

A LORD MAYOR'S SHOW BY JOHN TAYLOR, THE WATER POET

By SHEILA WILLIAMS, M.A., Ph.D.
LECTURER IN ENGLISH, JEWS' COLLEGE, LONDON

IN the John Rylands Library¹ is a small pamphlet whose title page runs :

THE / TRIVMPHS / OF / FAME and HONOVR : / OR /
THE NOBLE AC- / comphlish'd solemnity, full of Cost,
Art / and state, at the Inauguration and Establish- / ment
of the true worthy and right nobly min- / ded *ROBERT
PARKHVRST*, into the Right / Honourable office of
Lord *Maïor* of / LONDON. / The particularities of every /
Invention in all the Pageants, Shewes and / Triumphs
both by Water and Land, are here / following fully set
downe, being all performed / by the Loves, Liberall Costs,
and charges / of the Right Worshipfull and worthy Bro- /
therhood of the Clothworkers the 29 / of October 1634. /
Written by *John Taylor*. / [Ornamented line] / Imprinted at
London 1634.

In this pamphlet John Taylor describes the Lord Mayor's Show of 1634.

In the seventeenth century the Lord Mayor's Show was normally held every year, as it is today. It took place on 29 October instead of the present 9 November. The Lord Mayor was drawn from one of the twelve "great" Livery Companies of London, the Mercers', Grocers', Drapers', Fishmongers', Goldsmiths', Skinners', Merchant Taylors', Haberdashers', Salters', Ironmongers', Vintners', and Clothworkers' Companies. The Company of which the Lord Mayor was a member organized and paid for the Show. *FAME and HONOVR* is a Clothworkers' Show.

The Lord Mayor's Show is no doubt still the greatest public

¹ Pressmark 10176. 1.

event in the life of the City of London, but the immense procession is less complex and interesting than it was 200 years ago. Already then, especially after the Restoration, there were wits¹ who sneered at the Show for being pretentious, though they, in company with the rest of London, continued to go to see it. In fact, it was, even in the seventeenth century, something of an anachronism. The golden age of Renaissance open-air festivities with their towers, temples, and triumphal arches, with their allegorical and mythological personages, was drawing to a close as the Lord Mayor's Show of London was reaching its perhaps over-ripe maturity. There had probably been a procession on Lord Mayor's Day since the end of the twelfth century, when the Commune of London was established.² From then on the mayor had to go annually to Westminster to take his oath to the king, and he was accompanied on his journey by music and other signs of festivity.³ Sometime in the fifteenth century it became the custom for the mayor to go by barge up the river to Westminster and to return the same way ;⁴ the procession by land covered only the short stretch from the Guildhall to the riverside and, after the oath had been taken, back again. The journey on the Thames was regarded as part of the triumphal progress, and by the time of Henry VIII's marriage with Anne Boleyn⁵ the mayoral festivities by water were well established. But there were no pageants ; the celebrations by land and water consisted of music and gunfire. 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. Since the same civic bodies would have to pay for both Shows, there was perhaps some reluctance to undertake a second one ; and June was a far more suitable month than

¹ S. Pepys, *Diary*, ed. H. B. Wheatley and Braybrooke, 10 vols. (1903-4), iii. 322 ; N. Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat*, 2 vols. (1706), 1, pt. xii, 293-8.

² J. H. Round, *The Commune of London* (1899), pp. 224-5 ; H. B. Wheatley, "London Government", *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910).

³ J. A. Kingdom, *Facsimile of the First Volume of the MS. Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers*, 2 pts. (1886), pt. i, p. 91 ; pt. ii, pp. 235 and 237.

⁴ R. Withington, *English Pageantry*, 2 vols. (1918-20), ii. 6-9.

⁵ E. Halle, *Chronicle (The Vnion of the two . . . famelies)* (1548), fol. ccxii (v).

October for out-of-door pageants. However, in 1535 and 1540 pageants from the Midsummer Shows were used again for the mayoral inauguration,¹ and soon afterwards pageantry on Lord Mayor's Day became the rule rather than the exception.²

From being a single pageant on land the Lord Mayor's Show gradually came to include a whole series of pageants by river and by land. This process was complete by about 1612. From then for nearly a century the Show was, in size and complexity, at its most imposing. Early in the morning the members of the Livery Companies of London met outside the Guildhall and processed to the riverside, where the chief men of all the major Companies boarded their barges for Westminster. The Lord Mayor's barge went first, his own Company's next, and the other Companies' barges followed in their order. This order of precedence was sometimes taken unexpectedly lightly. A Drapers' Company manuscript records that in 1638, when one of their men was Lord Mayor, they gave extra drinking money to their bargemen for

outrowing the Lord Maiors Barge and landing the Company before the Lord Maior and Aldermen were landed (the Lord Maiors Barge being allmost out of sight rowing towards Westminster before our Company tooke water).³

On the return journey the entertainment began. There was always a gally foist from which salutes of guns were fired. This very primitive form of honouring the occasion had little appeal for the devisers of the pageantry proper. Thomas Dekker, describing the Show of 1612, refused to give an account of such things on the grounds that

Apollo hauing no hand in them, I suffer them to dye by that which fed them ; that is to say, *Powder & Smoake*. Their thunder (according to the old *Gally-foyst-fashion*) was too lowd for any of the *Nine Muses* to be bidden to it.⁴

¹ Malone Society, *Collections*, vol. iii (*A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London (1485-1640)* (1954)), p. 37.

² H. Machyn, *Diary*, B. M. Cottonian MS. Vitellius F5, indicates that Lord Mayors' Shows took place nearly every year between 1553 and 1562. Mal. Soc., *Coll.* iii, 37-54, includes extracts from manuscripts in the possession of the Twelve "Great" Livery Companies of London showing the existence of Lord Mayors' Pageants for many other years between 1543 and 1584.

³ Drapers' Hall MS. + 178 (1638), fol. 88.

⁴ T. Dekker, *Troia-Noua Triumphans* (1612), sig. D.v

The pageants of the Show, whether by land or water, took most of the varied forms of Renaissance pageantry. There were ships, islands, temples, bowers, wildernesses, towers, triumphal arches ; there were also, more realistically, shops, trading ships and plantations. The figures in these scenes were mostly living, and represented persons from allegory and history and myth and contemporary life. As a rule the themes of these tableaux were relevant to the affairs of the City. When the procession formed again after the disembarkation of the principal citizens, it was arranged in ascending order of importance, so that everyone else, spectators and members of the procession alike, had seen the devices by the time the Lord Mayor came to them. On his arrival the scenes came to life. The allegory or history of the tableaux was sometimes easy to understand, sometimes difficult ; but in any case a spoken interpretation was usually given (except for the water pageants) by one of the personages. Thus the tableaux were three-dimensional emblems closely related to the two-dimensional ones of the popular emblem-books. Even when the prevailing verse fashion was blank verse, these speeches were nearly always in couplets of iambic pentameter. Songs, dances, or acrobatics also formed part of some tableaux. The pageants of the Lord Mayor's Show, following the practice of the Midsummer Show, were built to be carried by porters or drawn by horses ; and each, after it had been observed by the Lord Mayor, joined in the procession behind his group. Thus the whole Show arrived at the Guildhall, where the important people attended the Lord Mayor's Banquet. Before the Great Fire a special inaugural service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral and the whole Show came out again to escort the Lord Mayor back along Cheapside to the Cathedral. If the night was fine, this was the most romantic part of the ceremonies. One writer compared the Show at night to a wedding masque, for

Euening hastening on speedily . . . darknesse becommeth like bright day, by bountifull allowance of lighted Torchcs . . . The order of march appeared . . . excellent and commendable, euen as if it had been a Royall Maske, prepared for the marriage of an immortal Deitie.¹

After the service, the Lord Mayor was escorted to his home,

¹ A. Munday, *Metropolis Coronate* (1615), sig. B4^v.

which served also as his official residence till 1732, when the Mansion House was built. There he was often greeted by a simple pageant.

