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Galley-foists, the Lord Mayor's Show, and Early Modern English Drama

Rogues, Hellhounds, *Stentors*, out of my dores, you sonnes of noise and tumult,
begot on an ill *May-day*, or when the Gally-foist is a-floate to *Westminster!*
(4.2.124–6)

In this passage from Jonson's *Epicoene*, Morose, 'A *Gent. that loues no noise*', berates Daw, La Foole, and Captain Otter for introducing trumpets and drums to his house, and in his desperate desire for silence drives them off 'with a long sword'.¹ The general sense of the passage is clear, with the noisily popular celebrations at May Day and at the lord mayor's show ('when the Gally-foist is a-floate to *Westminster!*') regarded, with justification, as begetters of noise (and, indeed, trumpeting and drumming). The reference to the 'Gally-foist', however, will not only be obscure to most modern readers, but has been consistently misunderstood by editors of Jonson as well as by the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the standard book on English civic pageantry in the early modern period.² Furthermore, the problem is self-perpetuating, as editors of other plays copy the mistake. The misconception has some significant implications for our understanding of both lord mayor's show and many passages in early modern English drama. My purpose in this paper is to identify the problem, to explain and provide evidence for the true nature of the galley-foist in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to gloss passages from the plays of the period that use the term so that we may better understand the full resonance of its use.

What is a 'galley-foist'? According to OED, it is 'a state barge, esp. that of the Lord Mayor of London'. This definition appears to be wrong however, certainly for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or at the very least so misleading as to require serious qualification. The earliest explicit OED source is Grose's 1785 *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*: 'A city barge, used formerly on the lord mayor's day, when he was sworn in at Westminster'.³ Other dictionaries follow suit: Mason's *Supplement to Johnson's Dictionary*, Nares's

Glossary, and others.⁴ Editors of early modern plays, used to relying on the authority of OED, have perpetuated the error. For example, editors of *Epicoene* routinely refer to the lord mayor's barge, and sometimes to the trumpets and drums on the barge; but what they thereby miss is that the galley-foist on lord mayor's day was not his barge, but a small escorting war-ship famous for its incessant gunfire.⁵ Thus the 'Gally-foist' to which Morose refers invokes far more noise than even trumpets and drums; and he, with his old-fashioned 'long sword', is more like the armed but hardly dangerous galley-foist than he realizes.

While this reference in *Epicoene* and other passages in plays of the period confirm the close association of the galley-foist with the annual spectacle of the new lord mayor's passage by river to take his oath at Westminster on lord mayor's day, the galley-foist was not, at least during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the barge in which the lord mayor rode. That barge, like those of the London livery companies, was a light, elegant vessel (quite unlike the modern industrial barge), generally propelled by between ten or twenty men rowing in the bows, and provided with a canopy or 'tilt cloth' for the comfort of its passengers. The earliest livery company barges for which we have records confirm this long narrow pattern: the Goldsmith's new barge in 1656, for example, was 62 feet long and 9 feet 11 inches wide (18.9 metres by 3 metres). The lord mayor's barge was of the same type.⁶ The galley-foist was a different vessel altogether: an elaborately decorated ship-rigged foist, galley, pinnace, or brigantine (ie, a sailing vessel, though small enough that it could be propelled by oars also) that escorted the lord mayor's barge with drums, trumpets, and an incessant firing of guns. While it might be much the same length as a barge, or even shorter, it was a sailing vessel, and would be heavier, wider, and deeper than the rowed barges.

Terminology is difficult, however, as each of these different types of vessel could be defined in various ways depending on the context, or in terms of each other.⁷ Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse* (1530) translates the French 'fuste' as 'Foyst', either 'a bote lyke a gallye' or 'to carry marchaundyse' (f xxxiii^a). Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611) defines 'fuste' as: 'A foist; a light gallie that hath about 16, or 18 oares on a side, & two rowers to an oare'. He defines a 'Vaisseau long' ['long vessel'] as 'A Galley, Foist, or Brigantine, called so to make a difference betweene them, and a Ship'. Florio's *World of Wordes* (1598) defines a 'Paliscalmo' as 'a kind of small ship, pinace, boate, barge, gallie or foist, such as sea men triumph in'. There appears to be a danger of hopelessly indeterminate or even circular definitions.⁸ In addition, language and meaning were changing rapidly, and attempts to fix a definition for the early modern period run the risk of linguistic naivety.

Florio offers the only instance of ‘galley-foist’ in any of the early modern dictionaries or word-books when he defines the Venetian *bucintoro* (‘*Bucintóro*’) as ‘*a gally-foist, a stately galley in Venice that the Duke goes in triumphe in*’. This appears at first to support OED’s identification of the galley-foist with the lord mayor’s barge, by analogy with the ceremonial galley in which the doge of Venice was rowed with great spectacle to perform the annual civic ritual of the marriage with the sea. Careful examination of that ritual, however, reveals that the *bucintoro* was huge, vastly bigger than most of the other galleys, or the barges hired by the guilds of Venice.⁹ No wonder Florio searched for a term to give some sense of how much greater its bulk was than that of an ordinary galley. It gives us little evidence for English practice. If anything, it supports a view that the spectacular nature of the *bucintoro* means it is best compared to the galley-foist, the largest and most spectacular vessel of the London lord mayors’ shows.

As I shall show, the galley-foist (sometimes just ‘foist’) in London definitely can be distinguished from the lord mayor’s barge. Furthermore, the galley-foist was one of the most popular spectacles the city could offer, and became a byword in the early seventeenth century. Unusually for the period, and despite the overlapping dictionary definitions discussed above, the term seems to have had a single fixed meaning. A fuller knowledge of the appearance and role of the galley-foist in the lord mayor’s show will allow a clearer understanding of the frequent references to it in the drama.

Galley-foists in the lord mayor’s show

The lord mayor was elected on Michaelmas Day (29 September) each year. His oath-taking at Guildhall was on the feast of St Simon and St Jude (28 October), but the ‘Shewes & Triumphes on the Lord Mayors day’ were the following day, 29 October (old style; 9 November from 1752) on ‘the morrow after Symon & Iudes Day’.¹⁰ On that day, since the time of King John’s granting of a mayor to the city of London, it was the practice for the new lord mayor to make the journey from the city to take his oath of allegiance to the king (or more usually to the royal judges) at Westminster. For four hundred years, from the middle of the fifteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth century, the journey was made by water.¹¹ The lord mayor would be rowed up the Thames by barge for the royal oath-taking, accompanied by his officers and the aldermen, and escorted by the other London livery companies in their barges, all decorated with banners and streamers, the arms of their companies, and with musicians playing in each barge. Figure 1

reproduces a restoration drawing of such a barge; earlier barges seem to have been similar.¹² On the lord mayor's return down the river he landed near St Paul's Cathedral. The assembled livery companies would then escort him through St Paul's Churchyard and along Cheapside, London's great market street of rich shops and houses, to the Guildhall. The procession would typically be over a thousand people, most in rich robes and gold chains, and accompanied by musicians, great ensigns and banners, shields with the companies' arms, and fencers and 'green men' (men dressed as wild men of the forest, or as devils, with fireworks) to help clear the way. From the mid-sixteenth century the lord mayor would be met at various points with specially-constructed pageants, chariots, temples, and arches, and by historical, allegorical, and mythical personages who would celebrate his election and provide extravagant praise of him, his company, the city of London, and the country itself. After the great dinner at the Guildhall, and afternoon service at St Paul's, Lord Mayor's Day would conclude with the entire procession accompanying the new lord mayor to his home by torchlight.¹³ Since this event was a red-letter day in London, a good number of eye-witness accounts and historical records document the spectacle on the Thames. And these records, combined with other documentary evidence, reveal the role of the galley-foist.

