UNPARADISED WOMEN:
ROYAL MISTRESSES IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE

by

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Abstract

A beautiful victim, a high-priced prostitute, a lover, a powerful courtier, a destitute penitent—the royal mistress in early modern English poetry and drama is represented as all of these and more. This dissertation focuses on two mistresses who appear repeatedly in the literature of the period: Rosamond Clifford and "Jane" Shore. The aim of this project is to demonstrate that the representations of mistresses become a forum for cultural debate. The interaction of sexuality, gender, and power in these stories provides us with an opportunity to observe a range of recuperative and subversive responses to patriarchy and its discontents. Chapter One establishes the historical context through an examination of the careers of Anne Boleyn and Aemilia Lanyer, two very different mistresses. Chapter Two introduces Rosamond Clifford and explores Samuel Daniel's problematic creation of an "unparadised" middle ground for the mistress. Chapter Three examines representations by William Warner, Michael Drayton, Thomas Deloney, and Thomas May, each of whom offers a different perspective on the mistress as victim or lover. Chapter Four introduces "Jane" Shore (actually Elizabeth) and considers the representations of Sir Thomas More and Thomas Churchyard who both present the mistress as a powerful and responsible courtier. Chapter Five discusses the attempts to depoliticise Shore by Anthony Chute and Thomas Heywood which are balanced by the more optimistic views of individual agency in *The True Tragedy* and in Drayton's verse epistles. The conclusion emphasises the importance of employing a relational approach when attempting an examination of ideological stances as they are represented in texts, and offers a recapitulation of the positions taken in representative texts discussed in the course of the dissertation. Finally, the strategies and findings of the project are applied to two paintings of "Jane" Shore.

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Introduction: Unparadised Women

A beautiful female victim, a high-priced prostitute, a lover, a powerful courtier, a destitute penitent--the royal mistress in early modern English poetry and drama is represented as all of these and more. This variety of representations indicates the contested nature of the mistress's role. At once outside the roles sanctioned by patriarchal authority, and, simultaneously, defined by her association with one dominant male, the royal mistress evokes a complex reaction precisely because of her relationship to power. The mistress's access to power may be acknowledged and occasionally celebrated, but more often, this power is contained, deflected, or denied, its existence confirmed by anxious suppression. Our understanding of the role of the royal mistress in early modern literature, and consequently our readings of the texts in which mistresses figure prominently, has been limited by largely unexamined social and moral assumptions. By challenging these assumptions, I hope to alert the reader to alternative possibilities for interpretation: possibilities which I believe were available to early modern writers but which have been subsequently misplaced. Recovering these possibilities encompasses a recovery of part of the history of women, of views on relations between men and women, of perspectives on power relations, and also offers the opportunity to reflect on our own interpretative responses to "conventional" figures.

Two mistresses in particular appear repeatedly in the literature of the English Renaissance: Rosamond Clifford and "Jane" Shore. However, neither of these

women lived during this period, and consequently, their experiences may not be entirely representative of the situation facing women in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. In order to establish an accurate historical context for examining the literary representations, I begin with the case histories of two additional mistresses: Anne Boleyn, in the early 1500s and Aemelia Lanyer, in the early 1600s. I have selected these women for the significant differences in their historical settings, class backgrounds, and careers as mistresses. The reigns of Elizabeth and James I did not offer many opportunities for royal mistresses. Lanyer was mistress not to an English king, but to Henry Hunsdon, Elizabeth's Lord Chamberlain. The prescribed attitudes towards mistresses, the realities of their situations, and the reactions they provoked must be considered together to generate the necessary questions and reactions to the representations of Rosamond Clifford and "Jane" Shore.

Although some of the poetry about Shore predates Rosamond's literary appearances, I examine the Rosamond material first. Rosamond lived far earlier than Shore, but more importantly her story as a royal mistress is not complicated by adultery as in the case of Shore. For both Rosamond Clifford and "Jane" Shore, I examine the literary texts in which they figure prominently. I trace the development of their legends through the texts, paying particular attention to the texts which influenced representations of both mistresses. I also provide, based on the information we have now, as clear a picture as possible of their lives. Since the historical accounts of these women are products of the interests and biases of their historians, I have endeavoured to read this material critically instead of merely reproducing their

conclusions. My own representations of the lives of the mistresses similarly are shaped by my particular focus and should not be assumed to be complete or without bias. In spite of this difficulty, I felt it was necessary to attempt a critical reading of the historical accounts of mistresses, because literary critics have been influenced by these accounts. I have also tried to identify which information (accurate or otherwise) was available to the writers who immortalised these women. The selective use of this information reveals much about the attitudes behind the representations.

Attitudes towards mistresses have also shaped the terminology surrounding their lives, and subsequently, our terms of reference. Vern L. Bullough provides this distinction between courtesans and mistresses:

> COURTESAN. The term was originally applied to a person attached to a princely court and was derived from the Italian *cortigiano*. From this original usage it came to include the court mistress, a high-class prostitute, and has since the sixteenth century been applied to the more expensive prostitutes, especially those who work so hard to deceive their customers or patrons. (288)
>
> MISTRESS. Since the fifteenth century mistress has been used as a term to refer to any woman who illicitly occupies the place of the wife. (289)

The terms for these women, then, are based primarily on who and how many men they may have sex with. I have chosen the term "royal mistress" or "mistress" because of the implied exclusivity of the relationship between the king and the woman

in question.

In certain cases royal mistresses may more properly be called concubines. While the general definition of a concubine may be "A woman who cohabits with a man without being his wife; a kept mistress," the *OED* also notes a more specific usage: "In reference to polygamous peoples, as the ancient Hebrews and the Muslims: A 'secondary wife' whose position is recognized by law, but is inferior to that of a wife" (concubine 2). This second usage describes a specific kind of social and legal recognition of the woman which I will use "concubine" to indicate. While this specialised usage occurs during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, common speech regularly made indiscriminate use of concubine, courtesan, mistress, and whore.

In his poem, "A Whore" John Taylor asserts,

> Besides, as *Whores* are of a severall cut,
> So fitting Titles on them still are put:
> For if a Princes love to her decline,
> For manners sake shee's call'd a *Concubine*:
> If a great Lord, or Knight, affect a *Whore*,
> Shee must be term'd his Honours *Paramore*. (112)

Here distinctions between the women are reduced to the classes of the men who keep them. For clarity's sake I will maintain a degree of consistency in my own language choices which will not always be present in the material I use.

More arbitrary language decisions are called for in the case of the men involved. "Whoremaster" and "whoremonger" are used of the men who frequent

prostitutes but are not used when referring to the habits of noblemen. "Master," while the opposite of "mistress," is used of many other situations of power and implies a stable degree of control which remains to be established. "Client" is the frequent choice of historians but is more often used in the case of courtesans not in exclusive relationships. In addition, the business relationship implied by "client" suggests a bargaining or bartering which is less clear in the case of a mistress. After some debate I have settled on "patron" which continues the exclusivity difficulty but implies the more complex exchange of social and financial support for sex and companionship rather than the simple one-to-one trade. All of which is to point out a rather large hole in Renaissance language and in our own where countless names exist for the woman having sex outside of marriage, while similar names for the men involved are largely unavailable. The range of social attitudes implied by the more neutral "mistress" through to "whore" do not have masculine counterparts. "Whore" may be paired with "libertine" in the active masculine role or "catamite" or "minion" in the passive, but who are the men who keep mistresses? The answer is, of course, that their social and political status is not defined by their sexual habits: they remain kings, dukes, knights, and merchants, while women are defined by their relations to men. Power relations are central to our understanding of both the terminology and the legends of royal mistresses.

My approach to the textual readings has been determined by two, interrelated, premises. First, power must be understood as a process not a commodity: a critical distinction neatly summarised by Hilary Lips in *Women, Men, and Power*. A

view of power as a commodity emphasises the importance of control—control of others and of resources (Lips 4). This view necessarily creates a sum-zero model of power relationships: some people in a society will accumulate power, and therefore, control; others will become correspondingly less powerful. On the other hand, power as process is a view of power as "something that exists only in the context of a relationship. . . . Power is the process of bargaining and compromise in which priorities are set and decisions made in relationships" (Lips 4). This process exists even when the parties involved are not equal: "Both parties, even if one dominates the other, contribute to the process" (Lips 4). By substituting a view of power as process for the more traditional understanding of power as a commodity, I am able to support my second premise: individuals from socially and politically marginalised groups can achieve power within their society.

When power is understood as a process of negotiation and influence, the possibilities for women to exercise power within patriarchal societies become more obvious. Feminist historians and anthropologists invoke this view of power in their studies of women in traditional societies. In their Introduction to *Women, Culture, and Society*, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere suggest the signs of women's power have been overlooked by conventional scholarship:

> Although the formal authority structure of a society may declare that women are impotent and irrelevant, close attention to women's strategies and motives, to the sorts of choices made by women, to the relationships they establish, and to the ends they achieve

> indicates that even in situations of overt sex role asymmetry women have a good deal more power than conventional theorists have assumed. (9)

Rosaldo also reminds us of the crucial distinction between authority and power: "while authority legitimates the use of power, it does not exhaust it, and actual methods of giving rewards, controlling information, exerting pressure, and shaping events may be available to women as well as to men" (21). Too often scholarly attention has been focused on authorised power to the neglect of other forms of power.

The power-as-commodity model combined with a focus on authority has had far-reaching implications for literary practice. Carol Thomas Neely has criticised cultural materialists and new historicists for a tendency "to produce, or to reproduce patriarchy" (12). Neely argues that the "cult-historicists" (her term) have deflected attention away from areas of interest to feminists:

> a focus on power, politics, and history and especially, the monarch, turns attention away from marriage, sexuality, women, and the masterless. . . . The new historicists and cultural materialists represent, and by representing, reproduce in their <u>new</u> history of ideas, a world which is hierarchical, authoritarian, hegemonic, unsubvertable. (12)

Neely calls for a reading practice which "over-reads" "the possibility of human (especially female) gendered subjectivity, identity, and agency, the possibility of women's resistance or even subversion" (15). Neely's critique of new historical

representations is just; I would add that the simplistic model of power implied in these representations has resulted in many of the problems Neely and others have highlighted. Questions about power, politics, and history can illuminate the "possibility of women's resistance" and agency, if the role of women in power is fully restored and explored.

New historicists, however, are not the only scholars to focus on authority; feminists have also shown a tendency to concentrate on socially legitimate roles. This tendency is revealed in the conceptual models often employed in feminist work. In "Mother, Sister, Other: The 'Other Woman' in Feminist Theory," Helena Michie notes that feminism's "figural response to patriarchy is the 'sisterhood' invoked as its challenge" (1). While such imagery can be used to disrupt traditional patriarchal patterns, it does have limitations: "the new grammar is still the grammar of the family" (1). Michie points out the impact that this model has had on feminist projects: "For a variety of historical and political reasons . . . feminist *literary* theorists have followed psychoanalysis in recentering their inquiry around the mother" (2); and later she adds, "canonical revision has . . . frequently been articulated as a search for foremothers" (2). Finally, Michie asks, "What about the woman who is not one of this family, the 'other woman' who comes from the outside to disrupt the home?" (2-3) Feminist imagery, then, may continue to exclude certain "types" of women. This retreat into familial imagery may also suggest an effort, whether conscious or not, on the part of feminists to appear less threatening and more acceptable to traditional institutions. In addition, feminists committed to opposing or exposing the exploitation

of women do not want to appear to be celebrating women who resort to criminal behaviour. For example, in her study of the story of Alice Arden, Catherine Belsey finds some women attempting to define their own place in society: "women found a number of forms of resistance . . . Alice Arden's crime was one of these forms; witchcraft and inspired prophesy were others." However, as a subordinate clause modifying these "forms of resistance," Belsey adds, "which we should not now be anxious to identify as feminist" (150). Feminist scholarship appears most comfortable with forms of resistance which continue to conform to legitimate positions within society: the power of the mother or the sister.

The royal mistress is the extreme "other woman"; for many societies, she is the epitome of unauthorised power. She is a particularly troubling figure for both her society and scholars because her power is assumed to be achieved through illicit sexual activity. Her power can be trivialised by emphasising an artificial distinction between authority and power; phrases such as "bedroom influence" deny the real power potential of the mistress's role. The mistress's power is also denied when she is portrayed as weak and vulnerable because she may be dismissed at any time or may even be executed. Vulnerability need not be equated with powerlessness: Sir Walter Raleigh is not depicted as a powerless figure at court although he could be sent to the Tower at any time; King Edward IV is not considered a powerless king although his reign was interrupted by rebellion. Not all mistresses achieve political or social power, but the potential for power is real. The case of one royal mistress will be useful to illustrate this point.

The life of Diane de Poitiers demonstrates the possibilities for power in the role of the royal mistress. De Poitiers was the mistress of Henry II, king of France, from before his ascent to the throne until his death, a period likely covering more than twenty years. Although she was nineteen years his senior, de Poitiers was regarded as a serious rival to Henry's queen, Catherine de Medici. De Poitiers's financial gains were considerable; unlike a married woman, a mistress was in full possession of the wealth and property she amassed. Catherine did her best to dispossess de Poitiers after Henry's death, but legal provisions defended much of the land and wealth. De Poitiers also acquired political power: "[t]here is a strong consensus in the reports of contemporaries that she was a powerful force in royal decisionmaking" (Baumgartner 56). One testament to de Poitiers's power was her control of the rearing of Henry's children: "[t]he children were hers to direct and supervise, it was she who engaged their nurses, their tutors, who played with them" (Henderson 146). De Poitiers's life makes it clear why a widow of the noble class might be willing to become a mistress: the power and financial rewards were tremendous.

Even when the history of a royal mistress is as well known as that of Diane de Poitiers, representations of the mistress are not always transparent. A painting believed to be of de Poitiers provides a good example of the difficulties encountered when "reading" representations of mistresses (Fig. 1).

In *Ways of Seeing*, John Berger emphasises the role of the spectator-owner in determining the nature of nude paintings. Berger observes,

> In the average European oil painting of the nude the principal

Fig. 1. School of Fontainebleau, *Diane de Poitiers (?)*, Basle, Switzerland. Plate 108 in *The Renaissance Woman*. By Hannelore Sachs. New York: McGraw, 1971.

> protagonist is never painted. He is the spectator in front of the picture and he is presumed to be a man. Everything is addressed to him. Everything must appear to be the result of his being there. (54)

These assumptions about the significance of the spectator must be even clearer when that spectator is also the monarch. Berger examines a painting of another mistress, Nell Gwynn, as an example of how the female object is displayed for the spectator, in this case Charles II. In the portrait, Gwynn's partially reclining figure is turned towards the spectator. The painting

> shows her passively looking at the spectator staring at her naked.
>
> This nakedness is not, however, an expression of her own feelings; it is a sign of her submission to the owner's feelings or demands. (The owner of both woman and painting.) The painting, when the King showed it to others, demonstrated this submission and his guests envied him. (Berger 52)

At first glance, the de Poitiers painting seems to be typical of the nude painting as described and interpreted by Berger.

