

Representation of a Pageant Vehicle at the time of Performance O. Designed & Engraved by David Jee O.

## DISSERTATION

ON THE

# PAGEANTS OR DRAMATIC MYSTERIES

Anciently performed at Coventry,

BY .

THE TRADING COMPANIES OF THAT CITY;

CHIEFLY WITH REFERENCE TO

THE VEHICLE, CHARACTERS, AND DRESSES OF THE ACTORS.

COMPILED, IN A GREAT DEGREE, FROM SOURCES HITHERTO UNEXPLORED.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, THE

# Pageant of the Shearmen & Taylors' Company,

AND OTHER MUNICIPAL ENTERTAINMENTS OF A PUBLIC NATURE.

BY

### THOMAS SHARP.

" Et crescunt media PEGMATA celsa via."-Mart. Spect. Epig. 2, v. 2.

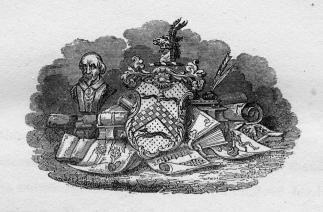
#### Coventry:

PUBLISHED BY MERRIDEW AND SON;

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HARDING, TRIPHOOK, AND LEPARD; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN; NICHOLS AND SON, LONDON: AND J. MERRIDEW, WARWICK.

MDCCCXXV.



TO

# FRANCIS DOUCE, ESQ. F.A.S.

AND HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ARTS, AND BELLES LETTRES, OF CAEN,

WITH PECULIAR FITNESS,

AS REGARDS THE SUBJECT,

AND IN TESTIMONY OF THE MANY OBLIGATIONS,

LITERARY AND PERSONAL,

CONFERRED UPON THE WRITER,

The following Pages

ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

#### INTRODUCTION.

In submitting this Volume to the public eye, the Author cannot but avail himself of the opportunity it affords him, of expressing his thanks to the following Gentlemen, whose encouragement stimulated and cheered his labours; namely:

To Francis Douce, Esq. for the loan of several ancient prints and drawings, and for various interesting remarks:

To Dawson Turner, Esq. for much friendly advice, and the liberal contribution of two plates:

To Hudson Gurney, Esq. M.P. for permission to copy the Stage-directions to the Morality of the Castle of Good Perseverance, in his possession; and to Francis Palgrave, Esq. for his kind services, both in obtaining that permission, and supplying a fac-simile of the original:

To James Heywood Markland, Esq. for the communication of an unpublished transcript of Archdeacon Rogers' account of the Chester Plays:

To the Rev. John Brickdale Blakesway, of Shrewsbury, and the Rev. James Yates, of Birmingham, for literary aid:

And, lastly, to his excellent friend, WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. for his constant and highly-valuable assistance during the entire progress of the work.

THOMAS SHARP.

Coventry, Midsummer Eve, 1825.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> It is a tribute justly due to the talents and modest ingenuity of the young Artist of this City who executed all the Engravings on Copper, with the exception of plates 4 and 5, to state, that the designs for the Wood Cuts, as well as the elaborate Frontispiece, are entirely of his composition. Such abilities entitle, and will recommend him, to notice.

### DISSERTATION

ON

# The Pageants, or Dramatic Mysteries,

ANCIENTLY PERFORMED AT COVENTRY.

T is remarkable that while the history of the English Stage has been investigated with a perseverance and minuteness of research, which scarcely leaves an expectation of any additional facts or illustrations remaining to be discovered; our Religious Dramas or Mysteries, the unquestionable groundwork of the Stage, have been treated in a very superficial and unsatisfactory manner.

Hawkins, in his Origin of the English Drama, gave the first entire specimen of these Mysteries, by printing Parfre's Candlemas Day, and which, until of late years, was the only one that had been committed to the press; but he merely names the Coventry and Chester Mysteries in a note; whilst in Dodsley's Old Plays, they are scarcely brought forward, instead of taking the lead, as they should have done, in one or both of these publications.

