord Mayor’s Show: here too a new ruler is welcomed into his territory after swearing an oath of office. There were important differences too. As we have seen, civic entertainments did not attempt to replicate the courtly, chivalric tenor of spectacles like tournaments, but rather chose ‘religious’ and ‘didactic’ topics. The triumphal arch was reserved for royalty, and London Bridge was not a venue for pageantry during mayoral inaugurations as it often was for royal entries.²⁰⁴ The latter phenomenon demonstrated the

way in which monarchs, dukes and the like entered the City via the boundary of the bridge as provisional visitors; the Lord Mayor was not a visitor but rather the leader of the City itself.²⁰⁵ An additional difference between specifically civic pageantry and entertainments, entries, progresses and so on put on for members of the court, as Barron points out, was the involvement of (elite) women in the latter alone. As she writes, ‘the civic processions expressed the need to defend the City and to rule it, and women had no role to play in either task . . . In this respect the Londoners appear to have eschewed chivalric attitudes.’²⁰⁶

The Lord Mayor’s Show of the early modern period therefore had various models, ancestors and analogues, some direct and some more tangential. It had the strongest roots in guild plays, the Midsummer Watch and other forms of civic festivity. What chiefly linked these entertainments to the mayoral Shows was the extensive involvement of the livery companies, to which the next chapter turns.

Notes

- 1 The Lord Mayor’s Show still takes place, although the date, route and political significance have all changed since the early modern period. The term ‘Lord Mayor’, although not an official title, is of considerable antiquity. The City of London itself dates the usage of ‘Lord Mair’ back to 1414, and Felicity Heal states that it was ‘routinely used from the 1530s’ (*Hospitality*, p. 310). Accordingly, this book consistently refers to the ‘Lord Mayor’.
- 2 It is a rather different story regarding continental triumphs, however, where an extensive body of scholarship exists (for a summary, see McGowan, ‘The Renaissance triumph’, p. 43 n. 1).
- 3 Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. I, 1980, p. 111. Fennor’s *Cornucopiae* testifies to the variety of spectacles available to Londoners: the ‘dainty fare’ of the City’s ‘gallant crue’ include ‘Plaies, Pageants, and the tilting day’ (sig. I3r).
- 4 Taylor, *Buying Whiteness*, p. 125. Kiefer makes the point that mayoral Shows ‘must have been seen by many of the same people who frequented the London theatres’ (*Shakespeare’s Visual Theatre*, p. 133). The masque took place in a self-contained courtly world when compared to the Shows.
- 5 *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, p. 7. Dale Randall concurs that ‘we will fare better in the long run if we know something about [mayoral Shows]’ (although I would dispute his description of them as ‘only marginally dramatic’) (*Winter Fruit*, p. 141).
- 6 ‘The ages of man’, p. 74.

- 7 Chambers, *The English Stage*, vol. I, p. 138. Middleton's relatively slight 1613 entertainment to celebrate the opening of the New River, in contrast, Chambers calls 'quite exceptional' (p. 137).
- 8 Sullivan, 'London's early modern creative industrialists', p. 314. As we'll see further in Chapter 2, working for the Companies was treated not in fact as hack work but rather as 'service'.
- 9 Parry, *The Golden Age*, p. 3. Middleton's contribution does not merit a mention here.
- 10 Lobanov-Rostovsky, 'The Triumphes of Golde', pp. 879–80 (see also my *Anthony Munday*, p. 80). Most have followed Bergeron's line on the relative quality of the Shows. For Stock, Middleton's 1613 Show can be considered 'the most sophisticated' of its kind ('Something done in honour', p. 126); for Hutchings and Bromham it is a given that this is Middleton's 'finest' mayoral Show (*Middleton and His Contemporaries*, pp. 12 and 39; see also Dutton, *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, pp. 8 and 137).
- 11 Lobanov-Rostovsky, 'The Triumphes of Golde', p. 893 n. 2.
- 12 Osteen and Woodmansee, 'Taking account of the New Economic Criticism', p. 7.
- 13 See Gasper, *The Dragon and the Dove*, pp. 1–2 and 12–14 (for the same argument in relation to Munday, see Hill, *Anthony Munday*, pp. 1–5; see Capp, *The World of John Taylor*, pp. 189–90, for an account of Taylor's literary standing). Howard calls Heywood both 'naïve and often-scorned', which, it seems to me, is having it both ways (obviously his Cambridge days didn't knock the naivety out of him) (*Theater of a City*, p. 16).
- 14 Sullivan, 'London's early modern creative industrialists', p. 314.
- 15 Osteen and Woodmansee, 'Taking account of the New Economic Criticism', p. 6.
- 16 See, for example, Osteen and Woodmansee, eds, *The New Economic Criticism*, and Woodbridge, ed., *Money and the Age of Shakespeare*.
- 17 Guillory, 'A new subject for criticism', p. 224.
- 18 See Osteen and Woodmansee, 'Taking account of the New Economic Criticism', p. 40.
- 19 Middleton and Edwards, *Collective Remembering*, p. 4. Unfortunately, Laura Stevenson's pioneering study, *Praise and Paradox*, does not address the Shows because of her focus on printed, mass-market 'popular' works alongside 'plays that were accessible to large theatre audiences' (p. 14): the exclusion of mayoral Shows from the latter category is a missed opportunity, although she does state that Dekker and Heywood were among the writers 'most concerned with merchants and craftsmen' (p. 49). The continued and deliberate exclusion of mayoral Shows (usually yoked together with masques and university drama) from bibliographical studies, in particular, is infuriating.
- 20 *The Rhetoric of Credit*, p. 11.