De Poitiers is turned towards the spectator, makes eye contact, and greets the spectator with a pleasant half-smile. Her raised hands display the king's gifts rather than obscure the spectator's view. The painting appears to accord with Berger's observations: the interests of the spectator are paramount, while the subject is reduced to a possession, an object for the gratification of the owner. This reading may have a

limited accuracy, but it also leaves much of the painting unexplained. Berger's readings of nude paintings present difficulties similar to those of new historical practices. Berger places all of the power in the hands of the male painters and owners and leaves no space for female subjectivity; however, a more detailed examination of the specific details of this painting reveals possibilities for female power which Berger's approach necessarily omits.

Setting aside the question of the spectator for a moment, the most striking element of this painting is the contrast between the beautiful, nude, jewel-bedecked woman dominating the well-lit foreground and the plainly-dressed woman kneeling by the window in the darkened background. The activity occupying the kneeling woman is obscured by darkness, but her dress and position suggests a maid employed at some menial task, perhaps washing the floor. The contrast of plainness and richness, hard labour and leisure juxtaposes the potential lifestyle of the "respectable" woman with the potential rewards of a less conventional existence.

The artist's attitude toward the mistress is shown by the exclusion of certain possibilities and the inclusion of others. Although the presence of the mirror evokes the *vanitas* tradition, its impact is minimized because the mistress ignores its reflection, avoiding the implication of narcissism, nor does she gaze at her reflection in a gesture of self-recognition, nor is the reflection itself distorted in some way to suggest aging or death. Although the mirror is supported by the figures of a nude man and woman, their mature embrace appears mutual and suggests neither force nor reluctance. They are absorbed with each other, and the female figure is not displayed

for the external spectator. The figures may mark the way the woman has earned her jewels, but the point has not been belaboured as it might have been by the presence of a bed looming in the darkened background or by the presence of a male spectator.

The mistress's jewels may be her "salary," but they are not gaudy or ostentatious. There is no suggestion of pride or vanity. The mistress holds a ring lightly between the thumb and forefinger of her right hand. Her ability to decide, as she dresses, whether to wear or not to wear the ring contrasts with the many betrothal paintings which freeze the moment of the man placing the ring on the woman's finger. As Queen Elizabeth noted the marriage ring is also a "yoke ring" (Luke 67). Choices are available to the royal mistress which are not present in the lives of more conventional women. By positioning the mistress toward the viewer the painter creates a suggestion of erotic appeal; however, the woman maintains an upright and central position and is not displayed in a passive position made deliberately provocative.[1] Unlike the Nell Gwynn portrait, this mistress is displayed only to the navel. Her naked breasts become an emblem of her office without her complete image being offered up. The mistress's eye contact is neither passive nor is it "the expression of a woman responding with calculated charm to the man whom she imagines looking at her" (Berger 55). Although her gaze is warm and appealing, the mistress's half-smile implies a degree of mutual enjoyment echoed by the lovers supporting the mirror. Her amusement may well include the male painter who must

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[1]See Nancy J. Vickers's discussion in "The Mistress in the Masterpiece" in *The Poetics of Gender*, ed. Nancy K. Miller (New York: Columbia UP, 1986) 28ff.

cope with painting a half-naked female figure who is also his social and political superior. Although a painting of a mistress may be read as a celebration of the possession by the possessor, it is clear here that the representation may also admit the possibilities of female agency.

Women can have some presence in male-authored works. As Constance Jordan observes, "misogynist literature can have a feminist dimension; by depicting women as forceful rebels, it can convey their capacity to think and to act" (19). Subversion in such examples may take place in spite of a text's patriarchal agenda; however, subversive elements may also be so thoroughly managed by patriarchal forces that all contradictions are reconciled or eradicated. My reading of the de Poitiers painting demonstrates a more positive inclusion of female subjectivity and power within the representations of a patriarchal culture. The historical signs of influence, of power, exercised in the interests of those other than the dominant group suggest some ability to identify and articulate interests which do not necessarily correspond to those of the dominant ideology. This potential for limited individual autonomy may create the opportunity for sympathetic representations within specific historical contexts: "some Renaissance treatises signed by men express feminist opinions based on a sympathetic identification with the 'female position,' a fact that may distinguish Renaissance from later feminisms" (20). I believe a term borrowed from photography might be helpful in considering male-authored representations of women. A still photograph cannot record movement; however, it can capture signs of that movement. Photographers refer to good and bad ghosts—blurred traces of images

which find their way into otherwise clear pictures. Good ghosts are the artistically pleasing record of movement—a blur around a bird's wing, for instance. I think male-authored texts can also exhibit ghosting: whether intended or not, feminist or not, these texts can refer to the realities of women's lives. In the representations of royal mistresses, we find traces of the gender struggles of the past, women who had access to significant power, and women who used that power effectively.

Chapter One

The Renaissance Context: Two Case Histories

A famous tragic queen and a little known seventeenth-century poet appear to have little in common, but Anne Boleyn and Aemilia Lanyer shared many of the dangers and rewards of becoming mistresses to the most powerful men of their times. Their stories are characteristic of the experiences of many mistresses throughout the Renaissance and demonstrate both the anxieties and the fantasies royal mistresses aroused. In the contest between male authority and female sexuality, Anne Boleyn and Aemilia Lanyer resisted being reduced to the passive object of desire which social conventions and male desires defined as the mistress's role. Some historians have attempted to reduce and restrain these women still further, but—whether Anne is undermining George Cavendish or Lanyer is contradicting A. L. Rowse—their resistance continues.

To ask significant questions about royal mistresses and to apply these questions usefully to the relevant courtly and popular literature is possible only if we apply some resistance of our own: the usual titillating and reassuring practice of descending to "scholarly" gossip and smirking inference must be abandoned. Rather than settling for the endlessly fascinating question of "who was sleeping with whom," I will be asking less pleasant questions: who had power in the relationship? was there any choice for the woman? what motivations were involved? and, what was the outcome? The stories of Anne Boleyn and Aemilia Lanyer raise uncomfortable

questions requiring genuinely complicated answers.

The first question "whose power?" becomes a more sensitive and productive line of inquiry when we broaden our notions of power to include the concept of power as process. Historical materials and accounts reinterpreted accordingly reveal unexpected insights into the lives of royal mistresses.

In the literary accounts of Anne Boleyn and in the poems by Aemilia Lanyer, one equivalent of power may be textual presence. In their introduction to *Seeking the Woman in Late Medieval and Renaissance Writings*, Sheila Fisher and Janet E. Halley discuss ways of coping with "the textual history of women's absence" (5). They outline two approaches to the problem: first, "feminist criticism . . . can offer us a sense of the ideological function of literature. . . . by charting the positions and positionings of female characters within the textual tradition;" and second, drawing on Adrienne Munich, "feminist literary criticism of male-authored texts need not rest with alerting us to the mythologizing of women in patriarchy. Feminist readings . . . can also explore the implications about women's power, perceived or actual, that these writings attempt to submerge" (4-5). Both approaches arise out of the recognition that women in early modern texts are not attempts to represent female reality. These texts are men talking to men not about women but through them.

As I have suggested in the introduction, I am concerned that these approaches may overlook women who are present in male-authored texts. Ghostings may prevent women from disappearing without a textual trace.

*

Refusing the king outright may not be possible, but between the development of his interest and the consummation of the relationship the mistress apparently does have some space for negotiation. At some point, probably in 1528,[1] Henry VIII wrote to Anne Boleyn in a torment of doubt:

> By turning over in my thoughts the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into a great agony; not knowing how to understand them . . . I beseech you now, with the greatest earnestness, to let me know your whole intention, as to the love between us two. For I must of necessity obtain this answer of you; having been a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from naming you my mistress, since you only love me with an ordinary affection; but if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, body and heart, to me . . . I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress; casting off all others that are in competition with you, out of my thoughts and affection, and serving you only.[2]

The development of Henry's interest has not necessitated Anne's immediate

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[1]Most historians assign Henry's seventeen love letters to 1527 or 28; however, the letters are undated, and their chronological order is unknown.

[2]Translated from the French by Henry Savage, letter IV, 41-2.

capitulation. Having pursued Anne for a year, Henry is still not certain if she loves him or if she is "his." Henry's attempt to threaten her with "competition" and bribe her with priority of place only emphasises his inability to control their relationship. However, we must resist making the leap from the king's uncertainty to assuming a mistress's toying control. Given the narrowness of Anne's alternatives, we should not assume Anne's hesitation is part of a seductive game to increase her attractiveness.

The "secret" of Anne's attractiveness has been a matter for debate.[3] Political motivations colour the descriptions of Anne; for example, "Nicholas Sander, who probably never saw Anne, claimed in his Latin history, which was published almost fifty years after her death, that she was very tall and physically disfigured" (Warnicke 58). A modern historian points to Anne's youth in comparison with the aging queen and hints at the skills of a seductress:

> As for what it was about Anne that attracted him, that too remains something of a mystery. She was no obvious beauty, apart from her dark almond-eyes, about which most people commented. . . . perhaps it was her sophisticated French ways that enticed him.
>
> (Gwyn 511)

The enumeration of Anne's "French ways" by Warnicke shifts the emphasis from her ability to "entice" to her ability to "entertain" and "please":

> She was the perfect woman courtier, for she had learned her lessons

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[3]For the details of Anne Boleyn's life, I have depended largely on the careful and thoughtful histories of Anne by E. W. Ives and Retha M. Warnicke.

> in France well: . . . she danced with ease, had a pleasant singing voice, played the lute and several other musical instruments well, and spoke French fluently. She is also reputed to have written a masque and to have composed music. A remarkable, intelligent, quick-witted, young noblewoman with a personal knowledge of many of the players in European politics, she surely had a repertoire of anecdotes about the Habsburg and Valois courts that first drew people into conversation with her and then amused and entertained them. (59)

The woman brought to life by Warnicke's description clearly offers qualities to be valued in courtiers of either sex. It is easy to imagine a king's pleasure at finding a courtier intelligent enough to avoid being entirely sycophantic or offensively blunt. When the qualities of a good courtier appear in an attractive, lively young woman, the king's interest hardly seems mysterious.

However, as Henry's letter demonstrates, acquiring a mistress could be a far more uncertain and emotionally troubling enterprise than obtaining a wife. While this uncertainty is flirted with continually in courtly poetry, Henry's letter demonstrates the potential reality behind the courtly game: his cold depiction of setting Anne up as his mistress prevents us from reading this letter as one more elaborate compliment. Henry's doubts in part may stem from the lack of an established manner of acquiring a mistress which makes the woman's agreement more necessary than in marriage.

For the nobility the acquisition of a wife during the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries rarely depended on the woman's decision. The "natural" hierarchy of the family placed the unmarried woman under the control of her father or another male guardian; the financial and social requirements of the family routinely dictated the conditions of her marriage. The Boleyn family was no exception, but the family role in the case of a mistress was not as clearly defined.

Prior to his relationship with Anne, Henry had an affair with Mary Boleyn, Anne's sister. Corroborating evidence of their affair comes from Henry: "later in life, the king himself was taxed with having slept with both Anne's sister and her mother. His naively revealing reply was: 'Never with the mother'" (Ives 19). Mary Boleyn was eventually married off to William Carey, a union which benefitted the Boleyn family both socially and politically.

Comments in Henry's letters to Anne suggest her family was active in encouraging their relationship. Henry concludes one letter with, "Written by the hand of your servant, who often wishes you in your brother's room" (Savage, trans. from French, letter IX, 45). Was this a place where they could meet without encouraging court rumours? In another letter Henry, impatient to see Anne, asks

> I beg you, dear mistress, to tell your father from me, that I desire him to hasten the appointment by two days, that he may be in court before the Old Term, or at farthest on the day prefixed; for otherwise I shall think, he will not do the lover's turn, (as he said he would,) nor answer my expectation.
>
> (Savage, trans. from French, letter X, 45-6)

While the role of the Boleyn family should not be underestimated, I think it would be misleading to see Anne as merely a pawn of family interests.[4] At least initially, Henry is likely to have communicated directly with Anne; even for the king a direct appeal to the family of a prospective mistress would probably not have been appropriate. We do know Henry was in frequent communication with Anne both by letter and oral message. In the absence of formal negotiations between her family and her suitor, Anne—as would any mistress—had greater opportunity to influence (if not control) her circumstances than an upper class bride could expect.

Anne's quick-witted response to a love note from Henry in a book of hours had obviously not required family guidance or assistance. Anne wrote,

> By daily proof you shall me find
>
> To be to you both loving and kind.

And with deliberate promise she wrote the couplet below the portrayal of the Annunciation.[5]

The promise Anne holds out to Henry is not simply that of sexual satisfaction but also

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[4]Ives provides a convincing picture of Thomas Boleyn's ambition (4-17), but does not see Anne as simply her father's tool. Warnicke argues that Anne's secret alliance/betrothal with Lord Henry Percy is one example of her tendency to act independently of her family: "that she must have been acting without their knowledge in 1523 is indicated by the disappearance of her and not her Boleyn relatives from the official documents for more than three years" (47).

[5]Ives 7. Quoted from BL, King's MS 9, ff. 66v, 231.

the promise of a male heir. We must not assume that Henry eventually broke down and married Anne in order to get in to her bed, nor should we assume that Henry's sense of morality made him anxious to marry the women he desired. Anne's qualities as a courtier combined with her family's influence would probably have resulted in a prestigious career as a royal mistress.

Henry's initial offer to Anne seems to be the role of semi-official mistress. The publicly-recognised royal concubine had existed in England in the early middle ages. As Pauline Stafford's study shows, concubines and their children were often able to acquire considerable power and status, until the "need to produce heirs whose claims to legitimacy were uncontested forced kings to accommodate ecclesiastical ideas on marriage" (68-69). Stafford distinguishes marriage, a social relationship, from concubinage, a sexual relationship "usually of long—even lifelong—duration, but lacking legal protection for the woman and her children, and easily terminated" (63). By the eleventh and twelfth century these distinctions were becoming more rigid: wives were becoming more difficult to discard, but when necessary children might still be legitimised.

By the sixteenth century, the keeping of an official concubine had been out of practice for centuries; however, the office remained part of the public consciousness. At the end of Henry's reign, the author of the homily "Of Washpots and Concubines" strives to convince his audience that the concubines of the Bible in

no way resemble contemporary mistresses:[6] "after the phrase of the scripture, a concubine is an honest name, for euery concubine is a lawfull wife, but euery wife is not a concubine" (Chandos 55). The author explains that a full wife is the free born woman with charge of the household, while the concubines are bondwomen or servants subordinate to the wife. This polygamy is justified by the necessity of populating the world: "The pluralitie of wiues, was by a speciall prerogatiue suffered to the fathers of the olde Testament, not for satisfying their carnall and fleshly lustes, but to haue many children" (Chandos 56). The homilist makes it clear that sixteenth century men do not qualify for the exception made for the Old Testament patriarchs. We can only imagine what his reaction might have been to a letter written by Martin Luther only sixteen years earlier.

