

2019-02-08

Performing Jacobean Business: Expectations, Identity and Ethics

Edge, Nicole V.

Edge, N. V. (2019). Performing Jacobean Business: Expectations, Identity and Ethics (Doctoral thesis, University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada). Retrieved from <https://prism.ucalgary.ca>.
<http://hdl.handle.net/1880/109899>

Downloaded from PRISM Repository, University of Calgary

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Performing Jacobean Business: Expectations, Identity and Ethics

by

Nicole V. Edge

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN ENGLISH

CALGARY, ALBERTA

FEBRUARY, 2019

© Nicole V. Edge 2019

Abstract

A gap persists in understanding how norms of business conduct and behaviours have developed to the point where end-results are valued above duty of care to others. Profitable outcomes are used to justify failures to uphold virtues such as honesty, integrity and compassion for others. The ramifications of continuing to foster these business habits reach well beyond worldwide financial crises and economic disruption – they affect how we live together and our capacity to sustain a healthy environment for all. My search for genealogical traces of the “ethics problem” in contemporary business practices led to the early modern period, a time that predates England’s formal financial institutions, stock exchanges and state-driven economic policies. This dissertation investigates two forms of Jacobean performance, the annual Lord Mayor’s Show in the City of London and commercial plays staged contemporaneously, as evidence of shared ideas and beliefs that shaped business identity, accepted standards of conduct and market development. My research is structured as three case study pairings of a civic show and a commercial play. The first case brings together Anthony Munday’s show *Chruso-thriambos* (1611) and Thomas Middleton’s play *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (c. 1611-1613) to focus on creditors and money-makers linked to the Goldsmiths’ Company. The second looks to aspiring leaders and entrepreneurs through an analysis of the Merchant Taylors’ Company sponsored show *Monuments of Honor* (1624), written by John Webster, and Ben Jonson’s *The Staple of News* (1626). The third study examines global ventures through Thomas Middleton’s *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* (1617) prepared for the Grocers’ Company and John Fletcher’s *The Island Princess* (c. 1619 – 1621). The juxtaposition of two forms of theatrical performance, with seemingly different motivations and perspectives, reveals normative ideas about how

business agents were expected to act and how successful performance as a business agent was recognized and measured. Performances centred on business stories demonstrate that by the Jacobean period there was already an established and naturalized expectation that business agents would prioritize teleological – end result, outcome-oriented – goals above pursuit of virtuous ideals or fulfilment of duty to other agents. Success was measured by an accumulation of signs of material wealth that was accepted as indicator of an inherent worth deserving of social recognition.

Acknowledgements

This project would not have happened without the inspiration of some truly amazing women who gave me the courage to try, the support to do better and the encouragement to pick myself up and get back on track when I wandered on my journey.

I am most privileged to be guided by my supervisor Dr Susan Bennett who by example has taught me so much about being an impeccable scholar, what it truly means to serve as a professional with integrity, and how to keep a sense of humour in the thick of things. Dr Mary Polito first opened the gate and helped me realize this path was possible to take while raising a family. She then showed me how vital it is to treat fellow travellers with kindness and generosity. My sincere thanks and appreciation to members of my committee Dr Jim Ellis, Dr Jacqueline Jenkins, Dr Joy Palacios, and Dr MJ Kidnie who shared their expert ideas and left me with the hope I could still do more. I am grateful for their labour given in midst of juggling demands of full workloads and the needs of their families and loved ones.

I have been blessed to encounter and exchange ideas with fellow graduates and faculty who have encouraged me to try harder, learn more, and see differently. My most heartfelt thanks to Dr Lourdes Arciniega for her unwavering support and good advice when I tired.

I gratefully acknowledge the resources gifted through scholarship funds and research awards granted by the University of Calgary and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada's Joseph-Armand Bompardier Doctoral Scholarship which all came at critical times.

Thank-you.

Dedication

To my family – Dan, Jessica, Caytlin, Erik – who surrounded me with love, withstood the storms, and tolerated years of books cluttering our lives and being dragged along to hockey arenas, ball diamonds, lake lots and farm trips. You matter most to me and your support has been invaluable in this journey. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
Acknowledgements.....	4
Dedication	5
Table of Contents.....	6
List of Figures	7
Introduction	1
Chapter One: “What is’t you Lack?”: Performing the Goldsmith	38
Too Big to Fail: A History of Performing Identity as Unimpeachable Goldsmiths.....	41
Munday’s <i>Chruso-thriambos</i> : An Act of Public Relations Management for the Goldsmiths’ Brand.....	55
Middleton’s A Chaste Maid in Cheapside: Business Ethics Performed in Place.....	76
Chapter Two: Inter-Generational Industry: Monuments of the Past Framing the Future	107
England’s Seventeenth Century Economic Crisis: The Effect upon Agents’ Expectations	111
Turning Back Time to Past <i>Monuments of Honor</i> : Webster’s Guides to an Imagined Better Future.....	122
‘Give Light to the Business’ in Jonson’s <i>The Staple of News</i>	144
Chapter Three: The Global Trader Imagined	177
The Grocers’ Identity as Traders in Foreign and Exotic Good-Life Signs	182
“Doing” and “Acting” Produces the Good Life: The Promise of Fletcher’s Venturer Hero....	222
Conclusion	242
Works Cited	251

List of Figures

Figure 1: “The pageant of the King of the Moors” (Reproduced by kind permission of Princeton University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections).....	47
Figure 2: “Earliest surviving copy of the Goldsmiths’ Company Charter recorded in the Court Minute Books, 1349.” (Reproduced by kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)	55
Figure 3: Company crest inset into “Ground Plan of the second hall, watercolor on parchment 1692” (Reproduced by kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)	68
Figure 4: The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, “Coat of Arms.” (Reproduced by kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)	69
Figure 5: Gilded figure of “St Dunstant.” (Reproduced by kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)	71
Figure 6: Title page to Thomas Middleton’s play A Chaste Maid in Cheapside. (Source Boston Public Library)	77
Figure 7: Illustration of a Goldsmith’s shop 1641. (Source Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staatsund Universitätsbibliothek Dresden)	83
Figure 8: Edward III’s noble coin. (Source The British Museum).....	135
Figure 9: Merchant Taylors’ Company crest with motto “By unity the smallest things now grow great.”	136
Figure 10: “Habit of an English Lady of Quality in 1640.” (Source The New York Public Library Digital Collections)	146

Figure 11: “Habit of a Citizen’s Wife of London in 1640.” (Source The New York Public Library Digital Collections).	146
Figure 12: “The Prosecutor’s Study.” (Source Folger Shakespeare Library)	154
Figure 13: The Grocers’ Company crest (2016) (Reproduced by kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Grocers’).	183
Figure 14: Illustration of Barbary corsairs. (Source The Bridgeman Art Library).	184
Figure 15: Illustration of Muscovy Trader. (Source Bodleian Libraries)	185
Figure 16: Lord Mayor’s Show Grocers’ procession 2005 (redacted)	186
Figure 17: Lord Mayor’s Show Grocer’s Procession 2017 (Reproduced by kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Grocers)	186
Figure 18: Merchant Taylors’ Company records of 1607 (Source Guildhall Library, City of London).	192
Figure 19: Illustration of pepper harvesting from <i>Le Livre des Merveilles du Monde</i> (Source Gallica Library)	217
Figure 20: Pamphlet of <i>A True Relation of the Unjust Cruel, and Barbarous Proceedings</i> (Source The British Library).	220

Introduction

Numbers in business tell a story – about how well or poorly an organization performed, what happened in the past, what was expended versus what was accumulated, what was shared and what was hoarded.¹ Whether the narrative of a company's public financial reporting deals in facts or fiction (what some might name "fake news") is hard to determine even for business "experts." Often the narrative is accepted because it is assumed that someone else ensured that the business was indeed telling the truth. This assumption fits a user's need to rely on information, on hard data, to feel more secure in their decision to act in future – to invest, to transact, to make money. Too often it is later discovered that the "factual" story was pure fiction, that no one made the difficult choice to call the bluff or blow the whistle on the business lie.

Early modern performances that revolved around the subject of business agents and their behaviour in the market expose the centuries-old problem of agents who regularly failed to act with integrity and honesty, to engage in fair dealings with others, or to fulfill broader social responsibilities and obligations in their business transactions. Throughout this study I use the term "business agents" in consideration of Bruno Latour's actor-network-theory² whereby actors or actants, both people and objects, constitute networks via their associations and their

¹ Mary Poovey in her investigation of the "modern fact" examines the ways that "numbers have come to epitomize the modern fact, because they have come to seem preinterpretive or even somehow noninterpretive at the same time that they have become the bedrock of systematic knowledge" (xii).

² See Bruno Latour *Reassembling the Social*, specifically the section "Third Source of Uncertainty: Objects too Have Agency" (pp. 63-79). Latour explains Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as "a method" (142), and one that "means that whenever you wish to define an entity (an agent, an actant, an actor) you have to deploy its attributes, that is, its network" ("Networks, Societies" 2010 p. 5). The basis of this theory is that "an actor is nothing but a network, except that a network is nothing but actors... network is the concept that helps you redistribute and reallocate action" ("Networks, Societies" 2010 p. 5).

involvement in ongoing processes of translation and transformation. (Other potential terms for business agents have been cast aside because of the static, narrow, exclusive or prescriptive connotations of gender, class, politics or economic theory that are often fixed to those terms, such as businessmen or the bourgeoisie.) The term “agents” captures the essence of agency and dynamic connections between various actants, while “business” flags my desire to concentrate on the market or commercial aspects of connections and associations.

In response to business agents who have contravened public mores and expectations of ethical conduct – for it is always individuals who make the decisions to act, not some amorphous corporation – ever stricter regulatory and legal measures have been repeatedly deployed, particularly in Anglo-American networks (growing from usury laws and limitations on number of corporations, to the stringently enforced, costly and ever more detailed public company reporting requirements). While struck in hopes of compelling business owners and governing bodies to be more accountable in their dealings and to implement more administrative controls to deter fraud, these attempts to curtail unethical business behaviour have failed to slow the volume or magnitude of business fictions and lies that recurrently spew forth as truths. The ongoing challenge of activating processes and systems to align with community needs for trustworthy decision-making is of particular concern to me as a Chartered Accountant and an Assistant Professor in the Bissett School of Business at Mount Royal University. My role is to prepare the next generation for business careers and management roles via the accounting and senior level audit classes I teach. A recent event highlights why I believe ethical priorities in business must be addressed and why I feel the problem needs to be tackled from a broader interdisciplinary perspective. In the winter 2017 semester I caught 7 out

of a class of 35 business students (20%) cheating in my audit class (a finding that was upheld by university administration). What makes this event more deeply unsettling and ironic is that this class is intended to teach the skills needed to discover cheating and fraud in business. I had been assigned to teach this course because of my years of training in evidence analysis and auditing. Students were both warned upfront about the ramifications (they signed a code of conduct in the first week) and knew of my expertise, yet still they persisted. The students' decision can be compared to that of managers in business corporations who both understand the regulatory requirements they are expected to follow and know the audit processes used to test their compliance, yet still choose to issue fraudulent reports. The students who cheated demonstrated that rules and regulations were ineffective in deterring cheating and that the pull of the desire to achieve a measurable outcome – a higher grade point average – outweighed a sense of obligation to their learning community to conduct themselves with integrity and to respect the value of others' work. More worryingly, this event is not a one-off situation as research about business student cheating rates has regularly highlighted this problem. It is also a well-known fact amongst my teaching peers at other post-secondary institutions that maintaining the integrity of audit cases is particularly challenging. This mindset of privileging outcome over integrity of process mirrors that of the business world where the bottom-line continues to be a primary focus – even after the record-breaking bankruptcies of Enron (2001) and WorldCom (2002), and just a short few years later, that of the Lehman Brothers global investment bank in connection with the 2008-9 financial market collapse – brought to light systemic ethical issues in business. Canada, too, has demonstrated it is no safe haven from corporate fraud: a list of ethical failures includes Bre-X, Sino-Forest, Livent, Cinar, Valeant and

SNC Lavalin. From first-hand experience, I can confirm there has been no significant adjustment made in the models and measurements used to evaluate business performance in the years and months since these companies – many of them which had been formerly held up as models of business success – were charged with fraud and/ or collapsed into bankruptcy. Cheating in business and business schools is commonplace and regularly rationalized as necessary to achieve ambitions.

Until a more comprehensive understanding is reached of how “bad” business behaviour came to be expected and even tolerated, how it came to be rationalized as acceptable by individuals who make decisions to act according to ethical priorities firmly linked to teleological outcomes, there is little hope of rectifying the problem. Cultural products, such as theatrical performances, provide opportunities to take a fresh look at how the norms of business behaviour and identity are constructed and disseminated. The storytelling they perform shapes how business agents see themselves and judge others’ actions; the tales of past business performances (in both the theatrical and accounting senses of the word) serve as lessons for future practices. This dissertation investigates what kinds of lessons were produced and reiterated in England, and more specifically London, in the first quarter of the seventeenth-century. The early modern period, a time when commercial global ventures became integral to European market expansion and new financial and investment practices enabled the volume and scope of business to expand, is a promising place to begin investigation of when – and, more importantly, why – things began to go so incredibly wrong.

To structure my analysis of representations of business agents and how their ethical priorities were exhibited in performance, I use John Boatright’s categorization in *Ethics and the*

Conduct of Business (a text used in business school to teach business ethics cases).³ Boatright sorts business ethics into three main categories: (1) teleological ethics, where “the rightness of actions is determined solely by the good consequence they produce,” or more simply, where end results justify actions taken (52); (2) deontological ethics, which instead applies “nonconsequentialist reasoning” and determines that “we have a duty [or obligation] to perform certain acts” because of their “very nature, regardless of the consequences” (52); and (3) virtue ethics which “asks instead what kind of person should we be? [and emphasizes] [m]oral character rather than right action” (58). The two questions driving this project were how has it come to be expected and viewed as normal behaviour that business agents’ choices are guided by teleological ethics, and how has the prioritization of material business outcomes become both acceptable and highly desirable? If judged in terms of its potential for commercial development, my dissertation, with its focus on analyzing the behaviours of early modern business agents and their ethical priorities, might seem to hold out little promise of future profit. Yet those who ask me, as a chartered accountant pursuing a PhD in English, to justify the relevance of the work in business terms forget (or choose to ignore) the burdensome cost of moral failures in business. If pressed, most would agree that failures to prioritize virtuous behaviour (to speak the truth, to deal with other people with honour and integrity) result in a breakdown of trust and higher costs. Few would argue that recent history shows how individuals have suffered devastating losses (such as those with pensions tied up in Enron stock) or would attempt to deny that the widespread and continuing impact of the 2008 financial

³ See also Ferrell, Fraedrich and Ferrell’s *Business Ethics* text which also describes these categories as “Individual Factors: Moral Philosophies and Values” (pp. 144 – 171).

crisis has diminished many people's quality of life, particularly those most vulnerable and hardest hit by austerity measures and higher unemployment rates. Anxiety about when, not if, the next financial crisis might occur is regularly expressed in market analyses. Perceptions of immoral business choices lie at the root of this endemic anxiety. Ethical conflict is a systemic, boundary-crossing problem that affects ordinary lives.

The broad context of all-too-common occurrences of fraud and deceitful reporting provides a compelling reason to persist in questioning why there is this widespread tolerance of and a blind-eye-turning to dishonest business behaviour. Violation of moral codes, lack of caring for communities and for the broader global network, as well as failure to harmoniously manage the earth's resources, are all part of the ordinariness of accepted, everyday business practices. The motivation for my turn to Jacobean performance was to uncover evidence of when and how "bad" behaviour in business came to be accepted as the norm. There is a three-fold reason to direct the search to this particular period. First is the fact that Anglo-American business practices are the standard globally and continue to influence financial and market developments around the world. Investigating the origins of these practices led me to the seventeenth century which marked the turning point for Britain's participation in Europe's global business expansion and its concerted effort to develop what would eventually become the British empire. Royally sanctioned corporations were established to serve as formal mechanisms to expand England's business network and territories and the legally-upheld corporate structure remains central to business organization. The associated profit and power gains expected from expansion efforts were pursued to enhance the country's and its agents' competitive position and security. Although many of the business practices that English agents

deployed were adoptions and adaptations of other European initiatives, particularly that of the Dutch traders and Iberian explorers who were frontrunners in global expansion, England ultimately came to dominate world trade and financial markets. The genealogical roots of today's business practices can be traced to this era. The second impetus for my turn to this historical period is that much of its business development arose during the time of a significant economic crisis which had a profound and pervasive effect on everyday business, not least because England's leading and centuries-old cloth industry was damaged beyond recovery. The parallels that can be drawn between this crisis and the financial market meltdown in 2008, particularly in terms of widespread and long-lasting effects, present a distinctive opportunity to research the elements of business practice that generate cycles of crisis and forced reaction. My third reason to examine this period is that the issues Jacobean agents grappled with remain pertinent to current real-world problems. Thus, studying this period serves as a useful means of forming and evaluating alternative responses to present challenges. The early modern period, which has been variously understood as being on the cusp of "financial revolution"⁴ and a period of "industrious revolution,"⁵ mirrors current socio-economic conditions including tensions between traditional and new industries and nostalgia for now-romanticized business traditions (such as the self-made man of the American Dream and nationalist principles of the "Make America Great Again" idea which has led to relapses to former trade protectionist policies, tariffs and immigration restrictions); socio-economic disruptions due to natural

⁴ See Carl Wennerlind "Introduction" (pp. 7-9). He claims, "what mattered most to the Financial Revolution was the development of new ways of seeing and understanding money and credit" (7). Wennerlind applies the term to the period 1620 to 1720 and asserts that "the Financial Revolution was first and foremost an economic, political, and social transformation centering on England, and more precisely, London" (8).

⁵ See Jan De Vries *The Industrious Revolution*.

disasters, health scares and pandemics, violence and continuing threat of war (creating uncertainty about future security and quality of life); and a compulsion to expand and compete for global business so as to obtain and control additional resources to achieve fantasies of living that Lauren Berlant has described as the “good life” (2).

Berlant defines the fantasy of the “good life” as “that moral-intimate-economic thing” which is based on a future-focused “optimism” (2). In whatever form that a “good life” fantasy is constructed, Berlant asserts that “the *affective structure* of an optimistic attachment involves a sustaining inclination to return to the scene of the fantasy that enables you to expect that *this* time, nearness to *this* thing will help you or a world to become different in just the right way” (emphasis original 2). I take up Berlant’s theory to delve further into what motivated Jacobean agents to take on the risk of developing new enterprises and embarking on global expansion. The attachment to a promise of attaining the good life, however individuals might intimately conceive of what that means for them (for instance, wealth, security, and/or political and social equality), provides an incitement to behave with what Berlant terms “cruel optimism” (27). As she explains, “optimism [about the future] is cruel when the object/scene that ignites a sense of possibility actually makes it impossible to attain the expansive transformation for which a person or a people risks striving” (2). In the mindset of Jacobean business agents, represented in the performances studied here, the sense of caution that might otherwise have held them back from pursuing high-risk business activities (such as attempts to discover new lands or embark on untried enterprises to develop new markets) is overridden by the fantasy of reward. The “attachments to what counts as life” are “powerful” motivators and drivers of individual choice, even when “they work against the flourishing of particular and collective beings”

(Berlant 13). I argue that signs of business agents' attachment to material, external markers for achievement of this good life are highly visible in Jacobean theatrical performances and that these socio-cultural expressions are performative in their effect as they partake in the social process of reiterative business norm-making.

This idea of performativity is taken, of course, from Judith Butler who emphasizes that the invention of norms is an ongoing process, one that sees them being continuously elaborated and "adapted for new purposes" ("Performative Agency" 154). Yet Butler also points out that even the adaptation of existing norms to new circumstances, such as new technologies or markets, "depends on the inventiveness by which they are produced time and again" ("Performative Agency" 154). Repetition and reiteration are core to sustainable translation of norms across time and place for "performativity never fully achieves its effect... its failure is what necessitates its *reiterative temporality*" (emphasis original 153). Thus, the potential exists that refusal to repeat and reiterate may lead to failure to transfer and repeat norms.

Understanding the continuities of business norms across time is a first step in thinking about what potential exists for change. Today's behavioural norms defining who is, or has the potential to be, a successful business agent – one who stands out amongst all those involved in the course of everyday exchanges that are embedded within business networks – can be traced to this "pre-capitalist" period. My use of the terms "pre-capitalist" or "proto-capitalist" reflects the fact that formal financial institutions such as the Bank of England (founded in 1694) and the London stock exchange (only formalized upon the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange in 1669) were not yet in place in England. But a distinction between capitalist form and infrastructure

and the business agents' mindset and behavioural practices needs to be made. These descriptors are not used to imply that in this period there was a shift in terms of typical business agents' thinking and the moral philosophies that guided their decision-making. A primary advantage of investigating Jacobean England to gain insight into how ethical priorities are applied in business is the fact this period was less formal in terms of business infrastructure and transaction methods, and simpler in its organizational structures and management layering. The clearer link between agent and business act offers a promising starting point to investigate the behavioural norms in business practice that have led to neoliberal capitalism.

One of my early realizations in undertaking this research was that a core assumption about England's development into its current capitalist state has not been sufficiently or consistently challenged. A long-standing assumption is that there had been a shift in agents' behaviour that had led Anglo-American networks to develop into full-blown free market capitalism (what Yann Moulier-Boutang has articulated as the transition from "mercantilist capitalism" to "industrial capitalism" [9]). I had expected to find evidence of significantly different ethical priorities in cultural productions of the Jacobean period since this point in England's history has been regularly appointed as precapitalist, carrying the implication of a more community-minded network. It surprised me to discover that, as Craig Muldrew has matter-of-factly observed,

the language of utilitarian motivation has so dominated the way markets have been discussed that it has been assumed that the social phenomenon of marketing gave rise to the dominance of buying and selling purely for profit, which in turn elevated self-

interest over communal duties and obligations. *In fact, no historian has proved that this was so.* (emphasis added, “Interpreting the Market” 168)

In pursuing this project, which began as an effort to trace the genealogy of capitalism and the privileging of self-interested teleological outcomes in business decision-making, the dearth of evidence to back assumptions of a clear shift in business ethics in market practices forced me to rethink my hypothesis. I decided, therefore, to consider carefully what was actually known about ordinary business behaviours in the early modern period. To do so I looked at what theatrical performances, treatises and other texts (such as parliamentary reports) indicated about “on-the-ground” business conduct and practices. This material offered striking similarities between business agents’ mindsets then and my first-hand experiences of business practices today. The expectation that measurable outcomes were the primary determinant of agents’ behaviours, that material results took precedence over honesty and integrity or a sense of duty to other agents in the collective, was already well-entrenched in Jacobean culture. The presumption of this self-interested behaviour and conduct, which aligns with the code that David Hawkes describes as “capitalist morality” (*Shakespeare and Economic Theory* 42), led me to question the received sense that “capitalist” business ideas and ideologies emerged during the early modern period.

By rejecting the assumption of a new “emergence” of business ideas and ideologies, instead of searching for illusive evidence of a new and different ethics driving business choices, I was able to more critically examine what the theatrical evidence revealed. Instead of signs of change, I found continuities and repetitions in the business practices presented across various

forms and instances of Jacobean cultural expression.⁶ Theatrical performances had a performative effect in constituting business agents' identity. Repetition and similarities in how business agents were portrayed in various performances influenced how business agents conducted themselves and carried out their everyday activities. The performances I examine demonstrate that teleological business decisions and acts were expected rather than shockingly new forms of conduct. The continuities across theatrical performances, particularly in the expectations held of business agents, suggest that the genealogy of current business practice stretches back to a "time out of memory of man" (Wood 95). The consistency in representation of business agents in these performances reveals that beliefs about normative business identity arose from and were perpetuated by the larger collective memory rather than existing in a separate business sphere or network node. Indeed, the approach taken in this dissertation, where I examine the representation of business agents in both civic and commercial performance in order to assess normative expectations for business conduct, could be usefully applied to even earlier works such as morality plays, mystery cycles, and royal processions.

My dissertation is structured via three case studies, each pairing a civic show with a commercial play in order to survey a range of contemporary perspectives about business and the people who identified themselves as active business agents. The purpose of these pairings

⁶ Judith Bennett, in *History Matters*, takes the practice of setting hard-line time periods to task and advocates for the "long view" (4) when considering normative behaviours (in her women's and gender history research the norm that becomes evident is the "patriarchal equilibrium" that presents itself when taking a long view of history). Mary Poovey (*A History of the Modern Fact*) also "resist[s] any historical account that privileges ruptures" and "rejects the claim... that history reveals the unfolding of a single 'logic' (the logic of capital, the logic of the liberal state)" (17). Poovey refers to Bruno Latour's book *We Have Never Been Modern* [1993] as a work that she affiliates with, for as she points out in that text "Latour also rejects the historical model that privileges rupture in favor of what he calls a 'sociology of criticism,' which seeks to understand why historians (and historical agents) have *needed* a narrative of novelty and absolute breaks" (19).

is to examine how select types of business agents were buffeted by changing economic pressures and forced to defend their traditional roles and/or driven to find ways to adapt and/or find alternative ways to earn a living. It is in moments of duress that agents are pressed to make hard decisions about their priorities, revealing the ethics that guided their acts. The pivotal connection between the plays and the civic shows selected for this project can be found in their corresponding business “characters” – the goldsmith professional, the aspiring leader and business entrepreneur, and the global venturer. In the first case I bring Anthony Munday’s 1611 Lord Mayor’s Show *Chruso-thriambos* together with Thomas Middleton’s *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (c.1611 - 1613) to consider how a goldsmith’s identity was typically constructed as well as the impact that early signs of an eroding market had in shaping how members of the Goldsmiths’ Company performed their market role. The second case study which juxtaposes John Webster’s Lord Mayor’s Show *Monuments of Honor* (1624) and Ben Jonson’s *Staple of News* (c. 1626) focuses on ideas of leadership, succession planning and business innovation. This pairing exposes the anxiety and sense of urgency behind arguments that change was needed to address the decay of trade in England. Bringing performances side-by-side provides insight into collectively held ideas about what made a good English leader and offers a view of the kinds of experimentation at play as agents tried to imagine alternative business enterprises and ways of securing the next generation’s future. Analysis in this chapter also provides a clear sense of a collective emotional and cognitive attachment to England’s sea-faring heritage and the growing belief that pursuit of overseas ventures was the prime means to recover the common weal’s stability and prosperity. The final set of performances, Thomas Middleton’s 1617 Lord Mayor’s Show, *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry*, and John Fletcher’s *The Island*

Princess (c. 1619-21), highlights the fact that overseas venturing and expansion into global trade was accepted as a top strategic priority for English agents who sought to realize their aspirations for the good life. These two performances reveal widespread interest in building up England's global presence and participation in overseas trade – strong hints of an aspiration to build a British empire that was to evolve into a clearer vision towards the end of the seventeenth century. Alongside this growing commitment to global enterprise, the performances also serve as evidence of a keen affinity to the idea that material signs of value were the primary means of judging the success of new overseas ventures and of benchmarking England's progress in relation to its competitors, mainly its Dutch and Spanish rivals.

The hybrid methodology used in this study involves applying ideas from a range of theories concerned with economics, affect and identity to my examination of theatrical performances during James I's reign.⁷ I have drawn on economic theory, particularly behavioural economics, economic sociology and what Jens Beckert calls "future imaginings" as driver in a "theory of capitalist dynamics" (9), to attend to my predisposition to filter performances through an assumption of rational self-interest (a foundational premise of capitalism and one that is commonly engrained in business schools' teaching). Mainstream economic thinking⁸ is still largely grounded in rational expectations theory: the belief that

⁷ The second case study takes up Jonson's play, *Staple of News*, which is performed in 1626, the year after James I death in 1625. Scholars have argued that the play reflects much of the thinking that an earlier Jonson masque, *News from a New World Discovered in the Moon*, argued in 1620. On these grounds, I believe the selection of this play and broad reference to the timeframe selected for the project as "Jacobean" is defensible.

⁸ Bo Sandelin et al, in *A Short History History of Economic Thought* point out that "[a]t present, a large majority of economists holds the belief that utility maximization [rational actor] and market equilibrium [efficient market] are key concepts of analysis", and "neoclassical principles of rational economic behaviour have been so universally applied that there has been talk about 'economic imperialism'" (103). See also André Orléan *Empire of Value*. He makes the assertion: "No matter that economists now find it convenient to distance themselves from the neoclassical assumption of efficient financial markets, the theoretical framework that organizes their thinking and their teaching remains unchanged. It has been kept in place exactly as it was" (2).

“presupposes agents’ ability to calculate outcomes at least probabilistically, and posits that actors will choose the alternative that maximizes their welfare” (Beckert 75) and the efficient market hypothesis where the market corrects itself, is “self-regulating” and moves toward an “equilibrium” that reflects “the best possible prediction of an asset’s future [intrinsic] value” based on “full information and unbridled competition” (Beckert 40, 144-45). Although widely adopted,⁹ these theories, as Beckert notes, “have been criticized [by economists] on many grounds,” including their poor “track record for correct predictions” and failure to reflect business agents’ actual behaviour (41). The failure of economic models to accurately predict and explain agents’ business actions led me to further investigate recent scholarship on the question of how agents select their market actions. Beckert’s ideas about how economic actors “make decisions based on their imaginaries of what the future will look like” (14) and his argument that these actors’ “fictional expectations,” where “they create a world of their own into which actors can project themselves” (10) proved instrumental in redirecting my research toward the motives behind business habits and patterns that I saw repeated across different forms of Jacobean performances. Once self-interested accumulation of material goods and property is rejected as the exclusive driver behind a rising bourgeois social class,¹⁰ it becomes possible to re-ask the question of what did drive agents to select a course of business action. By letting go of the need to confirm a major shift in business conduct in the early seventeenth

⁹ Beckert recounts how “[t]he theory that financial markets are efficient has informed policy reform for financial markets since the 1980s” (145). See also Orléan *Empire of Value*.

¹⁰ The assumption of rational, self-interested profit motivation leaves unanswered the reasons behind the frequently irrational choices made by ordinary characters who seem unaware that self-interest should be their guide. Beckert includes himself amongst the group of critics of a “sociological tradition, whose critiques [of rational actor theory] are based in the fact that some decisions in the economy are ‘nonrational’; that is, based on habit and routines, inconsistent, or normatively oriented toward goals other than maximization of utility or profit” (8).

century, I was able to focus on how business identity was constructed through repetition and reiteration. While accounting records such as those kept by London livery companies, suggested patterns of action that hinted at the underlying social exchanges built into business transactions, a far more readily accessible repository of evidence on the social nature of business exchange is found in the texts of theatrical performances (both the souvenir publications of the Lord Mayor's Shows and the published plays). These same records also demonstrate the networked relationship of business and social activities or, what Beckert refers to as the "embeddedness of economic action" where "economic outcomes can only be explained with reference to social life – its structure, institutions and culture – and the way it shapes opportunity structures and actors' beliefs" (6). The tracking of accounting transactions, whilst they do tell a story, reveal far less about cognitive and affective responses that fuels an agent's imagination.

To extend Beckert's ideas of an individual's capacity for constructing expectations of the future, I turned to affect theory, particularly that which considers individual behavioural responses to socio-economic uncertainty and perceived threats to security of self and the stability of one's collective network. Rather than seeing business decisions as belonging to a faceless company with an economically rational decision-making process,¹¹ business acts need to be reattributed to the individual agent who makes daily decisions within a network of their understanding. In fact, a business cannot act as a body, as a being that is entirely separate from the group of individuals who are affiliated with that business and who determine their own

¹¹ See Orléan: "Economics addresses 'the question of the individual's relation to the future by postulating that all likely outcomes can be objectively enumerated. In effect, then, uncertainty is reduced to a probabilizable list of events that can be defined in advance" (70).

separate actions. Individuals self-curate or create, as Berlant names it, their “fantasy of the good life” (2) that shapes how they choose to act. This imagined ideal is driven by business agents’ future-focused “optimism.” Orientation to the future is a perspective that Beckert has convincingly argued is the driver of economic behaviour and choices made by individuals who take action to realize their “future imaginings” or “imagined futures” (50) while Berlant’s ideas of the “fantasy of the good life” takes the concept of future expectations more obviously into affective and cognitive understanding that shapes the world (even if it isn’t perceptually “factual” or “real”). While Beckert’s future imaginings begin to consider expectations as contingent upon behavioural norms that “become anchored in the personality system of the actor through processes of internalization,” he makes no reference to the affective element of normative “internalization” (50). To include cognitive bias but ignore affective influence in some ways perpetuates the assumption that business decision-makers are always rational and future outcome oriented and that it is only failure to imagine the outcome correctly that leads to “nonrational decisions” (Beckert 48).

In the performances I discuss what appeared to be nonrational business acts – where agents deviated from moral standards, broke with tradition, or risked all in global ventures – and argue that they are better understood as acts carried out by business agents in their pursuit of their self-curated, future-oriented fantasies of the good life. Berlant’s emphasis upon a personally created perception extends Beckert’s ideas and reinforces the notion that at the end of the day it is the individual who must choose and do so within a networked understanding of their world. The self-constructed fantasy and decision to act – or not (also an active decision) – is based upon a set of individual ethical priorities, which are, as David Wilson

and William Dixon argue, even in business always morally grounded.¹² I take up ideas of the fantasy of the good life and imagined futures so as to offer an explanation of the motivations behind business acts that were played out by characters in theatrical performance and to address why their outcome-oriented acts could be received by audiences as plausible choices. This approach allows us to see that how successful business agents were theatrically portrayed and how these representations affected normative ideas of how to perform successfully in everyday business. Theatrical performance responded to their audiences' pre-existing expectations of business motivations, reiterated common beliefs about business and contributed to the shape of future life fantasies.

Through my examination of civic and commercial performances, I recognized a persistent interplay between those expectations and the effects performance had on the conduct deemed acceptable for Jacobean business agents. The linkage between business and theatre has been explicitly addressed in Jean-Christophe Agnew's much-cited analysis of the worlds of "theatricality" and "commerciality." His study has been influential in highlighting the fact that early modern theatre was a commercial industry and played a role in the development of the English market. Rather than exclusively attending to the theatre's aesthetic output, Agnew argued that drama "furnished its urban audience with a laboratory and an idiom in which these difficulties [of the marketplace] and contradictions could be acted out" (12). Douglas Bruster developed this idea further, by asserting that not only was drama, as Agnew had claimed, "of" the market, but from Bruster's perspective "the theatre was, *a priori*, a

¹² See Wilson and Dixon *A History of Homo Economicus* for discussion of "the debate surrounding economics and morality with a novel discussion of the self in economic theory" (Frontmatter).

market, ... it was, primarily, a place of business – and, as a business, part of a complex of centralizing institutions” (10). My argument goes a step further, pointing out that, as a business, commercial theatre was conducted within a network of other business activities and agents. The commercial stage was an agent that dialogically engaged other English agents. Yet it was only one form of performance that had an impact on business agents’ identity and behavioural norms. To broaden the range of evidence of theatrical impact on business practices, I turned to a different type of performance, the reiterative civic spectacle of the annual Lord Mayor’s Show. Sponsored by the Great Twelve City Livery Companies to celebrate the inauguration of the City’s Lord Mayor, this show was “performed on the open streets [and main waterway] of London in front of an audience of all comers” (Hill 38). Tracey Hill has traced the “usual arrangement” of the show, where

the barges returned [from Westminster] to the City, usually disembarking at Barnard’s Castle or Paul’s Stairs a moment emphasised by cannon-fire.

At this point the pageantry which was so central a feature of the day’s entertainment really got under way. Practice varied, but the usual arrangement was to stage emblematic pageants, featuring speeches and songs, at certain symbolic locations in the City, often existing edifices such as conduits. The mayoral procession moved from the river [Thames] up to Paul’s Churchyard, the location of one of the pageant stations. From there the procession continued along Cheapside... The next stage of the day, in the afternoon, was the formal banquet at the Guildhall, hosted by the new Lord Mayor and his sheriffs. After this feast, the pageantry continued as the Lord Mayor and entourage made their way back to St Paul’s for a sermon marking the inauguration. By then, given

that it was late October, darkness would have fallen, and one gains from the printed texts an evocative impression of the torchlight procession escorting the Lord Mayor back to his house at the end of the day, with one final speech of farewell and moral exhortation traditionally presented at 'his Lordship's gate'. (3)

These "high profile and very lavish entertainments," ritually performed at the end of every October to celebrate the inauguration of the Mayor selected to serve and to speak the City's oath of allegiance to the Crown, were "magnificent occasions" (Hill 1, 3). In one of the most comprehensive studies on the subject to date, Hill describes "[t]he extraordinary effect of speech, music, song, pyrotechnics, cannon fire and lavish costumes worn by the performers as well as the assembled dignitaries [which] comes across very powerfully from the printed texts of the Shows, as well as from the eyewitness accounts" to relate the "impact" and "presence... in early modern culture" of these "*public* events, witnessed by thousands" (1, emphasis original 4). These City-sponsored performances were not only "a means by which civic traditions were preserved," they had "contemporary significance" (Hill 9). I propose that, just as the commercial theatre, these Shows should be recognized as important influences on business identity and conduct.

My investigation of these two types of performance reveals what was accepted as normative business behaviour and conventional business practice in the period. As demonstrated in the case studies that follow, attainment of the good life for a business agent was dependent on achievement of material measures of success. The externalization and materialization of good life signs compelled agents to strive endlessly for ever more value so that their relative worth could be projected onto, and performed for, their networks of

association. In other words, recognition of worth depended on an external public to witness and verify that worth had been achieved through business agents' acts. This "public," as Michael Warner explains, is "self-creating and self-organized" (68-69). It is, he suggests, a "scene[] of self-activity, of historical rather than timeless belonging" (89) that is "rooted in the self-understanding of the participants" (12). Agents engaging with other agents within networks create and organize a shared fantasy of the future which necessarily involves other agents as their imagined audience serving as spectators to their future good life performance. My use of the descriptor "public" carries particular purpose, to emphasize that agents engaging in that public performance exchange are always aware of its publicness and those "publics exist only by virtue of their imagining" (Warner 8). The representations in performance of business agents participate in the translation of measures of success and worth according to a perceived sense of what the imagined public accepts as signs of business achievement. In turn, spectators take up what business agents project in performance and meld what they have seen with pre-existing expectations and their fantasies of a future good life. The idea of Latour's networks, which are plural and overlapping, is important here. It brings in the understanding of "translation" and "transformation" as the mediation that happens between agents¹³ connected in a network as they assemble a collective (*Reassembling the Social* 108).

The relationship of individual business agent to the other agents within the network is an important association or link that shapes how an individual agent decides to act. Although fruitful to consider how fantasies of the good life drive humans to action, the purely

¹³ Agents, it should be noted, include objects as actors and actants; they too make "others – human or non-humans" do things (Latour 79).

individualistic quality of affect theory fell short in answering the questions of how individuals related to the systems of business and corporate organizations – that is, to groups of networked association. The formation of the individual within the network is, I argue, key to understanding how business agents conduct themselves and make their choices to act. Threading through my analysis, then, are Butler’s influential ideas about the performativity of identity. A person deemed to successfully pass as a “good” business agent, and as a business leader in particular, is, as Butler might argue, constructed and shaped by reiterative social processes (*Gender Trouble* 191). Butler describes performance as a “repetition [that] is at once a re-enactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established”; it is “the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimation” that is particularly applicable to business performance, I believe, especially with regard to the fact that “this ‘action’ is a public action” (191). The embeddedness of business – where business acts are inseparable from the other agents involved in the transaction, from the public that is affected by the exchange, and whose expectations influence how business is conducted – means that business acts are selected by agents with the public always already in mind. These business performances are public acts and reiterate the behaviour and conduct expected of business agents and, as my analysis will show, business agents in the Jacobean period were expected to act with teleological purpose. It is important to attach development of individual identity as a business agent to the public network of associations involved in forming expectations of business behaviour. Re-connecting individuals to their network involves considering how companies and markets came together in an economy. To better understand these points, I engaged the ideas of Michel Callon and Donald MacKenzie on the performativity of markets – how constructed business ideas and

economic models are agents that shape the actual structure, practices and systems used to carry out market activities. I also looked at Avner Greif's work on the history of institutional development and the influence that inherited forms and associations had in influencing the trajectory of business development and the types of structures adopted as well as David Wilson and William Dixon's theories examining how "*homo economicus*" evolved and how economic theory intersects with and is inseparable from the very humanistic idea of morals or public codes of conduct. The place of individual agents within a network, the context, needs to be factored when evaluating their choice of action. Theatrical performance of business agents offers a view of the embeddedness of individuals with their networks that is difficult to pick up from business records in isolation.¹⁴

The business of early modern theatre and its relevant economic contexts has received extended scholarly examination,¹⁵ but less attention has been given to the influence of performance on the construction of business practices and identities. The dialogic relationship between theatre and business – where each has a multi-directional and continuing, organic effect on one another's development – has been largely overlooked.¹⁶ My study focuses on

¹⁴ For instance, Enron's financial statements are largely meaningless now as historical records without the context of the theatrical spectacle of congressional hearings and court room proceedings that interrogated their fictional nature.

¹⁵ See Jean-Christophe Agnew's *Worlds Apart*; and Douglas Bruster *Drama and the Market*. For a summary of new economic criticism works see Peter Grav's article "Taking Stock of Shakespeare and the New Economic Criticism" or David Hawkes summary in Chapter 5 of *Shakespeare and Economic Theory*.

¹⁶ An example of uni-directional analysis is a scope limited to how economics affected theatre and motivated cultural producers, or selectively privileging theatre-based performance and downplaying the "intellectual complexity" or aesthetic value of business-sponsored performance. For an example of the latter, see Richard Dutton, *Jacobean Civic Pageant*, where Dutton claims that "the need to dazzle [in Lord Mayor's Shows] doubtless always ran ahead of calls for intellectual complexity" (11). Dutton here is also picking up on Theodore Leinwand's observations that "the Lord Mayor's shows abound in vocabularies and emblems that legitimize the merchant elite's authority...[and] offered them a special chance not only to dazzle the 'throng' with their power and to convince them of their goodness, but to convince themselves as well" (Leinwand qtd in Dutton, "London Triumphant", 149 and 151). As evidence that these ideas become ingrained in the scholarship, Tracey Hill *Pageants*

how theatrical performances were engaged in establishing business norms and behaviours, creating exchange markets, and defining publicly accepted measures of business success as well as how these might have been received, understood and practiced by their target audiences. David Hawkes has recently argued that “[t]he vocabulary and concepts of modern ‘economics’ were first developed in early modern England and [that] Shakespeare’s work was an active and influential participant in that process” (xiv).¹⁷ What follows, in three case studies that juxtapose theatrical performances on stage with those in the streets of London, extends Hawkes’s point that cultural products are “active and influential participant[s]” (xiv). By aligning theatre’s representations of business with business-related civic productions, it is possible to see how performances function as agents in the collective network of Jacobean England’s global money-based market economy (Hawkes 35). Early modern theatrical producers were involved in what Callon and Mackenzie persuasively describe as the performativity of markets and economic systems.¹⁸ Theatrical performances are part of the “processes of reiteration, re-establishment

and Power selects Dutton’s quote to discuss the companies’ choice to display themselves and to do so as lavishly as they could (57).

¹⁷ The process that Hawkes refers to is the shift from early modern “moral economy” (17), which was premised on “teleological subordination” of the acquisition of money (8), toward the rationalization of self-interest as a “morally neutral” choice (20), a necessary first step toward adoption of what has become a fully capitalist, or “money-based, ... market economy” (35). Hawkes monograph traces the development of “economic Shakespeare criticism” (xiii) through its course of Marxist and materialist emphasis, with specific reference to the influence of Michel Foucault’s theories, to the “new economic criticism” that focuses queries on “the aesthetic, moral and psychological effects of capitalism” (83). Hawkes’ arguments go beyond Jean-Christophe Agnew’s and Douglas Bruster’s earlier works on drama in the early modern market. Hawkes argues that economics is shaped by culture, whereas the focus or default position of most critics has been that culture is impacted and shaped by economic condition and historical context. For an alternative summary of critical work that brings economics to bear upon cultural products, see Bradley Ryner’s note 1 of his Introduction to *Performing Economic Thought*. Ryner provides a comprehensive listing of the “inquiries into Renaissance drama and economics [that] have endeavoured to explain how material conditions produced or influenced dramatic representations” (10-11).

¹⁸ In arguing that theatrical performance is a contributor to the performativity of the market, I am extending Jeremy Lopez’s idea that “if both the Puritans and their adversaries were willing to argue publicly that a play could affect reality and the lives of its audience, it seems more than safe to assume that this is the kind of assumption that playgoers would have brought with them to the playhouse” (*Theatrical Convention* 31-32). The plays lead to everyday acting “as if”, they affect real lives. But I am also linking to Michel Callon’s ideas of *The Laws of the*

and sedimentation” that forms the market that is, following Butler, “performatively produced ... [in] that its apparently seamless regeneration brings about a naturalized effect” (“Performative Agency” 149). The processes of naturalization of business agents’ focus on material end-results is a learned behaviour and thus have the potential to be invented differently in the future.

The performances examined in this project invent business characters and models of business exchange.¹⁹ These characters embody business identities and materialize business practices that first facilitate for their audiences an imagination of what business activities look like and then enable them to translate those representations into how they navigate or execute day-to-day market transactions. I examine how the early modern performances played a key role in the collective network given, as Bradley Ryner describes, their “emphasis on the fictionality” of the market and the effort they require of their audiences to engage in the imaginative production of the performances (*Performing Economic Thought* 40). As Ryner has argued, performances worked differently than acts of reading published texts that presented

Markets where he argues for the “point of view ... [which he acknowledges is] radically different... that economics, in the broad sense of the term, performs, shapes and formats the economy, rather than observing how it functions (Latour, 1987) (Callon, 1994)” (2). Callon’s ideas of “performativity of economics” have been explored further by Donald Mackenzie, in *An Engine, Not a Camera: How Financial Models Shape Markets*, who classifies three levels of performativity (generic, effective and Barnesian) and looks at “the extent to which finance theory brought into being that of which it spoke” (35). Mackenzie extends the consideration further to the “embodied human beings” and “material entities” that are “constitutive” in creating markets and “market processes” (*Material Markets: How Economic Agents are Constructed* 3).

¹⁹ This idea of how cultural products “invent and construct” business is grounded in ideas that Lars Magnusson has developed in considering the historiography of mercantilism. Magnusson recognizes that “mercantilist” publications (such treatise writers as Mun, Misselden and Smith who provided “simplified models or vision of how they believed that the economic machinery operated in a general sense” [*Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language* 15] have a dual effect – they provide a “general sense” of how the economy functioned and thus “make their complex reality intelligible,” yet they “also invent and construct the very same categories” that provide a way think about and understand the early modern economy. Magnusson challenges the assertion that writers of the early modern treatises on trade and economic issues were “mere reflections of as [sic] special merchant interest” (*Mercantilist Theory and Practice* xiii), or a kind of “giant conspiracy on behalf of master manufacturers and merchants in order to skin the public and consumers” (xvii). If treatises and economic policy arguments “invent and construct” models, then contemporary theatrical performances add to the modelling by presenting material, embodied forms that ease the translation from abstraction to action in day-to-day living.

ideal business behaviours and practices. He concludes that plays “facilitate a more nuanced exploration of economic system than those available to mercantile writers” who published their arguments advocating, for the most part, support for trade and lobbying for structures and economic policies that would favour corporations and thus their members (41). Ryner sees plays as “drawn to thinking through similar questions to the ones posed by mercantile writers about fluctuations of value, the structure of systems of exchange, and the relationship between individual transactions and their system effects” (33).²⁰ Moreover, he asserts that plays were “free to address these questions in a fundamentally different way” (33) and that their “emphasis on the fictionality of state representations of economic systems often made them more insightful than those in mercantile treatises” (5).

On stage and in the public places of London’s businesses, material performances embodied ideas and arguments about contemporary economic issues.²¹ The liveness of material performance contributes to the translation of business identity and conduct into everyday practice;²² the nuance of theatrical performance is made possible in the form’s

²⁰ The mercantile writers he refers to would include such authors as Thomas Mun, John Wheeler, Lewes Roberts, Dudley Digges, Edward Misselden and Gerard Malynes.

²¹ When I refer to material performance, I take up Erika Lin’s in-depth consideration of what materiality means in relation to theatrical performance (*Shakespeare and the Materiality of Performance*). Lin emphasizes the materiality of performance and describes the four senses in which performance is material: it utilizes material objects and agents, “it is a transformative activity” (and here she leans on Judith Butler’s ideas), it “is produced in dynamic relation to attitudes and practices outside the playhouse, and “it has real social and physical consequences”. The final point is one that Lin argues is a key difference of theatrical performance from other cultural products, for she asserts that “[i]t differs from other representational practices in that it itself is also the presentational act of transformation and thus *by definition* [emphasis original] produces material effects” (9). The material effects of greatest interest for my project is the construction of forms of business practice and the identity and behavioural habits of economic agents participating in the early modern market.

²² Translation is used in a Latourian sense here. For Bruno Latour “the word ‘translation’ now takes on a somewhat specialized meaning: a relation that does not transport causality but induces two mediators into coexisting” (*Reassembling* 108). The translation that occurs is between theatrical performance of business and the everyday business acts of exchange. This translation serves then as a means of identifying relationships or “associations” that can be traced. For Latour “there is no society, no social realm, and no social ties, *but there exist translations*

greater diversity of ways of story-telling and in the layers of communication with the audience broadcast through embodied speech. I look to extend Ryner's theories, which were focused on comparisons of technique and facilitation of thought between plays and merchant-authored texts, to emphasize that performances actively constituted publicly accepted business conduct and identities. I take up his point that plays "encourage audiences to become conscious of how their own interpretive modes and generic expectations correspond to specific [economic] models" (9) and hope, then, to more fully consider how theatrical performance created, rather than simply reflected, business models that were enacted in the everyday.

A shared understanding that everyday business transactions and market exchanges were embedded in the lives of individuals is evident from extant texts of the period. For example, John Wheeler, in his treatise of 1601, described how he lived in a world where "all things come into Commerce, and passe into traffique (in a maner) in all times and in all places."²³ Scholars, particularly those interested in new economic criticism and cultural materialism, have noted, as Linda Woodbridge does, that "[m]oney and commercial thinking

between mediators that may generate traceable associations" (108). Those translations enable a network of associations to be recognized.

²³ See John Wheeler's publication *A Treatise of Commerce*. John Wheeler's comment about the ubiquitous commercial activities carried out by people in their everyday lives is often quoted. He lists the various people involved in business, beginning with children, then princes, masters and servants, husband and wives, and women. "Children, as soone as ever their tongues are at libertie, doe season their sportes with some merchandise, or other: and when they goe to schoole, nothing is so common among them as to change, and rechange, buy and sell of that, which they bring from home with them. The Prince with his subjects, the Maister with his servants, one friend and acquaintance with another, the Captaine with his souldiers, the Husband with his wife, Women with and among themselves and in a word, all the world choppeth and changeth, runneth and raveth after Marts, Markets and Merchandising, so that all things come into Commerce, and passe into traffique (in a maner) in all times and in all places" (6). The normal state of being in Wheeler's seventeenth century world is to engage in commerce "for there is nothing in the world so ordinarie, and naturall unto men, as to contract, truck, merchandise, and traffike one with an other, so that it is almost unpossible for three persons to converse together two houres but they wil fal into talk of one bargaine or another chopping, changing, or some other kinde of contract" (6).

abound in the literature of the period" (*Money and the Age of Shakespeare* 24).²⁴ It makes sense, then, that many members of the audiences for plays and civic shows would also have held interests that were commercial and money-oriented, although less focus has been given to what those audiences brought to the performances in terms of their own expectations and interests. It is a subtle but important point to recognize that audience members would be drawn to theatrical performances that addressed topics of business development and that might offer aid in understanding how to succeed in attaining the good life. Instead of simply reflecting events in the world, as much scholarship to date has aptly argued, I suggest that performances both for the Lord Mayor's Shows and in the commercial theatre actively constituted business identities, behaviours and habits. These performances created and reiterated models of business agents, often carrying forward past traditions and repeating theatrical elements (such as symbols, speech language, costume and ritualistic productions). The effect of these repeated public displays was to habitualize business practices and transfer expectations of behaviour from one generation to the next.

Although the performances investigated herein were ephemeral, time-limited instances of public arguments about proper business conduct and acceptable business practice, these arguments were subsequently reinforced and re-messaged in textual form. Souvenir publications of the Shows²⁵ and printed versions of the staged plays (such as *The Island Princess*

²⁴ Linda Woodbridge notes, "From *The Merchant of Venice* through Jacobean city comedy, plots of plays were often commercial and money-oriented" (*Money and the Age of Shakespeare* 24)

²⁵ See Tracey Hill "Appendix 1", *Pageantry and Power* pp. 337-342], where she compiles the livery companies' investments in souvenir publications of their individually sponsored shows. This investment was sporadically documented in company records from 1602 to the end point of her project in 1639. Copies were generated in production run sizes ranging between 200 and 500.

inclusion in the posthumous publication of Fletcher and Beaumont's folio in 1647²⁶) served as vital reiteration. The repetition of arguments initially seen and heard in performance contributed to the process of public discourse and development of collective acceptance of ethically charged notions of "success," "value" and "worth." These terms are ethically charged because the actions taken to realize the markers of success, value and worth are determined by individual choice, and that choice inherently enacts the person's ethical priorities. Even company-sanctioned acts are selected by individuals in leadership roles whose authority has been conferred by company members and subordinates. The process of arriving at the decision to act or to withhold action is one that inherently involves weighing ethical priorities. Business practices and cultural storytelling are processes that belong to and arise from within the same network of agents. In early modern London the traditions of companies – theatre, livery and trade – all shared a genealogy and were formed within a collective exchange of ideas and memories.²⁷ Both real and imagined business agents were constructed from this exchange of ideas. Cultural products did not rest in a privileged position of aesthetic work isolated from or counter to the market (on this point I agree with Bruster and Agnew), for they are "of" the market which is made up of public and collectively overlapping networks of exchange. Moves to dissociate business from cultural products – as satirical target, as failed exemplars of moral decision-makers, as outsiders with only ulterior motives to invest in cultural and communal

²⁶ Clare McManus Introduction to *The Island Princess* 83.

²⁷ As Roslyn Knutson articulates, "commerce among the playing companies was built on patterns of fraternity, the roots of which were feudal hierarchies such as kinship, service, and the guild" (10). As some of the largest guild groups in the common weal, London's livery companies were influential models. All three forms of company organizations were established by Royal charter – the key to the status and authority by which the livery companies, theatre companies, and trade companies (such as the Merchant Adventurers and East India Company) all gained their licence and monopoly in the market. The companies were all also structured by share ownership which distributed the risks, and the rewards, of their commercial activities and business development efforts.

activity – divest the arts of responsibility for creating or enabling immoral business acts (and, in particular, the often violent, inequitable, ugly outcomes of business processes). Rather than stopping at the recognition that theatrical performances are “of” the market, this project advances the argument by hypothesizing that cultural products perform the market. Their experiments with ideas helped shape and dialogically translate the business market into its processes, even if those processes were sometimes cruelly optimistic and/or brought about failure.²⁸

The overlap between the art of performance and the performance of business has, of course, been explored by scholars from the perspective of new economic criticism.²⁹ For instance, Jean Howard has long argued that theatre and economic activity cannot be treated in isolation from each other and asserts that “[t]he binary model that separates ‘history’ from

²⁸ Butler emphasizes that failure is an important aspect of performativity: “breakdown is constitutive of performativity (performativity never fully achieves its effect, and so in this sense ‘fails’ all the time; its failure is what necessitates its reiterative temporality, and we cannot think iterability without failure.” In writing after the 2008 financial crisis, she points out that “[t]he present recession in some ways highlights this failure at the heart of financial performativity” (“Performative Agency” 153). The number of theatrical performances that contain business agents as subject and/ or character that were produced in the midst of England’s economic crisis of the early seventeenth century perhaps speaks to the perceived need for reiterative effort to perform business success and to assist in working out how to continue to perform in business successfully. They “underscore the general truth that performativity not only fails, but that it depends on failure” (159).

²⁹ Grav’s article “Taking Stock” captures the progression of scholarly activity focused on this subject. Grav marks the 1990s as the point when the approach of “new economic criticism” is recognizable. He describes New Economic Criticism as a field that applies “[h]istorical contextualization” (112), a “formalist approach” and “close reading” (112) – often of “linguistic choices and patterns” (114) but makes the overall observation that the “inherent diversity of methods in the field seems destined to resist even such basic attempts to impose coherence upon it” (113). Of note in the final paragraph of his article, Grav optimistically claims that new economic criticism provides “a significant opportunity to enrich our understanding of works that reflect the significant shifts in economic thinking that occurred in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries” (134). Hawkes’s monograph survey of economic theory in relation to Shakespeare (*Shakespeare and Economic Theory*) takes up new economic criticism in Chapter 5 “Money as Metaphor: The New Economic Criticism” (67 – 88), where he too recognizes that it is a “diverse group” that “share little in common except their interest in economics” (68). His observation is that “it is not politics but a shared interest in the aesthetic, moral and psychological effects of capitalism that unites new economic critics. It is also what divides them from their predecessors” (83).