- 21 'Conceiving cities', p. 19.
- 22 Withington, 'Urban political culture', p. 251.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 252.
- 24 'Ceremony and the citizen', p. 61.
- 25 Withington includes 'the built environment [and] also civic regalia, civic mythology, civic portraiture, local historical writing, and drama, ritual, and ceremony' ('Urban political culture', p. 254).
- 26 Fumerton, 'Introduction: a new New Historicism', p. 5.
- 27 *Table-talk*, p. 93.
- 28 Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*, p. 260.
- 29 Fletcher, 'Playing and staying together', p. 20. David Cressy, inexplicably, asserts that 'civic occasions, such as entries, triumphs and pageants . . . had an ad hoc quality and enjoyed no fixed periodicity' – perhaps he forgot about the Lord Mayors' Shows (*Bonfires and Bells*, p. xii). He elsewhere usefully discusses the ways in which people's lives were structured by various calendars, legal and agricultural as well as civic.
- 30 See Middleton and Edwards, *Collective Remembering*, *passim*.
- 31 Tittler, 'The Cookes and the Brookes', pp. 67–8.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 33 Archer, 'The arts and acts of memorialization', p. 90.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 105.
- 35 Manley, 'Civic drama', p. 299.
- 36 See Middleton and Edwards, *Collective Remembering*, p. 5. I am grateful to Chris Ivic for the development of this point, and for his advice on this chapter as a whole.
- 37 Middleton and Edwards, *Collective Remembering*, p. 8.
- 38 Lake, 'From Troynovant to Heliogabulus's Rome', p. 221.
- 39 Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, p. 3.
- 40 Withington, 'Urban political culture', p. 250.
- 41 Patterson, 'Married to the town', p. 171.
- 42 Hardin, 'Spectacular Constructions', p. 10.
- 43 Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and oligarchy', pp. 175–6.
- 44 Munro, *The Figure of the Crowd*, p. 56.
- 45 Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*, pp. 225 and 240.
- 46 Recorder Finch's speech at the Exchequer when Peter Proby took his oath celebrates Proby's predecessor, Edward Barkham, for his acts of civic altruism such as endowing a new water conduit and contributing towards the building of a new City church (BL Add. MS 18016, fol. 166r). A different attitude towards public amenities is indicated by the case of Sara Guy, who was accused of having "'sundry tymes" "beastlye" pissed in' the Cheapside conduit (Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, p. 47).
- 47 Palmer, *Hospitable Performances*, p. 123.
- 48 Lang, 'Social origins and social aspirations', p. 47.
- 49 Smuts, 'Public ceremony', p. 72.

- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 51 Wells *et al.*, *Neo-historicism*, p. 21.
- 52 For instance, in the Oxford Middleton, Middleton's own use of the perfectly correct term 'companies' is glossed by the editor as 'guilds' (Middleton: *The Collected Works*, p. 974).
- 53 For clarity, in this book, 'Show' or 'Triumph' (the latter term being the most ubiquitous in the printed texts) should be taken to refer to the entire event, whereas 'pageant' means one of the specific scenes or tableaux that formed part of the entertainment. I have retained the term 'pageantry' for the overall mode of these events.
- 54 Meredith, 'Fun, disorder, and good government', pp. 52–3.
- 55 Quilligan, 'Renaissance materialities', p. 427; my emphasis.
- 56 Yates, *Error Misuse Failure*, p. 4. Hugh Grady's recent survey of the field is an example of what I mean: he argues that 'in this newer materialism . . . cultural and critical theory is largely assumed and undiscussed, and a political relevance to the present is undefined' ('Shakespeare Studies', p. 110).
- 57 Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, p. 14.
- 58 Smuts, 'Public ceremony', p. 68; my emphasis.
- 59 'Occasional events', p. 198.
- 60 *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 9.
- 61 Taylor, 'Making meaning', p. 63.
- 62 Smuts, 'Public ceremony', p. 68.
- 63 McRae, 'The peripatetic muse', p. 43.
- 64 Notable recent publications in this area include: Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City*; Gadd and Gillespie, *John Stow*; Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, Society and Economy*; Gordon and Klein, *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space*; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*; Griffiths and Jenner, *Londinopolis*; Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London*; Howard, *Theater of a City*; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*; Merritt, *Imagining Early Modern London* and *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*; Munro, *The Figure of the Crowd*; Newman, *Cultural Capitals*; Orlin, *Material London*; Turner, ed., *The Culture of Capital*; Twynning, *London Dispossessed*; Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth*.
- 65 Mulryne, 'Introduction', p. 1.
- 66 Tittler, 'The Cookes and the Brookes', p. 58.
- 67 Griffiths, 'Building Bridewell', pp. 228–9.
- 68 Manley, 'Civic drama', p. 294.
- 69 Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. I, p. 131; my emphasis. This volume of Chambers's work is subtitled 'The Court', reflecting his overall approach.
- 70 *Ibid.*, pp. 135 and 138. In contrast, Chambers offers considerable detail about royal entertainments, including, for example, the menu for an Elizabethan progress in 1602 (see p. 118).

- 71 Cannadine, 'Introduction', *Rituals of Royalty*, p. 19.
- 72 Johnston, 'Introduction', *Civic Ritual and Drama*, p. 7. I am grateful to Alan Marshall for the development of this point.
- 73 Jonson, *B. Ion: his part*, sig. B4r.
- 74 *CSP Venetian*, vol. 15, pp. 58–9.
- 75 Munday, *Chruso-thriambos*, sig. C3v.
- 76 Bergeron, 'King James's civic pageant', p. 214.
- 77 Hardin, 'Spectacular Constructions', p. 154 (he elides the mayoral *inauguration*, for which the Shows were produced, with the *election* of the Lord Mayor, which took place a month before: the events were quite distinct).
- 78 'One side of the processional route was reserved for them. Each guild assembled at its appointed place in ceremonial livery, beneath heraldic banners bearing its coat of arms and behind rails draped in blue cloth . . . The Mayor, Recorder, and aldermen of London also waited along the route, in crimson robes of office' (*Middleton: The Collected Works*, p. 220).
- 79 Manley, 'Civic drama', p. 306.
- 80 For more on the Shows' use of republican Roman terms such as 'senator', see Hill, *Anthony Munday*, pp. 154–5, Hardin, 'Spectacular Constructions', pp. 146–7, and Paster, *The Idea of the City*, pp. 127–8 and 142–7.
- 81 See Munday's *Chrysanaleia*, for instance. I explore the notion of the Lord Mayor as the monarch's substitute in more detail in Chapter 5.
- 82 See Dekker, *The magnificent entertainment*, and Munday, *Chrysanaleia* (for commentary, see my *Anthony Munday*, pp. 24–5, and Bergeron, 'King James's civic pageant', p. 227).
- 83 Hentschell's claim that the monarch actually participated in the mayoral Show and 'gave the Lord Mayor a sword or scepter to carry in front of the sovereign throughout the [inaugural] procession', as well as the argument she then goes on to make about the relative roles of the Lord Mayor and monarch on the day, is based on a misreading of Manley, who makes it clear that this symbolic handover took place within the *royal entry*, not the Lord Mayor's Show (*The Culture of Cloth*, p. 170; see Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*, p. 220).
- 84 Paster notes that 'the Romans, too, describe their most honored citizens as husbands of the city' ('The idea of London', p. 60).
- 85 'Conceiving cities', p. 32.
- 86 *The Idea of the City*, p. 4.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 124. Anthony Parr follows suit, positing a 'cultural rivalry between Whitehall and London in the early seventeenth century' (*Middleton: The Collected Works*, p. 1431).
- 88 Bergeron, 'Pageants, politics and patrons', p. 139.
- 89 Williams, 'A Lord Mayor's show by John Taylor', pp. 505–6.