In reaction to Henry's manoeuvring for a divorce, Luther wrote to Robert Barnes on September 3, 1531:

> I do not now question what a papal dispensation in such matters is worth, but I say that even if the King sinned in marrying his brother's widow it would be a much greater sin cruelly to put her away now. Rather let him take another queen, following the

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[6]This is one of a number of sermons which were first published in 1547 but continued to appear through the Elizabethan and Jacobean reigns as *Certain Sermons appointed by the Queen's Majesty to be Declared and Read by all parsons . . . every Sunday and holyday in their Churches for the better understanding of the simple people.* See Chandos 53-56.

> example of the patriarchs, who had many wives even before the law of Moses sanctioned the practice, but let him not thrust his present wife from her royal position. (Smith 196)

This second wife Luther elsewhere refers to as a "concubine" (Smith 197). Long after the regular practice of concubinage had ceased, the precedent remained as a weak self-justification for keeping a mistress or as a pragmatic solution to an international crisis.

While the official role of concubine had fallen into disuse, men had continued to keep mistresses. Ralph A. Houlbrooke tells us, "A number of mid-Tudor peers kept mistresses and provided for bastard children in their wills" (117). Lawrence Stone comments on the acceptability of the practice:

> In the early sixteenth century open maintenance of a mistress—usually of lower-class origin—was perfectly compatible with a respected social position and a stable marriage. Peers clearly saw nothing shameful in these liaisons, and up to about 1560 they are often to be found leaving bequests to bastard children in their wills. (*Crisis* 662)

From Stone's description, we see that Anne's class was higher than usual for a mistress. In addition, Henry already had an illegitimate son from his relationship with Elizabeth Blount. Henry's need for a legitimate male heir must have been at least as compelling a factor in his divorce and remarriage as his attraction to Anne. Although it is easy to interpret Anne's change in status from mistress to wife as a significant social and political gain, the change in reality placed her in a far more vulnerable

position. The tension between power and powerlessness which marks Anne Boleyn's life is reflected in the literary representations of her.

Thomas Wyatt's "Whoso list to hunt" is a good example of counterbalanced paradoxical views of the mistress:

> Who so list to hount, I knowe where is an hynde,
> But as for me, helas, I may no more:
> The vayne travaill hath weried me so sore.
> I ame of theim that farthest commeth behinde;
> Yet may I by no meanes my weried mynde
> Drawe from the Diere: but as she fleeth afore,
> Faynting I folowe. I leve of therefore,
> Sins in a nett I seke to hold the wynde.
> Who list her hount, I put him owte of dowbte,
> As well as I may spend his tyme in vain:
> And, graven with Diamonds, in letters plain
> There is written her faier neck rounde abowte:
> *Noli me tangere*, for Cesars I ame;
> And wylde for to hold, though I seme tame. (Muir 7)

Is the mistress the powerless target of the hunt or the wild deer who successfully evades all her pursuers?

In his reading of this poem, Stephen Greenblatt co-opts the reader in order to implicate him in the movement from mystical to political interpretations. He

argues,

> The poet twice addresses the reader as a potential hunter—'Whoso list to hunt,' 'Who list her hunt'—both inviting and dissuading him, making him reenact the poet's own drama of involvement and disillusionment. We share the passage from fascination to bitterness, longing to weariness. (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 149)

As a heterosexual woman, I do not feel included in this invitation, nor do I "share" the hunter's experience exclusively. Whether or not this is a poem about Thomas Wyatt, Anne Boleyn, and Henry VIII, my interest and identification are also claimed by the deer.

In "The Empire's New Clothes: Refashioning the Renaissance," Marguerite Waller explores her own discomfort with new historicism as practised by Stephen Greenblatt and others. Waller finds that the "discursive practices [of new historicists] bespeak a desire for, an investment or belief in, the epistemology of authority" (161). She argues that "the selfhood Greenblatt has demarcated as his object of study—leads to a symptomatic denigration and exclusion of woman" (164). In a strategy similar to the readings I am attempting, Waller "counterreads" "Whoso list to hunt" in order "to demonstrate how our representations of the past *move*, how different they are depending upon what kinds of conceptual categories are or are not brought to bear on, what social categories are or are not included in, the analysis" (163). Waller reintroduces the category of women into a reading of Wyatt's poem.

Where Greenblatt focuses on the hunter and Caesar, Waller continually

returns us to the position of the deer. For example Greenblatt's explication of "wild" shifts the dangers of the poem from the deer to the hunters. As a wild thing, the deer is by nature dangerous, "and thus crystallizes that transformation of the hunter into the hunted subtly implied in the poet's inability to draw his wearied mind from the deer" (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 148). A further danger to the hunter is "in the power of 'Caesar'" who can "confer wildness. . . . This wildness is a form of protection for the hind; the collar stops the hunt, transforms the hind from prey to pet or possession. The deer seems tame, and this seeming tameness protects her wildness" (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 148). Waller deflates this play on wildness and tameness by reminding us of the parallel to Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII and by noting,

> [an] echo for the Renaissance reader might have been Plutarch's account of Julius Caesar's divorce from his wife Pompeia. She was rumored to have committed adultery, and though she was proved innocent, Caesar divorced her anyway, saying Caesar's wife must be above suspicion. This echo registers the political irrelevance of the ambiguity between wildness and tameness in the Wyatt sonnet. Whether the female figure appears wild or tame, "free" or domesticated, her status depends upon the will of Caesar. (172)

Waller reminds us of the vulnerability of the deer which Greenblatt's reading obscures.

Equally troubling to me is Greenblatt's progression from collar as sign of possession, to deer as pet, to deer as seeming tame. Wyatt does not actually provide us with a collar, and I wince as I read, "graven, with Diamonds, in letters plain /

There is written her fair neck round about" (11-12). The implied collar would apparently be studded or embroidered with diamonds, but "graven" suggests that the words have been cut out by diamonds used as carving implements. Since the collar is never actually provided, it becomes difficult to ignore the impression that these words are written on the body. Thoughts of slave collars and brands make the shift to "pet" difficult for me. A sign on an animal does not necessarily make it either a "pet" or "tame." The branding of the deer further objectifies the female figure the deer represents.

This objectification should make us suspicious of the speaker's attribution of speech to the deer in the final lines of the poem:

> *Noli me tangere*, for Caesars I ame;
>
> And wylde for to hold, though I seme tame. (13-4)

Greenblatt ignores the speaker's transference of the words "*Noli me tangere*" from the carver (and presumably Caesar) to the deer who wears the words. Greenblatt finds the words of Christ from John 20: 17 "bitterly ironic" as they are used by the deer/woman/mistress:

> Christ's Glorified Body . . . has four qualities, qualities which are at least implicitly present in Petrarch's poem and which seem to be parodied in Wyatt's poem: *impassibility*, or freedom from suffering, becomes cold indifference; *clarity*, or glorious beauty, becomes the irresistible lure of the woman; *agility*, or the ability to pass from place to place with great speed, becomes the lady's maddening

> elusiveness; and *subtlety*, or the complete subjection of the body to the soul, becomes the subtlety of the courtesan.
>
> (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 148-49)

Greenblatt has gone looking for a mistress and found her, just as the speaker has found a wild animal where he hunted one. The imagery of the hunt reduces Anne's role as Henry's mistress to the strictly sexual, denying the reality of her power at court and substituting sexual attractiveness which is defined by those who pursue her. Greenblatt's attribution of the courtesan's powers to the deer corresponds with his attribution of speech to her.

However, the deer does not say "*Noli me tangere*": "[t]his text . . . actively usurps the place of woman as speaker, or writer, as producer of language, especially in its odd appropriation of the first person singular pronoun 'I'" (Waller 169). Waller suggests that this phrase is used by the poet to characterise Caesar and disrupt the power he represents:

> The poem, through its presentation of Caesar's appropriation of the words of the biblical Christ, arguably suggests that language belongs at once to no one and to everyone (provided that everyone is male), implying that any sense of mastery coming from, mediated by, or directed toward language must be illusory. (170)

This unsettling of Caesar's power is central to the poem's "rhetorical power playing" (Waller 177). While Caesar blocks the poet's acquisition of the deer,

> The poet and the hunter, meanwhile, through their competition with

> the king for the power to 'own' the image of sexual desire, serve as obstacles to the king's full possession of the authority which seems to block their way. . . . all of the male figures are put in the best of all possible positions for maintaining the illusion of the stable, sovereign subject—that of having the image of desire within sight, but just out of reach or made slightly insecure due to some external obstacle. (Waller 177-8)

The threats to the men perceived by Greenblatt are counterread by Waller as an integral part of the competitive self-defining game being played by the male poet. Greenblatt's attributions to the deer of a mistress's wiles, protected status, and speech obscure the strategies in the poem which usurp and threaten the female position while stabilizing the position of the male poet.

The discomfort I feel, and Waller as well I suspect, comes from Greenblatt's omission of the cost of the games played by the men. Waller concludes,

> the woman who makes the competitive male relationship, and hence the sovereign self, possible, is herself placed in a highly unstable, highly unflattering, perilous and powerless double bind. She is structurally required, only to be denied and despised, abused for her role in a dynamic not of her own choosing and out of which she stands to gain nothing. (178)

This rhetorical instability corresponds to the political dangers experienced by Boleyn. If the speaker is weary of the hunt, this can only be a sign of the greater weariness of

the deer. While the men may pursue her in relays rather like hounds, she cannot stop fleeing. The "wildness" which Greenblatt relates to uncontrollable sexuality (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 147) threatens Caesar as much as the other hunters. This threat is in turn the source of the greatest danger to the deer and explains why she must continue to run from the hunters. The game the hunters play can be fatal to the deer.

Was the game what killed Anne and five men in the end? Ironically, Anne would probably have been more successful and safer as a mistress than a wife. Mistresses might be set aside, pensioned or married off, but more drastic means of disposing of them were not required: wives tended to be a more complicated matter. Anne's fate shows how insecure the role of wife—even queen—could be. Anne was arrested May 2, 1536 on accusations of adultery with Norris, Brereton, Weston and Smeaton and of incest with George Boleyn, her brother. Two days after the executions of the five men, Anne Boleyn was beheaded on May 19, 1536. Some defenses of Anne appeared after Elizabeth's succession, but Elizabeth could not address the subject directly: "Throughout her long life Elizabeth is said never once to have referred to her mother. But that is no proof of Anne's guilt, since Elizabeth could not speak kindly of her mother without casting blame on the father whose royalty she had inherited" (Bruce 335). The historian is caught in a similar bind: Anne cannot be defended without Henry being condemned. After much wrestling Frederick Chamberlin arrives at two proposals:

(1) That either Henry decided to murder six innocent persons

> including his own wife, and succeeded in obtaining the cooperation of ninety-one Englishmen who were the highest officials of the state, the most exalted of the nobility or designated as 'gentlemen'; or (2) that there was sufficient evidence against the six defendants to convince these ninety-one men that the prisoners were guilty of *something of a sexual nature involving the succession* for which they ought to be executed. (349)

Chamberlin decides on the second theory as "more likely to be right" (351).

More recently, historians have been willing to entertain the first theory. Ives describes Henry not as bloodthirsty, but as brilliantly manipulated by Thomas Cromwell. Cromwell's attack on Anne was a way for him to gain the upper hand against the entire Boleyn faction:

> Anne was the victim of a struggle for power, and Henry at his rare moments of honesty admitted it. When later in 1536 Jane Seymour tried to persuade the king to restore the abbeys, he reminded her brusquely of his frequent advice not to meddle in affairs of state and warned her to take Anne as her object lesson. (Ives 402)

Warnicke accepts neither the "guilty of something" theory nor the factional politics theory. On re-examining the circumstances and reactions to Anne's miscarriage four months prior to the execution, Warnicke maintains that Anne "was a victim of her society's mores and of human ignorance about conception and pregnancy" (242). Warnicke argues that Anne's miscarriage of a deformed fetus led to her execution

based on Henry's belief that she was a witch.[7]

Both Ives and Warnicke note that Anne's speech prior to her beheading avoids the traditional admission of guilt:

> Good Christen people, I am come hether to dye, for according to the lawe, and by the lawe I am judged to dye, and therefore I wyll speak no thynge agaynst it. I am come hether to accuse no man, nor to speake any thynge of that, whereof I am accused and condempned to dye, but I pray God save the king and send him long to reygne over you, for a gentler nor a more mercifull prince was there never: and to me he was ever a good, a gentle and soveraygne lorde. And yf anye persone wyll medle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leve of the worlde and of you all, and I hertely desyre you all to praye for me. O Lord have mercy on me, to God I commend my soule.
>
> (Hall 268)

Recognising that we are likely to be dissatisfied with this speech, Ives reminds us of the contemporary response:

> the crowd, far more attuned to nuances than we are, got the point nevertheless. There was no public admission of sin, even of a general kind, and still less any confession that she had wronged Henry. Anne spoke firmly, 'with goodly smiling countenance', and

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[7]See Warnicke's Chapter 8 "Sexual Heresy" for the development of this argument.

> soon the news would be all round London that she had died 'boldly', without the acceptance of the morality of the sentence which a truly penitent adulteress should show. (410)

We may be dissatisfied with Anne's hinted resistance, but her contemporaries were clearly unsettled by her final words. Poetic representations of Anne after her death demonstrate the degree to which historical events may be manipulated to agree with societal norms.

An anonymous ballad described as "A Ditty setting-forth the Inconstancy of Fortune, from a Fable of a Falcon who flew from the other Birds, to the top of a Mountain adorned with a fine Rose-tree, where a loving Lion chose her a Nest . . . By the Falcon is meant Queen Anne Boleyne, it being her Device; by the Mountain, England; and by the Lion, K. Henry VIII. to be sure, "[8] offers "direct speech" from Anne but reflects the social and political pressure for Anne to accept her judgment and death. Anne is made to take full responsibility for the destruction of her family and herself:

> "for myne offence I am full woo!
> & yf I had hurte my selfe, & no moo,
> I had don welle & I had don soo;
> hyt was not my fortune.

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[8]Harleian Catalogue, ii. 585, col. 1, Art. 60. From Frederick J. Furnivall and W. R. Morfill 409-413.

"All that folowith my lyne,

& to my favur they did enclyne,

they may well ban the tyme

That ever they founde suche fortune! (st. XX-XXI)

Anne also explicitly admits to adultery: "'I had A lover stedfaste & trewe: / A-lase that ever I chaungyd for new!'" (st. XXII) The anonymous poet pulls back in the conclusion to recommend we leave Anne's judgment to God, : "thow she wylfully dyd offend" (st. XXVII). The poet uses the *de casibus* theme to dodge questions of responsibility: fortune raises Anne and fortune destroys her. The roles of Anne's family, Wolsey, Cromwell, and especially Henry in the course of events are omitted. Anne's fall from favour is summed up by "At the last cam A storme, & serten thrall / sharper then ony thorne, & A grete fall" (st. XIII). In spite of the pressure to assert Anne's guilt, not all of the depictions of her story resort to such drastic oversimplification.