‘art,’ that makes the one stable and the other fluid, has had its day.”³⁰ By examining the dynamic influence theatrical performance had on English agents and how market circumstances affected the agent’s performance, my dissertation aims to close the gap between business history and cultural performance which has been left largely untouched by scholarship applying new economic criticism. Peter Grav has summed up this field as work that “examines how literature reflects and is shaped by economic currents and thinking” in order to relate the influence of economics upon culture (“Taking Stock” 111). The new economic criticism has also tended to see early modern literature as serving as evidence of progression towards capitalism, and its self-interested, profit-motivated agenda. In my focus on the dialogic exchange between theatrical performance and business history, I address the seldom-explored question of performance’s influence on business agents and the development of business identities and behaviours. My argument picks up arguments that Howard and most recently Erika Lin have made, that there is a generative quality to material theatrical performance. Howard has contended that dramatic texts are “productive forces” that “create forms of intelligibility and structures of feeling that materialize history” and by doing so they play an active role in navigating social struggle, historical change and perform “revolutionary cultural work” (*Competing Ideologies* 179). Still, Howard’s analysis of theatrical performance as change-shaper insists on a progressive bent. She has rigorously investigated what she called the early modern “proto-capitalist” market with an understanding that it comes prior to full-blown

³⁰ See Jean Howard’s “Afterword: Accommodating Change” in *Global Traffic* pp.265-274. Howard makes the point that “[t]he theater, ... neither as institution nor as a site for performance of particular dramatic fictions, can be separated entirely from the emergence of capitalist economic practices, the circulation of new kinds of material goods, nor the ideologies that underwrote the commercial and colonial ventures... When we tell the story of the enormous changes that global traffic and early capitalism wrought, we need to make cultural productions central to that story and to take pleasure in just how complicated a role they played” (271).

industrial capitalism (*The Stage* 29). Still, the recognition that drama had the potential to impact early modern business identity and behaviour – and that material performance likely held greater influence than printed versions of the plays in their originating period – led me to question what other cultural events and spectacles had similar effects. Civic pageants and processions, and specifically the Lord Mayor’s Show (given its direct relationship to London business), were an obvious choice to further illustrate the impacts of theatrical performances on business agents and, more generally, ideas about the market.

The foundations of the English market, which had for generations seemed relatively secure due to dominance in the lucrative export market for cloth, were rocked by competitor entry (mainly from the Dutch) and shrinking profit margins. Compounding the loss of trade volume and erosion of earning capacity was a series of unfortunate harvest failures and plague epidemics. The result was a severe economic depression, perceived by contemporaries as a “crisis,” in the middle of James’ reign. As I looked more closely at the business practices being imagined in the theatrical performances I studied, it became increasingly clear that agents were responding to their economic crises by debating traditional business roles and practices and trying to imagine different futures. The degree of turmoil and chaos that English agents felt they were being exposed to presented a kind of perfect storm of market destruction. As a consequence, there was a breakdown in confidence about what the future would hold – particularly for those business agents who had been raised, as London livery company members were, to believe that their traditional structures and business networks would secure them a decent living. The loss of certainty that traditional businesses would support fantasies of a good life became a catalyst for agents to seek out innovations in industry and take on risky ventures

that held out promise of lucrative reward. Theatrical performances facilitated a kind of working through of the changing socio-economic conditions that must have seemed, for many, largely beyond their control. These performances served as an aid or tool as agents adjusted their fantasy of the good life as they learned and/or confirmed business behaviours and actions that would help them fulfill their fantasies.

How a good life appears, how success can be measured or marked, was developed through public interactions within a network, including exchanges which dialogically occurred in theatrical performance. The materialization of a good life shifted over time in terms of the details and objects used or deemed useful in external measurement and public recognition of success. But the effort to act, to move toward achieving the good life however it was individually imagined, was a repeated behavioural pattern. Although there are some collectively shared ideas of how to measure and publicly recognize one's achievement of the good life, individuals fashioned their own sense of "right" action by rationalizing the ethical choice implicit in their decision to act. They told their own imagined stories and made their own fantasies. I argue that in the performances I have studied there is evidence that business agents' choice was guided by what they believed aligned best to the achievement of teleological outcomes. Through a process of model performance and its reiteration, teleological ethics were confirmed as normative, accepted by the public, and thus, according to Wilson and Dixon, "must be understood as *formally* moral" (emphasis original 91). The performances studied herein reflected accepted business morality by adopting teleological rationalization. These theatrical portrayals in turn determined the ethical priorities that agents applied to their everyday business decisions.

My consideration of the moral standards illustrated by business agents in theatrical performance follows along the investigative path that Hawkes took when he addressed the ethical debate depicted in Shakespeare's works concerned with "the epochal changes through which the English economy was passing" (xiv). His recent argument in *Shakespeare and Economic Theory* proposes that there was a perceptible shift in the early seventeenth century toward teleological, self-interested actions.³¹ He refers to the change experienced as a "transition from an economy based around use-value to a society organized around the pursuit of exchange value" and that this shift toward a material, "money-based, market economy began to dissolve traditional ideas and social arrangements" (35). I concur that early modern theatrical performances exhibit teleological ethics as a top priority for business agents, that it was both expected and accepted that business would focus on end results. Whether this represents a shift or not remains an outstanding issue as I have yet to find convincing evidence of significant differences in business norms represented in early modern theatrical performances. Shift or not, based on findings in my case studies I propose that one reason that business agents heavily relied upon end results and material measures of value – a reliance that is demonstrated by depictions of agents in theatrical performance and by merchant-authors

³¹ For Hawkes, the 1620s stand out as a turning point (and he references Joyce Appleby's summary of "merchant-theorists" as evidence [19]; note that Magnusson vehemently disagrees with Appleby's reading of mercantilism). Hawkes points out that "[i]n contrast to the medieval 'moral economy', those early modern students of 'political economy' thought of their field as an area in which moral strictures against avarice and self-seeking could legitimately be suspended" (20). The issue that I have with this progressive view of economic development and along with it a shifting ethical development, is that it adopts a romanticized view or historiography of the past as it assumes that in the "medieval 'moral economy'" people's business behaviours were more "moral", that is tended toward virtue-based or deontological priorities (to use Boatright's categories). Wilson and Dixon have challenged the perception of different or changing moralities in business and explain that it is impossible for market participants to be amoral, they are always aware of and factor into their decisions the moral/social view of their actions. This aligns with Beckett's summary of the "embeddedness of economics" that there cannot be a dissociation between "economics" or business and "social" or "moral."

who used material claims in their treatises to support their pro-trade rhetorical arguments³² -- was that the loss of traditional forms of industry and trade undermined the English network's confidence that business actions would lead to future success. Faced with clear evidence that traditional business had failed to sustain the good life, agents were forced to adapt and devise new expectations, new practices and new industries. Without a sense of how new approaches might perform because of lack of historical precedents, agents responded to the anxiety this situation generated by searching for signs of progress as well as scrutinizing outputs so as to obtain feedback that actions taken might produce the anticipated good life. Prioritization of outcomes and emphasis on end-results served as useful tools for business decision-making about innovation and risky ventures, such as overseas trade and exploration, because they produced more tangible signs of success and achievement. The measurable "fact," as Mary Poovey explains, was perceived as "systematic knowledge" (xv). Fact that was observable and measurable imparted confidence in agents and their choice of business practices.

Theatrical performance, with all its visible actors and prop agents, materialized fantasies of the good life. Signs of success in attaining that good life included accumulation and public display of valued objects, clothing, property and people. Control of resources was indicative of power and worth. The examples studied here reveal business processes and habits that created a recognizably successful life in the Jacobean period. These performances presented successful business agents, able to wield control over both people (other tradesmen, servants and wives) and resources (physical coin, credit, foreign goods and spices, land) as they consumed or

³² See primary texts by John Wheeler, Thomas Mun, Robert Lewes, Dudley Digges, amongst others. For more on their treatises, see footnote 120 on page 114.

controlled other agents' access to symbols of success (clothing, spices, marriage partners). These depictions reinforced the processes used to achieve immediate gains: taking advantage of others, taking action and using force to lay claim to resources and territory, using social relationships (such as marriage, inheritance and employment positions) to form beneficial networks). They did so by presenting agents who succeeded and, in some examples, contrasting them with agents who failed to realize their aspirations. Thus the performances functioned themselves as agents within the network. They played an important role in translating and transforming the networks' moral standards from abstract ideas into actions that exhibited ethical priorities. Characters showed their audiences what they deemed important and valuable, and what they imagined or expected to produce good outcomes. What they offered, then, was the rehearsal of models for the achievement of good life goals. Embodied acts provided effective demonstrations of what was generally held to be morally acceptable and good.

In exploring the effect of change, uncertainty and precarity on how business agents imagined their futures, I begin with the case study of Munday's *Chruso-thriambos*, the Lord Mayor's Show he crafted for the Goldsmiths' Company as they fended off market encroachments and policies that threatened their traditional livelihood. I match this civic spectacle with Middleton's commercial theatre play, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, about a goldsmith's family, in order to investigate normative ideas about the identity and conduct expected of agents who acted as creditors and money-makers in the London financial network. The pressures of an unknowable (and thus uncertain and largely uncontrollable) future affected how goldsmith agents acted in their everyday business. The materialization of goldsmiths'

actions in theatrical performance offers useful insight into the process of working through decision-making priorities in business practices of the period.

Chapter One: “What is’t you Lack?”: Performing the Goldsmith

This case study addresses the formative effects that behavioural norms have on character and identity development and examines the goldsmith as an exemplary Jacobean business agent. The London goldsmiths (professionals who assayed or tested the purity of coins) played a vital role in the English common weal’s production, measurement and attestation of gold and silver commodity values. Shifting socio-economic circumstances during James’ reign meant this tradition-bound profession was challenged to defend its role and position in the market – its very identity as a profession. The pressures of changing expectations of what the future held, which would come to the fore in the next decade as the country slid into deep economic depression, affected agents’ ideas about their potential to earn a living. Goldsmiths were regularly confronted by the reality that what had been traditionally perceived as a secure path to the good life was no longer a certainty. The confident belief that agents would enjoy a stable future once they had progressed to journeymen and master status in a livery trade was being challenged by events outside of their control. As a result, their identity as goldsmiths and as members of one of London’s Great Twelve Livery Companies was under pressure.³³ To investigate how Jacobean business agents had a layered and repeated exposure to the collectively constructed identity of “goldsmith”, I bring together Anthony

³³ The Great Twelve London Livery Companies evolved from trade guilds or “chief misteries”. They came together for trade regulation, determined the basis of London citizenship and formed the autonomous political organization of the City of London – an entitlement they still hold today as the voting rights for elections of senior civic offices (Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen) are held by members of the Companies. The companies were formally established grant of royal charters (some dated back to the 12th century) and in 1515 the Lord Mayor set the order of precedence that still holds today (with the exception of position 6 and 7 in the ranking which alternate) as follows: Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Merchant Taylors, Skinners, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners and Clothworkers. There are now more than 100 recognized liveries, but the top Twelve retain their status of rank, which affects the order of procession in their appearance in the Lord Mayor’s Show.

Munday's *Chruso-thriambos* and Thomas Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* along with select excerpts from Hannibal Gamon's *The Gouldesmythe's Storehouse* (a manuscript which offers insider knowledge of the goldsmiths' processes). I take up the premise that identity is performative, established or constructed via "repetition and ritual" (Butler *Gender Trouble* xv) and that it is through reiterative social processes and habitualized ways of acting "as if" that business behaviours are naturalized.³⁴ What were considered natural and normal ideals of behaviour for goldsmiths as a group affected everyday actions by individual goldsmiths as they engaged and transacted with their community networks.

Evidence of the constructedness of business identity and the repetition of expectations becomes most visible in comparisons between goldsmith characters and their practices captured in a variety of cultural forms. Expectations of what external signs and mannerisms exhibit professional conduct were shaped by both the fictional goldsmiths of contemporary theatrical performances and the London livery company's own formal rules of conduct and ritual practices. The latter's day-to-day minute-books and documents contain the company's infrequent enforcement of regulatory compliance (such as breaking of precious objects that failed to meet professional standards) and record the ongoing interpersonal acts and events that reinforced and disciplined normative conformance.³⁵ Expectations held by fellow agents

³⁴ The important use of "repetition and ritual" in identity construction can be observed in the intentionally ceremonial acts ritually carried out by livery companies in their processes of sponsoring and annually performing the Lord Mayor's show. As Butler underscores, "performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration" (xv).

³⁵ The ritual business acts prescribed by company ordinances, and that were periodically reviewed by members directed to "swear afresh" (Reddaway 34) their oaths, provide another view into how goldsmiths' business behaviours were set out to conform to habitual practices. See Reddaway and Walker *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327-1509* for a full listing of company ordinances.

significantly influenced how goldsmiths conducted themselves in their everyday network.

Hannibal Gamon's manuscript, for example, clearly lays out peer-to-peer expectations through his advice to fellow goldsmiths. This guide to professional conduct details the "many hidden secrets of that ingenious misterie" of the goldsmiths and describes the public Trial of the Pyx where, to this day, goldsmiths conduct assay tests to verify the metallic composition of English coins.³⁶

Another forum that attempted to manage fellow members' conduct and to influence how members of the Goldsmiths' livery company were perceived by others was the Lord Mayor's Show which the Company vetted and sponsored in 1611. Although beyond the Goldsmiths' direct influence as it was produced by the commercial theatre company, Lady Elizabeth's Men, and performed at the Swan Theatre³⁷, Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1613) provided an opportunity to consider the goldsmith from another perspective.³⁸ In both of these performances, the goldsmith agent demonstrates the social embeddedness of their business activities and their role as business agents in the Jacobean market network.³⁹

³⁶ Hannibal Gamon. "The Gouldesmythes Storehowse."

³⁷ Woodbridge suggests that the production was "probably augmented (to handle the many female roles) by the Queen's Revels boys, for whom Middleton had written earlier city comedies" (911). Michelle O'Callaghan discusses the merger of the company with the disgraced Children of the Queen's Revels "a company of boy actors ... [who had] lost royal patronage in 1606 because of a series of satiric comedies whose mocking references to leading courtiers caused offence" (69). The selection of subject matter, the goldsmiths in *Cheapside*, continued the pattern of poking satirically at prominent leaders in the English network, albeit more generically targeted against those with less authority to directly intervene in the company's business.

³⁸ A date range of 1611-1613 has been established based on the theatre company's origin dates: Lady Elizabeth's Men "came into existence and was licensed in April 1611 and moved into the Swan," the place of performance where it was "often acted" as noted in the title of the earliest available publication of 1630. General consensus, based on internal evidence such as Lenten restrictions and other topical allusions linked to contemporary events (including lying-in of major personages, public whippings, scandalous divorce), seems to be that the accumulation of "evidence renders fairly firm a date of 1613 for the first acting of the play" (Woodbridge "Spring 1613" 373-75). From this point 1613 is the date chosen as reference for the play.

³⁹ Beckert argues the social embeddedness of the market from the position that social interactions are foundational to actors' decisions: "The future enters social interactions through perceptions of the social world, which are anchored in actors [or as I refer to them, agents], even if these perceptions are socially shaped and

Too Big to Fail: A History of Performing Identity as Unimpeachable Goldsmiths

For they have told ye well before,
That whereof I need speake no more:
You are a Gold-Smith, Golden be⁴⁰

Trust in monetary value is a vital first step to the smooth transacting of a collective network's everyday exchange activities. Without consensus that there is value in the money used as a basis of measurement, the communication involved in social processes of bartering, gifting and selling breaks down. The goldsmiths were the exclusive means of verifying the purity of the common weal's coin-based money – the measure used in all market transactions. The honesty and integrity with which they carried out goldsmithing activities was, then, vital to instilling and reinforcing public faith and trust in the value of coin. Therefore, the goldsmiths' status and role in the market meant that their actions formed a touchstone⁴¹ used to benchmark business agents and their actions more generally. Social judgements passed on an

should thus not be understood in purely individualistic terms" (7). Carruthers also highlights, building from Mark Granovetter's work, that "economic relations are *embedded* in social relationships, and that one cannot understand economic behavior outside of its social context" (emphasis original, 21). The use of the term "business agents" stems from engagement with Bruno Latour's work discussing actors/ actants/ agents in Actor-Network theory (see *Reassembling the Social*). For my discussion of Beckert's argument, see pages 22-23 and for my introduction of Latour, see pages 8-9.

⁴⁰ Munday 30. Note: all quotations from Munday's *Chruso-thriambos: The Triumphes of Golde* are taken from Pafford's edition. Nicholas Faringdon, Gold-Smith and "Foure times Lord Maior" These lines are delivered by the character Nicholas Faringdon, a long-serving Lord Mayor from the Goldsmiths' Company who served in the fourteenth century, to the incumbent Lord Mayor Pemberton in the final speech of the day.

⁴¹ "touchstone, n. and adj." *OED Online*, definition 2a. "Fine-grained black stone (typically a type of chert) upon which objects made of gold or silver can be rubbed to determine their purity; a piece of this. ... The touchstone was originally used in conjunction with a set of touch needles of known purity, allowing visual comparison of the mark left on the stone by the object being assayed with those of the touch needles. Later the touch needles were replaced by the use of acid solutions which remove or alter the appearance of the object's mark."

individual goldsmith's actions reflected perceptions of London livery companies' business conduct overall.

It has become commonplace to perceive business practices as antithetical to moral development and yet curiously, as David Bergeron notes, in the tradition of the corporate-sponsored, more than 800-year-old Lord Mayor's Show "moral suasion remains throughout the history of these civic pageants a common, and indeed, necessary ingredient" (*English Civic Pageantry* 130). This pattern of performing a moral argument through the Show typically culminated with delivery of sage advice to the new mayor. The moral problem these Shows repeatedly grappled with was how to be a successful business agent yet still hold true to the collective's desire or the good life fantasy that the acts of business agents will be community-minded, honest and treat others justly. This moral struggle – between ideas of successful teleological outcomes, duty-bound community actions, and personal virtue – was frequently taken up in the Lord Mayor's Show through a storyline that staged a contest between characters of vice and virtue. The climax, where virtue inevitably triumphs over vice, was typically crafted to suggest the elected mayor's business success and everyday conduct were the reasons for the "triumph." In the goldsmith-mayor James Pemberton's case (1611), his personal "vertues, worth and speciall love of all, / Hath raisd unto this high authority" both the mayor himself and the Worshipful Company of the Goldsmiths (Munday 32). The mayor's role in the show is, as Sergei Lobanov-Rotosky has noted, much like a "triumphator's" victory procession (881).⁴² Munday himself drew attention to the fact he deliberately "devised and

⁴² The notion of the Roman victor also links to the idea of the London Mayor as a "merchant knight." Scholars, such as Lobanov-Rotosky and Gordon Kipling, explicitly link the Lord Mayor's Show to Roman victory marches in terms of pattern of movement. Lobanov-Rotosky notes that: "In the preface to his 1611 show, Munday identifies the

continued” this “yearelie triumphall show[.]” – in 1611 it was subtitled *The Triumphs of Golde* – to reproduce the “famous and commendable Custome” of “[t]he ancient Romaines” in full view of London’s leaders or “senators for publike rule and honorable government” (21). The production of a goldsmith mayor with hero-like status parading through the streets of London presented a prime opportunity to argue that the Goldsmiths’ “eminent” representative “Sir James Pemberton, Knight and Alderman” displayed the values of the company as a whole (21). The presentation of the goldsmith-victor as exemplar of the qualities held by everyday members of the Goldsmiths’ Company was, the Show suggested, grounded in ancient tradition.

In keeping with ancient custom and conventional practices of the “Bretheren of that worthy band” (32), the Goldsmiths’ company in late Fall 1611 took on responsibility “in this Triumph [to] beare[.] the Pursse for all” (36). By doing so, they were claiming and carrying on the show’s tradition of “moral suasion” too, for the Show ended with “good” leadership advice from Faringdon “who gives it for the Gold-Smiths sake” (and not Pemberton’s individual reputation alone) (39). The company’s “sparing no cost” (21) in sponsoring the Show reveals that sustaining positive public opinion of the Company’s values and ethical priorities mattered to the Goldsmiths. Their willingness and “liberality” (32) in allocating hundreds of pounds of membership-generated funds for this event meant anticipated future benefits were expected to outweigh the actual cash outlay.

Lord Mayor as a “proetor” and the aldermen as “senators”. The allusion to the Roman origins of such civic pageantry is central to its dramatic structure, in which the “triumphator” becomes the protagonist of a truly public theater; London becomes a stage during the procession, and the making of theater reflects the making of history” (881). Historical ties and tradition legitimate and grant authority as they are recognized tactics, long accepted in the English community’s sense of “common-law,” to support law and order within the community.

One proposed outcome of their investment was enhanced public confidence in the Goldsmiths' trade. Belief in the integrity of goldsmiths affected the stability of the Jacobean market because their work as exchangers of bullion, minters of coins and assayers who measured purity had a direct impact on money valuation. Public perception was influenced by how effectively the company's story was communicated. In making this claim, my argument extends Jens Beckert's summation of ideas about money and credit, that "the stability of money is based on institutional and rhetorical commitments alone" (105) and that "this fiction [of money's stability] is a social creation depending on institutions but also on communicative processes in which the suspension of disbelief is established and reaffirmed" (107). As André Orléan further emphasizes, "[b]eliefs exert a far greater influence on economic behavior than any effect the money supply may indirectly bring to bear on prices" (134).⁴³ With that theoretical backdrop in mind, it makes sense to examine the process by which collectives exchange ideas and converge upon shared understandings. I contend that theatrical performances in London were highly effective tools for identity formation and behavioural modification; they translated abstract ideas (what Beckert labels as "fiction") into tangible, material acts. How confidence in the goldsmiths' trade was communicated, what stories were told about their profession, and how their identity was embodied in public performance held sway over the belief in the stability in the market that prompted consumer purchases, growth in credit, and capital investment decisions. Belief in money's value is necessarily a social process

⁴³Orléan, in his chapter "Money," argues that the "desire for money for its own sake" (112) is the "very foundation" of "market economies" (110). He references work by Georg Simmel and François Simiand to assert that "money" and a "market society" are "simultaneously constructed and mutually reinforcing" (138) through the exchange and "mimetic convergence of individual opinions," (133) of beliefs, about money, liquidity, and value.

and that belief was foundational to Jacobean business agents' acts.⁴⁴ The modeling and moulding of a goldsmith's identity via theatrical performance shaped and reinforced the degree of trust the public placed in the profession.

In the Fall of 1611, the Goldsmiths had additional incentives to put on a good show and portray a convincing story of their age-old brand as well as their reputation for honesty, integrity and community-mindedness. Their trustworthiness had been dealt a blow by the King's unusual decision in May of that year to become directly involved in the Trial of the Pyx.⁴⁵ As Simon Wortham notes, that year's assay test "reinforced a suspicion that the long-standing (self-) image of goldsmiths as distinguished servants of state was a convenient front behind which further corruption and deceit continued undetected" (351). It had also been over twenty years since the company had sponsored a Show, which means not one of their members had been elevated to the position of Lord Mayor since Richard Martin was installed in 1589. Unfortunately for the Goldsmiths, Martin had recently been involved in business scandals including allegations of shady dealings at the Mint and debt imprisonment (Challis 259). Given the climate at the time for this industry, the Show presented a vital opportunity for the Goldsmiths to attempt to redeem themselves and to re-direct the public gaze toward the benefits of their profession, thus mitigating the effects of recent reputational damage.

A last-minute confirmation of Queen Anne's attendance provided further opportunity to make a favourable impression as a thriving industry that was well able to fulfill its obligations.

⁴⁴ See David Graeber's *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value* for in-depth discussion of social theories of value and three streams ("values' in the sociological sense... 'value' in the economic sense... [and] 'value' in the linguistic sense" [1-2]). The "realization of value is always, necessarily, a process of comparison; for this reason it always, necessarily, implies an at least imagined audience" (87).

⁴⁵ Tracey Hill argues that "the decision to stage a version of the pyx ceremony in the Show can be seen to act as an implicit commentary on James' actions only a few months previously" (297).

Members promptly donated additional funds to augment the water-borne portion of their production where “sundry Ships, Frigots, and Gallies” transported the livery company representatives “in the passage on to Westminster, and backe againe” (Munday 22). The incremental investment in the passage on the Thames was plainly more than an expedient form of transport to fulfill the necessary protocols in the Lord Mayor’s investiture. In his description of the vibrant spectacle, Munday calls the reader to “[i]magine” the watercraft as “returned home” “from the rich and Golden *Indian Mines*” (22). This water show involved both visual display of celebration – the crafts were richly decorated with coloured banners, flags and company arms – and a deliberately crafted storytelling. Cannons and fireworks were likely used in the “[d]ivers Sea-fights and skirmishes ... actively performed” (22). The watercraft performed an important role in delivering the royal characters “*Chiorison the Golden King, with Tumanama his peerless Queene*” to shore where they “mounted on two Golden Leopardes, that draw a goodly triumphall Chariot” (22). (See the following image for an example of how the pageant might have been designed). The excitement of sea battle, triumphant landing and showcasing of rich and exotic royal figures contributed to the Goldsmiths’ objectives of demonstrating an appropriate degree of grandeur, as expected, of a successful company.⁴⁶ The combined water and land portions of the show provided a once-in-a-generation occasion to demonstrate the

⁴⁶ Hill remarks that “[t]he role the river Thames played in the Shows is another aspect that has, in the main, lost its original significance for modern commentators, although it is clear that the Companies considered the barge, galley foist and entertainments accompanying the Lord Mayor along the river to be at least as important as the pageantry on land” (155). The significance of the water portion of the show is captured in Munday’s description: “Divers Sea-fights and skirmishes are actively performed, both in the passage on to Westminster, and backe againe, each Gallant having his Indian Page attending on him, laden with Ingots of Gold and Silver, and those Instruments that delved them out of the earth” (Munday 22).



Figure 1: "The pageant of the King of the Moors" from Munday's *Chrysanaleia*, illustration by Henry Shaw.

Goldsmiths' talents, to reinforce their public status based on the specialized nature or "mystery" of their work.⁴⁷

Additional factors that contributed to the sense of urgency that compelled the Goldsmiths to spare no cost in this show can also be found in contextual market conditions. Scholarly analyses of Jacobean economic history regularly cite the effects of James I's profligacy

⁴⁷ The term "mystery" is frequently used in the naming of the London livery companies – many companies today describe its origin as deriving from the Latin term "misterium" defined as professional skill. George Unwin notes that the terms "craft," "art," and "mystery" are "largely synonymous" (62) and that one of the early recordings of the civic electoral functions was to summon in 1351 the "thirteen chief misteries" (later decided to the Twelve Great Companies") to "form a Common Council" (77). The *OED* defines mystery as "More generally: an action or practice about which there is or is reputed to be some secrecy; esp. a highly skilful or technical operation in a trade or art" (mystery, n., 10).

and his perpetual political struggles to break Parliament-imposed financial controls. While the King's choices and rulings were a dominant factor in trading practices, particularly in terms of import/export restrictions, it is also important to look at broader market issues to consider why scrutiny was turned upon the goldsmiths' profession in this early part of the seventeenth century. If royal sanctions and the commandeering of their authority had been the only problems the Goldsmiths faced, then the choice of venue and forum for their solicitation of court favours would likely have been very different than the staging of a public performance. For instance, the lending arrangements between the London livery companies and the crown were a means of currying favour with the court and establishing a relationship of dependency and obligation so that petitions to the crown might be more favorably considered. The wardens of the Goldsmiths put forward such a petition years later asking the king to intercede in ruling against the increase in numbers of "aliens and strangers" permitted to work as goldsmiths outside the company's oversight and control (Thirsk and Cooper 716-17). Given political lobbying opportunities were already available by other means, their investment in the Show held a different purpose. When the members of the company as "loving Bretheren [did] liberallie afoord" all that would for Pemberton's "triumph dignifie" (Munday 28), they were targeting a broader public network and responding to social pressures that prompted greater scrutiny of business acts as well as debate over their effectiveness and justness. Public response affected how business practices were adapted so as to remain acceptable to the collective.

A turn to the published mercantilist⁴⁸ treatises of the period (as Bradley Ryner, Ceri Sullivan, Theodore Leinwand and other scholars employing “new economic criticism” have done) provides insight into Jacobean debates on trade policy, accusations of monopoly and unfair trade practices, and anxieties about sufficiency of the stock of coins and the risk of movement of bullion in and out of the country.⁴⁹ Barriers that disrupted and slowed the flow of trade included the economic depression, interruption of production and trade due to the plague and other diseases, and angst over coin shortages. Regarding the last of these concerns, Beckert’s and Orléan’s theories of the effects that “belief” has on business agents’ mindsets about money (and thus their decision-making) offer another way of understanding worries about the common weal’s money supply and the ideas circulating about proper money management. Published mercantilist treatises express symptoms of the collective’s shaken faith in the value of English money along with fears of market instability. Attempts to understand and resolve the market decline and to deal with trade interruptions turned a critical gaze to the business agents involved in bullion transfer and related profit (or loss) in foreign exchange transactions, produced by differing purities in gold and silver coins in different countries. Theatrical performances showcased this circulating anxiety over both the global movement and local distribution of precious metals and the key role that goldsmiths played. For example,

⁴⁸ I use the term “mercantilist” with caution. These treatises were not a deliberate tool used by the bourgeoisie to self-interestedly manipulate the market for their own gain – a perspective that has at times coloured scholarship and interpretation of the treatises as Lars Magnusson has noted. According to Magnusson, a type of anti-mercantilist perspective, which Adam Smith strongly adhered to, has continued to inform “canonical interpretation of seventeenth- and eighteenth century economic thinking and writing.” The example he gives of the continuation of this perspective is the line of argument that Joyce Oldham Appleby in particular has put forward; see page 12 of Magnusson’s *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language* for more explicit critique of Appleby’s arguments. He argues against reading the treatises as a kind of “giant conspiracy on behalf of master manufacturers and merchants in order to skin the public and consumers” (xvii).

⁴⁹ See Wheeler, Smith, Mun, Misselden and Roberts for contemporary arguments.

Munday's 1611 Show highlighted the connection to "the rich Golden Indian Mines" and included representations of foreign royalty who "(at their own entreaty) [are] brought into England, with no meane quantity of Indian Gold" (Munday 22).

In short, the traditional image of the Goldsmiths, bolstered by almost three centuries of royal sanction as a livery company, was under threat on multiple fronts. The company faced pressure to justify the policies and practices they followed in the production and exchange of money. Their worth in terms of social recognition and collective endorsement of the value of its formal corporate organization was being challenged by the King who held the power to revoke their charter and restrict their autonomy. James issued proclamations on the following points which directly affected the Goldsmiths' business: he made amendments to gold coin valuation in proportion to silver coins;⁵⁰ he invoked more stringent regulations on what exactly could be produced and sold (restrictions and/or prohibitions of manufacture of gold and silver thread,⁵¹ gold and silver foliate,⁵² plate and other "unnecessary consumption and waste of Silver and Gold"⁵³); and he imposed strict restrictions on transporting, exportation and importation of gold and silver.⁵⁴ In addition, royal declarations were made to restrict the goldsmiths to a

⁵⁰ Larkin and Hughes: "A Proclamation for Coynes" Westminster, 16 November 1604 (99-103), "A Proclamation concerning the alteration of the prices of Gold" Newmarket, 23 November 1611 (272-278), "A Proclamation for reforming sundry inconveniences touching the Coynes of this Realme" Abthorpe, 31 July 1619 (436-439); "A Proclamation for supressing of light Golde" Newmarket, 7 February 1620 (460-464);

⁵¹ See details in Larkin and Hughes. Explicit restrictions on the manufacture of gold and silver thread are made in proclamations in 1618, which includes importation (384-89), 1619 and 1623.

⁵² Larkin and Hughes: 1619 "A Proclamation prohibiting the exchange of Monies for profit, the making of Plate of any of his Majesties Coynes, and the excessive use of Gold and Silver Foliate" Whitehall, 4 February 1619 (422 – 424). Explicit prohibition was made in this ruling against "the drawing of Moneys into the Goldsmiths hand... upon profite of Exchange" (423).

⁵³ Larkin and Hughes "A Proclamation for restraint of the exportation, waste, and consumption of Coine and Bullion" p. 542 (540-543).

⁵⁴ See Larkin and Hughes. Proclamations made in 1607, 1611 (specifically prohibiting that "no Goldsmith, or other person or persons of what estate soever he or they be (other then the Master and Officers of Our Mint, for the service and imployment thereof) presume or enterprise to melt any Moneyes of Gold or Silver" [263]), 1612; 1613

specific place of trade. As T.F. Reddaway has noted, “royal pressure was brought, soon afterwards to force goldsmiths with shops elsewhere to move to those two places” – Goldsmiths Row and Lombard Street” (“Goldsmiths’ Row” 189).⁵⁵ Furthermore, the Goldsmiths’ wardens were restricted from playing a leadership role in the high-profile production processes of the Royal Mint as the “top posts at the Mint now fell to the placement of the Stuart Court.”⁵⁶ Thus, the Goldsmiths were being directly challenged by the head of state who had the power to rescind their market monopoly.

State-imposed regulations thus forced the Goldsmiths Company to deal with a shrinking range of permitted business activities and successively eroded their competitive advantage in the market place. To continue to practice their business in the way they had always done meant they would risk further usurpation of their socially sanctioned power. To remain a going concern would require that the Company, as well as individual goldsmiths in their everyday practices, actively work to maintain the trust of their network. The period was, then, a crucial one as they faced the choice either to adapt or die as a profession. In light of these pressing concerns, the Goldsmiths’ investment in the spectacle of Munday’s *Chruso-thriambos* represented a concerted and defensive effort to maintain their traditional role. The significant emphasis placed in the Show on their “ancient” status was a strong indication of an attempt to

(directing that “light Spanish Silver Coin” be brought “with all convenient expedition” to the Mint for recoining [291]); explicitly prohibiting exportation in 1615; and 1622.

⁵⁵ The wardens of the Goldsmiths Company issued a formal complaint in 1622 against “aliens” working in “many lanes and remote places of this city and suburbs” (Thirsk and Cooper 716-17). See also Paul Griffiths “Politics made visible.”

⁵⁶ C.E. Challis details how “Richard Martin was the last in the line of working goldsmiths who had dominated Mint management since the early sixteenth century” and “with Sir Richard passed the days when a master-worker or warden could himself perform an assay if need be, or attempt to explain in a written treatise, as he had done, the theory and practice of his calling” (267).

(re)build faith by invoking custom and shared English heritage to instil a sense of trust in their profession. Munday's theatrical performance was, in this way, part of an identity or brand management strategy that relied on inherited value attributed to the Goldsmiths via their place in the common weal's social memory. The show deployed the ancientness of their London history as the principal rhetorical argument for their continued status and role in the common weal.

Social memory guided future expectations and, thus, London's business agents carried forward expectations of how they "should" behave from their past experiences within the collective network. Theatrical performances were also generated from an embedded position. Both business agents and theatrical performances, then, were "of" the collectives built upon shared social memory and experience, and contributed to the connections that formed and sustained established networks. In this way, the annual civic show along with other theatrical performances staged for commercial purposes were instances of Jacobean processes carried out by agents as they explored, negotiated, and worked toward a shared understanding of normative behaviour which agents could apply in their everyday decision making. Yet scholarly work has often concentrated on only single examples within this complex network – the Show, the goldsmiths' relationship to the Mint, or to the particulars of Middleton's play. The shared experiences of business agents participating in the market are lost when scope is isolated to a single portrayal of the goldsmith character or to one business role. To better understand what kind of cumulative effect an overlapping and repeated exposure to these constructions of business identity might have had on everyday actions, I address an array of perspectives: Munday's civic performance, Middleton's play, ritual business acts prescribed by company

ordinances, and applied practices described in Gamon's manuscript all reveal reiterative constructs and expectations that shaped public beliefs about how the professional goldsmith should act.

Cultural representations of the goldsmith need to be read against the backdrop of the anxiety and perceived threat that the profession engendered in the public domain because of their specialized skills that might afford them opportunities to carry out deceit, disguise, and counterfeit valuation without discovery by laypersons. How they were expected to act and how the collective fantasized about how the goldsmiths ideally should act were two very different sets of behavioural criteria. A clear example of this dichotomy is found in the concluding speeches of Munday's *Show*. Here the character Time reminds Mayor Pemberton to uphold the company ordinance against conducting work in "secret" places for, as he warns, "obscure and misty deedes... begetteth stinking Weedes" (38). The last words of the ancient goldsmith Faringdon admonish the Mayor to sustain the honour of his position; "soyle it not with any blame, / That, may impeach it, or your name;" he commands the Mayor who is "a Gold-Smith, Golden be" (39). By reference to "[t]he World [that] well wots, your former care," the audience was reminded of the goldsmith's public role, and that of the new mayor who, for the next year, served as representative of the livery company (39). The mayoral role also carried with it a set of public expectations, expressed as the desire that the holder conduct himself with a "liberall, francke, and free" behaviour (39). The need to prescribe explicitly how the goldsmith mayor ideally should behave exposed the worry that his conduct would fail to meet "the World['s]" expectations. Delivered before an audience who represented the business "World" of Jacobean London – a network that ranged from the ordinary person through to those in royal authority –

the speech was an explicit reminder to the profession that they must govern individual members and keep discipline over their membership body so as to maintain their company's reputation and the self-regulating autonomy granted to them.

Anxiety over how members would conduct themselves in the everyday was even present in the language of swearing-in ceremonies for new members accepted into the company. To achieve the status of “New Men” in the livery company, members had to swear to uphold and conform to professional standards set out for the most part in negative terms – as in “without any deceit” and as opposed to positive statements of a commitment to honesty (Reddaway and Walker 209). Rather than presuming new members would uphold virtues of integrity and honesty, or restricting membership to those who conformed to virtuous standards, the language of the swearing-in indicated the company was long-steeped in the collective's expectation that the threat of fraud was ever present and that public scrutiny of the goldsmiths was a key “remedy” so “that men may see that their work is good and suitable” (Reddaway and Walker 223). In fact, public suspicion that the goldsmiths had immoral tendencies can be found in the Company's originating charter of 1327 (the following image is of the “earliest surviving copy of the Goldsmiths' Company Charter recorded in the Court Minute Books, 1349”). The official document begins with an explanation that concerns of “counterfeit sterling” and “many practising ... in dark lanes and obscure streets, and [who] buy vessels of gold and silver secretly, making no inquiry as to whether the vessel was stolen or lawfully bought” prompted the king (then Edward III) to grant a monopoly and self-regulatory powers to the company (Reddaway and Walker 222-23). Thus the identity of the Goldsmiths Company was always working with and against traditional assumptions of the negative, of immoral practices



Figure 2: “Earliest surviving copy of the Goldsmiths’ Company Charter recorded in the Court Minute Books, 1349.”

as the default position – so much so that even the Company ordinances and habitually performed speeches of members and leaders at annual meetings and freedom-granting ceremonies formally acknowledged those inherent risks and the damage they posed to public perception of their work.⁵⁷

Munday’s *Chruso-thriambos*: An Act of Public Relations Management for the Goldsmiths’ Brand

In light of the reputational damage inflicted by recent events, it is evident that the “Right Worshipfull, Worthy, and Ancient Company of Goldsmithes” chose to sponsor the Lord Mayor’s Show held on Tuesday, October 29, 1611 as an explicit undertaking in public relations management (Munday frontis-piece; Pafford 19). Seven weeks prior to that date, the livery company had engaged Anthony Munday, along with John Grinkin his partner “payntersteyner,” to create and manage a theatrical performance that would, as John Pafford noted, “glorify the

⁵⁷ For further information see Reddaway and Walker’s comprehensive documentation of company ordinances.

City, the Company and the Lord Mayor” (14).⁵⁸ The performance that was “devised and written” by Munday showcased the range of the goldsmiths’ work, their historical role in the community and celebrated Pemberton as a role model. Hiring Munday was a low-risk choice for he had become a leader in the annual “busynes” of the Lord Mayor’s Show in the early part of seventeenth century (Pafford 13; Gordon and Robertson 82).⁵⁹ He also had relevant practical experience, given his active involvement in the commercial theatre companies as actor, playwright and critic.⁶⁰ The practice of engaging theatre professionals to handle promotional work was not unique to the Goldsmiths’ Company for, in addition to Munday and Middleton, Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, and John Webster were also contracted during James’ reign and through to 1630 by various livery companies to produce civic performances.⁶¹ This corporate hiring of theatre professionals complicates the idea of a hostile relationship between the City’s civic-business leaders and the theatre industry.⁶² Further evidence of the livery companies’ reliance on skills from professional theatre is documented in the Goldsmiths’ company minute-book. On September 3, 1611 the Warden “required” John Lowin (Lowen), “one of his Majesty’s

⁵⁸ John Pafford, Goldsmiths’ Librarian of the University of London (1945-1967) edited Munday’s *Chruso-thriambos: The Triumphs of Gold* for a 1962 privately printed Goldsmiths’ Company copy. My sincere thanks to David Beasley, librarian of the Goldsmiths’ Company, who graciously presented a copy to add to the collection of the Taylor Family Digital Library at the University of Calgary. His gift had a direct impact on the direction my research project took and his patient tolerance for a lost Canadian prairie woman was invaluable.

⁵⁹ Munday took over from George Peele as primary producer of the Lord Mayor’s Show; by 1611 Munday had completed six shows and would go on to complete many more.

⁶⁰ See Bergeron *ODNB* entry on “Anthony Munday” or Hill *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture* for biographical information.

⁶¹ In the 1630s, Thomas Heywood took over as the professional of choice.

⁶² Tracey Hill posits that “no doubt, the separation within so much criticism of the two closely related spheres of [civic] pageantry and playwriting is due to the persistence of the old story of wholesale civic opposition to the stage, which is gradually being chipped away but still largely retains its status as orthodoxy” (*Pageantry and Power*, 22). Steve Mullaney’s point that “[t]he public playhouses were not a minor irritation to London; they represented a threat to political well-being and stability of the city” (53) illustrates the more traditional perception that there existed a fractious relationship between City and theatre companies.

[the King's Men] players and brother of this Companie [holding his freedom of the Goldsmiths]... to performe the part of Lepston [Leofstane character] in the shew" (Gordon and Roberston 81). The transfer of professionals between theatre and livery company suggests that business agents learned as much from theatre as the theatre companies adapted from business practices of the City.⁶³ A key skill transferred between the two industries was, of course, how best to manage and appeal to audience expectations in order to achieve business objectives.

The urgency of investing in Munday's *Chruso-thriambos* had been heightened by the King's intervention in the Trial of the Pyx in May of that year which brought into question the Goldsmiths' professionalism and threatened their autonomy. To counter the potentially damaging effects of the King's action, the Show turned to the "ghosts of the long-departed" to shore up public endorsement of the Goldsmiths' status and their rights to monopolize the gold and silver commodities business (Pafford 16).⁶⁴ This choice to promote the Goldsmiths' integrity and trustworthiness in minting, currency exchange, and precious goods trade was necessary to sustain stability in the perceived value of their products (market props such as coins, decorative items, and jewellery) and thus the perceived worth of the profession.⁶⁵ Munday's show engaged a public audience as well as its sponsors and performers in a debate

⁶³ See Bruster's arguments about the transference of skills and structures in *Drama and the Market*. Roslyn Knutson asserts that the reverse also held – that the structure and processes of the livery companies (which she refers to as the guilds) transferred to the theatre industry "a business protocol and repertory practices that enabled individual [theatre] companies to flourish and the industry itself to expand. The model for these relationships, as I also argue, was the guild" (*Playing Companies* 7)]. David Kathman's article, "Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freeman and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater," details a number of players who held apprenticeships and/or freedom of the City in livery companies.

⁶⁴ The idea of "ghosting" also links to Marvin Carlson's ideas about the haunted stage.

⁶⁵ See Beckert's rhetorical arguments about the fiction of money found in Chapter 5 "Money and Credit" (pp. 110 – 116 in particular) and the public narratives that instil belief in the future value of money. As Beckert explains, "[m]onetary stability should instead be understood as the outcome of a political and discursive process through which confidence is established. ... through a constant flow of interpretations of the monetary situation, monetary policy measures, and goals. These communicative processes take place among influential actors" (110).

over custom and worth. It responded to preconceived notions that careful regulation and monitoring was needed to mitigate the risk that the goldsmiths' profession would be overtaken by a predilection to self-interested greed and mercenary practices that ran counter to the collective good.⁶⁶ To remain a viable business, the goldsmiths had to demonstrate that they remained mindful of their social "embeddedness" (Beckert 6).

The importance of public perception is emphasized in the pageant speeches made by eminent historical figures. Faringdon, given he was a highly successful Lord Mayor who had served "three and fifty yeares" in the fourteenth century, served as a voice of experience (Munday 30). He reminded the crowd, and crown, that it was essential that goldsmiths "[l]ive in Prince and peoples praise... [that] Such good and golden deeds [they] prepare, That may renowne our Mystery, to times of utmost memory" (Munday 32-33). The trust of their fellow business agents was what kept the Goldsmiths in business and that trust was dependent on the "renowne" they earned from their "golden deeds" (32-33). To allay fears that goldsmiths would prey on ordinary community members, the Company invested in presenting a full spectrum of the goldsmiths' "mysteries" from mining through to assay testing. The wardens agreed to meet Munday's "demaund" of £80 and in return he committed to providing "apparel" for all the characters, "to make fitte and apt speeches for expressing of the Shew," to "cause 500 bookes... to be made and printed," for "tyreing and trimming of the children and whatsoeuer els is requisite to be done by him for the managing of the whole busyness."⁶⁷ That this civic

⁶⁶ James I proclamation of May 1611 explicitly lists Goldsmiths as those of the "natural borne Subjects" who have for "their private lucre and gaine, and dayly doe presume to weigh all sorts of Moneys currant within this our Realme of England, to the end to cull out the old and new Moneys, which either by not wearing, or by any other accident in the making thereof are more weighty than the rest" (Larkin and Hughes 262).

⁶⁷ Pafford 13, Gordon and Robertson 82.

performance was a “busyness” that needed managing and one that merited a hefty sum is clear from the pattern of annual investments made in the Shows by London’s Great Twelve Livery Companies.⁶⁸ Munday’s business-like role is analogous to current day brand marketing consultants hired by corporations to manage their public image. As a performance expert, Munday was paid to help the Company make a positive impression on the London market. The stated objective of the creative service he provided was to present “triumphall shows and deuises” “for the honorable estaulment of Sir James Pemberton, Knight and Alderman, in the high and eminent Office of Londons Maioraltie” (21). More importantly, it was “for the better effecting” that “the Ancient, Worthy, and Right Worshipfull Company of Gold-smithes” chose to be “sparing [of] no cost, that might expresse their loue to so Honorable a Brother” (21). Their refusal to stint on performance costs in their aim to produce particular effects led the company to commit significant resources to Munday to produce this one-time event. The hoped-for payback on this investment was to solidify their reputation in the market.

For a further investment of £75, Grinkin was also hired to provide the properties for the show including a tomb, a chariot drawn by two leopards, and pageant of the “Orferie” drawn by two unicorns.⁶⁹ Such a representation of the invention and craft of the goldsmiths in the various stages of their work was to “expresse the persons ... according to their severall Carracter and Office” (Munday 23). The theatrical performance was an expression of more than tasks and objects, however; it also served as an embodiment of the persons of the goldsmiths,

⁶⁸ For context Philip Henslowe’s diary records advances and loans to dramatists ranging from 20 shillings to loans of £10. www.henslowe-alleyne.org.uk/essays/henslowediary.html. Average expenditures for a Jacobean Lord Mayor’s Show, as analyzed by Gordon and Robertson, for “was about £700” (xxix).

⁶⁹ Orferie relates to the term “orfeverie” defined as “the work of a goldsmith, articles made by a goldsmith” and an “orfever” who is “a goldsmith” (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*).

their character and their roles or office within the collective network. The range of their work, and thus the degree of specialization of their skills, was made visible to the audience, thus suggesting a willingness to be open and transparent in their activities in order to bolster trust in their profession. From their elevated position mounted “on a quadrangle frame” carrying a “Rocke or Mount of Golde,” the players laboured as “Miners and Pioners [who] delve into the Earths entrailes,” “dextrious Artezans,” the “Mint-Maister, his Coyners”, “Dunstone standing neare a forge working,” and “the Essay[Assay]-Maister.” The “orferie” staged the goldsmiths’ specialist tasks and roles from mining through to product testing in an attempt to demystify and promote how goldsmiths carried out their work.

The character Leofstane (played by John Lowen⁷⁰) provided a narrative description that directed audience attention to the “*Orferie*, so styled by the auncient Epithite of your Companies profession, or Gold-Smithery” (Munday 34). The materiality of the performance served as a vehicle that “speake[s for] it self unto [the Goldsmiths] ... honor” and emphasized the company’s “Worthy and Ancient” status (Munday title page, 41). Putting the Goldsmiths’ mysteries and ancient status on public display brought them further out of the “dark lanes and obscure streets,” places where in 1327 Edward III had accused “many practicing the goldsmiths craft” of hiding themselves (Reddaway 223). By making the mysteries openly visible, the Show aimed to create a perception of the goldsmiths’ commitment to openness and transparency.

This strategic reveal of “the secret skills (*pryvitees*) of the said craft” (Reddaway 213) deployed a tactic previously used in 1604 by their fellow-goldsmith Gamon whose manuscripts

⁷⁰ See Pafford “Appendix 1” for brief biography of this “famous actor” and “brother of this [Goldsmiths’] Company” (54). See David Kathman for a more recently prepared biography (33-34).

documented secret goldsmith practices.⁷¹ Both the “orferie” pageant and Gamon’s texts were in direct violation of company ordinances that precluded any members from “reveal[ing] the secrets and good regulations of the craft” (Reddaway 259). Gamon had set a precedent by disclosing insider information, including a detailed breakdown of the construction of the cupella⁷² (a tool used in assay tests) and step-by-step details of the inner-chamber workings of the 1604 Trial of the Pyx (on that date it was attended as usual by the monarch’s proxy representative). The choice to divulge secrets of process in public is often a reactionary tactic – one that is still resorted to by groups suspected of manipulation or mismanagement⁷³ -- and the “orferie” spectacle should be recognized as such.⁷⁴

In another direct appeal to the crowd, the Company sponsored “two Moores rydeing upon unicornes casting abroad, the ore, and Justice and her two daughters dispersing money abroad” (Pafford 12; Gordon and Robertson 81). This exotic display of shared largesse emphasized the company’s role in distributing wealth and money within the common weal, where they functioned as a go-between for the import/export of coin and bullion that was necessary for English trading activities at home and abroad. That Munday’s show was a

⁷¹ See Jasmine Toppin Kilburn’s dissertation (especially 56) for discussion of the distribution of Gamon’s manuscript. Despite the question of degree of public circulation, the very act of recording the secret skills multiple times (5 copies of the manuscript are extant) was an act that intentionally opened the secrets beyond the one-to-one (or few) sharing within a master’s household. Although not widely distributed, the act of writing acknowledges and anticipates the potential for disclosure.

⁷² Gamon’s description of precise ingredients for construction of the cupella reads like a Jonsonian episode in *The Alchemist*. Gamon lists out the steps using “carre bones of horses, oxen, or kyne or bones of chickens,” ashes and “cleane whytes of egges” and then goes on to describe the making of the “coullor” which uses the “cheekbones of the fysshe called pike” (“The 9 Chapter: Teacheth the making of the Copell: wheren ye maye make youre Assae, as well of golde as of sylver”).

⁷³ For instance, consider university or municipal budgetary town halls or “community engagement” processes for controversial capital development projects. These (often theatrical) performances are lauded as demonstrating the power-holders’ commitment to transparency and willingness to engage the public in policies or acts widely held as contentious.

⁷⁴ See Wortham for further discussion of the “distrust of Goldsmiths... shared by James” (337-38).

deliberate attempt to manage audience expectations and direct reception is also evident from the emphasis placed on recounting the company's historical reputation and remembering the service provided to the City and its citizens by past goldsmith mayors. These mayoral ghosts were resurrected by Time and called to transfer their wisdom and guide the incumbent mayor, Pemberton, in the duties he was expected to take up. In a series of speeches, the ghosts of the "Ancient Company," "old Nicholas Faringdon, Foure times Lord Mayor," Leofstane "the first Provost that bare authoritie in London," and the character Time tell the story of the company's traditions and the important role that goldsmiths played in attaining London's royal-sanctioned corporatization (Munday 22, 30). The speech acts re-performed the identities of both the City and the Goldsmiths' Company by invoking memories of "the right words ... said at the right time in the right place...[by] the right kind of person [namely the King]... officiating" (Loxley *Performativity* 9) and served as the high points of the land-based portion of the Show. The various speeches described and prescribed how the Goldsmiths were to conduct business "for this Citties good" (Munday 27). They also called attention to the qualities of the individual goldsmith – his "vertues, worth, and special love of all" (32) that made Pemberton eminently qualified to carry forward the Goldsmiths' legacy and lead the City for the next year. Evidence of past performance was suggested as indicative of future outcomes and thus fed the public's expectations and understanding of how goldsmiths should behave.

Pafford's introduction to the printed version of Munday's *Chruso-Thriambos* reads the speeches as "heavy and stilted" but "no doubt... conventional" as "it is the speech used for choruses and sometimes by apparitions in Shakespeare" (16). Although the verse fails to meet Pafford's standards for poetic style, his critique draws attention to the habits and conventional

aspect of the characters' words. I would argue, however, that rather than drawing comparisons to verse form, it is more useful to consider the business language of the period and the forms of address used to identify the import of the speaker and the public weight attached to the manner of speaking.⁷⁵ Language recognized as "business speech" serves to differentiate those who identify themselves with the City and interested in everyday market activities. Leofstane, in the first speech made upon the mayor's return to the City from Westminster, introduced himself as "a Brother Sheriffe also of the same Society" and welcomed Pemberton as "Honorable Lord, and Brother Gold-Smith" (Munday 27). The reference to fraternal ties bound the current mayor to the "five hundred years and more" heritage of the City (28). By first identifying himself as Mayor Pemberton's ancestor, Leofstane's story of the past served to reassert the rights of the freemen of the City to rule London. The storytelling of centuries of practice rehearsed the customs of the past and created what Andy Wood calls "social memory" (22).⁷⁶ The process of public remembering was a move that deliberately created custom which "was a *discursive field*: a body of ideas that sanctioned claims to rights, office, space, land and resources" (Wood 2). Through public performance of the history of the origins of civic leadership, the ordinary livery company members (business agents who typically did not hold a noble title, although some descended from gentility⁷⁷) "persisted in seeing.... [their autonomy

⁷⁵ To some extent, Ryner does this by looking at the use of metaphor in business treatises and drama, as does Aaron Kitch who focuses on language of political economy. My interest is in the norms of business language that these speeches suggest were already in place in the period and used to build trust and confidence in the professionalism and integrity of the speaker. As I will discuss later, Middleton's *A Chaste Maid* is quite intriguing in the play on language – particularly of the Yellowhammer couple – and the norms that this highlights. Of particular interest will be how Middleton's goldsmith character, Yellowhammer, is constructed by way of business language.

⁷⁶ See Wood's discussion in *Memory of the People*, 22-29.

⁷⁷ See Richard Grassby chapters "Necessity and Choice" and "The Pattern of Recruitment" in *The Business Community of Seventeenth Century England* (pp. 108-135 and 136 – 170). Grassby's tabulations reveal that "[t]he proportion of recruits [into apprenticeship and the companies] with genteel status was remarkably high. In the early seventeenth century, some 500 of 750 migrants to London from the upper levels of society came as

as “freemen” with “freedom of the city”] as a right, guaranteed by custom” (Wood 5).⁷⁸ The speech acts of the show were, then, a re-performing and reclaiming of identity and status as well as of public credibility.