A Show characterized by devices in which myth, allegory, and history played a prominent part, and by interpretative verse speeches and dialogues, required the services of a pageant-poet. The pageant-poets with whom Taylor was more or less contemporary included Peele, Dekker, Middleton, Munday, and Thomas Heywood; all these devised several Shows. Ben Jonson,¹ who devised the Show in 1604, and John Webster,² who devised it in 1624, were each responsible for one Show. There was clearly a tendency to reappoint a man who had proved himself satisfactory on a previous occasion. Thus Dekker was employed in 1627, 1628, and 1629.³ In 1630 there were no pageants, but the Merchants Taylors' Company paid a pound to Dekker for his service offered to the Companie if any Pageants had been made.⁴

FAME and HONOUR was the only Show of the sixteenth-thirties not devised by Heywood.

Why should Taylor have replaced Heywood for this single Show? One possible explanation lies in Heywood's defection. In the autumn of 1634 Heywood reached the summit of his career with his masque *Loves Maistresse*, which was presented before the King and Queen three times in eight days.⁵ Thus having risen from bourgeois to Court spectacle, Heywood may

¹ Haberdashers' Hall, MS. *The Yeomanry Account for the Lord Mayor's Triumph* (1604).

² J. Webster, *Monuments of Honor* (1624), is known only in the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library, California, U.S.A. A photostatic copy is in R.T.D. Sayle, *Lord Mayors' Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (1931), between pp. 116 and 117.

³ No records of the 1627 Show remain. It is inferred to have taken place from remarks made by Dekker in *Warres, Warres, Warres* (1628) (unique copy: Hunt. Lib.; photostat, Bodleian). That pamphlet is dedicated to Hugh Hammersley, Lord Mayor, and Dekker says that "It was some ioy to me, to bee employed in the Praesentation of your Triumphs, on the day of your Lordships Inauguration" (sig. A2^v/A3). Dekker's pamphlet of 1628 is *Britannia's Honor* and of 1629 *Londons Tempe*.

⁴ Mal. Soc., Coll. iii. 120.

⁵ T. Heywood, *Loves Maistresse* (1636), title-page. For the dating of the royal performances of *Loves Maistresse* see A. M. Clark, *Thomas Heywood* (1631), pp. 129-31.

have declined to divide his energies. Taylor and he had been long acquainted,¹ and it is possible that he suggested Taylor as pageant-poet.

On the other hand Heywood seems to have played only a subordinate part in the Shows with which he was associated. At one extreme, a poet was necessary to write the verses ; at the other, a carpenter-painter was necessary to build the floats. But all sorts of compromises were possible with regard to general direction, choice of the content of the pageants, and so on. Sometimes the poet's was the guiding brain. George Peele is said to have had " all the ouersight of the Pageants ",² and the dominating Middleton assumed the whole direction of the Show in 1617.³ But by the 1630s the position was very different. Garret Christmas, a reputable craftsman in wood and stone, had been assistant or principal " artificer " for the Shows since 1618.⁴ With Middleton and Dekker Christmas worked in an equal partnership ;⁵ this itself was a tribute to his abilities and forcefulness. The contract for the Show of 1629, the last before Heywood became pageant-poet, was signed by both Dekker and Christmas.⁶ But in 1631 and 1632 money for pageants and shows was paid only to Garret Christmas ; Heywood was not so much as mentioned.⁷ Now Garret Christmas died in 1634, and it was probably his death, not Heywood's masque, which left the field free for competitors. There is a hint of this in Taylor's remark that *FAME and HONOVR*

being gracefully accepted & approved of, after good CHRISTMAS, the authors may be the more merry at the next.⁸

Unfortunately the records of the Clothworkers' Company are lost, so that it is impossible to tell whether Taylor and his

¹ J. Taylor wrote commendatory verses for Heywood's *An Apology for Actors* (1612).

² G. Peele, *Merrie Conceited Iests* (1627), p. 7.

³ Grocers' Hall MS. 117 (*Charges of Triumph*) (1617), fol. 14^v.

⁴ Mal. Soc., *Coll.* iii. 97 and 98.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 101, 105, 110, 113(?), 114.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 115.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 121, 122.

⁸ *Fame*, sig. B4.

“artificer” met with any competition. Certainly the next year, 1635, the team entered the field again with a project of five pageants to cost £190; but they were undercut by £10 by the project of Garret Christmas’s sons, John and Matthias, and Thomas Heywood. The contract was signed by the Christmas brothers only.¹ The Show of 1634 remained Taylor’s sole effort in mayoral pageantry. According to *FAME and HONOUR* his “artificer” was one Robert Norman, “Citizen and Painter of London”. Nothing is known of this Norman except that he assisted Garret Christmas in preparing *Britannia’s Honor* in 1628.² He had, therefore, neither the reputation nor the experience of Christmas. Taylor gives a fairly detailed account of his relations with his “artificer”:

It were shamefull impudence in mee to assume the invention of these Structures and Architectures to my selfe, they being busines which I never was inured in, or acquainted with all, there being little of my directions in these shewes; onely the Speeches, and Illustrations which are here printed I doe justly challenge as mine owne, all the rest of the Composures and Fabricks were formed and framed by the ingenious and industrious Mr. *Robert Norman* Citizen and Painter of London, who was indeed the prime inventor prosecutor and finisher of these works, with the assistance of *Zachary Taylor* a quaint and well knowne curious Carvar, which being gracefully accepted & approved of, after good CHRISTMAS, the authors may be the more merry at the next.³

From this it seems that Taylor was very decidedly the junior partner. The vital part of the Show, in the sense that all the other parts followed from it and could not come into being without it, was the “invention”, or

the finding out or selection of topics to be treated, or arguments to be used.⁴

It might be held that in disclaiming “the invention of these Structures and Architectures” Taylor was referring only to planning the floats. But all he claims for himself is “the Speeches, and Illustrations which are here printed”. One contemporary meaning of “illustration” was “elucidation, explanation”.⁵ By

a figure called Illustration, . . . the forme of things is so set foorth in words, that it seemeth rather to be seene with the eies, then heard with the eares.⁶

¹ Mal. Soc., *Coll.* iii. p. 125.

² *Ibid.* p. 113.

³ *Fame*, sig. B4.

⁴ *N.E.D.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ J. Marbeck, *A Booke of Notes* (1581), p. 491.

This exactly describes what Taylor was attempting to do in the prose part of the pamphlet, and the "Speeches" he claims cover the rest. Further, in his title page he makes no claim to "inventing" or "devising" the Show. In his second pageant he refers to Mercury as the patron of the artificer's "Invention" but of the poet's "Eloquence". This indicates definitely that Norman rather than Taylor was responsible for the ideas expressed in the Show.¹

This question of the relationship of poet and "artificer" is particularly interesting since an inability to achieve a satisfactory balance of functions in the masque, a form precisely parallel in this respect, broke up the most celebrated partnership of the period. The quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones centred on this question of the "invention".² The stages of the quarrel, during which Jonson gradually lost control over this vital initial process, are reflected in the history of poet and "artificer" in the lowlier Lord Mayor's Show. Peele, Jonson, and at first Middleton³ were the prime movers in the Show. But the talented Garret Christmas established himself as an equal partner with Middleton and Dekker, and quite dominated Heywood. Taylor, coming new to the Show and in any case less talented than most of his predecessors, adopted Heywood's subordinate position without protest, just as Heywood continued in his subordinate position when he worked with Inigo Jones in *Loves Maistresse*.⁴ Indeed the situation is very similar; but the attitude of the poets is quite different. Whereas Ben Jonson objected in every way he could to the gradual cutting away of his part, Heywood⁵ and Taylor regarded themselves,

¹ *Fame*, sigs. A6-A7. Cf. p. 520.