A remarkable treatment of Anne is an intriguing feature of George Cavendish's *Metrical Visions*. Thoroughly immersed in the *de casibus* tradition, Cavendish's primary objective is to present the lives of historical figures as moral exempla on the vagaries of fortune. As the stories are intended to provide the narrator with opportunities for generalised comments on fate and human nature, we expect little individuation of character. Cavendish overturns our expectations by creating surprisingly distinctive characters. Like "Whoso list to hunt," the *Visions* are by a male author whose male narrator reports the words of a female speaker: as in "A

Ditty," the *Visions* assume Anne's guilt. Nevertheless, Cavendish resists the wholesale usurpation of the woman's position which we find in Wyatt's sonnet and in the anonymous poem. The narrator is extremely cautious in his comments and observations, and Anne and the other female speakers do not become mouthpieces for the conventional patriarchal assumptions about the nature of woman. Whether through conscious effort or not, Cavendish creates poems in which traces of individual subjectivity have survived.

The ghostings in Cavendish's work become evident when we realise how significantly the *Metrical Visions* differ from both their primary source, John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, and their more famous near contemporary, *The Mirror for Magistrates*.[9] A. S. G. Edwards' edition of the *Visions* demonstrates the extent of Cavendish's dependence on the *Fall*. Edwards observes that "[n]early two hundred lines in the *Metrical Visions* are borrowed from Lydgate" (10) and that the "*Visions* seem to attempt to reproduce the whole apparatus and ethos of the *Fall of Princes*. Cavendish introduces exhortations on Fortune and admonitions on the mutability of human affairs. He added formal envoys, [and] made interpolations in his narrative" (10-11). Put less generously by Judith H. Anderson, "The *Visions* are uninspired, wholly conventional examples of the Fall-of-Princes and Mirror-for-Princes tradition" (*Biographical Truth* 38). The *Fall of Princes* contains the falls of both men and women who tell their stories to a male narrator, represented as Lydgate, who provides

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[9]All citations are from the following editions: *Metrical Visions*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards; *Fall of Princes*, ed. Henry Bergen; *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Lily B. Campbell.

the narrative bridges between tales. The Lydgate-narrator, following Boccaccio's example, frequently comments on the morals to be taken from the falls and includes numerous digressions which tend to reflect on the weak and unstable nature of woman or on the unusual chastity and patience of a few exceptional women.

The Mirror for Magistrates, first published in 1559, is presented as a continuation of Lydgate's work. The *Mirror*-narrator is provided with few opportunities to reflect on women as the 1559 edition does not include any female narrators in the 19 tragedies. The tendency to regard women as inappropriate subjects for historians seems to have negated Lydgate's example. The 1563 edition adds eight new tragedies but only one is of a woman, the nameless Shore's wife; a second woman, Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, is added in 1578 and no more are added in 1587 when the total number of tragedies reaches 33.

Cavendish's *Visions*, probably written in 1554, betray an attitude strikingly different from the *Mirror* published five years later. Of 26 tragedies and epitaphs, six are of women, and the lack of comment by either the Cavendish-narrator or the other speakers implies that the presence of women is not regarded as unusual or inappropriate. Before turning to Anne, I would like to spend a few moments on the Cavendish-narrator, since appreciating the significant distinctions between this narrator and his predecessors will provide a necessary context for reading Anne's tragedy.

Following Lydgate's model, Cavendish's overall narrator is a male identified with the author; however, unlike the Lydgate-narrator, the Cavendish-narrator takes on a primarily descriptive role and only rarely comments on the imbedded tales and their

narrators. In the case of Lady Jane Gray, the narrator responds to her tale with a single line: "To answere hir complaynt / I wyst not what to say" (2272). Similarly, the narrator has little to say in the case of Jane, Viscountess of Rocheford. Although within her tale she is judged most harshly of all the women, the Cavendish-narrator does not dwell on her status as a widow. She is condemned for her lust and viciousness, but no connection is ever made between these qualities and her widowed state. We find the Cavendish-narrator repeatedly refrains from the sexual moral commentary and gender stereotyping which we have come to expect of this highly conventional genre.

The Cavendish-narrator also appears to avoid setting the type of rhetorical traps which the Lydgate-narrator obviously enjoys. At the end of Book I, Lydgate provides a section entitled "Thexcus of Bochas for his [w]riting ageyn mysgovern[ed] [w]ommen in stede of lenvoye" (6706). In a familiar manoeuvre, any female objection to the *Fall* will be interpreted as a sign of guilt:

> Ye that be goode founde in your degre,
> And vertuous bothe in thouht and deede,
> What Bochas sei[e]th, tak[e] ye noon heede;
> For his writyng, yiff it be discernyd,
> Is nat ageyn hem that be weel gouernyd. (I. 6709-6713)

Lydgate then observes that it is only the galled horse which dreads being touched. The Cavendish-narrator apparently avoids similar strategies; however, we must consider whether Cavendish holds back on commentary by his narrator only to allow

the fallen to condemn themselves.

The most telling case is probably that of Anne Boleyn. The Cavendish-narrator's silence here is the most conspicuous. The narrative bridges around Anne's story are where we would expect the most extensive commentary, since Cavendish had known Anne during his many years in Cardinal Wolsey's service: "Cavendish entered Wolsey's service in the early 1520s . . . and served his master faithfully as gentleman-usher until the end came at Leicester Abbey" (Lockyer 10). Cavendish, as Wolsey's attendant, was on hand throughout Anne's rise to power and would have had many occasions to observe her and would have been privy to some of Wolsey's views on her as well. However, Cavendish's account of events cannot be entirely accurate, since, as Lockyer reminds us, "as a gentleman-usher he was concerned above all with external appearances. He was never an intimate friend of Wolsey, and knew little or nothing about the intricate political manoeuvres in which the Cardinal was engaged" (7-8). Given Cavendish's loyalty to Wolsey and his sketchy knowledge of events behind the scenes, it is not surprising that Cavendish probably assigns Anne too great a role in Wolsey's fall from royal favour. Cavendish believed that Anne harboured a grudge against the Cardinal for his intervention between herself and Lord Percy: in his *Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, Cavendish admonishes, "mark, good reader, the grudge, how it began, that in process burst out to the utter undoing of the Cardinal" (Sylvester and Harding, *Tudor Lives* 37).

Despite Cavendish's perspective on events, he provides some interesting glimpses of Anne and Wolsey. As Richard S. Sylvester and Davis P. Harding note in

the Introduction to *Two Early Tudor Lives*, historians "value the *mémoire*-like quality of his [Cavendish's] finest moments and pay at least implicit tribute to the calm impartiality of his portrait of Wolsey" (*Tudor Lives* x). Although he is loyal to Wolsey, Cavendish portrays his faults as well as his virtues. Commenting on Wolsey's acquisition of vast powers, Lockyer reminds us of Wolsey's persuasiveness where Henry was concerned:

> From this distance of time we can see only the Cardinal's arrogance and ostentation, his hunger after money and power. And yet he must have had honey in his tongue, for he rose by his wits and insinuated himself into the confidence of two kings as well as a host of lesser men. (18)

Cavendish's description of Anne hints at a woman courtier who became a rival to Wolsey's influence. Cavendish acknowledges the qualities which led to Anne's success: "she was admitted to be one of Queen Catherine's maids; among whom, for her excellent gesture and behavior, [she] did excel all other" (*Tudor Lives* 31-32). Cavendish also refers to her power with the king: "It was therefore judged by and by through all the court of every man that she, being in such favor with the King, might work masteries with the King and obtain any suit of him for her friend" (*Tudor Lives* 37). Sylvester glosses "work masteries" as "do wonders" (n. 1), and Lockyer substitutes "mysteries," but Cavendish's suggestion of Anne's "mastery" seems particularly appropriate. We can only imagine Wolsey's reaction to the growing power of the upstart woman. Whatever his religious convictions on the matter of the

divorce, Wolsey probably did not want to see Anne's power increased any further.

Although Cavendish simplifies the political machinations at court, he does record the coalescing of a political faction around Anne. Cavendish explains that "the great lords of the council" recognised in Anne an opportunity to rid themselves of the powerful Cardinal:

> Wherefore they, perceiving the great affection that the King bare lovingly unto Mistress Anne Boleyn, fantasying in their heads that she should be for them a sufficient and an apt instrument to bring their malicious purpose to pass, with whom they often consulted in this matter. And she, having both a very good wit and also an inward desire to be revenged of the Cardinal, was as agreeable to their requests as they were themselves. (*Tudor Lives* 38)

Cavendish's acknowledgement of Anne's intelligence prevents her from seeming merely a pawn of the council. Nothing in the *Life*, however, would suggest that Cavendish viewed Anne any differently than his master who describes Anne as "a continual serpentine enemy about the King" (*Tudor Lives* 141).

The *Metrical Visions* might have served Cavendish as an opportunity to vilify the "enemy" of Wolsey, but the Cavendish-narrator of the *Visions* betrays none of the personal antipathy we might expect. I believe the same impartiality which Cavendish applies to Wolsey in the *Life* influences his portrait of Anne in the *Visions*. In his initial description of Anne's ghost, the narrator seems emotionally detached:

> A lady I sawe sobbyng / that happe made to wayll

Wryngyng of her handes / hir voyce she owt brayd

Complaynyng on fortune / thes wordes to me she sayd /. (516-18)

Anne is not pointed to as the cause of the falls already depicted, nor is her ghost described in any unusual manner.

The narrator's concluding response to her tale is even more curious:

My hart lamentid / by carefull constraynt

To se ffortune / conceyve / suche an occasion

A quene to ouer throwe / frome hyr Royall mancion

Hauyng no respect to hyr hyghe renown

But frome hyr estate / thus cruelly to throwe down. (633-37)

Götz Schmitz, in *The Fall of Women In Early English Narrative Verse*, accounts for Cavendish's apparent pity for Anne as a consequence of the sentimental nature of the complaint genre: "The fact that the Complaint makes us look at a case like Anne Boleyn's from only one side combines with the bias given in a first-person narrative and intensifies the overall asymmetrical effect" (113). I concede that such false sentimentality may colour the complaints written at their height of popularity in the 1590s; however, the *Visions* come very early in the tradition before the conventions are really established. I can agree with Schmitz that the poem "contains an apologetic element" (112), but I am equally convinced that the poem's dominant tone is not sentimental.

The *Visions* are completely consistent with the *Life*: there is no doubt that Cavendish believed Anne was guilty. Throughout the *Visions*, her ghost returns

frequently to the subject of her vice and ruined reputation. Anne describes herself as "spotted with pride / viciousnes and cruelte /" (532). After reflecting on her own lack of chastity, her second last stanza warns other women to be more careful,

> Ffayer welle fayer lades / .ffarewell all noble dames
> That sometyme ware obedyent / and kneled at my foote
> Eschewe detracion / preserue your honest names
> Geve non occasion / a sparke to kyndell flames
> Remember this sentence / that is bothe old and trewe
> Who wyll haue no smoke. / the fier must nedes eschewe /.
>
> (618-623)

Anne, rather than the Cavendish-narrator, does the moralising, but is it the moral we were expecting? I would have thought that the tale of a woman beheaded for adultery would have led to moralising on the changeable nature of women, their inability to resist temptation or their susceptibility to pride. Anne's warning does remind women to guard their chastity, but she also hints at practical advice for the young woman at court. Avoiding the dangers of court in the first place is a lesson delivered by both male and female speakers in the *Visions*.

If the theme of chastity seems typically patriarchal, we must recognise that Anne's warning is not made to depend on a gender-based weakness. In other works we might assume such a connection, but Anne's tale is preceded by Viscount Rocheford, who describes his life as "not chast" (302); by Weston who was ruled by lust and will (421); and by Mark Smeton who could not "bridell his lust" (508). Later

in the *Visions* during his deathbed complaint, Henry VIII describes his domination by "Venus Veneryall" (1329), which he says, "hathe darked my honor / spotted fame and glory" (1334). Anne's tale is not distinguished from the others by its discussion of chastity and lust: Anne may address women as her specific audience, but she does so without implying they are particularly in need of her warning.

Without attempting to shift the blame for her fall, Anne reminds us of her family's involvement in her rise to power:

> The noblest prynce / that rayned on the ground
> I had to my hosbond / he toke me to his wyfe /
> At home with my ffather / a mayden he me ffound
> And for my sake / of pryncely prerogatyfe
> To an Erele he auaunced / my father in his lyfe. (547-551)

Unlike some of Anne's detractors, Cavendish does not assume Anne was unchaste before her marriage. The force of "pryncely prerogatyfe" and family dynastic ambitions are all evoked without Anne indulging in accusations. Cavendish points to a serious social problem, but Anne maintains her personal dignity and does not appear to be looking for justifications for her actions. This characterization of Anne avoids the taint of abjectness on one side and cagey rationalization on the other.

Cavendish portrays Anne not as a wanton seduced by the pleasures of court, but as a woman driven by ambition. He goes as far as to compare Anne with Athaliah, a woman who killed her husband's heirs in order to usurp the throne of Israel which she then held for six years until she was put to the sword (2 Kings 11).

Anne declares,

> I may be compared / in euery circumstaunce
>
> To Gatholia [Athaliah] / that distroyed Davythes lynne
>
> Spared not the blood / by cruell vengaunce
>
> Of Goddes prophettes / but brought them to Rewyn
>
> Murder askythe murder / by murder she did fyne
>
> So in lyke wyse / resistyng my quarell
>
> How many . haue dyed / and endyd in parell /. (561-67)

Anne may be responsible for the deaths of those executed around her, but the parallel with Athaliah is hardly exact. The parallel becomes clearer and more sinister with Anne's assertion of her own dynastic ambitions:

> I did invent
>
> My sede to auaunce / it was my full entent
>
> Lynnyally to succed / in this Emperyall crown. (571-73)

Edwards points out that "[n]o such allegation was made against Anne at her trial or elsewhere," and he suggests that "Cavendish may have in mind the allegation that she planned to marry Norris after Henry's death" (Commentary 174). The comparison with Athaliah is unflattering, but it does portray a side to Anne's character which is completely repressed by Wyatt's "Whoso list to hunt" and by "A Ditty."

While Anne does admit to her lack of chastity, she is not made to repent her ambition. Her final lines both beg forgiveness and announce the debt is paid:

> Marcy noble prynce / I crave for myn offence /

The sharped sword / hathe made my recompense /. (629-30)

These words seem to me proud or even defiant rather than pitiful, and do not seem tinged with sentimentality.

The strong personality Cavendish portrays in his characterization of Anne contrasts sharply with his representation of Lady Jane Gray. Unlike Anne Boleyn, Lady Jane Gray appears as a headless corpse who communicates with the narrator "By signes without wordes" (2207). While Anne maintains a sense of independence, Jane is little more than a tool of her family. Jane begins her complaint with

why did ye me disseyve.