- 90 Kipling, 'The King's advent transformed', p. 98.
- 91 Peele, *The device of the pageant*, sig. A2r–v.
- 92 Muir, 'The eye of the procession', p. 131.
- 93 Bergeron, *Practicing Renaissance Scholarship*, p. 9.
- 94 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 95 Sullivan, 'London's early modern creative industrialists', p. 313.
- 96 Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry* (revised ed.), p. 4; my emphasis. Bergeron's comment here resembles Chambers's bizarre observation about the absence of Shakespeare's name in an account of the 1616 Accession Day tilt, to which the response must surely be – why should it appear in this context anyway? (see *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. I, p. 148).
- 97 Paster's rather coercive statement that 'my reader *may* finally decide that Shakespeare is more profoundly responsive to the meaning of cities than either of his contemporaries or than any of his predecessors, known or unknown' not only confers an exaggerated sense of Shakespeare's very limited contribution to urban writing whilst giving her reader little choice but to concur with that exaggeration, but also traduces the important ways in which the pageant writers I focus on here dealt with their primary subject, London (*The Idea of the City*, p. 8; my emphasis). At the opposite end of the scale, Palmer rather cheekily suggests that through his work on the Shows 'Munday was to the streets, what Shakespeare was to the stage' ('Metropolitan resurrection', p. 373).
- 98 Chambers provides an extensive list of anonymously authored 'Receptions and Entertainments' (*The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. I, pp. 60–74).
- 99 *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, p. 13.
- 100 *Parsing the City*, p. 43; my emphasis.
- 101 'Something done in honour of the city', p. 127.
- 102 In contrast, Gasper's book on Dekker explicitly deals with 'every genre Dekker worked in', including civic pageantry (although she discusses only one of Dekker's three Shows) (*The Dragon and the Dove*, p. 15).
- 103 A long overdue study of the civic contexts of Heywood's works by Richard Rowland, *Heywood's Theatre*, was published in 2010.
- 104 See my *Anthony Munday*, chapter 4, for a more extended critique of this view. Michelle O'Callaghan takes a more measured line than many have done before, acknowledging that the civic authorities 'were developing their own interests in theatricality', notably through mayoral Shows, and that even Calvinists did not automatically regard 'fictional art as necessarily deluding' (*Thomas Middleton*, pp. 14 and 102).
- 105 *Joint Enterprises*, pp. 9 and 11. Curiously, she does not acknowledge that a number of these dramatists were actually members of livery companies.

- 106 Bergeron, *Practicing Renaissance Scholarship*, p. 46.
- 107 *Joint Enterprises*, p. 13.
- 108 ‘Something done in honour of the city’, p. 127.
- 109 There is commentary of this kind – briefly – in Eldred Jones’s *Othello’s Countrymen* (pp. 34–5). Rebecca Bach discusses the colonial dimensions of mayoral Shows but not in relation to other works by the same writers (see *Colonial Transformations*, pp. 149–63, and, for further discussion of this topic, Chapter 5 below).
- 110 *The triumphs of truth*, sig. C1v, and *The changeling*, sig. I1v.
- 111 He writes, for instance, that Munday’s *Chysanaleia* ‘provides important clues to how the [Five] Senses may have looked in *Timon of Athens*’ (*Shakespeare’s Visual Theatre*, p. 133).
- 112 ‘Middleton and Munday’, p. 470.
- 113 Williams, ‘A Lord Mayor’s Show’, p. 514.
- 114 *Ibid.*, p. 527.
- 115 Munday also complains in *Londons loue* that his and the City Corporation’s time to prepare the entertainment was ‘verie short’ (sig. A3v). Poor Thomas Churchyard was asked to prepare an entertainment for Queen Elizabeth later the same day, which compares starkly to the two years given over to planning Katherine of Aragon’s extravagant coronation celebrations (see Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. I, p. 110, and Kipling, ‘Anne Boleyn’, p. 44).
- 116 Mulryne, ‘Introduction’, p. 9.
- 117 Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. I, p. 81.
- 118 Paster, *The Idea of the City*, p. 138. Heinemann states that Middleton gained ‘a considerable part of his income, perhaps the greater part of it’ from his civic employments (*Puritanism and Theatre*, p. 121).
- 119 Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. I, p. 111.
- 120 Horne, *The Life and Minor Works of George Peele*, p. 76.
- 121 As Dutton points out, Jonson went to some lengths to underplay his involvement in civic pageantry when his *Workes* were published in 1616 (*Jacobean Civic Pageants*, p. 24).
- 122 Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre*, p. 122.
- 123 Hardin, ‘Spectacular Constructions’, p. 142 (see also Chapter 2, below).
- 124 Mulryne, ‘Introduction’, p. 2.
- 125 Smuts, ‘Occasional events’, p. 198.
- 126 Lancashire writes that the Drapers’ Company ‘included play performances as a regular, expected part of its annual election feast celebrations over a period of about 112 years, from at least 1430 to 1541’ (‘Medieval to Renaissance’, p. 310).
- 127 The Show did not always take place on 29 October in this period: when the date fell on a Sunday the Show was postponed to 30 October, as in 1609 and 1615, for instance. In 1665 and 1702 the Show took place on 9 November, prefiguring its permanent move to November, where