² See D. J. Gordon, "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xii (1949), 154-61.

³ For Peele and Middleton see above p. 506. For Jonson, the wording of the Haberdashers' accounts makes it clear that the invention was his: "Beniamyn Johnson" was paid "for his device, and speech for the Children" (Haberdashers' Hall MS. *Yeomenry Account* (1604)).

⁴ T. Heywood, *Loves Maistresse*, title-page, and sig. A2^v.

⁵ For an example of the eulogies by which Heywood indicated his satisfaction at the relations existing between himself and Christmas in the matter of the Lord Mayor's Shows, see T. Heywood, "Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo", reprinted in *Theatre Miscellany* (1953), p. 45.

without any sign of chagrin, as mere librettists and chroniclers. But in these circumstances, to refer to the devices of *FAME and HONOVR* as Taylor's is more a matter of convenience than of accuracy.

The one aspect of the Show for which Taylor was solely responsible was his descriptive pamphlet, *FAME and HONOVR*. At least from 1585, when George Peele wrote *THE DEVICE of the Pageant borne before Sir Woolstan Dixi*, to 1702, when Elkanah Settle wrote *The Triumphs of London* in celebration of the mayoralty of Sir Samuel Dashwood, it was customary to issue a printed account of the Show, written by the poet who had devised the speeches and perhaps the pageantry. These pamphlets are very rare. Most of those probably issued between 1585 and 1612 have disappeared altogether. Taylor's pamphlet survives only, so far as is known, in the John Rylands copy. *THE | TRIUMPHS | OF | FAME and HONOVR* is an unpaginated octavo, running from A to B6; it was originally unbound. The margins are cropped. Taylor's title is fairly typical: it demonstrates, as did most, the honour and glory of the city for which the pageants were devised. There is perhaps a hint of Middleton's influence, since he was the only previous pageant-poet who frequently used titles in this form.¹

The pamphlets were records of the day's proceedings, but they may have been programmes or souvenirs, and distributed or sold to spectators or Company members. The pamphlets themselves, the Stationers' Register, and the surviving manuscript accounts for the Shows, tell something but not everything. The organizing Company usually bought a certain number of books from the poet,² who was most often responsible for overseeing the printing.³ In the sixteen-thirties the Companies ordered three⁴ or five⁵ hundred copies, and once, in 1638, extra

¹ *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613); *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* (1617); *The Triumphs of Loue and Antiquity* (1619); *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue* (1622); *The Triumphs of Integrity* (1623); *The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity* (1626). Of Shows by other writers, cf. only A. Munday, *The Triumphs of revnited Britania* (1605) and *The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece* (1623).

² Mal. Soc., *Coll.* iii. 59 (1602), 63 (1604), 68-9 (1605), 85 (1612), 91 (1616), 104 (1622), 115 (1629).

³ There are exceptions to this. See Mal. Soc., *Coll.* pp. 87 (1613), 92 (1617).

⁴ Mal. Soc., *Coll.* pp. 121 and 127 (300 copies).

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 123 and 127 (500 copies).

copies were required.¹ These booklets were presumably given to Company members. As the poet saw the books through the press there was nothing to prevent him, if he chose, from having more copies printed and trying to sell them. There is no direct evidence about this for any pamphlets before the Civil War. After the Restoration the titles of several pamphlets bore the words "to be sold",² and once the price was stated—sixpence.³ Presumably, therefore, at least these pamphlets, and quite possibly others, were sold to the public. Even after the Restoration the printing must have been done in a great hurry if the pamphlets were to be ready for 29 October, since the usual date for Stationers' Register entries was 26 October.⁴ Such pre-Civil War pamphlets as appear in the Register were, with one exception, entered so late that they could not possibly be printed in time,⁵ and at least one pamphlet was not completed till after the Show had taken place.⁶ The exception is Taylor's own pamphlet, which was entered as early as 14 October 1634:

Henry Gosson. / Entred for his Copy, *the Booke of the Lord Mayours Show of this yeare 1634.* by Master / John TAYLOR.

This entry does not prove that Taylor managed to find a way to raise extra money from his association with the Lord Mayor's Show, but it does suggest something of the kind. Such ingenuity would be in keeping with Taylor's unorthodox financial enterprise.

Because of the confused and variable relationship between the poets and the "artificers", it is exceedingly difficult to calculate

¹ Mal. Soc., *Coll.* p. 127.

² T. Jordan, *The Triumphs of London* (1675), *The Triumphs of London* (1683); M. Taubman, *London's Anniversary Festival* (1688); E. Settle, *The Triumphs of London* (1692, 1693, 1694, 1695), *Glory's Resurrection* (1698), *The Triumphs of London* (1708).

³ E. Settle, *Glory's Resurrection* (1698).

⁴ Very few pamphlets were entered into the Stationers' Register at all. Those of 1660, 1674, 1683 were entered on 26 October.

⁵ Peele's lost pamphlet of 1588 was entered 28 October; T. Middleton's *Truth*, 1613, was entered 3 November; A. Munday's *Chrysanaleia*, 1616, was entered 29 October; for T. Dekker, *Troia-Noua*, 1612, entered 21 October, see note 6 below.

⁶ T. Dekker, *Troia-Noua*, was entered 21 October, but only "to be prynted when yt is further Authorised". In fact *Troia-Noua* was not printed till after the Show had taken place. See sig. D^v, quoted above, p. 503.

how much the poet was usually paid for his own proper work. If the poet were the master, as Middleton was in 1617,¹ he was paid for the carpentry and painting too. When the poet was subordinate, as Heywood and Taylor were,² he was paid by the "artificer". And in any case the Clothworkers' records are lost. The only clear example before the Civil War of the poet being paid solely for his proper work was in 1604, when Ben Jonson was paid £12

for his device, and speech for the Children.³

After the Restoration the poet was sometimes paid separately. Thomas Jordan, for instance, received about £12 for each of the Drapers' Shows with which he was associated.⁴ Perhaps Taylor received about the same fee.

Taylor's pamphlet, *THE / TRIVMPHS / OF / FAME and HONOVVR*, opens with a dedication⁵ to the Clothworker Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Parkhurst, which contains some verses very complimentary to both Lord Mayor and King :

. . . *London in these Triumphs is renownd*
Above all cities in the worlds wide Round :
For no Kings Deputy, or Magistrate
Is with such pompous state inaugurate,
As Londons Mayor is, which most plainly showes
The Kings illustrious greatnesse whence it flowes . . .

The dedication is followed by a detailed description, which occupies the bulk of the pamphlet, of the six pageants of the Show. First comes a prose account of the structure and personages of each pageant, and then there follows the speech delivered in connection with it. These descriptions are followed by "explanations" of the first three pageants. The "explanations" cease there, as if Taylor tired of his work of supererogation. No other mayoral pageant-poet attempted to help his readers in this way, yet there is considerable evidence that help was needed. Thirty years earlier Ben Jonson and

¹ Grocers' Hall MS. 117, fol. 14^v.

² See above, pp. 506-9.

³ Haberdashers' Hall MS. *The Yeomanry account* (1604).

⁴ Drapers' Hall MS. + 178, fols. 145 (1675), 151 (1676), 156 (1679), 163 (1684).

⁵ *Fame*, sigs. A3-A4.