The mode of address and mannerisms of speech used in Munday’s Show demonstrated the importance of heritage in establishing relationships and building credibility and trust. In an act of voiced remembering, Leofstane also inferred that the Company’s history was, much like that of the English land-holding nobility, grounded in martial skills. He harkened back to the early experiences of the City and its “daies of disturbance and rough combustion” when the “worthy Brethren” of the livery companies were “assistant to me [the Mayor], in care, counsell, and fatherly providence” and were “hostile still, to London’s Enemies or rude disturbers” (Munday 27). According to this version of the tale, the first Provost claims he was “a Gold-Smith by my profession,” when he was then raised to be “Governour of this famous City” (27). (Munday’s account would be amended a couple of years later to “correct” or re-story Leofstane’s heritage as belonging to his own Drapers’ Company, thus further demonstrating the role that storytelling consistently performed in identity construction.) Leofstane’s repeated referral to the “rough combustion” of the time that “required a stearner straine of awfull rule” built a history that portrayed the elected leader of the livery companies as much a military leader as he was a business man (27). By inference then, the idea of the heritage of the “merchant knight” is rooted in this story.⁷⁹ The City mayor’s military-like service, portrayed as

apprentices. Between one-quarter and one-third of 140 Jacobean aldermen were sons of knights or gentlemen and mainly younger sons, though these fall to 17 per cent when the lesser merchants are included” (144-145).

⁷⁸ The claim to rights of the ordinary subjects, to recognition as members of the collective, is much like the process Wood describes that “poor folk” used to establish their rights to gleaning the fields after harvest (4-8).

⁷⁹ As discussed in more detail in chapter 3, the concept of the merchant knight threads through each of this project’s case studies.

protecting the interests of the state, is deployed as justification for the King's decision to recognize the worthiness of the civic position by bestowing the title of Lord Mayor. The validity and credibility of the title is further amplified by the fact that it was the heroic King Richard I, "surnamed Lyon-Heart, / For his undaunted courage and great mind," who granted authority to the City of London to use the "Lord Mayor" title in recognition of the worth of the role (29). The climax of the origin story, which Time poetically relates (thus elevating through form the narrative's perceived value for the attendant crowd), was King John's proclamation that "gave the Citizens of London absolute power to elect a Lord Mayor amongst themselves" (23). The authority to self-select a mayor from within their ranks essentially empowered the livery companies to raise the status of one of their own to the peerage. This worthy and important heritage was further emphasized by the royal chariot that accompanied the procession to the ancient tomb of Leofstane. A physical embodiment of those kings (Richard and John) carried by chariot through the streets was intended to reiterate and reinforce the Goldsmiths' authority and status as one of the most successful London livery companies (it ranked fifth in order of precedence amongst the Great Twelve).

Both the frontispiece of the souvenir text and Leofstane's initial speech of greeting to welcome Pemberton into his role drew careful attention to the mayor's title as "Lorde" and to the high-ranking status of the "Right Worshipful, Worthy, and Ancient Company of Gold-Smithes." Formal introductions worked as speech acts that assigned Pemberton his new social status and reminded the crowd of the heritage that produced this high-ranking official. As a "Right Worshipful" body, the claim was that the goldsmiths are deserving of respect, were reputable and honourable and were of distinguished rank or importance – in other words, all

the meanings and connotations that the word “worshipful” implies. The long-standing usage and import of the title instilled public confidence in the stability of the livery company system and, particularly, of the goldsmiths’ profession.

The annual vying for and naming of an individual to the mayor’s position created the perception that the role was one to be valued and that only the worthiest liverymen were sufficiently qualified or deserving enough to be elected. Demonstration of the construction, claim and reclamation of privilege and status was also one of the intended purposes of the ceremonial movement of the liverymen’s bodies through the City of London, along the Thames and to Westminster. The deliberate pauses for public speechmaking at well-established sites of power (such as Baynard Castle, Guildhall and, in 1611, the Goldsmiths’ Hall) were necessary to invoke the transfer of power to the incumbent mayor and to reaffirm the position of the livery companies. The procession was a legitimating move that openly acknowledged the interdependent relationship between City and State and re-established the companies’ right to self-rule (a right formally captured in company ordinances, such as the Goldsmiths’ charter which was confirmed in the second year of James’ rule).⁸⁰ Each year, the movement between places of power served as reminder of the companies’ long histories and restatement of their worth. The affiliation of individual members to the companies also conferred social recognition upon them.

The annual ritual of donning livery attire and gathering under newly refreshed company banners that accompanied the pageants, the water-show and the Mayor’s coach was a public

⁸⁰ See Walter Prideaux: “The whole of the liberties and franchises granted to the Company by the preceding charters are set forth and confirmed by inspeximus charters of the... second of James I., and eighteenth of Charles II” (xxii)

claim to inheritance. By performing the right habits of movement, carried out in significant places, and in the midst of the right people, the acts of the livery companies made a serious claim to have their role within the business network publicly recognized.⁸¹ Their annual procession was performative in that it demonstrated how to act using the “right words, ...at the right time in the right place” (Loxley *Performativity* 9). Furthermore, the procession showed which bodies in what modes of dress have the credibility and authority to be successful livery company members and business agents. Along with the transfer of specialized skills from master to apprentice, the next generation who obtained their freedom of the company benefited by inheriting a long lineage of goodwill – the subjective assignment of value to the recognized company brand and its reputation in the London market for quality products or services. The visible identification of a member of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths was (and still is) an act that claims business value and worth.

Munday used historical precedent, material attributes and place to bolster the construction of a positive image of the Goldsmiths in the eyes of the audience, through the gathering of peers and colleagues in the livery company procession, and among the members themselves. The design of the pageant, particularly that portion elevated on the “Rocke or Mount of Gold” (Munday 23), raised up the company quite literally as their motto and heraldic arms were placed at the “top or height of our Orferie” (24). Munday’s rationale for positioning the “Societies creast or supremist Embleme” (see below) at this high point was that he felt it “may hold some correspondency with our invention (their Motto or word being, *Jusitia*

⁸¹ See Loxley’s *Performativity* for discussion of serious claims.

Virtutum Regina [Justice is Queen of Virtues])” (24).

Two aspects of this motto were carefully woven into the “invention” of the Show. The first was the notion of justice, specifically English common-law justice as it was established through “customs [that] were built up, generation after generation, encoding social practices just as they became habitual” (Wood 2).

English common-law, as Wood assesses, “was related to the emergence of a sense of the past that underwrote civic identity” (97).⁸² Repeatedly

featured in the Show were references to “auncient” memory acts and processes, all of which served to build a common-law case and promote the idea that Goldsmiths as a body upholding “justice.”⁸³

The Company’s motto *justitia virtutum regina* (Justice is Queen of Virtues) (see below), formed a key structural element in Munday’s show. As a character in the Show, the “Queen of all other Vertue,” played out a scene where she tested the “virtue of her Ingots, Jewels,



Figure 3: Company crest inset into “Ground Plan of the second hall, watercolor on parchment 1692” by John Ward

⁸² See Wood’s section “Legal cultures and local cultures” for further exploration of “[t]he development of a theory of common law, resting in Anglo-Saxon custom” which Wood notes gained emphasis “in Elizabeth’s reign.” This theory “represented more than a series of abstract legal and intellectual developments. It not only ran through the crisis between monarch and parliament in the late 1620s and ultimately into the English Revolution, but had implications for popular politics.... In urban communities, it was related to the emergence of a sense of the past that underwrote civic identity” (96-97).

⁸³ Recent events with James I trade impositions put in force without Parliament’s approval had heightened the degree of focus on English common-law and justice – especially as it related to trade. The question of English common-law (a sticking point for the unification of Scotland and England as Britain) had generated much debate in the common weal. Contemporary debates in the Commons, in sermons and speeches by the Lords and the King, reveal how passionately the public believed in the idea of English common-law. Tim Harris’s account of the Stuart reigns highlights the how much of English identity was centred on the legal system as a core differentiating factor between English and Scottish common weal members. See Tim Harris *Rebellion*.



Figure 4: The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, "Coat of Arms."

Monies, &c, all poyzing them afterward in her even-handed-Balance" (Munday 25). The Queen of Virtues, seated at the top of the Orferie, was accompanied by her daughters, Gold (*Chruso*, the eldest) and Silver (*Argurion*), whom she fastens to herself with a golden chain. To conduct her testing, she uses the "Touch-Stone," "which she gives her "golden Sonnes, the Goldsmiths" so that "every

Mettall might be just and perfect" (25). Munday's expressed intent for this pageantry was so "that it might be publikely discerned, how unpartiall an Empresse she is and [how] uncorruptible in her rich bounty to the World, thus she reveales it" (25). The Company's Queen was shown as virtuous and transparent in her actions. Her deeds were contrasted to the tale of the "greedy and never-satisfied Lydian King who desired whatsoever he toucht might turne to Golde, finding his owne covetousnesse to be his ruine, & he (imaginarily) Metamorphozed into a Stone"⁸⁴ (25). The mythical story was linked to the performance as this stone became the one used by the Queen "(for ever after) ...[as] the Touch-Stone and trier of both Gold and Silver, to warne other Worldlings of the like avaritious folly" (25).

⁸⁴ The Lydian King is Croesus. For more discussion, see Andrew Ramage and Paul Craddock *King Croesus' Gold*. Of particular relevance, Lydia was a state in the ancient Persian Empire and reputed to be the first to mint gold coins.

Considering the King's intervention in the Trial of the Pyx earlier that year and proclamations that indicated his desire to gain control of, if not hoard, additional wealth,⁸⁵ Munday's inclusion of uncomplimentary references to an ancient king is an intriguing choice of tactic. That the "orferie" pageant was intended as a persuasive tool is evident from the character Time's explicit reference to "these faire Emblemes" as employed in "the cause" of forming "The Argument" (35). The contrast between the virtuous Queen who gifted the Goldsmiths with mythically charged tools and the avaricious King who sought to claim all gold for himself was surely a deliberate device that both set the Goldsmiths apart from the vice of avarice and attributed it instead to a king. Claiming the Queen of Virtue as source for both the Goldsmiths' unique skills and their specialized tools was an explicit attempt to counteract preconceived notions that the profession was inherently at risk of acts of fraud and corruption. Carefully selected props – the touch-stone, scales of justice, intricate chains of gold "fastened in the midst with a golden Ouch or Buckle, the tongue whereof hath so intricate a virtue, as none by her selfe [the Queen of Virtues] is able to untie it" (24) – functioned as symbolic acts of performance so that the "Carracter and Office" of the Goldsmiths was "expresse[d]" and "publikely discerned" as virtuous, "unpartiall," "uncorruptible," and just (23-25). Each prop served to reiterate the point that the goldsmiths' identity was formed on the principles of purity, justice, and incorruptible virtue.

The idea that the Goldsmiths stood for common-law justice was emphasized at the end of the pageant as the "two beautiful Ladies," "Antiquity and Memory," accompanied the Queen

⁸⁵ Wortham presents an interesting argument about the King's attitude toward wealth and his position on monetary policy: "James saw precious metal – and especially the gold he particularly wished to accumulate – as something akin to a static hoard rather than exploitable circulating currency" (343-344).

and “make discovery ... of grave Experience in the Golde-smithes auncient profession, by the imagined character of learned Dunstane, who being Bishop of Worcester, London and Arch-Bishoppe of Canterbury, had no little delight in the Art of Gold-Smithery” (26). Again the performance, as well as the description in Munday’s souvenir book, invoked the Goldsmiths’ links to “time out of minde” (26). Further, their association with religious authority underscored the virtuous qualities of the profession even if the reference to St. Dunstan was risky in Protestant England. It was managed by emphasizing Dunstane’s role in the English church rather than his status as a Catholic saint. (Note the image, at right, of St Dunstan that stands even today in the Goldsmiths’ Hall and reminds visitors of the Company’s saintly association). Even in the absence of audible speech acts, the audience could interpret visual signs and obvious symbolism in the material performance so as to construct the goldsmiths’ identity as one deeply grounded in tradition and founded by those who uphold virtuous



Figure 5: Gilded figure of “St Dunstant” that stands in the Company’s Hall in Foster Lane (originally created for the “state barge of 1744”

principles. The objective of the performance was, then, to argue that the Goldsmiths continued to be guided by the same qualities of virtue and justice and that the ancestral roots of the profession could be traced to exemplary (not to mention saintly) models. The embodiments of Antiquity, Memory and ancient Dunstan were all intended to propose the Goldsmiths as having

exclusive authority, long ago given to them to live out their creed and, through their profession, fulfill their commitment to City and common weal alike.

Having traced the history of the company through its formation in ancient myth and exemplary models of virtuous behaviour, Time drew the “The Argument” forward in both time and place to “dignifie” their “brother” Pemberton’s triumph in attaining the top civic position (28). Leofstane extolled the etymology of Pemberton’s “so bright a Name” (37) and in doing so, and then in the act of renaming him with the title Lord Mayor, he created Pemberton’s public identity. Time advised Pemberton to conduct himself in accordance with the identity constructed by his name, for “such a goodly name, /Requires bright actions, from pollution free, / In word and deeded to be alike, the same” (35). Time also drew attention to the mayor’s obligation to serve as a model of behaviour for others, for “when the Head in splendour seems devine, /The people learne (by his cleare light) to shine” (38). But the final word went to Faringdon, whose commandment to “Golden be” and to balance the accountability to the common weal by remaining “far from prodigality” and neither “too lavish” nor “too frugal” carried the ancient voice of experience and worked to manage public expectations for the mayor (39).

The connection between past and future was made manifest by material enactments of ancient rulers and leaders and intensified by the physical sites selected as “apt place appointed” (22) for the investiture of the mayor. The Show’s adherence to a conventional route, with pauses for speechmaking along the way at well-known sites of power and authority, invoked rituals that built up a shared sense of identity and confirmed normative practices. By completing the proper steps and protocols the collective knew and accepted the Mayor’s claim

to lead the City. As Faringdon directed the procession to the next stage, he reminded the audience of the protocol to be repeated: “Now, as custome wils it so, / On to Paules Church must ye goe” (Munday 36). As an elder, he acted as keeper of custom and tradition.

In resurrecting Faringdon, the show invoked a centuries-old custom to substantiate the Company’s identity claims. The fact that Faringdon was able to orient himself in the City by architecture that still stood confirmed the solidity of the Goldsmiths’ privileges. Despite the passage of four hundred years, he knew London by the “ancient famous Cathedrall, / Hight the Church of blessed Paule” (31). In his next spoken line, he reminded the crowd of his role in the City where “this Warde witness can/Once thereof I was Alderman, /And gave it mine owne proper name./I built these Gates, the very same” (31). The recounting of the source and genealogy of the name of the City Ward “Faringdon” and the connection of the person Faringdon to the Goldsmiths validated the company as integral to the City. The continuity of place from past to the present of 1611 is what lent the Company its power and validity. Place invoked a sense of belonging and ratified the Goldsmiths’ rights to the freedom of the City at the same time as it gave credibility to Pemberton’s title of Lord Mayor.

The places of performance for the Lord Mayor’s Show reminded people, whether attending or performing, of their shared social relationships built upon long-held traditions. The City was a centralizing place that grounded identity for the livery companies, yet their value stemmed from extending their business beyond the City walls. The land-based places of the City were linked to broader networks of power via the Thames River, which carried the livery companies beyond the City walls and connected them to global trade (a topic that will be studied in chapter three). Munday’s invitation to the reader of the souvenir text, to “Imagine

then, that from the rich and Golden *Indian* Mines, sundry Ships, Frigots, and Gallies are returned home,” activated the idea of global trade in the readers’ minds and linked it to the value the goldsmith was able to transfer to the common weal (22).

The connection to tradition was most sharply evident in Cheapside, the long-recognized primary residence of goldsmiths both in terms of “home” (its Hall) and place of work. Their occupation of what was commonly known as “Goldsmiths’ Row,” located in “West Cheap from ancient times” (Strype Stowe qtd. in Griffiths 177), was long-used as a key means of identifying and finding those in England with expertise in goldsmithing. By royal proclamation, Edward III had used “the high street of Cheap” and specifically “the goldsmiths’ quarter” to serve as one of the primary points of validation of the Company’s authority. In fact, no person “practicing the goldsmiths’ craft” was authorized to carry out in their trade in the City unless their shop or business was located in Cheap and it was royally decreed that “no silver in plate nor vessel of gold or silver should be sold in the city of London” outside of Cheap (Reddaway and Walker 222).

The royal order of incorporation in 1327 had validated Cheapside as the primary site of the goldsmiths’ business. Goldsmith’s Row in Cheapside was, then, at the heart of the profession’s identity, and as such it held a significant value to the Company but, tellingly, also to the City and the state. As Vanessa Harding observes, “the City co-opted Cheapside’s space and wealth to support its presentation” (85). As the seventeenth century progressed, Cheapside became a site of struggle over the public’s perception of market stability and control. To Paul Griffiths’ point, by the 1620s the “rotting Row was very *visible*” (emphasis original 177) as evidence of a “growing movement of goldsmiths to places beyond the west walls of the City

where well-heeled clients now settled in large numbers” (177). In addition, as John Pym noted in 1621 from the “Commons debate on the causes of the trade depression,” there were “now twenty goldsmiths’ shops in Cheapside ... let at one-third of the rents they were wont to be let at, which is a sign that trade is decayed” and Thomas Wentworth recorded in the same year that “every third shop of goldsmiths in Cheapside was shut up” (Thirsk and Cooper 2). These changes led James’ Privy Councillors to admonish the City to deal with the problem of the abandonment of the Row to the “mean” trades and decay, bringing “noe smale disparagement unto the honour of the citty” (Griffiths 180). James attempted to place the Goldsmiths back in Cheapside in an effort to shore up perceptions of the City’s, and thus the common weal’s, prosperity, although by 1611 it was no longer the primary location for all of the goldsmithing activities in London. The concern rested not on the degraded aesthetics of Cheapside, but rather on the public’s interpretation of place as a sign of stability and success. The monarch’s directive was driven by concern that “it may breede an opinion of greater decay then ... there is cause” (Acts of Privy Council 515; Griffiths 180). Public belief in the stability of the market was necessary to infuse positive expectations for the future, which would in turn encourage active trade and the level of consumption needed to sustain the monarchy and common weal.

Cheapside, as home and workplace of the goldsmith liverymen and their company, was (and remains) a place where value – its creation, acceptance and transfer between agents – formed connections within the English market and beyond to an emergent global network. In Cheapside the value of gold and silver coin was a shared means of knowing, measuring and understanding the worth of both objects and people, of all agents involved in social exchange.

Middleton's A Chaste Maid in Cheapside: Business Ethics Performed in Place

Given the long tradition of the goldsmiths' ownership and occupation of this City quarter,⁸⁶ the reference to "Cheapside" in the title of Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (c.1613) would have delivered immediate and easily imagined associations to the goldsmiths' profession, to money and other valuable commodities, and to market activities. In other words, the play deliberately leveraged affiliation of identity with place. Even for those audience members at the Swan Theatre (a short trip across the Thames River from the City) who might not have regularly frequented "the heart of the city" (Acts of Privy Council 515), there would have been a shared knowledge of what kind of business was carried on there and who were the primary agents of influence. As Jean Howard notes, "[t]he choice of location [for the play] can hardly be accidental" (*Theater of a City* 137). Indeed, Middleton's play title surely exploited the association of goldsmiths' brand with this well-known place for his theatre company's commercial benefit.

⁸⁶ The Goldsmiths' charter explicitly binds goldsmiths' authority, privilege and entitlement to this place and the annual livery company rituals hosted in Goldsmiths' Hall (just off Cheapside Street in Foster Lane) served as public declaration of belonging and authority. James I renewed the Goldsmiths' Company charter and then later in 1623 "by his Majestie's speciall command" pressured the City to "restore" it to its "former state and lustre" (Acts of Privy Council 515).

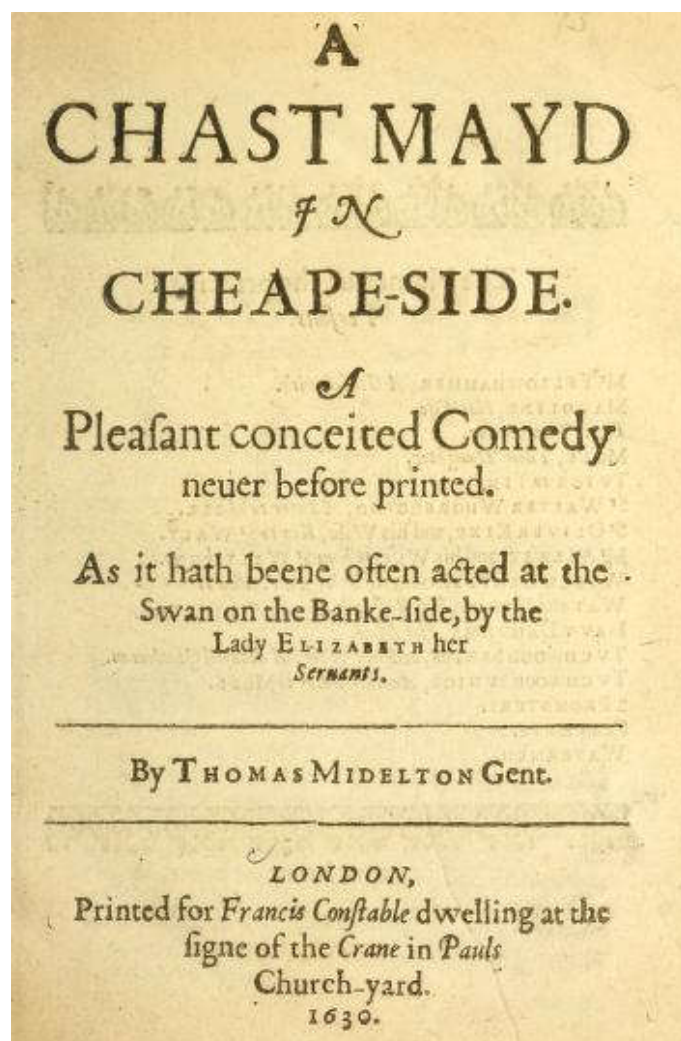


Figure 6: Title page to Thomas Middleton's play *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, printed in 1630. © Boston Public Library

The title (presented at left), a key element in any advertisement for a play, served to attract attention as well as paying audiences. Choice of title mattered, for as Tiffany Stern relates, “playbills were a profoundly important and very visible preliminary part of the entertainment” (60). So, Middleton’s designation “in Cheapside” built anticipation for a show about commercial exchange and the goldsmiths; this, too, can “hardly be accidental.” Equally, the lead-in phrase, “A Chaste Maide,” provided a tantalizing clue about the play’s subject matter. Given associations

to virtue and purity, the title already signalled how the characters would likely behave. Despite the wholesome connotations of “A Chaste Maid,” there is little purity to be found in Middleton’s characters residing and participating in transactions in Cheapside. None found in that place can be trusted to be innocent. The irony of the play is that truth is in short supply in Cheapside despite a preoccupation with truth, true words and being true. These concepts are regularly debated throughout the play by various characters; references to truth are made twenty-four times, often in an effort to lend credibility to false claims made. As early as the

opening scene, where language and learning is derided by Yellowhammer and erroneous Latin translations by Maudlin Yellowhammer and the Porter are debated as “no true construction” (1.1.65-73), the question of what or who can be relied on as truthful is central to Cheapside interactions. Even Yellowhammer’s unmarried daughter, Moll, who is described by her lover as “a pure one” (1.1.180),⁸⁷ practices deceit and fakes her death to avoid an arranged marriage. It matters little in terms of early modern social mores that her actions might seem a justified attempt to escape marriage to an older man who has already made it clear that he has no intention of remaining true to his wedding vows and openly premeditates adultery before wedding the young, richly dowered Moll. Her acts of disobedience and rebellion would have been judged by seventeenth-century audiences as scandalously unchaste and lacking virtue.

The disparity between the play’s presumed subject, a chaste maid, and Moll’s behaviour is portended by her personal nickname, common slang for whore and which Alan Brissenden views as a “prime example of Middleton’s ambiguous use of names” (2). Mary, known as Moll, enacts an ironic play on truth in language as she is eulogized in the fake-death scene as “[t]he true, chaste monument of her living name” (5.4.12). By the play’s end, it is clear that virtue-ethics⁸⁸ do not guide the decisions and acts of the characters of Cheapside: chastity is not a particular priority for them. Expedient outcomes and external perceptions seem to be all that matters to the residents of this neighbourhood. When both aspects of the title are brought together it becomes evident how Middleton’s title leverages contemporary assumptions and

⁸⁷ All quotations from Thomas Middleton’s *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* are sourced from the Alan Brissenden edition.

⁸⁸ Rosalind Hursthouse provides a useful definition in her introduction to *On Virtue Ethics*: ‘Virtue ethics’ is a term of art, initially introduced to distinguish an approach to normative ethics which emphasizes the virtues, or moral character, in contrast to an approach which emphasizes duties or rules (deontology) or one which emphasizes the consequences of actions (utilitarianism)” (1).

expectations. The joining of “A Chaste Maide” and “in Cheapside” sets up the comedy by prompting potential audience members to consider, and perhaps puzzle over, their ideas of the place and its occupants.

As Sabine Schülting maintains, Cheapside was a place where even “human beings are referred to as material possessions, as objects to be owned, stolen or consumed” (104). Commercial motives were the impetus for interpersonal interactions and social exchanges produced the value attributed to agents (people and objects). On this point, I agree with Schülting that “the play’s language supports the construction of a world where identity and value are constructed through clever transactions on the marketplace” (106). The play’s best example of the constructedness of value comes from the young women offered up for exchange between Whorehound and Yellowhammer. The two women swapped in marriage contracts, the Welsh gentlewoman and Moll, have an exchange value that depends on the willingness of the “buyer” to accept the value assigned to the female agent by the “seller.” The Welsh “gentlewoman”/“whore” is made to “shine” by her vendor Whorehound so that Yellowhammer willingly accepts her image and actions as those made by a “proper fair young gentlewoman” (1.1.34) a “worthy” (1.1.129) and “virtuous niece” (1.1.157). Her value is purported to be significant and measured in terms of inheritable assets: “They say she has mountains to her marriage, /She’s full of cattle, some two thousand runts” (1.1.4.1.93-94). The Welsh woman’s virtue is read and understood in material terms. Upon discovering the absence of those goods and lands, she is then devalued by her new husband Tim to the level of a “whore” (5.5.68-127).⁸⁹ She becomes a body useful only to produce children, to “pick out my

⁸⁹ In the last scene she is referred to as a whore six times, one in Latin, in the last 60 lines.

runts there,” and to “mount” for sexual satisfaction (5.4.121-22). Moll’s value, as presented by the goldsmith in his shop, is measured in terms of a promised dowry and the price attached to her virgin state. The dowry is used as measurement of her qualities, expressed at her eulogy as “beauty set in goodness” and a “jewel so infixed” (5.4.17-18). External appearances (literally, face values) are depended upon and accepted as indicators of purity, of internal qualities and/or “true” worth (5.4.12).

To reinforce the artificiality of value assignments, Middleton’s characters in *A Chaste Maid* are often satirically christened with names that are not comfortably aligned with their outward appearances. Character-naming conventions that serve up perplexing contradictions confronted the audience with the problem of relying on socially constructed signs to indicate value and express inner worth. Mary/Moll is both maiden daughter and barter for social status gains. Touchwood (incendiary fire-starter) sparks passions that lead others into social difficulty, mostly with unwanted babies in Senior’s case, but he is also surrogate source of sperm needed to impregnate Sir Oliver Kix’s wife and so achieve a much-wanted pregnancy. Allwit’s name is a play on wittol (cuckolded husband) and yet he is someone who is also quite savvy; he is all-wit in that he knows he is a cuckold and yet chooses to contravene accepted social mores so that he may live comfortably with minimal effort. On the surface, Allwit keeps a well-stocked house, has servants, enjoys many comforts, and has “as fine children as a man can get” (2.3.34). He is largely unaffected by the generally disparaging social opinions of cuckolds. He lives freely and contentedly without cost because his wife’s lover, Sir Walter Whorehound, pays for everything. Yellowhammer, who is believed to be expert in testing the purity of gold, is inexpert in assessing the virtuous character of his children and their proposed marriage partners. Moll’s

brother Tim, a Cambridge-educated scholar yet naïve fool, is tricked into marrying Whorehound's cast-off mistress. Each mismatched or ambiguous name prods the audience to reconsider their assumptions about agents, their roles, and the measure of worth attributed to them. Names, in that they are used to signal personal qualities and suggest worth, take on as much importance in this play as they did in Munday's show where the exercise of breaking down Mayor Pemberton's name allowed a public cataloguing of his character and qualities of merit. In Middleton's play the names regularly undermine social appearances or raise doubts about public identities and status.

Moreover, these characters, amongst others encountered in the play's day-to-day Cheapside interactions, contradict the social norms expected of their positions. The satirical mismatch between names and actions captures the spectators' attention and encourages them to linger over the unexpectedness of what those characters will do and say as they go about their business. For example, Yellowhammer incongruously fails to uphold any of the behaviours that would instil a sense of faith or trust in his integrity or honesty in carrying out his professional duties. The surname Yellowhammer, which can be glossed as "slang for a gold coin" (Woodbridge *A Chaste Maid* n. 22.1, p. 913) or "a term of contempt" (Brissenden n. Yellowhammer, p. 2), disrupts the fantasy that a goldsmith is always trustworthy. Yet this name also relates to the goldsmithing profession in a more literal sense. As Justine Bayley details in her investigation of medieval refining methods, there were two main methods used to assay gold. One is the touchstone method (referred to in my analysis of Munday's show) where comparison is made between the residue from a test object and that of an object of "known" purity. Another method "was, however, a far more basic but equally effective test. If gold

contains significant amounts of base metals, its malleability is reduced, so just hitting it with a hammer can tell a skilled craftsman quite a bit about its purity” (Bayley 140). Thus the name Yellowhammer suggests that the character is capable of seeing beyond the appearance of yellow metal and able to pass judgement on the purity of gold by using his well-honed hammering skills. Knowing that the appearance of the yellow metal alone is not a trustworthy means of judging its purity, alternate methods must be used to test the mettle of the gold object to determine its true quality. Goldsmiths, especially masters in the trade, are specifically trained in the processes needed to determine purity. To be a proprietor of his own shop in Cheapside meant that Yellowhammer had achieved the highest status in the profession, that of master freeman of the Goldsmiths’ Company -- a level held only by those who have demonstrated that they are competent across the full range of goldsmiths’ skills (see the image below for an example of a seventeenth-century shop). His name, and its association with the assaying process, identifies Yellowhammer as a professional able to judge the purity and value of precious metals and jewels.

The broader community places trust in Yellowhammer’s profession, in both the goldsmiths’ ability to “weigh” precious metals and jewels and the integrity to serve as middleman in buying and selling those goods at a fair purchase price. That reliance is highlighted in the first scene when a gentleman approaches and asks Yellowhammer to “weigh this chain” (1.1.90). In the act of negotiating for the chain Yellowhammer makes two choices

that suggest his integrity and honesty is questionable. Without any hesitation he agrees to weigh the gold item, never pausing to ask the seller about its origins. In the almost three centuries that had passed since Edward III accused goldsmiths of “secretly” buying gold items with “no inquiry as to whether the vessel was stolen or lawfully bought” (Reddaway and Walker 222), little seems to have changed to prevent goldsmiths from dealing in



Figure 7: Illustration of a Goldsmith's shop 1641, by Tommaso Garzoni
©Deutsche Fotothek

stolen gold and silver items and laundering them by melting them down for other uses and rendering them untraceable with the removal of makers' marks. In addition, Yellowhammer's bartering with the gentleman over the pawned chain also barely complies with the substance of James I's 1611 proclamation that prohibited goldsmiths from enabling the export of English gold for trade and currency gains. In this command, James accused "Goldsmithes, Merchants and men of other Trades" in that they "have presumed for their own private lucre and gaine" to

buy and melt down gold and “heavy” gold coins (Larkin and Hughes 262-63).⁹⁰ Gold turned to other uses, including transport out of the country as bullion, was believed by some Jacobeans to be the cause of further damage to the common weal’s economy because of shortages in money stocks.

Yellowhammer’s second questionable move comes in the heavily discounted price that he offers for the chain – one hundred marks (roughly 66 pounds) versus the seller’s opening price of one hundred pounds. This lowball offer signals that Yellowhammer is in the position to make significant “lucre and gaine” on the spread between purchase and resale of precious metals. While hard negotiating tactics were not illegal, they do not engender the sense that the goldsmith upholds equitable treatment of other agents. In terms of trust, then, Yellowhammer does little to build faith in the goldsmith profession’s integrity and, by extension, confidence in the money that goldsmiths minted and assayed. Without public trust and confidence, belief in the valuation that goldsmiths assigned to coins, supposed to be based on the purity of gold and silver content, was compromised. In turn, uncertainty about the stability of money values and its future purchasing power slowed the pace of trade and exchange activities, thus contributing to the depth of economic recession and delays in overcoming market downturns – in essence, the market situation in early-seventeenth-century England.

The play further destabilized confidence in goldsmiths by drawing attention, via the exchange transactions carried out in the opening scenes, to the lack of separation between personal and professional aspects of Yellowhammer’s life. Business is an inherent part of

⁹⁰ “Heavy” coins were those that exceeded the revised weight and fineness standards implemented upon the amalgamation of the English and Scottish coin measurements in James’s “first monetary decree” of 1604 (see Wortham 346-47).

Yellowhammer's every day and his personal relationships are conducted much like business transactions. Yellowhammer's language, even when communicating with close family members, speaks to his self-identification, first and foremost, as a City businessman. A business analogy helps him to express his understanding and expectations of all women, including his wife and daughter. He compares women to cloth, one of England's most important trade items at the time (a topic studied more fully in case two). In his mind, women are "made" and none are produced "without a flaw," much like the "purest lawns... and cambrics" (1.1.29-30). He insists that only "plain, sufficient subsidy [business] words" and language be used to describe his daughter rather than sophisticated courtly "compliments" that "wound too high" (1.1.127-128) for "a maid brought up i'the city" (4.1.118). When asked about his daughter's marriage state, he says that "no contract passed" (4.1.228), a phrase one might use to speak about a piece of property still on the market.

Other members of the Yellowhammer family have also adopted his speaking habits. His wife Maudline uses commercial terms when asking her son Tim "how speeds your business?" (4.1.134) in an attempt to find out if his relationship with his proposed Welsh bride is progressing well. Tim's description of the effects of his sister's illness is put in terms of currency exchange when he relates that "[g]old into white money [silver] was never so changed, /As is my sister's colour into paleness" (5.2.20-21). Yellowhammer's preference for speaking in business terms and aversion to highbrow language carries into his conversations with his wife. He rejects Maudline's use of the term "errors" in place of "faults," and he mocks her for being "cozened" by a customer's "gilded twopence, to bring the word in fashion" (1.1.26-27). The association he makes between counterfeit coins and fashionable language demonstrates his

heightened awareness that language has a currency: it is a tool used to create belief in the value of goods. As such, it can also be used to manipulate or oversell an item's value, as it was in the case of the Welsh woman brought to the city for marriage to his son Tim. The irony is that as a goldsmith, Yellowhammer's prosperity depends on his ability to identify counterfeiting and cozening tactics, to anticipate the various forms of corruption and forgeries that may be presented. Despite his suspicions about the malleability of language, Yellowhammer fails to discern the truth from an upselling technique. How he conducts himself personally is therefore indicative of how he can be expected to behave professionally.

Although he is sensitive to the potential ambiguity of language and the varying degrees of meaning and interpretation that words can hold, Yellowhammer has no compunction about using language to his own advantage. He is both aware of and practiced at deploying the varying degrees of truth used between agents in bartering and exchange transactions. In an exchange with the Porter early in the play Yellowhammer reveals his own willingness to participate in the use of shifty language and hidden meanings. He sends the cunning "old fox" of a Porter off with a "tester"⁹¹ coin payment despite knowing, or at least suspecting, that the message has been mistranslated in the Porter's favour. In giving coin for shoddy translation services and what he suspects to be false information, which thus holds no true value, Yellowhammer chooses to use his coin as a prepaid investment in a market relationship because he expects it may produce future benefits. Ambiguous language and double meanings are implied in a "bawdy joke" (Brissenden n. 78, p. 9) that Yellowhammer willingly participates in and for which he rewards the "merry Porter" (1.1.80). The Porter's tip becomes an advance

⁹¹ A silver coin, also known as a testoon. See John Munro. Brissenden glosses as "tester" as slang for sixpence.

payment or gift exchange that generates a promise to provide future favours in the form of access to a “dish of birds” (1.1.75) – that is, prostitutes – at the next market fair for Yellowhammer’s enjoyment.

Every exchange in Middleton’s *Cheapside* is a transaction measured and valued in monetary terms. All transactions, even highly personal marriage relationships, are business transactions with social benefits and focused on measurable “good life” outcomes. The way that Yellowhammer behaves in each of his professional and personal worlds shows something of his moral character, that his personal morality reflects his professional ethics and vice versa. The inseparability of the commercial market from social relationships – in other words, the embeddedness of the market within an individual’s everyday – is made evident as Yellowhammer shifts without pause from haggling over a gold chain to opening negotiations on a suitably “landed” wife for his son (1.1.36). In each of his transactions there are hints of sly underhandedness in his conduct. His first exchange, where the Porter is paid coin for bad information and a promise of access to illicit services, reveals his lack of shame in planning adultery. Under cover of innuendo (a conversation that he blatantly carries out in front of his wife), Yellowhammer plans to break his marriage vows and risk his wife’s health for his personal pleasure.⁹² His next exchange, where he offers heavily discounted pawn-broker rates on the gold chain he is asked to assess, creates the impression that taking advantage of others is a practice he has commonly used for his own gain. In the third instance of exchange, he and his

⁹² Yellowhammer acknowledges the risk of sexually transmitted diseases when discussing the potential effects of Whorehound’s adulterous affair with Allwit’s wife. He rationalizes the choice to continue to pursue a marriage contract with Whorehound by claiming “No matter so the whore he keeps be wholesome, / My daughter takes no hurt then; so let them wed, / I’ll have him sweat well e’er they go to bed” (4.2.279-281).

wife “instruct” Moll to act as if she is “humble” before her future husband, Whorehound, and to pretend to “kiss him in devotion” (1.1.40-41). They plot to trade her up to obtain access to a title for future generations, even though they assess her as inherently damaged goods that Yellowhammer likens to a piece of cloth with “flaw[s]”, “frays” and “bracks” (1.1.29-30). Marriage to a “good knight,” one of the “worthies of Whitehall or Greenwich” (1.1.127), would elevate Moll, one of “the daughters of the freedom” (1.1.125-26) (a daughter of a liveryman who has gained the freedom of the City), to a higher social status. All three transactions take place in the first 125 lines of the play and none of them involve forthright exchange of a fair or equivalent value as the bargaining parties strive to gain social or economic advantage over the other.

Jacobean audiences would have recognized marriage as one of the best ways to elevate one’s social status and be deemed a success by others. The play emphasizes that marriage contracts are business contracts. While, as Richard Grassby notes, “[a] business approach [to matrimony] has always been characteristic of all levels of propertied society” (305),⁹³ the outcomes-driven nature of Cheapside marriage negotiations is made blatantly obvious in the play. For the Yellowhammer family, the aim of marriage is to accumulate land and social titles. For the Kix, Allwit and Touchwood Senior marriages, indicators of success are measured in terms of the number of healthy children produced. The normative expectation in Cheapside appears to be that abstract, emotional factors or needs will be set aside when making marriage

⁹³ Grassby also highlights that “merchants of all persuasions adopted the language of trade when discussing matrimony” (306). Marriage was commonly used in inter-City/ Company arrangements to solidify holdings and networks. As Grassby explains further, “[i]t was possible, though uncommon, for a merchant family to reach the peerage through their daughters over several generations. But only the tycoons had the resources to infiltrate the aristocracy and only 4 per cent of the peers, 1540-1659, married daughters of merchants” (307).

decisions. The marriage contract is instead approached as a pragmatic life-choice made for the purpose of realizing good-life aspirations. Even Moll's self-chosen lover, Touchwood Junior, is mindful that to fail to marry Moll is to "pick a famine" (1.1.142) and risk death by starvation due to lack of economic resources. Outcomes matter more than "how" the process of being married is carried out. The duty to uphold collectively determined moral expectations of fidelity in one's personal exchanges and transactions does not bind the married Cheapside agents. For instance, who fathers bastard children in the Kix and Allwit marriages is of less concern than what those children might bring in terms of a secure future and further strengthening of relationship networks.

Cheapside children are produced much like inventory for furthering the business objectives and profits of the parents. They are products of "work" (2.2.23) and the integrity of their production process is secondary. Although Allwit's children are perceived to be the result of his "labour" (1.2.52) and "business" (2.2.5) and are viewed as his "best piece of work" (2.2.23), they are fathered by Whorehound, who plans to apprentice his boys to a goldsmith and a vintner for "then there will be wine in bowls" (2.1.134) for his satisfaction. Yellowhammer proudly boasts that his "bastard" son begot of his "kept... whore" is "now a jolly fellow" and "[h]'as been twice warden" (4.1.275-76), which means he has obtained his freedom of the City, has risen to a leadership position in a livery company and now holds influence in civic matters. These children function like assets to provide future resources for their parent-owners. The Allwits' everyday needs and desire for small luxuries are met by raising Whorehound's children. A child delivered of Lady Kix would ensure that inheritance of land worth a thousand pounds per annum is kept within the immediate Kix family. So the Kix couple invest four hundred

pounds in a “bargain” to obtain fertility services from Touchwood Senior to complete the “business” of impregnating Lady Kix (3.3.146). Touchwood Senior uses his earnings from seeding the child to secure his own overly prolific and unsustainable brood. His bastard children are “ware i’ the shop” and are gotten “rid of” with exchange of a purse (2.1.99) – in other words, assets with value and potential to generate earnings.

Rather than forming social or emotional connections with their children, the Yellowhammer parents express their relationship with them in language that reflects market or trade processes. They use their children as commodities in bargaining for access to an elevated social rank, which provides them with the external sign of success they seek and is expected to result in greater security for future generations. Their concern lies with the outcomes, rather than the process, of parenting. Even their daughter’s death, although faked, does not delay them in marrying off their son as soon as possible so they do not “lose all at once” (5.3.115). Loss is a marriage opportunity missed and no sense of grief breaks their focus on arranging their children’s marriage to best advantage. The only check to their behaviour is concern about how they will be perceived by their neighbours. Rather than sorrow, Yellowhammer’s first response to news of Moll’s death is worry that “the whole street will hate us, and the world/ Point me out cruel” (5.3.107-108). Personal emotion or duty for the wellbeing of others is irrelevant to the decisions and actions taken to achieve end-result goals. In the Yellowhammers’ world, indeed in all of Middleton’s Cheapside, what matters is that socially defined standards of success are achieved and are visible to all.

Children and women alike are transferable property. Women are traded and displayed like wares: the “goldsmiths shop sets out a city maid” (1.1.100), much like an asset held for

purposes of generating future revenue streams and benefits. That Yellowhammer regards Moll as an asset is evident in how he treats her serious illness, which she develops after being inhumanely dragged from the river Thames by her hair. He is willing to “spare no cost” (5.2.29) to “get the girl/Upon her legs again, and to church roundly with her” (5.2.87) to fulfill the marriage contract with Whorehound. The way that Moll Yellowhammer is described and referred to by other characters blurs the distinction between person and object.⁹⁴ It also seems perfectly acceptable to Whorehound to transport his mistress to London and “shine” her up so that he may have a better chance of trading her for the “city maid” presented on offer in Yellowhammer’s “shop” (1.1.99-100). The same city maid, Moll, is scolded by her mother for being “dull” and not presenting herself to best advantage, so that she instead “deserve[s] two thousand pound of lead in your marriage and not in goldsmiths’ ware” (1.1.18-20). Whorehound measures Moll’s value as “two thousand pound in gold/And a sweet maidenhead/ Worth forty” (4.2.92-94). She is a “choice spoil” (1.1.143) and a “pure one” (1.1.180), akin to a diamond jewel in her lover Touchwood Junior’s eye. Her family sees her as accumulated treasure as her brother Tim exclaims upon discovering her gone that “thieves, my sister’s stol’n! /Some thief hath got her,” and contrasts her to his “father’s plate” that was “miraculously” left behind (4.1.289-291). He lists her loss as one amongst an inventory of stolen items: “Besides three chains of pearl and a box of coral. My sister’s gone” (4.1.294). Her father threatens to “lock up this baggage [Moll] / As carefully as my gold; she shall see as little sun”

⁹⁴ Woodbridge, in editing *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, notes that “[t]he play offers a textbook example of Gayle Rubin’s ‘Traffic in Women’” (908), where Rubin calls for recognition of the “mutual interdependence of sexuality, economics and politics” (210). It is in the exchange of women in Cheapside that “the ultimate locus of women’s oppression” (175) is found, here they are “transacted ... simply as women” (176).

(3.1.43-44). Her mother accuses Moll of “hav[ing] tricks that can counterfeit” like a gold coin or jewel, and roughly drags their “jewel by the hair” to secure Moll for hand-over in marriage to Whorehound the following day (5.2.62-64). Yellowhammer’s failure to keep her “under a double lock” (4.2.34) opens him to accusations of a lack of wisdom or due care in protecting his valuables (an undesirable trait for a goldsmith).

His lack of care is also demonstrated in the highly questionable judgement he applies in every contract he enters, whether related to his family or his profession. Despite clearly understanding that Touchwood Junior intends to use the ring he has commissioned from Yellowhammer to “steal away some man’s daughter” (1.1.207), he still chooses to carry out the assignment. His complicity in the theft of another family’s assets is justified in his mind by the argument that “parents blinded so... [are] served right / That have two eyes, and wear so dull a sight” (1.1.210-211). Yellowhammer’s reputation as a master goldsmith depends on his ability to distinguish truth from forgery and to accurately read the purity of the elements he works with. In failing to see the truth of what is in front of him, Yellowhammer reveals he himself has “blinded” eyes of “dull sight” (1.1.210-211). The irony of his performance is striking. The audience cannot help but notice the incongruity between Yellowhammer’s ability to accurately assess the purity of the diamond that Touchstone Junior brings to have made into a wedding ring (“indeed sir ‘tis a pure one” [1.1.180]) and his failure to understand the purity of his own daughter whom he considers a jewel-object.

Yellowhammer’s dullness of sight, that destabilizes trust in his mastery and competence as a goldsmith, is also exhibited in his negotiations with Whorehound in the exchange of their women, Moll and the Welsh “gentlewoman.” Whorehound’s plot to “turn” his cast-off mistress

“into gold” dupes Yellowhammer, who fails to recognize the counterfeit (1.1.98).

Yellowhammer believes the attempts to “pass” (1.1.103) the “ewe mutton” (1.1.140) as a “virtuous niece” (1.1.157). The master goldsmith accepts without question claims that the Welshwoman “gold” has a face-value equivalent to a “pure virgin” (1.1.103). Despite the experience and expertise implied by Yellowhammer’s status, he cannot tell gilded “shine” (1.1.99) from pure quality and fails to consider that the Welsh woman may be a forgery. In the process of bargaining for a counterfeit virgin, Yellowhammer makes an unconvincing portrayal of a savvy London business professional. Additionally, despite the fact that Yellowhammer knows “his [Whorehound’s] deeds are black” (4.1.271), he claims the “knight” is acceptable as his future son-in-law because Whorehound is “rich” (1.1.139). In a world where there are no divisions between the personal and the professional, his failure to judge the make-up and purity of the agents being bartered calls his expert judgement into question. If the goldsmith’s own children can be traded off by “dealing” over a dowry (4.2.106) and caught up in the “business” (4.1.134) of marriage with counterfeit partners, then the public at large who rely on his assessments has misplaced their trust.

Further misgivings about Yellowhammer’s expertise arise when analyzing the tactics he uses to barter his daughter in a marriage exchange. The Yellowhammers oddly undermine the value of their daughter by repeatedly referring to her as “baggage,” which suggests that instead of being a chaste maid she is a “a worthless good-for nothing woman; a woman of disreputable or immoral life, a strumpet” (OED n.6). This contradiction in terms produces satirical effect: it “create[s] the conditions for the reconsideration of what is held to be true and/or valuable” (Rozik 132). The faulty logic of devaluing the asset that is intended for trade extends the degree

of audience impact and engagement by cognitively troubling them and perhaps also triggering an affect-response because of the shaming associated with the term “baggage.” Cognitive disruption comes from the failure to deliver on normative expectations that the unmarried daughter of a goldsmith would be more highly valued by her family. As a daughter of the City,⁹⁵ she presents an opportunity to secure a better future for the family by strengthening relationships with another successful City merchant or, as the plot suggests, to elevate the social status of the family in future. As Grassby comments on the inter-relationships among business agents, “The great majority of marriages and remarriages occurred within business society, at similar social and economic levels, and they were intended to cement businesses, fortify regional and political networks and sustain the oligarchic control of towns, Companies, and trades” (307).

Yet Yellowhammer is particularly inept at showcasing his daughter’s merits. He unflinchingly points out her lower social station and corrects others who treat her like a member of the gentility. He scolds his wife for her use of “Westminster” language in referring to Moll’s “errors” rather than applying the plain City language of “faults or cracks in duty and obedience” (1.1.28) that better accord to Moll’s station. When gathering specifications for the design of a gold ring from Touchwood Junior, he argues that as Moll is his daughter, she is “therefore sir no gentlewoman” (1.1.187). Most oddly he interrupts Whorehound who uses flattering language of introduction with Moll and directs him to “stop your words good knight, [as] ‘twill make her blush else, which wound too high for the daughters of the freedom” (1.1.124-25). Having just had to drag Moll back into the room, it seems counter-productive for her father to interfere in

⁹⁵ Moll is “a maid brought up i’the city” (1.1.118) and a “daughter[] of the freedom” (1.1.125-26).

efforts to establish rapport and convince Moll that this relationship could be beneficial.

Underselling her qualities is also a poor business approach if he seeks to trade her up to a groom from a higher social standing. Audience members would surely find fault with the business logic applied in the exchange.

A goldsmith known to be susceptible to counterfeiters, to have flawed or dull sight and be inept at bartering would not be the “perfitt Artiste” that Gamon defines as the state that a master or “whole” workman should strive to attain. Yellowhammer’s lack of proficiency or expertise extends into a failure to maintain his communal duty to uphold social structures and rules, as the audience might have expected of someone in his privileged position. As a master goldsmith, Yellowhammer would be expected to model good behaviour and abide by common weal laws. Instead, the play exposes Yellowhammer’s hypocrisy for his vows are readily broken and appearances – the way things are perceived by other agents rather than the integrity of the facts themselves – before the “whole street” concern him more than duty to his family. Yellowhammer, as father of a girl of marriageable age, only judges the act of elopement an “inconscionable villainy” when he realizes it was a theft of his own daughter that he agreed to be “set a-work” to make a ring for (3.1.34). In this business arrangement he places personal advantage before public duty. By colluding with the young man, he is complicit in a bride-theft crime. The justification he uses to support his business decision – that “parents blinded so... [are] served right” (1.1.210) – only reinforces the perception that he prioritizes “private lucre and gaine”⁹⁶ above virtue-ethics or deontological obligations.

⁹⁶ See James’ 1611 proclamation (Larkin and Hughes 262-63). For long-held perceptions of “many practicing the goldsmiths’ craft” as willing to carry out their work “secretly, making no inquiry as to whether the vessel (being sold or pawned) was stolen or lawfully bouth, and [willing to “melt it down at once and turn it into plate and sell it

In presenting various forms of business dealings and transactions in Yellowhammer's everyday world, Middleton's play materializes how the personal life of the individual goldsmith relates to his business life and identity. By embodying a business professional on stage, overlapping social and business acts become more visible. Yellowhammer is one agent amongst many in Cheapside and the way that he chooses to conduct himself in his everyday affairs and his various roles – master workman, goldsmith professional, London citizen, shopkeeper, father, husband, neighbour – reflect upon his professional identity and reputation. The performance of even small acts and decisions in ordinary social and business exchanges reveals his ethical priorities. The outcomes-driven nature of his decisions – the ethical decision-making framework that is similarly applied by all the main players in the staged Cheapside collective – is misaligned with a moral standard that extols virtuous living and duty to others.

Furthermore, Yellowhammer's morally questionable example of a goldsmith at home/work complicates a reading of the play that claims his performance is a criticism of the growing business class, showing "forces of appetite and materialist opportunism which Middleton represents as dominant in Jacobean society" (Gibbons 4). The play feeds an expectation that a teleological ethics (often described as self-interested behaviour) is the most prevalent decision-making framework in the blended socio-business world of Cheapside. For Middleton's Cheapside network, business ethics cannot be separated from what is imagined as the collective's higher (more virtuous and more socially responsible) moral standards. The theatrical performance of business plainly shows that these moral standards – the ethics that

to passing merchants... and also they make counterfeit articles" and so on, see Edward III's company charter claims (Reddaway and Walker 222-223).

determine behavioural expectations and guide priorities for choice of action – are teleological. “Bad” business behaviour conforms to social signals. The personal and the professional are not performed in this play as separate ways of being. Personal honour is not different from professional integrity – they are one and the same.

Yellowhammer’s performance as a goldsmith suggests the folly of the fantasy that the profession can be relied upon to be driven by a sense of honour and integrity – by virtues – when in the course of everyday affairs what is socially rewarded and recognized are individuals who attain results. However, Middleton’s play makes it evident that there is a clash between the goldsmith’s everyday behaviour and the virtuous and duty-driven behavioural ideals that are necessary to sustain public confidence in the trustworthiness of monetary valuations. Indeed, the play tackles the fiction, which had been so carefully portrayed by Munday as the Goldsmiths’ “Triumphs of Golde” in *Chruso-Thriambos*, and reveals the persona of the goldsmith as a trustworthy professional is no more than a construction. It does so by exploring anxieties about ethically questionable business behaviour that damages faith in the currency underpinning the market’s functionality. The play emphasizes the jarring dissonance between the critical importance of Yellowhammer’s honesty and integrity in carrying out his work and his lack of compunction in transgressing socially accepted codes of conduct even whilst acknowledging the censure or “hate” his actions will receive (5.3.107-08). Yellowhammer the goldsmith is willing to bend the truth, manipulate others and transgress social niceties if he can gain an end advantage.

Yet it is also evident in this satire that Yellowhammer is not alone in carrying out these everyday transactions and interactions in the social market world. He performs no one-sided or

solitary transactions; rather, he is always partnered with another market agent. By lumping Yellowhammer together with characters from all the social classes that form the Cheapside collective, the play shows that, as a representative of the goldsmith profession, Yellowhammer holds no purer a moral compass than his clients, relatives or neighbours. The cross-section of Cheapside agents characterized on Middleton's stage stands out for its homogeneity: not a single community member lives up to standards of virtuous behaviour in terms of truthful dealings or in keeping their oaths or vows.⁹⁷ There is no purity and no chastity in Cheapside. Lack of virtuous and duty-minded conduct is prevalent amongst all in Middleton's Cheapside and these attitudes transfer fluidly between business and personal acts for there are no lines drawn between business and social exchange. Even in the midst of intimate family discussion, for example, Yellowhammer shifts immediately into business mode with a practiced "What is't you lack?" (1.1.89 and 1.1.173) as people enter his space and even as his daughter lies dying, he asks "What's your business pray?" (5.2.53).

Despite Munday's and the Goldsmiths' Company's best efforts to persuade the public of the unimpeachable trustworthiness of goldsmith agents, Middleton's play suggests a reputation for professional integrity may be but a pretence. Instead, outcomes-driven behaviour, as embodied in performance, is what leads to an individual's resultant "good life" success. The performance materializes acts that achieve publicly lauded results. The fact that those results are achieved by demoting or subsuming virtue-based ethics reinforces the normative message

⁹⁷ See Vanessa Harding article for discussion of contemporary market expectations: "Commercial activity contributed to its image of openness and publicity, reflecting contemporary insistence on an understanding of the market as patent, unmediated, fair, and free. Markets were meant to be occasions clearly defined in time and space, and open to observation. Transactions were to be transparent... Prices must not be fixed... shopkeepers and merchants relied on name, reputation, and trust" (78).

that a teleological focus is good for both business and social relations. Certainly, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* was not the first cultural product to engage with ideas of ethics and business conduct. The production was itself haunted by other performances that came before including Munday's Goldsmiths'-sponsored version of the Lord Mayor's Show as well as by the playwright's own experiences and his anticipation of the audiences' preconceived notions. Expectations of business agents were brought by audiences to the performance experience – from the “ghosting” of past theatrical performances, from “the residue of previous experience” in everyday market transactions, and from past interactions with a range of cultural products (Carlson 7, 5). In every theatrical performance there is a “complex recycling” of the past that haunts cognitive and affective engagement (Carlson 4) and enables meaning-making. What is created by the play in performance is in part a confirmation of an audience's pre-existing notions of the behaviours and acts that enable business people to achieve their goals. The successful outcomes held up in Munday's show to be Triumphs of the Goldsmiths gained on the basis of their integrity and expertise in crafting and assaying precious items, are shown in Middleton's play to be the result of lip service paid to the “truth,” a term and idea repeatedly contested throughout the play. What is performed, what is noted and layered onto audience expectations is that teleologically driven choices will produce business success measured in external, material, and countable ways. But the city comedy's non-virtuous and non-communally minded example set by Yellowhammer backfires: what is never materialized is the fantasy of a “good life” that instead demonstrates virtue-minded behaviour and community-minded sacrifice.