The ardent spirit of enquiry into our national antiquities, which so peculiarly characterises the present times, seems to promise that this much neglected portion of them will ere long receive the notice it deserves; and indeed an earnest has already been given in the specimen of the Chester Mysteries, printed in 1818 by Mr. Markland, for the members of the Roxburghe Club; for notwithstanding this



elegant volume is so limited in the number of copies, as to render it in a great measure unavailable to the public, yet all who have had an opportunity of perusing the highly ingenious Introduction to the two Mysteries selected for publication, (which has been subsequently inserted by Mr. Boswell in his edition of Malone's Shakspeare,) will perceive how very capable that gentleman is of giving, not only "an history of the origin and progress of Religious Dramas in Europe, with a view to ascertain, if possible, the precise period of their introduction into this country:" but also an "account of the several series of Mysteries acted at York, Coventry, and other places:" an undertaking which it is greatly to be wished Mr. Markland will accomplish with all practicable celerity, and thus complete the plan he has so successfully commenced. The writer of the present Dissertation, having in the course of acquiring materials for the history of his native City, examined the ancient Books and Documents belonging to the Corporation, and the remaining Account Books and other writings of the Trading Companies, has thereby been enabled to collect a considerable body of information respecting the Pageants or Mysteries formerly exhibited in Coventry, tending more particularly to elucidate the management, machinery, dresses, characters, and internal economy of these performances; which, in aid of a systematic history of our national Mysteries, he flatters himself will be acceptable to the investigators of ancient manners and customs, and not uninteresting to the more general reader: though its chief importance, perhaps, will be found in the means it supplies for filling up, in some degree, an acknowledged defect in the accounts of the early English Stage, at present before the public.

No two writers have hitherto agreed as to the derivation of the word Pageant a, which in the first instance was certainly applied to the Vehicle of Exhibition, and afterwards to the Exhibition itself. The celebrated Cart of Thespis seems to

a Minshew says, "forte a Page, à G. Παις, i. puer, quod παιδις, i. pueri ornati castellis imponuntur," &c. &c. Skinner, after noticing Minshew's derivation, proceeds, "Mallem à Gr. Παγω, Πηγιυμι, Πηγμα; vel, quod mihi præ cæteris arridet, à Belg. Waeghen, Teut. Wagen, Currus, q. d. Currus Pompaticus."

Bailey thinks it not improbably derived of Wagen, &c. as supposed by Skinner.

Johnson writes, "Of this word the etymologists give no satisfactory account. It may perhaps be payen geant, a pagan giant, a representation of triumph used at return from holy wars; as we have yet the Saracen's head."

H. Tooke views pageant, as merely the present participle paecceand, of A. S. peacan, to deceive. Pacheand, Pacheant, Pageant.

Diversions of Purley, p. 370.

Todd repeats the extraordinary conjecture of Dr. Johnson, and adds Tooke's opinion as given above.

Jamieson, in his Scottish Dictionary, gives two instances of the use of the word:—"Padyane" by Dunbar, and "Padgean" by Knox, and recites Tooke's derivation without offering any comment or opinion of his own.

have been its prototype, and without embarrassing the subject by an elaborate disquisition, we shall probably arrive at a satisfactory conclusion by attending to the particulars of a Machine in common use amongst the Greeks and Romans, called the Pegma; an ornamented wooden structure, with actors and scenery, carried about in Processions of a triumphal nature.ь Josephus mentions the плушата introduced in the Procession of Titus to the Capitol, whereon were represented by actors and appropriate scenery, the principal events of the War: "the Pageants (as Lodge calls them in his translation,d) that were borne in that "triumph were of an admirable bigness, so that the people that beheld them, "wondered how it was possible that men should carry them, for many were "builded with 3 or 4 lofts, one above the other, &c." This clearly identifies them with our Pageants; and it appears no less certain, that Pegma and Pageant are from the same root, a root which is the origin of a multitude of words in the Greek, Latin, English, and Sanscrit languages, and, generally speaking, in all the languages allied to them. They appear, however, to be different inflections of this root. The following exposition of their Etymology has been contributed by a learned friend:—" Pegma is formed according to a regular analogy, being " referable to TITTYMA, Perf. Passive, from TITTYMI. It would be applicable to any "thing consisting of parts compacted. I apprehend that Pageant was formed "according to another analogy, equally regular, though its traces are not so "numerous and distinct. It is true, that the termination and, ant, end, ent, "usually forms a Participle Active: but that this termination was also used to "form Participles Passive, is evident from the Participles in andus, endus, &c. in "Latin, and still more clearly from the Participle of the Aorist (1st and 2d) " Passive in Greek, of which the only constituent part is ENT, forming by the " usual accessories and transmutations, Nomin. - 113 - 1100 - 11705 - 11705 - 11705 - 11705 - 11705 "Reduced to its primitive and simple state, the Partic. 2d Aorist Passive of Thypropart " would be Tayer, (in English letters Pagent) having precisely the same meaning " with nayea, or Pegma.e" This deduction is strongly confirmed by the Latin appellation of Pagentus given to the 12th subject in the Ludus Coventriæ; thus:-"Hic intrabit pagentus de purgatione Mariæ et Joseph."