Dekker had been employed to devise pageants for King James's entry into London in 1604.¹ The pageantry of this entertainment was rather more complex than that of the Lord Mayor's Show, but in the same tradition, and was presented before an even wider audience. Dekker and Johnson disagreed about the proper attitude to spectators. Johnson held that open-air pageants ought not to require

one to write, *This is a Dog* : or, *This is a Hare* : but so to be presented, as vpon the view they might without cloude, or obscurity declare themselves to the sharpe and learned : And for the multitude, no doubt but their grounded iudgements gazed, said it was fine, and were satisfied.²

Dekker on the contrary held that the creators of the pageants should consider the unlettered majority rather than the learned minority, which included the learned king in whose honour the pageants were framed. The multitude, said Dekker,

is now to be our Audience, whose heads would miserably runne a wool-gathering, if we doo but offer to breake them with hard words.³

Both writers plainly believed the understanding of the common people to be very limited, though Jonson, apparently, was referring to the allegory in general and Dekker to the speeches in particular. Whatever his views, Dekker gave no special help to his audience when he was responsible for the Lord Mayors' Shows of 1612, 1628, and 1629.⁴ John Webster appended an apologetic note to *Monuments of Honour* that

I could, a more curious and Elaborate way haue exprest my selfe in these my endeauors, but . . . might haue troubled my Noble Lord, and pusled the vnderstanding of the Common People.⁵

Webster's Show was nevertheless elaborate, and it is very doubtful if "the Common People" could interpret it at sight. Of all the pageant-poets, Taylor was nearest the ordinary man himself, and perhaps had the most accurate understanding of his limitations. His "explanations", however, are more concerned with the "hard words" Dekker objected to than

¹ B. Jonson described his pageants in *His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment* (1604); and Dekker his in *The Magnificent Entertainment* (1604).

² B. Jonson, *His Part*, sig. B2.

³ T. Dekker, *Magnificent Entertainment*, sig. A4^v.

⁴ T. Dekker, *Troia-Noua, Britannia's Honor, Londons Tempe*.

⁵ J. Webster, *Honor*, sig. C2^v.

with the allegory that Jonson assumed the crowd would not be able to interpret, and reflect his own interest in historical and geographical curiosities. Taylor says himself that he wishes to elucidate such words and places as may seeme hard and obscure to some meane Readers.

The first device,¹ a river show, met the Lord Mayor on his return from Westminster and escorted him for the last lap of the journey. It was a

Barge, adorned with the armes and Impresses of the honourable Citie and Company, with seeming properties of being loaden, with Packs, dryfats, and divers other commodities, that marchants and others that are free of the Company of Clothworkers, doe receive from foreigne parts by sea.

Thetis and Thamesis sat in the prow of this barge. Thetis was dressed in a sea-green mantle,

with a coronet of shels of divers sorts of sea-fish on her head with a great whelk-fish in her hand with adornments of strange fishes and other significant representations.

Thamesis wore a white robe, and was crowned with a chaplet of green reeds, flowers, and rushes, and around her feet were sedge, bulrushes, and flags. Thetis delivered a speech interpreting this pageant :

I every twelve houres, by this Child of mine,
 Do send you silks and velvets, oyle, and wine,
 Gold, silver, Jewels, fish salt, sundry spices,
 Fine and course linenn, druggs of divers prices :
 What every Realme or climate can produce,
 I see it safe transported for your use.
 Thus from the bosome of the Deepe my floods
 (By Thames) doe every Tyde send up your goods,
 For which this matchlesse well deserving River,
 Your Cloth doth backe againe to me deliver,
 With other riches, which I o're the Sea
 Unto my other daughters doe convay ;
 For your commodities I'le ever flow
 Unto Danubius, Ister, Rhine, and Poe,
 [here follows a versified list of rivers]
 . . . So far will I your servant ever be,
 In any thing you'l deigne to put on me :
 And humble thanks faire Thames and I doe render
 To you, who of her well-fare are so tender,
 Who with great cost and care doe lend your hands,
 To clear your servant Thames from shelves and sands :
 Go on and cleanse her, as you have begun,
 And she shall doe for you as she hath done . . .

¹ *Fame*, sigs. A5-6.

Then the Rowers (consisting of foure in number, being two Saylours, two watermen) being ouer-joyed, pike their oares, and every of them drinks his Kan as a health, tossing them up, and presently falling into a Rugged friskin daunce, returne to *Pauls* wharfe, and landing the said Barge, she is carried as the formost Pageant in the shew through the Citie.

This opening pageant introduces several of the Show's themes: the City, the Clothworkers' Company, and the Lord Mayor, all of whom Taylor wished to please. As befitted a great river port, one of the pageant's personages, Thetis, represented the sea, and one, Thamesis, the river. Thetis, the daughter of Nereus, whose empire was the Mediterranean and more particularly the Adriatic, was not altogether suited to our northern seas. Taylor was perfectly aware of her exclusively southern associations, and indeed gives an account of them in his "explanation of the first Pageant of Thetis". A more meticulous pageant-poet¹ might have rejected Thetis on the grounds of inappropriateness, but 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. Neptune himself was, after all, originally a Mediterranean deity.

Taylor's individual handling is evident in several aspects of this pageant. The commercial note is unusually candid, even gauche. The opening lines of the verses, building up to "druggs of divers prices", read like an advertiser's list. The verse of the Lord Mayor's Shows is almost never distinguished, but Taylor's has at times a specially homespun quality. His professional connection with the river appears in his concern for the dredging and cleansing of the Thames. This had been an earlier theme of his. In *TAYLOR on Thame Isis*, 1632, he devoted nearly half his space to describing faults in the Thames waterway, which prevented watermen from plying their craft with the skill and success it deserved. But he had few complaints to make about the stretch of river under the control of the Lord Mayor. On the Thames, he said, depended much of England's life; and,

¹ But J. Webster, *Honor*, sigs. A3^v-A4^v, also used Thetis.

for the good to *England* it hath done,
 Shall it to spoyle and ruine be let runne?
 Shall priuate persons for their gainfull use,
 Ingrosse the water and the land abuse,
 Shall that which God and nature giues us free,
 For vse and profit in community,
 Be barr'd from men, and damb'd vp as in *Thames*.
 (A shamelesse auarice surpassing shames :)
 I speake not of the riuers bounds below,
 Whereas the tides perpetuall ebbe and flow,
 Nor is the river wanting much repaire,
 Within the bounds of *Londons* honour'd Maior,
 Which limits all are clear from stakes and piles,
 Beyond *Stanes* bridge (thats more than forty miles).¹

But if Taylor had abstained from criticizing the condition of the river by London itself, others complained that the Thames was being allowed to silt up, and it was in this year, 1634, that at last rules and regulations of conservancy, for keeping the river clear and open, were made.²

Taylor the waterman appears again in the clear distinction he makes between river and sea, a distinction which emerges both in the pageant and in the dance of two sailors and two watermen which follows it. There had been dances in mayoral pageantry before, but they were not very common. Similarly there had been occasional comic devices before, but they were not of much importance in the Shows in which they appeared. Light relief from allegory and history was usually provided in Heywood's later Shows by tumbling and acrobatics. The light-hearted, jolly, comic device of the "Rugged, friskin daunce" of the Lord Mayor's Show foreshadows the later development. Tatham, in the first Restoration Show, took up the idea with further elaboration when he had rustics speak in dialect and dance round an oak tree representing the tree in which Charles II hid during his famous escape from Worcester.³ Thereafter the best of the Lord Mayors' Shows were mainly a mixed light entertainment. There is no reason, however, to suppose that later mayoral poets were consciously following in Taylor's footsteps.

¹ J. Taylor, *Taylor on Thames Ises* (1632), sig. B^v-B2.

² H. Humpherus, *History of the Origin and Progress of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen of the River Thames*, 3 vols. (1859), ii. 226.

³ J. Tatham, *The Royall Oake* (1660), [pp. 10-11.]