it has remained. The feast of St Simon and St Jude, 28 October, was one of those which survived the Reformation purge of saints' days. Although they are not the concern of this book, it is important to bear in mind that other major English towns, such as Norwich and York, celebrated the inauguration of their mayors (and other notable dates such as midsummer) with forms of pageantry, although one should also heed Tittler's warning that such were the differences between London and provincial towns that 'the two milieux are sometimes best considered apart' (*The Reformation and the Towns*, p. 337). Such celebrations, writes Heal, 'survived little altered in many English towns until at least the late eighteenth century' (*Hospitality*, p. 335). On the continent, trade guilds also produced civic entertainments.

- 128 The Stationers' Company records show that there was a mayoral feast in 1601 and 1602, dates for which little is known about the inauguration celebrations (Arber, *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 325). Conversely, even feasts were often curtailed in times of crisis: for instance, in 1573, a plague year, the Queen ordered that there be no entertainment at the Guildhall when the Grocer John Rivers came into office (see Heath, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers*, pp. 252–3). The 1633 edition of Stow's *Survey* notes that in 1563 there was 'no Maior's Feast by reason of the Plague' (p. 586).
- 129 GH MS 16,967/4.
- 130 GH MS 15,842/1, fols 119r and 142r.
- 131 *The Reformation and the Towns*, p. 273.
- 132 'Costuming the Shakespearean stage', p. 206 n. 15; my emphasis. I am grateful to Dr Lublin for allowing me to quote from his unpublished PhD thesis.
- 133 Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, Society and Economy*, p. 5. The connections between the fraternities then known as the guilds and various religious bodies came about because the guilds, 'having no common meeting house . . . commonly gathered in a neighbouring church, monastery or hospital, whose saint they adopted as patron' (see www.thedrapers.co.uk/History/1_Introduction.html). Clifford Davidson writes that cycle plays in towns and cities such as York and Coventry, which represent one of the roots of the Lord Mayor's Show, 'which proceeded at a frenetic pace prior to the third decade of the sixteenth century, came to a virtual stop after the [1534] Act of Supremacy' (*Technology*, p. 101 n. 5). Tittler notes that in London 'Corpus Christi festivities disappeared in the reign of Edward VI' (*The Reformation and the Towns*, p. 319).
- 134 *Ibid.*, p. 319.
- 135 See Kipling, 'Anne Boleyn', p. 52.
- 136 Sponsler, 'Alien nation', p. 235.
- 137 Munro, *The Figure of the Crowd*, p. 57. Grantley usefully relates the rise in prominence of civic pageantry in the late sixteenth century to the increase of 'theatrical renderings' of London, although his claim

- that Peele's 1585 Show marks the 'beginning of the representation of London in eulogistic terms' overlooks the centuries of tradition that precede this date (*London in Early Modern English Drama*, p. 65).
- 138 Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, Society and Economy*, p. 5. I explore the consequences of the Companies' changing realities at greater length in Chapter 5.
- 139 See Robertson and Gordon, *Collections III*, p. xiv. Street pageants also took place in various locations on 17 November, the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession.
- 140 Hunting, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers*, p. 75; see also Manley, 'Civic drama', pp. 299–302, for a useful and concise account of civic religious ceremony in the pre-Reformation period.
- 141 Hunting, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers*, pp. 75–6. Stow gives a colourful account of the Midsummer Watch, in the course of which he mentions how the pageantry was organised to reflect the City hierarchy: 'the Mayor had besides his Giant, three Pageants, [whereas] each of the Sheriffes had besides their Giantes but two Pageants' (*A suruay of London*, sig. F6v).
- 142 See Barron, 'Chivalry, pageantry and merchant culture', p. 229. Heal states that the Watch came to an end in 1539 'largely because of its cost' (*Hospitality*, p. 346); Ronald Hutton puts it down to concerns about immediate post-Reformation 'security', arguing that the official line about cost was an 'excuse' (*Merry England*, p. 76); for Manley, citing the 1538 injunctions against the use of images, the reasons were partly financial and partly religious ('Civic drama', p. 302). The Midsummer Watch continued a little longer in Coventry, until c.1565 (see Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the citizen', p. 79).
- 143 See Cressy, *Bonfire and Bells*, p. 27, and Lancashire, 'Continuing civic ceremonies', p. 84.
- 144 Williams, 'A Lord Mayor's show', p. 502.
- 145 Doolittle, *The Mercers' Company*, p. 25; see also Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, p. 351.
- 146 Hunting, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers*, p. 76. Manley writes that 'it appears that for a period of more than 30 years [from 1539 to 1568], coinciding with the period of the greatest religious instability in England, there was considerable uncertainty regarding the ceremonial priority of the Midsummer Watch and the mayoral inauguration' ('Civic drama', p. 303).
- 147 Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and oligarchy', p. 182.
- 148 Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past*, p. 314. 'The more urban the community', he remarks, 'the likelier it was that an episode from the past . . . would find a variety of channels of expression' (p. 315).
- 149 See Cartwright, 'The Antwerp *Landjuweel*', for a discussion of the use of 'moral, religious, or political statement in the form of tableau or dumb show' in civic ceremony in the Low Countries.