b See Lipsius de Amphitheatro, cap. 22, Stephens, and the passages of authors cited by him.

c De Bello Jud. lib. VII. c. 5. p. 1306, ed. Hudson.

d So Barret in his Alvearie, *Pegma*, "a stage, scaffold, or frame, whereon *pageants* be set and carried:" with which the Bibliotheca Eliotæ agrees; as does Cotgrave in his French and English Dictionary, under the word *Pegmate*, "a stage or frame whereon *Pageants* be set or carried.

e In Ben Jonson's Entertainment of King James I. in passing to his Coronation through the City of London,

The following spellings occur in the different Coventry MSS. that have been consulted:—

pachand.

padgen, padgeant

pagant, pagante, pagantte.

pagen, pagent, pagente, pageand, pageant, pageaunt, pageunt.

pagiant, pagiaunt, pagiand.

pagyn, pagyaunt.

pajant, pajaunte, pajent, pajont.

paygaunt.

In the Ludus Coventriæ, the Vexillators say "in be fyrst pagend," &c.

Coventry has acquired no common degree of celebrity from its Pageants and Religious Mysteries, the public representations of which drew immense multitudes to the City; and even some of our Sovereigns with their chief Nobility, have thought them of sufficient interest to witness the performances, and to make express visits for that purpose. In 1416 Henry V. and his nobles (say our MS. Annals,) took great delight in seeing the Pageants; and in 1456, "On "Corpus Christi yeven at nyght came the quene [Margaret] from Kelyngworth "to Coventre, at which tyme she wold not be met, but came p vely to se the " play there on the morowe, and she sygh then alle the pagentes pleyde save "domes day, which might not be pleyde for lak of day, and she was loged at "Richard Wodes the groc<sup>r</sup>, where Ric: Sharp sometyme dwelled, and there all "the pleys were furst pleyde, and there were with her then these lordes and "ladyes that here followen, that is to sey, the duke of Bukkyngham & my lady "his wyff & all ther children, the lord Revs & my lady hys wyff, the lady of "shrowesbery the elder and the lady of shrowesbery the younger, with other mony "moo lordes & ladyes."—(Leet Book fo. 174.) Richard III. in 1484, came to see

A.D. 1603, a large booth or Pageant was erected at Fen Church, measuring 50 feet in the perpendicular, and the same in the ground line, in which "the scene presented itself like to the side of a city: the top thereof adorned with houses, towers, and steeples, set off in prospective," with the word Londinium upon the battlements.—"In the centre, or midst of the *Pegme*, there was an aback or square, wherein this elogy was written: "Maximus hic rex est, &c. This, and the whole frame, was covered with a curtain of silk, painted like a thick "cloud, and at the approach of the king was instantly to be drawn."