In his prose description of the pageant, Taylor remarks that the barge appeared again later on land. This is not an example of particular parsimoniousness on the part of the organizers of the 1634 Show. It was the custom for pageant-poets to make the most of their devices, and such double use happened not only in mayoral pageantry¹ but also in royal festivities if these took place partly on the river.²

After seeing this pageant on the river, the mayor and his entourage and the chief men of the Companies disembarked from their barges and were rejoined by the rest of the procession. They then all processed, in ascending order of importance, towards St. Paul's. In the Churchyard they were met by the second pageant.³ Time and Mercury were mounted on two griffins. Time had his scythe, and Mercury bore his charming rod, and had wings on his head and feet. Time was the speaker to the pageant. He rejoiced in the antiquity of the Shows. There have been five hundred of them, he says, and most Lord Mayors have graced their office. So

Time hopes that th' addition of your yeare,
Will make him more Illustrate, pure and cleare.
For of all fading things 'tis manifest,
As *Time* is us'd, hee's either worst or best.
All those that rightly have their Honours won :
Have us'd *Time* well, (as you my Lord Have done.)
This Honour was ordaind you, from your youth
You ever lov'd my loveliest daughter TRVTH,
And she hath rais'd you ; and she did prefer
You to this dignity to maintaine her,
I doe command her, still with you t'abide,
Doe you defend her, she shall be your guide :
For truth-sake *Time* shall be your servant still ;
And in your just commands, obey your will.
Time shall transport your Marchandise and wares,
Time shall assist you in your great'st affaires :
Time shall be alwaies yours Auspiciously,
And *Time* will bring you to Eternity.

Mercury is said in the prose description of the tableaux to be one of the speakers. In fact he is not, but the words referring to him, under his Greek name of Hermes, are of interest :

¹ E.g. T. Middleton, *Truth*, sig. B4^v.

² E. Halle, *Vnion*, fols. ccxiii and ccxiii^v.

³ *Fame*, sigs. A6-A7.

Her's *Hermes*, from his Spheares circumference
 Hath brought the Poet wit, and Eloquence ;
 And quick Invention, likewise he Inflamm'd
 Into the Artists that these pageants fram'd,
 That for your future Honour, this may be
 A day of well Compos'd Variety
 Of Speach and shew, these Triumphs we present,
 We hope (as they are meant shall give content)
 We humbly wish, that you this yeare may finde,
 Full of true worth as is your worthy mind.

The arms of the Clothworkers' Company were "Sable, a chevron ermine between two habricks, in chief argent, and a thistle in base, or ; crest, a ram passant, or ; supporters, two griffins, or ; pellette". These arms appeared, together with the arms of the City and of other Companies, on the barge of the first pageant. Now Taylor selects one of the most picturesque details of the arms to play a major part in his second pageant. In this he was following a common custom. Exotic animals are always a success in popular pageantry, and the mayoral poets supplied them in considerable numbers. At the same time they often contrived to compliment¹ the Lord Mayor or the Company from which he was drawn by using animals which were part of relevant heraldic devices. In this way lynxes, leopards, camels, unicorns and many other animals found their way into the Shows.²

The conception of Time in this pageant is somewhat perfunctory. Of all his possible properties, the only one with which he is credited in the descriptive pamphlet is his scythe. Even the reduced Old Father Time still known is more elaborate than this. Taylor's interest in Time, indeed, is mainly verbal: he shows considerable dexterity in dealing with the implications of the phrase "to use one's time". Appropriately in a City Show, the affairs with whose successful carrying through Time is concerned are commercial ventures. There is, for the Puritan City, the somewhat sober note at the end,

And *Time* will bring you to Eternity.

¹ E.g. G. Peele, *Device of the Pageant* (1585), sig. A2 ; A Munday, *Metropolis Coronata* (1614), sig. B2^v ; T. Middleton, *Loue and Antiquity* (1619), sig. C4 ; J. Webster, *Honor* (1624), sig. B4.

² E.g. G. Peele *Device*, sig. A2 ; J. Webster, *Honor*, sig. B4 ; I. B. *Londons Trijumph* (1656), p. 12 ; E. Settle, *Triumphs of London* (1692), p. 3.

The figure of Truth does not appear in the pageant as described ; yet several lines of the speech are devoted to her. The disparity here is perhaps a result of the exclusion of the poet from the invention of the device. Truth, as she appears in the speech, is as inferior to the traditional Truth as Taylor's Time is to the traditional Time. Time and Truth were favourite figures of Renaissance allegory. Truth brought to light by Time represented variously, all over Europe and also in England, Protestantism victorious, Catholicism victorious, and personal triumph.¹ The most celebrated appearance of the pair in pageantry was in a tableau of Queen Elizabeth's coronation procession in 1558.² Time and Truth as they are in *FAME and HONOUR* stem from this Renaissance tradition, but in a vastly weakened form. The two basic ideas of the allegory had been that Truth was brought to light by Time and that her emergence was a hard and costly business. There is no trace of either idea in this Show. It merely happens to be the case that Time is the father of Truth. He does not show this by acting as the strong and powerful father painfully assisting his daughter to return into the light of day. What he has done and what he will do relate only to the Lord Mayor. In the pageant Truth does not appear ; but in the speech she is the strong partner : it is she who has raised Sir Robert Parkhurst to the mayoralty. Yet Taylor was aware of the more effective tradition. In his explanation of the

meaning of the second Pageant being Time and Mercury

he says that

Truth is the daughter of *Time*, who though falshood may obscure her, yet *Time* will bring her forth at last, where her bright vertue shall outshine the Sun.

Why, then, did Taylor not use this more meaningful conception? Queen Elizabeth, when she saw the pageant of Time and Truth during her coronation entry, made a remarkable response :

¹ For a full discussion of this question, see F. Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis", in *Philosophy and History*, ed. R. Klibansky, and H. J. Paton (1936).

² Anon., *The Royall Passage of her Majesty from the Tower of London, to her Palace of Whitehall, with all the Speeches and Devices, both of the Pageants and otherwise* (1588) (B.M. C. 33.e.7 (11) ; cf. C. 33.e. 7. (15)).

Time, quoth she? and Time hath brought me hither.¹

Thus she identified herself with Truth. If Taylor were to have used the ideas implicit in the Time-Truth relationship in the Lord Mayor's Show, he might have been forced into too close a connection between Truth and the Lord Mayor. This would in the first place have been ridiculously pretentious, and would moreover have sounded blasphemous to Puritan ears. Behind Queen Elizabeth's reaction were no doubt memories of the great ideological as well as personal struggles of the previous years. The 1634 Lord Mayor had no such epic excuse for identifying himself with Truth, and Taylor was well advised to avoid such an interpretation of the tradition. Heywood, in *Londons Ius Honorarium*, 1631, followed Elizabeth's pageant closely and deliberately; but he made the part of Truth as small as possible.

Taylor does not seem to have been influenced by Heywood's use of the same figures, but there is possibly a connection between Middleton's *Triumphs of Truth* and both the second and third pageants of *FAME and HONOUR*. Middleton's Show is concerned with the struggle between Time and Truth, and Error. Its basic conceptions are in some ways very like those of *FAME and HONOUR*. In particular Time has declined into a rather laughable powerless old man, while Truth has the strength to banish her enemies and to raise the Lord Mayor to his present eminence. Take away Truth's enemies, as Taylor does, and only a rather meaningless association of Time and Truth remains. And that is indeed the situation in Taylor's pamphlet.

The function ascribed to Mercury is interesting since it shows one of the humblest of the pageant-poets regarding his work as art. From the point of view of the Companies the purpose of the Show was the hono^r of the Citie & worshipp of this company.²

The pageant-poets, with their dedications to Lord Mayors and Companies, with their lavish praise and flattery, were certainly conscious of this civic aspect of their contract. The demands and customs of the Show—praise and flattery in tone, and the

¹ Anon., *The Royall Passage of her Majesty from the Tower of London, to her Palace of Whitehall, with all the Speeches and Devices, both of the Pageants and otherwise* (1588) (B.M. C. 33.e.7 (11); cf. C. 33.e. 7. (15)), sig. B4.