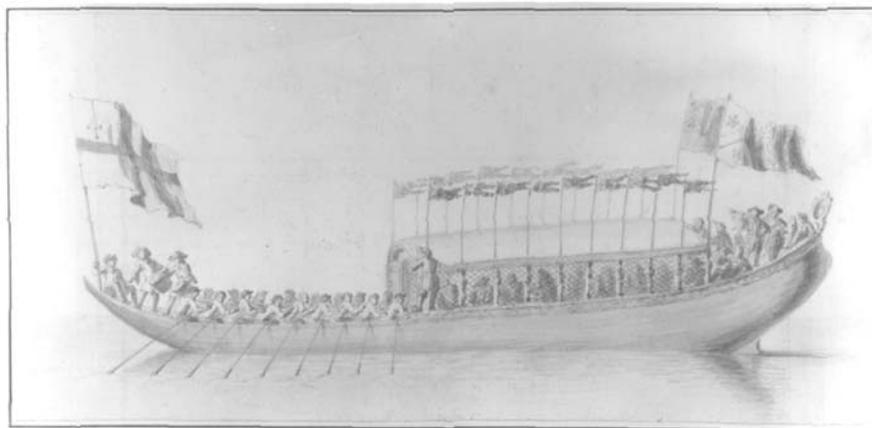


Fig. 1. 'The Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen, in his barge going to Westminster Hall', drawing attributed to Marcellus Lauron, possibly 1676 or 1678. Pepys Library; reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

The earliest clear evidence about the distinction between barge and galley-foist, however, is indirect, from records of a royal procession on the water, though it was apparently based on a pre-existing city tradition. The chronicler Edward Hall says that for the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533 ‘commaundement was geuen to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Maior sir Stephen Pecoche then was) that they should prepare a ... wafter and a foyst garnished with banners and streamers likewyse as they use to dooe [habitually do] when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Jude’. Hall then reports on the event itself: ‘Fyrst before the Maiors barge was a Foyst or Wafter full of ordinaunce. ... Next after the Foyst a good distaunce came the Maiors barge’.¹⁴ (A ‘wafter’ is ‘an armed vessel employed as a convoy’ [OED *wafter* *n.*¹ 1], which explains why the galley-foist comes to be identified so strongly with the noise of ordnance; as an escort, it had in theory to be able to give armed protection to the lord mayor.) The procedure for this coronation of Anne is confirmed by the herald Charles Wriothesley: ‘the Major and Aldermen ... went to Greenewych in their barges after the best fashion, with ... a foyst to wayte on her’.¹⁵

Henry Machyn, a London citizen, recorded in his diary the same procedure in several lord mayor’s shows, starting with that of 1553: ‘a goodly fuyst trymmed with banars and guns ... waytyng of [escorting] my lord mayre[’s] barge unto Westmynster’.¹⁶ For several subsequent years up to and including 1561 he refers to this escort boat as either a pinnace or a foist, and in each case describes it as gaily decorated with many flags and pennons, and as having trumpets and drums in addition to the cannon fire. His description for 1555 is particularly useful:

The xxix day of October ther wher ij goodly pennes [pinnaces] deckyd with gones and flages and stremars, and a m. [thousand] penselles [pencels, pennons], the penes [pinnaces] pentyd, on [one] whyt and bluw, and thodur yelow and red, and the oars and gowne [guns] lyke coler; and with trumpets and drumes, and alle the craftes [guild members] in barges and [with] stremars; and at the ix of the cloke my nuw lord mayre and the shreyffes and the althermen [aldermen] toke barge at the iij Cranes [ie, at the Vintry wharf, where there were three cranes for loading ships] with trumpets and shalmes, and the whetes [waits] playhyng; and so rod [rowed] to Westmynster, and toke ys othe in the cheyker [Exchequer], and all the way the penoys [pinnaces] shutyng of gones and playhyng [plying] up and done.

Here we have not one but two pinnaces, decorated with guns, flags, streamers and pennons; one pinnace is painted white and blue, the other yellow and red, and the oars and guns are painted to match.

That the entire ships were painted perhaps explains the first citation in OED for ‘galley-foist’. In a translation of Virgil’s *Georgics* in 1587, A. Fleming renders the Latin ‘pictis ... phaselis’ at iv.289 as ‘painted gallefoistes’.¹⁷ Since ‘phaselis’ indicates a boat constructed of rushes (the Loeb edition translates the phrase as ‘painted skiffs’¹⁸), it seems likely that Fleming’s choice of ‘gallefoistes’ was invoked by the concept of ‘pictis’: a ‘painted’ vessel.

The Merchant Taylors’ records for 6 October 1561 show their care to ensure the galley-foist would be painted and ready for the triumph (one of their number, William Harper, having been elected lord mayor):

Item, it is agreed & concluded wth Thos Ewen & Nicholas Hollonby that they shall provide a foyste of xvij or xx tonne to be fornysshed wth xvj peces of ordenaunces and to have the same trymmyd & paynted in all thynges mete to serve upon the Tamys [Thames] the morrowe after Symon & Jude next & they to Fynde all thynges thereunto belongyng as viz: mariners, gon powdre, drome fluyte & such like. And to shoot of all the seid peces of ordenaunces the seid daye vj tymes.¹⁹

Reference to the foist’s burden of eighteen or twenty tons, and to mariners, makes clear that this is not a Thames barge rowed by watermen. Machyn describes what the Merchant Taylors achieved:

The xxix day of October the nuw mare [mayor] toke ys barge towhard Westminster my nuw lorde mare master Harper ... and ther was a goodly foist mad [made, prepared for use] with stremars, targatts [targets, painted shields], and banars, and [arms], and grett shutyng of gunes and trumpettes blohyng.²⁰

The lord mayor’s barge and the foist are two different vessels.

In 1575 William Smythe, ‘citizen and haberdasher’, described the lord mayor’s barge ‘(wherein also all the Aldermen be) beenge garnished with the armes of the Citie: and nere the sayd barge goeth a shypbote of the Queenes Ma^{tie}, beinge trymed upp, and rigged lyke a shippe of warre, with dyvers peces of ordenance, standards, penens, and targettes of the proper armes of the sayd Mayor, the armes of the Citie, [and] of his Company’.²¹ The ‘shypbote’ that Smythe describes is evidently the same as what the London livery companies increasingly called a galley-foist.