- 150 McGrath, 'Rubens's Arch of the Mint', pp. 203–4.
- 151 Robertson and Gordon cite only one example, from 1541 (*Collections* III, p. xxii).
- 152 Tittler, 'The Cookes and the Brookes', pp. 68–9.
- 153 McGrath, 'Rubens's Arch of the Mint', p. 204. Walsh remarks that Heywood presents St Katherine as 'a thoroughly classical figure . . . rather than the medieval saint' ('St Martin in the City', p. 78 n. 12). He also notes in the post-Restoration Shows the 'still potentially "Catholic" [livery company patron] saints were relegated to the status of heraldic emblems, chiefly of historical interest' (*ibid.*, p. 76).
- 154 Davies and Saunders, *History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, p. 98.
- 155 Edmund Campion, better known as a Catholic martyr executed in 1581, presented White's funeral oration (see *ibid.*, p. 120). Manley describes White's 'lonely vigil' when he attempted to reintroduce the old traditions during his mayoralty ('Civic drama', p. 304). In *Monuments of honor* Webster gives quite a long account of how White came to found St John's College, in which he takes care to point out that the story of the elm tree which inspired White's action is 'in no way superstitiously giuen' (sig. B4v).
- 156 See Davies and Saunders, *History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, p. 149. Cressy discusses the post-Reformation 'purging' of the festive calendar at length (see *Bonfires and Bells*, pp. 4–10).
- 157 Heywood provides a typically erudite account of the term in *Londons ius honorarium* (sig. A4v).
- 158 Mayoral inaugurations took a backward step in the late fourteenth century, when, as Barron explains, 'the "pantomime" additions to the [mayor's] riding [to Westminster] were thought to be getting out of hand', with the consequence that 'disguysing' and 'pageoun[s]' were prohibited ('Chivalry, pageantry and merchant culture', p. 229). Thereafter, there is documented evidence of Shows from as far back as the 1520s, as well as an undated fragment of what may be a mayoral Show, held in Trinity College, Cambridge. Little is known for certain about this manuscript (see Withington, 'A note on "A fragment"' and Adams, 'A fragment of a Lord Mayor's pageant').
- 159 Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Early modern European festivals', p. 15.
- 160 Paster, *The Idea of the City*, p. 142.
- 161 See Hunting, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers*, p. 76. Sutton reproduces a contemporary account of a mayoral procession (on horseback) to and from Westminster in 1419 ('Civic livery', p. 22).
- 162 Despite the fact that it was corrected by subsequent scholarship some time ago (see Carr, 'Barge flags of the City livery companies', pp. 223–4), this erroneous assertion has been treated as accurate by generations of commentators (see, for example, Grupenhoff, 'The Lord Mayors' Shows', p. 16 and Sykes, 'Lord Mayor's Day', p. 80).