² Haberdashers' Hall MS. *Minutes of the Court of Assistants* (1582-1652). 30 September 1586, fol. 27.

use of Company arms, Company history, and Company processes in content—were not very conducive to artistic creation. Ben Jonson¹ and Chapman² both referred unfavourably to the pageants. But Ben Jonson himself devised a mayoral pageant. It is a pity his descriptive pamphlet³ has not survived, so that we could have seen what a major poet, fresh from considering, in connection with King James's royal entry, the theory of such public entertainments, would have made of the occasion. Many of the best Shows, from the artistic point of view, were devised by poets who, like Jonson or Taylor, were preparing their first mayoral pageant. Dekker's *Troia-Noua Triumphans*, 1612, Middleton's *Triumphs of Truth*, 1613, and Webster's *Monuments of Honor*, 1624, all seem the work of men trying to use well the form inherited by them. Among Webster's devices is one in honour of learning. It shows Sir Thomas White dreaming that he must found an Oxford College where two oak trees grew out of one root; the as yet non-existent College appears in miniature. Another device honours literature by including major English poets: Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate. Taylor lacked Webster's talent, but he brought to the Show a similar interest in its artistic possibilities and, as we shall see, its literary affiliations. Mercury, or Hermes, was the patron of a number of widely different activities and qualities, any of which Taylor might have chosen. In particular, he might very appropriately have invoked Mercury as the god of commerce. But instead Taylor prefers to see him as the patron of art. He is invoked for the poet as god of eloquence, and for the "artificer" as god of invention.

The third pageant⁴ is a model of a city representing London, with walls, Battlements, Gates, Churches, Towers, Steeples and lofty Buildings, and some Antique shapes here and there on the tops of the highest Edifices: Also with shops and men at worke upon cloth, as Cloth-workers, fullers, shermen, and others, the walls of the Citie being adorned round, with Armes and escutcheons of the Cittie and company.

¹ B. Jonson, *His Case is Alterd* (1609), sig. A2^v.

² G. Chapman, "Dedication prefaced to *The Odyssey*", *Works of Homer* (1616), sig. A4.

³ The pamphlet was certainly printed, since Haberdashers' Hall MS. *The Yeomanry Account* (1604) includes an item: "paid for printing the bookes of the device 001. 10. 0."

⁴ *Fame*, sig. A7-A8.

This model is ornamented with various figures : Antiquity, Record, Memory, Wisdom, and others. The speaker,

an ancient Matron in a civill grave robe with her haire long hanging downe in trammels dishevelled behind her backe, sitting in one of the Gates of the Citie, represents London. In her speech she gives thanks to God

That I doe see this day, and now am seene
The Queene of Cities, Empresse of content,
And Princesse of unmatched government.

She contrasts herself with the great cities of the past—Thebes, Carthage, Jerusalem, Babylon—and of the present :

Constantinople doth in sorrow lye,
And groane beneath the Turkish tyranny :
Rome, and all Cities that hold Rome supreme,
Their glorie's are eclips'd or but a dreame ;
Whilst fire and sword doth Germany molest,
London's secure, with peace and plenty blest,
Turke, Pope, and war, beare here no rule or sway,
For I one God, one King, one Law obey ;
Ther's my security, and my state doth stand
Supported by the unsupported hand.

Humanly speaking, the greatest virtue is industry, and industry brings success :

An Idle Citizen is like a Moth,
One spoyles b'example t'o [t] her spoyles the Cloth,
True Citizens are the true Cities sonnes,
The others are but bastards, mad that runnes,
Like Runnagates, or cursed Imps of *Caine*,
And never shall to Honours seat Attaine :
Worke on my Lads, and you in time may be,
Good members of this Honour'd Company.

In this water pageant of Thetis and Thamesis Taylor expressed praise of London in three aspects : the City, the Companies, and the Lord Mayor. His pageant of Time and Truth was addressed principally to the Lord Mayor, but the presence of the griffins, supporters of the Clothworkers' arms, alluded to the Company. This third device is in honour of the Clothworkers' Company and of the City.

The imagery of the pageant is pleasant but not unusual. It may derive, as the figures of Time and Truth may derive, from

Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth*. In that Show¹ London was

a Graue Foeminine Shape . . . attired like a reuerend Mother, a long white haire naturally flowing on either side of her : on her head a modell of Steeples and Turrets. . . .

Middleton's London herself was not an original invention. Many of her properties appeared in comparable personifications of place in Ripa's *Iconlogia*, first accessible in 1611 and at once a collection of Renaissance allegory and a source-book for it. But it was Middleton who combined the characteristics and called the resulting figure London. The re-appearance, therefore, of a figure called London very similar to Middleton's figure of that name, and of a similar conception of Time and Truth, suggests that Taylor was borrowing from Middleton.

The cloth-working scene shows the men of the Clothworkers' Company split into their groups. In the Middle Ages there had been a Company of Fullers, or men who cleansed and thickened the cloth, and a Company of Shermen, or cloth-shearers, who turned the cloth and left the nap. But Henry VII, in 1528, had united the Fullers and Shermen to form the Clothworkers, the twelfth and last of the major Livery Companies of London.² The form of the pageant is a reminder that in the seventeenth century one could still see, if one looked into the shops as one passed, people inside plying their trade of making or finishing their goods.

Since the basis of the Lord Mayor's Show was commercial, one might have expected a pageant of London to present her as the pre-eminent trading city, compared and contrasted perhaps with Antwerp and Venice. Webster, in *Monuments of Honor*, had devised just such a tableau. But Taylor's frame of reference is exclusively religious and politico-religious. By placing London with Babylon, Jerusalem and other such cities Taylor challenges comparison with the most famous cities of antiquity. By his comments on the cities of the present Taylor claims London's superiority. The heart of Eastern Christianity, Constantinople, is Turkish ; the best days of Rome are past ;

¹ T. Middleton, *Truth*, sig. A4.

² W. Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 2 vols. (1836), ii, 644-5.

and Germany, divided in religion, is torn by civil war. This is a statement of point of view rather than of detailed historical reference. Constantinople had been Turkish since 1453, and while the notion of threatening Islam was still a powerful stimulant, yet the danger had in fact been receding since the defeat of the Turks at the gates of Vienna in 1529 and at Lepanto in 1571. Seventeenth century Turkish leaders were on the whole less energetically aggressive. Conversely, the threat of Rome was increasing with the success of the Counter-Reformation; and the near-success, on several occasions, of the Roman Catholic parties in the Thirty Years' War showed Rome once more on the offensive in the very area where the Reformation had started. Taylor, however, takes a very long backward view: Constantinople, Rome, and Germany were less powerful or happy than they once had been, whereas more than ever before

London's secure, with peace and plenty blest.

Her peace and prosperity are caused by her virtue in religion, and as a corollary, disaster elsewhere is associated with false religion. Thus we have the familiar correlation between true religion and success.

In fact, England also was splitting up into mutually hostile camps and exploded into war seven years after this Show was presented. Of course, ordinary men at the time did not foresee such an unlikely event, and it is only to the wisdom of after-knowledge that Taylor's proud words take on a somewhat pathetic irony. A sadder, less arrogant treatment of the theme of England's peace appeared in Heywood's *Londini Status Pacatus*,¹ 1639, the last of the mayoral pageants to be presented before the troubles of the Civil War put an end to them for several years:

*WAR, to the unexperienc'd, pleasant shoves,
But they who in the Progresse and the Close
Shall trace it, know it horrid; 'Tis a time
Destin'd, to the revenge, and scourge of Crime:
. . . And such a Time is War, and such the throwes
Our neighbour Nations travell now in; woes
Quite desperate of delivery: whilst calme Peace,
Prosperity, and Plenty, with increase
Of all concatinated Blessings smile
With cheerefull face on this sole-happy Isle.*

¹ T. Heywood, *Londini Status Pacatus* (1639), sigs. C2^v-C3^v.