With ffaynyng ffantzes / ayenst all equytie and right

The Regall power / oniustly to receyve

To serue your tornes / I do right well perceyve /

Ffor I was your instrument / to worke your purpose by

All was but falshed / to bleere withall myn eye. (2210-2215)

Rather than chiding her counsellors for misleading a woman or dwelling on her weakness, Jane presents a moral on deception:

dissimulacion / and Couert craftynes /

Hath byn the occasion / of the ouerthrowe /

Of many a person / beyng in welthynes

And suche as vsed / the face of dublenes

Wherfore dissimulacion / and Crafty dealyng

Hath brought you and me / to vtter vndoyng /. (2229-2236)

Jane's moral, like Anne's, is not gender-specific. The Cavendish-narrator does not moderate his comments only to have the female speakers condemn themselves and their sex.

Cavendish restrains his personal antipathy for Anne, and consequently, his representation of Anne does more than assure us of her guilt. From his perspective, Cavendish may be simply giving the devil her due, but in the process, he creates an impression of Anne's ambition, intelligence, and personal power which other representations obliterate. Cavendish also overcomes the tendency to simplify and stereotype which the *de casibus* tradition encourages. He seems to be groping toward an individuation of character which does not depend on cultural stereotypes. For Cavendish, women do not comprise a category in all ways distinct from men, and a female speaker can be as capable of delivering a universal moral as a male speaker. If authentic creation of the female perspective is beyond Cavendish, he does manage with some success to resist the semi-hostile occupation of this space. His female speakers are something more like female speakers and less like disguised male speakers than we are likely to anticipate. Behind the conventional wringing hands and ghastly headlessness, the ghosts of early modern women make their presence felt.

A final place to look for Anne Boleyn is in two short poems which first appeared in print in 1776 when Sir John Hawkins published *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*: "Defiled is my name full sore" and "O Death, rocke me on slepe." Hawkins claimed that a "judicious antiquary" believed both poems "were written by, or in the person of Anne Boleyn" (Hawkins 376). Reproducing "O

Death, rocke me on slepe" in *Ancient Songs and Ballads* (1877), J. Ritson reassigned the poem to George Boleyn: "Rochford, brother to the above lady, and who suffered on her account, 'hath the fame . . . of being the author of songs and sonnets,' and to him the present editor is willing to refer the ensuing stanzas" (156). Ritson gives no other reason for the reassignment. More recently another editor, Ann Stanford, has printed both poems as possibly by Anne Boleyn, while acknowledging that the attribution is tentative. Editors and historians have tended to privilege the final words provided by Anne's detractors; these poems—whether by Anne or not—are the explicit declaration of innocence which the scaffold speech and its revised versions lack. The speaker of "O Death, rocke me on slepe" is resigned but not confessional:[10]

O death, O death, rocke mee a sleepe,
bringe mee to quiet reste:
lett passe my wearie guiltlesse Ghost,
out of my carefull brest.

Toll on your passing bell:
Ringe out my dolorfull knell:
Thy sound my death abroad will tell:
for I must die;
there is no remedie.

. . . . . .

Alone, alone in prison stronge

[10]This version varies slightly from the one reproduced by Hawkins.

I waile my destinie

wot worth this cruel happ; that I

must taste this miserie.

(BL, Add. MS 26737, fol. 212v)

"Defiled is my name full sore" rests less on resignation and more on defiance. Earlier in her career, Anne had demonstrated her willingness to outface court disapproval: Ives recounts that

> As Christmas 1530 approached, she [Anne] proclaimed her defiance of the world by having the livery coats of her servants embroidered with a version of the arrogant motto she had learned from Margaret of Austria: '*Ainsi sera, groigne qui groigne*'—'Let them grumble, that is how it is going to be!' (173)

Ives goes on to cite a carol which plays with this motto:

Grudge on who list, this is my lot:

Nothing to want if it were not.

. . . . . .

Some men doth say that friends be scarce,

But I have found, as in this case,

A friend which giveth to no man place

But makes me happiest that ever was,

If it were not. (174)

The effective use of the refrain is like that of "O Death," and the blunt tone of

defiance expressed in both the motto and the carol is also captured by "Defiled is my name full sore":

Defiled is my name full sore,
  Through cruel spyte and false report,
That I may say for evermore
  Farewell, my joy! adewe, comfort!

For wrongfully ye judge of me,
  Unto my fame a mortall wounde:
Say what ye lyst it wyll not be,
  Ye seek for that cannot be found.

(Hawkins 376, st. I-II)

Whether by Anne herself or one of her supporters, these poems openly resist the pressure to admit her guilt, unlike the veiled resistance of the scaffold speech, and the confessions of the anonymous poet's "A Ditty" and Cavendish's *Metrical Visions*. However, like the *Visions*, these two poems capture the defiance and self-assertion which marked Anne's earlier career. Such qualities must have been critical in the transition from royal mistress to queen.

In the case of Anne Boleyn, the rewards and dangers of being royal mistress are vividly demonstrated. A king is not an easy person to reject, and a potential mistress might find the voice of her family added to the persuasions of the monarch. The king's interest alone is often not enough: the mistress may need a quick wit and

instincts to negotiate the court undercurrents, particularly since the power and wealth a mistress and her family could acquire were considerable. The tendency for factions within the court to divide between the mistress and the queen, as we see happen in the case of Anne Boleyn, attests to the potential influence of both mistress and queen in issues of political policy and patronage. The dangers are equally clear: financial and personal disaster were possible with any shift in royal favour, court factional alignment, or the king's well-being. Representations of the mistress, as a figure close to the centre of power, are subject to the pressures of propaganda to the point that only ghostly traces of the lived reality may remain.

*

In the case of Anne Boleyn, I began with the words of Henry VIII and could end only tentatively with those of Anne herself. An equally circuitous route, while likely in the study of many mistresses, becomes unnecessary for Aemilia Lanyer. However, before we can get to her own words, we must cut our way through the representations which have obscured our view.

Susanne Woods, in a recent edition of Aemilia Lanyer's poetry, demonstrates the importance of returning to the source materials on this author. Prior to Woods's edition, readers had to rely on A. L. Rowse's work on Lanyer. Rowse has built an elaborate case for identifying Aemilia Lanyer as the dark lady of Shakespeare's sonnets.[11] Barbara K. Lewalski notes that "the unfortunate effect of

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[11]See A. L. Rowse's *Simon Forman: Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age* (1974) and in *The Poems of Shakespeare's Dark Lady* (1978).

Rowse's speculation has been to deflect attention from Aemilia Lanyer as a poet and from her poems" (204). Although critics have addressed Rowse's identification of Lanyer as the dark lady,[12] and other critics—including Lewalski—have turned more seriously and thoughtfully to Lanyer as a poet, I think it is important to consider the image of Lanyer which was created by Rowse and which has been ignored (perhaps with good reason) by subsequent critics. As we saw in the case of Anne Boleyn, the mythology of the mistress may dictate historical interpretations and result in unhelpful oversimplifications. Rowse's work is a cautionary instance of an interpretation influenced by assumptions about the nature of a mistress: in this case, reading Lanyer's biography and personality to arrive at the promiscuous "bad angel" of Shakespeare's sonnets. Simon Forman apparently provides the necessary ammunition.

Rowse describes Forman as a man who "was not the one to neglect the opportunity of the husband's absence and the wife's readiness 'for lucre's sake to be a good fellow'" (*Dark Lady* 12). However, Aemilia's financial difficulties do not make her as compliant as Forman expects:

> He put the question for himself: 'a certain man longed to see a gentlewoman whom he loved and desired to halek with.' ('Halek' is his [Forman's] regular code-word for 'to have sex with'.) He sent his man to inquire, by whom 'she sent word that if his master came he shall be welcome. He went and supped with her and stayed all night. She was familiar and friendly to him in all things,

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[12]See Susan Snyder's review in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 25 (1974): 131-33.

> but only she would not halek. Yet he felt all parts of her body willingly and kissed her often, but she would not do in any wise. Whereupon he took some displeasure.' (*Dark Lady* 12)

In the contacts which followed, as they are described by Rowse, it is not clear whether money was ever exchanged for sex, or how intimate the relationship became. The same anecdote in *Simon Forman* concludes with "he [Forman] added, 'but yet ready were friends again afterwards—but he never obtained his purpose' [he meant at that time]" (101). The second square bracket is Rowse's, and the comment is not explained. Lewalski advises caution where Forman is concerned: "it is hard to know how far to believe this self-styled Casanova in such matters" (284 n. 10). But Rowse's reading of the Lanyer-Forman relationship is unequivocal: "a powerful personality, commanding him to come to her, allowing him every liberty except the last on their first night; first she wouldn't, then she would—distracting and disturbing Forman" (*Dark Lady* 13). This reading of their encounters is central in Rowse's identification of Lanyer as the dark lady. Lanyer is cast as a tease, a traditional role in the mistress's arsenal which increases her commercial value before the final sale. Before accepting this assessment, we need to look more closely at the behaviour described.

Forman's experience was not unique. We learn from Ben Jonson's *Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* that Jonson had related a similar experience:

> He thought the use of a maid nothing in comparison to the

> wantonness of a wife, and would never have another mistress. He said two accidents strange befell him: one, that a man made his own wife to court him, whom he enjoyed two years ere he knew of it, and one day finding them by chance, was passingly delighted with it; one other, lay diverse times with a woman, who shew him all that he wished, except the last act, which she would never agree unto. (ll. 285-293, 468-469)

The details of the second anecdote are similar to Forman's, but the tone is different. It seems likely that Jonson was not displeased with the woman who refused intercourse, since the tale is associated with another adventure which he clearly enjoyed. In addition, "diverse times" implies that he did not refuse to see her again; Forman also continued to see Lanyer.

Although the evidence is scant, I think we may be seeing sexual activity which circumvented the usual danger of unwanted pregnancy. Jonson's preference for wives suggests his partner, like Lanyer, may have had an absent husband which would make a pregnancy as a consequence of infidelity more difficult to disguise. Further evidence to support this hypothesis is difficult to obtain. While church court records are helpful in other areas of sexual behaviour, they are of limited use here:

> the judges [of post-Reformation church courts] showed relatively little interest in extramarital sexual activities which fell short of full intercourse. . . . Although the licence to enjoy advanced physical intimacy which popular custom tacitly accorded seriously courting

> or affianced couples was not extended to others, local society did tolerate a certain amount of kissing and touching between adolescent youngsters and even between single and married people, especially at dances and festivals. (Ingram 240)

The few prosecutions found by Ingram are treated leniently:

> In Wiltshire, Thomas Whatley of Steeple Ashton was presented in 1605 for 'being taken kissing, playing and groping with Joan the wife of Anthony Stileman'; while Richard Tench of Bromham, accused in 1623 of unseemly behaviour with the wife of Robert Chaundler, admitted kissing and handling her breasts, though he denied any 'evil intent'. Both men were let off with a caution. (Ingram 242)

At this distance, it is difficult to tell which charges are for indecent assault and which are for immodest behaviour, but the Court's tolerance may be one indicator. There is also no clear sense that such behaviour would necessarily be interpreted as adulterous.

A third kind of evidence for this practice comes from Andreas Capellanus's *The Art of Courtly Love*. In this handbook on love, the man of the higher nobility explains to a woman of the same class the difference between pure love and mixed love. Pure love, he asserts

> binds together the hearts of two lovers with every feeling of delight. This kind consists in the contemplation of the mind and the affection of the heart; it goes as far as the kiss and the embrace

> and the modest contact with the nude lover, omitting the final solace, for that is not permitted to those who wish to love purely. (122)

Mixed love, on the other hand, "culminates in the final act of Venus" (122). Literary evidence is not historical evidence, and I suspect that many would share the scepticism of the lady who responds, "Everybody would think it miraculous if a man could be placed in a fire and not be burned" (123). However, the male speaker points to the practical side of this ideal love: "No maiden can ever be corrupted by such a love, nor can a widow or a wife receive any harm or suffer any injury to her reputation" (122). The woman does not challenge this part of the man's argument. Behind what may appear to be a farfetched ideal of courtly love is a prudent sexual practice which avoided the dangers of pregnancy and lessened the likelihood of public prosecution if caught. What seems much less clear is whether Forman's displeasure was "normal," and whether Lanyer was necessarily "holding out."

Forman's expectations, including Lanyer's susceptibility to payment, and Rowse's reading of her character are both based on Lanyer's experiences as a young woman. When Lanyer consulted Forman on May 17, 1597, he learned "'she was paramour to my old Lord Hunsdon that was Lord Chamberlain, and was maintained in great pride; being with child she was for colour married to a minstrel'" (Rowse 11). Having been a mistress, the woman is assumed to be predisposed to promiscuity. (The same assumption made it easier for Henry VIII to have Anne convicted and executed). Rowse's assumptions are also based on the emphasis he places on Lanyer's

ambitiousness. What we find from Woods's rereading of Forman is that Lanyer was not simply inquiring about her husband but also about the course of her pregnancy:

> She has come, "the wife for the husband," to inquire "when her husband shall have the suit." A more personal issue also emerges. "She seams to be with child of 12 daies or 12 weakes moch pain in the left syd." She is prone to miscarriages. Forman twice records in this entry that "she hath mani fals conceptions," or unsuccessful pregnancies. (Woods xx)

Lanyer's concerns add a dimension to her character which was passed over by Rowse. Perhaps the sexual behaviour he attributes to her seems less convincing in a woman worried about carrying her child to term.

Lanyer's biography shows that an alliance with Hunsdon may have been a reasonable course of action at that point in her life. Lanyer was christened January 27, 1569 at St Botolph, Bishopgate.[13] Her father, Baptista Bassano, a royal musician, died April 11, 1576 and was followed by Lanyer's "reputed mother," Margaret Johnson, who was buried July 7, 1587. Woods tells us,

> [a]fter her father's death Aemilia continued to have access to court circles. The poem dedicated to "the Ladie Susan, Countesse Dowager of Kent" describes Lady Susan as "the Mistris of my youth. / The noble guide to my ungovern'd dayes," and Lanyer

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[13]For the details of Lanyer's life I have relied on Susanne Woods's Introduction. All references to Lanyer's poetry are taken from Woods's edition.

> reports to Simon Forman that "she [Lanyer] was brought up on the bankes of Kente." (xvii)

Lanyer's contact with Hunsdon probably began around the time of her mother's death. With both parents dead, a young woman would be particularly vulnerable, and a relationship with Hunsdon would have provided financial security and social access for a time.

From Forman's diary, we hear of Lanyer's life with Hunsdon, and his provision for her when she became pregnant: "(June 3): [she] hath bin married 4 years / The old Lord Chamberlain kept her longue She was maintained in great pomp. . . . she hath 40£ a yere & was welthy to him that maried her in monie & Jewells" (Woods xviii). Lanyer was married to Alfonso Lanyer, another court musician, on October 18, 1592.