Smythe's description of the 'shyppbote' being 'rigged lyke a shippe of warre' is of considerable significance. A fundamental difference between the rigging of a boat or other small sailing vessel and of a great ship at this time was that the ship would be square rigged, usually with three masts supported by fixed shrouds and stays. And a ship with fixed masts and rigging could not get above (ie, upstream of) London Bridge, unlike small sprit-rigged and other vessels such as the Dutch eel ships which could quickly brail up their sails and lower their masts in order to pass under. The drawbridge on London Bridge had ceased to be operational about 1500.²² Therefore the entry in the Skinners' Court Books for 5 October 1551 that 'William Harris faithfully promises to provide ... a great boat or foist with mast and topcastle and all things including ordnance' is important for demonstrating how an ordinary foist, great boat, galley, or pinnacle became a galley-foist.²³ The vessel was brought above London Bridge, and then specially prepared with masts and standing rigging to resemble a square-rigged 'shippe of warre'. The purpose of a 'topcastle' was both to provide a wide platform near the top of a mainmast to secure the shrouds supporting a topmast, and to provide a fighting platform for men with muskets. The elaborate painting of the vessel, its many flags, its complement of drums, trumpets, and fifes, and its loud ordnance were all additional to the fundamental novelty of a small square-rigged ship of war above London Bridge.

Preparing the masts, yards, sails, and fixed rigging must have taken some time, and this probably explains why livery company records usually record arrangements for the galley-foist about a month before the lord mayor's show. It may also explain why in 1635 the Ironmongers made an unusual interim part-payment of £14 to Tilbury Strange on 21 October, more than a week before the procession: preparing the galley-foist was a time consuming and expensive business, and their own inspections would have assured them that Strange had already laid out more than £14, a large sum of money.²⁴ We find frequent livery company references to going by water to inspect the galley-foist prior to the lord mayor's show.

Seventeenth-century company records provide further evidence about the galley-foists. The Haberdashers have a list of requirements for land and water shows that is repeated almost word for word for decades: 'a faine [fine] pageant a gallie foist fyre works banners' (1600; repeated with minor variations 1601, 1604, 1620, 1627, 1631, 1632, 1637).²⁵ The Ironmongers in 1609 contracted to hire 'A ffoist 60 ffote longe well rigged and furnished wth 16 bases [small cannon] & 10 small shott [soldiers armed with muskets; see OED shot *n.*¹ 21] and the powder and fireworkes', as well as 'A gally of that length wth

3 pieces [small cannon] in the prow, and 2 in the starre [? starne, = stern] and 30 smal shott over the banckes [? of oars]'.²⁶ Another fundamental difference between a foist and a galley is evident here: the foist, 'well rigged' to resemble a ship of war, is equipped with sixteen small cannon, which implies positioning down the sides of the vessel, whereas the galley has its few guns at bow and stern, as is typical of a war galley whose sides are full of rowers. Although both vessels are the same length (and similar in length to the barges), the foist is clearly more robust, and probably significantly wider.²⁷ Merchant Taylors' accounts for 1602, 1610, 1612, and 1624 all record payments for a galley-foist (and sometimes additional galleys). Similarly, the Haberdashers in 1604, Goldsmiths in 1611, and Fishmongers in 1616 all had a galley-foist and at least one additional vessel.²⁸

Thus chronicles, eyewitness accounts, and company records are in agreement in their evidence. The published texts of the shows also mention the galley-foist on occasion, despite the fact that it was part of the traditional procession, not part of the pageants created each year principally for the show on land for which dramatists such as Munday, Middleton, Dekker or Webster were hired to devise and write the speeches. Dekker, for instance, in his show *Troia-Nova Triumphans* (1612), explains that he ran out of time, and excuses himself for the absence of '*Shewes by water*' by saying, 'I suffer them to dye by that which fed them; that is to say, *Powder* and *Smoake*. Their thunder (according to the old *Gally-foyst-fashion*) was too lowd for any of the *Nine muses* to be bidden to it'.²⁹

That the galley-foist's fancy dress and noisy role made it one of London's prime spectacles is confirmed by references in plays of the period, discussed below ('Galley-foists in the drama'), and also seems to be the point of its inclusion in John Norden's 1610 engraved panorama of London, '*Civitas Londini*', and Visscher's 1616 adaptation of Norden (fig. 2).³⁰ It is shown just offshore from the theatres on Bankside (ie, above London Bridge) as a very small ship-rigged vessel clearly labelled 'The Gally fuste'. Despite its small size, its rig includes the unusual 'bonaventure' mizzen mast, a fourth mast, at the stern, rigged with a lateen yard. Although the little ship is not depicted as part of a procession, it is flying three long forked pennons. Its main flag shows a shield bearing a cross, but whether it is intended to be the city of London's St George's cross with the sword of St Paul in the first quarter is uncertain. The non-realist inclusion of the galley-foist in this engraving without a lord mayor's show implies that it is, in effect, one of the landmarks of London; it is even possible that its placement between the Globe and St Paul's is a symbolic statement of its connection to both entertainment and civic ritual.

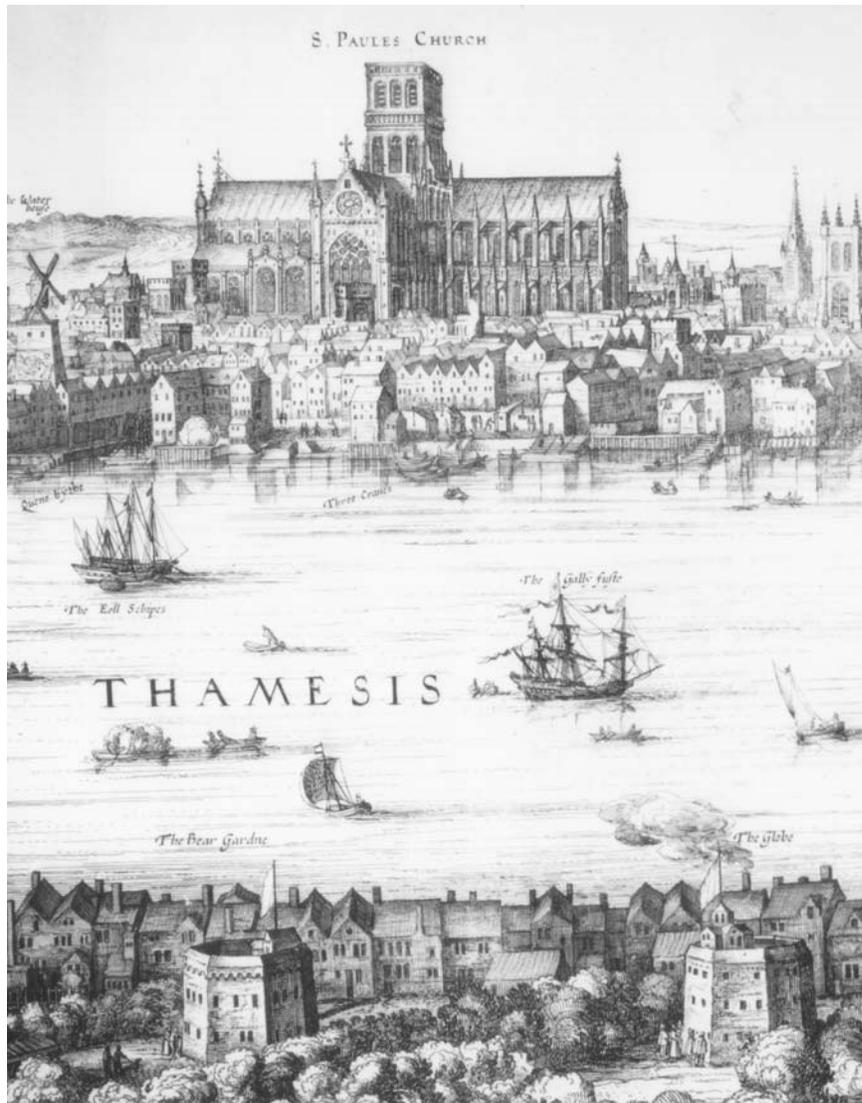


Fig. 2. 'The Gally fuste', in a detail from Visscher's 1616 panoramic engraving of London, based on Norden. Reproduced by kind permission of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.