Just as the religious opinions expressed by Taylor have a decided Protestant tone suited to the City of London, so the social opinions have a note of sobriety and determination suited to the same body. Lazy people are not real citizens ; there is room only for the industrious. But to the industrious, however lowly, no door is closed. The final couplet must have been shouted to the crowd of spectators normally beyond earshot :

Worke on my Lads, and you in time may be,
Good members of this Honour'd Company.

This pageant is the last to be " explained " at the end of the pamphlet. As before, Taylor's remarks give the reader historical and geographical background information rather than an interpretation of the device. Carthage, for example,

was a goodly Citie in *Affrica*, it was 40 English miles in circuit, it was held against the Romans 44 yeares when *Rome* was in her greatest greatnesse, it brought forth the valiant Captaine *Haniball*, and was at last destroy'd by *Scipio Africanus* 144 yeares before Christs birth ; the place and country where it stood is now called *Tunis*, which is a harbour or Receptacle for Pirats, sea-Rovers and mis-beleeving *Turkes*.

The fourth pageant¹ of *FAME and HONOVVR* is a round tower on a quadrangular base. At the top of the tower sits a royal figure, with ball and sceptre. Below him are four pairs of figures : a Lord Mayor and Honour ; a Bishop and Piety ; a Judge and Power ; and a General and Victory. Below these again are four more pairs : an Apprentice and Obedience ; a Scholar and Patience ; a Clerk and Diligence ; and a Common Soldier and Virtue. On the corners of the quadrangle are the Four Cardinal Virtues. Taylor's account does not show how the abstractions were to be identified. The usual way was by properties and dress. The emblem of the mayoralty, Honour, is the speaker. He begins by showing how

Low steps begin to mount the highest hills,
Great Rivers have their heads from little Rills.

The tableau illustrates this theme. As the clerk, soldier, and scholar rise by the exercise of their typical virtue so

from th' apprentice seven yeares servitude
Proceeds the grave gowne, and the Livery-Hood,
Till (in the end) by merit, paines and care,
They win the Grace to sit in Honours chaire.

¹ T. Heywood, *Londini Status Pacatus* (1639), sig. A8-B^v.

Once a man has gained power, his quality is shown by the way in which he employs it. The Lord Mayor is to remember that

Authoritie's the touch-stone of the minde,
 And shewes which way the bearer is inclin'd :
 For having power joyned to his will,
 It makes him much more good, or much more ill :
 That Justice without Mercie's cruelty :
 That Mercy without Justice is much worse,
 Breeds scorne, contempt, makes power to leese her force.

But honour has entire confidence that the Lord Mayor will rule well :

Tis treble Joy that you doe wisely know
 To mix those vertues well, and to bestow
 Them justly, as occasion shall incite :
 To gard the good, and make wrong render right.

This pageant is structurally the most complex in the Show. Its central ideas are unusual. Superficially, the tableau seems an expression of the medieval conception of the organic state, adapted to suit a commercial economy. The king is supreme ; below him are the representatives of the parts of the State ; below them again are their assistants. But on closer inspection the device turns out to be an ingenious expression of the view that the individual can and should try to rise in the world by the exercise of the virtue most suited to his calling. This theory of a characteristic virtue recalls the drama of humours, the dominant idea being now applied again to real life.

The Lord Mayor's place in this tableaux is no more prominent than that of the general or the judge or the bishop. But the fact that the speech is delivered by Honour, and the contents of the speech, make the pageant peculiarly the Lord Mayor's. It was customary in public pageantry to deliver some observations on good government and to exhort the person in authority to rule well. Some pageant-poets carried out this rather exacting task without being either critical or sycophantic. Middleton, for example, devised a tableau¹ in which Reward and Justice kept an empty seat between them. On the Lord Mayor's approach Reward wanted to invite him to take the seat, but was restrained by Justice since

¹ T. Middleton, *Honor and Industry*, sig. B4.

Great works of Grace must be requird and done,
Before the honor of this Seate be won.

But Taylor claims such faith in the Lord Mayor's abilities and intentions that Honour's remarks are mere flattery.

The fifth pageant ¹ is Endimion riding on a ram's back before an "ancient monument of fame", ornamented with the Armes, Escucheons, Hatchments and Impresses of divers Lord Mayors that have bin of the worshipfull company of the Cloth-workers.

Endimion speaks first of himself and his fellow shepherds :

I am *Endimion*, that of yore did keepe
Upon th' Arcadian hills my harmeles sheepe :
Whereas by study, and by observations
I found the Moones change and her variations,
And for my sake the Swaines doe still prefer
The booke ycleap'd the shepherds Kallender.
Apollo kept *Admetus* sheepe (tis said)
And *Tamberlaine* (whom Mighty Kings obey'd)
Was once a shepherd, and the *Time* was when
That shepherds were the noblest, ablest men.

He relates the ram on which he rides to the sign of the Zodiac, which the sun enters in March and turns to gold. Thus Taylor arrives at the progression of

Wooll turn'd to Cloth ; and Cloth by transformation,
. . . turn'd to gold, that you may say with joy,
That *Iasons* fleece (to yours) was but a toy.

Many Companies owed their existence to the sheep kept by shepherds, for

By picking wooll, thousands releife doe gaine,
As many carding, spinning doth maintaine :
Wooll-men, a great and wealthy trade doe drive,
Weavers, in great abundance worke and live,
The Clothiers, Fullers, Tuckers, Shermen, Dyers,
From the sheepes fleece have feeding and attires.

But the Clothworkers' is a key Company on which the prosperity of many others depends. For

all these Trades, which I doe here infer,
Have all relation to the Cloth-worker,
For were it not for him the rest were nothing,
He onely makes it Cloth, and fit for Clothing.
Without the Cloth-worker, the Drapers Trade
And Merchants Traffick would decay and fade,
These from the fleece get Clothes and nutriment,
For (under heaven) the Ram's the Instrument.

¹ *Fame*, sig. B^v-B2^v.

This pageant is followed by

A dance of shepherds with drinking in leather bottles to the monument.

This device is specially in honour of the Clothworkers' Company. Once more a part of the Clothworkers' arms, the ram, their crest, appears ; and the City successes of the Company are celebrated by the insignia of the Clothworker Lord Mayors displayed on the "ancient monument of fame". Company devices were common in mayoral pageantry. The personages were usually relevant to the Company trade : Indians and planters, for example, might appear in Grocers' Shows,¹ and Vulcan or Mulciber in Ironmongers' Shows.² Shepherds were appropriate not only to the Clothworkers, but also to the Drapers and were frequently employed in the pageants of that Company.³ They probably owe their popularity to the continued success of the pastoral. Taylor's reference to

The booke ycleap'd the shepherds Kallender

points this literary ancestry and Taylor's awareness of it. Pastoral conventions, however, would normally exclude the violent, disturbing figure of Tamburlaine. His inclusion is an example of the pageant-poets' disregard for the decorous keeping apart of materials usually considered incongruous. Thanks to Marlowe's play, everyone knew that Tamburlaine had started life as a humble shepherd and had risen to the dizzy heights of empire. Hence he was considered suitable to mayoral pageantry.

In 1634 Taylor wrote *Taylor's Pastorall*, a poem whose substance was partly repeated in *FAME and HONOUR*. The poem was dedicated to Apollo :

APollo (father of the Sisters nine,
I craue thy aide t' inspire this Muse of mine,
Thou that thy golden Glory didst lay by
(As *Ouid* doth relate most wittily)
And in a Shepheards shape, didst deigne to keepe
Thy Loues beloued Sire, *Admetus sheepe*.⁴

¹ E.g. T. Middleton, *Honor and Vertue*, sig. B^v ; T. Jordan, *London Triumphant* (1672), pp. 3-5 ; T. Jordan, *Triumphs of London* (1678), pp. 8-10.