Performance of the Cheapside collective suggests that a moral benchmark established on the basis of virtue and communal duty is no more than a fiction. The touchstone given to the profession by the Goldsmiths' Queen of Virtue, who stands at the head of the Company's crest holding a scale of justice and in a place of upmost honour in Munday's show, turns out to be a faulty tool in that it was subject to mishandling by counterfeit agents willing to bend the truth for personal gain. Instead of promoting the idea of virtuous behaviour, Middleton's play materializes the ways that ethical priorities are actually condoned in all areas of everyday life. In its satirical recycling of negative expectations of business people, as those who fail to exhibit virtue or to make the collective's well-being a priority, the play stages the "not" form of the goldsmiths' professional regulations. Thus *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* brings to the forefront all the collective's fears about conduct articulated in the Goldsmiths' Company charter, ordinances and professional manuscripts – concerns of "private lucre and gaine" as prime motivator, the "shall not" structure of oaths that give voice to undesirable behaviour such as self-interest and deceit – and gives recognition that this behaviour is common and even normal. In Middleton's *Cheapside*, however, ends justify the lapse in virtue or failure to uphold duty of care to fellow agents. However, if satire "aims to denounce folly and vice and urge ethical and political reform" (Stott 109), then the play seems to have missed the mark by both showcasing the agents who practice teleological ethics as successful and failing to discipline on stage those agents who live by a goal-driven ethical framework.

The fact that the occupants of Cheapside fail to live virtuous ("chaste") lives and yet, in the end, all is happily resolved and celebrated with a two-for-one wedding meal appears to misplay a satirical intent to ridicule characters who display lapses in virtue or duty ethics. Even

the character who is cast out of Cheapside and sent to debtors' prison, the "knight" Whorehound, still retains his legacy of children as they will continue to be protected and sustained by Allwit. Yellowhammer never realizes his intended marriage goals for his children. But the failure to achieve results is overturned for he simply changes the end-goals to match the outcomes. He challenges the waiting crowd (staged and audience alike) by choosing to "prevent you all, and mock you thus, / You and your expectations" (5.4.63-64). He proclaims instead that "I stand happy, / Both in your lives, and your hearts combination" (5.4.65).

With its emphasis on non-conformance to virtuous ideals and standards, Middleton's play materializes popular fears that trust placed in the goldsmiths' professional expertise is misguided because their everyday acts are not in fact bound by an ethics that prioritizes honesty and integrity. The argument so carefully crafted in Munday's show is revealed to be false in the everyday market practices of Cheapside. There is no real "chaste maid" to be found in Cheapside because its occupants live by a different set of ethical priorities. The ramification of exposing this misplaced trust is that the goldsmiths' products – material commodities that the whole of the collective common weal used as the basis for exchange – may prove to be counterfeit and thus without value. Yellowhammer's behaviour further institutionalizes social acceptance of the idea that the drive to goal-oriented outcomes is the norm in business, at least for those who want to attain success.

In materializing Yellowhammer's negative exemplar, the play risks sustaining rather than pre-empting undesirable business behaviour. Rather than serving as a preventative measure, Yellowhammer's performance acknowledges the seeming inevitability that business agents in general, and goldsmiths in particular, will behave in dishonourable ways in order to achieve

their fantasy of the “good life”. Yellowhammer persistently selects acts meant to achieve his personal agenda. The fact that his actions receive no sanction or repercussion is an acknowledgement that this is normal, acceptable behaviour. The failure to sanction is problematic; there is no incentive to effect a change in conduct. The sense of expectation, combined with the failure to punish or diminish the material success that is enjoyed by business characters and/or the inheritors of their material wealth, creates an ambiguous public message.⁹⁸ As a consequence, a social unwillingness acts as a barrier that precludes punishment (corporal penalties, exile or incarceration) of those who have achieved external signs of material success and yet exhibit socially irresponsible behaviours – in essence what is tolerated and described as “white-collar” crime today.

In practical terms, attempts to curtail or eliminate teleological business behaviour would threaten to destroy external measurements of success, such as monetized value, that have been embraced by many agents (if not almost everyone) in the collective. If the constructedness of the fiction is too baldly revealed, then the public would be compelled to face their own complicit participation in the counterfeit story-telling. Hence the everyday mimics Middleton’s play: the reluctance to enforce the regulations against those alleged to have contravened the substance of the laws that carefully prescribed how the Mint was to be governed.⁹⁹ To carry out the threatened “boddy punisshmente” – which Gamon documents¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ See the Lobanov-Rostovsky article that also raises this duality issue in discussing morality in Middleton’s 1613 Lord Mayor’s Show created for the Grocers, and in Dekker and Heminges’s 1612 show for the Merchant Taylors.

⁹⁹ See Challis discussion of the activities of the Mint and its management during the Stuart period (255-323). Allegations of obfuscation of records, outright corruption, and conflict between those jockeying for position and compensation did not produce direct punishments (Sir Richard Martin’s stint in debtor’s prison was not directly attributed to his role and actions in the Mint).

¹⁰⁰ Gamon “6th Chapter: Showethe the causes and reasons of the making of money And whye it take that name, and howe.”

is the repercussion for the “master warden of the Mynt”¹⁰¹ should the coinage fail to meet prescribed standards in the Trial of the Pyx – would not only wreck the constructed façade, it would also destroy the faith, break down the tools of exchange, and tear down the community, fears which continue to bind us to faith in the finance industry today. Jacobean audiences, as the “watching” public¹⁰² that included the head of state,¹⁰³ were complicit in the undermining of a publicly endorsed moral code of conduct captured in the Goldsmiths’ Company ordinances outlining expectations of truth and integrity, of social responsibility and duty, but which had not materialized in everyday acts. In effect, the moral position differs in fact or substance from a desired, but not enacted, code of conduct that paid lipservice to virtue-based and deontological ethics. Faringdon’s instruction that as “a Goldsmith, Golden be” (Munday 39) seems to have been interpreted by Middleton’s Yellowhammer as a directive to aim to achieve tangible, material, externally measurable goals rather than striving to become “golden” in the virtue-ethics, scholastic sense of what it means to become a “good man.”

Middleton’s city comedy was as much an influencer and, to use a Latourian term, actant, as the self-promotional civic show that Munday created for his business sponsors. These two different forms of theatrical performance began from a shared assumption – a goldsmith’s natural predisposition is to cheat his way to achieving his “good life” goals and his default

¹⁰¹ Gamon “6th Chapter: Showethe the Tryall and Exainiation of the pixe at the ... Starre Chamber, before the Lordes of his mg^{ie} Privie Counsaile betweene the prince, and the master warden of the Mynte”

¹⁰² Awareness of the watching public is made overt in Thomas Middleton’s 1613 Lord Mayor’s Show, *The Triumphs of Truth*. As Ceri Sullivan notes, the new Mayor Thomas Myddleton is put on notice that he will be watched, “Truth told him [the Mayor] he would always be under surveillance” (*Thomas Middleton’s View* 168) and “that the mayoral behaviour would be watched carefully” (*Thomas Middleton’s View* 169).

¹⁰³ James’ endorsement in 1605 of the self-regulating charter of the Goldsmiths company institutionalized the dependency on the Goldsmiths (Prideaux xxii). The fact that the king involved himself in 1611 in the coin assaying at the Trial of the Pyx demonstrates suspicion of untrustworthiness but one that he could not expose without further damaging his own financial value.

position is to behave in dishonorable, non-virtuous and non-communally minded ways. The perception held of the goldsmiths, built upon “time-out-of-mind” social memory, was that of a profession inherently predisposed to counterfeits and fraud. The assumption of unethical behaviour becomes active anticipation that shapes how a goldsmith professional actually performed – always with an awareness of the ease of cheating, with the arrogance to know that only a member of one’s fraternity would ever be able to prove the counterfeit happened, and in the understanding that the collective has a vested interest in turning a blind eye.

Virtues such as honesty and integrity were idealized in public moral standards. But, as both theatrical performances and the dearth of disciplinary actions recorded in company minute-books show, there were rarely punishments for violations of those virtue-driven standards by business agents.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, because of the common weal’s reliance on the profession’s expertise in validating the integrity and measurement of the purity of precious commodities (gold, silver and jewels), the entire English market depended on the goldsmiths’ behavioural choices. Their business practices posed a threat to other members of the collective who held their own aspirations for good life achievement measured in terms of securing recognized value and wealth. Given their ability to produce counterfeit goods, perform inaccurate measurements and manipulate currency exchange by taking advantage of devaluation of English moneys used as basis for exchange, how the goldsmiths behaved mattered to all other agents in their networks.

¹⁰⁴ Much like the current response to business fraud the fines imposed were relatively light. No instances of “boddy punisshemente” of the master of the mint has come to light in my research (Richard Martin is an example of a high-profile goldsmith Mint-Master who served a jail-term in 1602 for financial credit issues, which led to “the additional disgrace of his being degraded from the aldermanry of London” [Challis 259], but did not receive corporal punishment for his questionable conduct as master-worker of the Mint).

The paradox is that even with a presumption of the profession's inherent selfishness or greed, the collective network had a vested interest in counteracting that preconception.¹⁰⁵ The public network's relationship to the goldsmiths was formed on the basis of mistrust, yet bound by a compulsion, borne out of pragmatic necessity, to persist in trusting them. The goldsmiths were simultaneously presumed guilty of manipulation and yet upheld as honourable and ethical (to perform "as if") in order to sustain the stability of the monetized market.¹⁰⁶ Above all, faith in the virtue and honesty of the goldsmith was a carefully crafted social fiction that everyone participated in producing: they want to believe, they must believe, in the goldsmiths' role in order to function in the everyday.¹⁰⁷ Munday's argument on behalf of the Goldsmiths' Company, celebrating their heritage of saintly ancestors and governance by the Queen of Virtue, is accepted because the public wants to believe. This willing suspension of disbelief carried into the public's everyday actions in order to enable them to withstand or ignore the kinds of self-interested goldsmith behaviour (shown by Yellowhammer) that were regularly expected to occur. The collective was complicit in perpetuating the fantasy of the trustworthy

¹⁰⁵ For discussion of the idea of money as sustained by the network's and agents' confidence or trust, see Beckert (Chapter 5 "Money and Credit" in particular), Carruthers and Babb, and Orléan.

¹⁰⁶ The current banking and finance industry, whose roots can be traced to the Goldsmiths' Company, still are assumed to be greedy and self-serving. Trust in the profession is necessary for markets to function, but still a common suspicion is that at the core they remain untrustworthy in terms of looking out for the good of the community or maintaining honesty and integrity in their practice.

¹⁰⁷ Beckert highlights the importance of "fiction" in creating stability in state currency - although his analysis suggests that valuable commodities, such as gold, hold an inherent value. My argument is that gold and silver coin are no different than paper money - each are as produced, although presumably the natural mineral state has a limited availability. The difference between paper vs gold or silver coin is a matter of production technology rather than pure fact. Gold content is as manipulated as paper and accounting currency. We can look to current fabricated diamonds or the bitcoin for analogies of the continual constructedness and production of money; there are continuities of idea with only change in process and technology over time. The "too big to fail" idea, which has recently been deployed again to bail out banks with tax-payer dollars, is analogous to the dependent relationship that everyday Jacobean business agents had to the goldsmiths' profession. The public must invest in shoring up the myth or fantasy of the reliable, trustworthy finance industry is necessary in order to maintain stability in everyday business activities.

goldsmith to satisfy the need for stability in the market, at the same time as they maintained the suspicion that this identity is a counterfeit one. To let go of the self-delusional belief in the integrity of the goldsmith would undermine and disrupt trust placed in the money used by business agents as a measurement of self-worth, of a material value that was counted on to signify to other agents within their network that they had attained their good life fantasy.

Business identity and normative business behaviour is a central focus of the next chapter as I investigate the question of who was recognized as an exemplary business leader and what were the benchmarks and achievements that the next generation were expected to attain to realize their own leadership aspirations. Leadership qualities and best practices remained of topical interest during James' reign, just as they had in Elizabeth's. Despite what seemed like a greater certainty of succession with James' two male heirs, ongoing concerns about the appropriateness of Scottish leadership affected English business agents' confidence in the plans they had imagined would realize their good life fantasies. The major market disruptions of the period meant that no group was untouched by a sense of precarity and uncertainty, and many were compelled to rethink their future and the means they would use to attain their goals. The need for strong leadership and well-thought-out succession planning to mitigate the negative impact of the economic crisis of the 1620s and to direct new development and innovations to replace a collapsed textile industry were of prime importance to the survival and renewal of the English market. Every business agent had a vested interest in how market leaders behaved and how accumulated financial and social capital was managed from one generation to the next.

Chapter Two: Inter-Generational Industry: Monuments of the Past Framing the Future

The previous chapter's study of the goldsmiths raised the question of the Jacobean public's complicity in normalizing teleological priorities for everyday business exchanges. Theatrical performances of the period serve as evidence it was generally accepted that outcomes-driven business acts were expected habits of behaviour. As a corollary then, virtuous morality and communal duty ranked lower on the scale of market decision-making factors. This habitual expectation or norm was further embedded in beliefs about how business should be conducted as the severe economic depression of the 1620s drove business agents to move away from failing, end-of-life-cycle industries and to search for replacement business innovations and new trade opportunities.

My investigation into habitual business practices continues in this case study by centering on the textile-focussed Merchant Taylors' Company, another one of the Great Twelve London Livery Companies. In a pairing of a Ben Jonson's *The Staple of News* (c.1626) with John Webster's *Monuments of Honor*, the 1624 Lord Mayor's Show produced for the Merchant Taylors' Company, this chapter studies the formative effect of behavioural norms as they are transferred via business practices adopted in emerging industries and through inter-generational leadership succession planning. The Merchant Taylors' Company is the thread that connects these two performances. In Jonson's play, the character of "Fashioner" illustrates how the right costume presents an image of success and projects the sense that the wearer has the authority to hold a leadership position. In Webster's Show, costumes worn by the various "monuments of honor" serve as the conduit through which spectators recognize the identities

of the monuments and their status as leaders from the past. In both theatrical performance and the everyday business world, clothes legitimate authority. The reiteration of a commonplace understanding of the association between attire and identity is foregrounded in Jonson's play by the character Fashioner who repeats for the audiences the well-known proverb: "The tailor makes the man" (1.2.111). Beyond fashioning the clothing that was a key means of presenting a business agent's public image, the Merchant Taylors' Company also played a role in shaping identity through its participation in the London business network's annual ritual process, namely the Lord Mayor's Show.

The juxtaposition of Jonson's play and Webster's civic spectacle provides two different perspectives of contemporary views of leadership change management and the qualities that marked a successful business leader. Webster's *Monuments of Honor* focused on leadership ideals by resurrecting monuments from England's past in the belief they would serve as ideal models to inspire and guide the country in rebuilding a competitive market position. In 1624 the Show was produced in honour of the Merchant Taylor John Gore.¹⁰⁸ Webster created five pageants that followed what was by now a well-established practice to return to London's and the Great Twelve London Livery Companies' history to reinforce whatever public message that year's sponsoring company sought to affirm. *Monuments of Honor* began with "two Eminent Spectacles, in maner of a Sea-Triumph" (Webster 4)¹⁰⁹ performed on the Thames with a mythical story of the City's origins delivered by Oceanus and Thetis, both figures of Greek mythology. Upon disembarking from ceremonial barges, the land-based portion of the show

¹⁰⁸ See David Carnegie "Introduction" 223-250 for further detail.

¹⁰⁹ All quotations from John Webster's *Monuments of Honor* are sourced from the online EEBO edition.

proceeded through the City streets with pauses at a sequence of temples and monuments set up at key sites of City authority and ceremony – St. Paul’s, along Cheapside, Guildhall. At each stopping point, Webster’s selection of major figures from England’s past, those who stood as recognizable “monuments of honor,” were brought back to life to give leadership direction and advice to aid England’s efforts to triumph once again. Jonson’s play can be read as reframing the concerns raised in Webster’s *Show* about England’s lagging competitiveness as it provided a view of the downstream effects of the trade crisis on an individual and his family. Here I carry forward ideas about normative traditions presented in the previous chapter since the Pennyboy family at the centre of *The Staple of News* source their wealth by carrying out goldsmith activities – money-lending and financing. The play involves a range of livery company members (goldsmiths, tailors, shoemakers, et al.) and a mix of business agents who attempt to launch a venture that sells news for profit.¹¹⁰ The metatheatrical structure of the performance works to actively engage the audience in critique. In staging business practices and identities (which cover a range of traditional trades as well as a new enterprise) *The Staple of News* also involves audiences in working through ideas about how business should be conducted and who is in the best position to lead the next generation of new ventures.

Both Jonson’s play and Webster’s *Show* stand amongst the many attempts made by community members, including the monarch, to remedy what they perceived as the common weal’s eroding economic, political and social stability. These performances illustrate the English

¹¹⁰ Stephen Deng reads the play as “Jonson’s concern with the right use of wealth..., as a response to the national economic crisis. Pennyboy Junior’s proper treatment of Pecunia offers a household-level remedy for England’s monetary problem by advocating the golden mean as the appropriate path for monetary circulation to ensure a healthy economy” (“Global Oeconomy” 246). While I agree that Jonson moves national concerns down to a household view, the issue of monetary circulation is too narrow a view of the economic problem.

market's struggle to come to terms with finding new means of economic growth and forming leaders who exhibited the qualities believed most likely to transform that market. By 1624, London and England were almost a decade into a severe decline in their cloth export trade, with the deepest recessionary trough occurring in the previous four years.¹¹¹ The loss of competitive position in the European textile market had triggered widespread economic disruption and had a deep impact on the peoples of the English common weal. Further compounding the situation was a series of harvest failures and plague epidemics. The "decay of trade" and its spiralling effect produced for many Jacobean a sense of desperation that "naturally stimulated intensive debate about its causes and about possible ways of restoring prosperity" (White 86). While centuries-long debate about the cause of the Jacobean trade disruptions and economic crisis has enriched scholarly understanding of the historical events of the period,¹¹² proposals made in the 1620s for solutions and suggestions to address the problem deserve further investigation. Thus, this case study examines how theatrical performance influenced how Jacobean thought about and imagined how they might navigate away from England's "ancient" business traditions and who might lead the way in responding to the significant trade disruption that had occurred in the midst of James' reign. My interests go beyond the debate about the cause of decay to analyse the ways that perceptions motivated

¹¹¹ Stephen White's portrayal of the barrister and politician Sir Edward Coke's activities in the 1620s articulates Coke's political efforts and advocacy for legal reforms and new trade policies to address the "the grievances of the commonwealth" (18). White aptly captures the socio-economic context that drove Coke to search for remedies to England's economic problems. As White describes the situation: "In 1620, England had plunged into a severe depression that continued on into 1624 with little improvement. The depression brought with it numerous business failures, much unemployment, many riots of the unemployed, and the serious threat of yet more social disorders" (White 86)

¹¹² Contemporaries were themselves deeply engaged in trying to figure out the root cause of the "decay of trade." Extant texts and records detail the range of positions argued (see Mun, Misselden and Malynes on the texts, Larkin and Hughes for royal proclamations, Thirsk for examples of parliamentary debates, plans and correspondence of livery companies).

agents to respond. The subject performances serve as evidence of how the collective's opinion of market instability influenced agents' behaviour, particularly when expectations of the future were forced to adjust from previously shared narratives about the trading activity and business traditions many English agents had relied upon to form their imagined future good life.¹¹³

England's Seventeenth Century Economic Crisis: The Effect upon Agents' Expectations

Believe it, sir,

That clothes do much upon the wit as weather
Does on the brain, and thence comes your proverb:
'The tailor makes the man'. I speak by experience
Of my own customers. I have had gallants,
Both court and country, would ha' fooled you up
In a new suit with the best wits in being,
And kept their speed as long as their clothes lasted
Han'some and neat; but then as they grew out
At the elbows again, or had a stain or spot,
They have sunk most wretchedly.

(1.2.109-118)¹¹⁴

¹¹³ See Beckert arguments about *Imagined Futures* and the affect the orientation toward and belief in the future affects market decisions. Roze Hentschell's study of the contributions made by literature to the "culture of cloth" in shaping English identity provides insight into the shared English narrative of their long-held supremacy in the European cloth industry. By 1624 it was evident that this myth could no longer be expected to hold true in the future.

¹¹⁴ Fashioner, the tailor of the times, speaks these lines to Pennyboy Junior in the first Act of *The Staple of News* when the heir to the Pennyboy family celebrates his coming-of-age. In this speech exchange with Pennyboy Junior,

Surviving documents, such as “The Commons Debate on the Depression” and “Lionel Cranfield’s Notes for a Speech to Parliament,” capture the substance of the debates¹¹⁵ and Barry Supple’s work on “crisis period” records continues to provide useful insight into Jacobean attitudes and understanding of their market situation.¹¹⁶ By building upon previous scholarship on the debates and proposals, my research shifts from a definition of the economic problem to focus on how contemporaries reacted to the deeply troubling situation. Supple’s careful analysis of “contemporary observers... from whose pens... there flowed an abundance of illuminating documentation” captures the visceral response of those “in whose eyes trade was the main prop of the economy” (1). His argument frequently adopts affective language to relate the contemporary “myth” (38), “tale” (55), “opinions” (54) and “blame[]” (46) surrounding what was “perhaps the most acute breakdown of the English economy of the first half of the seventeenth century” (52). Supple is in no doubt that period publications displayed strong opinions about the “decay of trade and scarcity of coin” (66). The gravity and magnitude of the public’s “anxiety” (Supple 60), difficult as it is to measure centuries later, was such that leaders from all segments and networks were spurred to respond. “[P]ublique greivances”¹¹⁷ were catalogued and presented to the king.¹¹⁸ Riots broke out across the country, spurred by mass unemployment and starvation. Rhetorical arguments were crafted by both those

Fashioner upsells the value of the new suit of clothing he has just “moulded” for Pennyboy Junior and justifies the price charged (1.2).

¹¹⁵ See Thirsk, Larkin and Hughes section on “Economic Crises” and particularly pages 1-33; see also the section “Economy” in Kinney’s edited collection *Elizabethan and Jacobean England* pages 403-89.

¹¹⁶ Supple *Crisis and Change*. See also J.D. Gould “The Trade Depression of the Early 1620’s.”

¹¹⁷ See Larkin and Hughes 511-519. The Commons “had distinguished 19 major grievances” in 1621, of which only three were formally presented to the King before parliament was adjourned. James I’s July 10, 1621 proclamation “declaring His Majesties grace to his Subjects, touching matters complained of, as publique greivances” was prompted by “the PC [Privy Council] consider[ation of] a long list of grievances and patents” (note 2). [Larkin and Hughes 511-512].

¹¹⁸ See Thirsk *Seventeenth Century Economic Documents*, particularly the “Economic Crises” grouping.

demanding “free trade” (such as members of Parliament’s House of Commons, and non-London-based merchants and companies) and by those defending monopolies (such as merchant representatives like John Wheeler and Thomas Mun whose publications promoted the trade benefits enjoyed by the general common weal and the King.).¹¹⁹ The seriousness of the problem prompted sub-committees of the King’s Privy Council to be permanently struck to “overlook trade in general and textiles in particular” (Supple 67). In 1624 the *Statute of Monopolies* was issued in what was, as Chris Dent argues, “a weaving of political compromise out of the economic and social troubles of the time” (416). The deeply felt response to the long drawn-out depression stimulated greater willingness and effort to make change happen – to adjust dependencies on traditional business, to encourage risk-taking leaders, to search for innovations and to develop new industries.

As Jens Beckert and others have pointed out,¹²⁰ public perception matters for it forms and contributes to expectations of the future that determine an agent’s decisions to act. In believing that the textile trade had “decayed,” the collective was forced to come to terms with the loss of its identity as a forerunner in the European cloth market. Roze Hentschell observes

¹¹⁹ Mun and Wheeler are two of the business agents who published their arguments in support of chartered companies and claimed that the whole country prospered as a direct result of the expertise of joint-stock overseas companies like the Merchant Adventurers and The East India Company. Their work is part of what Ryner refers to as the “economic discourse” of the period (see “Not by Record but by Discourse,” 411-19) that shaped how the English market functioned both at home and abroad. Merchant authors – including Mun, Wheeler, Digges, Roberts, and Misselden – participated in the public debates over England’s systems of trade, and regularly used their treatises to defend Company trade rights (monopolies) and to lobby against unfavourable trade policies, granting of new charters or patents, and imposition of taxes. For the main part their works were addressed to key figures in the state and policy decision makers (for instance Mun addressed his work to the Treasurer of the Privy Council) or disputed with the arguments about trade or monetary policy put forward by another. Still, their treatises were public documents that contributed to ideas about the right way to conduct trade and which type of person or group was ideal for managing and leading England’s foreign trade. As assigned members of James’ Trade Commission struck in 1622 to find solutions to the decay of trade, Mun and Misselden played a significant role in guiding and shaping the selection of state policies and practices.

¹²⁰ See Jens Beckert *Imagined Futures* and Bruce Carruthers and Sarah Babb *Economy/Society*.

that there was “a recurrent strain of loss and nostalgia in the writings about the industry” (5). These stories built upon the understanding that this “ancient” trade was foundational to the success of many English counties and “claimed a sort of mythic status ‘beyond... memory’” (Hentschell 1), as a “golden age, one which later generations strived to, but never could, recover” (Hentschell 5). Cloth was no longer a reliable means of wealth. The way business agents perceived the “lingering effects [of the depression] coloured,” as Keith Wrightson explains, “the economic experience of the second, third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century” (*Earthly Necessities* 199-200). Compounding the worry, as recorded in the Journal of the Common Council, “that ‘the cloud [of depression] that erewhile rose up like a man’s hand is spread abroad, and hath overspread all our horizon” (qtd in Supple 57-58) was the return of “another severe plague year, [in] 1625” (Supple 26).¹²¹ It is little wonder then that, despite the fact England was isolated from the devastation of the continental battles of the Thirty Years War, business agents articulated the effects of economic depression as comparable to the disruption of war.¹²² Contemporary accounts capture the sentiment of feeling: “men could find only one parallel for their plight: ‘When was it seen a land so distressed without war?’” (Add. MSS qtd in Supple 53). These despairing takes on the market situation reflect Beckert’s point that the degree of effect of “economic crises should be understood as the collapse of hitherto assumed futures” (34). Both the English worldview and visions for its future were irrevocably changed and rearranged as past forms of livelihood disappeared.

¹²¹ The “another” reference points back to the plague of 1603 that had been so severe that James responded by delaying his coronation.

¹²² The Thirty Years War fought on the European continent broke out in 1618 and contributed to Britain’s economic struggles as shifting priorities in demand for goods by countries at war significantly affected trade exports.

Despite the repetition of a narrative of crisis, loss and depression, period publications and manuscripts also capture the sense of a strong desire to persist in finding a way forward and invoking changes that would put the English market on the path to recovery. A willingness to let go of the past and do things differently is the kind of response that Beckert describes as the “creative destruction” that accompanies market disruption (34). For a new industry to take hold, what must first occur is the loss of trust and confidence that traditional practices and industries will enable one to achieve the good life. What arises from distress and chaos is that “[s]uch breakdowns open up space for new imaginaries” (Beckert 34). Burning down an old-growth economy allows different market formations and industries to take root. In this context, theatrical performances function as processes and places where, as Howard skilfully illustrates, “Londoners encountered fictions that directly addressed the conditions of social change and dislocation occurring around them” (*Theater of a City* 2) and both civic and commercial performances helped English business agents make sense of the ongoing “flux” experienced by both the City and the broader common weal network (Howard *Theater of a City* 14).

One example of a forward-looking response to the call to find ways to redress the “great decay of trade” by which, as James acknowledged in 1622, “generally the whole commonwealth suffereth” (Thirsk 17) was “The Clothier’s Plan for the Improvement of Trade.” This proposal, submitted by the clothiers of Suffolk and Essex in 1622 to James’ Privy Council, documented the desperate plight of the poor people who had lost their livelihood and made a call for greater access to free trade in cloths, elimination of the tariffs placed on cloth, prohibition against the export of wool, withdrawal of the patent on wood used for dyeing and dissolution of the East India Company. It also asked the monarch for a proclamation that all

funeral clothing be sourced locally. The complaints captured in this response presented a bleak expectation of the future for the country unless change was implemented and action taken: “consider how difficult a thing will be like to be to contain them [the “great number of poor people” and “their children, some of the perchance being young or sick”] from mutiny and rebellion” (Thirsk 15). The leaders in the cloth industry claimed here to “have long laboured against the stream” and that it is “for want of breath” that they now sought to “express our utter disability to proceed without speedy reformation” (Thirsk 15). In doing so, they built a sense of urgency that England must “relieve our poor and preserve our country’s peace” (Thirsk 15) or else face ongoing and serious disruption. James seems to have heard these kinds of pleas since he responded by creating a “standing commission for these causes” and gave them the power and authority to review and halt “new orders or ordinances” of companies (Thirsk 19-20). Barry Supple makes the point that the public increasingly believed “survival demanded a revolution in the modes of thinking about the textile trade” (20).

James was personally motivated to find new ways to generate revenue – an interest that became even more pressing as he sought to avoid supplicating Parliament for funds. He chose to issue patents, proclaim monopolies and authorize new projects in hopes of gaining income streams.¹²³ His optimistic preference to pursue the crown’s revenue growth rather than prioritize austerity measures serves as example of how imagined future outcomes impacted

¹²³ Stephen Clucas and Rosalind Davies mark the “addled parliament” of 1614 as a key point in the Jacobean rule “because it insinuates questions about the crises of Jacobean rule.” For them, “[t]he Cockayne Project, initiated in the summer of 1614 to maximise customs revenues for the exchequer, is symptomatic of James’s demands for remedies for the insolvency of the crown, not just at the time of the Addled Parliament but throughout his reign” (6). See also Tim Harris’s *Rebellion* Chapter 5 “One Good Steward Would put All in Order” (116-140) for further details on the systemic issues with crown finances made worse by the fact that “James proved not to be the good steward hoped for and soon piled up the debts” (117).

and motivated business decisions. A fantasy of future income growth reinforced profligate spending. In reality, the ineffectiveness of impositions and monopolies in stimulating new trade meant that only a few benefited and the majority were left with only complaints. Additionally, the failure of some state-promoted projects such as the Cockayne project, the Ulster plantation and the Virginia Company further eroded public confidence in future economic growth. Of these three, the Cockayne Project (1614) is particularly apposite for this chapter since it described a plan by William Cockayne, merchant and City Aldermen (and Lord Mayor 1619-20), to finish cloth in England rather than shipping less processed material for Dutch manufacture.¹²⁴ Indeed, ultimately, James' fiscally driven innovations were so objectionable to the majority of the population that they have been recognized as contributing to the next generation's revolution.

The spectacular collapse of the Cockayne project in particular which deepened and hastened, if not caused the decay of the cloth export trade, has been subject of much investigation and debate.¹²⁵ In this scheme, the centuries-old Merchant Adventurers' monopoly on the export cloth trade was broken up and granted to a new conglomerate. Although the new stakeholders promised to increase the vertical integration of the cloth industry by shifting the finishing stage of production away from European manufacturers, they failed to deliver. The reversal of James's decision and subsequent re-granting of trade rights to the Merchant

¹²⁴ The Ulster Plantation involved the London Livery Companies in the 1613 scheme to colonize estates and lands of Catholic Irish. The Virginia Company was a joint-stock company created by royal charter in 1606 to establish a colony in North America.

¹²⁵ Gould emphatically states that "it is unlikely that the downfall of Cockayne's plans did in fact constitute a major cause; the depression in question, though severe, was short-lived, and started, not immediately after the collapse of the project, but only after a year or two of reasonably good trade" (81). For further critical analysis, see Supple and Hentschell.

Adventurers proved to be too late. European competition had closed the gap and England's reputational advantage was eliminated.¹²⁶ The polarizing failure of this project, along with other instances where royal proclamations back-tracked on new initiatives,¹²⁷ deepened the uncertainty about the future and the ability of business agents to access resources needed to enjoy their desired quality of life. Given that England had lost its dominant position in the cloth trade, a different tack needed to be taken to put the country back on course. After almost ten years of stagnating textile exports, the time for change was long overdue.

The demand for a resolution had gained significant momentum by the 1620s. It had become increasingly clear that James was not the kind of dynamic leader that had been hoped for – one who would implement solid policy and fiscal management strategies to pull the English economy out of the deep slump that had dogged the last decade of Elizabeth I's reign. By 1624, it was also evident that waiting for the next boom or market recovery was not a viable option for those intent on achieving their "good life" fantasies. This realization accelerated a willingness to consider business innovations and trade adaptations that had the potential to increase Britain's access to and competitiveness in markets that were increasingly global.¹²⁸ In effect, as Beckert notes, the heightened insecurity of the market "is also a source of *innovation*

¹²⁶ Hugh Dunthorne remarks that "Cockayne's 'grandiose plan' of 1614 to develop broadcloth dying and finishing in England collapsed within a couple of years through lack of capital and skilled tradesmen, as well as because the [Dutch] States General acted quickly to protect its own textile industry by prohibiting the import of dyed and dressed cloth from abroad" (111). Jonathan Israel marks 1609 as the point where, due to "the lowering of Dutch tariffs and shipping costs," "Dutch cloth exports to the Baltic and other markets began to pose a serious challenge to England's position as northern Europe's prime cloth supplier" (*Dutch Primacy* 117).

¹²⁷ Such as the revoked charters for the Virginia Company and the lotteries used to finance it. See Larkin and Hughes *Stuart Royal Proclamations* # 212 for details (500).

¹²⁸ Those markets, as the third case of this project will explore, had long since expanded well beyond intracontinental European trade to become global. Even the lives of ordinary people had expanded as they now enjoyed access to exotic spices; their definition of the "good life" had come to incorporate consumption of imported goods into their everyday living standards. See John Brewer and Roy Porter's *Consumption and the World of Goods*.

in the economy, giving rise to new ideas *despite* – or, even better, *because of* – uncertainty” (11). The listing of plans and proposed solutions, published arguments and parliamentary speeches, the King’s proclamations of the period, and theatrical performances provide glimpses of the shifts in mindset that were taking place. An example of the willingness to adjust with decisive action is found in the significant number of Merchant Adventurers who, upon losing their cloth trade monopoly, readily shifted their energies and “channelled their capital into alternative uses, notably the capital market and East India Company” (Supple 37). In fact, the old Merchant Adventurers adapted and never returned to the English cloth industry (53).

When considering new ventures attempted in the period, it is important not to let the failure of some projects (such as Cockayne’s project or even, as I will discuss later, Jonson’s fictional news office) cloud the significance of the fact that English agents acted to respond to changed business circumstances and accepted the risk of new business models and entrepreneurial activities. Scholarly focus on Cockayne’s project has typically emphasized its detrimental consequences to the common weal but, from a different perspective, it can be viewed as an attempt to come to grips with the reality that the English textile market was under increased pressure to deliver continuous growth (much as public corporations are today), while its competitive entry barriers were slipping. In other words, the decline of this mature business was imminent and the Cockayne idea was a response that attempted to expand activity by “onshoring” to transfer manufacturing employment to England and regain competitive advantage.¹²⁹ With hindsight, this situation thrust the English common weal out of its inertia

¹²⁹ See Israel (118-120). He asserts that the objective of the “Cockayne Project” was to “answer to the rapid strides made by the Dutch in the norther cloth markets after 1609” (118); it was “designed to break the hold of the Dutch

and forced it to become more competitive with Spanish and Dutch rivals who were making serious inroads on English shipping and fishing activities and leaving England behind in global trade expansion.¹³⁰

New business ventures were initiated as a reaction to everyday experiences that had failed to live up to the level of good life expectations based on historical precedents. Agents had to adjust assumptions that subsequent generations would be able to sustain a quality of life that had been possible in the past. Wrightson describes changes in early modern markets not as a linear progression, but as more complex “adaptive decisions” (“Mutualities” 178) that were “part of a larger process of normative adjustment” and involved “collective, as well as individual, responses to the pressures and opportunities of the age” (“Mutualities” 180, 183). But change is difficult to implement and the transition from idea to action is tricky to navigate without examples to follow. Nonetheless theatrical performances served as one means to share different leadership approaches and to test out business alternatives.

In its structure of progressive development from London’s ancient past to leadership in the current Stuart regime and the impending hand-off from James to Charles, Webster’s Lord Mayor’s Show is a prime example of how performance uses what Marvin Carlson has called a “ghosting” effect (7). In Webster’s Show, some of England’s renowned past leaders were embodied as “monuments of honor” who would translate ideas from the past into a present understanding. The demonstration of what type of past leaders produced successful results was

entrêpot over a rising proportion of English cloth exports by means of a radical solution imposed by the crown” (119).

¹³⁰ See Dunthorne 113. He summarizes “the main areas of Anglo-Dutch contention [were]: the North Sea fisheries, the whaling industry off Spitsbergen, and the spice trade with the East Indies” (113). Israel claims that “[b]y 1612 England and the United Provinces were locked in confrontation over a whole range of economic issues” (118).

then transformed and translated into future projections and normative beliefs about how business activities should be conducted. Jonson's *The Staple of News* went a step further still as it presented "imaginaries of future states of the world," which have, as Beckert contends, the potential to affect actors to "organize their activities based on this mental representation and the emotions associated with it" (9). Moreover, Beckert maintains that "[f]ictionality, ... is a constitutive element of capitalist dynamics, including economic crises," and thus business actions are premised on ideas first imagined by the business agent (12). In this way Jonson's play captured the historical moment of an imagined idea that preceded the actual implementation of a new business innovation; it played an integral part in the dynamic change triggered by the English market crises. I suggest that *The Staple of News* constituted a key response to the recession's socio-economic disruption that both reflected and affected how new industries and business ideas were being explored, attempted and moved into everyday activities. Jonson's play makes it evident, however, that new businesses were not always successful, at least not if measured in terms of profitability sustained over the long term. By contrast, Webster's *Show* offered an optimistic, if untested, proposal that a reversion to the risk-tolerant leadership style demonstrated by celebrated English "monuments" from the past would result in the kinds of market opportunities that could return the common weal to the level of success enjoyed in its "golden age" before the collapse of the cloth market trade.

Turning Back Time to Past *Monuments of Honor*: Webster's Guides to an Imagined Better Future

During James' reign the degree of market flux and uncertainty put particular pressure on those companies closely tied to the textile industry, such as the Merchant Taylors.¹³¹ Its members faced two main kinds of trade issues. Lower levels of discretionary income in the population at large resulted in falling consumer demand and greater pressure to hold larger receivables for longer credit periods, both factors which greatly affected Company members who produced tailor-made products and services. Merchant members who participated in the overseas cloth trade experienced a significant drop in the volume of cloth exports and had difficulties obtaining a foreign exchange price that recouped the costs of their goods. Unlike the Goldsmiths of the previous case study whose business was threatened by government policy and undercutting by unincorporated competitors, the challenge to the Merchant Taylors' business was much broader. The drastic loss of volume in exported cloth and the ripple effect this had on domestic trade compelled the Company to respond by taking a public stand on the macro-level threat to the whole "decayed" textile industry (Hentschell 2).

Due to dismal trade conditions overall, a sense of urgency quite different from the Goldsmiths' 1611 pageant drove the Merchant Taylors to agree to sponsor the 1624 Lord Mayor's Show. The 1624 performance responded to concerns about English leadership, the slow pace of state response to the country's trade problems, and the hard-hitting reality that England's national identity, which had been so closely associated with the cloth industry, was diminished. The measure by which the English common weal had recognized its "worth,"

¹³¹ The Merchant Taylor's sphere of business often overlapped with rival companies like the Drapers, the Mercers, the Clothworkers and the Skinners. See Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders 66, 76, 81-82.

“glory,” “fame,” and “honor,” its very sense of English value, had been shaken.¹³² *Monuments of Honor* suggested that the solution to the macro-level problem was to encourage English leaders to become change-makers and embark on entrepreneurial ventures.

The generalized leadership advice proffered by Webster’s *Monuments of Honor* made the show stand apart from its predecessors that had tended to concentrate on the interests of a specific livery company. Unlike Munday’s Show in 1611 for the Goldsmiths’ Company, there is little in the 1624 performance that demonstrated the mysteries of the Merchant Taylors’ craft or the products they brought to market. It did not offer an argument centred on the Company’s unique skillsets or professionalism to justify the continuation of the corporation’s rights and privileges. In contrast to the Goldsmiths’ vital role in minting Britain’s money in this period, there was also little intra-market dependency in England on the goods that the Merchant Taylors produced and/or brought to market. Tailored goods or cloth were usually purchased directly by end-users and by distributors for end-use; their goods did not repeatedly circulate as form of payment as did coin money. The effects of fraudulent passing of recycled clothing as new were limited to first-hand users of the tailored goods. Those goods also had a shorter lifespan of use with a fashion value that declined relatively rapidly.¹³³ Thus, a public performance of trustworthy and ethical behaviour by individual members was not as crucial for this Company and their attention was focused on the more urgent problem of the overall collapse of the English textile market.

¹³² All terms applied in Webster’s *Monuments of Honor*.

¹³³ Unethical passing off of goods is also most likely limited to “ready-made” items. See Sleight-Johnson 356 and 366-7. Sleight-Johnson notes the “dubious quality” of ready-made garments became more of an issue with the “increasing scale of the ready-made trade from circa 1625” (Dissertation 367).

Thus the regular approach of the annual Lord Mayor's Show as a corporate branding opportunity or a tool of advocacy for a specific Company's continued role in the marketplace was set aside in 1624 so as to focus on the trade problems affecting the whole country. The Show made a more general argument about the business leadership skills and entrepreneurial attitude needed to resuscitate trade networks and finally bring the country out of economic depression. A key indicator that the Merchant Taylors were preoccupied with general common-weal economic issues was the choice of English leaders, especially those given speaking roles in the Show. Most of the monuments selected had no direct involvement in the Merchant Taylors' Company: rather, they included honorary noble members such as the "eight that successively wore Englands Crowne" along with Prince Henry, scholars, sea-faring captains and soldiers (Webster 12). The pervasiveness of the problem that the country faced meant it would be ineffectual for the Merchant Taylors to promote company-specific achievements since a focus on livery members' tailored products or specific exports risked fracturing the shrinking market further. Although Webster claimed that his Show carried out "intended" work of "illustrating the worth of that worthy Corporation" the Merchant Taylors, the promotion of the Company-specific reputation was only a by-product of the performance. In its attempt to inspire the country's next generation of business leaders, the Show steadfastly focused on much bigger, systemic issues threatening the market that England needed to resolve.

The significance of the choice to remain focused on market-wide issues needs to be explored, particularly since the Company expended well above the average committed by other companies who sponsored Lord Mayor's Shows in this period and given that they did so during

one of the worst economic depressions.¹³⁴ Given the degree of investment made at a time when the perceived severity of shortage in ready money added to the anxiety of shrinking profit margins,¹³⁵ if the show were to be simply a company-centric public relations exercise it risked an unfavourable reception. The extravagance of the performance could have been perceived as both grossly wasteful and highly insensitive to the suffering experienced by many, including the large number of Company members who were poor tailors. Rash and spendthrift livery company celebration might have produced a public backlash and contributed to already existing demands to revoke all London livery company privileges and monopolies – the 1621 and 1624 parliaments had particularly focused on “grievances” related to “patents of monopoly, specific practices of trading companies, corruption in in the customs system, problems in the organization of the wool and cloth trades” (White 32).¹³⁶ The Company’s decision to invest just over £1,099 must have been spurred on by some other form of anticipated payback for the Show to merit investing a sum that roughly equates to a spend of £245,000 in 2018 values and a jump of more than 50% from the £700 average in the period.¹³⁷ Investment in this performance that so well pleased the Company that Webster was awarded a further £10 gratuity might indicate the degree of anticipated future benefit from changes effected in leadership styles and decisions. It might also be read as a sign of the desperation felt

¹³⁴ See Gordon and Robertson. The Merchant Taylors sponsored the Lord Mayor’s Show five times in the seventeenth century (four times in James’ reign). Only the Grocers’ 1613 show exceeded the Merchant Taylors’ total cash outlay in 1624.

¹³⁵ Both gold and silver coin were believed to be in short supply. See James’ proclamations, the debate amongst Misselden, Malynes and Mun; for secondary sources see Supple, Ryner and Deng *Coinage and State Formation*.

¹³⁶ The call for an end to monopolies was fervent and frequent, it had begun in Elizabeth’s reign and was a recognized problem by James’ succession. See Larkin and Hughes for James I proclamations on the end to monopolies starting in 1603]. See White discussion re: Coke and parliaments (Chapter 2, pp. 27-45) and specifically 32-33 See also Levy Peck *Court Patronage and Corruption*.

¹³⁷ Based on exchange calculations using <https://www.uwoy.edu/numimage/currency.htm>; Robertson and Gordon report that “[t]he average cost of a Jacobean or Caroline Show was about £700 (xxix).

about the magnitude of the current market loss. A combination of hope and urgency most likely drove the choice to increase spending above the usual rate rather than prudently scale back expenditure.

As a lobbying effort to gain support and policies beneficial to the textile trades it needs to be understood that the Show worked dialogically with other advocacy efforts by the industry. Investment of scarce resources into this one-time spectacle had use-value in presenting a public argument and business case for a change in leadership style that embraced bolder risk-taking and innovative business tactics. Showcasing past examples of leaders who were willing to risk failure, and many who in fact did fail several times before they achieved their famed success (such as the sea-faring captains Martin Frobisher, John Hawkins, and Francis Drake), was an attempt to convince English business agents that altering their approach could be a productive and even lucrative means to attain fame and honour. The monuments proudly put on display and held up as highest examples of English leadership were boundary-crossing individuals who stood out for their enterprise and audaciousness in daring to develop and implement innovative practices, in breaking with custom and inventing identifiably English approaches. The “monuments” were pioneers, risk-takers and speculators in areas as diverse as military tactics, sea-faring ventures, and the arts. They were, in many respects, gamblers willing to bet on future reward by choosing to break down barriers and social rules that impeded their goals. (This type of selective story-telling ignores the darker side of the monuments’ actions and glosses past the dangers in pursuing their risky course of action). The Show’s embodiment of materially successful leaders had a two-fold benefit in strengthening the performance’s persuasive purpose. On the one hand, its physical manifestation might make

it seem more plausible and possible that ordinary men could effect real change and generate new business. And, on the other, these monuments served as evidence that significant results had been achieved in England's past, instilling confidence that similar levels of success could be achieved in the future.

Hope for a better future drove the choice to parade successful historical leaders through the City. The performance was a move to convince English leaders they must finally take charge and realize that they could not simply wait for the market to sort itself out. To put the growing volume of calls for action into context, it is important to note that almost two years had passed since James had finally responded by creating a standing trade committee to consult various groups and sectors. In spite of the public voicing of ideas and options to re-invigorate the country's trade activities, there had been little action taken and less progress made to recover or replace lost business output levels.¹³⁸ In the period leading up to the Show, concerns percolated through the business community about the effectiveness of James' choices to steer the country in a new business direction.¹³⁹ Adding to the worry about the slow progress made in trade recovery was a sense of heightened anxiety about the common weal's impending leadership transition to the next generation. Charles I was twenty-four in the Fall of 1624 and had recently returned from an incognito trip to Catholic Spain which had failed in its mission to broker a marriage deal meant to stabilize the British throne by securing peace and obtaining a

¹³⁸ See "Suggestions for the Relief of the Cloth Trade" c. 1621; "The Clothiers Plan for the Improvement of Trade, May 1622" (Thirsk pp. 13-16).

¹³⁹ See debates amongst Mun, Misselden and Malynes – who all were members of the Privy Council's trade committees struck to investigate the cause of trade decay – and the advice their treatises proffered to heads of state and business leaders. See Ryner "Not by Record but by Discourse" for discussion of the discourse and rhetorical tactics used by members of the business community writing about the economic challenges of the period (pp 411-419). See also Ceri Sullivan's *The Rhetoric of Credit* for in-depth exploration of the use of merchant handbooks and city comedies to persuasively influence the public's opinion about trade.

significant cash dowry injection. The present moment was, then, increasingly unstable and there was little indication that the next generation's leadership was going to resolve the troubled socio-economic divisions in the common weal. Given these circumstances, it was reasonable to use the Show's public forum to lobby for a shift in leadership style. That was precisely what *Monuments of Honor* did as it presented English heritage from ancient myth to contemporary leaders and culminated by counselling the country's future monarch, Charles, to behave more like his deceased brother Prince Henry (and thus less like his father). The show's hopeful end-note captured the argument that a return to the "most Cleere and Eminent Fame [left] behind" by the "Jewell [that is, Prince Henry].../ [,which is] Only cas'd up 'gainst a more glorious day" will once again shine forth "his Ray" and return the country to its previous golden-age state (Webster 19).

The theme of resurrection is central to Webster's argument, prompting his creative choice to celebrate specific historical English figures. Inherited ideas about successful leadership were promoted as the ideal, paradoxically, as the Show simultaneously responded to the dilemma of traditional business practices and industries being incapable of generating future profits. When tradition and regular practices can no longer be relied upon to generate successful outcomes – no matter how hard one works to create textile products for which no buyers are available – then the process must be, as Beckert asserts, "creatively destroyed." Yet turning back time to earlier leadership forms in order to regain lost status was the main premise of Webster's show. The water-based portion of the performance, "two Eminent [water] Spectacles, in maner of a Sea-Triumph", deliberately linked London to "the Time of the Romans" (Webster 4). The legend of London's founding was reconstituted by mythical gods of

the sea and river (Oceanus and Thetis) along with “a [female] Person representing Troynovant or the City” (8). In reciting the City’s origin story, the Show located the City’s identity in the belief that the sea-voyaging Trojan hero, Brutus, discovered the island Albion, claimed it for his own and renamed it Britain.¹⁴⁰ The importance of sea-based discovery to London’s and England’s heritage and reputation was reinforced further as attention was drawn to “seaven worthy Captaines, who have made England so famous in remotest partes of the world” including “Sr. Francis Drake ...[and] Sr. Martine Frobisher” (5). Exhibitions of masculine courage and conquest, especially when they resulted in territory expansion and control over profitable resources, were clearly associated with enduring fame and renown (there is, of course, no mention of the Indigenous peoples whose territories were conquered and whose resources were appropriated as a result). These were kinds of “Triumphs of the precedent times” that produced men who were worthy of being idealized as “monuments of honor” (4). As the performance reanimated England’s dead heroes, Webster also called attention to the “five famous Schollers and Poets,” – that is, “Sir Jeffery Chaucer, the learned Gower, the excellent John Lidgate, the sharpe witted Sr. Thomas Moore, and last as worthy both Souldier and Scholler, Sir Phillip Sidney” (Webster 8). The performance transitioned from water to land with “a beautifull Spectacle, called the Temple of Honor” that placed centre-stage the “learned”, “excellent” and “sharp-witted” scholars and poets who “beyond death a fame to Monarckes give, /And these make Cities and Societies live” (9). Homage in the form of published text,

¹⁴⁰ To this day, Gog and Magog (representing the pagan giants indigenous to Albion who were defeated by Brutus) wicker figures are carried in the Lord Mayor’s Show as guardians of the City to “emblematically declare, that they will, like mighty giants defend the honour of their country and liberties of this their City” <https://lordmayorsshow.london/history/gog-and-magog.html>

poetry and speech extended the legacy of honor and ensured fame was recognized and remembered, emphasizing each monument's afterlife.¹⁴¹

As the Show moved to inspire its audience to behave in ways that focused on end-outcomes rather than the challenges involved in working out the ethical details of how results are achieved, it is important to consider the target spectatorship. This performance was not aimed solely at leaders who were already in privileged positions for it was not an exclusive event. The Show was performed in the City streets and on the river for, as Tracey Hill puts it, a “mass audience of Londoners and visitors, domestic and overseas, who flocked in their thousands to see the spectacle” (*“On the Most Eminent”* 24). Webster's pageants were addressed to ordinary London citizens and newly arrived job-seekers as much as they worked to influence decision-makers and to lobby state policy-makers. This suggested how leadership should be judged or benchmarked was not just a matter for the upper echelons of society to determine. The Show asked the general public to follow a certain type of leader and form a benchmark to judge a leader's performance (notably, failure to perform in the interests of the public would be one of the grievances subsequently brought against Charles). The notion that men could strive to be better leaders was a foundational assumption of the Show.

Many of the “worthies” named and the majority of the monuments chosen to speak in the Show shared a common background: they were not born into high status families. Men like explorers and privateers Drake and Frobisher, scholar and martyr More, and mercenary military

¹⁴¹ To this day, the “Drake of myth” for instance endures for, as Harry Kelsey notes, “every few years a new biography appears...explaining his piracy as the patriotic conduct of an intensely religious man.” A replica of his ship, the Golden Hind, remains a London tourist attraction just steps away from Shakespeare's Globe and stands a monument to the swashbuckling, globe-navigating myth of the glory days of England.

commander John Hawkwood originated from humble beginnings and rose through the ranks. They were, to use Stephen Greenblatt's term, "self-fashioning" in their career efforts and strove to achieve a successful position measured in terms of gaining patronage. The recitation of their modest origins held out hope that ordinary English agents might themselves rise in society. The monuments were outsiders to the already privileged and thus had little to lose in risky ventures. For these men, as it would have been the case for so many members of the Show's audience, the gap between their current realities and desired good life was so large that a windfall was the only imaginable way of achieving their goals. The narrative of the self-made man offered a hopeful way to deal with the dire market circumstances. Only the wildly ambitious men of "meane" beginnings (Webster 10), those who had nothing to lose, might be willing to risk doing something out of the ordinary and take the gamble that overseas venturing would enhance their status. The Merchant Taylors' Show directly appealed to those types of men by bringing forward English "worthies," those whom "Oceanus in gratefull recompence returns the memory of" to promote English aspirations and idealized business conduct (5). To encourage potential leaders to behave more boldly in future, the performance emphasized the monuments' fame and reputations by describing them as men of "this bold Nation [England], it would envy strike, /I th' rest ath' World, who cannot shew the like" (5).

The first of these represented the City of London itself. Troynovant had risen from her rustic origins to be seated in her "rich habilaments" above "five eminent cities, ...Antwerpe, Paris, Rome, Venice, and Constantinople" (Webster 8). She pointedly noted that "from low beginnings their oft-springs/ Societies [that] claime Brother-hoods of Kings" (9). Next, Sir Phillip Sidney, who died in military action in the Dutch struggle for independence from Spain and

whose reputation had grown to the point he was renowned as “worthy both Souldier and Scholler,” declared in his speech it was his “duty” “to Honor by our Wrightings Worthy men” (9). His closing direction to the Lord Mayor to “Survey most Noble Pretor what succedes, / Vertue low bred aspiring to high deedes” (10) was intended to inspire the audience, all the time ignoring his early death in war.

Following Sidney, Sir John Hawkwood, the soldier of fortune whose exploits were such that they “to the Merchant-Taylors fame doth give” (10), marked his own career progression: “From a poore common Souldier I attained/ The style of Captaine, and then Knight-hood gaind” (10). He pronounced, “My birth was meane, yet my deservings grew/ To eminence,” thus suggesting that even beginning as a lowly tailor’s apprentice should not limit one’s potential (10). The elevation of each of these commoners to the status of a “monument of honor” demonstrated that their actions had yielded them tangible, measurable, and often lucrative outcomes. Their speeches recreated their stories of success, the worth and honour with which they were acclaimed. These speeches utilized a common rhetorical tactic meant to persuade their auditors to follow and support a leader based on his promises of a future reward. In many ways the speeches articulate the concept of lottery-winning: risking expendable resources on the slim chance of winning large reward that is otherwise not within reach of individual labour effort. And, of course, lotteries had been introduced in Elizabethan times and, more recently, had served to raise funds for Virginia Company in 1612 (although it was cancelled by James in 1621); coincidentally a tailor Thomas Sharplisse is noted by Stow to have been a major winner in the lottery on a two-shilling-six-pence ticket (913). In any event, the ideology of the “self-made man” who rises from his “low” social position due to sacrifice, risk-taking, and hard work

was a repeated theme across the Lord Mayor's Shows. This element perpetuated the myth that merit and "high deedes" were the sole basis for the Lord Mayor's election. What remained unacknowledged was the fact men elected to civic positions had the advantage of being sponsored by other already powerful and influential men. They also benefited from an existing privilege granted by patrimony, family connections and company membership. The idea of potential for progression to higher levels by those who have earned their "worthy" status, first marked by the status of Company membership and then by "freedom" of the City, was extended in the next pageant of Webster's Show, one that focused on royal and noble connections to the Company.