Pictures from later in the seventeenth century and from the eighteenth century are harder to interpret, but nevertheless tend to confirm the earlier evidence. An etching from the 1660s entitled 'Aqua Triumphalis' records 'The Triumphall Entertainment of y^e King and Queenes Ma^{tie}, by y^e Right hon^{ble} y^e Lord Maior and Cittizens of London, at their coming from Hampton-Court to Whitehall (on y^e River of Thames) Aug: y^e 23 1662' (fig. 3).³¹ The elaborate pageant-barges in the foreground represent the various companies and include three water pageants for John Tatham's entertainment *Aqua Triumphalis* (1662), devised for the occasion.³² The anchored company pageant-barges are specific to this royal welcome, however, and not what would be found on a typical Lord Mayor's Day. Of more significance for our understanding of the difference between barges and the galley-foist are the barges in the main procession in the middle of the river. Although this is not a lord mayor's procession, the barges are the same style, almost unchanged from earlier in the century. In the centre of the picture is 'y^e Kings barge', with the 'Lord Maiors barge', with many flags, just ahead of it. The lord mayor's barge, crowded as it is with aldermen and musicians, would clearly not be able to carry large numbers of musketeers, fireworks, and ordnance as well. A square-sterned vessel large enough to be a galley-foist, and flying both a long pennon and a Union flag, is shown just higher in the picture than the lord mayor's barge. It is not ship-rigged, however, nor does it appear to be carrying out the active duties of escorting and saluting with gunfire. Given the 'CR' that the artist has included on the pennon, it seems almost certain to be one of Charles II's yachts, a Dutch design of small fast sailing ship of which the king had several.³³

Charles's yachts may also appear in a 1683 painting, 'The Lord mayor's Water-Procession on the Thames', reproduced here in a later but accurate engraving (fig. 4).³⁴ The masts and sails of two small sailing vessels can be made out through the smoke from their own gunfire ahead of the barges. This evidence agrees with an eyewitness account of the procession in 1680 when the lord mayor's barge was attended by a 'boat with great guns on board saluting him all the way'.³⁵ The vessels in the painting, however, do not display the square ship rig which seems to have been a feature of earlier galley-foists. These are clearly gaff-rigged (or 'yacht-rigged'; the larger is probably a royal yacht), and appear to have only one mast. Similar small vessels may be seen flying Union flags and firing salutes to the lord mayor's barge in a Canaletto painting of c 1747.³⁶

It is thus evident that, from at least the middle of the sixteenth century until late in the seventeenth century, and probably till the mid-eighteenth

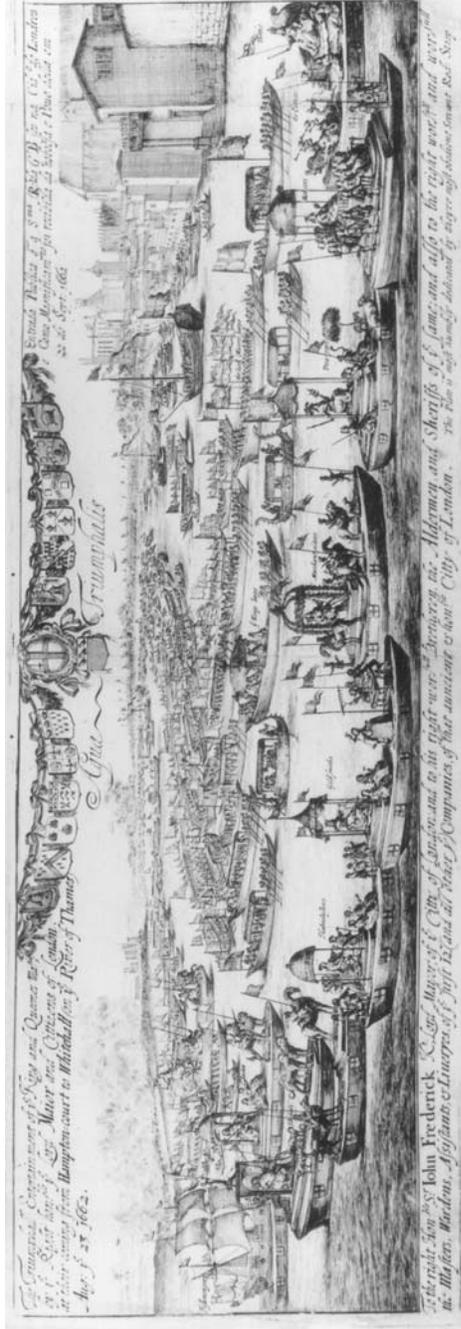


Fig. 3. 'Aqua Triumphalis', etching by Dirck Stoop, 1662. Reproduced by kind permission of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.

century, the lord mayor's procession by water from the city to Westminster included a ceremonial armed escort for the lord mayor's barge. At least up to the civil war, that escort was generally called the galley-foist. As late as 1673 the lord mayor's barge 'is accosted with Two Pinnaces rigg'd and mann'd like Men of War, and beautified with divers Flags and Streamers, who saluteth his Lordship with several great Guns'.³⁷ Despite the OED definition, nothing prior to the eighteenth century, other than Florio's ambiguous Venetian reference, supports an identification of the galley-foist with the lord mayor's barge; on the contrary, all the evidence demonstrates otherwise. Furthermore, this evidence gives us a clear picture of the nature of the galley-foist. It seems to have had four notable characteristics. First, it was, as armed naval escorts go, small, usually no longer than the barges it escorted. Foists, galleys, pinnaces and brigantines were all small enough to be rowed as well as sailed, and they constituted the smallest and lightest category of naval vessels at the time.³⁸ Second, the galley-foist appears to have been ship-rigged above London Bridge, an almost unique characteristic.³⁹ Third, it was highly decorated, perhaps more so than any other vessel on the river if the entire ship and its guns, oars and fittings were painted every time, as seems likely. In addition to being itself painted, the ship carried many newly-painted shields slung from the bulwarks, and flew an immense number of ensigns, streamers, and pennons. Even the sailors were bedecked with ribbons of the colour of the livery of the company from whom the lord mayor had been elected that year. Fourth, the galley-foist was extremely noisy: it carried drummers and trumpeters, it carried musketeers who fired volley after volley, it carried fireworks, and it carried naval cannon that fired incessant salutes up and down the river. Finally, we must emphasize that this small, highly decorated, armed and thunderous escort vessel did not carry the lord mayor.