- 163 Hunting, *A History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers*, p. 79. The Lord Mayor in 1422 was William Walderne, a Mercer, and on this occasion the Company hired the barge (see Palmer, *Ceremonial Barges*, p. 5). In 1576, when the new Lord Mayor was a Goldsmith, the Clothworkers and Skinners shared a barge for Lord Mayor's Day (*ibid.*, p. 64).
- 164 Dekker states that Shaw was the first to introduce the feast at the Guildhall rather than at the Company Hall and he also claims that to facilitate the Guildhall feast, 'all the Kitchens, and other Offices there, [were] built by [Shaw]' (sig. A4r).
- 165 Palmer, *Ceremonial Barges*, p. 5. As Middleton makes clear, Norman paid for the barge himself; Kenneth Palmer comments that 'it is unclear whether or not the Drapers' Company was given the use of Norman's barge after 1453' (*ibid.*, p. 30). Company barges tended to be kept in barge houses in Lambeth and Vauxhall, on the southern side of the river.
- 166 Cited in Lancashire, 'Continuing civic ceremonies', p. 83.
- 167 See, for instance, Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 265.
- 168 The Vintners' records for 1592 show a payment to 'Mr Philipp', their waterman, for his charges 'although the Companie went neither to westm[inste]r nor to the Tower when Sir Willm Row tooke his oath at the Towergate' (GH MS 15,333/2, fol. 167). It was the same story the following year, when the Vintners again paid Mr Philipp 'for his charges although the Lo: Maior toke his oath at the Tower Hill' (GH MS 15,333/2, fol. 183). This must have been especially disappointing for the Vintners, for whom Buckle was only the second mayor in the entire sixteenth century (they weren't to have the honour again until the 1640s, when elaborate pageantry was not an option for other reasons). Compounding the misfortune, Buckle himself died in office and was succeeded by Richard Martin, a Goldsmith.
- 169 Lancashire, 'Continuing civic ceremonies', p. 85.
- 170 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 171 Wickham comments that speeches were a natural development within 'processional pageantry' (*Early English Stages*, vol. I, 1980, p. 54). McGee, for some reason, dates the use of 'pageants and other theatrical forms' in 'mayoral inaugurations' as taking place 'after 1578' ('Mysteries, musters and masque', pp. 106–7).
- 172 Lancashire, 'Continuing civic ceremonies', p. 98. Hentschell was therefore mistaken to follow Tumbleson's claim that 'the first Lord Mayor's show was performed in 1535 and the last in 1701' (*The Culture of Cloth*, p. 163 n.18).
- 173 'Civic drama', pp. 304–5.
- 174 'Ceremony and the citizen', p. 59.
- 175 The process could be truncated: in 1622, with the intervention of the Crown, Peter Proby translated from the Barber Surgeons to the Grocers only in June, took the oath as one of the Company assistants

- in July, and was elected Lord Mayor shortly thereafter (see GH MS 11,588/3, fol. 205) I discuss Proby's mayoral inauguration at greater length in Chapter 5.
- 176 GH MS 30708/1, fol. 1r. Trumpeters and giants were also arranged.
- 177 Sir Heneage Finch's speech on the election of Edward Barkham in 1621 relates how he 'rose from the Chaire and went to the window where the Town clerk stood . . . [then] the Aldermen came one by one and gave their voices all for Ald. Barkham' (BL Add. MS 18016, fol. 141r).
- 178 For the former, see, for instance, BL Add. MS 18016, fol. 145v.
- 179 GH MS 30708/1, fol. 1v, and GH MS 34,048/10. The players, whose names were Robert Wayte, Thomas Furston and John Harte, received 41s 8d in 1602 for 'there paynes'. The identity of these three is unknown, although a 'Thomas Funston' acted in university drama some fifty years later (see www.shakespeareauthorship.com/bd/bio-f.htm).
- 180 GH MS 30708/1, fol. 2v.
- 181 See Benbow, 'Sixteenth-century dramatic performances', p. 129.
- 182 *Ibid.*, p. 130. In the early 1570s, these entertainments were curtailed by the City's Common Council (*ibid.*, p. 131). There were numerous other opportunities for a party, however, such as when in 1595 the Skinners' Court minutes 'ordeyned that the drinkinge on St Margaretes Daye shalbe contynued' (GH MS 30,708/2, fol. 228r).
- 183 The three Spital sermons were even more 'civic' occasions than the Good Friday sermon preached at Paul's Cross, for the Spital preachers were appointed by the Court of Aldermen. The religious significance of these events was matched by their secular status: charitable donations were expected towards the upkeep of the City's hospitals, and the sermons also acted as another opportunity for a display of civic cohesion and prestige. Stow gives an account of the 'honourable persons' attending the sermon: 'against the said pulpit . . . remaineth also one fayre builded house of two stories in height for the Mayor and other honorable persons, with the Aldermen and Sheriffes to sit in, there to heare the Sermons preached upon Easter holy dayes. In the loft ouer them, the Ladies and Aldermens wiues doe stand at a fayre window or sit at their pleasure . . . The Maior, with his brethren the Aldermen were accustomed to bee present . . . in their Scarlets at the Spittle in the Holidayes, except Wednesday in violet' (*A suruay of London* (1598), sig. K1r-v). The importance of ceremonial dress is echoed in the mayoral procession (see Chapter 3).
- 184 See Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern England*, p. 263. Formal guidelines continued to exist for the conduct of Lord Mayors' Shows and other types of civic ceremonial (see, for example, the 1933 *Handbook of Ceremonials*).
- 185 GH MS 11,590, fol. 21; my emphases. The day of the Show was invariably called 'Lord Mayor's Day' by the Companies, and usually glossed