The ordering of the performance itself, with the "monument" speeches progressing from ancient beginnings of the Trojans' settlement to Hawkwoods' "meane" beginnings (10) and then to affiliated royalty and nobility, gave material form to the Company's motto *Concordia Parvae Res Crescunt*, which Webster translates as "By unity the smallest things grow great" (12). Evidence of the height of the Company's reputation, advancing from humble origins into one of the Great Twelve, was displayed in a series of pageants that presented a "Triumphant Chariot with the Armes of the Merchant-Taylors" carrying "Eight Famous Kings of this Land, that have been free of this Worshipfull Company" (11). One pageant showed Edward III as the first to acknowledge the "special honor, and renowne" of honorary membership (12). He broadcast the promise of meritocracy by persuasively claiming that "Time, and Industry attaine the prise" and that a united effort would result in future reward (12). The chorus of kings who echoed Edward's directive to "oft repeate" the Company motto lent significant authority to the idea it was possible to progress from humble beginnings to greatness (12).

Edward also stood as an example of the motto. His naval victory at the Battle of Sluys was won against a much larger French force and illustrated that even those who start from an inferior position may still achieve victory (Ormrod 222-24). By implication, then, Edward's speech suggested that, even from its position of trailing behind the Dutch and Spanish in global trade, England could take steps to improve its competitiveness.

The choice of Edward III as royal orator is also interesting beyond the fact he provided the first royal charter to the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1327. Mark Ormrod has noted that "mythology of Edward III" was by the fifteenth century such that he was considered a veritable hero of commerce who had promoted shipping, won Calais, kept open the seas, taken guarantees for the good behaviour of foreign traders" and "loved" his English merchants "heartily" (589). This was a narrative that Edward himself had played a direct hand in creating. After his major naval victory in 1340, he reasserted "his ancestors' claim to the title of 'sovereign of the seas'," and "had five ornamental gold ships made as permanent memorials of the victory" (Ormrod 224). Moreover, as Ormrod describes, Edward also "issued a new gold coin... bearing the image of a crowned king aboard a ship of war" – all "propaganda [that] helped feed a burgeoning popular mythology that celebrated England's new-found naval prowess" (224).¹⁴² See illustration below of Edward's commemorative coin. The use of theatrical props in the Merchant Taylors' Show further reinforced the belief that sea-based trade was a primary source of the City's honor. Following Edward's speech, the procession



Figure 8: Edward III's noble coin depicting his image as "sovereign of the seas." © British Museum

continued with "two Sea Tryumphs" and "the Shippe called the Holy-Lambe, which brought hanging in her Shrowdes the Golden-Fleece" (14). Webster explained that "the conceite of this being that God is the Guide and Protector of all Prosperous Ventures," an ideology that was reinforced in the Company's coat of arms with the Holy Lamb at top (14), as seen in figure below. Although the linking of tailors to sea-venturing may seem somewhat incongruous, the Merchant in the Company's name reflected the fact that many important members of the Company were deeply involved in the export cloth trade rather than tailoring craft. Still, the show's emphasis on sea-faring trade and discovery better served the broader common weal than it did most of the individual Company members.¹⁴³ Ending this segment of the process

¹⁴³ See Rappaport for discussion analyzing the make-up of the Merchant Taylors Company where the large numbers of the members were in "the majority ... poorer than other great companymen" and thus not likely to be involved in overseas trade activities (303-304). See also Grassby for discussion of relatively low proportions of Companies' members who were merchants (55).

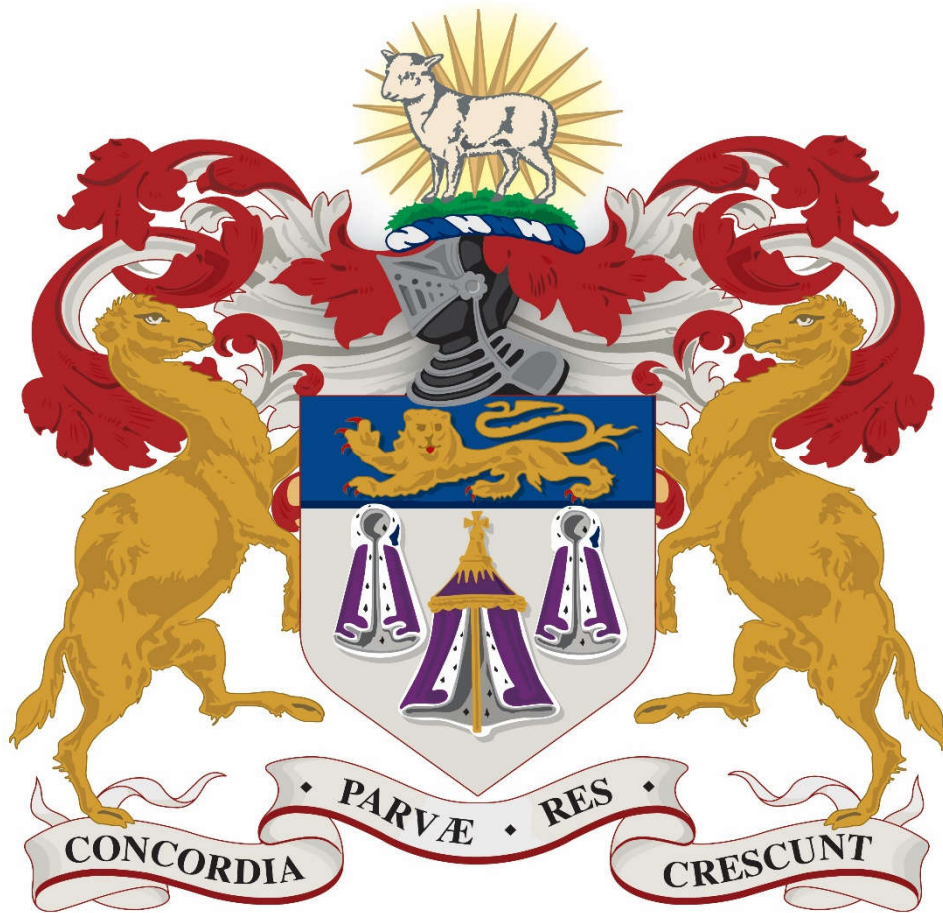


Figure 9: Merchant Taylors' Company crest with motto "By unity the smallest things now grow great."

with a camel "such as use to Travaile with Caravans" ridden by a "Turke," and a "Lyon" (a beast featured on the Company's coat of arms) ridden by "a Moore or wild Numidian" highlighted the venture-based trade of the most prestigious members of the Merchant Taylors (14).¹⁴⁴ The camel and the lion thus served as material reminders of the overseas trade that sustained the English market and the role that livery companies played in that global arena. The argument seems clear that global trade, not a local or insular English market, would be the best means to

¹⁴⁴ The camel was also adopted in the heraldry of the Grocers' Company (discussed further in the next chapter). See Richmond Barbour's specific discussion of Webster's show and the Merchant Taylors' coat of arms in his book *Before Orientalism* (99). See also Tracey Hill for detailed discussion of the use of animals both constructed and real: "in 1556 the Merchant Taylors hired a camel – a real one, it seems, sweetened with rose water" (164).

derive honour. The solution to economic depression was to venture overseas and build competitive foreign trade channels (an approach that becomes yet more evident in my next chapter's examples).

The subsequent pageant suggested attainment of the next level of leadership status should be exhibited through an accumulation of social capital generated by philanthropic acts, such as sponsoring future generations through education and start-up funding. In a pageant that portrayed a "faign'd Heaven in th'Elizian fields," the "worthy Patriot... Sir Thomas White" was portrayed as "the Monument of Charity and Learning" (17). The pageant's backdrop of a utopian representation of "Spring in Winter" in "a beautifull Garden" evoked hope for a better future (17). The implication was that aspiring leaders who imitated the actions of such an honourable and affluent businessman – for White had been the wealthiest man in London during his term as Lord Mayor in 1553¹⁴⁵ – would rise to enjoy an Eden-like state in a place where "the chiefest of our blessings grew" (17). This garden pageant, almost the culminating part of the Show, suggested that the English network benefited from educational and charitable support given by businessmen who had secured their material success. White's example not only stood for extraordinary wealth, but also for the value of reputation since he was renowned as a "worthy patriot" following his role in upholding London's security and political stability and the defeat of Lady Jane Grey's faction as they attempted to usurp Queen Mary.¹⁴⁶ In materializing the patriotic and beneficent mayor, this pageant served as a forward-looking attempt to sway the state's trade decisions by reminding the business community, James and

¹⁴⁵ For a discussion of Thomas White's wealth, see Davies and Saunders 93, 103, 119.

¹⁴⁶ See Davies and Saunders 103-104 for the recounting of the rebellion in 1554.

the Privy Council that the City had traditionally remained onside with the regular succession order and actively supported the monarchy.¹⁴⁷ White's role in the pageant was a pointed signal to the public that long-term, communal benefits could be realized when business networks thrive. Great wealth and patriotic fervour, the Show insisted, enabled the kinds of charitable actions that leave an enduring effect on future generations of Englishmen. It was widely known that White had used his riches to establish St. John's College at Oxford and to set up a complex fund to grant interest-free loans to young clothiers across twenty-four English cities. His investment had set the foundation for the Merchant Taylors' "unrivalled interest in education" and charitable lending that served inter-generational succession planning and the transfer of knowledge necessary to sustain English networks (Davis and Saunders 122). Many Company leaders and officers had benefited directly from start-up loans made possible by Company benefactors and they went on to play important roles in Jacobean trade committees and various overseas venture companies including the Ulster Plantation, Virginia Company, Muscovy, and East India Company.¹⁴⁸

After the series of pageants lasting much of the day, the Show closed by paying homage in a "Monument of Gratitude" to James' first son the "'Worthy Prince Henry fames best president" who was, by then, twelve years deceased (18). Surrounded by three pyramids as "monuments for the dead" that cast jewel-shaped lights into the night, Henry stood upon a "pedestal of gold" flanked by twelve figures who portrayed the virtuous qualities that he had

¹⁴⁷ See Kitch claims that "wealth in city comedies works generally as a self-interested prize whose acquisition tends to dissolve communal bonds, the orderly control of commerce in the civic pageants becomes a key element of political order for an expanding English nation" (74).

¹⁴⁸ See the appendix to Sleigh-Johnson's dissertation.

expressed in life – among them, liberality, unanimity, and justice (17). Amongst the figures accompanying Henry, Navigation carried a Jacob's staff, "expressing his [Henry's] desire that his reading that way might in time grow to the practicke, and building to that purpose one of the goodliest Ships was ever launch in the River" (17-18). The link between English leadership models and sea-based heritage was again reiterated as "Henry's passion for maritime pursuit was unflagging" from the time he was presented with his first ship in 1604; he had also "promoted Elizabethan-style rites of knighthood and sea voyages of exploration" (Sutton). As a thirteen-year-old, Henry had been fêted and given honorary membership when he attended a Merchant Taylors' dinner hosted for the King in 1607, another major investment of Company funds and effort including £20 paid to Ben Jonson "for his verses" that evening (Davis and Saunders 159) and the Merchant Taylors' Show celebrated those ties as they attempted to exert some influence on the conduct of Prince Charles. Overall, the prominence of sea-based exploration and overseas ventures in the performance highlighted the belief that the country's future development was critically dependent on the future monarch's support for naval ventures and imperial expansion.

That said, there was little Company-specific favour to be gained by focussing on Henry's "most Cleere and Eminent Fame [left] behind" rather than praising the current heir to the throne (19). For this reason, the Show's advice in the final speech of the day trod a careful line. Prince Henry was celebrated as the finest monument, for, as the audience was informed, "Of all the Triumphs which your eye has view'd/ .../This chiefly should your eye and eare Imploy" (18). In fact, Henry stood as the penultimate monument and his brother, the future King Charles I, was championed as "a new Phaenix [who] springs up in his stead" (19). The brother was the

resurrection who “seconds him [Henry] in every grace” (19). Yet the speaker, Amade le Graunde (a Knight Hospitaller of the Order of Saint John the Baptist¹⁴⁹), seemed to hold out little expectation that Charles’ leadership skills would surpass Henry in future since the replacement leader could hope to do no better than strive to “second him in Brother-hood, and place” (19).

While Webster’s show followed the traditional pattern of the Lord Mayor’s Show by ending with a speech of advice, what is less typical is that the bulk of advice was not centred on the Mayor’s conduct in the upcoming year. Rather, in the final address, John Gore is told only to make “the last day of this your houlding seate, /Joyfull as this or rather more compleate” (19). Although the incumbent mayor was directed to carry on with Integrity, most of the speech comprised admonitions to the future monarch, Charles, to be “truly good” as his brother was, who “never did disguise his ways by Art/But shooted his intents unto his hart, /And lov’d to do good, more for goodness sake” (19). The imperative to Charles was to be transparent, honest and virtuous, implying an underlying concern or that Charles did not currently behave that way.

Monuments of Honor was a product of its time when England’s deficit trade position fuelled a willingness, even a desperation, to accept that change in leadership behaviour was necessary. It was a life-altering moment that functioned to open a crack in traditional industry and business moulds by encouraging greater tolerance for risk amongst business agents who perceived there was little more to lose. In giving voice to a select group of “monuments of honor” (all men, of course), the Show presented an idealized set of habits and mannerisms

¹⁴⁹ The Merchant Taylors’ company originated as the Fraternity of St John the Baptist established by the Tailors and Linen Armourers of London. See Davies and Saunders 3.

believed to differentiate “worthy” leaders from everyday agents. Emulating these models, it suggested, would allow the next generation to reset the English market back onto a profitable track. In essence, the Show invoked a “make England great again” argument where the resurrection of icons of leadership and policies from the past was all that was needed to jolt the country out of its problems and into economic recovery. That these “worthy captains” employed a no-holds barred, ends-focused approach – moral standards of virtue, community duty and obligation to follow social rules and conventions be damned – is telling of the ethical priorities believed necessary to triumph over their global market competitors.

The problem created by dragging forward historical figures as models for future leaders was that they inevitably carried forward past practices and behaviours. The triumphs these historical leaders had attained, regardless of the methods applied to realize their objectives, was the basis for the renown they were still granted in 1624 (and which still upholds many of their names in schoolchildren’s history books today). The behaviours and qualities of character selectively highlighted in the Lord Mayor’s Show served to sediment rather than reform leadership standards and norms. Aspiring leaders were encouraged by this performance to emulate the historical monuments in order to get ahead and realize their good life fantasies. The practice continues, for even relatively current biographical information about history’s “monument” men still largely focuses on outputs and outcomes while glossing over less virtuous aspects of their lives, instances when they failed to fulfill their communal duty, or occasions when their self-interested drive to succeed led them to perpetrate violence and

oppress the rights of other agents.¹⁵⁰ Although the argument might be made that the captains celebrated in Webster's Show were just products of a different time and sensibility, even in their own era their actions were often contentious. For example, Hawkins was a slave trader and pirate/privateer whose "willingness to shift loyalties marked his reputation with an indelible hint of treason" (Kelsey *Sir John Hawkins* xiv).¹⁵¹ Frobisher too was a privateer; he also "consistently engaged the affections of the common mariners under his command, whom he led by example and whose hardships he was always willing to share even as he misappropriated their victualling moneys," "was fearless rather than brave, duplicitous and almost incapable of financial integrity" (McDermott *ODNB*). Humphrey Gilbert, known for his "notorious association" with the violent and "brutal" campaign in the Irish campaign, was also criticized by many of his contemporaries for being "indiscreet, abrasive, and financially imprudent" (Rapple *ODNB*). Sir Francis Drake, wildly successful in pirating Spanish booty, was much less reliable as a partner since he held no compunction in leaving his allies behind to die or using them as bait to provoke enemy attack while he safely escaped with his Spanish booty (Kelsey *ODNB*).

Many of Webster's monuments of honour followed a teleological, outcomes-oriented approach to achieving success, where they willingly broke with traditional processes when it no longer served their purpose and held no scruples against cheating even their fellow English agents when it suited them. The measurements used to categorize these men as successful was their degree of material accumulation, claims of new lands and resources, and privateering

¹⁵⁰ See, for example, the ODNB entries for John Hawkwood (Fowler), Martin Frobisher (McDermott), Humphrey Gilbert (Rapple), Francis Drake (Kelsey) and John Hawkins (Morgan) for insight into the methods they used to accumulate success and wealth.

¹⁵¹ See Harry Kelsey's biography *Sir John Hawkins: Queen Elizabeth's Slave Trader*.

profits amassed over their careers. Contraventions of law, social mores and diplomacy were lauded as acceptable means of moving forward with business development and industry innovation. Their actions were justified on the basis of outcomes achieved, both for themselves and for England's fame. The Show also showed that those who amassed great wealth, such as Mayor White, could have a negative reputation redeemed through acts of charity. Unsavoury methods of attaining wealth could be cleansed by contributing to the community as White did in establishing a university college and creating a fund to lend to new business start-ups.

The celebration of specific historical leaders in civic spectacle narrowed the number of alternatives considered viable to lead London and England back into a profitable state. As Avner Greif argues, "[i]nstitutional elements inherited from the past, rather than technologically feasible alternatives, provide the means to cognitively order new situations, obtain information, coordinate behaviour, identity one's interests, and receive normative guidance. Institutional heritage matters and new institutions bear its imprint" (194). Webster's "monuments" of leadership are, thus, instances of what Greif refers to as the "past institutional elements [that] constitute what individuals believe about their environment, what they believe others believe about what action will be taken in various circumstances, and what they consider morally appropriate" (190). A feasible alternative style of leadership cannot even be imagined for there can be no unbuckling or divestiture of past models of leadership from projections of future successful leaders. The permanent imprint of the past is always carried forward into "a new situation" (Greif 190), for the only alternative responses believed feasible are ones that have proven themselves in the past. Part of the resistance to wholesale change is due to what Greif refers to as the "fundamental asymmetry between a society's institutional heritage and

alternative institutional elements” (190). There is too much cost in a clean slate to allow, let alone ease, the degree of change demanded by an unproven alternative. The celebrated conduct of the “seven worthy Captaines” and Edward III represented actions that promised to deliver material results. By holding these men up as “monuments of honor,” they become what is believed to be morally acceptable. Results count; processes do not matter.

Webster’s *Show* made the argument that change was necessary but stopped short of demonstrating how an aspiring leader might execute or implement that much-needed change. Jonson’s *The Staple of News*, however, precisely addressed the issue of management change. The play took the importance of developing the next generation’s leadership and business acumen to a more personal, familial level and experimented with a “what-if” scenario where a young man with an entrepreneurial mindset but little experience embraces a new industry and attempts to generate alternate revenue streams.

‘Give Light to the Business’ in Jonson’s *The Staple of News*

Jonson had first explored the idea of news as a commercial enterprise in his masque *News from the New World*, performed at court around 1620. In fact, an early exchange in that masque between the Factor, Printer and Herald would be recycled in his play *The Staple of News* (c. 1626).¹⁵² The later play, then, represents the maturity of ideas that the playwright had

¹⁵² In Act 1.5 of *The Staple of News* the exchange between Cymbal, Fitton, Pennyboy Junior and Thomas repeats the earlier text. In both, the characters speak in critical ways of the news-making production and selling processes. An excerpt of *News from the New World* followed by a section from Act 1.5 illustrates my point:

Factor: I confess it; but it is the printing I am offended at, I would have no news printed; for when they are written, though they be false, they remain news still.

been interested in for years and *The Staple of News* sought to engage audiences in critical judgement of how business is carried out in creating and selling products to consumers. An experimental approach to business is signalled in the very structure of the comedy about a City business family, the Pennyboys, and the fate of a start-up company that would commercialize the business of news. With an induction as well as layering a series of four “intermeans” between the play’s five acts, the play was designed to “sit upon” itself and judge its own performance (Induction 21)¹⁵³. By way of “four Gentlewomen, Lady-like attired” who unashamedly claim the on-stage seats typically occupied by City gallants and know themselves to be watched by the audience proper, a pseudo improvised criticism of the play and its business breaks into the regular performance (see images below for the “habit” of dress that would mark a Lady of Quality and a Citizen’s Wife; as noted later the claim to “quality” is a value-laden, materially marked declaration). The Gossips’ running commentary was intended to jolt spectators into awareness of the performance *qua* performance.¹⁵⁴ The design and inner-

Printer: See men's divers opinions! It is the printing of 'em makes 'em news to a great many who will indeed believe nothing but what's in print

Act 1.5 *The Staple of News* (1.5.46-52):

Fitton: O Sir! it is the printing we oppose.

Cymbal: VVe not forbid that any News be made,
But that't be printed; for when News is printed,
It leaves, Sir, to be News, while 'tis but written ——

Fitton: Though it be ne're so false, it runs News still.

Pennyboy Junior: See divers Mens Opinions! unto some,
The very printing of them makes them News;

¹⁵³ All citations of Jonson’s *The Staple of News* are sourced in the Anthony Parr edition. The Gossip, Mirth, outlines her trio’s purpose is “to see plays and sit upon them... and arraign both them and their poets” (“Induction” 21-22).

¹⁵⁴ Stephen Wittek describes the play’s “metatheatrical formulations” as “effects [which] naturally pick up an accent of intentionality... [, for] irony arises in the theater by design, not by chance” (97).

workings of the theatrical performance are repeatedly laid bare and subjected to on-the-spot critical analysis.¹⁵⁵ The Gossips provide an opportunity for self-reflexive criticism of the commercial theatre's activities and the value the audience receives for their investment of time and coin. The present of the play is continuously judged against its promise, and whether it matches their "hope" that the "Play will be a merry one" (Induction 13). From the Induction, when the purpose of the physical set-up of the torch-lit stage is explained by Prologue to the startled Gossips as that which "give[s] light to the business" (54-55), the audience is challenged



Figure 11: "Habit of a Citizen's Wife of London in 1640," by Wencelaus Hollar. *A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations: Antient and Modern.*



Figure 10: "Habit of an English Lady of Quality in 1640," by Wencelaus Hollar. *A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations: Antient and Modern.*

¹⁵⁵ See Nina Levine's "Epilogue: The Place of the Spectator" for further discussion of Jonson's relationship to audience for *The Staple of News* (139-48).

by the on-stage spectators' meta-theatrical interventions to consider their own role in interpreting "the business" that is performed before them.¹⁵⁶

Two readings of "the business" can be inferred from Prologue's assurances to the Gossips. One concerns the commercial business of the theatre itself, as its methods of practice, aims and objectives are openly debated by the Gossips throughout the performance. The other, the subject of the inner play, elaborates the constructedness and performance-like acts of everyday business transactions and the regular exchange of services and products amongst London agents. To "give light to the business" (Induction 54-55), Jonson begins from his own and the collective's memory of existing livery company structures and practices before redirecting those memories to derive expectations of how a "new" news business should be conducted. The speculatively created news business Jonson materialized on stage by a company of men working in an Office, a Staple of News, and carrying out the objective of selling a service-product to consumers.¹⁵⁷ Audiences were invited to apply their own memories of business activities to the innovative development of news as a business.

In its material enactment of an imaginary new business, the play also deliberately disrupted assumptions about traditional business practices by self-reflexively drawing attention to the habits and norms themselves. On one level, the play offered a simulation of how to start and implement a news industry. The performance relayed assumptions, determined a course of

¹⁵⁶ The Prologue assures the Gossips and tells them to "start not, Ladies; these [Tiremen] carry no Fireworks to fright you, but a Torch i' their Hands, to give Light to the Business" (Jonson "The Induction" 53-55.)

¹⁵⁷ I refer to the sales transaction as involving a "service-product" because it is a customized product that meets the particular needs and desires of a consumer. The newspaper that developed over time was a "product" that buyers would purchase and then put to whatever use they desired (from inputs to decision-making to lining walls as additional insulation or packing items for safe-keeping in transit). A news manuscript was a service that generated a document (product) that could be put to further use.

action and then conducted a “what-if” experiment (to use a more current jargon of commercialization, it acts as if it were an “innovation laboratory”). In effect, the play was set up to test how the business will perform under certain conditions (spoiler alert: the start-up news office goes “broke” [5.1.39] and is “blown up” [5.1.41]). Beyond delivering a satirical come-uppance to an emergent English news industry, a reading of the play that has occupied much critical interest to date,¹⁵⁸ the mock business also served as a critique of efforts to transition to a new industry and leadership practices. Specifically, Jonson’s play pointed out the weaknesses in one business family’s poorly executed succession plan: the junior member of the Pennyboy family is unprepared upon coming of age to take on an independent leadership role and manage the risks of venturing into unknown markets and new lines of business. In the process of working through experimental business alternatives and reflecting upon the difficulties of leadership succession in such an unstable economy, the performance was intuitively bound to address the concepts of value and worth.

The handling of family financial decisions in the play demonstrates acculturation to the idea that material value was intrinsically linked to worth.¹⁵⁹ Through the Pennyboys’ antics, the play offered deliberations about the acceptable means of managing wealth. In debating proper wealth management, the assumption that the purpose of business investment decisions is to

¹⁵⁸ See Joseph Lowenstein’s article “Pennyboy’s Delight,” Marcus Nevitt’s chapter discussion of how “Jonson spent a good deal of his adult life excoriating the nascent, early seventeenth-century European news business” (52) and Mark Muggli’s argument that the play “is almost universally pigeonholed as a satire of seventeenth-century news business” (323). Julie Sanders takes a different position in claiming that *The Staple of News* “is not a play that satirizes printed news, which might logically appear to be its target; it attacks rather certain interpretations and appropriations of the press” (*Feigning* 329).

¹⁵⁹ See Alexandra Shepard’s *Accounting for Oneself* for further discussion of the link between material and moveable goods and the self-reported or autobiographical narration of one’s worth, social standing and creditability.

make profit was upheld as seen in the detail given to the “just divisions of the Profits” when the set-up of the new Office is first explained (1.5.113). The assumption that heirs would continue efforts to sustain and grow the family capital (both social and financial) was the normative expectation upon which the play was founded. Controls and limitations imposed by benefactors on the terms of inheritance serve as points where the past continues to influence the decisions carried out in the future – behavioural norms are inherited alongside material wealth.

Just as Webster’s *Show* argued that the past can bestow valuable leadership skills onto future generations and aid the country’s effort to develop a new base of trade, Jonson’s play also turned to English heritage for inspiration and to reassure his audiences through shared cultural heritage. This approach of linking the past to the present could be used to ease the challenge of dealing with commercial pressures and creating new trade initiatives. In his recycling of familiar dramatic figures such as the Vice and prodigal sons, Jonson relied on a “sense-making” practice to orient audiences toward a new experience. In other words, the play first drew on spectatorial memory only later to unsettle it.

The play’s second intermean illustrates how Jonson leveraged his audiences’ past dramatic experience to grapple with contemporary ideas and issues. Here the Gossips label Pennyboy Senior as the stereotypical Vice figure, just in case the audience had failed to associate him with this role because of the lack of identifying costume and a “wooden dagger to snap at every body he meets” (2nd Intermean 12). The Gossips enact the transfer between memory and interpretation by explaining that “[t]hat was the old way” of performing the Vice, “when Iniquity came in like Hocus Pocus, in a jugglers jerkin, with false skirts, like the Knave of Clubs. But now they are attired like men and women o’ the time, the Vices Male and Female!”

(2nd Intermean 14-16). Their interjections prompted the audience to recognize continuity in character. The “haunting” effect of the Gossips’ explicit reference and its relation to the present produced “incongruity” and thus “reinforce[d]” the cognitive and affective interpretation of the drama (Carlson 166).¹⁶⁰ The association of Vice figures with the business agents most recently on stage – Pennyboy Senior and Picklock the Lawyer – foreshadowed the story to come; it also contributed to the expectation that dishonest behaviour would be the norm for stingy lenders and unscrupulous lawyers.

This repetition of familiar components would appeal to audiences by instilling confidence in their ability not to be “wholly mistaken” in their “Interpretation” (To the Reader 4) and to catch on quickly to on-stage arguments. Jonson then refreshed the form by adding a parallel metatheatrical framework. Thus, *The Staple of News* served the theatre company’s commercial objectives of meeting consumer demand for novelties and experiences that were as “new and fresh... and untainted” (Induction 25-26) as the Gossips demand from the outset.

Jonson’s intermeans with the Gossips function to call audiences to attention and to prompt their active interpretive work. The Gossips themselves are sensitive to the fact that they are doing work of “interpretation” (2nd Intermean 26), a term that is also picked up in Jonson’s later intervention, the addition of a “To the Reader’s” address in the printed version. Here he directs readers to apply their “own judgement... and perceive the trick of alluring money to the Office and there cozening people” (152-53). Indeed, *The Staple of News* might be read a coaching exercise, training the audience by walking them through a “ridiculous Office of

¹⁶⁰ See Carlson *The Haunted Stage* for further discussion of haunting in acts of reception, as recognized incongruities that further stimulate cognitive and affective interpretation.

the Staple”, a business prototype that fails – a demonstration of how not to carry out succession planning in a family business (10).¹⁶¹

In an approach that is still familiar in commercial development today, the play is consciously built from the starting point of a familiar product-model. That base model is augmented with new features intended to attract repeat sales and loyal customers. The advantage of incremental innovation is a lower risk of failure and the timeline to market realization is shortened. Future results are intended to replicate past performance as demonstrated in Webster’s “Monuments.” But, as much as Webster’s Show guided the development of the way forward to new business opportunities by relying on examples of past leadership, Jonson’s play presented how to commercially develop cultural products into a new industry by building upon historical business practices.

Like the Lord Mayor’s Show previously described, *The Staple of News* also leveraged memories of business structures and practices of London’s age-old livery companies so as to help audiences make sense of the emerging news industry. He recycled traditional livery company practices to project ideas of how the news industry might grow to function, including an organizational structure of master and subordinate clerks. In its portrayal of the commercialization of news, however, the play stretched beyond the familiar by creating a business entity and service-product that did not already exist. In the 1620s the English news market was not fully developed into a competitive commercial enterprise, for “rather than tolerate an unregulated free-for-all, the English authorities resorted to their preferred means of

¹⁶¹ Jonson’s directive that accompanies the printed play mocks “these ridiculous Gossips that tattle between the Acts” (5-6) and the “ridiculous Office of the Staple” (10).

control: establishing a monopoly” (Pettegree 195).¹⁶² Act 1 of the play depicts the start-up phase of the news office and trades on audience knowledge of business conduct in the City to build a convincing account of “the staple of news” as sufficiently viable to support “the just division of the profits” amongst its stakeholders and staff (1.5.113). In essence, the performance constituted the system of the news market by giving it material form that might contribute to an understanding and acceptance of news as a market: it affected the way that the news was conceived as a service-product that could be custom-packaged and sold for money.¹⁶³ The abstract idea that Jonson materialized on stage shaped the structure that the news market actually took over time. Joad Raymond traces the evolution of “the business of news” and notes that beginning in the 1640s a range of options were made available to consumers to select their news product according to its type of news focus or its days of serial publication.¹⁶⁴ Still, it is important to note that the British news industry never became the fully self-curated process that Jonson’s Office fantasized. *The Staple of News* should be considered impressively ahead of its time, for there are intriguing parallels between Jonson’s innovative

¹⁶² See Pettegree for discussion of England’s first newspapers and the “monopoly ... awarded to [Nathaniel] Butter and Nicolas Bourne” (195).

¹⁶³ See Michel Callon’s ideas of *The Laws of the Markets* where he argues for the “radically different” “point of view” “that economics, in the broad sense of the term, performs, shapes and formats the economy, rather than observing how it functions (Latour, 1987) (Callon, 1984)” (2). Callon’s ideas of “performativity of economics” have been explored further by Donald MacKenzie in *An Engine, Not a Camera: How Financial Models Shape Markets* [2006]. MacKenzie extends the consideration further to the “embodied human beings” and “material entities” that are “constitutive” in creating markets and “market processes” (*Material Markets* 3).

¹⁶⁴ Joad Raymond tracks the development of “The business of news, c. 1580-1660” (*Pamphlets* pp.98-160), as it shifted from “[o]ccasional pamphlets of news [and then] evolved into numbered periodicals with stable titles and a heterogeneous mix of news, editorial and advertisements” (101). By the early 1640s, the range of choice available to consumers had widened considerably. Raymond sums up the offerings as follows: “Newsbooks, so-called because of their quarto format, were available through the usual vendors of pamphlets. Initially published on Mondays, as competition developed they began to appear on different days, and spread across the whole week. Some weeks there were as many as ten to choose from.... While the sober and serious newsbook continued... it appeared alongside polemical, vitriolic, mercurial voices” (Raymond *Pamphlets* 152).

portrayal of the industry and today's personalized and filtered process for news delivered via social media platforms. It is tempting, too, to see the Gossips' running commentary as the precursor to the "likes" and emoticons of twenty-first-century responses.¹⁶⁵

Crucial to the development of the "new" news business as a legitimate, revenue-generating business is the setting up of an office space for the company to conduct its exchanges. Establishing a place of business, a physical address where consumers meet service-providers face to face, was a key signal to the public that they were encountering a credible and viable business.¹⁶⁶ The Office's material form, as a place populated with workers who maintain orderly paper files and records, is indicative of its perceived worth. (One can imagine that the Office might resemble the following image of a seventeenth century prosecutor's office with its files hanging in the bags on the wall in an orderly fashion). Investment in space marks a business's "coming of age" and signals readiness to meet obligations and fulfill commitments (much like Junior's change of costume from pupil's robes to a "rich suit," which I address more fully below, indicated his promotion to controller of his family's spending and saving decisions). Credibility for this imagined news company was generated by the fact that it has been granted state authority to set up as an official site of the "staple of news."¹⁶⁷ Jonson intentionally situated the initial Office of The Staple of News in the City, located in proximity to "the four cardinal quarters" -- "The Court,... Paul's, Exchange, and Westminster Hall" -- and thus under

¹⁶⁵ Sincere thanks to Lourdes Arciniega for this brilliant observation about audience reception of news feeds and streams.

¹⁶⁶ This tactic has remained a vital startup step, at least until recently as the public's growing comfort with web-based commerce has shifted expectations to a point where perceived viability of a business depends on it having a web or social media presence more so than a physical address.

¹⁶⁷ In a like manner, it is not until state-sanctioned recognition, nowadays often in the form of taxation, is granted that the public shifts to accepting a company as a genuine business or industry (think of carbon-capture trading, bitcoins or marijuana retail).



Figure 12: “The Prosecutor’s Study,” by Abraham Bosse. From the series “Les Metiers.” © Folger Shakespeare Library. (See also “Filing, seventeenth-century style” blog post, www.collation.folger.edu/2013/03/filing-seventeenth-century-style/.)

the authority and control of London’s livery companies (1.2.57, 59). As he does so, *The Staple of News* taps into the City as an ancient place of trade and harkens back to the narrative that Webster’s Lord Mayor’s Show had so carefully reiterated. The site invokes strong associations as a place of commercial exchange and so builds acceptance that the Office is involved in valid trade transactions.

Both in terms of location and design, the Office of the Staple of News leverages known and accepted livery company business structures. The “[n]ewly erected” (1.2.32) business site and the material performance of an office located “i’the house, and the great rooms/ [which] He has taken for the Office, and set up/ His desks and classes, tables and his shelves” (1.2.43-

45) were designed to evoke memories and images of traditional places of trade. The first scene in the "News Office; the new staple" (1.3.64) intentionally calls attention to "those desks" (1.4.1) by speaking them into existence. It is not clear whether or not "real" props were physically present on stage and, in fact, the second Intermean suggests they were not as the Gossips complain they have not yet seen the Office: "Troth, I expect their Office, their great Office, the Staple, what it will be! They have talked on't, but we see't not open yet" (Intermean 2.48-50), but even the words that called them into being, to "[s]et forth the table, / The carpet, and the chair" (1.4.1-2) help manifest the news trade as a thriving business prospect. The Office must have some substance for it can afford furniture plus rent and hire workers and, in this way, substantiate the news industry's legitimacy and promote acceptance of the idea of a commercial news business.

In addition to setting the Office on a site that has long-held associations as a trade centre, what also contributes to the impression this is a genuine business is that the staple of news mimics the organization of existing livery trades. As Anthony Parr notes, "the comic conception of the Staple thrives on the suggestion of a detailed hierarchy" of livery master and subordinate roles (note 4, 93). The Office is set up under the direction of a "Master of the Staple", Cymbal, who directs "four emissaries" and "clerks" who gather, "sort and file/ And seal" (1.2.76), then dispatch, the news. In the introduction to the "brave young Office" (1.2.23), its orderly setup is praised by Pennyboy Junior, eager to sponsor his barber in a new position there. He says, "I admire/ The method o'your place. All things within't / Are so digested, fitted and composed, / As it shows Wit had married Order" (1.5.66-67). Junior recognizes and "admire[s]" in the marriage of wit and order, how the news Office has adopted and

implemented traditional livery company practices, in a “resourceful and inventive” manner.¹⁶⁸

To sustain the new business and to recoup the investment in personnel (emissaries and clerks) along with the capital cost to set up an office, the play suggests it was necessary to structure the business as a “staple” or monopoly.¹⁶⁹ Under Cymbal’s guidance the journeymen emissaries and apprentice clerks are assigned tasks of filing the news into various subdivisions (for instance, “authenticall, and apocryphal” [1.5.8]), giving substance to the news as items in an inventory that need to be carefully managed. The perception of a methodical orderliness that mirrored the shops and offices of London livery company members provided the impression this was “as well-begotten a business and as fairly / Helped to the world” (1.5.75-76) as any other City trade.

The Staple of News treated both people and information as material agents to be accumulated, owned and inventoried; Pecunia, the heiress, is kept under secure lock like a valuable commodity. The nature of the products for sale may differ, but the news Office’s methods of handling trade items and vending its apprenticeships resembled existing liveries. Based on first-hand evidence from his visit to the Office, Pennyboy Junior hands over the substantial sum of “Fifty pounds” of his inheritance so that his “creature” (3.2.5) can occupy a clerical position. The purchase of an apprentice-like position reinforced familiar modes of career development in trade and added to the impression that the news company was set up

¹⁶⁸ Phil Withington in his detailed investigation of the words and terms that mark early modern social changes provides a rich understanding of the term “wit” which includes its use in meaning “ingenuity”, and “the notion of the resourceful and inventive self” (*Society* 190). He evaluates the discursive dominance in the early seventeenth century of the word “wit” (over “civility” and “honesty,” for instance) – see 189-95 for his discussion..

¹⁶⁹ This monopoly structure was even more crucial for printed newspapers if they were to avoid their own “explosion” in bankruptcy, a common outcome for early newspaper ventures. See Pettegree for discussion of the importance of the “privilege” that is a monopoly and how this business structure was a key factor in the successful establishment of the first newspaper in Europe by Johan Carolus in Strasbourg in 1605 (182).

like the centuries-old Great London Livery Companies and thus would be likely to continue to operate for the foreseeable future. The sense of a well-organized structure inspires Junior's trust in the feasibility of this new trade and that it would be a viable career path for the next generation of tradesmen, like Junior and Thomas the Barber, who are looking to develop marketable skills to earn their living. Pennyboy Junior's interest in investing in the Staple of News indicates a desire to transfer skills and capital away from mature and declining businesses. He sees the Staple as an opportunity for early entry into a market that has strong indications of consumer demand. Junior carries forward to his new business investments his experiences of other livery companies and those experiences shape how he sees the Staple and the news products, which he describes as being "Fresh from the forge" (1.5.81).

Like Junior, then, the Staple is also newly minted and references to the birth of the news business on the day of Junior's "birthday" (1.2.79) draws a closer association between the two agents. In the "birth" of the emerging "well be-gotten" news business (1.5.76) there is a link to Junior's newfound authority as Heir. In turn, he thinks of the Office as a newborn and congratulates the master Cymbal of the Office of the Staple of News by exclaiming, "You must be a midwife, sir!/Or else the Son of a Midwife, (pray you pardon me!) - /Have helped it forth so happily. What news ha' you?" (1.5.77-79). Furthermore, The Staple is accorded a function equivalent to that performed by the Mint for it produces "[f]resh and new stamped" news to meet consumer demand (1.5.63). Indeed, the master of the Staple of News calls it the "mint" (1.5.62) and he charges a premium of "two pence a sheet" to use his official seal to provide

consumers with an enhanced certainty of the value of the news they purchase (1.5.64-66).¹⁷⁰

The extra cost enhanced the perception of worth as the “expense offered the reassurance of authority that men of power looked for in a well-informed source” (Pettegree 117). The seal is another example of an organizational practice adopted by the Office that mimicked those used by existing trades. The methods of quality control implemented by the Staple of News were lifted from the Goldsmiths’ Company. Like that Company’s hallmark tracking and assay processes, the Staple creates an “Office seal: Staple Commodity” (1.5.64) to “warrant[]” (1.5.65) and give “a policy” (1.5.66) that “assure[s]” (1.5.64) the consumer that their purchased news is “[f]resh and new stamped” (1.5.63). These controls served to instill public confidence that the news output they purchased delivered a high standard of quality and thus merited the price charged. For an extra fee the consumer can obtain material evidence that they have not been duped into buying counterfeit news.

Yet, the attention drawn to the stamped seal and the recycling of the goldsmiths’ business processes opens the possibility of critique of the use-value of the mark itself. The ease with which a mark or warrant could be fabricated surely reminded Jonson’s audiences how easily other counterfeit goods could be passed off. The performance raised the point that public perception of the trustworthiness of livery companies’ practices depended on belief and faith in the warrants of worth that in turn relied on practices and signs that were also made up.

¹⁷⁰ As Fitton sells Junior on the competitive advantage the Office of the Staple of News holds over printed news, he outlines how the manuscript news service draws a premium for the “seal” or guarantee of quality. Andrew Pettegree’s work on the evolution of the news industry argues that one of the reasons for the slow development of printed news as source of information came down to the public’s perception of “[t]he trust and reliability of a news report [which] were closely attached to the credit of the bearer: this could hardly be judged in the case of an anonymous writing” (38). The public acceptance of the value of the Staple of News product is analogous to the trust placed in the coins produced by the Mint.

Marks and seals are constructed to persuade but have no inherent worth outside of public faith – just like coin money. Doubts about self-regulating practices such as those carried out by the goldsmiths are made possible by the play's questioning of the value of the "seal" imprinted by the news Office.

The Staple also put on display savvy consumer sales practices. Senior members of the Office carried over their past experiences of winning sales and building demand into the fledgling news industry. They admonish the junior clerks under their guidance to dole out snippets of news, limit distribution of "these groats" of news, and make the consumer "attend in name of policy" (1.4.19-20) so as to heighten the perception of freshness and thus increase the attributed value for the service-product.¹⁷¹ The head clerk, Nathaniel, is mindful of the importance of demand-driven sales for he warns the clerks, "You'll blast the reputation of the Office/ (Now i'the bud) if you dispatch these groats/so soon" (1.4.18-20).¹⁷² In revealing the Office's deliberate marketing and sales tactics, the play demonstrated how the news was transforming from a process dependent on social bonds and the free distribution of information into a commodity to be bought and sold in a fixed location.

¹⁷¹ The fear that the "freshness" of the news purchased was false advertising was likely well-founded. Joad Raymond reveals that "[t]here is some evidence of recycling, which suggests in turn the limited sensitivity of the press to current affairs, if not the limited scepticism of news readers; news was not always so new. *Newes from Lough-Foyle in Ireland* (1608), published by Nathaniel Butter, was reprinted almost in its entirety with an additional sheet of fresh material later the same year, and issued as *Newes from Ireland... Newly Imprinted and Inlarged* (1608)" (Raymond *Pamphlets* 124).

¹⁷² Here Jonson's reference is to Nathaniel Butter, who was partner in a monopoly on news printing – first translation of continental news corantos and then in 1638 given "a patent for 'the imprinting & publishing all matter of History or Newes of any forraine place or Kingdome since the first beginning of the late German warres to this present, And also for the translating setting forth imprinting & publishing in the English tongue of all Newes, Novells, Gazetts Currantos or Occurences that concerne forraine partes & c, for the term of XXI yeares'" (Raymond *Pamphlets* 150).

What once was an informal process reliant on a relatively small network of word-of-mouth exchange and personal manuscript dissemination, was staged in Jonson's play as the commercial exchange of a product with specifically assigned monetary values.¹⁷³ In the third intermean Jonson's Gossips nostalgically recall the communal nature of news exchange gathered "from the bake-house by ten thousand parts, in a morning, or the conduits in Westminster" (19-21) and the streets and lanes of London where they "are bound to believe it an't be once out and afoot" (37-38). Reliance on oral tradition and its community building aspect is an element that Andrew Pettegree considers in noting that the "insatiable curiosity ... [for] news ... brought together travellers and residents, the literate and illiterate, members of different social classes, and, to an extent, men and women" (118). *The Staple of News* was a case study, then, in the repercussions of market shifts and new industry development: there is a commercialization of social process and needs that prompts the transfer of resources between agents in order to profit a small subset group. In representing the translation of an informal and social process of knowledge transfer into a revenue-generating commercial product, *The Staple of News* can be understood as a simulation of a prototype business and the consumer service-product it offers.

The play's concept of a news service-product – tailored to individual requirements, distributed in a piecemeal fashion and made exclusively available to those with the monetary

¹⁷³ Paul Arblaster refers to "information which could be passed on freely as the currency of social intercourse" (20), while Andrew Pettegree notes "the appetite for news was proverbial. 'How now, what news?' was a common English greeting" (1). Pettegree explores the oral tradition of news exchange as community building in the "Marketplace and Tavern" chapter (117-138). This play's innovative idea to categorize news by type and price, and then disseminate it piecemeal or redistribute it in a limited material form that derives a prescribed monetary value, marks an early example of commodification or capitalization of immaterial knowledge through use of technology, which Moulier-Boutang has recently referred to as cognitive capitalism.

means to purchase – was fantasy when the play was first performed in 1626. Rather, the news being sold on stage was a hybrid mix of manuscript news services and ballad or pamphlet forms that contemporaries purchased and circulated. More importantly, the performance went beyond the idea of service-product innovation, the “what” is sold, to consider its socio-economic purpose and effects. Jonson’s characters sold service-products to generate capital – social, financial, or a combination thereof. The social cachet of news ownership is exposed in the cameo of the Countrywoman who, without discrimination, purchases “A groatsworth of any news – I care not what – to carry down ... to our vicar” (1.4.11). Her objective is not simply to consume for her personal enjoyment, but rather her focus is on the non-financial social leverage she can gain by disseminating information to a community leader. The gains that could be made by exploiting insider-information were an impetus for the long-standing practice of paid subscription to manuscript services and letter-writing exchange amongst merchant networks looking to gain export-import trade advantage.¹⁷⁴ As Pettegree notes, “[m]erchants, in particular, had a keen awareness of the value of information, and the dangers of acting on a false rumour... [they] were both the principal consumers of news and its most reliable suppliers” (3).¹⁷⁵ In its exposure of the use-value that news items provided ordinary consumers,

¹⁷⁴ See Paul Arblaster’s discussion of the international “information community” (19) and “the appearance of scribally reproduced newsletters, a sort of manuscript newspaper” (20). Arblaster notes that “frequent correspondence with partners and factors [involved] exchanging not just commercial information but news of anything which might affect exchange rates, the costs of commodities, the costs and risk of transport the level of taxes, the opening of new markets or the interruption of regular patterns of trade” (19).

¹⁷⁵ Pettegree covers the period 1400 to 1800 in his account of news development and remarks that the merchants’ network was primary to news dissemination for the first two hundred years in this period. Daniel Velinov’s analysis of risk mitigation within merchant’s networks highlights the fact that “[t]he most important means for reputation to spread are merchants’ letters” and reputation was core to the granting of credit necessary to facilitate business (252).

The Staple of News essentially functioned like a business case presentation for a news service-product innovation.

The problem of what to do with the social and financial capital accumulated over a lifetime and how to protect it from erosion concerned many business families. Although inheritance was an age-old and persistent management issue, it had become still more urgent because of the recent loss in wealth and earning capacity due to the trade depression. Another contributing factor to anxiety about legacy transfer was, for many families, deaths resulting from frequent bouts of plague and disease: 1625, the year prior to the first performance of *The Staple of News*, had been a particularly bad plague year in London. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that Jonson's comedy experimented with an alternative process that might safely handle the transfer of wealth between generations. Although his father had faked his death, Junior Pennyboy's early inheritance would not have been an unusual event. In fact, it would have been prudent for the family to plan for it and Jonson made the Pennyboy family's succession plans central to his play. Worry about the market shapes Jonson's creation of a prodigal story that he turns into a worst-case scenario. A fatherless heir, who is unprepared to make prudent business decisions in an unstable market, must sort out his future investments. He is driven to abandon traditional business options as no longer a sure means of accumulating wealth. What the play dramatizes is one business family's experience of navigating the movement away from the goldsmiths' trade, now in the mature-to-decline phase of its lifecycle, and encountering challenges in moving their capital into new lines of business. The succession transfer between the more experienced Pennyboys, Canter and Senior, is as much an expression of angst about

the loss of certainty of the living that could be earned from traditional trade as it is worry about handing over wealth to dissolute heirs.

How to mitigate that risk of handing over family assets is central to the Jonson's story-line. Pennyboy heir's leadership-readiness is tested by his father, in disguise, who closely supervises the trial run. On one level, the wise parent teaches the son a lesson that mirrors the advice given in the Merchant Taylors' Show – to follow the example of past English leaders. Indeed, both suggest that future generations should be guided by past examples as they navigate necessary changes and adaptations to meet different market circumstances. Inheritance from the past, be it product or organizational design or leadership practices, is promoted as the best means forward. I will return later to the point that design and leadership practice is not all that is carried forward – the ethical priorities transferred in the process are questionable too. Once again, teleological outcomes matter more than the process. Such a focus on end-results is demonstrated when Canter declares, "To cheat the cheater was no cheat but justice" (5.3.21), a response to his son's nimble trickery which recovered the family estate that had been embezzled by their lawyer Picklock. The story of the prodigal son and his recovery back into the family fold was a relevant lesson for Jacobean agents. It warned that inter-generational transfer of power and decision-making was a point of risk exposure and one that diligent families would be well-advised to manage carefully.

The transfer of family capital between generations is staged literally in the play through the passing of coins from Pennyboy Canter (the father) to Pennyboy Junior (the son) and then allegorically, with the hand-off of Pecunia (the heiress who embodies money and wealth) from Pennyboy Senior (the uncle) to Pennyboy Junior (his nephew). In the speech that opens the

play, Junior makes his claim of worth as “an heir / T’above two thousand a year” (1.1.32-33) and “the lord of mine own ground / And (to rhyme to it) threescore thousand pound!” (1.1.21-22).¹⁷⁶ His self-description is intended to establish status and credit within the network, much like the Gossips attempt to do by claiming their worth as “persons of quality I assure you” to the theatre’s front staff in the Induction (8). Given the magnitude of Junior’s material inheritance, upon which the family’s social credit and reputation depends, his father Canter sensibly seeks to allay his fears of dynastic decay by attempting to control the hand-off of wealth, including making posthumous arrangements for a marriage between his son and an heiress, Pecunia (Infanta to the Mines). Canter disguises himself as his namesake, a canter (in other words, a “beggar” [Parr note 2, 61]) to keep a close watch on how Junior handles responsibility for the family assets. Canter’s purpose, as he later discovers to Junior, is to “try how you would use Pecunia when you had her” (4.4.119-120) before entrusting his son with absolute control of the family’s wealth. Junior’s failure to live up to patriarchal expectations of family leadership causes his father, whom Junior styles as “Founder,” to demote him back to the dependent status of “wardship” (1.1.15). Junior is forced to don the livery of Carter’s cast-off ragged cloak and is derided as a “beggar in velvet” (1st Intermean 11).¹⁷⁷ Junior’s costume changes are performance moves that manifest real fears of downward social mobility; he first throws off his gown of “pupil age and vassalage” (1.1.16) to don the “rich suit”(1.1.18) of “Liberty” (1.1.17), then reverts once more to his father’s cast-off rags. Junior’s identity is

¹⁷⁶ As Alexandra Shepard observes, “[d]ependence on parents... functioned as a form of patronage and informed dynastic expressions of aspiration and entitlement by younger witnesses from relatively prosperous families. The ability to rely on parents beyond childhood was a form of privilege; dependence in this context therefore functioned as a marker of status” (29).

¹⁷⁷ Or as Picklock the lawyer calls him: “my velvet heir/ Turned beggar in mind as robes” (5.1.60-61).

stitched and unstitched again with the rich clothing he puts on and takes off. The outer signs of money and credit replace Junior's former habit, a "livery" (1.1.19), which had indicated his subordinate "wardship" (1.1.15). The selection of clothing and accessories either makes or, as demonstrated in the final act, unmakes the "man" or "wit" (5.1.2): in the final Act, Junior re-enters "in the patched cloak his father left him" and remarks that "I am now a thing worth looking at" (5.1.2). Thus, reliance on material signs, such as the right suit of clothing, as a definitive indication of a creature's worth is put to question.¹⁷⁸

Junior's declaration that Fashioner's clothing "moulded me" (1.2.95) – it "has made me wittier than I was" (1.2.108) – reflected the identity-shaping norms prevalent in the period.¹⁷⁹ Alexandra Shepard's review of how court witnesses self-described personal worth finds that individual agents declared that worth on the basis of moveable goods including clothing, net of their debts owed.¹⁸⁰ Junior's sense of self is closely aligned with this system of assessing personal worth. He desires to be recognized as a "wit" and so indiscriminately invests in clothes: he reads "only the sums" [1.3.21] and not the itemized bills from his tailor, linener, haberdasher, spurrier, and shoemaker and then plans to "pass'em straight" [1.3.22] for

¹⁷⁸ David Hawkes traces the definition and use of the terms "worth" and "value" in a chapter dedicated to understanding "the conquest of essence by appearance" (121). The "moral implications still attached to the terms" (111) are captured in the following comparisons: "'worth' ... means use-value, which is inherent in the physical body of an object, and 'value' is exchange-value, which is artificially imposed and relationally defined"; "[w]orth is associated with the soul; value is associated with the body" (117).

¹⁷⁹ See Laura Levine's discussion (pp. 4-6) of masculinity and power/ powerlessness as manifested via clothing as signs of identity. Her point is that Jonson's theatricality (*Epicoene* and *Bartholomew Fair* in particular) refuses to give certainty that signs are "true" representations of the agent who dons those signs. Junior's costume ultimately fails to alter Junior into the "wit" he desires to be, and to be seen as being; it "fails to deliver the certainty or security that those who turn to it look for" (6). There is much to be considered in this play about signs of masculinity and business, patriarchal power and control over wealth. See also Julie Sanders "Print, Popular Culture" for really interesting work on the gendering of Pecunia in particular.

¹⁸⁰ See Shepard's *Accounting for Oneself*. Shepard notes that "[s]everal witnesses of more limited means declared that their entire worth was vested in their clothes, which for many were the most manifest as well as sole indicator of worth" (41).

payment with the “three hundred pieces” [1.3.33] advanced from his father’s estate. He describes himself,

Fresher in wit – I mean in clothes – to the highest.

For he that’s out o’clothes is out o’fashion,

And out of fashion is out of countenance,

And out o’countenance is out o’wit (1.2.124-128)

The transfer of wealth changes Junior in an imprinting process that creates “value” and the perception of “worth”. The donning of a “rich suit” marks Junior’s promotion to master of the household. In this way, Pennyboy Junior, as an allegory for newly minted coin or money, takes on “value” in David Graeber’s sense of the term.¹⁸¹ Money, Graber proposes, “as a mark of distinctiveness ... tends to be identified with the holder’s generic, hidden capacities for action” (G94). Junior has a use in being able to act and transact. His new outer appearance signals his decision-making authority. A laminating of “a rich suit, cloak, hat and band” (1.1.17)¹⁸² onto the base stock produces a recast Junior, and one assigned a higher value because he has the potential to generate future capital and assert patriarchal power. As Julie Sanders notes, “The play’s induction has already introduced us to the idea that to be well-dressed or fashionably attired was to be well-penned, and to ‘come of age’ was to ‘write man’” (197). So when Junior is

¹⁸¹ As David Graeber observes, “[i]t is an anthropological commonplace that clothing and adornment serve as markers of social identity. Insofar as they are objects of display, they act to define differences between kinds of people” (94). Graeber argues that “money itself can never become an adornment to the person in the same way [as clothing or jewelry] ... But... money is quite often identified with its owner’s person, in a somewhat different sense. Rather than serving as a mark of distinctiveness, it tends to be identified with the holder’s generic, hidden capacities for action” (94). Junior only attains value once he has the authorization to act.