Another example of the use of Pegma will be found in a subsequent extract from an account of the spectacles prepared at Antwerp in 1594, when the Archduke Ernest visited that City.

f Beside the Corpus Christi Plays, many instances occur of Pageants exhibited on occasion of Royal Visits to the City, appropriate to the Personages so received, and of these some account will be found in a subsequent division of the present work.

the Corpus Christi Plays. In 1486 Henry VII. was present at the performance of the Pageants on St. Peter's day, and much commended them; and in 1492 again visited the City with his Queen, to see the Plays acted by the Grey Friers. Before the suppression of the Monasteries, the Grey Friers of Coventry were particularly celebrated for their exhibitions on Corpus Christi day; their Pageants, (saith Dugdale, p. 116, Edit. 1656.) "being acted with mighty State and Reverence by the Friers of this House, had Theaters for the severall Scenes, very large and high, placed upon Wheels, and drawn to all the eminent Parts of the City, for the better Advantage of Spectators: And contain'd the Story of the Old and New Testament, composed in the old English Rithme, as appeareth by an antient MS. (in Bibl. Cotton, Vesp. D. VIII.) intituled Ludus Corporis Christi, or Ludus Coventriæ. I have been told by some old people, who in their younger years were eye-witnesses of these Pageants so acted, that the yearly confluence of people to see that shew was extraordinary great, and yielded no small advantage to this City."

With the dissolution of the Monastery of Grey Friers, it should seem all the records of their celebrated Pageants were lost or destroyed, since the only memorials transmitted to posterity appear to be Sir Wm. Dugdale's account above recited, and the solitary mention in one MS. (not older than the beginning of Cha. I.'s reign) of Henry VIIth's visit to the City in 1492, "to see the Plays acted by the Grey Friers." No doubt can be entertained of the accuracy of Dugdale's statement, because, in addition to his known correctness, he had particular advantages in collecting materials for his History of Coventry and obtaining oral information, arising from a residence of about five years during his education at the Free School there, as well as from the circumstance of his only Sister marrying the Son of Alderman Henry Seawell, of Coventry. It is not equally clear that the Cottonian MS. Vesp. D. VIII. was the particular property of these Grey Friers, or contains a transcript of the Religious plays exhibited by them; but this will better be understood from the following description of that document, and observations upon it. The MS. which appears to have been written about the period of Henry VI. or Edward IV., is a small 4to of 225 leaves, and contains about 28 lines in each page; on the first leaf is written by

g A Frier Minor in Pierce Plowman's Creed, however, is made to say-

<sup>&</sup>quot;We haunten no taverns, ne hobelen about,

<sup>&</sup>quot;At markets and Miracles we meddle us never."

Dr. Smith (Sir Rob. Cotton's Librarian), "Ludus h Coventria sive ludus Corporis Xti:" on the next leaf in a hand of about the time of Queen Eliz. "The plaie called Corpus Christi," and in the printed Catalogue of the Cottonian MSS. published in 1696 by Dr. Smith, it is thus described: "A collection of Plays, in old " English metre: h. e. Dramata sacra, in quibus exhibentur historiæ veteris & N. "Testamenti, introductis quasi in scenam personis illic memoratis, quas secum "invicem colloquentis pro ingenio finget Poeta. Videntur olim coram populo, sive ad instruendum sive ad placendum, à Fratribus mendicantibus repræsentata." The arguments in favour of appropriating this MS. to the Grey Friers of Coventry are as follows:—In 1538 that Monastery was dissolved, and Sir Rob. Cotton, who was born in 1570, commenced the formation of his collection so early as 1588, and died in 1631. Dugdale was born in the year 1605, began to collect materials for his History of Warwickshire about 1630, was introduced to Sir Thos. Cotton and the Cottonian MSS. in 1638, and printed his "Warwickshire" in 1656, wherein, as is seen in the preceding extract, he mentions having conversed with old people who had been eye-witnesses of the Grey Friers Pageants, a circumstance which might have happened between 1615 and 1620, when he was at the Coventry Free School. Sir Robt. Cotton beginning to collect his MSS. 50 years after the dissolution of the Grey Friers, it may reasonably be imagined that on procuring the Corpus Christi Plays, some account of them and their former possessors would be obtained, and hence we may conceive arose their appropriation to Coventry, under the title of "Ludus Coventriæ;" which title they evidently had at the time when Dugdale consulted the MS. and from the known industry of Sir William, his particular connection with Coventry, and his conversations with old persons actual witnesses of the Grey Friars Plays, it may with equal reason be inferred that he would make some enquiries, both at Sir Thomas Cotton's and at Coventry, respecting the identity of so curious a document. Perhaps we ought not to insist upon the account of Queen Margaret's visit to Coventry in 1456 before given, as affording any argument for the identity of the Cottonian MS. and the Coventry Plays, because the pageants then exhibited are