From the glimpses we have of Lanyer's life it is clear that she did not rely solely on her youth and beauty to maintain her contact with the aristocracy. From Forman we learn, "'[s]he hath been favored much of her mati [majestie, Queen Elizabeth] and of mani noble men & hath had gret giftes & bin moch made of'" (Woods xviii). The identities of some of her patrons are provided in her poetry. Margaret Clifford, Dowager Countess of Cumberland and Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset were significant figures in inspiring and encouraging Lanyer. Lanyer refers to being "commaunded" to write by the Countess of Cumberland ("Salve Deus" 19). Lewalski observes, "Lanyer seems to have received some encouragement in learning, piety, and poetry in the bookish and cultivated household of the Countess of

Cumberland" (207).

Between her musical heritage and various patrons, Lanyer acquired a degree of learning and poetic ability which may surprise us. Clearly her formative years were spent in circles where it was not so unusual for women to be literate and well-educated; nevertheless, the degree to which she was able to develop her poetic talents is remarkable. Looking beyond the humility topos, Lanyer's confidence in her intellectual abilities may be evident in the uncommon step of having her poetry published and in her efforts to set up a school in 1617 "in the wealthy suburb of St. Giles in the Field, which she kept until 1619" (Woods xxvii). Ironically, the learning which made her a capable religious poet may also have heightened Lanyer's attractiveness as a mistress.

Sir John Harington's epigram "Of Women learned in the tongues" declares that the learning which makes a woman an engaging mistress makes her an undesirable wife:

> You wisht me to a wife, faire, rich and young,
> That had the Latine, French and Spanish tongue.
> I thank't, and told you I desir'd none such,
> And said, One Language may be tongue too much.
> Then love I not the learned? yes as my life;
> A learned mistris, not a learned wife. (255-56)

Lanyer's learning augmented her value as a mistress, but her time spent as a mistress makes it more surprising to see her work in print. Merry E. Wiesner outlines the

close relationship between learning and chastity in the lives of women:

> They chose celibacy because their desire for learning required it; their male admirers—and there were many—applauded that decision as they felt no woman could be both learned and sexually active. By becoming learned, she had penetrated a male preserve, which was only tolerable if she simultaneously rejected the world of women. (13)

Lanyer was sexually active, intellectually ambitious, and embraced a world of women. From a modern perspective we may find it puzzling or even brazen for someone in a morally ambivalent position to have tackled religious subjects, but this is one source of Lanyer's power: "[s]ome women did feel . . . that spiritual equality or divine inspiration allowed them to speak or write about all matters concerning the church, including doctrine, church government, and finance" (Wiesner 21). Lanyer finds her inspiration in God and in the virtuous women she praises. God is repeatedly acknowledged as the source of her power: "his powre hath given me powre to write" ("To the Ladie *Katherine* Coutesse of Suffolke" 13).

By 1610, when *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* appears in the Stationers' Register, Lanyer's former relationship with Hunsdon is not likely to be uppermost in her mind. Although I am primarily interested in her work as the words of a former mistress, I will be careful not to reduce any reading to a simplistic culling for autobiographical details. Similarly, I would not want to attribute every idea and interest she displays in the poem to a single episode from her youth. For instance,

Lanyer's defense of her sex is passionate, but we should not assume it is accompanied by an equally passionate hatred of all men. Lanyer may feminize an overly-masculine Christ, but she does not unsex him all together.

Lanyer's Christ is less often the Bridegroom, the perfect male that all women desire union with (although he is that too), than a feminized figure who invites direct identification. This shift from the usual manner of association is enacted in the dedication "To the Ladie *Katherine* Countesse of Suffolke":

> In whom is all that Ladies can desire;
> If Beauty, who hath bin more faire than he?
> If Wisedome, doth not all the world admire
> The depth of his, that cannot searched be?
> If wealth, if honour, fame, or Kingdoms store,
> Who ever liv'd that was possest of more? (85-90)

As the list continues, the qualities attributed to Christ are the qualities convention prescribed for the virtuous woman:

> If zeale, if grace, if love, if pietie,
> If constancie, if faith, if faire obedience,
> If valour, patience, or sobrietie;
> If chast behaviour, meekenesse, continence,
> If justice, mercie, bountie, charitie,
> Who can compare with his Divinitie? (91-96)

As Elaine V. Beilin notes, "Lanyer actually reveals Him as the true source of feminine

virtue: He appears not as a masculine warrior-hero, but 'he plainely shewed that his own profession / Was virtue, patience, grace, love, piety'" (109). This feminized Christ offers women direct access to a meditative focus for their own lives.

The active religious position Lanyer supports for women is strengthened by the interpretative position she attempts to create for women. Her focus on women patrons, then, is part of her larger plan. Lanyer presents "Salve Deus" as "a praise of Christ's 'almightie love,' which comforts the worthy Countess [of Cumberland] in her unhappiness" (Woods xxxv). Woods explains,

> The references to unhappiness are presumably to Margaret's alienation from her late husband, George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, and the legal battle with his relatives that followed his death in 1605. . . . Lanyer offers Margaret the story of Christ's Passion as a comfort and assurance of God's love in the face of these worldly tribulations. (xxxv-vi)

Given this purpose, it is not surprising that Lanyer's account of the Passion is "uniquely woman-centered throughout, chronicling female virtues and suffering as part of the poet's strategy for comforting and praising the Countess" (Woods xxxvi). Lorna Hutson's reading of "Salve Deus" demonstrates the centrality of the position given to the Countess in the poem:

> it is not that she [Lanyer] wrote a narrative of Christ and absent-mindedly kept apostrophizing the Countess of Cumberland because she could not keep her mind off the richest woman in England.

> Her subject, like that of Shakespeare in the *Sonnets*, is reflexive; it is the reading subject, the encounter of the patron's mind with the text, which is celebrated as a textual resource. Lanyer's poem sets itself out to 'unfold' or 'prove' the interpretative virtue of Margaret Clifford's mind through a dramatizing of the female recognition of Christ in the historical moment of his Passion. (160)

Both Woods and Hutson recognise in the Countess of Cumberland a figure whose centrality to the poem extends beyond that of a highly desirable patron.

Hutson presents a highly detailed and convincing reading of Lanyer's effort to create an interpretative position for women. Hutson turns to Shakespeare's *Sonnets* to demonstrate the rhetorical relationship between beauty, virtue, and interpretative activities. Hutson points out that

> it was only for men that Renaissance humanism identified the interpretative practices of reading with the prudence or practical reason, which enables deliberation about action in political life. . . . So, as only a man can effectively reproduce from a discourse which celebrates beauty, this power of discursive reproduction becomes his intrinsic beauty. (158)

Virtue, then, is the ability "to assimilate resources, to 'look with thought' upon the discourse and behaviour of another man" (Hutson 164). The beautiful mistress apparently celebrated in verse becomes an "'occasion' or pretext" for a text which provides the opportunity for male "emulative rivalry and competition" (Hutson 164).

As Hutson observes, "[t]he mistress's eyes, then, were never like the sun in the discriminating, evaluating sense; they never 'looked with thought'" (164). Hutson's insights demonstrate the difficulties Lanyer faces as she attempts to provide "proof" of "the position of women as the subjects of interpretative experiences rather than the analogues and occasions of discursive virtue between men" (Hutson 168). Can the same system of language be made to work for a woman writing for a female audience?

Lanyer's solution, Hutson argues, is that women occupy an interpretative position not shared by men:

> The trial and prosecution of Christ becomes a series of trials in which men's capacity to 'see and know' or to interpret the text of sacred history offered to them by the face of God in persecuted man fails by comparison with the capacity of politically disadvantaged women, whose interpretative virtue is proved by a literalization of the humanist metaphor of textual power as a mutually authenticating reflection when Christ lifts his face to the tears of the daughters of Jerusalem. (168-69)

Men fail because they "apparently mistake the encounter with Christ as a discursive occasion in which to discover potential advantage" (Hutson 169). The women succeed as readers because they are capable of a "compassionate response to human suffering" (Hutson 169), a form of knowledge which is translated into virtuous and "compassionate action" in the life of Margaret Clifford (Hutson 171). Hutson's

reading alerts us to Lanyer's efforts to create an opening for female interpretative power and action. Although this power arises out of suffering, Lanyer does not praise passive suffering for its own sake: the Countess is not a type of Griselda.

In Lanyer's praise of the Countess's interpretative virtue, she asserts her own right to interpretative power. As Lanyer defends her sex from general condemnation, she alternately displays positive examples of virtuous women and reinterprets traditional "evidence" of female inferiority. In her defense of Eve, Lanyer "relies on the classic definition of woman as the lesser creature"; however, "she insists that Eve sinned 'for knowledge sake' but that Adam sinned for the worse motivation, only because 'the fruit was faire'" (Beilin 196). Eve's behaviour is made to seem rational in comparison with Pilate's actions, which Lanyer sees as the far greater sin: "Her sinne was small, to what you doe commit" (818). This reasoning leads to Lanyer's plea for freedom and equality:

> Then let us have our Libertie againe,
> And challendge to your selves no Sov'raigntie;
> You came not in the world without our paine,
> Make that a barre against your crueltie;
> Your fault beeing greater, why should you disdaine
> Our beeing your equals, free from tyranny? (825-30)

Lanyer's emphasis here on equality may appear to be undermined by her overall emphasis on women and women's relationships with each other throughout the poetry, but we should not confuse her overall focus on a specifically female audience with a

desire to exclude men completely.

In the relationship between Salomon and the Queen of Sheba, Lanyer depicts an earthly love which is a type or "faire map" of Christian love (1609). Drawn to Salomon by reports of his wisdom, the queen tests him with "strange hard questions" (1581). Their relationship depends on a meeting of equals:

> Here Majestie with Majestie did meete,
> Wisdome to Wisdome yeelded true content,
> One Beauty did another Beauty greet,
> Bounty to Bountie never could repent;
> Here all distaste is troden under feet,
> No losse of time, where time was so well spent
> In virtuous exercises of the minde,
> In which this Queene did much contentment finde. (1585-1592)

Intellectual compatibility forms the basis for an ideal earthly love. The figures of Salomon and Christ suggest that men are capable of the interpretative virtue shared by women, but their unique identities also suggest how rarely this happens.

An attempt to read *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* as a work by a former mistress reminds us that being a mistress is not the sum of a woman's identity. Lanyer does not anticipate and fulfil the expectations of her historians. She does not dwell either repentantly or defensively on the figure of Mary Magdalene. Magdalene's presence is duly noted when "The *Maries*" come to anoint Christ's body but do not find him (1287-88). The women Lanyer praises are not "uniformly learned and

virtuous," which might have been the "safer" course (Beilin 321 n. 16). Beilin observes that Lanyer selected "strong, independently minded women" with "aristocratic titles which would qualify them to lead other women" (322 n. 20). Lanyer is not cautiously sycophantic, and openly criticizes those who do not deserve worldly greatness: "Titles of honour which the world bestowes, / To none but to the virtuous doth belong" ("To the Ladie *Anne*, Countesse of Dorset" 25-6). Lanyer does not display signs of dwelling on her former life.

Lanyer does discuss some of the famous mistresses from history including Helen of Troy, Cleopatra, and Rosamond Clifford. These women are included in "An Invective against outward beuty unaccompanied with virtue." Her discussion of these women does not require us to "reflect that she had had a raw deal" (Rowse, *Dark Lady* 25). The topic arises out of her praise for the Countess of Cumberland's spiritual beauty, which she contrasts with "That outward Beautie which the world commends" (185). Physical beauty subjects a woman to "dangers and disgrace," (196) because "men do seeke, attempt, plot and devise, / How they may overthrow the chastest Dame" (206-7). The overt danger explains the presence of Lucrece and Matilda in this section. The mistresses are disgraced, while the chaste women win fame, but all of them end up dead. The danger from men is real, as in the example of King John, who "did use his powre, / By Fire and Sword, to compasse his content" (237-8). The blame is not placed entirely on the men though, and Lanyer acknowledges the women's culpability. She tells us of Rosamond's ambition: "Beautie betraid her thoughts, aloft to clime, / To build strong castles in uncertaine

aire" (227-8). Matilda's story of resistance is paired with Rosamond's story; Matilda's "noble minde did scorne the base subjection / Of Feares, or Favours" (243-4). The combination of intimidation and temptation faced by Matilda demonstrates the dilemma which faces the potential mistress, a conflict which is all too easily forgotten in the casual generalizations which typify the mistress as greedy, readily promiscuous, and inordinately proud. Lanyer reminds us at once of the complexity of the mistress's situation and of the potential for women to continue on to other roles.

Lanyer's poetic effort to create for women a space for interpretative agency which she expects will be translated into virtuous action becomes a demonstration of her willingness to claim interpretative power for herself and take action in the form of publication. In the act of having her work published, Lanyer defies the social requirements of subservience to masculine intellect and of womanly silence. The record she leaves behind her also resists Rowse's efforts to cast her in the role of the teasing, ambitious, and promiscuous mistress.

Anne Boleyn's defiance at the scaffold also resists social expectations. Although we may be tempted to cheapen this gesture because we believe she had nothing more to lose, I think we need to appreciate the shocked response to her speech as a sign of how daring a step it was. We should not let Anne's beheading overshadow her earlier achievement of power at court: after all, Wolsey's disgrace does not prevent us from regarding him as the second most powerful man in England for a time. In the literary representations of Anne, we see the pattern of suppression and relocation of power which marks many of the works about mistresses. Wyatt, like

Rowse, will cast the mistress in a purely sexual role which obscures her other achievements. However, other writers, like Cavendish, struggle through their own biases to create representations which retain at least part of the truth of the mistress's life.

In the cases of Anne Boleyn and Aemilia Lanyer, we are fortunate to have some of the pieces of their biographies which make it possible to interrogate the prejudices and stereotypes which can inform literary and historical representations. Mistresses are women with sexual and material desires, but they are also subject to financial and familial pressures. Their reputations and even their lives may be endangered. At court, they may find complicated factional infighting or sources of support and patronage. Mistresses may have to find ways to continue their lives after their patrons die or dismiss them. We must remember all of these realities as we explore the literature surrounding the legends of Rosamond Clifford and Jane Shore. The historical situation of Anne Boleyn and Aemilia Layner is a context shared by the representations of Rosamond and Shore.

Chapter Two:

Rosamond Clifford and Samuel Daniel's "Minotaure of Shame"

Rosamond Clifford was a maid. Since every woman is initially an unmarried virgin, this seems like an inconsequential place to begin. However, for Renaissance poet-historians, poets, and their audience the problematic nature of Rosamond's identity is the essential element of her story. During the Renaissance, the range of identities assigned to women was highly restrictive. The spectrum of possibilities is summed up neatly in an exchange between the Duke and Mariana in *Measure for Measure*:

> MARIANA Pardon, my lord, I will not show my face
> Until my husband bid me.
>
> DUKE What, are you married?
>
> MARIANA No, my lord.
>
> DUKE Are you a maid?
>
> MARIANA No, my lord.
>
> DUKE A widow, then?
>
> MARIANA Neither, my lord.
>
> DUKE Why, you are nothing then: neither maid, widow,
> nor wife? (V.i.169-177)

In a society which defines women by their relationships to men and marriage, the Duke is unable or unwilling to identify a woman who is not a maid, wife, or widow.