¹⁸² Junior: [He throws off his gown] “My Pupillage and Vassalage together. And Liberty, come throw thy self about me, In a rich Sute, Cloak, Hat, and Band, for now I’ll sue out no Mans Livery, but mine own, I stand on my own Feet, so much a year, Right, round, and sound, the Lord of mine own Ground, And (to Rime to it) Threescore thousand Pound!” (1.1.16-22).

forced to put on his father's cast-off ragged cloak, he knows full well that he has lost all status and value: he is "Worthy my cloak and patches, as I had / The epidemical disease upon me" (5.1.21), fit only to be cast out or shut up away from society.¹⁸³ He is "velvet heir turned beggar in mind as robes" (5.1.60-61) and can claim only the lowly status of leader of the lowest social strata as "Dauphin of Beggars! Prince of Prodigals" (5.1.10). His performance acted out the circulating fear of bankruptcy or of demotion to a life of poverty to "travel in to Beggars' Bush" (4.4.123), should a "riotous Heir... bring all to Beggery in the end" (5.2.20-21). The reversal of family fortunes due to improper money management and bad business decisions gives voice to the underlying fears of erosion of capital by many who had built up their fortune through trade and especially the cloth trade as a number of the Merchant Taylors had.

Although based on the traditional tale of prodigality, Jonson's comedy reflected the risks more likely to befall contemporary investors as they desperately tried to recover lost trade or struggled to identify alternative, profitable business streams. *The Staple of News* provided a cautionary example of impetuous business investments and the misspending of inheritance on new, untried ventures. It warned the next generation not to

prostitute, [or]

Scatter thy mistress' favours, throw away

Her bounties as they were red-burning coals

Too hot for thee to handle, on such rascals

Who are the scum and excrements of men? (4.4.130-134)

¹⁸³ See Kira Newman article assessing the contested use of quarantine in England and the "popular narrative that portrayed quarantine as personal punishment rather than prudent policy" (810).

By way of Junior's poor example, the play advised that wise use of inherited funds depends on detailed review of tradesmen's bills, avoiding investment in "fly-blown projects" (4.4.64) and recognizing "the worst of canting/ By how much it affects the sense it has not" (4.4.74-75). The play also showcased the susceptibility of inexperienced investors to be badgered by the "jeerers" (1.2.66), those who are "half-wits" (1.2.66) and use speech language as "mocking, flouting, Jacks" (2.3.85) or "scoffing" to pressure gullible heirs into foolishly extending credit. In contrast to Junior, the veteran banker, Pennyboy Senior, sees through these "birds of prey" (2.4.43) and refuses to give them money on the grounds that despite their persuasive arguments, "merit will keep no house nor pay no house rent" (2.4.62). The wiser older generation has learned "Never to mind ... or take notice/ Of what you [the jeerers] throw away thus" (2.4.82-83). They see through the unfounded claims of worth and professions of merit and thus protect their money and accumulated capital from loss in risky ventures like that of the news Office. The older generation has more to lose: theirs is not an entrepreneurial mindset willing to gamble everything – easier to do, of course, when you believe the erosion of capital is imminent anyway or when you have nothing to lose and everything to gain.

Pennyboy Senior, the uncle who obsessively hoards his money and lends it out at interest, characterizes the banking role traditionally fulfilled by goldsmiths before state-backed central banking was established at the end of the seventeenth century. As might have been expected of a risk-averse banker, Senior's household is a domain where tightly held control of credit and money is of central importance. Senior attempts to keep Pecunia and her women (Mortgage, Statute, Band and Wax) "close prisoner... under twenty bolts... [, under] locks and

keys, shackles and manacles”, to prevent their departure and loss (4.3.33-36).¹⁸⁴ When he fails to restrict their movements, his loss of control over the women’s bodies (allegorical representations of money and wealth) triggers an episode where he commits the mad act of legally prosecuting his faithful dogs. In addition to providing popular comic appeal through anthropomorphizing dogs as fraudsters or thieves, the staging of Senior's madness becomes another opportunity for social commentary on money management and loss. Senior serves as example of the dangers of obsessive attachment to material wealth. His madness demonstrates the belief that the community’s harmony is threatened when hoarders and usurers unnaturally and unfairly generate wealth by lending at high rates of interest. Paradoxically, Senior is still regarded as a success because of his ability to accumulate material wealth to transfer to his heirs. The "loss" of Senior’s "wits" (5.6.13) over his failure to control the mining heiress Pecunia, signals concerns about the integrity, worthiness and honour of the professional moneylender, even though it does not wholly overturn expectations that the ability to gain material success qualifies one for social recognition and admiration. This kind of representation of a banking and lending agent would have fed negative stereotypes of usurers and reinforced expectations that self-interest determined actions even to their own and their community’s detriment.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Pecunia and her waiting women provide a litany of accusations in 4.3 of the unjust treatment they were subjected to by Pennyboy Senior as justification for their refusal to return to Senior’s household.

PECUNIA. “Nay, say her jail. Never unfortunate princess/ Was used so by a jailor. Ask my Women: Band ,you can tell, and Statute, how he has used me,/ Kept me close prisoner, under twenty Bolts –“

STATUTE. “And forty Padlocks”

BAND. “All malicious Engines /A wicked smith could forge out of his iron; /As locks and keys, shackles and manacles, / To torture a great Lady. (4.3.30-37)

¹⁸⁵ Anxiety about goldsmiths who accumulated wealth to the detriment of the common weal is evidenced in a number of royal proclamations issued regarding the mint, exchange and control of the coinage. See James Larkin and Paul Hughes *Stuart Royal Proclamations* for copies of the proclamations.

Senior also served as negative exemplar in that he embodied the unpopular argument of higher interest rates. He complains about the lost opportunity to charge his borrowers the high rate of 10%. Additionally, he makes the weak argument that reduction of the interest rate is a failure of “justice” (2.3.45) and a violation of the “word” (2.3.5), repayment promises made in business agreements.¹⁸⁶ The morality of charging interest on loans and, in particular, the fairness or excessiveness of a 10% interest rate had been aired in repeated contemporary debates. The recessionary crisis of the 1620s exacerbated concerns about money handling as illustrated in parliamentary bills proposed in the period.¹⁸⁷ When Senior makes the disingenuous argument that the poor will suffer and be “robbed” (2.3.38) by those “that made that law/To take away the poor’s inheritance” (2.3.37) as a result of reduced interest, his miserliness and uncharitable nature are clearly evident. The Gossips name him as the Vice, “old Covetousness, the sordid Pennyboy, the money-bawd who is a flesh-bawd too” (2nd Intermean 7). By doing so, they disrupt assumptions about the respect that should be given to a senior, obviously wealthy, man by his community. Their critique provides a pause-and-reflect moment that opens the chance to question identity and the privilege granted to certain individuals. But Senior’s redemption in the end unravels what could otherwise have been a persuasive argument against patriarchal control of social and financial capital within the English network.

¹⁸⁶ Most contracts and credit agreements were established through verbal arrangements, and trust that these promises would be upheld was a basic premise that allowed the early modern economy to function. See Craig Muldrew *The Economy of Obligation* for an in-depth and comprehensive study of the credit practices that sustained the early modern economy.

¹⁸⁷ See Bradley Ryner’s essay on “Not by Record but by Discourse” for insight into the “devastating trade depression of the 1620s” and the parliamentary debates and the state’s reaction, which included an interest rate reduction and restrictions on exchange and movement of bullion. (415). Anthony Parr glosses Senior’s references to interest with Culpepper’s 1621 *Tract Against Usurie* and the 1624 parliament bill proposal (113, 123). See Norman Jones’ chapter “Changing the 1571 Law: Parliament 1604-1624” in his book *God and the Moneylenders* (175-198) for discussion of parliamentary bills, Francis Bacon’s persuasive arguments about the merits of lower interest, and Culpepper’s parliamentary bills against high interest rates.

Instead, by embracing Senior back into the family and business fold, the teleological norms that Senior exhibits reiterate the privilege and authority that accumulation of wealth attributed to businessmen in the period.

Despite the play's resolution, the staging of faulty business practices and their negative repercussions for the community must have raised questions about socially acceptable business practices. To correct Senior's miserly and exploitative behaviour, he is jeered at in public. This shaming functions as a disciplinary move to compel him to change his income-generating methods and to "cleanse" him of his "Vices" (5.6.55-56). The faulty old coin is purified to create, and then sustain, the next generation. With Senior's transfer of accumulated wealth to his nephew, a bequest of "my house, goods, lands, all but my vices" (5.6.55), the underhandedness of past processes that generated this wealth are forgotten and a new and as yet untarnished generation carries on the family's legacy. In a similar way, Canter's transfer of family money to Junior reworks old wealth into new, a step that mirrored the important function of the goldsmiths in the Mint as they exchanged old coins and transformed them into the next series. The creation of new coins depended on the hand-over and re-constitution of historical wealth. The Pennyboys' wealth is re-fashioned into an unblemished sign of worth in the forging of Junior.

New pennies, like Junior, are forged and "moulded" or "stamped" by using the accumulated material wealth of shabby old stock. Junior has been "moulded" and "made" by "Master Fashioner," the tailor whose bills are paid by the coins and wealth that has been transferred to him from Pennyboy Canter, his "founder." Based on the news of his father's death delivered by "Founder," Junior is transformed into someone of socially recognized worth.

He becomes “one worth looking after” (1.1.8) and one who others can now “look on” (1.1.4). By consuming inherited old stock coin from his father and uncle, Junior is recast anew by Fashioner into a form accepted by the public. Fashioner, who “has hit your [Junior’s] measures” (1.2.93), is as adept in his costume design as a goldsmith would be in hitting the right percentage of mineral content in a new stamping of common weal coinage.

In his newly minted role, Junior is now able to engage actively in social exchange and produce the next generation by joining his inheritance with Pecunia, the heiress of “the Mines.” He is now authorized to act upon investment decisions and thus create and extend the next iteration of networked social relationships that will secure his family’s future. In particular, Pennyboy Junior can now participate in the homosocial act of creating the next cohort in the patriarchal “old boys’ network.” He “feel[s]/ The powers of one and twenty like a tide/ Flow in” (1.3.134-36) and he begins the process of surrounding himself with supporters when he “muster[s] a brave troupe ...all bill-men” (1.3.16). He sponsors his barber Thomas as an apprentice clerk in the Office of the Staple of News.¹⁸⁸ The ties and obligation that Thomas, as Junior’s “creature” (3.2.6), owes for Junior’s beneficence is reinforced at each opportunity they meet on stage. Junior’s investment in a network is one intended to pay off immediately by underwriting his credibility and authority – a key process of value generation for the newly minted Pennyboy.

The written-down news in the Office register serves as another readable marker of Junior’s value. The transformation of his outer appearance is analogous to the news as it moved

¹⁸⁸ The movement of freemen between companies was not uncommon in the period and the transfer of Tom the Barber to the news Office is a plausible example of transfers of skills to a different company that aligned better with personal interest and market demand.

out of private speech exchange and became documented in publicly shareable registers, transcription files and deposition warranties. The substance of Junior and the news did not fundamentally change, but their alteration in material form allows a public assignment of value, and for the news a quantifiable monetary figure was attached. Junior's discovery of the physical and readable evidence of his new role as Heir in the Staple of News' manuscript reinforces the outer appearance of value he had had carefully crafted with the new costume. Junior excitedly declares he can recognize himself as his identity is materially constructed, there in the news manuscript. In performance, he speaks himself into existence from the script on the register document that he reads aloud. His value and worth become recognizable in the text that documents his change. Junior's own sense of identity shifts from an idea held in "men's opinions" to something believable as fact – much as he had described how opinions which "Unto some, / The very printing of them makes them news, / That ha' not the heart to believe anything/ But what they see in print" (1.5.51-53). Junior's abstract understanding of self is re-shaped and re-created by external signs of authority and value. His materialization into something to be looked at translates Junior into an agent, a "homo economicus",¹⁸⁹ with measurable value. Junior is first introduced on stage by calling his imagined audience to "look on me... [t]o see me at my best advantage, and augment/ My Form as I come forth" (1.1.3-8). The very act of looking translates ideas into recognized things "worth looking after" (1.1.9).

¹⁸⁹ See David Wilson and William Dixon *A History of Homo Economicus* for discussion of the construction of the idea of "economic man" as a "human actor [who] always acts in a way that presupposes another for whom such behaviour makes sense" (91) and a "shared" (92) "sense of normative rightness" (92). According to Wilson and Dixon, "human beings are able to coordinate successfully because... your expectations of my behaviour are always already built into my act" and thus the act has a "sociality [that] is morally based" (111).

As Graeber argues, “the realization of value is always, necessarily, a process of comparison; for this reason it always, necessarily, implies an at least imagined audience” (87). Thus Jonson’s employment of a range of business types (Fashioner, Cook, Barber, Lawyer) along with the products and services they provide and the practices of their affiliated companies and professional bodies posed the question of productive value. Only some of the play’s exchange transactions involve goods that have an apparent use-value (clothing, food, personal care). The juxtaposition of the news company with various trades and professions provided Jonson with a means to work through the methods and habits that served as external evidence of a legitimate business – one that creates, produces and trades in “real” goods and services.

The Staple of News applied known social processes, existing industry structures and transaction methods to anticipate how innovations might be realized and how a business could be established and executed. The construction of business as business thus comes into focus. In doing so, the audience is challenged to engage in questions of how value is created, what object or agent has worth, and how abstract ideas become exchangeable for money. These open-ended questions remain unanswered at the play’s conclusion and the ambiguity with which they are engaged makes possible a post-performance haunting for spectators. As Julie Sanders notes, “what rests unresolved by the end is the future of the transitional society” (“Print, Popular Culture,” 188). The play emphasizes the ambiguity of expectations and actions, of the value placed on material outcomes and the worth of business activities. How a news industry will live up to public expectations of worth and value assigned to news products was uncertain. Through its staging of a fantasy Office, *The Staple of News* brought to light the complexity of business practice as well as the challenges of shifting to a new industry and

finding innovative ways to deal with complex economic problems. It raised questions rather than delivering a didactic and anti-commercial warning against the ethical pitfalls of an emergent news industry. The play is more than a satirical attack on business and also more than what Bradley Ryner suggests is “a comic revelation of the failure of abstraction to adequately represent economic realities.” (158). Rather, I suggest, the play constitutes and constructs the reality of economic transactions that involve buying and selling “news.”

§

Theatrical performances such as the Lord Mayor’s Show sponsored by the Merchant Taylors’ Company’s and Jonson’s *The Staple of News* served as useful tools for working through ideas of how to adjust to market shifts. In the examination of Webster’s civic show, I highlight the efforts to influence ideas about the kinds of leadership acts believed necessary and best-suited to pull the country out of its state of decay. By contrast, Jonson’s play provides an example of how the inter-generational transfer of leadership and support for new entrepreneurial efforts needs to be guided and the risks that must be considered in handing over control to the next generation. Although the Office of the Staple of News ends up “all to pieces, quite dissolved” (5.1.38), the demise of the fictional office demonstrates the fact that this was a period when new ventures and projects were being attempted in imagination and fiction as much as real-life ventures. Theatrical performance served as an imaginative step between abstract idea and material act, a bridge to the actions and behavioural adjustments that can change market conditions. Jonson’s play did not reflect an actual news industry in the

period.¹⁹⁰ The play imagined how a news business venture might be conceived and the risks and pitfalls that could lead to failure. In that respect Jonson's predictive abilities were quite accurate, for few seventeenth-century news businesses survived long. In other words, the play had potential to effect the real development of a news industry – for, as Beckert argues, “[i]maginaries of the future state of the world coordinate activities, thereby helping to create structures that are made possible by the very fictional expectations that anticipate them. By behaving *as if* their projections would come into existence in the future, actors are provoked into making decisions that move reality toward the future situation they envision” (186). Both subject performances – Webster's Lord Mayor's Show and Jonson's play – are “imaginaries” or fictional “projections” that manifest ways business might be performed and industry might be developed. They served as signs of the groundswell of public acceptance that change was not only necessary, it was the only alternative that had the potential to generate the good life that agents desired and projected into their fantasies of the future.

The next chapter takes up an upsurge of interest and support for change on a global scale. It explores the idea that England's business agents could achieve their fantasy of the good life by stretching their horizons by discovering ways to take up leadership positions through the control of new business territories. The imagination of a global venturer suggests an ideal business agent to spark imagination and to inspire the next generation to go forth boldly onto the seas, to exceed the boundaries of England's local market and stake a claim in the New World.

¹⁹⁰Although a monopoly was granted to Nathaniel Butter and Nicolas Bourne in 1621 for a newsbook, it was limited by royal proclamation to translate continental news alone and to disseminate no “domestic news or comment on English affairs.” See Andrew Pettegree “A Staple of News” 194-200.

Chapter Three: The Global Trader Imagined

The performances studied thus far have highlighted the English collective's response to what seemed during James' reign to be an ever more precarious socio-economic future. A generalized anxiety affected the way agents interacted and transacted in the everyday. The first case saw the Goldsmiths livery company in the throes of its mature life-cycle stage of business as it grappled with shifting state policies and the pressures of dealing with negative public perceptions of its business activities. Given a shrinking ability to sustain the livelihood they had come to enjoy after centuries of trade affiliation, the option to continue with traditional business practices must have seemed worryingly untenable for livery company members. Within this context, the first case, with Munday's *Show* and Middleton's play examining the tradition-bound goldsmith agent, introduced the English market context for "why" the need for change was growing into a collectively accepted idea and illustrated how decisions were affected by normative expectations of the ways agents would conduct their business. My second case scrutinized the response to the still more profound and widespread effects of a breakdown in traditional cloth markets and the deepening economic depression. At the same time as English agents were forced to adjust their age-old identity and reset their goals and aspirations for the future, performances like Webster's *Show* and Middleton's play highlighted "how" the network might respond by changing its leadership style and experimenting with industry innovation. In this second case, a belief that the past should inform the future carried forward habits and norms that burdened the attempt to model successful inter-generational leadership transitions and inhibited the ability to imagine how a new news industry could prove to be one example of successful innovation.

This chapter picks up the question addressed throughout this project of the transformative effect of performance on norms of business behaviour and on business agents' willingness to adapt and innovate. The tumultuous and uncertain period of the early seventeenth century pushed English agents to try to imagine different ways of earning a living. Performance turned hope for the early modern global trade market from a nebulous abstraction into plausible possibility and implied that intentional and bold action was all that was required to produce positive results. If chapter one described the impetus to act and adapt to a different economic reality (the "why") and chapter two experiments in change (the "how"), then this chapter looks at the measures and outcomes (the "what") perceived as signs of success. How the English market recognized the success of individuals, corporations and countries is brought to light by pairing two performances that extend the argument that overseas ventures could provide a sound strategy for England's trade recovery. Thomas Middleton's Lord Mayors' Show of 1617, *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* and John Fletcher's *The Island Princess* (c. 1619-21) both embraced the idea that a successful business venture could materialize through global trade and the control of foreign and exotic resources. In doing so, they illustrated agents whose main focus is on the end-point and reiterated the idea that material gains or rewards are earned by venturers who remain focussed on results and take whatever action necessary to produce those outcomes.

The performances examined in this chapter serve to illustrate public debates about the habits and acts believed to optimize chances of realizing measurable good life goals. Fletcher's play presents a pointed argument about the practices necessary to win a leadership position in the competitive field of global trade. *The Island Princess* stages the tale of a young venturer

journeying thousands of miles by sea to the exotic Spice Islands to fulfil his dream of “action... glory/ And ... everlasting wealth” (1.3.227-29). Similarly, Middleton’s Grocers’ Show reinforced the idea that global trade and industry benefited all members of the common weal and was an important means to achieve both individual and national honour. A series of pageants that displayed English control over foreign “Indian” Islanders showcased the Grocers’ international reputation in trade expertise and emphasized that business agents derived fame and honour from controlling the importation of exotic goods and peoples. Both performances reinforced the norms of what qualified as business success and habituated the English network to actions and conduct accepted as “best practice” in business. They contributed to norm-building processes that facilitated the kinds of entrepreneurial acts that ultimately enhanced and expanded British participation in global trade and colonization.

My argument builds upon Valerie Forman’s assertion that “the plays themselves participated in the shaping and development of economic theory and practices,” that they “*enabled* overseas trade and investment” (emphasis original, 2). Rather than isolate economic practices from their social network and treat them as distinct ways of behaving, I argue that the economic practices carried out by business agents were embedded in and inseparable from everyday networks. Forman has examined how the genre of tragicomedy and its “narrative of transformative prosperity” was an enabler of global trade development in the period (6).¹⁹¹ I extend this idea to argue that theatrical performance dialogically constructed the imagined successful outcomes of business activity: it brought together the audience’s affective

¹⁹¹ Forman takes a “genealogical” approach of “reading tragicomedy through the lens of economic theory and economic theory through the lens of tragicomedy ... to make visible the scaffolding upon which these texts were built” (2).

attachment to the promise of a good life with a narrative that global business ventures offered a viable means of attaining that desired future. These performances served to shape public perceptions. As Barbara Sebek asserts, “[t]he London theatre crucially intervened in the process of sorting and sizing up information about the larger world of long-distance trade” (Introduction *Global Traffic* 5). From another perspective, Erika Lin argues that the “transformative activity” of theatre had “real social and physical consequences” (9) and, thus, performance affected the construction and enactment of business practices. It shaped both the identity and behavioural habits of agents participating in the market.

For the vast majority of audience members, even those who attended the first performance of *The Island Princess* at court in December 1621,¹⁹² both the play and the Lord Mayor’s Show would have materialized foreign places and peoples that they could only imagine. Imagination, as Nabil Matar insightfully points out, played an important role in English identity formation. Although “the English imaginary imperialism” was just “a construct of literary imagination and nationalist exuberance... [that] did not reflect a contemporary reality” (Matar 1-2), it nevertheless incited and energized English agents to pursue global business. *The Island Princess* set an inspiring tone by centering on Armusia, a brash young Portuguese hero full of adventuring spirit; he follows in the leadership type idealized by Webster’s *Monuments*. Fletcher’s hero hazards all in an overseas venture, successfully overcomes a number of exciting near-death trials and tribulations, and finally establishes enduring bonds with the Indigenous royal family by marrying the Princess Quisara. In becoming part of the tribal family, he forms relationship ties that are far stronger than the transient merchant-supplier associations that

¹⁹² See McManus “Introduction” pp. 68-82 for discussion of the play’s performance history.

Europeans typically held in East Asia at the time. As intervening outsiders, the English were vulnerable: global trade relationships were at risk of being broken by political and military actions or set aside if they were outbid by competitors, such as by the Dutch who had more ready cash bullion to buy up the market. The fact that Armusia also saves the King, first from imprisonment and then from cult-like religious indoctrination by a foreign imposter,¹⁹³ secures him a close bond with the ruler of Tidore. Through these ties, Armusia's position becomes essentially unassailable, for European traders could not fully eradicate Indigenous peoples without jeopardizing the productiveness of the spice trade enterprise (although this had in fact been attempted by the Dutch massacre of the Bandanese in 1621).¹⁹⁴ Armusia's infiltration into the Indigenous power structure while remaining steadfast in his commitment to his Christian religion and cultural roots actualized a European fantasy of foreign conquest and control. The idea that English identity was formed by its relation to the global world became a common trope in London performances. Ironically, of course, the world beyond London was best known through these stage fictions. The Grocers' show of 1617, which celebrated the installation of George Bowles as Mayor,¹⁹⁵ and other plays centred on foreign trade, conquest and material goods served, then, to constitute the global world and fold it into English life. In doing so, performances functioned to write these new geographies into existence – necessary works of

¹⁹³ See Clare McManus discussion of the ambiguity of the Governor disguised as a Moor Priest (pp. 28-30). Whether the Governor of the rival island of Ternate is foreign to the Indigenous population or foreign to England is unclear – he may be a priest of Islamic or of Catholic religion, or both. McManus makes an important point that a twenty-first-century audience's interpretation would likely differ from that of Fletcher's contemporary audience.

¹⁹⁴ See Willard Hanna. The Dutch attempt at eradication "of the original population of perhaps fifteen thousand [Bandanese] persons" (55) and replacement with slave labourers on Banda Island was not wholly complete; some "530 homesick, indigent, and troublesome Bandanese" survivors (62), whose Indigenous ways of knowing were needed to sustain and improve the productivity of the nutmeg trees were returned to the Banda Islands.

¹⁹⁵ The Mayor's name is variously spelled Bolles and Bowles – I am using the latter throughout for consistency.

the imagination, as Arjun Appadurai argues, as humans “strive to extend their chances of survival, improve their horizons of possibility, and increase their wealth and security” (66). The story they told was that economic survival depended on the ability to seize and control foreign resources, exactly what English agents needed to ensure success, wealth and security.

The Grocers’ Identity as Traders in Foreign and Exotic Good-Life Signs

There is no humane glory or renowne,
 But have their evening & their sure sun-setting,
 Which shews that we should upward seeke our Crown
 And make but use of time for our hopes bettering,
 So to be truly mindful of our owne,
 Is to performe all parts of good in one;¹⁹⁶

The imagined geography of the Spice Islands connects the two global trade stories studied here. These islands were the exclusive source of the highly sought-after spices of nutmeg and cloves. As Clare McManus notes in her introduction to *The Island Princess*: “This luxury spice was so disproportionately valuable to Europeans that, even though London was awash with the commodities of the Mediterranean, the Levant, the Caribbean and the fabled East Indies, a man could dock in London with a sackful of cloves and make his fortune” (8). Jurisdiction over the islands meant control of the global trade in these spices and, in turn,

¹⁹⁶ These lines are spoken by the character Honor in the final speech delivered to Lord Mayor George Bowles “from the top of the Castle [of Fame] at the entrance of my Lord Mayors Gate” (Middleton *Tryumphs* 15)

dominance of the imported spice market determined the importance of the Grocers' livery company in the City. The centrality of the rare and exotic clove to the Grocers' conception of their corporate identity is illustrated by its placement on the main shield of the Company's heraldic arms as well as in decorating the pepper bag on the camel standing at top of the shield (see below).



Figure 13: The Grocers' Company crest (2016).

While Fletcher's tale was of a wildly successful individual overseas venturer, the Grocers' Show celebrated foreign trade relationships and highlighted the importance of the East Indies trade to a more collective sense of English honour. The Show brought that success home, both figuratively by way of a spectacle that rejoiced in its commercial success with the spice trade and literally with the expensive exotic goods that the company freely disbursed to the attending crowd. Middleton's *Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* is a celebration of the degree of honour achieved by the Company (it ranked second amongst London's Great

Twelve¹⁹⁷), recognizing its development of a global trade focussed on sourcing gross amounts of pepper and other spices for redistribution and sale in the City.¹⁹⁸ The design of the Show also took care to highlight in visual terms the Grocers' trade relations with "Several Nations" that spanned the globe from Russia to Barbary.¹⁹⁹ The display made of exotic bodies creatively contributed to the public's conception of the world while it bolstered the argument that the livery companies established useful alliances and harmonious trade relations with other countries. A procession of



Figure 14: Illustration of Barbary corsairs for Pierre Dan's *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires* (1637). © The Bridgeman Art Library.

¹⁹⁷ An apocryphal tale (I have yet to find a credible source for the story) was that they were ranked first until Queen Elizabeth found herself in a procession facing the back end of a camel and demoted them http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioid=27304

¹⁹⁸ See John Benjamin Heath's *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London* (he cites Ravenshill 1682) for background history information (especially 38-39). The company was originally known as the "Pepperers".

¹⁹⁹ The "barbarian" character in Middleton's pageant of Several Nations refers, as Kate Levin glosses, to a trader from the Barbary coast of Africa. Nabil Matar explains that "[t]he term 'Barbary' was not used in the North African Arabic or Turkish languages, but to English writers it referred to the Ottoman regencies of Libya (Tripolitania), Tunisia and Algeria, and the kingdom of Morocco" (3). The generalized term of "barbarian" clouds the fact that these were "distinct geopolitical entities" (3). See Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*, for further discussion of how the "[t]he British Empire was a construct of literary imagination and nationalist exuberance; it did not reflect a contemporary [Elizabethan, or even Jacobean,] reality" (2). The continued obfuscation of distinctions in geopolitical origins and in "ignoring important period differences" when scholars have "analyzed the makings of the British identity in the context of encounter with the colonies, and specifically with the world of Islam" (10) has perpetuated the imagined construct. What Matar does not refute though is that the "impact of the 'Turks' on the making of Britons" even though the effects and "anxieties" differed over time (11).

costumed characters, whose dress would likely have been patterned along the lines of other contemporary representations of Barbary and of Russian figures, emphasized the Grocers' global connections (see above image of Corsair figures from Barbary, and below left a Muscovian or Russian trader). Material signs – plants, animals and people – displayed on the



Figure 15: Illustration of Muscovy Trader for *The History of Russia* by Giles Fletcher. © Bodleian Libraries.

Company arms and in the Lord Mayor's Show – transformed an abstract imagination of the foreign into an enactment of English identity as a successful competitor in global trade networks. The Company even went so far as to use real props like camels and to engage expert artisans to create life-like renditions of imagined and exotic creatures.²⁰⁰

Centuries later, as following 2005 and 2017 photographs demonstrate, the tradition of using real animals and imagined foreign costumes in the City streets continues.

²⁰⁰ See Hill's chapter on "bringing the Shows to life" through use of props, animals and special effects (118-213).



Figure 16: Lord Mayor's Show Grocers' procession 2005. © Clive Totman.



Figure 17: Lord Mayor's Show Grocer's Procession 2017

Ian Smith makes the point that the “classical staging” of the Lord Mayor’s Show reproduced the affect of “Roman triumphal entries with their emphasis on the march of animals and dignitaries, the display of military spoils including human plunder, and glory deriving from foreign conquest” (214). He calls it a “grandiloquent sign system” (215) that objectified peoples, specifically Moors and Turkes, and turned them into “symbols” (215). Success and triumph are defined in terms of mastery of the foreign, and the ritualized performance of the annual Lord Mayor’s Show contributed to the belief that conquest, control and consumption of the foreign is the pathway to success. In the choice of props, devices, special effects, and costume, the Show aided the uptake of the idea that the global world was an integral element of any imaginable English future. As Bradley Ryner asserts, the “physical presence of props ... encouraged a different way of thinking about economic circulation than did mercantile treatise”; he further proposes that the circulation of desirable foreign goods and bodies was a useful tool in reinforcing the companies’ arguments about the benefits of business and foreign trade both (*Performing Economic Thought* 51). The physicality of props and the consumption of foreign foodstuffs over the course of the day – as the spectacle progressed from a corporate breakfast, to street and river pageants, to sermon and then to dinner – broke the barrier between performance and everyday public acts of business exchange.

Theatrical performances produced the global world when their plots travelled beyond European places and their peoples to an imagined setting in an exotic locale (such as Shakespeare’s unnamed island in *The Tempest* or Fletcher’s setting of the Spice Islands for *The Island Princess*). The home orientation and life experiences of London audiences influenced their process of active engagement in imagining the place of origin for highly prized spice

commodities. Relational movement between London and the foreign settings of the play and the Show equates to what Tim Cresswell argues is the “in process” development of an “embodied relationship with the world” (37). The place of global trade, in Cresswell’s terms, is constituted through “reiterative social practice” such as everyday purchases and sales (as in the importation and consumption of spices and other foreign goods) as well as by regular theatrical performance of merchant acts and activities in various business locations (39). Human movement in and through those places thus produced the norms of business behaviour. The two performances discussed here demonstrate what were acceptable “in-place” practices (Cresswell 27; 39) – what Jean Howard refers to as the “permissible and impermissible actions attendant on those places” (*Theater of a City* 23). I extend Howard’s idea by arguing that the performance of global business works to “construct the city and make it intelligible” as different from, and yet conduit to, the global world, even for those both familiar and “unfamiliar with its places or the uses to which they can be put” (Howard *Theater of a City* 23). London sites (streets, waterways, and theatre stages among them) were “connected with particular urban actors and particular kinds of stories” (Howard *Theater of a City* 23). Both the Grocers’ Show and Fletcher’s play connected London with stories of successful business agents involved in a global exchange of exotic goods. In effect, these performances contributed to the ideological construction of the City and a globally oriented identity for business agents. Both the construction of place and of normative behaviour in those business agents were formed in a process of circum-global imaginations materialized in performances that encouraged agents to

transition from an abstract imagination of the world to the embodiment of everyday practices and habits of behaviour.²⁰¹

Imaginations of the foreign “other” (people and places) were encouraged and, in part, formed by the annual Lord Mayor’s Show. London audiences of civic shows had become accustomed to seeing foreign characters. Munday’s Show had portrayed an “Indian King and his Queene beeing mounted on two Golden Leopardes that draw a goodly triumphal chariot” to represent far-distant India as source of “Ingots of Gold and Silver” (22). Webster had showcased long-distance sea-faring enterprises in his show for the Merchant Taylors and included presentation of the exotic bodies of a “Turke” riding on a “Camell” and “a Moore or wild Numidian” riding on a “Lyon” (14). These representations of foreign people and animals were often a fabricated version of an English imagination rather than anything true-to-life or authentic.²⁰² The first-hand account of Middleton’s show recorded by Orazio Busino, a Venetian visitor who sent word of the event back home, described children riding animals and “dauncing

²⁰¹ The transference of normative business behaviours and ideals have moved in a circum-global fashion since the early modern period with multi-national company expansions and/ or global consolidation of business interests and holdings. When I refer to a circum-global” transmission, I am adopting the term from Joseph Roach’s performance study of “the relationship between memory and history”, which he described as “circum-Atlantic performance” (Roach *Cities of the Dead* xii). “Corporatization” of global exchange means that cultural practices are influenced by factors outside of local or national boundaries, by business practices that intentionally permeate in a circum-global manner through “best practices” and “efficiencies.” The corporate culture transfers and constructs a collective identity through normative practices and habits that are ingrained by cultural processes. These cultural processes hold the promise of corporate identity-making and provide a sense of tribal-corporate belonging. As leaders in corporate development, British and American business practices have had significant normative influence on the way business is now conducted (and taught) around the globe.

²⁰² See Jonathan Gil Harris “Introduction” to *Indograpy* for insight into the European “invention of ‘Indians’” (1) and the “capacious, portable, and problematic term for diverse peoples around the globe that it continues to be even now” (1). The elision and confusion of difference— between “East” and “West” Indies and what peoples were (are) meant by the categorization of the name Indians - is clearly displayed in Middleton’s 1617 pageants. The first pageant with the “dauncing Indians” dressed in feathers that might evoke Native American “Indians” are meant to represent Indigenous Spice Islanders. This first pageant is followed by “a rich personage presenting India” – again an “invented” person of an imagined place, which did not exist as a singular, knowable place for Jacobean agents even if it was possible for one body to represent all peoples that lived in the land mass of the continent or the country.

Indians” who were in fact “children dressed like Indians, with long hair on their heads and tinted faces, as if naked, with a little apron from which hung plumes, or more exactly red and variously coloured bird feathers” (Levin trans. 1268).²⁰³ According to Busino, they “played very well in the *Indian manner* as the children danced with much grace and many varied gestures, using their entire body” (emphasis added, Levin trans. 1298).²⁰⁴ Repeatedly performed in the annual show, then, is the idea of the foreign brought into the City and controlled by merchants and traders who processed and directed their shipment into the country – moving, just as the show itself did, from ships on the River Thames to the City docks and then through the streets and gates of London.

By bringing the world into London streets, Middleton’s Show promoted the idea that the Grocers served the needs and demands of the common weal for foreign goods and access to foreign markets at the same time as it revelled in the triumph of the Grocers in their lucrative trade in pepper and other spices. Above-average spending on the Show indicated the Grocers’ accumulation of significant wealth from trading in exotic spices. For the event, the Company invested £882, £282 of which was paid to Middleton for “ordering overseeing and writyng of the whole devyse” (Gordon and Robertson 93).²⁰⁵ Compare that amount to the

²⁰³ See also discussion Richmond Barbour’s analysis of the civic shows’ theatrical performance of “fictive displays” (9) of the East in “Imperial Poetics in Royal and Civic Spectacle” (68-101). See also Amrisha Sen’s “Chapter Two: Blackness, Spices and Civic Spectacle: Importing the East Indies in the London Lord Mayors’ shows” (68-123).

²⁰⁴ Picking up on Jonathan Gil Harris’s “Indography” point that the “Indian is ... [a] generic, undifferentiated, and globally portable term,” an “early modern phenomenon” (5), there is no clear sense of what is meant by “Indian manner”—is it East or West, is it an imagined sense of “manner” or culturally accurate rendition?

²⁰⁵ The £282 payment to Middleton was also meant to compensate him for “making of the Pageant of Nations The Iland The Indian chariott The Castle of fame, tryming the shipp, w[ith] all the severall beaste w[hich] drewe them and for all the Carpenters worke paynting guylding and garnysing of them w[ith] all other thinges necessary for the apparelling and fynding of all the psonages in the sayd shewes” (92). In addition, £5 was paid to Munday “in benevolence to Anthony Monday gent for his paines in drawing a proiect for this busynes w[hich] was offered to the Comyttees”; and £4 to Dekker “Payd and geven in benevolence to M[r] Deckar for the like” (93).

average £700 cost of the shows in this period and consider that the Grocers had splurged £1,300 just four years previously to sponsor the last Grocer mayor and it is clear that the Company was serious about its investment in theatrical performance (Gordon and Robertson xxix). As had been the case for both the Goldsmiths and the Merchant Taylors, the amount spent demonstrated the belief that the Show provided a return that went well beyond a day's entertainment for the business community. Public display of such extravagant spending on the Shows was a worth-generating process meant to portray the image of a flourishing foreign trade so as to attract further sales and investment. Celebratory spectacle was used to convey a Company's ability to spend and its largesse in so doing. Hill remarks that "[t]he need to dazzle invariably resulted in the need to be *seen* to spend lavishly; no Company wanted it to look as it had stinted on the celebrations" (emphasis original, Hill 57). As well as investment in the Shows, Minute book records track regular spending on company dinners (as witnessed in the image below from the Merchant Taylor Company records detailing expenditures for "entertaining of the kings majesty," including a payment to the "Poette" Jonson), sponsorship of schools and scholars/preachers, charitable distribution of housing leases and livery clothing, and assignment of loan funds to worthy members and their families. All these spending decisions, so carefully recorded for future reference, served as measurable and recognizable signs of the Company's prosperity. Indeed, for each of the 1617 and 1622 Shows, the Grocers spent, more than £3 of

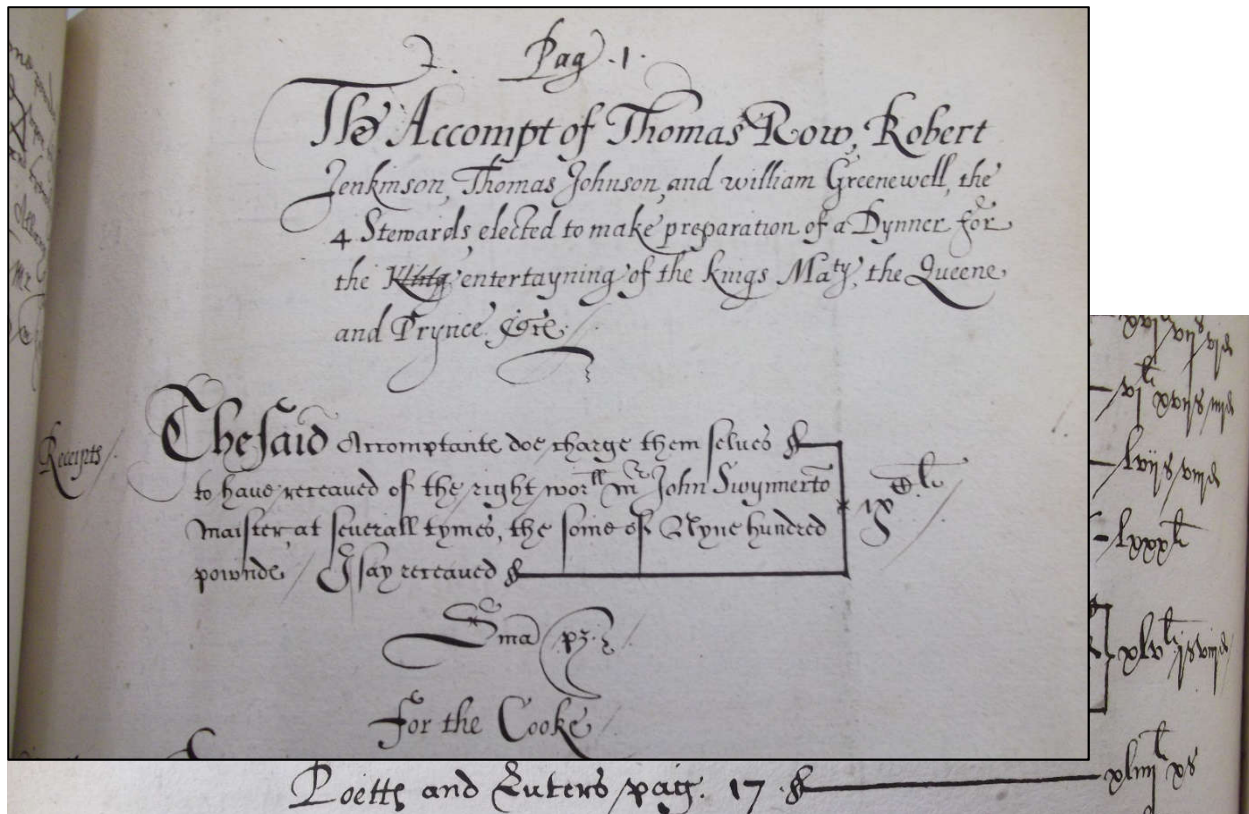


Figure 18: Merchant Taylors' Company records of 1607 (MS 34048/009) detailing expenditures for dinner with James and Prince Henry; Guildhall Library, City of London.

company funds on highly prized foreign goods to be tossed from their “Griffyns and Camells” to the audiences in the City streets. The record for the latter Show describes 60 sugar loaves, 56 pounds of dates, 28 pounds of almonds in the shell and 25 pounds of nutmeg in the shell “which were throwne about the streetes” (Gordon and Robertson 104). This generosity signalled confidence that they expected to sustain their profitable trade activities and continue to generate wealth in the year ahead. Foreign goods marked the Grocers’ triumph. Yet, this public display of success had a purpose beyond self-aggrandizement.

The Grocers were, in reality, grappling with fluctuations in supply and cost of the spices imported from the East Indies. The three-way battle between the Dutch, Portuguese and English over Spice Island trading rights had impacted the flow of goods as well as the market

price. What was paid for spices fluctuated considerably depending on whether the English were able to source directly or were forced to buy in Lisbon or from the Dutch.²⁰⁶ The 1617 Show had come at a point of England's escalating troubles with the Dutch United Provinces in the East Indies, or, as Thomas Mun describes, the "unkinde and unexpected quarrels with our neighbours the Hollanders" over who held majority control of the Spice Islands (*A Discourse of Trade* 37). This dispute over trade primacy required political support and state intervention if it was to be navigated in the best interests of the English common weal and the purses of English consumers – or so arguments published by Mun, Dudley Digges and Lewes Roberts suggested.²⁰⁷

International competition was not the only threat to the Grocers' business. At home, the Company contended with organizational discord that threatened its solidarity and ultimately led to the breakaway Society of Apothecaries.²⁰⁸ As well, rival English and Scottish factions were also vying for access to the East India Company's monopoly (granted by Elizabeth's charter in 1599) and had been seeking ways to work around restrictions by offshoring their capital to invest in ventures under the auspices of foreign monarchs or by

²⁰⁶ Dudley Digges provides detailed comparisons of prices paid for pepper, cloves, mace and nutmegs (pp. 42-45) on a pre and post-English participation in the East Indies trade. Pepper was 4 shillings/pound and now half that at 2 shillings; cloves cost 8 shillings/ pound and the demand in England was projected to be "two hundred hogsheads, containing fifty thousand pounds" which he contrasts to the 4 shillings/pound rate charged "till the Dutchmen interrupted that part of our trade"; mace was 10 shillings/ pound and was brought down to 6; Nutmegs were 5 shillings/ pound and decreased to 2 shillings, 8 pence – all of which he calculated to "save the Land" and "the Kingdom" a total of £69,666.13 shillings. 4d. as justification for the continuation of the East India Company's trade (45). Willard Hanna reports that by controlling the Banda islands (included in the "Spice Islands" grouping of the period) and buying directly from the producers, the Dutch were able to purchase nutmeg at a cost that was 1/320th of the price they could sell it on the market at Amsterdam (16).

²⁰⁷ See Mun's *Discourse of Trade* and *England's Treasure*, Digges' *The Defense of Trade* and Roberts *The Treasure of Traffike*.

²⁰⁸ The Society of Apothecaries within the Grocers' Company had been vying for separate recognition since 1607 and were successful in obtaining a separate charter from James in December 6, 1617.

obtaining a separate charter grant from James such as the “short-lived Scottish East India Company” attempted to do in 1617 (Mishra 77).²⁰⁹ As Rupali Mishra asserts, the East India Company’s survival “hinged on the Company’s ability [to] successfully employ the language of the state and commonwealth to justify their continued protection” (62). Indeed, the future of the East India Company (EIC) and that of leading members of the Grocers’ Company were tightly bound together.²¹⁰ The Show’s promotion of the “triumph” of the Grocers’ industry in developing relationships with overseas nations and centring on “a rich personage, presenting India, (the Seat of Merchandise)” elided the division between the EIC and the Grocers’ Company (Middleton *Tryumphs* 5). In its focus on the character India, and in the symbolism used to build the argument that there was “honor” to be realized in the “industry” of foreign trade, the Grocers’ Show blurred the distinction between the two companies. It did so to aid efforts to put public pressure on the King’s trade policy decisions so that they remained favourable for the EIC monopoly. The tactic of using public reception to sway political decisions in their favour was one that the leaders of the EIC (many who were affiliated with the Grocers’ Company) felt quite comfortable deploying. EIC records reveal that within a year of the Show, the directors were bold enough to bring the threat of negative public opinion into their negotiations with the King and his Privy Council. Although they ultimately caved to the demand

²⁰⁹ See Mishra “Chapter 2: The Scottish East India Company” for discussion of the series of attempts starting in 1609 to break or work around the English East India Company’s monopoly. See William Robert Scott for details of East India company organization, stock structure and level of investments in overseas companies (89-127). For details of the Scottish East India and Greenland Company granted to James Cunningham, see 55.

²¹⁰ The incoming 1617 Lord Mayor, George Bowles, was one of the founders of the East India Company, as was his father-in-law John Harte, Grocer and Lord Mayor of 1589; Stephen Soame, Grocer and Lord Mayor of 1598; and Thomas Myddleton/ Middleton, Grocer and Lord Mayor of 1613. See Rabb *Enterprise and Empire* “List of Names,” 232–410.

to provide a £30,000 loan, one “without absolute hope of recovery”²¹¹ made in the name of James to the Czar of Russia, they were careful to weigh the cost-benefits of their decision. The loan was viewed by the governor of the EIC as “a kind of necessity,” in part “to support the Muscovy Company” and in the main “to break the neck of all other patents (which his Majesty by his Royal word will be very chary of hereafter)” (qtd in Mishra 95). In return for the loan, the king cancelled the Scottish East India Company’s charter, which had promised him 5% custom on all goods brought in and so the payment was in effect compensation to the king for “lost” revenue.²¹² When a second “loan” of £20,000 was demanded, this time to be made directly to James for one year, EIC company directors determined to push back. In their response to the Privy Council, the directors noted that the loan would have to be approved by general stockholders and “is like to be published abroad throughout the land, as well amongst strangers and English... [and if] denied, how dishonorable and disgraceful it would be” – to James that is, to have his subjects deny him (much as his Parliament had already done).²¹³ This private business exchange sheds a different light on the Grocers’ influence on Middleton’s 1617 Show with the public performance serving as another form of leverage for the EIC/ Grocers’ Company, just as it had done for the Goldsmiths’ attempts to mitigate the damage to their reputation and their control of the Mint’s practices and as it would come to be for the Merchant Taylors as they attempted to instil a greater sense of urgency about declining trade. If the Grocers’ Show also contributed to a public willingness to maintain restrictions on free trade

²¹¹ The Privy Council’s correspondence to the East India Company (BL IOR 6, Dec. 22, 1618) quoted in Mishra 91.

²¹² Although as Levin points out, the King was already making a healthy customs revenue off of the EIC trading activities: in 1621, Crown revenues “were said to exceed £20,000” (1256, n. 43).

²¹³ See Mishra 89-92 for details of the negotiations between the East India Company and James via the Privy Council.

access to the East Indies, then it was a further bonus to the leaders of the Company. In this way, their investment boosted chances of gaining profit via the EIC.

For these efforts at political lobbying and public persuasion to be effective, there had to be collective acceptance that the foreign goods sourced by the EIC/ Grocers held significant value for English agents. The status of the Grocers Company and its most prestigious members, including those who attained the position of Lord Mayor, was closely tied to the repute that overseas venturing held. Not only did the Grocers elevate their own status in the community by their global trade, they also served as middleman in circulating the goods that acted as material signs of success. As intermediaries, the Grocers enabled other English business agents to express their own achievements and accumulated social capital. The corporation's association of foreign objects with the good life transferred to an individual's sense of achievement by way of the ingestion of the Grocers' imported foodstuffs. In effect, the act of consumption by the spectators at the Lord Mayor's Show literally internalized the Company's message of global success and made it part of their own system of being and belief. The Grocers had a vested interest in building up consumer demand and continually feeding into the narrative that made these foreign goods (sugar, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and other spices) important measures of status and success, proxies for an individual's worth. The wealth of the characters and the symbolic objects they carry in the Grocers' Show heightened the sense that status, one's place in the London collective, was constructed by display and consumption of "outside" items such as the foreign spices the Grocers procured.

Like the Goldsmiths' coin and precious objects, the public had to buy into and trust that the exotic goods and spices held value as exchange, for use, or as performative sign. Thus

audiences were rendered willing accomplices in the Show's sales pitch. *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry*, with its focus on the exotic origins of goods brought into the streets of London, contributed to the perception that these spices were rare and special and warranted the exorbitant prices charged. The inclusion of other competing "nations" in the show was a more performative move, displaying the spice market as a highly competitive venture and strengthening the claim that these spices were valuable commodities: if other nations coveted these goods to the point that they viciously competed to transport them across the globe, then they must be worth the price charged. By affirming the high value assigned to foreign goods, those goods could then demonstrate individual "triumphs" and personal accumulation of social capital. The performances inherently built consumer demand. The sponsors of these performances made an appeal to consumers to transfer their abstract fantasies into tangible evidence that they had indeed attained the good life. The Show performed the merits of the Grocers' Company, particularly its usefulness in sourcing luxury goods and spices believed to enhance status and quality of life for the English people. Many of those spices were sold on the basis of preventative or restorative health benefits including the potential to protect against the plague.

Moreover, the Show's parade of trade representatives from "Several Nations" – and especially the acts of obsequious posturing by costumed French and Spanish representatives who could not contain their "zeal and love" and were "not content with a silent joy like the rest of the Nations" – was strategic in promoting "la noble dignite de la tres honorable Societe des Grociers" (original spelling, Middleton *Tryumph* 7-8). By playing up the notion that other nations held the Grocers in awe, Middleton enhanced the Company's international reputation.

Speeches from “the Frenchman and Spaniard” (8-9) materialized difference in the mannerisms and habits of other countries and served to display the Grocers’ use-value or worth to the English common weal. It was implied that English agents built better business connections and relationships across national boundaries and between cultures and countries due to their more reserved (“silent”) conduct (7). The fact that it was England’s chief rivals, France and Spain, who spoke about the Grocers in envious tones lent additional weight to the construct of the Company’s exemplary standing and to their “glory of this triumphant day” (8). Busino’s report captured the Spaniard’s exaggerated performance: “He was continually blowing kisses to the onlookers; but to the Spanish Ambassador... he did it to such a superlative degree that the entire crowd roared with laughter” (Levin trans. 1268). Thus the public was encouraged to belittle the fawning Spaniard’s behaviour and raise up English standing by comparison.

By showcasing a range of foreign strangers, including “A Frenchman./An Irishman./A Spaniard./A Turke./A Jew./A Dane./A Polander./A Barbarian./A Ruscian or Moscovian” (10), the Grocers’ role in establishing global networks was publicly promoted. The installation of the London Mayor at the “Castle of Fame or Honour” where he was welcomed by Reward and Justice and set up as “example and encouragement to all Vertuous and Industrious deservers in time to come” (11) showcased the English Grocers’ superiority over their foreign peers. In effect, performances were made useful in sorting out questions of inclusion and of difference – how English ambitions compared to those of other global market leaders, how English business agents differed in their habits from foreigners and what signs and behaviours confirmed belonging to a particular network. This performance of elsewhere fed the London audiences’ cognitive and affective desires to realize their own future goals.

The parade of nations – conspicuously absent from the list of representatives is any mention of the Dutch – trailed behind the Island pageant and the “illustrious chariot” carrying the characters India, Industry and Traffike (5). Thus the foreigners came after the “hippogriffs, each one ridden by a child dressed in silk livery; [and] others followed with lions, camels, and other equally large animals, laden with bales from which the children threw various confections to the crowd” (Levin trans. 1268). The procession’s order, where the traders observed the ease with which “bales” of “confections” were freely distributed to the London crowds, added to the spectacle that flaunted the Grocers’ (and thus England’s) trade network and the success they expected to continue to enjoy. The Show materialized a fantasy of what success might look like: unlimited control of foreign goods, trade on a global scale, a store of wealth so great that it could be tossed away. The generous sharing of “confections” amongst the crowd illustrated that they owed their enjoyment of these luxury goods to the Grocers’ benevolence in releasing their store of goods to them. The performance reasserts the Grocers’ claim to trade rights within the English market and their authority to source, protect, and control the flow of foreign spices and goods brought across the national boundaries. Placement and redistribution of the foreign-sourced goods, the Show insisted, was at the discretion of the Grocers (and, by association, the EIC).

The “triumph” performed in the Show was a claim of victory in the trade battle with other British contenders, other nations and in English acts of dominance over foreign peoples. It was meant to demonstrate that the Grocers (and their EIC affiliates) already held power: they had established and sustained harmonious trade relationships around the world and were entitled to occupy the “Castle of Fame” that the procession would visit later that day. Since

“wrenching economic changes” (if not full-blown crisis) had continued to beleague James’s reign, the impetus for the next generation’s willingness to embark on high-risk foreign ventures seemed necessary (de Vries “The Economic Crisis” 167).²¹⁴ My argument is that in this period of significant turmoil, individuals who perceived themselves as subject to increasingly precarious conditions were particularly motivated to seek alternative ways to secure a good living. Change and innovation were prompted by a “contingency of expectations” that meant individuals no longer felt secure about what the future held for them (Beckert 11). As Beckert theorizes, a future with heightened unknowability means that people are no longer “confined” to historical expectations and can create new fictions that allow “radical departures” and “[d]eviations from established economic practices” (11). Because there is less to lose, they become “willing[] to commit themselves to endeavours despite the incalculability of outcomes and environmental pressures to conform to established behaviours” (78). An amplified sense of uncertainty about the future fractured the hold that habitual business practices had as English agents came to accept that past practice no longer could be relied upon to sustain even a subsistence living.²¹⁵ Global ventures and overseas trade necessarily took on an increasingly important position in forming both individual and collective responses to the unstable socio-economic environment. The English became more willing to take on larger risks when the outcome of overseas ventures looked to be more promising than the certainty of failure in more traditional English industries.

²¹⁴ See Jan de Vries’ overview of the historiography of the seventeenth-century “crisis” in his “The Economic Crisis of the Seventeenth Century after Fifty Years.” He discusses of the problematic use of the term “crisis” to describe the economic situation in the early seventeenth century. Historians have generally shifted from a view that a “crisis” was a way to capture the period of change from feudalism to capitalism, to a more “global history” that challenges the Eurocentric view of what is happening in the economy at this time. De Vries also details the growth of the “Dutch and English foreign trade [that] grew substantially through the era of crisis” (186) as a counterpoint to the generally negative summation of the economic activity of the early seventeenth century.

²¹⁵ See Barry Supples’ *Commercial Crisis*.