"For as good hap would have it chaunce, This devil and I were of olde acquaintance; For oft, in the play of Corpus Christi, He hath play'd the devil at Coventrie."

h That Coventry was peculiarly celebrated for the Corpus Christi Plays is evident from the following lines in Heywood's old Interlude of the 4 Ps.

i Very incorrectly, since it is a series rather than a Collection: but this error is amended in the new Catalogue.

not expressly said to be performed by the Grey Friars, and "domesday" being the usual concluding portion of the Corpus Christi Plays, which were by no means peculiar to Coventry. Against the foregoing hypothesis, it has been objected that the conclusion of the prologue—

- "A Sunday next yf bt we may
- "At VI of be belle we gynne our play
- "In N. town wherfor we pray
- "That God now be your spede. Amen."

indicates a series of plays for exhibition at Corpus Christi festival generally, rather than expressly for Coventry, N. (nomen) being the usual mode of distinguishing a person or place under such circumstances, as N. stands in the marriage ceremony unto this day: and that at all events if the Plays in question were performed at Coventry, they were not peculiar to that place. It is also objected that Dr. Smith was not very accurate in his conception and description of various MSS.; and lastly that there is great reason to believe the MS. alluded to came from Durham and not from Coventry.

Such is the state of the question, after considerable pains taken to investigate the subject, and the reader must draw his own conclusion as to the probability of these Plays being really the "Ludus Coventriæ," and appertaining to the Grey Friers: for they certainly were no part of the Plays or Pageants exhibited by the Trading Companies of the City. It may be here observed that the exhibition of these Religious Mysteries at Corpus Christi season was very general throughout the kingdom in Cities and Towns, both by the Monks 1 and the Laity

k Stowe relates, that in 1409, there was a play at Skinners Hall, which lasted eight days; the subject was the Scriptures from the Creation of the World. Weever also says that he had seen Corpus Christi Plays acted at Preston, Lancaster, and Kendal. Fun. Mon. 405.

They were performed at Dublin (see Gent, Mag. Feb. 1804,) at Chester, York, and other places.

I There can be little doubt of the fact that the Mysteries originated with the ecclesiastics, and for a time were performed exclusively by them: such amongst other instances was the case with the play of St. Catherine at Dunstable in the 11th century, which was exhibited by the Novices of that Priory, under the superintendence of a Parisian Monk; and in France a similar practice prevailed. Indeed, the illiterate condition of the laity in general, rendered this at first almost a measure of necessity; but there is reason to believe that in the Religious Pageants afterwards exhibited by the trading companies, the performers were laymen, as was certainly the case at Coventry. The regulations of Card. Wolsey for the Canons Regular of St. Austin in 1519, forbid the members to be "lusores aut mimici," though this is understood to mean only that they were not to exercise these arts abroad for secular or mercenary views: but Bonner in 1542 issued a proclamation to the Clergy, prohibiting "all manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, "chapels, &c." and in 1589 an injunction, made in the Mexican Council, was ratified at Rome, which prohibited

—that in their composition they greatly resemble each other, and if not abstracted from the French Mysteries (as some have supposed) with such additions and variations as is usual on such occasions, certainly are much like them, as a comparison with several existing in a printed form will shew.

Whatever may be left for conjecture respecting the Grey Friers' Pageants, abundance of evidence remains as to the Plays and Pageants exhibited by the Companies in Coventry preserved in the ancient Leet Book, and the Books of Accounts, Records, &c. of the several companies from which the following account (with the exception of the first item) is derived:—

Anno 1416,m 4 Hen. V.—" The Pageants and Hox tuesday invented, wherein the "King and Nobles took great delight.

MS. Annals.