Galley-foists in the drama

Now that we have established what the galley-foist was, we need to turn our attention to the common confusion and conflation of the term with the lord mayor's barge, and demonstrate how a better knowledge of the galley-foist's separate identity, appearance, and function will allow us more fully to understand references to it in the drama of the period. OED's mistaken definition of 'galley-foist' cites a number of early modern English plays, starting with the passage from *Epicoe* noted above. Given the almost universal reliance on OED of all of us who are editors and critics, it will be useful to give a brief comment on a number of passages from English plays in the period 1580–1642

which invoke the galley-foist. References appear to fall into three main categories: (1) speeches in which ‘galley-foist’ refers directly to the spectacular vessel of the lord mayors’ processions by water, in some cases becoming a synecdoche for lord mayors’ shows in their entirety; (2) scorn for a vessel (or, figuratively, a person) of inferior size and/or armament; and (3) satirical figurative use to refer to elaborate appearance, usually female (perhaps with reference to the use of cosmetics, usually referred to at the time as ‘painting’, or to beribboned clothing reminiscent of the galley-foist’s flags). Within each category, plays are listed below by likely date of first performance.⁴⁰

Galley-foist as pre-eminent attraction of the lord mayor’s show

- 1 Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607; pub. 1613):⁴¹

he has performed such a matter wench, that if I live, next yeare Il’e have
him Captaine of the Gally-foist, or Il’e want my will. (5.156–8)

The speaker is a prosperous city merchant of the Grocers’ company. Reference to the apprentice Rafe being promoted to captain of the galley-foist is not only a simple reference to a place of honour on the lord mayor’s day, but gains additional pertinence if we understand that the gun-laden ship is related to the military braggadocio Rafe has just displayed on stage at this point

- 2 Jonson, *Epicoe* (1609; pub. 1616):

Rogues, Hellhounds, *Stentors*, out of my dores, you sonnes of noise and
tumult, begot on an ill *May*-day, or when the Gally-foist is a-floate to
Westminster! (4.2.124–6)

As discussed above, awareness of the huge noise not only of trumpets and drums, but of the galley-foist’s guns and fireworks, and of the connection between its traditional armament and Morose’s old-fashioned ‘*long sword*’, need to be added to the conventional understanding of this passage.

- 3 Fletcher, *Wit without Money* (1614–16; pub. 1639):

No playes, nor gally foistes, no strange Embassadors
To runne and wonder at. (2.3.46–7)

This list of London attractions, which life in the country deprives one of, constitutes a good example of how mere mention of the galley-foist invokes the entire spectacle of the lord mayor’s show.

4 Field and Massinger, *The Fatal Dowry* (1617–19; pub. 1632):⁴²

Pontalier. ... the other is his dressing blocke ... you shall see him i'th
 morning in the Gally-foyst, at noone in the Bullion, i'th euening in
 Quirpo, and all night in—

Malotin. A Bawdy house. (2.2.89–93)

This difficult passage relies on an understanding that 'Bullion' and 'in Quirpo' are both clothing references. Bullion-hose, also known as French-hose (Boulogne-hose), are 'Trunk-hose, puffed out at the upper part, in several folds' (OED). The phrase 'in Quirpo' means 'without the cloak or upper garment, so as to show the shape of the body; in undress; also *fig.*; sometimes *humorously*, without clothing, naked' (OED *cuerpo* [Spanish for 'body']). It appears, therefore, that 'Gally-foyst' has been introduced as a jocular and alliterative substitution for an item of clothing: presumably Galligaskins, Gally-Gascoynes, Gallyslops, Gally Hose, or Gally Breeches, all of which were wide knee-breeches.⁴³ The Oxford editors, neatly combining the marine with the sartorial, gloss 'in the Gally-foyst' as 'elaborately rigged in wide breeches'. Thus the clothes-obsessed fool being described is going a progress from gally-[gaskins] to bullions to informal undress to nakedness in the brothel. The editors also note that 'bullion' occasionally means a place of exchange, and that therefore both 'Gally-foyst' and 'Bullion' might be punning on place and clothing. From the point of view of the present discussion, the now-obscure verbal play demonstrates a simple but important fact: that 'Gally-foyst' as a term was current coin, so well-known as to be readily available for transformation and joking.

5 Shirley, *The Contention for Honor and Riches* (1625–32; pub. 1633):⁴⁴

the next day after Simon and Jude, when you go a feasting to Westminster
 with your galley-foist and your pot guns. (scene 1; vol 6, 296)

In this speech to a wealthy citizen of London, the galley-foist again gives particularity to the events of the day; in this case the reference to 'pot guns' has a satiric edge.

6 Shirley, *The Constant Maid* (1630(?)–40; pub. 1649):

I will petition to the king myself
 They [London citizens' wives] may have liberty but once a year
 To see the gally-foist; then to be confined
 To their chamber, and one 'prentice. (4.3; vol 4, 509)

64 David Carnegie

In this misogynist satire, not only does the ‘gally-foist’ stand for the entire lord mayor’s show, but it is also placed as the single most significant London spectacle of the year.

- 7 Cavendish, *The Country Captain* (c 1639–c 1640; MS):⁴⁵
the truth is, my sweet Ladie, wee haue no Exchange in y^e Conuntry,
no Playes, no Masques, no Lord Maiors day, no gulls nor
gallifoists. (ll. 143–5)

As in Fletcher’s *Wit without Money* discussed above, the ‘gallifoists’ are among the major London diversions, not available to those living in the country; and again they stand for the entire day’s spectacle.

Galley-foist as inferior vessel

- 1 Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady* (1613–16; pub. 1616):
Captaines of Gallifoists, such as in a cleare day have seen
Callis. (1.2.46–7)

This scornful dismissal of braggart inferiors may have nothing to do with the lord mayor’s galley-foist. Calais can be seen from the English coast on a clear day; galley-foists are generally too small to be more than coastal vessels; these captains would therefore not be sea-going fighters, whatever their claims. Nevertheless, the point is equally applicable, perhaps more so, if it implies the thundering blank charges fired by the lord mayor’s escort on the Thames, full of sound and fury, but with no shot loaded.

- 2 Heywood, *The Captives* (1624; MS.):⁴⁶
sayle this way thou galley-ffoyst off galls and garbadge. (ll. 194–5)

Again, possibly this passage has no reference to the lord mayor’s galley-foist. The play’s Clown is heaping abuse on Mildew, a procurer, and here refers to him as a garbage scow. However, this figurative vessel may be similar to that in Jonson’s *Epigram CXXXIII*, which is given stinking employment except on the one day of the year ‘when it is the Lord Maiors foist’⁴⁷ Alternatively, it is just possible that Mildew is elaborately dressed, and that the metaphor here is of the decoration of the galley-foist for 29 October, whatever it looks like for the rest of the year, and whatever it may be under the decoration; if that is the case, it properly forms part of the third category, discussed below.