Innovative and entrepreneurial responses to an “era of crisis” appear to have eventually taken hold, for “English foreign trade grew substantially,” particularly after the 1620s (de Vries “The Economic Crisis” 186).²¹⁶

The idea of global opportunity was not simply political rhetoric to sway the policies of state leaders. To effect the kind of individual initiative which actually led people to risk their lives, a persuasive argument had to be based on more than an ideal pursued for the Kingdom or common weal – even if merchant treatises had used the benefits to the network as their justification for limiting access to foreign trade and controlling expansion of global markets.²¹⁷ The ideology of global opportunity motivated individuals as they attempted to find new ways to secure a living. The investors or risk-takers who sought overseas business opportunities were driven by self-initiative to realize their own imagined future. That they often chose to do so through affiliation with a specific livery or joint-stock company was a strategic choice to offset the extraordinary amount of risk they faced in so doing. If considered in isolation from the influences of social behaviours, an individual’s decision to pursue overseas trade and exploration appears quite irrational given rates of death and disease, ships lost at sea, and other violence experienced by adventurers. The odds of making a discovery that would gain and, more importantly, keep control of foreign goods and resources were slim. As Theodore Rabb has speculated, these odds might reasonably explain why there was a such a lag, of more

²¹⁶ de Vries notes that the growth in Dutch and English trade, of which “the most telling measurement might be the growth of tonnage of Dutch and English merchant fleets,” experienced “a threefold increase of shipping capacity... over the course of approximately a century [1567-1686]” (“The Economic Crisis” 186). The grouping of these two countries over this large of a time period is a simplified way of looking at growth. For a more nuanced and detailed view of the shifts and changes within that time, see Israel. The Dutch decline, after the re-opening of hostilities with Spain in 1621, was a factor in England’s expansion.

²¹⁷ See treatises published by Wheeler, Digges, Mun and Roberts for examples.

than a generation, between Drake's much-celebrated feat of circum-navigation (including a stop at the Spice Islands in 1579) and the upsurge of investment in James' reign "when thousands of adventurers from the landed and mercantile classes combined to seek success overseas" (101).²¹⁸ What changed by the midst of James' reign was that the alternative option to persist with traditional domestic business presented even lower odds of success. The "creative destruction" of the England's economic depression meant the overseas alternative presented, in many ways, no worse likelihood of failure than the status quo (Beckert 59). What global ventures did hold out was the promise of significantly higher rates of return, and evidence from the EIC – the company had delivered average annual profits of 155% in the first twelve years of the century – provided tangible proof that results justified risks taken.²¹⁹ It is little wonder that these kinds of returns, especially when compared to the drastic decline in the traditional cloth industry, captured the English collective's imagination.

As a response to the degree of uncertainty in their everyday world, it is reasonable that Jacobean business agents would seek assurance that their entrepreneurial actions and investment in new ventures were paying off as they had fantasized. Tangible signs and material measurements became a useful means to gauge whether returns were as they had predicted or

²¹⁸ Rabb studied the class divisions of investors in the overseas companies and concluded there was a clear separation of investment choice between the "landed classes" and the merchants. While asserting that "Drake's feat was undoubtedly a landmark in the rapidly growing interest of Englishmen in overseas enterprise," he is clear that "some two decades were still to pass before the aspirations were translated into realities"; "[n]ot until the turn of the century were major successes achieved or really large numbers of investors drawn into new projects" (20). He concludes that "[t]he merchants had begun the process largely on their own. The landed classes, though interested in industry and in agricultural improvements, were not yet prepared to take a conspicuous part in trade merely because incomes and prosperity were rising." Overseas opportunities "could not attract their attention [en masse] until other stimuli had taken effect" (100).

²¹⁹ Average profits for the East India Company in its first twelve years was 155%, and even at its lowest point during James reign it still presented a 12% return. See K.N. Chaudhuri *The English East India Company* for details on company activities and performance. Average profits (Table II, 22) and detailed breakdowns of the capital invested and profit earned by voyage (Table VIII, 209) are also provided.

whether quality of life was instead slipping further from the highs achieved during the “Golden Age” of the English cloth trade. With the erosion of any sense of certainty that traditional industry could generate a sustainable life, trust in past habits and processes was likewise diminished. A void was created by the unbuckling from old processes that had carried historical knowledge of how to transact and interact within one’s community to earn a living. In reaction to forced change, results-based evidence became increasingly important to fill the confidence void and meet the needs for greater certainty that the right decisions had been made.

Theatrical performances staged such tangible results and in this way they provided signs of what could be achieved and what types of evidence could be used to validate actions taken.

As belief in traditional processes was disrupted, faith in abstract ideas of virtue (which produced its own, very personal, reward and relied mostly on self-recognition) was also shaken. Thus, placing greater weight on teleological outcomes that could be more readily measured by material means, by “fact,” was an understandable reaction to an unstable future. As Mary Poovey has articulated, “fact” gains importance due to the assumption that it produces “systematic knowledge” which could be confidently relied on because it was assumed to be “preinterpretive or even somehow noninterpretive” (xii).²²⁰ Measurable “fact” of value stood as proxy for the abstract idea of worth.²²¹ As a result, in this moment of heightened uncertainty, theatrical performances that attended to market exchanges, such as the Middleton’s Show and

²²⁰ I link material evidence, the quantifiable and tangible signs and data available in Jacobean theatrical performance to Poovey’s argument that “numbers have come to epitomize the modern fact, because they have come to seem preinterpretive or even somehow noninterpretive at the same time that they have become the bedrock of systematic knowledge” (xii).

²²¹ The distinction between “value” and “worth” established by David Hawkes in his recent work *Shakespeare and Economic Theory*, is helpful to sort through the subtle difference between externally recognizable “value” and inherently, inner qualities of “worth”. See also Vivian Thomas’s *Shakespeare’s Political and Economic Language: A Dictionary* for in-depth consideration of the six meanings, or applications, of the term worth (322-329).

Fletcher's play, functioned as a process of translation. Their models of successful business agents and venturers provided tangible, embodied examples of how to achieve success, and facilitated the work of audiences, performers and producers as they converted their reimagined ideas of "good life" success into acts that they hoped would produce material and measurable outcomes.

This line of argument linking global business activity to success could also be seen in forums other than theatrical performances. In fact, the performances took up common social and political contemporary debates about the rationale for global ventures and the form that they should take. In the political arena for example, Edwyn Sandys' 1604 committee report to parliament had made the point that opportunity abroad was worthy of gentlemen's younger sons who needed a means to secure their status in terms of both honour and financial earnings. This report made the claim that both opportunity and necessity drove the current need for greater access to foreign trade, for "as there will be greater opportunity abroad, so also much greater necessity at home" (Thirsk and Cooper 438).²²² Whether state-authorized monopolies held by joint-stock companies or individual "free trade" initiatives were the best means of developing global trade was hotly argued, but both sides rested on the assumption that greater benefits would be collectively enjoyed if England expanded global trade. Each side of the

²²² The Sandys report emphasizes the issue that particularly faced younger sons with little opportunity to earn a living: "for what else shall become of gentlemen's younger sons who cannot live by arms, when there is no wars, and learning preferments are common to all, and mean? So that nothing remains fit for them, save only merchandise (and such is the use of other politic nations) unless they turn serving men, which is a poor inheritance. See also Grassby's *The Business Community* (113-14 and 120-21) for discussion of younger sons, and for family allocation of resources to support their children: "Parents were unwilling to support their children indefinitely and expected them to achieve financial independence, though they usually tried to supplement their earning. Thus the majority of younger sons of gentry families had a chronic need for salaried or self-employment" (114).

debate rationalized global trade as a promising enhancement to the security and quality of English life because it would lead to widespread employment and increased earnings potential. The underlying assumptions about the benefits were disseminated through performance. In the process of promoting global business expansion as a means to realize good life ambitions, what tellingly remains unquestioned was the expectation that the benefits of pursuing global resources would inevitably outweigh the costs. As business and market participants involved themselves in the exchange and consumption of foreign resources, they convinced themselves and others of the merits of externally recognizable and measurable signs of foreign expansion and achievement. They played out the fantasy of a good life and used external agents, both objects and people, to serve as markers of successful achievement of that fantasy. In this context, women frequently served as important signs of men's success, and as such, they were treated as objects to be claimed and transferred in exchange of ownership between men (just as Pecunia was in *The Staple of News* and as Moll and the Welsh woman were in *A Chaste Maid*). As Claire Jowitt points out, "the male characters in *The Island Princess* see Quisara as an asset to compete over, and sexual mastery over her becomes a way of articulating the success of their masculinity" (124). Still, Jowitt's emphasis on the male gaze discounts Quisara's self-recognition of her status as an object and her efforts to use her object-like state to act with agency. Quisara is not only mindful of her status as royal family member, she is unquestionably aware of male power and plays up her position as an object in a bid to direct events according to her own choice. As an object she is also an agent in transferring value. Just as women were used as value-signs, so too was access to foreign goods, shares in overseas joint ventures,

and/or occupation and control of foreign lands used as means for individuals to claim and accumulate value and subsequently to project signs of their worth to the collective.

We see this use of objects in Middleton's *Show* when Industry claims that she is the "life-bloud of praise" and is the reason that others have been "raysed" to "true Fame" (*Tryumph* 6). Industrious labour is immeasurable; time and degree of effort has no material value except in the outputs they generate. This shift toward measurable signs of achievement is made visible in Industry's speech to the crowd, where she draws attention to the material object that she holds:

Behold this Ball of Gold, upon which stands
 A golden Cupide wrought with curious hands,
 The mighty power of Industry it Showes
 That gets both wealth, and love, which overflows
 with such a streame of amity an a peace,
 (Not onley to it selfe adding increase)
 but serverall nations where commerce abounds
 taste the harmonious peace, so sweetly sounds. (*Tryumph* 6)

In this speech, Industry clearly associates "wealth" with material, measurable and exchangeable items – here, a gold ball. Yet she also links "wealth" with the golden form of Cupid symbolizing love. Gold objects (because they can be weighed, assayed and used for exchange) provide a measurement of the wealth and love earned by industry. The props serve as proxy symbols that translate value into worth; they signify success and achievement. The gold object "shows" the "mighty power" of "Industry." What gets recognized becomes a driver of business behaviour,

and thus pursuit of symbolic material signs comes to take precedence over intangible, often unobservable, virtuous acts. As emphasis is placed on material objects, moral abstractions become translated into tangible outcomes and thus normalize the prioritization of outcomes-focused ethics in decision-making. The inclusion or use of objects perceived to hold great value (such as gold and spices) become synonymous with the worth of the individual who holds them. Industry's raising of the golden ball and cupid staged the promise of overflowing richness in terms of both wealth and social relationships.

In her self-promoting words and reinforced by the symbols that surround her, Industry claims she is the means to obtain financial and emotional security and that "Fame waytes their age, whom Industry their youth" (6). Yet fame and praise were not simply earned by working hard, for the seating arrangements in the pageant signalled, just as they did in Livery Company dinners and events, the power dynamics and relationship ties between agents. Seating Industry between Traffick and India implied that the highest rewards were earned by those who chose the "vertue of Traffick" (5) with East Indies trade. The props that accompanied each character further delivered an optimistic message that "wealth, and love which overflows" will be the reward: the "most eminent" India "holdes in her hand a wedge of golde, [T]rafficke her associate, a Globe, *Industry* a fair golden Ball" (6, emphasis in original 7). The figure of "Traffike or Merchandise," who "holds a globe in her hande" marked explicitly the link between London companies and global business (5). The globe functioned as an agent that connected the Show's audiences, the Grocers and London to overseas places and peoples.

Props of precious metals link London and the livery companies to foreign locations and "hence trace spatial trajectories and create temporal narratives" that, Andrew Sofer argues,

take the audience in their imagination “on a journey” along with the object as it progresses through the London street performance (2). The other figures seated around and below India also carry material symbols that suggest far distant lands as source for all sorts of imaginable manifestations of the good life – fortune, success, wealth, virtue, grace and perfection.

Surrounding India are “Fortune exprest with a silver wheel, Successe holding a painted ship in a Haven, Wealth a golden key where her heart lyes, Vertue bearing for her manifestation, a silver shield, Grace holding in her hand a booke, Perfection, a crown of gold” (7). Locating material representations of the good life in close physical proximity to India delivered an evocative message in the Grocers’ pageant. London’s business agents could achieve the good life and would do so by engaging with foreign lands and forming relationships that facilitated accumulation of material signs of success.

Middleton and his “partners in the businesse” (16) used symbolism to convey to their imagined audiences a positive message about the Grocers’ role in the market. Its effect was especially compelling when no speech accompanied the representation or was not audible to the crowds as was likely the case for all but the few dignitaries in close proximity to the speakers. This is evident in the visual spectacle that followed Industry’s speech. As a “good Omen of the everlasting continuance of it [“the prosperity of Love”]... a Laurell tree[,] the leaves spotted with gold” was placed in a prominent position to draw the crowd’s attention for it “shoots up” in the midst of “this curious and triumphant Pageant” (7). Middleton’s souvenir text further explains that the “six celestial figures” arrayed around the Laurel tree each carried a material object that signified the link between industry and success (“a branch of Palme [for

“Peace” [... a Laurell [for *“Prosperity”*] ... two joined hands [for *“Love”*] ... two Turtles [for *“Unity”*] ... fruits [for *“Plenty”*]... a silver anchor [for *“Fidelity”*]]” [7]).

Given the repeated use of the laurel tree in classical and contemporary cultural products many in the audience would have understood this tree to symbolize “triumph” and affirm, with its evergreen colour, Industry’s advocacy for ever-bearing productiveness. Objects were displayed to give an observable and measurable form to desirable conditions – “Fortune,” “Success,” “wealth,” “Vertue,” “Grace,” and “Perfection” (7). Jennifer Low and Nova Myhill have drawn attention to assumptions of agency in theatrical performance, particularly the presumption of “the power of objects and spectacles over people” (14). Audience interpretations triggered memories (both cognitive and affective) and reformed future expectations that could be actively carried into everyday business practices. Performance functioned as a bridge from abstract ideas and fantasies of future good life into embodied actions. Via a dialogic movement, both Shows and plays that dealt with business characters and their acts shaped public expectations of how value and worth was best exhibited.

Yet what is forgotten or ignored in this value-making performance is that the value attributed to material objects was subjective. The assignment of value to gold depends on the integrity and expertise of the master goldsmith and public trust in the “money” used as measurement. So, just as it had been in the Goldsmiths’ Show, part of the intent of the Grocers’ pageant was to reinforce public trust in their processes of trade. For the Grocers, this meant managing the public’s opinion of the value of their service in the importation and merchandising of foreign goods, particularly spices. Middleton’s Show was, in many ways, a public relations exercise bent on convincing its audience that the effort, investment and

personal risks taken by English agents to gain control over foreign resources was justified in terms of the need it fulfilled, the “amity an a peace” that it generated, and the “wealth and love” that it produced (6). Douglas Bruster reads the emphasis on material objects in performance as demonstration of a “growing cultural preoccupation with commodity and materiality.” He argues that “the role assumed by movable objects in the drama... progresses to the point where stage ‘properties’ not only serve as floating signifiers between individuals... but become a focus of interest in themselves. ... Identity thus came to be inscribed *in*, instead of *by*, these objects” (64-65). The Grocers’ Show, as a self-perpetuating process of value and credit creation, sold the idea that the greatest value, and thus the height of personal worth, was determined by control over foreign agents (objects, lands and people). These are teleological judgements – no thought is given to “how” the control over foreign resources is obtained, the process of conquering territory and people or the subsequent effects on local environments.

Control over foreign resources led to wealth, enabling public displays of consumption of coveted foreign goods. Both control and consumption were always socially embedded acts, be they locking goods away from other agents, enforcing monopolies over sea-faring trade by threat or confiscation of ships, marrying into families who control or rule over assets and resources, feasting on luxury foods and spices, wearing silks and precious jewels and metals in public, or giving away valuable spices in a display of largesse. Theatrical performances confirmed and perpetuated a business cycle built on individual desire for material evidence that the good life had been achieved.

Consumer desire for these products fulfilled the need to display of success and triumph, both publicly and as self-reward for achieving goals of earning a good living. Wolfgang

Schivelbusch argues that medieval Europeans associated spices with Paradise. He asserts that they saw “[s]pices as a link to Paradise” (6) and consumption thus brought them closer to gaining heaven in their everyday lives. The “exorbitant price” that consumers paid for the spices “further enhanced this fascination” (Schivelbusch 6). “Pepper, cinnamon, and nutmeg,” Schivelbusch writes, “were status symbols for the ruling class, emblems of power which were displayed and then consumed” (6-7). Early modern consumption patterns demonstrated the importance of foreign goods in the period and indicated it was demand that led to higher volumes of cargo shipments and greater investment made to obtain foreign goods such as spices, sugar and tobacco.²²³ The growth in degree of spice importation was, as Stefan Halikowski argues, “overwhelmingly driven by the market of desire” (417). In other words, there were “social motives for economic behavior” (Wilson and Dixon 3).²²⁴ Theatrical performances contributed to normative ideas of what material items best expressed success; they motivated English agents to seek out and gain control of foreign resources in order to exhibit that they were flourishing.

Middleton’s Show, notably dedicated “to the [incumbent mayor, George Bowles, the] *Worthy Deserver* of all the Costs and Triumphs” (emphasis added, 2), materialized abstract concepts of the Mayor’s “worth” through the spectacle made of foreign bodies and objects presented to the London crowd. Yet, Bowles’ achievement of success was more than a one-

²²³ For context Muldrew provides some figures on growth in trade (“Economic and Urban Development.”): “The tonnage of English shipping also went up from 50,000 tons in 1572 to 115,000 tons in 1629 as consumption of foreign luxuries such as wine, Italian silk, spices, sugar and fruit increased dramatically in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart period. Between 1563 and 1620 the amount of wine, currants, raisins and spices imported into London increased over five-fold” (150).

²²⁴ See David Wilson and William Dixon, *A History of Homo Economicus* for consideration of the behaviour motives of economic participants as being much more social than driven by individualist accumulation.

time event; it depended upon continual striving and effort. Seeking to secure one's place in the good life was an ongoing performance that required frequent public reaffirmation to validate and secure one's position within a dynamic network. The advice traditionally given to the Mayor at the end of the Show contained reminders that such a sustained effort was necessary to ensure the public's regard. Grocer Bowles was directed to consider the "Great cost and love [that] hath nobly bin bestowed, /Upon thy triumph" (16), to take stock and measure the investment made in celebrating his appointment to London's top civic position. But the bestowal of honour came with the expectation that Bowles could provide payback and agree to share his bounty with the London collective. The "glorious person" Honor advised the Mayor to be generous in the term of his governance because "bounty was ordaynd, to make that cleere/Which is the light of goodness and of Fame/ And puts by Honor from the cloude of shame" (15). Goodness and fame would be produced and honor projected and sustained through the sharing of material bounty.

Bounty distributed was a form of "gift exchange," a social process of relationship-building and strengthening networks by layering reciprocating obligations between agents. Marcel Mauss' ideas about gift exchange have been highly influential in assessing socio-economic behaviour,²²⁵ yet what has received less attention is the use of gift exchange in business relationships. The distribution of bounty (meals, entertainments, "swag") was, and continues to be, a key means of identity formation and of deepening bonds between business agents. As Middleton's *Show* and Fletcher's play demonstrated, business gifts also came

²²⁵ See Jens Beckert, David Graeber, Martha Howell for examples of the uptake of Mauss' theory that gift-giving, receiving and returning forges a moral bond between persons engaging in these acts of exchange.

attached with expectations of social reciprocity. The choice to hand over wealth and opportunity through gift was not driven by individual altruistic virtues so much as it was a normative expectation commanded by habitual practices amongst the network. The speeches made in the Lord Mayor's Show instructed both the Mayor and the attending public in the ways that honor and worthiness would be materially measured. Directives were given by Honor to "upward seeke our Crown" by sharing bounty and to avoid "A crime/ as great ever came into sins band... a too sparing hand" (15). To describe "a sparing hand" as "a crime as great ever came" (15), as if it were on par with murder, was an overt attempt to discipline audience behaviour. These words established public expectations, including that of fellow livery company members, that they were entitled to receive a return from the "great cost and love [that has] nobly bin bestowed" in promoting a liveryman to the mayoral position (16). The expectation of a return-on-investment was bolstered by the public gift exchange enacted during the Show's procession when the bounty of valuable spices and sugar loaves was thrown to the crowds. The materialization of the Grocers' trade expertise and business acumen was manifested as a benefit directly distributed to their local network.

Constructing a positive corporate image was one objective behind sponsoring the Lord Mayor's Show and set the tone for its creative subject matter. Investment in the Shows and in distribution of souvenir publications demonstrated liverymen's willingness to expend significant energy and resources to craft their stories about business practices and achievements.²²⁶ The

²²⁶ The souvenir publications are the source for much of what is understood about these historical civic events. (By good fortune, for this Grocers show there is also available extant correspondence by a Venetian chaplain, Orazio Busino, who captures his first-hand observation of the 1617 show. See Kate Levin's translation and annotation in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*.) The company-distributed souvenirs are paratheatrical materials that help manage the audiences' interpretative process and reinforce the exchange between audience and sponsored performance as they evoke remembrance of the symbols and imagery in the Grocers' show. Hill compiles the print

choice of details that Middleton recorded in the souvenir text alongside transcripts of pageant speeches attests to his careful design of elements so as to best present the Company's corporate identity. The Company brand, promoted in Middleton's Show as a public service, was built up through multiple layers of images and symbols associated with good life ideals and rendered in material performance, adapted as souvenir text and recalled through future memory. Middleton's decision to open the Show's land-based pageant with foreign characters demonstrated a Company identity constructed as much by their external associations as it was by the turf-defining boundaries of the City walls. Explanation of the Show's design made subsequent to the performance would surely have affected the spectator's memory of the events by this act of reading the souvenir trace.

The annual Lord Mayor's Show was one form of sustained public argument about the benefits of global trade enjoyed by Londoners and from there transferred to members of the whole common weal. The companies' ritual spectacles, along with other staged performances that took up the subject(s) of livery companies and their members, captured and naturalized the idea that global activity symbolized success in English life. The performances lent themselves to the performativity of normative business behaviours by presenting and reinforcing certain modes of conduct as natural acts if one wanted to succeed. To pass as a successful business agent was a public performance that involved use of the right speech and

numbers recorded in company accounts (See Appendix 1 summary, 337-342) that range, for available extant records, from two to five hundred copies. These numbers relative to the 20,000 audience size that Dekker projects demonstrate the exclusive distribution of the souvenirs. Hill notes that "*In Troia-Noua triumphans* Dekker numbers the witnesses of the Show as 'at least twenty thousand', which may be realistic" (129).

habits, the correct mannerisms and exhibited conduct, all of which I argue here depended upon the use of global resources and the degree of control held over global trade.

In this respect, the Lord Mayor's Show worked to solidify the Grocers' identity as a successful global trading organization. Beyond their transaction-based purpose as purveyors of highly desirable consumable goods, the Grocers were also producers of peace, harmony, and prosperity—or, at least, that's what the Show was intended to deliver to its audience. The manifestation of this fantasy was most clearly presented when the "company of *Indians*" were pointedly described as "every one severally imploide" and "set at worke in an Island of growing spices, some planting Nutmeg Trees, some other spice trees, of all kinds, some gathering the fruits, some making up bags of Pepper" (5). Middleton's text describes, the "active youths, who ceasing in their labours, dance about the trees, both to give content to themselves and the spectators" (5), a narrative that positioned English merchants and traders as behaving differently than their rival European counterparts (the Spanish and Dutch in particular) in their interactions with local populations. In interpreting the "active youths" as "content," Middleton delivered the message that Indigenous peoples were happy to labour and dance to the tune of the Grocers and the English market. Indigenous peoples were instrumentalized for English business practices and thus they served to normalize an expectation they could be used to further English business goals and good life achievements.²²⁷ ¹ English business agents were

Francisco Bethencourt and George Souza both separately make the point that the limitations of human capital in terms of Portuguese population numbers limited the ability of the Iberian state to develop empire and affected the strategies employed to defend and expand that empire. Bethencourt writes:

From the very beginning, the Portuguese empire developed in spite of a structural deficit of available capital. Crown initiatives were supplemented by private merchants, mostly Italians or Germans, who benefited from the royal monopolies over inter-continental trade.... The Portuguese empire could only survive in Asia if it was supported by local communities of mixed-race people. This was not only because

critically dependent on productively employed Indigenous populations as their own domestic demographics, even in times of English recession and unemployment, could not achieve the mass migration necessary to harvest foreign resources to meet the demand for foreign products at home. Nor could sufficient numbers of English peoples be transplanted to defend colonized territories (this is evident in the overseas Irish plantations as much as it was in far distant territories such as India). In this respect, England faced problems similar to those of Portugal where aspirations to expand overseas and to sustain control over geographically dispersed holdings were limited by the insufficient human capital available in the home country's population. Like England, Portugal lacked the expendable resources to conquer and annihilate the original keepers of the much sought-after resources (a tactic deployed by Spain which had resources in abundance due to its silver and gold influx from the Americas). To sustain global business activities, and to meet their "good life" objectives of a more secure future and greater potential for accumulated wealth, English business agents needed to rely on the labour of Indigenous peoples. Expectations of a willing Indigenous workforce to feed English desires pre-supposes that "every one [of the] severally imploide" Indians accepted that a good life was to work and direct their output of resources to global commerce which "knits love and peace amongst all Nations" (5). Such a pastoral storytelling repeated the fantasy that was captured in the following fifteenth-century illustration of Indigenous peoples gathering peppers for their European overseer.

these people met demographic and military needs, but also because they mediated with local native communities, gathering political support, information and financial resources. (125)



Figure 19: Illustration of pepper harvesting from *Le Livre des Merveilles du Monde* (c. 13th century), commonly known as “The Travels of Marco Polo.”

What started out as an imagined business idea – to exploit Indigenous peoples as low-cost labourers and optimize profits earned by European traders – had, by the time of Middleton’s Show become a tangible outcome. The Show thus encouraged positive public judgment of the company’s actions and its members’ merits. And, in turn, that positive assessment could be carried forward to future imaginations and everyday patterns of transacting and daily processes of exchange as well as to the ritual aspects that might be produced in the next year’s Show. The stories of moral benefit produced from pursuit of business objectives, of a civilizing mission accomplished with the takeover of foreign resources, and the promotion of conquest by peaceful trade rather than risking English lives in costly acts of war combined to deliver a public relations move that would encourage business agents to

buy into the idea of overseas enterprise. The belief that European business agents enabled full and proper use of the useful resources from these foreign lands – whether spices, fish, forestry, productive land or peoples – was a fiction meant to appeal to those who also believed it beneficial to make more productive use of England’s own resources and people, especially the poor (an attitude that continues to echo in times of recession or financial crisis when social support programs become targets of those who perceive their life of privilege to be eroding).

Demonstration of European superiority was, of course, dependent upon and established by judging Indigenous cultures and practices as inferior – something that the Show was able to render through performance. An argument that quality of life was improved for Indigenous producers through their work for English master justified overseas trade expansion and rendered it but another step toward European good life attainment. The notion that the English bettered the lives of local populations was a romanticized ideal that differentiated the venturers from their Portuguese and Dutch competitors, and particularly the latter nation whose “cruelty and brutality” in the East Indies was reported back by English factors seeking support from company directors and overseers (Nocentelli 142).²²⁸ The clergyman Samuel Purchas, known for his compilation of overseas travel accounts in the *Pilgrimes*, set out the moral argument in a

²²⁸ The English response to the 1623 “massacre” of Amboina [aka Amboyna, Ambona],” which occurred shortly after Fletcher’s *The Island Princess* was performed, demonstrates the competitive position taken by the English. The event was publicized in pamphlets as a “massacre” where on the Dutch governor’s orders “ten English factors, nine Japanese soldiers, and one Indo-Portuguese... were publicly executed. Gabriel Towerson, the chief English merchant on Amboina, was decapitated and quartered, his severed head ‘set up upon the Gate’” (Nocentelli *Empires of Love* 137). Carmen Nocentelli assesses the effect that narratives of this event had on perceptions of Dutch tactics as it was “routinely rehashed in ballads, broadsides and pamphlets.” She argues that “[t]hanks to this print history, the Amboina massacre came to connote much more than inter-European rivalries gone awry. As a byword of martyred English innocence in the colonial crucible, it proposed itself as a stark *theatrum* of Dutch cruelty and brutality” (142).

description of Indian discoveries and “the English trade there; Many Arguments in Defence of It” (548). He made the following justification for English overseas trade:

Neyther can the English be charged with annoying eyther Christian or Heathen except in Necessary Defence, or Just Revenge: Neyther a doe they shut up the Seas to the Inhabitants: They plant Factories, not Fortresses, on the Land; whereby Others over-awe the Natives, prove unfriendly to their Friends, seeke to eat out other adventuring Nations, and make prey of Christians and Ethnikes unprovoked. (550)

Purchas’ positive framing of English overseas trade has much in common with the Grocers’ Show portrayal of happy and harmonious relationships and both were used to garner local support for the expansion of overseas business as well as to promote consumption of exotic goods to generate market growth.²²⁹

In the theatre, performance gave shape to the sorts of risky and aggressive acts presumed necessary to gain control over foreign places and peoples. Plays whose subject has been variously described as “Theatre of the East”, “Travel Plays,” “Turk” plays, “The Mysterious and the Foreign,” “Voyage Drama,” or “Journeying Plays,”²³⁰ portrayed European competition for global trade. This battle for global dominance was often violent, involving not just piracy and attacks on holdings between European venturers, but also the killing of Indigenous peoples

²²⁹ See Terence O’Brien’s article which details an example of the type of marketing efforts and promotional tactics used to garner livery company investment interest in the Virginia Company.

²³⁰ Richmond Barbour’s work *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East* (2003); Anthony Parr’s edition of *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (1995), Daniel Vitkus edition of *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (2000) and *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (2003), Helen Ostovich, Mary Silcox and Graham Roebuck’s collection dealing with *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England* (2008), Claire Jowitt’s *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics, 1589-1642* (2003),” or Jowitt and David McInnis’s anticipated collection *Travel and Drama in Early Modern England: The Journeying Plays* (2019).

affiliated with competitors or deemed uncooperative in meeting trade demands.²³¹ How English merchants and traders behaved in their exchanges and interactions with the foreign “other” was an identity-forming act. Contemporary visual images displayed extraordinary violence (see figure below, a woodcut representation of the Dutch-English Amboyna attack of 1623 to seize control of the area where *Fletcher’s The Island Princess* is set) and, like their theatrical equivalents, suggest the kind of marketing material circulating in the period. Not only did such materials promote the English companies’ colonial projects, they also provided graphic fodder for the English imagination of the Spice Islands.²³²

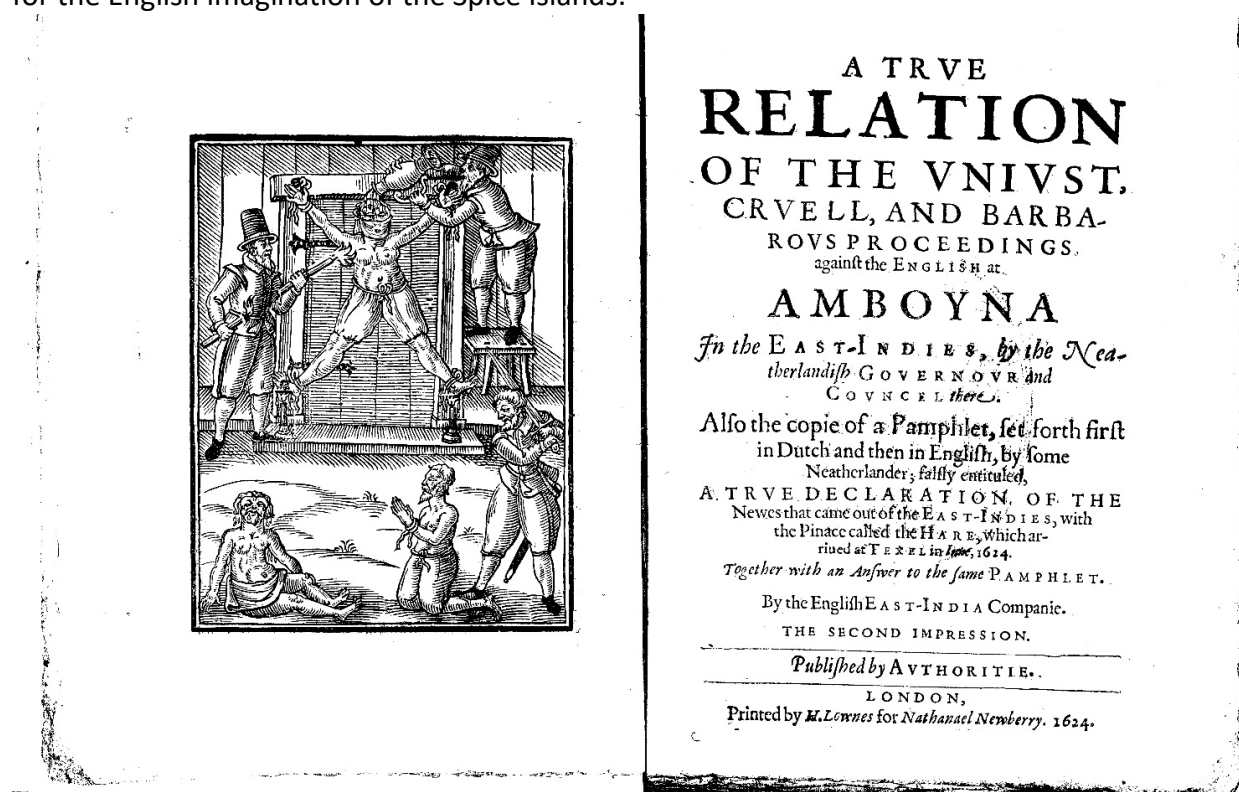


Figure 20: Pamphlet published in 1624 presenting “A True Relation” of what came to be known as the Amboyna Massacre and provided the EIC’s perspective on the conflict over the Spice Islands. *A True Relation of the Unjust Cruel, and Barbarous Proceedings* by John Skinner. © The British Library.

²³¹ See Alison Games, “Violence on the Fringes,” 515.

²³² The level and scale of violence attributed to trade in the East Indies would only increase further as the reports of what was described as the 1623 English massacre at Amboyna by Dutch traders followed just a few years later and was widely publicized in ballads, pamphlets and even a play – see Alison Games “Violence on the Fringes” and

The frequent emphases in Lord Mayor's Shows on foreign and exotic figures extended the outward-focussed processes livery companies used to demarcate their constitution. London's position was situated by reference to its place in relation to far distant lands: recall that Munday requested his London audience "[i]magine then that from the rich and Golden Indian Mines, sundry Ships, Frigots, and Gallies are returned home" (22) and that Webster situated London amongst the "five eminent Cities, ... Antwerpe, Paris, Rome, Venice and Constantinople" (8). Middleton's opening "invention" to the Grocer's show produced a similarly "othering" move: the spectacle of "[a] company of *Indians*, attired according to the true Nature of their Country, seeming for the most part naked" was intended to represent the Indigenous workers of Tidore, Ternate and the other Malukun (Moluccan) islands (emphasis original, 5). The embodiment of "naked" and "tinted" "*Indians*" set the peoples of the Spice Islands apart from the English Grocers, and yet not autonomous from the traders who commanded their labour from London. The performance of imagined place and peoples may have particularly sparked the interest of spectators already interested in "geographic drama" and encouraged them to attend Fletcher's *The Island Princess* a few years later (Jowitt *Voyage and Drama* 7).²³³ Moreover, Claire Jowitt notes that the Blackfriars's Theatre, which was "situated in the wealthiest district in London, attracted the richest audience" and she speculates that Fletcher's *The Island Princess* "was likely to appeal to the merchants and gentry that made up a larger part of the audience at this theatre" (7). I agree that the Lord Mayor's Show and Fletcher's play

Anthony Milton "Marketing a Massacre" for further discussion and details of the intense competition in the area between Dutch, English and Portuguese traders.

²³³ Jowitt further notes that the Blackfriar's Theatre "situated in the wealthiest district in London, attracted the richest audience" and speculates that Fletcher's *The Island Princess* performed at Blackfriar's between 1619 and 1621, "was likely to appeal to the merchants and gentry that made up a larger part of the audience at this theatre" (7).

would have attracted crossover audiences following an interest and capacity to invest in overseas ventures. As such, they would likely be highly engaged by and perhaps actively involved in broader contemporary debates about the merits of global trade and the proper conduct of foreign business.

“Doing” and “Acting” Produces the Good Life: The Promise of Fletcher’s Venturer Hero

It is helpful to consider what motivated the King’s Men to produce *The Island Princess* so as to better understand how their invention contributed to and perpetuated a sense of collective attachment to the idea that global trade domination and control was what produced success. Part of the appeal for the theatre company must have been the play’s fantastic story of a heroic global venturer who wins both love and wealth through his industrious action – a topic popular with its audience and thus offering the potential to generate commercial value. But it is important to acknowledge, as Clare McManus does, that “a publicity pamphlet for the English East India Company” was one of the sources for *The Island Princess* and thus explicitly tying Fletcher’s play to overseas trade. In effect, *The Island Princess*, McManus suggests, formed “part of the larger history of the representation of English interaction with India and ‘the Indies’” (1-2). Yet, unlike the sponsorship of the Lord Mayor’s Show by the Grocers’ Company, the King’s Men were not obligated by their network to invest in this play, nor was there a directly beneficial relationship between global trade arguments and the theatre’s potential for revenue generation and profit. However, production of *The Island Princess* did present the company with a low-risk business proposition. Precedent had long been set by successful plays whose exotic locales and foreign characters clearly appealed to London audiences. Indeed,

McManus and Shankar Raman have both also linked Shakespeare's *The Tempest* as well as more general contemporary interest in New World stories (such as that of the interracial relationship between John Rolfe and Pocahontas) to the company's decision to stage Fletcher's play. Contemporary interests in dynastic marriage arrangements, ongoing concern about Spanish/Iberian domination with the threat of return to Catholic subjugation, anxiety about the declining economy, and concerns about growing consumer demand for foreign goods as a drain on bullion and cause for coin shortages meant this was a highly topical story. Since the company largely performed in the City, it is likely that audiences for Fletcher's play (as they would have been for Middleton's *Show*) were drawn from surrounding neighbourhoods – in other words, the pool of merchants, traders and professionals who both worked and lived in these areas.²³⁴ The decision of the King's Men to use the proven formula of a foreign setting to target their customers reflected the market's appetite for knowledge of foreign lands and people and for exploring overseas opportunities to earn a living.

The Island Princess opens with an overtly judgemental comparison of the ruling King of Tidore who chooses "for his recreation ... rowing" (1.1.11),²³⁵ a "poor and base pleasure" (1.1.16). This "dull labour that declines a gentleman" (1.1.23) fails to meet European standards described, by contrast, as "noble" (1.1.22) and "princely" (1.1.25). From the European viewpoint, rowing "[a] little scurvy boat" (1.1.20) falls well below the pursuits of "Portugals or the Spaniards in riding... [t]he French in courtship, or the dancing English/ In carrying a fair presence" (1.1.24-27). From the outset, the play exploits an image of uncivilized Indigenous

²³⁴ See Mark Bayer *Theatre, Community and Civic Engagement in Jacobean London* for in-depth examination of the interplay between theatres and the communities in which they were located.

²³⁵ All references to Fletcher's *Island Princess* are sourced from Clare McManus edition.

peoples as inadequate managers and leaders out paddling about in the sea rather than industriously managing their precious spice production and trade. The play then justifies European actions of conquest and possession, and of wresting control of the land from the Indigenous Moluccan custodians.²³⁶ The peoples of the Spice Islands are portrayed as lacking European ideals of civility and as failing to uphold English moral standards that prioritize teleological output over communal duty and virtuous behaviour.

Non-English bodies – both the Portuguese and Moluccan characters in Fletcher’s play and the “dauncing Indians” and traders of “Several Nations” in Middleton’s *Show* – provoke the audience to consider the performance of English business agents relative to those of other countries. The Portuguese heritage of the play’s main characters reflected the reputation Portugal had held as a predominant player in global markets, navigation and shipping and recognized that the English and the Dutch were both keen to overtake the early lead the Portuguese held in the East Indies trade. Competition for the spice market meant that rivals were continually searching for ways to outdo each other in establishing trade relationships, territorial strongholds, naval power as well as in building up the cashflow necessary to win bidding wars and buy up supply. *The Island Princess* may well have been informed by close studies made by the English of their trading competitors, for it is interesting to note that the play realistically captured a common tactic used in East Asia by the Portuguese. Maritime historian George Souza indicates that the preferred practice in the East Indies was for foreign trading posts to be infiltrated by a few Portuguese venturers who relied on negotiating their

²³⁶ See Stephen Greenblatt *Marvelous Possessions* for full discussion of the colonization and possession of the New World by Europeans.

way to power and influence over Island trade rather than turning immediately to military aggression against the Indigenous population – action that their business model could not afford) (1-27).²³⁷ *The Island Princess*, then, could have served as a training tool for ambitious English business agents eager to gain advantage and learn about best practices for global trade development.

Fletcher's play blurred distinctions of time and place. Portuguese occupation had long preceded English exploration and entry into the Spice Island market. As Carmen Nocentelli has traced, the story of inter-island conflict that led to the kidnapping of the King of Tidore had its origin in events of 1579 ("Spice Race" 576).²³⁸ Such a transfer of ideas from foreign characters and settings to the world of London audiences had, by Fletcher's time, become a well-practiced move. As Bruster observes, the early modern theatre had a "notorious... ability to compress, mingle, alter, interchange and disguise geographic places" (32). This adaptive turn of the foreign to the local functions as a circum-global movement of self-fashioning enacted by London business agents just as it was in the Grocers' Show. The circum-global, dialogical formation of identity of British merchants and traders was fashioned through reiterative processes (both real and imagined) of business trade and transactions, blurring of economic and social practice, and cultural materialization of abstract ideas rendered through performance.

²³⁷Note there is an odd pagination in Souza's collection of a series of essays, refer to chapter "Imperial Defense" for this citation. See also Francisco Bethencourt who "stress[es] how the Portuguese depended on local support to conquer territory or to maintain dominion" (112).

²³⁸ According to correspondence from a Jesuit mission at Goa and colonial reports, the king of Tidore, Gapi Baguna, was captured and then rescued by a native man, Salama, who gained "perpetual fame" for his rescue (Nocentelli 576).

This movement of ideas through cultural performances that appropriated and then materialized narratives of successful leaders is what interests me in terms of the influence they had on business behaviour and conduct across place and time. As an example of appropriation, Nocentelli traces the migration of the storyline that Fletcher had, in her words, “pilfered” from its sixteenth-century Eastern point of origin (“Spice Race” 573). The story of a captured Tidorean prince and his sister Quisara (who is the marriage prize for the man who rescues her brother) is first documented in Portuguese colonial archives (1579). It then appeared in the Spanish Argensola’s *Conquista* story (1609) which was, in turn, translated into French by de Bellain (1615) and, finally, brought to the English stage by Fletcher (1619-21).²³⁹ In drawing attention to the political appropriation of the story, Nocentelli underscores the trans-cultural movement of stories, ideas and performance and my point is that, along with the migration of story, there was also a circum-global exchange of business “best practice” ideals. The movement of what is heralded as heroic action from a Portuguese venturer to an English stage shares more than a tale of derring-do: it importantly models how to best gain a foothold in an overseas land and secure control over valuable foreign resources.

The effectiveness of performance in supporting an audience’s transition to an imagined future depends on how far the bounds of plausibility are pushed. Does the audience believe it is possible that the acts performed by the characters will achieve the (happy) outcomes that are staged? Are audiences inspired to see themselves acting in a similar manner? Does the

²³⁹ As the story moves a recasting of heroes occurs. Spain is recast, in a deviation from what is recorded in the Portuguese archival records, as the rightful governors of the Spice Islands – a claiming of rights and authority that asserts Spain’s dominance in the Iberian relationship. The French translation “turned the story,” as Nocentelli observes, “into a testimony of Spain’s present inadequacies” as it builds on Cervantes nostalgic views that romanticized the Spanish past in contrast to its present decline (578).

performance instil hope for the future? To answer these questions, I might pose another: why did Fletcher substitute a Portuguese venturer, Armusia, for the original story's Indigenous hero, Salama?²⁴⁰ If Fletcher was complicit in promoting English colonial trade development,²⁴¹ then it is useful to consider more carefully the choice of Portuguese heritage for his hero. An answer to this choice of replacement lies in revisiting the work carried out by translating ideas of the good life into material possibilities.

Fletcher's Armusia served as useful contemporary case study for English agents largest because the Portuguese presented little challenge to European Christian sensibilities. A Portuguese hero was a "safe" hero. By the 1620s and in terms of political, religious or economic challenges, Armusia's country of origin presented less of a threat to the English than did Spain or the United Dutch Provinces. Although Portugal had been subsumed by Spain in 1580, they still resisted Spanish domination in their industries and remained distinguished for their expert navigational skills and their bold exploration and development of new trade routes.²⁴² Portugal's reputation for expansive overseas trade while still maintaining a relatively stable economy (and in contrast to the regularly bankrupt Spain) would have appealed to a generation of English business agents who needed to find alternative ways to generate and sustain income.

²⁴⁰ See analysis of replacements in Shankar Raman's chapter "Colonial Fantasies of 'The Island Princess'" (*Framing India* 155-188), in Ania Loomba's article "'Break her will, and bruise no bone sir': Colonial and Sexual Mastery" (91-92) as well as Carmen Nocentelli's "Spice Race" (582-84).

²⁴¹ Loomba describes Michael Neill as a critic "who read the play as Fletcher's attempt to valorize English merchants in the region against their Dutch rivals" (*Break Her Will* 91). Indeed, Neill assesses the play as a participant in "the long-running propagandist debate associated with that [English] enterprise. This was a debate in which concepts of national identity were systematically attached to the pursuit of particular commercial objectives" (*Putting History to the Question* 313). See Gordon McMullan *The Politics of Unease*; Raman *Framing 'India'*; and Jowitt *Voyage Drama* for further discussion.

²⁴² The Portuguese were the first to break the tight grip of the Silk Road trade route and thus circumvent Ottoman-Mediterranean control of trade by establishing the route to the East by going around Africa and the Cape of Good Hope. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam for discussion of the distinctive Portuguese trade in *The Portuguese*.

Although the downturn of the Portuguese trading empire in the early seventeenth century was beginning to show, that too meant they might also serve as a negative exemplar. A prime example of the more negative take can be seen in Fletcher's character Rui Dias, the resident commander of the Portuguese trade garrison. Rui Dias, unlike Armusia, is an ineffectual coward and, as Raman describes, is "shown to lack the necessary virtues that constitute Portuguese identity" and authority (*Framing "India"* 164). As an anti-hero Rui Dias enabled analysis of practices that should be avoided: he shows the worst habits of complacency, arrogance and attitude of rigid superiority in thinking, all likely causes contributing to competitive decline. Consideration of the causes of Portugal's decline presented an opportunity to identify the means to achieve a turnaround in British economy and trade. As representative of a younger generation than Rui Dias, Armusia would be expected to demonstrate a competitive advantage that English agents would be eager to emulate. His tactical approach to business success would appear formative to the processes and behaviours that English agents believed were ideal for developing global business. Perceived affinities between British and Portuguese socio-economic conditions further directed the audience's imagination to the importance of adopting the right business practices and pursuing the right investment opportunities so as to lead to an improved future.

There are several parallels that can be drawn between Portuguese and English business approaches in the period. For instance, the strategy of investing corporate or institutional funds in trading ventures – and in high-risk, far-off locations at that – both to expand global trade and to mitigate the degree of individual risk exposure was not unique to England or London. Souza emphasizes the public-private partnership used by enterprising Portuguese traders to expand

and secure their trade routes and destinations. As he notes, "the [Portuguese] Crown relied globally, on the enlightened self-interest of the colonial city urban elites in defending their commercial interests and markets for their own benefit" (25). Such investments were crucial to the advancement of Portuguese global trade efforts as the Iberian states were quite limited in their capacity to fully fund the capital and manpower necessary for "the imperial project" (xv).²⁴³ In this respect, the degree of reliance on what Souza calls municipal investment to stimulate overseas expansion corresponds to England's own market situation. The practice of calling upon city corporations to establish and sustain crown-endorsed, if not -financed, global trade projects was common to both countries. Unlike direct loans to the crown, investments by the London livery companies in overseas joint-stock trading companies were ultimately motivated by cost-benefit analysis where the benefits imagined in the future were believed to outweigh the risks of loss of resources. Given the interest in and similarity of approach to Portuguese overseas investment strategies, the notion that livery companies were purely driven by protectionist attitudes toward their London turf and focused on restricting business within the London catchment is questionable. Rather than being uniquely predatory or monopolistic in their investment decisions, it may be that London business agents took up ideas for best practices from other countries that had already proven their expertise in global business development. The frequent use in English business treatises that compared business

²⁴³ In fact, without individual and non-state-backed support the Portuguese trading empire could not be sustained. Souza presents analysis of ship losses and capital reinvestments as evidence for his argument that "severe de-capitalization of Portuguese communities and commercial interests and NOT commercial competition caused by the Protestant powers" is explanation for the Portuguese decline in the early seventeenth century. He states, "It alleges that the resulting severe strain on capital resources available to Portuguese communities and their commercial interests in a number of cases incapacitated their capacity to support and maintain the 'formal' Portuguese imperial project" (xv). A Portuguese willingness to risk increasingly limited capital funds seems to have fallen away.

performance in other countries, particularly the success of the Dutch, reveals how such benchmark comparisons led to common business behaviours. For example, John Wheeler and Thomas Mun advocate in their treatises for continuation of specialized trade companies like the Merchant Adventurers and the EIC because of their expertise in dealing with the risky business of foreign trade.²⁴⁴ That these comparisons served as justification for the practices and structures the English adopted furthers the case that success was often measured through comparison – a view of English business in relation to competitors in a wider global business network.

Just as Middleton's *Tryumph of Honor and Industry* presented explicit guidance about the best means to achieve business success, Fletcher's *The Island Princess* also promoted the idea that industrious efforts would bring security and control over prized exotic resources. In the play Armusia triumphantly earns the prize of the titular Princess by taking bold action. He risks his life in rescuing the Tidorean King, first from physical imprisonment and then from fraudulently coerced spiritual entrapment. Armusia's reward is a marriage into the royal family, which secures him the authority to participate in the lucrative spice trade. Repeated is the fantasy that the benefits of future gains are worth the chances taken. The lure of successful global enterprise encouraged agents to invest in overseas ventures and to discipline themselves to act industriously there and with obvious self-sacrifice. If one was always "severally imploide" (5), as the Indigenous dancers modelled in the Lord Mayor's Show, and acted without hesitation, as Armusia does, then the rewards of a good life could be secured. Both the

²⁴⁴ See Wheeler's *A Treatise of Commerce* (1601) and Mun's *A Discourse of Trade* (1621).

Grocers' Show and *The Island Princess* spoke to their audiences as embodiments of future possibility, imagined success and potential profit and security gained by taking action.

Fletcher's tragicomedy reinforces the ethos of hard work and relentless action by also presenting an exemplar of a failed business agent, one who defers the possibility action. Rui Diaz, because of his sense of entitlement and inflated self-image, remains mired in hierarchical traditions and practices of diplomacy. In effect, by contrasting the success of the ambitious young agent with the failure of a more conservative older generation, the play warns against bureaucratic foot-dragging and resistance to change. Armusia, however, is a man in the mold of an ideal English leader of the kind celebrated in Webster's *Show of English* "monuments". Yet his is a story driven by thoughts of glory, a fact that resonates with Mafalda Soares da Cunha's argument that Portuguese expansion efforts were focused on securing an "individual's own house" rather than communal corporate growth or consolidation of a family dynasty (40). The self-focused behaviour exhibited by both Portuguese characters suggests a model where success is best hoarded by the singular leader to increase one's odds of securing Fortune's blessing. Despite their position as a minority group in an exotic land and as figures in a precarious position with no automatic authority (the ease with which Armusia is taken prisoner on the King of Tidore's order demonstrates how exposed and vulnerable he was), the two Portuguese characters curiously display no sense of solidarity. Instead they choose to compete with one another rather than form an alliance, an action that might have been expected when faced with the threat of an Indigenous majority and its potential for "native insurgency and insubordination" (Loomba "Break her Will" 92).

The Portuguese venturers are described as arriving “[p]oor, weather-beaten, almost lost, starved, most feeble” (4.1.45) and at the mercy of the Indigenous community. At first, Armusia finds himself unemployed and no better off than he was in his homeland and thus he is driven to take action to secure his existence and his future. Success, defined in terms of honour and the opportunity to gain “honour” (“*fama*” as Soares da Cunha refers to), drove Armusia “to seek adventures” (1.3.6), the “noble thoughts” that “enticed us forward” (1.3.13). He is motivated by a desire to earn “glory... everlasting wealth” (1.3.227-228) and to be “worthy of it [“Fortune”] in our courage” (2.2.64-65), impelling him to act rather than rely on the more traditional diplomacy deployed by his rival Rui Dias. The risks that Armusia is willing to take to seek public recognition and fame are offset by the opportunity, for he claims that “though I lose, it shall be sung I was valiant/ And my brave offer shall be turned to story/ Worthy the Princess’s tongue” (1.3.237-239). As with the Grocers’ Show, where Industry “is the life-bloude of praise” and “[t]o rise without mee [Industry], is to steale to glory” (6), the fantasy of being recognized for industrious works and receiving praise for results drives the business agent to act boldly and risk everything in venturing overseas. In their focus on productive outcomes and conquering of negative risks, performances contributed to the collective’s attachment to a myth of self-fashioning and the fantasy of a better life to come. Armusia’s objectives to achieve honour and fame illustrate what Soares da Cunha calls the “deep social impact” of motivations behind “Portuguese overseas expansion” (35). The potential to “achieve *fama* (honour) by serving the [Portuguese] King and reap[ing] the corresponding reward” motivated decisions to venture overseas “since honour was not considered an intangible concept, but something that had to be translated into *proveito* (profit)” (da Cunha 35).

An underlying assumption is that demonstrable success in global trade is an outer expression of an individual agent's degree of deserving and worth. For instance, the last Act of Fletcher's play asks the audience to reflect upon how Armusia has presented them with "the perfect school of worth... / The temple of true honour" (5.2.115-16). Both here and in the Grocers' Show, employment of the term "worth" reflects David Hawkes' argument that the early modern English placed a higher precedence on "worth" for its "use-value, which is inherent in the physical body of an object" (or agent) (113). In both civic and commercial performances, audiences marked the value and recognize the worth of an individual character. Recognition of success, of good life attainment, required the externalizing process of material performance – speech, symbols, acts of celebration – that is always embedded in social networks.

One of the highest forms of recognition of worth granted in Fletcher's play comes at the moment that the King of Tidore offers his sister and his rival's lands to the recently arrived Portuguese business agents as reward for the acts that had released him from a rival dictator's oppression. The exemplary conduct by his "most honourable friend" Armusia prompts the King to transfer control of his sister Quisara to Armusia (5.5.83). He tells Armusia "[t]ake her... /And with her all the joys and all the blessings" (5.5.66-67). Governance of the conquered rival island of Ternate is granted to yet another up-and-coming Portuguese venturer, Pinheiro (nephew to Armusia's rival, Rui Dias). The reward of women and land acknowledges the indebtedness of the King to a new generation of Europeans whose valour and honour has proved them worthy of securing command and control over foreign resources, an affirmation of European superiority and confirmation of "man of action" behaviour.

What is also modelled in this act of male-to-male leadership is the relationships that sustain power structures in the market, what we often call the old boys' network. *The Island Princess* acts out expectations that a business leader holds an obligation to reciprocate benefits received from acts of public support and endorsement. In gifting his sister and land property to a foreigner as reward for personal labour and sacrifice made to a ruler, the King exhibits how fraternal connections form the basis for distribution of job opportunities and governance positions. Network relationships form the path to reward. While recognition, roles and compensation are presented as based on merit – evidenced by acts of doing – this dispensation masks underlying relationships between agents. If performance serves as didactic tool, *The Island Princess* serves to teach the importance of forming interpersonal connections and taking advantage of being in the right place at the right time (a reiteration of the homosocial bonds between Jonson's Pennyboy and his "billmen" in *The Staple of News*). Leaders must act, and quickly, to leverage opportunity. *The Island Princess* modelled how to succeed, how to recognize success and what kind of reward to expect as it coacheed audiences on how to move ahead and realize their fantasies of the good life.

As the hero, Armusia is described in consistently complimentary business terms as "an honest fellow/ that has ended his market before you be up" and that he "took her at her word and tied the bargain; / Dealt like a man indeed; stood not demurring, / But clapped close to the cause – as he will do the lady" (2.6.64-68). He acts without hesitation, determines a bold course, and accepts that innovation and flexibility will be needed to succeed in his goals. His plan started with little more than "a boat" and "habits like to merchants" to disguise their infiltration; "the rest [as he says] we'll [have to] counsel as we go" (1.3.239-241). Armusia is

unwavering in his willingness to risk all. But he also exhibits a tendency to hoard honour and fame – a characteristic that echoes Shakespeare’s Henry V. Armusia, like his Shakespearean precedent, employs motivational speech to rally his small band of men by proclaiming:

Better a few – and clearer fame will follow us,
 However lose or win, and speak our memories –
 Than if we led out armies. Things done thus
 And of this noble weight will style us worthies (2.2.19-22).