The ribald Lucio's "answer"—"My lord, she may be a punk, for many of them are neither maid, widow, nor wife" (V.i.178-179)—may draw a relieved laugh from the audience, but dodges the underlying anxiety in the Duke's question.

The disruptive nature of the unclassified woman is aptly described by Linda Woodbridge:

> a maid who lost her virginity became nothing. . . . she was classless and therefore feared. This is one reason Renaissance writers tended to assign the label 'whore' to any unmarried non-virgin: it was a way of assimilating the puzzling maid/not maid into a recognizable category: to categorize was to understand. The unchaste never-married woman was a special sort of monster; her crime was heinous because it disrupted the schematic order of the world, on which so much Renaissance doctrine depended. (84)

An authority figure such as the Duke might attempt to deny the existence of women beyond the prescribed categories, but the fascination of the unsettling figure of the unmarried non-virgin would continue to tempt others to offer explanations and definitions for these women. Fear of the unclassified woman could become particularly acute when this representative of disorder was associated with the key figure of order in the realm, the king. This fear explains in part how the beautiful daughter of a twelfth-century knight becomes the "Minotaure of shame" in Samuel Daniel's sixteenth-century complaint.

Rosamond Clifford, or Fair Rosamond, was the mistress of Henry II, King

of England from 1154 to 1189. The length of their affair is uncertain, but there has been speculation that they were already involved by 1165. In that year, Henry was campaigning in Wales, and one of the knights participating in these wars was Walter de Clifford, father of Rosamond. One historian has noted that "[e]ven though the Welsh campaign had ended in late August, the king seemed in no hurry to leave England. . . . From September 1165 to the following March . . . Henry spent most of his time at Woodstock" (Meade 232). Eyton records in payments "illustrative of this Welsh expedition" one to "Walteri de Clifford" in the Pipe-Roll of Michaelmas 1163 (*Court* 62). In spite of this evidence, a recent account suggests the relationship did not begin until 1173 "when he [Henry] was forty and she [Rosamond] still little more than a girl" (Given-Wilson and Curteis 9); however, no explanation for this dating is given, and most historians have continued to base their accounts on an earlier date, a practice I have followed. Henry and Rosamond's relationship continued until Rosamond's death, probably in 1176.

Meade maintains that Henry's previous affairs were common knowledge and had not been particularly serious: Rosamond was different (237).[1] Certainly the length of their association does suggest a love match, particularly since direct contact must have been sporadic at best. Eyton's *Court* records in March 1170 that "King Henry land[ed] at Portsmouth, after four years' absence from England" (135). This

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[1]Eleanor's jealousy of Rosamond is noted by at least two of the Queen's biographers: Meade 233-38; and, Regine Pernoud in *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, trans. Peter Wiles (London: Collins, 1967) 134-36.

absence apparently did not dull Henry's interest, since it appears that Henry considered divorcing the queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, in 1175. We cannot be certain Rosamond would have become queen (Warren 601), but Henry had acknowledged Rosamond at court. Warren explains,

> Henry, Gervase of Canterbury alleges, had contemplated divorcing Eleanor in 1175, and may have been restrained only by the serious political repercussions it could have caused. But the great love of his life, Rosamund Clifford, with whom he had lived openly since the great war [1173], died about 1176, and although Henry undoubtedly took mistresses after her death there was no one to match her in his affections or threaten to depose Eleanor as his wife. (601)

Eleanor, herself, was a prisoner of Henry's at the time of Rosamond's death; in fact, it is Eleanor's imprisonment which may be conflated with Rosamond's story to give us the impression of Rosamond as a prisoner at Woodstock (Heltzel 3). Eleanor, then, could not have had a direct hand in Rosamond's death. The story of Rosamond being poisoned by the queen is only one of the later additions to the story by chroniclers.

According to Heltzel, "[a]ll early writers who make mention of Rosamond's death agree that she was buried at Godstow" (2). Further information about Rosamond's tomb comes from John Leland, who

> writes from what appears to be firsthand knowledge when he says, 'Rosamunds tumbe at Godestow nunnery was taken up a late, it ad

> [had?] a stone, with this inscription, *Tumba Rosamundae*, her bones were closid in lede, and withyn that the bones were closid yn leder. When it was openid ther was a very swete [smell] cam owt of it.
>
> (Heltzel 8-9)

Leland adds, "'There is a crosse hard by Godestow with this inscription,

> *Qui meat hac oret signum salutis adoret*
>
> *Utque sibi detur veniam Rosamunda precetur.*'"
>
> (Heltzel 8-9)

John Speed provides a version of the inscription with translation:

> *'Qui meat hac, oret, Signumque salvtis adoret,*
>
> *Utq; tibi detur requies Rosamunda, precetur.*
>
> *All you which pass this way, This Crosse adore, and pray,*
>
> *That Rosamund's Soule, may True rest possess for Aye.'*
>
> (Heltzel 9, n. 30)

Heltzel suggests that Leland's epitaph differs from that recorded by earlier writers because of a confusion between Rosamond Clifford and Rosamunda, queen of the Lombards (8-9). It does seem unlikely that Henry would have favoured the epitaph reported by Ranulf Higden in *Polychronicon* and translated by Trevisa: "'Here lieth in tombe the rose of the world, nought a clene rose; it smelleth nought swete, but it stinketh, that was wont to smelle ful swete'" (Heltzel 8). The revulsion suggested by this epitaph is also contradicted by the continued care of Rosamond's tomb by the nuns of Godstow, who tended her tomb until 1191 when St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln,

ordered the tomb removed from the church (Heltzel 2-3). The change in Rosamond's epitaph is one of the many accretions traced by Heltzel through the chronicle, poetic, and dramatic versions of the tale. However, I intend to concentrate on Samuel Daniel's *The Complaint of Rosamond* (1592) as the crucial Renaissance "reading" of Rosamond's story. Subsequent sixteenth and seventeenth century versions of the story generally show signs of Daniel's influence or respond to his treatment of Rosamond and Henry in some way.

Unlike George Cavendish, Daniel was heir to the influential *Mirror for Magistrates*. In particular, Thomas Churchyard's popular *Shore's Wife* served as an example of how the tale of a royal mistress might take its place in the *de casibus* tradition. Referring to Daniel's debt to the *Mirror*, A. C. Sprague observes, "[b]ack of it [*Rosamond*] lies the ponderous *Mirror for Magistrates*, with its 'chain-gang of illustrious victims' fallen from greatness" (xvii). Sprague continues,

> To set the two poems side by side is to become conscious of the wonder-working advances of those thirty years. Both are in the seven-line stanza of the *Troilus* and Sackville's *Induction*. They tell similar stories of royal mistresses, are alike in their mingling of narration and moralization, their set speeches and sententious couplets. But *Shore's Wife* seems stiff and archaic today; while *Rosamond* at its best . . . suggests Marlowe and the Ovidians. (xvii-xviii)

In emphasising stylistic differences, Sprague makes it all too easy to lose sight of

significant differences in the focus of the two poems.

Churchyard's work is consistent with the other narratives of the *Mirror*: Shore's story contributes to the lessons on the vagaries of fortune and, more importantly, to the lessons on the duties and responsibilities of those with power. Churchyard is more concerned with Shore's responsible use of her power as a royal mistress, than he is interested in her physical beauty. Good deeds and generosity, not chastity, are the virtues which Churchyard upholds: in the moral complexity of lived reality, sexual impropriety does not deserve the same degree of condemnation as tyranny and injustice. Daniel takes the story of the royal mistress in new directions, de-emphasising the social role of the mistress and emphasising her individual suffering and sinfulness.

The historical distance and vagueness of detail offered by Rosamond's history promotes fictional adaptation. Rosamond's maiden state, in contrast with Shore's status as an adulterer, makes Rosamond a more likely candidate for pity and sympathy. Rosamond is anxious to distinguish herself from Shore:

> No Muse suggests the pittie of my case,
> Each penne dooth ouerpasse my iust complaint,
> Whilst others are preferd, though farre more base:
> *Shores* wife is grac'd, and passes for a Saint;
> Her Legend iustifies her foule attaint;
> Her well-told tale did such compassion finde,
> That she is pass'd, and I am left behinde. (25-8)

Rosamond represents herself as morally superior to another woman who became a royal mistress; presumably, Shore's adultery makes her sin much worse. Shore's story is also tainted by the implications of class: as a royal mistress, Shore is a middle-class rival for power which usually rests with the upper class. Rosamond has the advantage of "good" blood (78), and consequently is a less alarming associate of the king. Rosamond's story, then, seems likely to appeal more readily to Daniel's aristocratic audience.

A more immediate source of Daniel's interest in this topic lies with the Clifford family. Daniel may well have turned to Rosamond as a subject with good patronage possibilities. Williamson tells us that Daniel's contact with the Cliffords began between 1595 and 1599, and that Daniel served as Anne Clifford's tutor (61-62). Although the poem was dedicated to Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke, Daniel continued to revise the poem for editions published in 1594, 1599, 1601, 1602, 1605, and 1607 (Sprague 194). The family's interest in Rosamond can be traced in a seventeenth-century manuscript by Ralph Thoresby which records the inscriptions of the Great Picture at Appleby Castle (Williamson 338, 500). Included in the genealogy on the right-side border, according to Thoresby, is

> WALTER DE CLIFFORD, Sonn of Wm: Fitz Punt, Sonne of Richard Fitz Punt, whoe came into England wth William the Conqueror, was now called Walter de Clifford, Lord of Clifford Castle, in Herefordshire in Wales, which Castle and the Lands about it cam to him by his Wife Margaret de Tony, by whom he

> had divers Children, as appears by the Booke of Records. . . . Also the fayre Rosamund Clifford was daughter to this Walter, first Lo: Clifford and his wife as appeares by many records; shee was unfortunate by being beloved of King Henry the 2, by whome she had 2 or 3 base children. (500)

Daniel may well have assumed that writing on Rosamond would attract the attention of the Cliffords.

His hopes that the poem would prove profitable may be translated into the otherwise peculiar wish that it might win Delia's attention. Rosamond suggests,

> *Delia* may happe to deygne to read our story,
> And offer vp her sigh among the rest,
> Whose merit would suffice for both our glorie,
> Whereby thou might'st be grac'd, and I be blest. (43-6)

This suggestion comes most oddly from a character who will relate her own seduction and subsequent ruin, but makes some sense if a fictional Delia lends Daniel a graceful cover for hints that his "ioyes" depend "on a womans grace" (41)—his present patron and those he hopes to win. Sprague suggests that Delia may represent the Countess of Pembroke. He notes, "the dedication-like recurrence of the Delia theme in the *Rosamond* . . . suggest[s] the celebration of a patron rather than that of a mistress" (Sprague xv). Daniel's patronage goals may explain his treatment of certain issues.

One sign that Daniel may be writing with an eye to his patrons occurs in his treatment of Rosamond's family. Since the Cliffords traced their family back to

Rosamond's family, it makes sense that Daniel would isolate his title character from her family and thus avoid implicating them in Rosamond's fall. Rosamond's moral lapse is strictly individual and does not reflect badly on her family or its descendants. There is no corresponding historical evidence to suggest that Rosamond was estranged from her family. Rosamond's mother was also buried at Godstow Nunnery, and Eyton finds,

> two charters to Godstow Nunnery, which, passing as they did within ten years of Rosamond Clifford's death, next claim our attention. Walter de Clifford for his soul's health, and for the souls of his wife Margaret and their daughter Rosamond, gave to the Nuns aforesaid his Mill of Framton, with a meadow near thereto. Also he gave them his salt-pit in Wich. This he did with the consent of the King (Henry II), and of his own heirs.
>
> (*Antiquities* 150)

Daniel's Rosamond is safe at home: "whilst Parents eye did guide, / The indiscretion of my feeble wayes" (85-6). Once at court Rosamond lacks her parents' guidance, but no hint is given that they may share any responsibility for her downfall. Daniel, however, is not content to completely ignore parental influence, and in a 1594 addition to the poem Rosamond comments on loveless marriages which are caused by "[o]ur owne aspyring, or our Parents pride" (Sprague 200: 79). Daniel's separation of Rosamond from her family may well be a means of denying Clifford family involvement in or acceptance of Rosamond's illicit career.

Daniel probably hit on Rosamond's story as a likely patronage opportunity, but within the story were elements eminently suited to a new kind of royal mistress poem. Arousing pity in the reader is a primary goal of the poet. Daniel's poem begins with the ghost of Rosamond appearing to Daniel and pleading with him to tell her nearly forgotten story to the world so that she may finally find peace. The pity of those who read her story will send her to "the sweet Elisean rest" (9): "my soule can neuer passe that Riuer, / Till Louers sighes on earth shall it deliuer" (13-4). She explains that her ghost

> Comes to sollicit thee, since others faile,
>
> To take this taske, and in thy wofull Song
>
> To forme my case, and register my wrong. (33-5)

This appeal, however, is followed by a second set of instructions only thirty lines later:

> Then write quoth shee the ruine of my youth,
>
> Report the downe-fall of my slippry state:
>
> Of all my life reueale the simple truth,
>
> To teach to others, what I learnt too late. (64-7)

From the outset, Daniel's task is inherently contradictory: Daniel is asked on the one hand to create sympathy for Rosamond, to "register" her "wrong," and on the other hand to condemn Rosamond and to use her story as a moral lesson, to "teach to others". Daniel's attempt to combine sympathy for his character with condemnation of her weakness and sinfulness becomes a complication which is central to the manner in

which the story is ultimately presented.

The contradictory purposes of *Rosamond* have led in turn to a discussion of the genres which are combined in the poem. Hallett Smith regards *Rosamond* as a "new kind of complaint poem" first created by Daniel (*Elizabethan Poetry* 103). He ascribes the contradictions to a matter of taste:

> So eclectic was the Elizabethan mind that it could find satisfaction in a piece which combined the stern and sober warnings of the old wheel of Fortune and the titillating, decorative, luscious matter from the Italianate Ovidian tradition. To a modern taste the result is at least odd. (*Elizabethan Poetry* 104)

There is no doubt that elements of these two genres are present; however, Daniel is not simply capitalising on a market for "odd" combinations.

M. M. Reese notes the influence of the *Mirror* in Rosamond's inconsistencies which he finds similar to those of other *Mirror* characters:

> In describing their fall, the ghostly narrators . . . like to linger on the days of their pride. They cannot resist making the point that, although since fallen, they once were great; and their relish in recalling this brings into question the sincerity of the shame and repentance they now profess. There is a half-conscious inclination to lay the blame on Fate rather than their own guilty actions. (16)

A *Mirror* character like Wolsey, for example, recalls his former luxuries with such pleasure and pride that it becomes difficult to believe entirely in his repentance.