Jonson’s reference in his epigram to the lord mayor’s galley-foist as simply a ‘foist’ is by no means unusual. For instance, in Fletcher’s *The Woman’s Prize*

(1611; pub. 1647), Petruchio is astounded at his second wife: ‘This Pinck, this painted Foyst, this Cockle-boat, / To hang her Fights [protective screens] out, and defie me friends, / A wel known man of war?’ (2.6.16–18). Here the word ‘painted’ confirms that the ‘Foyst’ is indeed the lord mayor’s galley-foist, theoretically too small and inadequately armed to challenge a great ‘man of war’. The ‘painted’ is also typical of using the vessel as representative of women (as discussed below), just as ‘man of war’ is a typical male image.

Galley-foist as a painted or decorated person1.

- 1 Dekker and Webster, *Westward Ho* (1604; pub. 1607):

whither art bound Galley-foist? whether art bound? whence com’st thou
female yeoman a-the gard? (5.3.7–8)

This usage is typically satiric address to a bawd, and it seems likely that costume (perhaps with many ribbons) or cosmetics are the link to the brightly-painted vessel bedecked with streamers and pennons. In this case, knowledge about the galley-foist’s guns allows us also to note the connection with the mock admiration of her diminutive but warlike potential in the ‘yeoman a-the gard’ comment.

- 2 Dekker, *2 Honest Whore* (1604–c 1605; pub. 1630):

What galley-foist is this? (4.3.35)

Like the *Westward Ho* example above, this satiric question is also prompted by the entry of a bawd. Cyrus Hoy’s commentary note to this passage cites Dekker’s *Jests to make you Merrie* (1607):

A Country Gentleman comming downe Westward by water to London, vpon the day when my Lord Maiors Galley Foist was in all her holliday attire, and seeing such triumphing on the Theames, but not knowing the cause, demanded of his Waterman why there was such drumming and piping, and trumpeting, and wherefore all those Barges (like so many Water-pageants) were caryed vp and downe so gaylie with Flags and Streamers? It was told him the Lord Mayor went that day to be sworne, to Westminster⁴⁸

- 3 Fletcher, *A Wife for a Month* (1624; pub. 1647):

Ther’s an old Lawyer,
Trim’d up like a Gally Foist. (5.2.23–4)

An apparently unique example of a man's 'holliday attire' leading to comparison with a galley-foist; the lawyer in question is dressed as a 'Dainty fine Suitor to the widow Lady' (5.2.3).

Pre-eminent attraction at the lord mayor's show, inferior, and decorated

Dekker, *Match Me in London* (c 1611–c 1613; pub. 1631):

there's a Pinnacle
 (Was mann'd out first by th'City,) is come to th'Court,
 New rigg'd, a very painted Gally foist,
 And yet our *Spanish* Caruils, the Armada
 Or our great vessels dare not stirre for her. (3.1.114–18)

This final example incorporates all three categories discussed above. The reference is to the king having taken a citizen's wife as his mistress.

Conclusion

Knowledge of the role played by the galley-foist in the lord mayor's show is clearly of benefit not just for our better understanding of the annual procession by water, at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but also for a fuller appreciation of the many plays of the early seventeenth century that refer to it as shorthand for the entire spectacle. The galley-foist was an enormously popular annual attraction, and its resonance was available for playwrights to exploit in a variety of ways.

While the evidence for the galley-foist's nature and importance from the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century is clear, the reason for later lexicographical identification of it with the lord mayor's barge is not. It may be that Charles II's royal yachts took over the role at some point after the Restoration; they would be able to carry heavy enough ordnance to make the requisite noise, and yacht-rigged ships might more easily be moved above London Bridge than a ship-rigged vessel. Possibly the identification of the galley-foist with the lord mayor's show was so strong that lexicographers from Florio on simply transferred the term to the city barge in error. Whatever the lexical and nautical changes, however, there can be no question but that for over a hundred years the galley-foist had a significant independent existence.

Given the limitations of the OED definition, it may not be amiss to offer a new one:

galley-foist: a foist, galley, pinnace or other light vessel propelled by both oars and sail; in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, almost exclusively applied to such a vessel taken upstream of London Bridge and rigged to resemble a square-rigged ship of war which then acted as a highly decorated escort, with gunfire, fireworks, and loud music, for the lord mayor's barge on the day he went by water to take his oath at Westminster.

Notes

- 1 See 'The Persons of the Play', l.1 and 4.2.122–3 marginal SD. All quotations from Jonson are from *Ben Jonson*, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925–52).
- 2 *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd. edn. (Oxford, 1989); referred to hereafter as OED; David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry* (London, 1971), 125 (and cf. fn. 15 below). Jonson editors are noted below.
- 3 Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London, 1785).
- 4 George Mason, *Supplement to Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1801); Robert Nares, *A Glossary; Or, Collection of Works, Phrases, Names and Allusions to Customs, Proverbs, etc. ... in the Works of English Authors, particularly Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (London, 1822); James Orchard Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (London, 1847), which cites John Florio's *Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues* (1611): 'Buccintóro, a stately gallie or gally-foist that the Duke of Venice goes in triumph in', this Venetian reference being symptomatic of much of the confusion that follows; and W.H. Smyth, *The Sailor's Wordbook* (London, 1867).
- 5 OED cites *Epicoene* as the earliest usage in an English context. The commentary note in Herford and Simpson defines 'Gally-foist' as 'the state-barge in which the Lord Mayor went to Westminster to be sworn in on Lord Mayor's day'; see also notes on this passage in the Regents edn. by L. A. Beaurline (Lincoln, Neb., 1966); the New Mermaids edn. by R.V. Holdsworth (London, 1979); *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson*, ed. G.A. Wilkes, Vol. 3 (Oxford, 1982); *Selected Plays of Ben Jonson*, ed. Johanna Procter (Cambridge, 1989); and *Ben Jonson's Plays and Masques*, ed. Richard Harp (New York, 2001). Harp recognizes that fireworks and cannon were associated with the galley-foist, but assumes that the lord mayor's barge itself carried them.