The echo of Henry’s speech, perhaps familiar to those who followed the performances by the King’s Men, bolsters the sense of Armusia’s leadership abilities. The small group disguised as “trading merchant[s]” (2.2.30) is led by a man dedicated to getting things done, who takes pride in the fact that his “thoughts have not been idle nor my practice: [he anticipates,] The fire [gunpowder] I brought here with me shall *do* something” (emphasis added, 2.2.38-39). The doing is the critical point. Armusia exemplifies the argument that bold action and industry produce results, and that little to no regard should be given to the matter of process. That is, collateral damage suffered by innocent bystanders to the explosion Armusia initiates is of little concern (another echo of Henry V who pays no regard to his responsibility for the women and children left suffering as men kill and were killed in the siege of Harfleur). The ends justify the means. The language used to promote bold action so that victory may be achieved and to measure success in terms of outcomes that ignored the costs or risks taken demonstrated a selective leveraging of traditional military measures of heroics in shaping business conduct. The tactics of battlefield victory were translated into success in business leadership by gaining advantage and “fair Fortune” (2.2.9) in the lucrative spice trade

competition. The contest over trade domination in the Islands adapted a militaristic code of conduct to a mercantile code of conduct, creating an imagined ideal merchant knight or hero. This is a pattern seen, too, in Munday's and Webster's Shows and particularly in the "worthy patriot" Thomas White who had defended the Crown and City against a coup attempt, in their focus to win the battle for trade.

Bold, individual action is valued more highly as a sign of worth than taking a conservative approach. That point is made clearer still by the negative example set by Rui Dias, whose negotiation tactics fail to produce outcomes. Rather than "do and prosper: [he] stand[s] protesting, / Kissing the hand and farting for a favour, / When he should be about his business *sweating*" (2.6.50-52, emphasis added). In many ways Rui Dias is feminized as a speaker rather than as an appropriately masculine doer and for that reason he fails: he is admonished by his younger nephew that he failed to "make yourself a fortune – by a lady" (2.6.54). Instead of industry and action, then, Rui Dias exhibits the failure of sloth, indecision and words without action (2.6.91). The lesson he imparts is that spoken promises are without worth or profit unless backed by action that delivers on the promise.

Armusia, too, risks a setback when he hesitates to take decisive action to compel Quisara to fulfill her end of the bargain. He refuses to act without her consent when Quisara attempts to delay fulfilling her promise in "her own word and her honour" (2.6.155) that the "man that would be known my lover/ Must be known his [her brother's] redeemer" (1.2.147-48). Rather than demand by force that Quisara's commitment to offer herself as reward to her brother's rescuer be upheld, Armusia mopes about - as his friends say, "Sighing and sobbing like a sullen schoolboy, / And cursing goodwife Fortune for this favour" (3.2.17-18). In fact, his

colleagues take him to task and urge him to claim his well-earned compensation. In the following exchange, the repetition of “do” illustrates how this play links this verb with concepts of Fortune, profit and reward. Armusia asks: “What would you have me do?” (3.2.19) to which Sousa, one of his party, replies,

Do what you should do,
 What a man would do in this case, a wise man
 An understanding man that knows a woman,
 Knows her and all her tricks, her scorns and all her trifles;
 Go to her and take her in your arms and shake her.
 Take her and toss her like a bar (3.2.20-24).

Clearly this advice crosses the bounds of sexual consent, but it demonstrates how action and successful outcome is privileged above virtue. The man of action, forceful and driven to achieve his goals, is tutored by his colleagues that to succeed in claiming his fortune – be it material wealth or by securing the path to gain future material wealth through marriage – he must remain committed and take whatever steps necessary to win his objectives. Virtue ethics and duty to respect the rights of other agents in the collective be damned. Bold action wins Fortune and gets the girl.

A teleological focus in business decision-making privileges outcomes over process. The method of achievement is secondary, a duty of care for other actors in the network gives way to a narrow focus on material results. Worth or worthiness, terms frequently applied in the play, is measured in acts successfully accomplished. Quisara imagines the man she could love enough to convert her religion and give up her freedom is only a man who is a “well-deserving

soul [that] *works* out a favour” (emphasis added, 1.2.64). McManus glosses this descriptor as suggesting someone who “arrives at grace through proven achievements” (note to 1.2.64). Proof or material evidence of “work” is indicative, in Quisara’s mind, of an “inward man... lined with virtue” (1.2.63). The worth of the man she claims to love is proven by the value of his actions. He is “valiant,/An active man, able to build a fortune” (1.2.66-67). And it is Armusia, of course, who proves the kind of well-deserving man who wins her love and builds his fortune. She gives up both her autonomy and her faith; the foreign princess is fully transferred to the bold European venturer. European intervention is seen to grant the Islanders harmony where “[n]o more guns now nor hates, but joys and triumphs/ And universal gladness fly about us” (5.5.91-92), a message that transfer of a prized foreign princess to a European venturer ultimately produces peace between hostile foreign lands. The English fantasy is complete; it is materialized in the handover of people and land.

Both the Grocers’ Show and Fletcher’s play contributed to debates about how best to respond to the economic depression and address poverty and unemployment. They modelled alternative and acceptable business practice. As cultural performances, they engaged in the public conversation in ways that were more interrogatory than parliament committee reports and merchant treatises. Fletcher’s choice of Portuguese hero presented one alternative path to business success: travel to an overseas trading hotspot, use bold action to take advantage of whatever opportunity presents itself, keep your focus on the end game, and win the competition for control of foreign resources. In this way, Armusia serves as the ideal global business agent. His story carries foreign business practice back to the London market and encouraged the local population to take up the fantasy that overseas ventures are the means to

a better future. Ambitious business agents who profit from lucrative overseas ventures could make the good life a reality.

The idea of a self-made man, a fantasy that still affects business decisions, offered a way out of a depressed economy and poor prospects. The promotion of this model in Middleton's *Show* and Fletcher's play, I suggest, offered more than entertainment and escapism; rather these performances offered promise of a better future. They demonstrated that tangible actions are evidence of worth and can be measured in ways that words and promises never can. Acting on stage promoted acting in life, a necessary means to achieve positive results. As these performances demonstrate, most valued of all are results of domination and control over foreign agents and resources so that value can be translated into worth for English agents.

In boldly acting, as Fletcher's *Armusia* does, and focusing on "the mighty power of Industry" to earn "glory" and triumphantly take one's place in the "Castle of Fame" as Middleton's *show* insists (6, 13), these performances address arguments about England's comparatively poor standing in the competition for global trade and suggest a way forward. Hugh Dunthorne, in examining views held by the British of their Dutch competitors, highlights that they very frequently shared the opinion that the Dutch were a "most industrious people" and that their industriousness explained how they had gained a clear competitive lead, often at the expense of the English (Sir Walter Raleigh qtd in Dunthorne 119). Moreover, Dunthorne notes that "[u]nderlying everything that was said was the assumption that the conditions of Dutch commercial success could be recreated in England and that the English had the potential to do – indeed to outdo – what the Dutch had done" (124). If English business agents sought to differentiate themselves from the Dutch in the global trade market, as Dunthorne's argument

convincingly indicates,²⁴⁵ or to be “distinguished” from the Portuguese as Loomba concludes,²⁴⁶ then they needed to work out how to adapt their business practices and habits to best realize this dream. The two theatrical performances addressed in this chapter demonstrate a collective working through of ideas about business conduct.

As these performances translated and gave material shape to the global world, they also constituted, in a dialogic exchange with audiences, a sense that by connecting, consuming and controlling that global world, English agents would attain the good life. *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* and *The Island Princess* are two examples that present a sustained argument that industry, ambition and initiative are necessary to accumulate wealth and honour. Their argument encourages public acceptance of business practices and behaviours that dismiss traditional codes of moral behaviour and expectations that business agents act in socially responsible ways. What these performances showcase, then, is the ineffectiveness of business leadership models that promote behaviours often perceived as shortcomings of a capitalist ideology – self-interest in the place of community duty and virtue-based ethical choice. These performances indicate that, despite the popular and rather romantic belief that communal duty and virtue-based ethics should be the primary guiding principles for decision-making, what really matters, even in Jacobean England, is getting things done. If one hopes for public recognition and acknowledgement of success, then priority must be placed on those acts that

²⁴⁵ Both Dunthorne and Nocentelli highlight the Amboyna/ Amboina pamphleteering propaganda as an important indication of the Anglo-Dutch contest and the perceptions of moral difference from the Dutch that the English promoted.

²⁴⁶ A point that Loomba establishes is that “English colonial rhetoric distinguished their own practices of overseas trading from the aggressive ‘conquests’ of the Spanish or the Portuguese.” She also points out that “[a]s Raman suggests, these national differences also map onto those between a landed gentry and an emergent merchant class within England, the former being more heavily invested in New World plantations, and the latter in Eastern trading” (*Break Her Will* 94).

produce material results. Acting “as-if” becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy where public recognition is granted for achievement of external measures of success.

Conclusion

Theatrical performances in the Jacobean period contributed to the business norms and behaviours in how they reiterated expectations of how business transactions were to be carried out in the everyday. The performances selected for this project, with business characters at their centre (goldsmiths, aspiring business leaders and entrepreneurs, global venturers), were crafted by Munday, Middleton, Fletcher, Webster and Jonson – all playwrights with the reputation and experience to be sought after by commercial business agents. Their contracted work was funded by collections of livery company membership fees and fines or a mix of theatre company ticket revenues and patronage; thus, their compensation in all instances was the result of English market exchange transactions. That these playwrights were materially rewarded for aesthetic work stands as a sign of the value attributed to their output and suggests the client anticipated some form of return, financial and/or social, from their monetary investment. Part of the value that these works carry forward to scholars today is that they provide a glimpse of Jacobean attitudes and perceptions held about business activities and the agents who strove to sustain industry traditions, aspired to take up market leadership roles, and dreamed up new ventures. Common to these performances is the assumption that business agents were motivated to find ways to realize their fantasies of a life of worth, most often measured by degree of material accumulation. It is also important to remember that each of the theatrical performances responded to and engaged with a shared network of memories, circulating ideas and events that occurred in the creators' own lifetimes. Of particular interest to me is the fact that as they reflected, embodied and constructed instances of business acts

and decisions, these performances also revealed the underlying ethical priorities expected normally to guide business agents' choices.

As I noted at the outset of this dissertation, a surprising outcome of my preliminary research was to find there was a scarcity of evidence to suggest either virtuous conduct or community duty and obligations were the ethical standards by which business agents were expected to make their decisions and to choose their actions. My analysis of the six performances concerned with business agents and their practices revealed nothing that refuted that preliminary finding – in each of the case studies, an objective of bottom-line profit is the main incentive motivating business agents' behaviour. In fact, the agents who were presented in these performances as being successful and/or model leaders were those whose good life status was determined by the degree of material wealth amassed and, in turn, the level of social capital they had secured. The business agents in these performances reveal a pattern of normalized behaviour and the lesson they regularly imparted was that their success had been achieved because they had concentrated on teleological outcomes or end results. In addition to a common refrain of individual ambition and self-fashioning as the explanation for triumph in business, the case studies also highlight a growing and shared sense that the greatest success would come to those agents who were involved in global trade and expansion of control over foreign resources. The performances indicate support and tolerance for risk-taking and experimenting with innovation in business, particularly in those performances crafted after the collapse of the cloth market. Given the disruption within the English market in the early seventeenth century, acceptance of riskier strategies was an understandable response. The collapse of previously held beliefs and expectations of how the future would unfold forced a

revision to what Jens Beckert would argue is the future-oriented “fictional expectations” or “imaginaries” held by business agents that have a dynamic effect on the market (34, 9).

Economic crisis forces agents to re-imagine their future and serves as a stimulus that prompts innovations and changes in how business is conducted and what goods and services are developed. The decay of traditional trade and ongoing economic disruption in the period compelled agents across the English network to let go of previously held assumptions about how they would earn their living. The future they now struggled to forecast was necessarily quite different from that of their predecessors. How the future was imagined affected agents’ choices amongst alternatives, and their fantasy of “the good life” had a real impact on everyday markets. Theatrical performances, in their translation of abstract ideas to embodied, material acts, were important influences on the imaginations and the expectations that drove business behaviour.

My work extends earlier scholarly investigations of theatre as a form of business that was “of” the market (Bruster, Agnew) and adds, too, to research that explores how performances reflected economic theory and policy as it developed in the early modern period (Ryner, Forman). In this project I move beyond performance as simply reflective of its time to consider the performative effects and influence it must have had upon the identities of business agents and the norms of business practice. My project has challenged and complicated assumptions that there was a moral shift in the period that eventually led to the growth in acceptance of what has come to be described as capitalist self-interest. What these Jacobean civic and commercial performances reveal is how common it was to expect that business agents would pursue end goals above all else, and that within the English market this

was viewed as laudable business practice. This expectation was already solidly in place by Munday's 1611 Lord Mayor's Show, the earliest performance I examined. Over the course of the next twenty-five years covered by the remaining five performances in my sample, the assumption held that a self-interested agent's main objective was to accumulate wealth. By James' reign, business agents were being schooled by a variety of contemporary social exchanges and cultural performances to believe that if they wanted to improve their chances of achieving material wealth, and thus be able to express their individual worth to others and secure the good life, they needed to focus on taking action that would produce those end results.

The business records and codes of conduct of London livery companies as well as merchant treatises and government proclamations and policies contain evidence of the processes that contributed to the business norm-making of the period. Still, these texts offer a more restricted view of the underlying ethical priorities, habits and attachments to the idea that a business agent conforms to a certain type of identity – all factors that influenced agents' everyday actions. What only becomes apparent via the study of theatrical performance, in the embodied interplay of characters actively participating and transacting in an imagined market, is the paradox of business agents behaving “badly” yet still being accepted by fellow agents as examples of success. Although the business people represented in these performances regularly violate ethics – of truth, integrity and compassionate care of other agents in the network – they are still granted public recognition for their accomplishments. In this way, performance reveals the ambiguity inherent to beliefs held. On the one hand, what was preached was a code of virtue – the importance of carrying out duty toward others in the

community – yet, on the other hand, the people celebrated were those who had gained security and success by realizing their individual desire for material end results. Despite public admonitions to be guided by virtue ethics and duties to others, tolerance for a very differently aligned set of business behaviors displayed in these theatrical performances reveals the real, unwritten and unspoken, code of conduct that agents were advised and expected to follow – a moral standard that prioritized output over process.

My research has highlighted the constructedness and performativity of business identities, showing individuals whose ethics are firmly grounded in teleological purpose and end results. These findings worry or question the assumption that a self-interested capitalism is an economic system that insinuated its way into our present-day, more globalized, market network with the advent of increasingly impersonal associations and transactions. The idea that a moral shift toward teleological measurements began to occur in the pre-capitalist early modern period and that this standard became more deeply entrenched with the intensification of industrialized practices and colonial exploitation is challenged by repeated patterns found across the performances studied in this project. A commonly held assumption that there existed a kinder, gentler marketplace before the advent of bourgeois, mercantilist capitalism, seems questionable in light of the public attitudes expressed through the performances I examined. Rather than portraying business agents as unusually greedy or shockingly willing to exploit other agents in pursuing end goals, the performances reveal how routine it was to expect them to be selfish and self-serving. Not only was it normal to expect the worst of businessmen, they were also celebrated and held up as ideal models if they successfully accumulated measurable material wealth – no matter who or what else was sacrificed along

the way. The repeated display of outcome-driven ethics in public performances, particularly when it was accepted without censure, naturalized this code of conduct as rational business choice. Undivided attention to end goals – the fantasy of the good life - justified whatever ethical compromises were made along the way. In the face of precarity and heightened anxiety brought on by market crises, the certainty of material measures offered a sense of comfort that a better future was still within reach. If there was a shift in ideas about “how” business success was best achieved, the performances of this period suggest it was more likely to have been in adopting a change in tools and technologies – by way of global exploration and foreign trade – rather than a re-ordering of ethical priorities. Instead of an adjustment to the previously held conduct codes and beliefs, this change was a shift in choice of actions and means of accumulation that affected how agents first imagined their futures and then chose to act.

What began as a quest to find evidence of a different kind of business morality, one that predated a rational, teleologically driven *homo economicus* (aka a capitalist) developed over the course of my research into a deeper sense of certainty that it is important to carefully attend to the stories still told today about business agents and ideal market leaders. Theatrical performances continue to reiterate and reinforce what it means to be successful in business, even as they criticize particular practices: Lucy Prebble’s *Enron* (2009) and Stefano Massini’s *The Lehman Brothers Trilogy* (adapted by Ben Power, 2018) are two recent examples. Unless there is deeper awareness and understanding of how business identity is constructed and a serious effort made to examine business narratives that are repeatedly performed and

disseminated, the risk is that teleological ethics will remain a priority in business. A focus on bottom-line, short-term results will continue to be treated as rational and acceptable norms for business behaviour and will continue to be held up as ideal standards to guide individuals as they strive to achieve their fantasy of the good life. The potential implication of unquestioningly accepting this mindset is an issue that I grapple with quite regularly in the day-to-day pressures of working as an assistant professor of accounting expected to prepare students for a business career. To establish a clearer sense of how a critical approach to research firmly grounded in a humanities training can be a highly effective means of engaging with present day business problems, I plan to continue to explore how performances both expose and ratify business practices. How are business identities naturalized and how do unwritten codes of business conduct become standardized behaviour through their representation on the contemporary stage? These are questions that might be investigated by looking at the role of modern dramas and adaptations of early modern plays in shaping and sustaining business norms. Critical investigations of contemporary business practices that take up humanities-based theories of performance and identity would address an existing gap in business-specific research (where the works of twentieth-century theorists such as the sociologists Erving Goffman and Pierre Bourdieu have become household names while other theories of identity and affect have yet to be applied by scholars in the discipline).

I am particularly interested in how leadership ideals carryover from the historical past and how standards of material success repeat in contemporary reiterations and adaptations of centuries-old plays and civic rituals. When examining new forms and mediums that take up the subject of the business agent, I intend to heed the call to think about how they are haunted, as

Marvin Carlson might say, by past performances – looking at, for instance, how Lucy Prebble’s creation of Jeff Skilling, the CEO of Enron, is haunted by William Shakespeare’s Henry V.

Early seventeenth-century performances offer us a legacy narrative of what it takes to be a successful business leader – a willingness to prioritize outcomes over process, to fashion oneself according to external signs, to measure worth in capital accumulation, and to remain committed to achievement and bold action no matter the risk to oneself or others. The performances studied in this dissertation reveal a fixation on bottom-line, end results that works to bind business agents to act in ways that threaten the very sustainability and stability of their good life fantasies. Lauren Berlant describes this kind of mindset, where material measurement and use of capital accumulation stand in for an agent’s value and worth, as cruelly optimistic – a state of being that keeps individuals “bound to a situation of profound threat that is, at the same time, profoundly confirming” (2). The good life fantasy remains a key driver of business agents’ behaviour today. The genealogy of the idea that all it takes to succeed as a business agent is a willingness to act boldly and be willing to sacrifice whatever is takes – even if that is truth, fairness, duty to others – can be traced to the examples of business agents modelled by my case study performances. And today’s business students find themselves in a place not so very different from the audiences for those performances. They strive toward future success in a business world where profit generated confirms corporate value and thus justifies the ever-escalating salaries that confirm executive worth. The pressure to maximize the bottom-line leads to continual inflation of the numbers (whether GPA or corporate profit) and, in turn, undercuts the relative value ascribed to them. An endlessly cruel loop of escalating pressure to perform, to stay ahead in the competitive game and win the bid

to attain status and recognition, prevents the good life from being realized once and for all.

What gets measured gets performed; what is performed is what is measured. The four-centuries-old stories continue to be recycled and repeated and continue to find their intended audiences.

Works Cited

- Acts of the Privy Council of England. Volume 38, 1621-1623.* Edited by J V Lyle. *British History Online*, www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol38/pp501-522. Originally published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1932, pp. 501–26.
- Agnew, Jean-Christophe. "Coming up for Air: Consumer Culture in Historical Perspective." *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter. Routledge, 1993, pp. 19-39.
- . *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750.* Cambridge UP, 1986.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *The Future as Cultural Fact: Essays on the Global Condition.* Verso, 2013.
- Appleby, Joyce. "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought." *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter. Routledge, 1993, pp. 162-73.
- Arblaster, Paul. "Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European System of Communications." *News Networks in Seventeenth – Century Britain and Europe*, edited by Joad Raymond. Routledge, 2006, pp. 19-34.
- Armitage, David. "Purchas, Samuel (bap. 1577, d. 1626), geographical editor and compiler and Church of England clergyman." Oxford UP, 2007. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22898
- "baggage, n. and adj., 6." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/14622.

- Bakhtin, Mikhail. "Discourse in the Novel." *The Dialogic Imagination*. Edited by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. U of Texas P, 1981, pp. 259-422.
- Barbour, Richmond. *Before Orientalism: London's Theatres of the East, 1576–1626*. Cambridge UP, 2003.
- Bayer, Mark. *Theatre, Community and Civic Engagement in Jacobean London*. U of Iowa P, 2011.
- Bayley, Justine. "Medieval Precious Metal Refining: Archaeology and Contemporary Texts Compared." *Archaeology, History and Science: Integrating Approaches to Ancient Materials*, edited by Marcos Martín-Torres and Thilo Rehren. Left Coast P, 2009, pp. 131–50.
- Beckert, Jens. *Imagined Futures: Fictional Expectations and Capitalist Dynamics*. Harvard UP, 2016.
- Bennett, Judith. *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism*, U of Pennsylvania P, 2006.
- Bergeron, David. "Anthony Munday, Anthony (bap. 1560, d. 1633), playwright and translator." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2007, www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.01.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19531>
- . *English Civic Pageantry, 1558 – 1642*. U of South Carolina P, 1971.
- , editor. *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry* by Thomas Middleton, annotated by Kate Levin. *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino. Clarendon P, 2007, pp. 1253-63.

Berlant, Lauren. *Cruel Optimism*. Duke UP, 2011.

Bethencourt, Francisco. "Low Cost Empire: Interaction Between the Portuguese and Local Societies in Asia." *Rivalry and Conflict: European Traders and Asian Trading Networks in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, edited by Ernst van Veen and Leonard Blussé. CNWS Publications, 2005, pp. 108-30.

Boatright, John. *Ethics and the Conduct of Business*. 3rd ed., Prentice Hall. 1999.

---. *Ethics and the Conduct of Business*. 7th ed., Prentice Hall. 2011.

Brissenden, Alan. Introduction. *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* by Thomas Middleton. A&C Black, 2007, pp. xi-xxxv.

Busino, Orazio. *Orazio Busino's Eyewitness Account of The Triumphs of Honour and Industry*, translated by Kate Levin. *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino. Clarendon P, 2007, pp. 1264-1270.

Brewer, John and Roy Porter, editors. *Consumption and the World of Goods*. Routledge, 1993.

Bruster, Douglas. *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare*. Cambridge UP, 2005.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2007

--. "Performative Agency." *Journal of Cultural Economy*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2010, pp. 147-161. *Taylor and Francis Online*. doi.org/10.1080/17530350.2010.494117

Callon, Michel, editor. *The Laws of the Markets*. Blackwell P, 1998.

Carlson, Marvin. *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*. U of Michigan P, 2003.

Carnegie, David, and MacDonald Jackson, editors. *The Works of John Webster: An Old-Spelling Critical Edition*, Vol. 3. By John Webster, Cambridge UP, 2007.

Carruthers, Bruce. *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution*.

Princeton UP, 1999. EBSCOhost,

ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&

db=sih&AN=77942553&site=ehost-live.

Carruthers, Bruce and Sarah Babb. *Economy/Society: Markets, Meanings, and Social Structure*.

2nd ed., Sage, 2013.

Cerasano, S.P. "Henslowe's Diary (1591-1609): MSS 7, folios 11r, 65v, and 90r." Henslowe-

Alleyn Digitisation Project, www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/essays/henslowediary.

Challis, C.E. "Lord Hastings to the Great Silver Recoinage: 1464-1699." *A New History of the*

Royal Mint, edited by Challis, Cambridge UP, 1992, pp. 179-397.

Chamorro-Premuzic, Tomas. "Why Bad Guys Win at Work." *Harvard Business Review*, Nov. 2,

2015. hbr.org/2015/11/why-bad-guys-win-at-work.

Chaudhuri, K.N. *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company*

1600-1640. Frank Cass & Co./ A.M. Kelley, 1965.

Christensen Hughes, Julia, and Donald McCabe. "Academic Misconduct Within Higher Education

in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2006, pp. 1-21.

Clucas, Stephen, and Rosalind Davies, editors. Introduction. *The Crisis of 1614 and the Addled*

Parliament: Literary and Historical Perspectives. Ashgate, 2003.

Coleman, David. *John Webster, Renaissance Artist*. Edinburgh UP, 2010. ProQuest,

ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-

ebooks/detail.action?docID=624261.

Cresswell, Tim. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Blackwell, 2004.

Davies, Matthew, and Ann Saunders. *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*. Maney P/The Merchant Taylors' Company, 2004.

Davies, Rosalind. "Intervention in the Cloth Trade: Richard Hakluyt, the New Draperies and the Cockayne Project of 1614." *The Crisis of 1614 and the Addled Parliament: Literary and Historical Perspectives*. Edited by Stephen Clucas and Rosalind Davies. Ashgate, 2003, pp. 113–26.

Deng, Stephen. *Coinage and State Formation In Early Modern Literature*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

--. "Global Oeconomy: Ben Jonson's *The Staple of News* and the Ethics of Mercantilism." *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, edited by Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 245–63.

Dent, Chris. "Generally Inconvenient: The 1624 Statute of Monopolies as Political Compromise." *Melbourne U Law Review*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2009, pp. 415–53. *HeinOnline*, heinonline-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/mulr33&i=423.

de Vries, Jan. "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe." *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter. Routledge, 1993, pp. 85–132.

---. "The Economic Crisis of the Seventeenth Century after Fifty Years." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2009, pp. 151–94.

---. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. Cambridge UP, 2008.

- Digges, Dudley. *The Defence of Trade*. William Stansby for John Barnes, 1615. *EEBO*, gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:10226.
- Dunthorne, Hugh. *Britain and the Dutch Revolt 1560-1700*. Cambridge UP, 2013.
- Dutton, Richard. *Jacobean Civic Pageants*. Keele UP, 1995.
- . "Tales of a Life." *Ben Jonson in Context*, edited by Julie Sanders. Cambridge UP, 2010, pp. 5-14.
- Ferrell, O.C., et al. *Business Ethics: Ethical Decision Making and Cases*. 7th ed., Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008.
- Fletcher, John. *The Island Princess*, edited by Clare McManus. Methuen, 2013.
- Forman, Valerie. *Tragicomic Redemptions: Global Economics and the Early Modern Stage*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2008.
- "founder, n.2." Oxford UP, 2018. *OED Online*, www.oed.com/view/Entry/73942. Accessed 26 August 2018.
- Fowler, Kenneth. "Hawkwood, Sir John (d. 1394), military commander." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2009. www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.01.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12693>
- Gadd, Ian. "Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies." *Guilds, Society & Economy in London 1450-1800*, edited by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis. Centre for Metropolitan History Institute of Historical Research, 2002, pp. 29-50.

Games, Alison. "Violence on the Fringes: The Virginia (1622) and Amboyna (1623) Massacres."

The Journal of the Historical Association, June 2014. *Wiley Online*, doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1111/1468-229X.12064.

Gamon, Hannibal. "The Gouldesmythes Storehowse" 1604. Goldsmiths Company Library, London, GC MS CII.2.

Gelderbloom, Oscar, and Francesca Trivellato. "The Business History of the Preindustrial World: Towards a Comparative Historical Analysis." *Business History*, Feb 2018, doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2018.1426750.

Gibbons, Brian. *Jacobean City Comedy*. 2nd ed., Methuen, 1980.

Gil Harris, Jonathan, editor. *Indography: Writing the "Indian" in Early Modern England*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Gordon, D.J. and Jean Robertson, editors. *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London 1485–1640*. Malone Society, 1954.

Gould, J.D. "The Royal Mint in the Early Seventeenth Century." *The Economic History Review*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1952, pp. 240-48. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2591058.

---. "The Trade Depression of the Early 1620's." *The Economic History Review*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1954, pp. 81-90. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2591228.

Graeber, David. *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*. Palgrave, 2001.

Grassby, Richard. *The Business Community of Seventeenth Century England*. Cambridge UP, 1995.

Grav, Peter. *Shakespeare and the Economic Imperative: "What's aught but as 'tis valued?"*.

Routledge, 2008.

---. "Taking Stock of Shakespeare and the New Economic Criticism." *Shakespeare*, vol. 8, no.1, 2012, pp. 111-36.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonders of the New World*. U of Chicago P, 1991.

---. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. U of Chicago P, 2005.

Greif, Avner. *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade*. Cambridge UP, 2006.

Griffiths, Paul. "Politics made visible: order, residence and uniformity in Cheapside, 1600-45." *Londonopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, edited by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner, Manchester UP, 2000, pp.176-96.

Gurr, Andrew. *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*. 3rd ed. Cambridge UP, 2004.

---. *The Shakespeare Company, 1594 - 1642*. Cambridge UP, 2004.

---. *The Shakespearean Stage 1574 – 1642*. Cambridge UP, 2009.

Halikowski, Stefan. "'Profits Sprout Like Tropical Plants': A Fresh Look at What Went Wrong with the Eurasian Spice Trade c. 1550-1800." *Journal of Global History*, vol. 3, 2008, pp. 389-418.

Hanna, Willard. *Indonesian Banda: Colonialism and its Aftermath in the Nutmeg Islands*. Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978.

Harding, Vanessa. "Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 1, March 2008, pp. 77 – 96. *JSTOR*,
www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2008.71.1.77.

Harris, Tim, editor. *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1850*. Palgrave Macmillan, 1995.

---, editor. Introduction. *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1580-1850*. Palgrave, 2001.

---. *Rebellion: Britain's First Stuart Kings, 1567-1642*. Oxford UP, 2014.

Haru Crowston, Clare. "Economy and Material Life" *Writing Early Modern History*, edited by Garthine Walker, Hodder Arnold, 2015, pp. 159-82.

Hawkes, David. *Shakespeare and Economic Theory*. Bloomsbury P, 2015.

Heath, William. *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London*. C. Whittingham, 1854. *Hathi Trust*, hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081203176

Hentschell, Roze. *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Construction of a National Identity*. Ashgate, 2008.

Hill, Tracey. *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London, 1580-1633*. Manchester UP, 2004.

---. "'The Grocers Honour': or, Taking the City Seriously in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*." *Early Theatre*, vol. 20, no. 2, Dec. 2017, pp. 159-78. *EBSCOhost*, doi:10.12745/et.20-2.3256.

---. "'On the most Eminent seate thereof is Gouvernement Illustrated': Staging Power in the Lord Mayor's Show." *Staged Transgression in Shakespeare's England*, edited by Rory Loughnane and Edel Semple, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

---. *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585-1639*. Manchester UP, 2010.

Höfele, Andreas. *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold: Humans and Animals in Shakespeare's Theatre*. Oxford UP, 2011. *Oxford Scholarship Online*,
www.oxfordscholarship.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199567645.001.0001/acprof-9780199567645.

Hornby, Richard. *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception*. Associated University Presses, 1986.

Howard, Jean. "Afterword: Accommodating Change." *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, edited by Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp.265-74.

---. "Competing Ideologies of Commerce in Thomas Heywood's *If You Know not Me you Know Nobody, Part II*." *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, edited by Henry Turner, Routledge, 2002, pp. 163-82.

---. *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2007.

---, editor. Introduction. *The Reign of King Edward the Third. The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition: Histories*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, et al. 2nd ed., Norton, 2008, pp. 451-56.

---. *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England*. Routledge, 1994.

Howell, Martha. *Commerce Before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600*. Cambridge UP, 2010.

Hursthouse, Rosalind. *On Virtue Ethics*. Oxford UP, 1999.

"import, v." *OED* 3rd ed., March 2015. www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/Entry/92550

Israel, Jonathan. *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*. Clarendon P, 1989.

"jeering, n." Oxford UP, 2018. *OED Online*, www.oed.com/view/Entry/100980.

Jones, Norman. *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England*. Blackwell, 1989.

Jonson, Ben. *The Staple of News*. Edited by Anthony Parr, Manchester UP, 1988.

---. *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*. *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques*, edited by Stephen Orgel, Yale UP, 1970.

Jowitt, Claire. *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics, 1589-1642*. Manchester UP, 2003.

Kathman, David. "Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freeman and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 55, no. 1, Spring 2004, pp. 1-49. *Project MUSE*, doi:10.1353/shq.2004.0049

Kelsey, Harry. "Drake, Sir Francis (1540–1596), pirate, sea captain, and explorer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2009. www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8022

---. *Sir John Hawkins: Queen Elizabeth's Slave Trader*. Yale UP, 2003.

Kilburn-Toppin, Jasmine. *Crafting Artisanal Identities in Early Modern London: The Spatial, Material and Social Practices of Guild Communities c. 1560 – 1640*. Royal College of Art (UK), PhD Dissertation. *ProQuest*, ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/docview/1788102477?accountid=9838.

Kindleberger, Charles. "The Economic Crisis of 1619 to 1623." *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 149-75.

- Kinney, Arthur, editor. *Elizabethan and Jacobean England: Sources and Documents*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Kitch, Aaron. *Political Economy and the States of Literature in Early Modern England*. Ashgate, 2009.
- Knutson, Roslyn. *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time*. Cambridge UP, 2001. *Cambridge UP Online*,
doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1017/CBO9780511486043
- Lake, Peter and Steven Pincus, editors. *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*. Manchester UP, 2007.
- Larkin, James, and Paul Hughes. *Stuart Royal Proclamations. Vol. 1 Royal Proclamations of King James I 1603-1625*, Clarendon P, 1973.
- Latour, Bruno. "'Networks, Societies, Spheres: Reflections of an Actor network Theorist.'" 19 Feb. 2010, www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/121-CASTELLS-GB.pdf
- . *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford UP, 2007.
- . *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard UP, 1993.
- Leinwand, Theodore. "London Triumphant: The Jacobean Lord Mayor's Show." *Clio*, vol. 11, 1982, pp. 137-53.
- . *Theatre, Finance and Society in Early Modern England*. Cambridge UP, 1999.
- Levin, Kate, translator. *Orazio Busino's Eyewitness Account of The Triumphs of Honour and Industry. Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino. Clarendon P, 2007, 1264-70.

- . Introduction. *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry* by Thomas Middleton. *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino. Clarendon P, 2007, pp. 1251-53.
- Levine, Laura. *Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-theatricality and Effeminization, 1579-1642*. Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Levine, Nina. *Practicing the City: Early Modern London on Stage*. Fordham UP, 2016.
- Levy Peck, Linda. *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England*. Unwin Hyman, 1990.
- Lin, Erika. *Shakespeare and the Materiality of Performance*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Lobanov-Rostovsky, Sergei. "The Triumphes of Golde: Economic Authority in the Jacobean Lord Mayor's Show." *ELH*, vol. 60, no. 4, Winter 1993, pp. 879-98. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2873321.
- Loomba, Ania. "'Break her will, and bruise no bone sir': Colonial and Sexual Mastery in Fletcher's *The Island Princess*." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2002, pp. 68-108.
- . "Outsiders in Shakespeare's England." *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, edited by Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells. Cambridge UP, 2001.
- . *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*. Oxford UP, 2002.
- Lopez, Jeremy. *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge UP, 2003.
- Low, Jennifer, and Nova Myhill. *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama, 1558-1642*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Loxley, James. *The Complete Critical Guide to Ben Jonson*. Routledge, 2002.

---. *Performativity*. Routledge, 2007.

Lowenstein, Joseph. "Pennyboy's Delight: Ben Jonson, News, and the Conditions of Intellectual Property." *Daphnis*, vol. 37, no. 1-2, 2008, pp. 333-50.

MacKenzie, Donald. *An Engine, Not a Camera: How Financial Models Shape Markets*. MIT P, 2006.

---. *Material Markets: How Economic Agents are Constructed*. Oxford UP, 2009.

MacKenzie, Donald, et al, editors. *Do Economists Make Markets? On the Performativity of Economics*. Princeton UP, 2007.

Magnusson, Lars. *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language*. Taylor & Francis, 2002.

ProQuest Ebook Central, ebookcentral-proquest-
com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=178453.

---. *Mercantilist Theory and Practice*. Pickering and Chatto, 2008.

Matar, Nabil. *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*. UP of Florida, 2005.

McCabe, Donald, et al. "Cheating in Academic Institutions: A Decade of Research." *Ethics & Behaviour*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2001, pp. 219-32.

McDermott, James. "Frobisher, Sir Martin (1535?–1594), privateer, explorer, and naval commander." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2015.
www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10191>

McInnis, David. *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

McLoskey, Deirdre. *The Bourgeois Virtues: Ethics for an Age of Commerce*. U of Chicago P, 2006.

McManus, Clare, editor. Introduction. *The Island Princess* by John Fletcher. Methuen, 2013.

McMullan, Gordon. *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher*. U of Massachusetts P, 1994.

Middleton, Thomas. *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*. Edited by Alan Brissenden. A&C Black, 2007.

---. *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry*. Nicholas Okes, 1617. EEBO.

gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-
2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:12907

Milton, Anthony. "Marketing a Massacre: Amboyna, the East India Company and the Public Sphere in Early Stuart England." *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, edited by Peter Lake and Steven Pincus. Manchester UP, 2007.

Mishra, Rupali. *Merchants, Commerce, and the State: The East India Company in Early Stuart England*. 2010. Princeton U, PhD Dissertation. ProQuest, search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/docview/761622445?accountid=9838.

Misselden, Edward. *The Circle of Commerce or the Ballance of Trade, In Defence of Free Trade*.

Nicholas Bourne, 1623. EEBO,
gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-
2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:21792

---. *Free Trade or the Meanes to Make Trade Flourish*. Simon Waterson, 1622. EEBO,

gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-
2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:177945.

Morgan, Basil. "Hawkins, Sir John (1532–1595), merchant and naval commander." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2007.

www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.01.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12672>

Moulier-Boutang, Yann. *Cognitive Capitalism*. Translated by Ed Emery, Polity P, 2011.

Muggli, Mark. "Ben Jonson and the Business of News." *SEL*, vol. 32, no. 2, 1992, pp. 323-41. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/450739.

Muldrew, Craig. "Economic and Urban Development." *A Companion to Stuart Britain*. Edited by Barry Coward, Blackwell, 2003, pp. 148-65.

---. *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*. Palgrave, 1998.

---. "From a 'Light Cloak' to the 'Iron Cage': An Essay on Historical Changes in the Relationship Between Community and Individualism." *Communities in Early Modern England*. Edited by Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, Manchester UP, 2000, pp. 156-79.

---. "Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England." *Social History*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1993, pp. 163-83.

Mulgan, Geoff. "The Process of Social Innovation." *Innovations*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2006, pp. 145-62. *MIT Press Journals*, doi.org/10.1162/itgg.2006.1.2.145.

Mun, Thomas. *A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies*. Nicholas Okes for John Pyper, 1621. EEBO, gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:1252

---. *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*. A.M. Kelley, 1965. Originally published by F.G. for Thomas Clark, 1664.

- Munday, Anthony. *Chruso-thriambos: The Triumphes of Golde*. Edited by J.H.P. Pafford, [University of London], 1962. Originally published by William Jaggard, 1611.
- Munro, John. "The Coinages and Monetary Policies of Henry VIII (r 1509-47): Coinage Debasements, The Coinage Changes of Henry VIII." *The Collected Works of Erasmus: Letters 1926 to 2081, A.D. 1528*. Translated by Charles Fantazzi and annotated by James Estes, U of Toronto P, 2011, pp. 423-76.
- "mystery, n.10." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, June 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/124644.
- Neill, Michael. *Putting History to the Question: Power, Politics, and Society in English Renaissance Drama*. Columbia UP, 2000.
- Newman, Kira. "Shutt Up: Bubonic Plague and Quarantine in Early Modern England." *Journal of Social History*, vol. 45, no. 3, Spring 2012, pp. 809-34. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41678910.
- Nevitt, Marcus. "Ben Jonson and the Serial Publication of News." *News Networks in Seventeenth – Century Britain and Europe*, edited by Joad Raymond. Routledge, 2006, pp. 51-66.
- Nocentelli, Carmen. *Empires of Love: Europe, Asia, and the Making of Early Modern Identity*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2013.
- . "Spice Race: The Island Princess and the Politics of Transnational Appropriation." *PMLA*, vol. 125, no. 3, 2010, pp. 572 – 588. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25704457.
- O'Brien, Patrick. "Mercantilism and Imperialism in the Rise and Decline of the Dutch and British Economies, 1585-1815." *De Economist*, vol. 148, no. 4, 2000, pp. 469-501. *Springer*, [doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1023/A:1004130032200](https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1004130032200).

- O'Brien, Terence. "The London Livery Companies and the Virginia Company." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 68, no. 2, Apr. 1960, pp. 137-55. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4246634.
- O'Callaghan, Michelle. "Tragicomedy and the City: *Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*." *Thomas Middleton: Renaissance Dramatist*. Edinburgh UP, 2009, pp.67-89. Proquest Ebook Central, ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=434309.
- "office, n., 2a." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/130640.
- "orfever, n." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, June 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/132415.
- "orfeverie, n." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, June 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/132416.
- Orléan, André. *The Empire of Value: A New Foundation for Economics*. Translated by M.B. DeBevoise. MIT P, 2014. ProQuest Ebook, ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3339816
- Ormrod, W. Mark. *Edward III*. Yale UP, 2012.
- Ostovich, Helen, et al. *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*. U of Delaware P, 2008.
- Pafford, John. Introduction. *Chruso-thriambos: The Triumphs of Gold*, by Anthony Munday. [University of London], 1962.
- Parr, Anthony, editor. *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*. Manchester UP, 1995.
- Parthasarathi, Prasannan. *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not*. Cambridge UP, 2011.

Pettegree, Andrew. *The Invention of the News: How the World Came to Know About Itself*. Yale UP, 2014.

Phillips, Wendy, et al. "Social Innovations and Social Entrepreneurship: A Systematic Review." *Group and Organization Management*, vol. 40, no. 3, 2015, pp. 428-461. *Sage Journals*, journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/doi/full/10.1177/1059601114560063.

Piketty, Thomas. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Harvard UP, 2014.

Poovey, Mary. *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society*. U of Chicago P, 1998.

Prideaux, Walter. *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company, Being Gleanings From Their Records Between the Years 1335 and 1815, with an Introduction and Notes*. Vol. 1, Eyre and Spottiswood, 1896. Hathi Trust, hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951002014962d

Purchas, Samuel. "The Fift Booke. Of the East Indies, and of the Seas and Ilands about Asia, with their Religions" (550). *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in al Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present. In Foure Parts*. William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1617. *EEBO*, gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:22578

Rabb, Theodore. *Enterprise & Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in The Expansion of England, 1575-1630*. Harvard UP, 1967.

Ramage, Andrew and Paul Craddock, et al. *King Croesus' Gold: Excavations at Sardis and the History of Gold Refining*. Harvard UP, 2000.

Raman, Shankar. *Framing 'India': The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture*. Stanford UP, 2002.

---. *Renaissance Literature and Postcolonial Studies*. Edinburgh UP, 2011.

Rappaport, Steve. *Worlds Within World: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London*. Cambridge UP, 1989.

Rapple, Rory. "Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (1537–1583), explorer and soldier." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2012.

www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10690>

Raymond, Joad, editor. "Networks, Communication, Practice." Introduction. *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain*. Edited by Raymond, Routledge, 2006, pp. 1-18.

---. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge UP, 2003.

Reddaway, T.F. "Elizabethan London - Goldsmiths' Row in Cheapside, 1558-1645." *Guildhall Miscellany*, vol. 2., 1963, pp. 181-206.

Reddaway, T.F., and Lorna Walker. *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327-1509/ The Book of Ordinances 1478-83*. Edward Arnold, 1975.

Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. Columbia UP, 1996.

Roberts, Lewes. *The Treasure of Traffike or a Discourse of Forraigne Trade*. Nicholas Bourne, 1641. EEBO, gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:96715.

Rozik, Eli. *Comedy: A Critical Introduction*. Sussex Academic P, 2011.

- Ryner, Bradley. "Panoramic View of Mercantile Thought." *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, edited by Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 77-94.
- . *Performing Economic Thought: English Drama and Mercantile Writing, 1600-1642*. Edinburgh UP, 2013.
- Sanders, Julie. *Ben Jonson's Theatrical Republics*. Macmillan P, 1998.
- . *The Cambridge Introduction to Early Modern Drama, 1576-1642*. Cambridge UP, 2014.
- . *Feigning Commonwealths?: Ben Jonson and Republicanism, Two Volumes*. U of Warwick, PhD dissertation. *U of Warwick institutional repository*, wrap.warwick.ac.uk/66664/.
- . "Print, Popular Culture, Consumption and Commodification in *The Staple of News*." *Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics, and the Jonsonian Canon*, Edited by Julie Sanders with Kate Chedgozy and Susan Wiseman. Macmillan P, 1998.
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* translated by David Jacobson. Vintage Books, 1992.
- Schülting, Sabine. "'What Is't You Lack?' Material Culture in Thomas Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*." *Litteraria Pragensia: Studies in Literature and Culture*, vol. 24, no. 47, July 2014, pp. 97-111.
- Scott, William Robert. *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*. Vol. 2, Cambridge UP, 1910. *Hathi Trust*. babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112F084266672;view=thumb;seq=9

- Sebek, Barbara. Introduction. *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, edited by Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp.1-15.
- Sebek, Barbara and Stephen Deng, editors. *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Sen, Amrita. *Trading India: Commerce, Spectacle, and Otherness, in Early Modern England*. 2011. Michigan State U, PhD dissertation. ProQuest, search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/docview/887897305?accountid=9838.
- Shepard, Alexandra. *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England*. Oxford UP, 2015.
- Sleigh-Johnson, Nigel. *The Merchant Taylor's Company of London 1580 – 1645: with Special Reference to Politics and Government*. University College London, PhD Dissertation. discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1317795/1/284941.pdf.
- . "The Merchant Taylors' Company of London under Elizabeth I: Tailor's Guild or Company of Merchants?" *Costume*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2007, pp. 45-52.
- Smith, Ian. "Managing Fear: The Commerce in Blackness and the Lord Mayors' Shows." *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theater*, edited by Ronda Arab, Michelle Dowd, Adam Zucker. Routledge, 2015.
- Smith, Thomas. *A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England*. Edited by Mary Dewar. Folger Shakespeare Library/ UP of Virginia, 1969. Originally published by T. Marshe, 1581.

- Soares da Cunha, Mafalda. "Portuguese Nobility and Overseas Government: The Return to Portugal (16th to 17th centuries)." *Rivalry and Conflict: European Traders and Asian Trading Networks in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, edited by Ernst van Veen and Leonard Blussé. CNWS Publications, 2005, pp. 35-54.
- Sofer, Andrew. *The Stage Life of Props*. U of Michigan P, 2003.
- Souza, George. *Portuguese, Dutch and Chinese in Maritime Asia: Merchants, Commodities and Commerce*. Ashgate, 2014.
- States, Bert. *The Pleasure of the Play*. Cornell UP, 1994.
- Stephenson, Jenn. "Singular Impressions: Meta-theatre on Renaissance Celebrities and Corpses." *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2007, pp. 137-53. *EBSCOhost*, doi:10.1386/stap.27.2.137_1.
- Stern, Tiffany. "'On Each Wall and Corner Post': Playbills, Title-pages, and Advertising in Early Modern London." *English Literary Renaissance* vol. 36, no. 1, 2006, pp. 57-89. *U of Chicago P Journals*, doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1111/j.1475-6757.2006.00072.x.
- Stott, Andrew. *Comedy*. Routledge, 2005.
- Stow, John. *The Annales, Or Generall Chronicle of England: Begun First by Maister Iohn Stow, And After Him Continued And Augmented With Matters Forreyne, And Domestique, Anncient And Moderne, Vnto the Ende of His Present Yeere 1614*. Londini: Impensis T. Adams, 1615. *Hathi Trust*, hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435017648700.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500 - 1700*. 2nd ed., Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Sullivan, Ceri. "London's Early Modern Creative Industrialists", *Studies in Philology*, vol.103, no.3, Summer 2006, pp. 313-28.

---. *The Rhetoric of Credit: Merchants in Early Modern Writing*. Rosemont P, 2002.

---. "Thomas Middleton's View of Public Utility." *The Review of English Studies, New Series*, vol. 58, no. 234, April 2007, pp. 162 – 174. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4501582.

Supple, Barry. *Commercial Crisis and Change in England 1600-1642*. Cambridge UP, 1959.

Sutton, James M. "Henry Frederick, prince of Wales (1594–1612)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2008.

www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12961

Temin, Peter and Hans-Joachim Voth. *Prometheus Shackled: Goldsmith Banks and England's Financial Revolution after 1700*. Oxford UP, 2013.

Thirsk, Joan and J. P. Cooper, editors. *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*. Clarendon P, 1972.

Thomas, Vivian. *Shakespeare's Political and Economic Language: A Dictionary*. Revised ed., 2015, Bloomsbury, 2008.

"touchstone, n. and adj." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, June 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/203901.

Unwin, George. *The Gilds and Companies of London*. George Allen & Unwin, 1938.

van den Berg, Sara. "True Relation: The Life and Career of Ben Jonson." *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, edited by Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart. Cambridge UP, 2000, pp. 1-14.

van Veen, Ernst and Leonard Blussé, editors. Introduction. *Rivalry and Conflict: European*

Traders and Asian Trading Networks in the 16th and 17th Centuries. CNWS Publications, 2005.

Velinov, Daniel. "Risk Management, Credit and the Working of Merchant's Networks in Early

Modern Banking." *Decision Taking, Confidence and Risk Management in Banks from*

Early Modernity to the 20th Century, edited by Korinna Schönhärl. Palgrave Macmillan,

2017. *Proquest Ebook*, ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=4793034#.

Vitkus, Daniel, editor. *Three Turk Plays From Early Modern England: Selimus, A Christian*

Turned Turk, and The Renegado. Columbia UP, 2000.

---. *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*. Palgrave

Macmillan, 2003.

Vivier, Eric. "Judging Jonson: Ben Jonson's Satirical Self-Defense in *Poetaster*." *The Ben Jonson*

Journal, vol. 24, no. 1, 2017, pp. 1-21.

Walker, Garthine, editor. *Writing Early Modern History*. Hodder Arnold, 2015.

Ward, Joseph. *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern*

London. Stanford UP, 1997.

Warner, Michael. *Publics and Counterpublics*. Zone Books, 2005.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic & The Spirit of Capitalism*. Edited and Translated by Stephen

Kalberg, Routledge, 2001.

Webster, John. *Monuments of Honor*. Nicholas Okes, 1624. *EEBO*.

gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-

2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:11823

Wennerlind, Carl. *Casualties of Credit: The English Financial Revolution, 1620 – 1720*. Harvard

University P, 2011. *ProQuest Ebook*, ebookcentral-proquest-

com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3300984.

Wheeler, John. *A Treatise of Commerce: Wherein are Shewed the Commodities arising by a well*

ordered and ruled Trade, such as that of the Societie of Merchants Adventurers is proved

to be: Written principally for the better information of the Necessarinesse of the said

societie in the State of the Realme of England. Printed at London by John Harison, 1601.

EEBO, gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-

2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:20477

White, Stephen. *Sir Edward Coke and “The Grievances of the Commonwealth,” 1621 – 1628*. U

of North Carolina P, 1979.

Wilson, David, and William Dixon. *A History of Homo Economicus: The Nature of the Moral in*

Economic Theory. Routledge, 2012.

Withington, Phil. *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful*

Ideas. Polity, 2010.

Wittek, Stephen. *The Media Players: Shakespeare, Middleton, Jonson, and the Idea of News*. U

of Michigan P, 2015.

Wood, Andy. *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early*

Modern England. Cambridge UP, 2013.

Woodbridge, Linda, editor. *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essays in New Economic Criticism*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

---. "A Chaste Maid in Cheapside: Spring 1613." *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to The Collected Works*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino. Clarendon P, 2007, pp. 373-75.

---, editor. Introduction. *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* by Thomas Middleton. *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino. Clarendon P, 2007, pp. 907-11.

"worshipful, adj., n., and adv." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, June 2018,
www.oed.com/view/Entry/230349.

Wortham, Simon. "Sovereign Counterfeits: The Trial of the Pyx." *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 2, Summer 1996, pp. 334-59. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2863161.

Wrightson, Keith. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470 – 1750*. Penguin, 2002.

---. "Mutualities and Obligations: Changing Social Relationships in Early Modern England." *Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume 139, 2005 Lectures*. Oxford UP, 2006, pp. 157-94.

Yearling, Rebecca. *Ben Jonson, John Marston and Early Modern Drama: Satire and the Audience*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Appendix: Copyright Permission Record

Nicole Edge

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: December 3, 2018 9:25 AM
To: Nicole Edge
Subject: FW: Request for permission to use copy of website images for dissertation

Follow Up Flag: Follow up
Flag Status: Flagged

Dear Nicole,

Thank you for your email. I don't think we would have a problem with you using our images in your PhD, as long as they are credited to The Goldsmiths' Company.

Please could you just advise what your PhD is on?

Many thanks,



Twitter: @GoldsmithsCo



Company · Craft · Charity

Goldsmiths' Hall, Foster Lane, London
 EC2V 6BN, United Kingdom

To find out more about our many activities visit:

www.thegoldsmiths.co.uk / @GoldsmithsCo
www.assayofficelondon.co.uk / @LondonAssay
www.goldsmiths-centre.org / @GsmithsCentre
www.thegoldsmithsdirectory.co.uk

Please consider the environment before you print this email.

~~~~~  
 This message and any files transmitted with it is intended for the addressee only and may contain information that is confidential or privileged.

Unauthorised use is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you are not the addressee, you should not read, copy, disclose or otherwise use this message, except for the purpose of delivery to the addressee.

The Goldsmiths' Company  
 Goldsmiths' Hall, Foster Lane, London EC2V 6BN



**Nicole Edge**

---

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** December 4, 2018 7:39 AM  
**To:** Nicole Edge  
**Subject:** RE: Request for permission to use copy of twitter images for dissertation

**Follow Up Flag:** Follow up  
**Flag Status:** Flagged

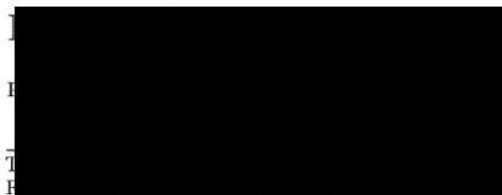
Hi Nicole

I have spoken to my boss and he is happy for you to use them and wishes you good luck with your thesis.

Kind regards



GROCERS'  
HALL



The Worshipful Company of Grocers, Princes Street, London, EC2R 8AD

Watch our video on Youtube

[REDACTED]  
**Sent:** 03 December 2018 20:26

[REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Request for permission to use copy of twitter images for dissertation

Dear Sir/ Madam,

The purpose of this email is to request permission to include in my doctoral thesis a copy of images obtained from the Grocers' Hall twitter account of The Grocers' Company (specifically the images of Nov 11 2017 "We're getting ready at the start line", "The Grocer's Company camel tea cup" of May 26, 2017, and/or the Company Crest of Sept 23, 2016).

When complete, my dissertation will be added to the institutional repository at the University of Calgary and the Library and Archives Canada (which for reference can be found at University of Calgary Theses Repository – The Vault <http://theses.ucalgary.ca/> and Library and Archives Canada <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/services/theses/Pages/theses-canada.aspx>).

**Nicole Edge**

---

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** December 5, 2018 3:14 AM  
**To:** Nicole Edge  
**Cc:** [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** FW: Request for permission to use copy of image of company arms for dissertation  
**Attachments:** MT-Crest(FullColour).jpg

**Follow Up Flag:** Follow up  
**Flag Status:** Flagged

Dear Nicole

Thank you for your email enquiry of 2 December 2018, which has been forwarded to me for attention by my colleagues at Merchant Taylors' Hall.

Please find attached an electronic version of the Company arms. You are most welcome to use it as you have requested.

May I ask – how does the Company feature in your thesis? Is it because some of our early records are in English? I am curious. I don't think we have corresponded before, and I am always on the lookout for new research into the Company and its history. I will be interested to hear from you.

Yours sincerely

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[www.merchant-taylors.co.uk](http://www.merchant-taylors.co.uk)