² E.g. A. Munday, *Sidero-Thriambos* (1618), sig. B-B2^v.

³ A. Munday, *Himatia-Poleos* (1614), sig. B3^v-B4^v ; T. Heywood, *Porta Pietatis* (1638), sig. B^v-B2^v ; T. Jordan, *Triumphs of London* (1675), pp. 15-20 ; T. Jordan, *London in Luster* (1679), pp. 9-13.

⁴ J. Taylor, *Taylor's Pastorall* (1624), sig. B.

Tamburlaine appears also in this poem :

a *Shepherd* was,
The *Terrour* of the world, that famous man
Who conquer'd Kings, and kingdomes over-ran
His stile was, (as some stories do repeate)
The *Scythian Shepherd*, *Tamberlaine* the great.¹

In an appendage Taylor discusses the history of the Clothworkers.

The dance of the shepherds recalls the dance of the sailors and watermen. It is another device to add life and movement to the Show.

It was the custom in mayoral Shows to give inflated importance to the organizing Company. In this case, the Clothworkers are held to have the key to prosperity for a whole group of Companies, major and minor. In fact, since all are equally necessary, they are no more the key than any of the others, though perhaps such inflation was particularly necessary to the pride of the Clothworkers, since they were the last of the twelve "great" Companies, and were long rivalled by the Dyers, who were the first of the minor Companies.²

This pageant, which was exhibited at the corner of St. Lawrence Lane and Cheapside, where the procession turned North to enter the Guildhall for the Banquet, was the last of the Show proper. The final device³ was presented outside the Lord Mayor's house at night. It was more complex than such final devices usually were, but consisted mainly of elements from previous tableaux. The purpose of the tableau was the interpretation of "the ancient monument of fame", which had appeared but played little part in the fifth device. Fame, a new figure, stood in front blowing her trumpet to encourage Sir Robert Parkhurst to follow in the glorious steps of past Clothworker Lord Mayors. Time, the speaker, a figure from the second pageant, listed former Lord Mayors and showed

the meaning of this monument.
Then know, this ruind peice doth shew that stones
And tombes consume, as doe their owners bones,
For *Time* is circular in his affects,
Builds and throwes downe, and ruins and erects :
But fortune, death or fame, or *Time* cannot
Make vertuous men, or vertue be forgot.

¹ J. Taylor, *Taylor's Pastorall* (1624), sig. B3.

² W. Herbert, *Twelve Great Livery Companies*, ii. 646.

³ *Fame*, sig. B2^v-B4.

This, as it applies now to past Clothworker Lord Mayors, will one day apply to Sir Robert Parkhurst :

you, with *Time* shall be together blest,
And *Time* shall bring you to *Eternall Rest*.

THE TRIVMPHS OF FAME and HONOVVR is a fairly typical seventeenth-century Lord Mayor's Show. It is not intrinsically of any great literary or artistic interest, though it indicates some of the ways in which more impressive literary forms and achievements filtered down into these popular entertainments. It also shows how traditional methods of allegory and Renaissance aristocratic conceptions were put to the service of a developing middle class society, which was becoming actively hostile to traditional authority, which was interested in commercial success, and whose own artistic culture, when it developed in the characteristic form of the novel, was to be predominantly concerned with contemporary real life. In the Lord Mayors' Shows, therefore, were realistic scenes devoted to the trading on which London depended. The allegorical scenes themselves were somewhat simpler than those of the aristocratic entertainments, since both the intended audience and the devisers were less skilled in allegory and the classics. Most of this applies particularly, perhaps, to John Taylor, who was himself uneducated in the academic sense and a prominent member of the Watermen's Company.¹ His particular interests as a waterman are reflected occasionally in his Show.

In certain ways the Shows are of historical interest. Taylor's illusion to the silting up and clearing of the Thames, for example, refers to a tiny point of detail ; but it is a point vital to the prosperity of a country increasingly depending on foreign trade. But one can rarely use the Shows as source books for matters of fact. They do, however, express bourgeois attitudes very clearly. Private enterprise is both possible and desirable. London's successful commercial development is directly related to her religious correctness ; and the misfortunes of other nations to infidelity or heresy in religion. War, including civil war, is regarded as a disaster.

¹ M. Rushforth, *John Taylor the Water Poet* (M.A. thesis, London, 1924), pp. 16-21, shows that Taylor was a Royal Waterman and a sometime Ruler of the Watermen's Company.

This Lord Mayor's Show was not Taylor's only incursion into public festivities. In 1613 Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of James I, married Frederick, Elector Palatine. This marriage was taken as consolidating the Protestant position in Europe and caused great popular rejoicing. It was celebrated with fireworks and bonfires and spectacles on the Thames. The title-page of the pamphlet describing these celebrations read :

Heuens Blessing, / And / Earths Ioy. / OR / A true relation, of the / supposed
Sea-fights & Fire-workes, as were accomplished, before the Royall Celebrations,
of the al-beloved Mariage, / Of the two peerlesse Paragons of Chri- / stendome,
FREDERICK & / ELIZABETH. / With / Triumphall Encomiasticke Verses,
consecrated to the Immortal memory of those happy and blessed Nuptialls / By
John Taylor, / [Line] / [Woodcut of ship] / Imorinted at London for *Ioseph
Hunt*, and are to be solde / [Bottom of page cropped].

This pamphlet, despite Taylor's name on the title-page, is a composite work. It consists of a sixteen-line poem to Sir James Murray, signed by Taylor ; a description of a spectacle in the form of a sea-fight, unsigned ; and five descriptions of firework displays ascribed in sub-headings to various persons and signed by them. Certainly if any person named had a hand in devising the sea-fight, it would be Taylor. It was very unusual to employ one person to devise spectacles and another to describe them. But this device required no literary hand. It was a mock fight between the Turks and the Christians. There were sixteen Christian ships, including a Venetian argosy, and sixteen Turkish galleys. The whole device sounds noisy, and naturally there were no verses attached to it. This pamphlet is accompanied under the same press mark in the British Museum Library by another :

Epithaleames. / OR / ENCOMIASTICK / TRIVMPHALL VER- / ses, con-
secrated to the immortal me- / mory of the royall Nuptialls, of the two Princes
and Paragons of Christendome, / *Frederick* and *Elizabeth* / . . . / By *Iohn
Taylor*. / [Ornament] / Printed for *Henry Gosson*, and are to be sold at his / shop
on London Bridge. 1613.

This pamphlet consists of a set of fairly complicated verses in honour of the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth. Hence Taylor's part in the public nuptial celebrations was an account of the device and verses in honour of the marriage. Probably neither he nor any other poet devised the spectacle.

In 1623 England rejoiced again, this time because a royal marriage did not take place. London celebrated Prince Charles's return from Spain with bell-ringing, bonfires, and feasting, and John Taylor wrote the pamphlet, *PRINCE CHARLES HIS WELCOME FROM SPAINE*. The celebrations included no pageantry.

When Charles I returned from Scotland in 1641 Lord Mayor Gurney arranged a welcome for him. Taylor's pamphlet, *Englands Comfort, and Londons Joy*, described the procession and gave some verses which were recited and

presented to the Kings own Hand by *John Taylor*.¹

There may have been some attempt at pageantry, devised by Taylor, and related to his occupation as a waterman, for he observes that

*I have transform'd a Boat from off the Thames,
Into a Horse, to come to welcome thee.*¹

Nevertheless *THE TRIVMPHS OF FAME and HONOVVR* is Taylor's principal contribution to seventeenth-century pageantry.

¹ J. Taylor, *Englands Comfort and Londons Joy* (1641), [p. 8].