- 6 Cf. Shakespeare's description of Cleopatra's barge on the Nile; as Michael Neill says in his edition of *The Tragedy of Anthony and Cleopatra* (Oxford, 1994), 'the dramatist is likely to have imagined [Cleopatra's triumph] as resembling the water-pageants of contemporary London' (2.2.220n). Livery company evidence suggests a remarkable continuity in design from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, with only a slight increase in dimensions; the Stationers' 1766 barge was 75 feet (22.85 m.) long, and the Merchant Taylors' new barge in 1800 was only 79 feet (24 m.) in length. See R.T.D. Sayle, *The Barges of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (London, 1933), 9–38, Brian Alderidge and Anne Petrides, *State Barges on the Thames* (London, 1959), 37, Michael Osborne, *The State Barges of the Stationers' Company 1680–1850* (London, 1972), 12, Peter Norton, *State Barges* (Greenwich, 1972), 2–6, 12–23, and Kenneth Nicholls Palmer, *Ceremonial Barges on the River Thames* (London, 1997), *passim*.
- 7 See OED under 'barge', 'brigantine', 'foist', 'galley', 'galley-foist', and 'pinnacle'; also A. Jal, *Glossaire Nautique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1848), J.E.G. Bennell, 'English Oared Vessels of the Sixteenth Century', *The Mariners' Mirror* LX (1974), 9–26, 169–85, esp. 169–79, and John Francis Guilmartin, Jr., *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1974), 23.
- 8 I am grateful to the reader for *Early Theatre* who trawled the Early Modern English Dictionaries Database for more examples of overlapping usages than I had initially found. EMEDD is online at <<http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/english/emed/emedd.html>>. I quote, however, from the early printed texts.
- 9 See Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), 119–23, and particularly his fig. 5, an illustration of the Bucintoro surrounded by small galleys and barges.
- 10 'A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London 1485–1640', *Collections III*, Malone Society (Oxford, 1954), 107. See also Valerie Hope, *My Lord Mayor* (London, 1989), 40.
- 11 Earlier, the journey had been on horseback; in the nineteenth century a coach was provided, which survives to this day.
- 12 The drawing is in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the Master and Fellows. It is attributed to Marcellus Lauron ('Old Laroon', c 1650–1702, not his son Marcellus Laroon, 'Laroon the Younger', 1679–1772); see Robert Raines, 'Drawings by Marcellus Lauron—"Old Laroon"—in the Pepysian Library', *Apollo* (October 1965), Supplement, 2. On the basis of the arms on the banners at the stern of

the barge appearing to be those of two identifiable Lord Mayors, Raines identifies the occasion as possibly 1676 or 1678. The Pepys Library catalogue is more cautious, saying the drawing ‘cannot be dated or identified with a particular lord mayor’. Palmer, *Ceremonial Barges on the River Thames*, 21, calls it in error an engraving, and dates the occasion as 1676 without further comment. The drawing is contained in an album assembled by Pepys in 1700. We can see drummers in the bow, eight oars a side, and musicians in the stern. The dignitaries are under the covering, which by this time may be a solid roof, unlike the earlier ‘tilt cloth’.

- 13 A good brief description may be found in *Collections III*, xxiv–xliv. For more extended accounts, see Robert Withington, *English Pageantry*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1918–20), esp. 2, 3–145, David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642* (London, 1971), 123–308, and, for the period up to 1558, Anne Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre* (Cambridge, 2002), 52–4, 171–84.
- 14 *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke* (1550), ‘Kyng Henry the VIII’ (f. CCXII^b). There was also a ‘Batchelers barge, in the whiche were trumpettes and diuers other melodious instruments’. The bachelors’ company was the junior company of one of the London livery companies, normally given the responsibility of preparing the lord mayor’s show. At first glance, the role played by the bachelors’ barge in 1533 seems to run counter to my argument about the distinction between galley-foists and barges. However, Hall’s description of the bachelors’ barge on this occasion says that the ‘deckes of the sayd barge and the sailyardes and the toppe castles were hanged with rich cloth of golde and silke ... and on the toppe castle also was a long streamer’ (ff CCXII^b–CCXIII^a). Reference to yards and tops implies masts, so the bachelors’ barge must have been given masts and rigging to look like a ship (thus, presumably, resembling the foist).

Anne Lancashire’s discussion of this event in terms of three vessels, ‘bachelors’ barge, wafter, and foist’ (*English Civic Theatre*, 149), may cause confusion, as it follows her quotation from Hall of the instructions before the event for a ‘wafter and a foyst’. However, Hall’s report on the event itself refers to a ‘foist for a wafter’ (f CCXII^b) (ie, a foist serving as an armed escort; a foist is a type of vessel, whereas a wafter is a vessel performing an escort function). Lancashire is presumably referring not to this wafter foist, but to the additional foist (which she refers to as a barge) that kept place beside the lord mayor’s barge, and carried ‘a mount & on the same stode a white Fawcon crowned upon a rote [root, tree stump] of golde enuironed with white roses and red,

whiche was the Quenes deuise: about whiche mount satte virgyns singyng & plaiying swetely' (f CCXIII^a; Lancashire 144). She correctly points out (287–8, fn. 19) that the terms 'foist' and 'barge' could in some circumstances be used interchangeably at the time. On the basis of potential overlap of definition, she tends to refer to both foists as barges (144, 149). This is understandable, given the spectacle on the bachelors' barge and on the foist with the mount, white falcon, and singing virgins, but misleading if taken to suggest equivalence of the wafter foist with the lord mayor's and other barges. Nor can I find any evidence to support her contention that both 'foist' and 'barge' could indicate flat-bottomed boats (287–8, fn. 19), which seems inherently unlikely in this context. A foist would need a curved hull for seaworthiness. As well, all the barges and other Thames boats depicted in the sixteenth-century 'Agas' and Braun and Hogenberg maps of London have curved hulls, including Queen Elizabeth's state barge (both maps are reproduced in Adrian Prockter and Robert Taylor, *The A to Z of Elizabethan London* [London, 1979]). All seventeenth-century illustrations of livery barges (and surviving seventeenth-century examples of this kind of barge, in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich and the Royal Naval Museum at Portsmouth) also have curved hulls.

Hall's description makes very clear how different the function and appearance of the bachelor's barge and the wafter foist were from the lord mayor's barge, the livery company barges, and the queen's barge which they eventually accompanied from Greenwich to the Tower. The bachelors' barge was fully rigged, and decorated with rich cloth and 'flagges and banners [and] innumerable penselles [pencels, pennons] hauyng litle belles at y^e endes whiche made a goodly noyse and a goodly sight waueryng in the wynde' (f CCXIII^a). The foist itself carried 'ordinaunce' and had 'a great Dragon continually mouyng, and castyng wyldfyer, and round about the said foyst stode terrible monsters and wylde men castyng fyer, and making hidious noyses' (f CCXII^b) which the queen 'tooke great pleasure to behold' (f CCXIII^a).

The two important points here are, first, that, unlike all the other barges, which were simply rowed, the bachelors' barge and the foists had been rigged and were large enough to carry substantial ordnance, fireworks, and other spectacle. Whatever the original hulls, the vessels had been transformed for the event. Second, the use of 'a foyst garnished with banners and streamers' (the wafter foist) is referred to by Hall as already standard for the lord mayor's show.