1428.--" Hit is to have in mynde that at a lete holden atte fest sevnt Mich? the ger off kyng her? the sixt the vij the smythes of Coventre put up a bille followeng in thes wordes. To you full wurshipfull Meir Recordour Bayles & to all your discrete counsell shewen to you the crafte of Smythes how thei were discharged of the cotelers pachand be alete in the tyme of John Gote then meire [1414] & guytances made be twene the forseid craftes eder to oder lik as hit is well knowen & redy for to shewe and nowe late Giles Allesley in his office of meyralte [1426] preved the forseid craft of Smythes to take the govñaunce of the seid pachand as for And the seid craft did hit wilfully to his his tyme & no forther. plesaunce for the whiche cause the forseid pachand is yete put to the forseid craft, & thei han no mañ of dute to tak hit to hem Whyche thei beseche that ye of your grete goodnes discharge the forseid craft of Smythes of the pachand atte revence of God & of Truthe and orden hit elles where ye ben better avised be your good discression.

"The whiche bull be the avise of all the wurthy of the seid lete and all oder upon the same lete beeng was onswered & endosed in this wise. Hit is ordered that the Smythes shull ocupie the seid packand for the  $e^{\nabla}y$  yere apon the payne of  $x^{h}$  to be payed at  $e^{\nabla}y$  defaute to the use of the chambur."

Let Book, fo. 45, b.

all clerks from playing in the Mysteries on Corpus Christi day.—Warton says, that the choristers or elemosinary boys of Maxstoke Priory acted a play every year.

m This date must be erroneous; the Drapers' Company having a Pageant House as early as 1392, in which year a tenement in Little Park street is in the Cartulary of St. Mary's, fo. 85, b. described to be situated "int' ten' Pior' & Con, tus ex p'te una & domu' p' le payent pannar' Coventre ex alt'a."

- 1434.—" The orden that the Sadelers and the peyntours of the City off Coventre be fire this tyme florward contrebetory unto pe paient [pageant] off the Cardemakers and that pey paye as the Cardemakers don yerly uppon peyne of C. to be payd to pe use off pe chamburlens." Leet Book.
- 1435.—"Thei will pt the carpyn's be associate unto pt Tilers & pynns to maynten ht pagent and ht lyvey pt now is & that the maiot call the substance of the Crafte of Carpyn's and sett hem to gept as one felawshipe. idem.
- 1440n.—"Ordinatũ est quod Robertus Gñe & omies alii qui ludunt in festo Corporis xpi bene & sufficient ludant ita quod nulla impedico fiat in aliquo Joco sub pe xxs cujust deficient ad usus mur levandum per majorem & Camar: &c."

  idem.
- 1443.—Cardmakers, Sadlers, Masons, and Painters, to be one Company as heretofore, and mutually to contribute to their Pageant. idem.
- 1459.—"Also hit is ordeyned bt evy Craft bt hath pagant to pley in, that be pagant be made redy & brought furth to pley uppon be peyn of C. to be reased of iiij maisters of the Crafts bt so offend."

  idem.
- 1476.—" Hit is ordened at this psent leete that  $e^{\circ}y$  Crafte w<sup>t</sup> in this Cite com w<sup>t</sup> their pageaunts according as hit haith byn of olde tyme and to com w<sup>t</sup> their pressions & Ridyngs also when the byn required by the Meir for the worship of the Cite in peyne of x<sup>11</sup> at  $e^{\circ}y$  defalt.

  idem.
- 1490 "This year was the play of St. Katherine in the little Park." MS. Annals.
- 1492.—" Also hit is ordeyned bt be Chaundelers & Cooks of bis Cite shall be confutured to be Smythes of bis Cite & to pay zerely towards be charge of ther pste & pageant evy Chaundeler & Cooke ijs."

  Leet Book.
- 1494.—An order of Leet, the preamble of which states that all should contribute their due share towards the public expences of the City—recites, that divers charges for Pageants, &c. to the worship of the same have been borne by sundry Crafts which, at the commencement of such charges, were more wealthy and more in number than they now are; that several Crafts are not so charged, viz. Dyers, Skinners, Fishmongers, Cappers, Corvysers, Butchers, and others. It is therefore ordained that the Mayor and 8 of his councel shall have authority to join all such Crafts to those that are overburthened with the said Pageants, with power to levy penalties in case of refusal.

n Query, does this order relate to servants of the Corporation? and if so, does it show that they exhibited Pageants at Corpus Christi, or is it only connected with the Procession on that day?