- as ‘the day that my Lord Maior shall take his oath at Westminster’ or similar.
- 186 GH MS 15,842/1, fol. 27r. George Barne was Francis Walsingham’s brother-in-law and had strong court connections.
- 187 Robertson and Gordon, *Collections* III, p. 39, and Sayle, *Lord Mayors’ Pageants*, p. 21.
- 188 See GH MS 16,969/2.
- 189 Robertson and Gordon speculate that Mulcaster also wrote the speeches for the 1561 Show (*Collections* III, pp. xxxi and xxxiv). Mulcaster was commissioned to write his pamphlet by the City Corporation, and a copy of it was given to the new queen (for a full discussion of this complex work, see Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*). One quite significant difference between this work and the Shows is that Mulcaster represents the Queen’s reactions (or alleged reactions) to the pageantry she was presented with; she apparently also requested that the meanings be explained to her (see *ibid.*, p. 170).
- 190 See McGee and Meagher, ‘Preliminary checklist of Tudor and Stuart entertainments’, p. 83.
- 191 See Robertson and Gordon, *Collections* III, p. 38. Those for 1561 and 1568 are reproduced in Sayle, *Lord Mayors’ Pageants*, and in *Collections* III, pp. 42–3. Speeches for civic entertainments in other towns were sometimes preserved in civic archives (see McGee, ‘Mysteries, musters and masque’, p. 106 n. 6).
- 192 GH MS 15,842/1, fol. 32r. John Shute, a painter-stainer, was paid £12 ‘for making the Merchant Taylors’ Company’s pageant’ in 1561, as was to become the norm.
- 193 For example, an entertainment for the Queen in Norwich in 1578 contained biblical-themed pageants, speeches given by boys and an oration by ‘Stephan Limbert, publike Scholemaster’ (*The Ioyfull receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, sig. Diiiv). Owing, one assumes, to their familiarity both with public speaking and with managing schoolboys, school masters were often called upon to write and/or deliver speeches: the magnificently named Hercules Rollock wrote Latin verses to celebrate Anna of Denmark’s entry into Edinburgh in 1590.
- 194 Cited in Sayle, *Lord Mayors’ Pageants*, p. 22.
- 195 Sayle, *Lord Mayors’ Pageants*, p. 129. Tatham’s text strikes a fervently revisionist royalist note, as one might expect in 1660: the Show is said to have taken place not in the first but rather ‘in the 12th year of his Majesties most happy, happy Reign’ (*The royal oake*, title page).
- 196 There is a discrete section in the Merchant Taylors’ accounts, for example, for James’s royal entry, where the individual Company members were assessed for their contributions (see GH MS 34,048/8).
- 197 Kipling, *Enter the King*, p. 28.
- 198 Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. I, p. 54.

- 199 McGee, 'Mysteries, musters and masque', p. 106.
- 200 The names of court masques from the 1630s include *Albion's Triumph* (1632) and *Britannia Triumphans* (1638).
- 201 Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth*, pp. 163–4.
- 202 Barron, 'Chivalry, pageantry and merchant culture', p. 230.
- 203 Kipling, *Enter the King*, p. 39.
- 204 See Barron, 'Pageantry on London Bridge'; see also Stevenson, 'Occasional architecture' for more on triumphal arches. In Elizabeth's coronation entry the final pageant was placed outside of the City boundary, on Fleet Street.
- 205 'The bridge had a major role to play in ceremonies that presented the interaction of the City and the monarchy, but it was little used in civic ceremonies such as the midsummer watch or the Lord Mayor's riding, since these focused on the internal spaces of the City' (Harding, 'Pageantry on London Bridge', p. 114). This important distinction should temper Karen Newman's claim that the bridge 'was a place of ritual celebration and pageantry for Londoners' (*Cultural Capitals*, p. 56).
- 206 Barron, 'Chivalry, pageantry and merchant culture', p. 230. As she comments, women were not excluded from civic life entirely: 'they had a real role to play in the economy of the City'.