The royal procession on which Hall reports seems, in fact, to have been one of the last appearances of a bachelors' barge (in this specific sense of presentational pageantry), to judge by a 1562 entry in the Grocers' Court

- Books: 'there shall be no Bachellors barge this yeare, for that there hath [been] none this many yeres paste neither of this Companie nor of any other companye / But onely A ffoyste and oth^r pleasure on the water as was vsed at the last tyme when sir Iohn Lyon was maio^r [1534] or at any other tyme syns' (*Collections III*, 45). Lancashire points out (175) that similar decisions against having a bachelors' barge had been taken by the Drapers in 1528 and 1533. In other words, the foist was already the distinctive 'pleasure on the water'
- 15 *A Chronicle of England*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton, Camden Society, Vol. 1 (London, 1875), 18. OED misleadingly uses this passage to support a definition of 'foist' as meaning 'a barge, a small boat used on the river'.
 - 16 *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. John Gough Nichols, Camden Society (London, 1848), 47. Bergeron, in *English Civic Pageantry*, 125, appears to mistake 'goodly fuyst trymmed with banars and guns' for a description of 'the decoration on the boat which carried the mayor down [sic] the Thames to Westminster'.
 - 17 In *The Bucoliks of Publius Virgilius Maro ... Together with his Georgiks* (1589), I3^v ([66] mispaginated as 75; OED's citation as 'Georg. iv.66' is somewhat confusing).
 - 18 *Virgil*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. ed., Vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1940).
 - 19 R. T. D. Sayle, *Lord Mayors' Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company in the 15th, 16th & 17th Centuries* (London, 1931), 34–5.
 - 20 *Diary*, 270.
 - 21 'A breffe description of the Royall Citie of London, capitall citie of this realme of England', a 1575 MS. quoted in Frederick W. Fairholt, *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, Part 1, Percy Society (London, 1843), 20–1. Unfortunately no company records survive for the show in 1575.
 - 22 Gordon Home, *Old London Bridge* (London, 1931), 190.
 - 23 *Collections III*, 38.
 - 24 *Collections III*, 123.
 - 25 *Collections III*, 57, 58, 61, 100, 112, 121, 122, 125.
 - 26 *Collections III*, 73.
 - 27 See N.A.M. Rodger, 'The Development of Broadside Gunnery, 1450–1650', *The Mariners' Mirror* LXXXII (1996), 301–24, esp. 305–6.
 - 28 Sayle, *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, 67, 91, 101, 111; *Collections III*, 64, 80, 90–1. The Ironmongers in 1618 paid 'for the two men of warre (gallyes) furnished Compleat with 20 musquetiers [ie, 'small shott'] and 4 bases in eyther of them' (*Collections III*, 96).

- 29 *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1953–61), 3, 247 (ll. 578–82). All references to Dekker’s dramatic works will be to this edition.
- 30 See I. A. Shapiro, ‘The Bankside Theatres: Early Engravings’, *Shakespeare Survey* 1 (1948), 25–37, esp. 27–31.
- 31 Plate 7 of a series by Dirck Stoop (who also identified himself as Rodrigo Stoop) recording the Earl of Sandwich’s embassy to Lisbon to conduct Catherine of Braganza, Charles II’s queen, to England; reproduced here by kind permission of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London. See Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated 1604–1851* (London, 1983), 19, and Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689* (London, 1998), 195–6. The occasion is a much more elaborate water spectacle than a lord mayor’s procession to Westminster, particularly in having twelve or more company pageants on show on the river.
- 32 Tatham’s text describes the pageants as initially ‘placed at the head of every Barge’ (B1^v). Julia K. Wood cites Goldsmiths’ records confirming that their pageant stage was fixed on a small boat or lighter at the head of their barge (“A flowing harmony”: Music on the Thames in Restoration London’, *Early Music* XXIII (1995), 576, fn. 73). Tatham’s three water pageants are Thetis, at the far right seated in a seashell with tritons blowing trumpets ahead of her; Tham (Thames), at the left immediately ahead of the Fishmongers’ ship pageant (which is on a barge, not itself afloat), with a lion and a unicorn in the bow; and Isis, above Tham in the picture, seated high up in a distinctive wheeled sea chariot with sea horses in the bow. The other anchored pageants belong to the livery companies.
- 33 See C.M. Gavin, *Royal Yachts* (London, 1932), 20–63. See also n. 35 below. I am grateful to Dr. Richard Luckett, Pepys Librarian at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and to Dr. Pieter van der Merwe of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, for bringing this and other nautical matters to my attention.
- 34 See Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, 2 vols. (London, 1963), text vol., 160; plates vol., pl. 170. The engraving was published by the London Topographical Society in 1909, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.
- 35 Cited in Thomas Allen, *The History and Antiquities of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Parts Adjacent*, vol. 2 (London, 1828), 244–5.

- 36 Detail is reproduced on the title pages of Palmer's *Ceremonial Barges on the Thames*, with acknowledgement to the Roudnice Lobkovicz Foundation, Prague.
- 37 Thomas Jordan, *London in its Splendour* (1673), 6–7.
- 38 See Jal, *Glossaire Nautique*, M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy*, Vol. 1 (London, 1896), 207–8, R.C. Anderson, *Oared Fighting Ships* (London 1962), 84–5, J.E.G. Bennell, 'English Oared Vessels', 9–26, 169–85, and 'The Oared Vessels', in *The Anthony Roll of Henry VIII's Navy*, ed. C. S. Knighton and D. M. Loades (Aldershot, 2000), 34–8, and Arthur Nelson, *The Tudor Navy* (London, 2001), 214–15.
- 39 During the reign of James I, Prince Henry's specially constructed little ship *Disdain* (which was only twenty-five feet [7.6 metres] in length at the keel, with a twelve-foot [3.65 metres] beam and a burden of thirty tons) was taken up-river to Whitehall, and presumably needed its masts re-stepped and re-rigged. Charles II kept his brig *The Royal Escape* (about the same hull dimensions as the *Disdain*, but not square-rigged) moored off Whitehall for ten years. See Gavin, *Royal Yachts*, 43, 62–3. *Disdain* may be seen at the left of Adam Willaerts painting 'Embarkation of the Elector Palatine in the *Prince Royal* at Dover, 25 April 1613', reproduced as BHC 0266 in *A Concise Catalogue of Oil Paintings in the National Maritime Museum* (Greenwich, 1988), 458. A William van de Velde painting of *The Royal Escape* is reproduced as Plate 40 in Richard Barber's exhibition catalogue for the National Portrait Gallery, *Samuel Pepys, Esq.* (London, 1970), 18.
- 40 Authorship attribution and dates are based on Alfred Harbage, rev. S. Schoenbaum, *Annals of English Drama 975–1700*, 3rd edn. rev. Sylvia Stoler Wagonheim (London and New York, 1989).
- 41 *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, 10 vols. (Cambridge, 1966–96); further citations for both authors will be from this edition.
- 42 *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, ed. Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1976).
- 43 See C. Willett Cunningham, Phillis Cunningham, and Charles Beard, *A Dictionary of English Costume* (London, 1960), 90–1.
- 44 *The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 6 vols. (London, 1833); further citations will be from this edition; volume and page number follow the act or scene indication.

- 45 Ed. Anthony Johnson, Malone Society (Oxford, 1999). Cited in OED as *Captain Underwit*, attributed to Shirley.
- 46 Ed. Arthur Brown, Malone Society (Oxford, 1953).
- 47 This passage is misleadingly used in OED to define 'foist' as a barge; cf. fn. 15 above. Given Jonson's mock-epic satire, the reference cannot be taken at face value.
- 48 Cyrus Hoy, *Introduction, Notes, and Commentaries to texts in 'The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker'*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1980); quotation from 'The 36. Iest' from *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, vol. 2 (London, 1885), 287. Hoy's note unfortunately perpetuates the error of Herford and Simpson, who cited this passage in support of their gloss on the galley-foist in *Epicoene* 4.2.126 being the same as the lord mayor's barge.