Similarly, Rosamond "is ambivalent in her attitude to her lover and their passion. She blames his lust . . . but there are times, too, when she glories in the association and thinks of its forbidden fruits as their own sweet reward" (16). Reese finds this attitude contradicts Rosamond's reflections on the moral example presented by her fall. Maintaining that these attitudes cannot be balanced, Reese argues that the Ovidian tradition wins out, "and the emphasis is on the new theme of Beauty brought to a tragic end" (17). Reese concludes, "the influence of Ovid has worked upon *Mirror* poetry and converted it into an erotic celebration: a metamorphosis indeed" (17). Neither Reese nor Smith allows for the possible compatibility of the *Mirror* and Ovidian traditions.

Ovid provides Daniel with more than "an erotic celebration" or "titillating, decorative, luscious matter." Ovid's works also have a part in the Christian reinterpretation of mythology: "the great allegorical current of the Middle Ages, far from shrinking, flows on in an ever widening channel. And the gods of the Renaissance are still in many cases didactic figures—instruments for the edification of the soul" (Seznec 103). The moral, didactic Ovid and the erotic, decorative Ovid need not be at odds: "the mixture of sensuous paganism (not to mention erotic realism) with a more or less Christian allegory" "was to be a widespread and enduring quality of Renaissance writing" (Bush 74). As Ira Clark's examination of *Rosamond* suggests, the Ovidian tradition and the *Mirror* tradition can share an intention to use the main character's story as a vehicle for moralizing (152-162). Clark, however, emphasises the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century interpretations of Ovid's tales as moral

allegories on the sins of lust and pride. He argues that *Rosamond* is structured around the Io myth; but, while he does refer to Bersuire's interpretations of Jove as "the devil or princely plunderers of the world raping the poor" and Argos as "princes of the world, tyrannical ecclesiasts" (156), Clark does not pursue the potential for political moralizing within the poem. Rosamond's story becomes a "retelling through Rosamond [of] the Io myth about the self-transforming fall of a prostitute" (162); both characters are seen as victims of their own greed and lust. Although moral uses of Ovid were more common, social commentary was not unknown. Seznec notes, for example, that the "Copenhagen Commentary" "strays from moral interpretation into the realms of social criticism" (93). Ovidian elements were not necessarily at odds with the political aims of the *Mirror*.

Heather Dubrow has argued convincingly for realigning a number of the complaint poems along specifically political lines:

> in some poems of this type, the heroine does retain her chastity, but in others she surrenders it. And, significantly enough, she is threatened by a ruler, a situation that invites speculations on the uses and abuses of power. Rather than neglecting the political questions threaded through the *Mirror*, these complaints simply approach them from a different perspective, that of the women who variously yield to the monarch's power or, alternatively, valiantly preserve their chastity in the face of it. (400-401)

Instead of assuming that the popularity of these poems depended on the odd

conjunction of the Ovidian and *Mirror* traditions, as Smith suggests, Dubrow argues that "[t]he popularity of this subgenre in Elizabethan England may in fact be traced at least in part to its treatment of power," including both sexual and political power (403). *Rosamond*, and the other poems of this subgenre, take on a new, that is female, perspective but remain part of the *Mirror* genre:

> In attempting to seduce their subjects, the monarchs in these poems raise broad questions about the abuses of royal prerogatives, questions that extend far beyond the compass of sexual behavior; hence such works are indeed a mirror for magistrates, including the ruler currently occupying the throne of England. (Dubrow 403)

The complaint poems become a safe way to criticise royal abuses of power without appearing to refer directly to the queen, since "Elizabeth could hardly be faulted for the particular abuse on which the poems focus, the betrayal of innocent maidens, any potential criticism of her is tactfully deflected" (Dubrow 403).

The interest in sexual power in combination with political power which Dubrow observes may explain the potential usefulness of the Ovidian mythology for a writer like Daniel.

Turning now to the poem in more detail, we find *Rosamond* is marked throughout by Daniel's effort to negotiate his contradictory goal to "register" Rosamond's "wrong," while moralising on his character's sinfulness. The first sign of the contradictory attitudes of the poem arises from Rosamond's situation, an in-between state that her soul presently occupies. Why is Rosamond not speaking to us

from the depths of Hell where her sins should have sent her? Daniel positions Rosamond in a way which suggests her sin might not have damned her. (The likelihood that Rosamond's present location is a consequence of the Ovidian influence is denied by the Christian images and reflections which are present throughout the poem.) Daniel's use of the image of the sun changed to cloud suggests that Rosamond has been obscured by sin: "this faire morning had a shamefull set; / Disgrace darkt honor, sinne did clowde my brow" (75-6); however, this image necessarily raises the possibility of restoration.

The possibility of salvation occurs again in Daniel's frequent comparisons of Rosamond and Eve. The first comparison comes as Rosamond attempts to reason with herself:

> let th'earth gape wide to swallow thee,
> And shut thee vp in bosome with her dead:
> Ere Serpent tempt thee taste forbidden tree,
> Or feele the warmth of an vnlawfull bed. (323-26)

Rosamond's personal responsibility for her fall is cast in doubt by the direct comparison with Eve. As we saw in Lanyer's work, the debate over the degree of responsibility Eve should bear was hardly settled: "Eve has weaker powers of reason than Adam, so less may be expected of her; but on the other hand, she alone is deceived" (Maclean 15). Rosamond continues the comparison after her fall, when she reflects: "first we taste the fruite, then see our sin" (448).

Eve, however, falls from the Garden of Eden into worldly knowledge, not

straight into utter damnation. A similar possibility seems to exist for Rosamond:

> Now did I find my selfe vnparadis'd,
>
> From those pure fieldes of my so cleane beginning. (449-450)

The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites this line as the first use of "unparadise," which is defined as "to turn out of, expel from, Paradise" (s.v.). The term implies a position for women which the legal, religious, and social institutions largely refused to recognise. The existence of the unmarried, non-virgin is acknowledged by Daniel who attempts to define her state as "unparadised."

A further indication of Daniel's interest in a middle ground comes from the survival of a little romance in the story. The most romantic element is probably Rosamond's death and the subsequent grief of the king. The relationship of Rosamond and Henry is upheld as more loving than that of the king and queen. Henry portrays his relationship with Rosamond as his one shelter from political and domestic strife:

> What saw my life, wherein my soule might ioy?
>
> What had my dayes, whom troubles still afflicted?
>
> But onely this, to counterpoize annoy,
>
> This ioy, this hope, which death hath interdicted:
>
> This sweete, whose losse hath all distresse afflicted.
>
> This that did season all my sowre of life,
>
> Vext still at home with broyles, abroade in strife.
>
> . . . . . .

Dissention in my blood, iarres in my bed. (645-653)

This one allowance for real affection in their relationship comes only after Rosamond is safely dead. Despite these hints of a middle ground, most of the elements of Rosamond's story which might make the life of a royal mistress attractive are eliminated.

Although Daniel characterises Rosamond as an innocent country maid, she is only at court for the length of a stanza before she has discovered the power of her beauty (85-105). This power which allows her to "tyrannize" (104) appears limitless:

What might I then not doe whose powre was such?

What cannot women doe that know theyr powre? (127-28)

Daniel, however, uses the traditional association of beauty and virtue which Lanyer worked to undermine. Rosamond's external beauty is an expression of her virtue, a virtue defined by her maiden status: her chief virtue <u>is</u> her chastity. Rosamond's chastity, reflected in her beauty, is the source of her power. Rosamond indicates these connections as she contrasts the natural beauty of the past with the cosmetically-achieved beauty of Daniel's day:

Farre was that sinne from vs whose age was pure,

When simple beautie was accounted best,

The time when women had no other lure

But modestie, pure cheekes, a vertuous brest. (148-151)

Chastity becomes the "lure," the source of a woman's sexual power. This chain of associations hints at the loss of power which follows capitulation. A woman's sexual

power exists in the desirability evoked by her beauty and purity, and, therefore, is lost with the loss of her chastity. It is not a coincidence that Rosamond describes the consummation of her relationship with Henry as her "defeature" (372). This line is cited in the *OED* as the first use of "defeature" to mean "[u]ndoing, ruin," but it seems likely that the word also evokes the second definition—"[d]isfigurement, defacement, marring of the features" (s.v.). Rosamond's moral defeat is accompanied by a "clowding" or defacing of her beauty.

Because Rosamond's power is tied so explicitly to her beauty, her role as royal mistress becomes essentially a sexual one. This reduction of the mistress is reminiscent of Wyatt's "Whoso list to hunt." Rosamond's power is in her ability to win the king's attention:

> A Crowne was at my feete, Scepters obaide mee:
> Whom Fortune made my King, Loue made my Subiect,
> Who did commaund the Land, most humbly praid mee. (156-58)

Rosamond is proud of her conquest as a show of arms, but unlike Jane Shore, Rosamond cannot convert her power over the king into political action. Unlike Cavendish's Anne Boleyn, Rosamond is without personal ambition. Rosamond's celebration of her power becomes a display of pride in her own beauty, since her power over the king is never used to obtain her personal desires or court influence. Her beauty's power seems to achieve little more than the attentions of an unwanted suitor: "The Crowne that could commaund what it requires, / I lesser priz'd then chastities attires" (207-8).

Rosamond is at the height of her powers prior to yielding to Henry. Any benefits to be had from the relationship prove chimerical. The potential gains, as argued by the "seeming Matron," are really an unbalanced mixture of reward and punishment. Financial gain is the only concrete reward mentioned; the matron then argues: Rosamond's beauty will fade, youth can be her excuse, Fame is empty, honour is really based on rumours not behaviour, and the King can absolve her of sin (239-294). Pleasure is not a reward that is argued directly by the matron, although it is mentioned in the thinly veiled threat to Rosamond's honour:

> Pleasure is felt, opinion but conceau'd,
> Honor, a thing without vs, not our owne:
> Whereof we see how many are bereau'd,
> Which should haue rep'd the glory they had sowne,
> And many haue it, yet vnworthy knowne. (267-271)

The lesson contained here is not lost on Rosamond, who realises,

> Whether I yeelde or not I liue defamed:
> The world will thinke authority did gaine me,
> I shal be iudg'd hys loue, and so be shamed:
> We see the fayre condemn'd, that neuer gamed. (338-341)

Rosamond's celebration of her power is deflated by her awareness of the dilemma she faces:

> Small my defence to make my party good,
> Against such powers which were so surely layde,

To ouerthrow a poore vnskilful mayde. (306-8)

Rosamond's power seems overwhelmed by the catalogue of threats which Henry represents.

However, Daniel is not content to leave the blame with Henry, and Rosamond declares herself subject to the conventional weakness of women's flesh: "[t]reason was in my bones" (309), and "[h]onor lay prostrate for my flesh to win" (313). Rosamond's fall apparently proceeds from her desire for "glittering pompe" (354), and from her taste for pleasure which "had set my wel-skoold thoughts to play" (362). Rosamond's admission of these weaknesses is the opening which leads to Clark's assertion that Daniel is "retelling through Rosamond the Io myth about the self-transforming fall of a prostitute" (162). Clark's reading demonstrates the difficulties of balancing Daniel's combination of condemnation and sympathy: Clark lands heavily on the side of moral judgment.

Clark's position is based on his interpretation of the carved casket sent to Rosamond by Henry the day before their first sexual encounter. According to Clark, the images of Amymone and Io depicted on the casket represent Rosamond's "choices": she "must choose to be either Daniel's raped Amymone, a pitiful martyr to cruelty or the prostitute Io, willing mistress of her king-god, gaining material reward but suffering self-defilement, bestiality, and remorse" (158). Rosamond's choice is understood to be the same as Io's—"immoral gain" (158). The minotaur, then, is the monster Rosamond becomes "because of her fall into whoredom" (158). The conclusion that Rosamond is self-transforming seems rather harsh when it is clear that

she will be the king's victim either way. However, Clark does not address the use of power which his choice of examples highlights; Clark concludes, "[f]ate has decreed her sexual sorrow; under the present circumstances of isolation from aid, foreknowledge cannot lead to avoidance" (158).

Clark refers to the timing of the casket's delivery, but he does not comment on its identity as a gift. Messages might well be sent by a symbolic gift, as one of Anne Boleyn's to Henry VIII shows:

> it was perhaps in response to Henry's evident misery that Anne decided to order one of those symbolic trinkets that Tudor people loved—a ship with a woman on board and with a (presumably) pendant diamond. The meaning was clear. For centuries the ship had been a symbol of safety. . . . The king reacted with delight to this confirmation that Anne was eternally committed to him and would rely on him to protect her from the storms that would come. (Ives 106)

In a letter to Anne, Henry responded:

> For so beautiful a gift, and so exceeding (taking it in all), I thank you right cordially; not alone for the fair diamond and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about, but chiefly for the good intent and too-humble submission vouchsafed in this by your kindness; considering well that by occasion to merit it would not a little perplex me, if I were not aided therein by your great

> benevolence and goodwill, for the which I have sought, do seek, and shall always seek by all services to me possible there to remain, in the which my hope hath set up his everlasting rest, saying *aut illic aut nullibi* [either here or nowhere]. (Ives 106)

The casket, like the pendant, has a sender and an intended receiver, unlike the painting in Shakespeare's "The Rape of Lucrece," which provides a similar opportunity for reflection, but has not been deliberately placed in Lucrece's way. What message might Henry have intended to convey with this gift to Rosamond?

Rosamond tells us the scene on the lid, and therefore with priority of place, is that of Amymone:

> *Amymone* old *Danaus* fayrest daughter,
> As she was fetching water all alone
> At *Lerna*: whereas *Neptune* came and caught her,
> From whom she striu'd and strugled to be gone,
> Beating the ayre with cryes and pittious mone.
> But all in vaine, with him sh'is forc'd to goe:
> Tis shame that men should vse poore maydens so. (379-385)

Clark notes that Daniel has modified this myth "usually interpreted pleasurably (the rewards of prostitution) into one exemplifying the brutal rape of the subject by a god or prince and the suffering of the victim" (156), but Clark does not attribute such a change to the gift's sender. By altering the focus of the myth, Daniel draws extra attention to Henry as Neptune who may represent the social vice of tyranny (Seznec

93-4). Figuring himself as Neptune, Henry alludes to his own tyrannical power, and so must not be figuring Rosamond as a prostitute reaping the rewards of "immoral gain." Likewise in the Io myth, it is Jove/Henry who is responsible for transforming his love into a beast; Io/Rosamond alone cannot be fully responsible. Henry himself, not "fate" as Clark would have it, is the source of Rosamond's destruction.

It seems highly improbable that a man hoping to consummate a relationship with a mistress would send her a gift warning her of her impending rape and subsequent eternal damnation. What Rosamond realises is that Henry has been too quick to assume that he can claim complete responsibility for her transformation. Rosamond's "reading" of Henry's gift re-asserts her power of self-determination. She has not been misled by either the bawd's argument that majesty "sanctifies the sin" (294) or by Henry's assumption of responsibility in the casket; Rosamond's understanding of Christian doctrine is sound: "For that must hap decreed by heauenly powers, / Who worke our fall, yet make the fault still ours" (412-13). Rosamond acknowledges the power claimed by Henry in the story of Amymone: "Tis shame that men should vse poore maydens so" (385), but her further reflections move away from the image presented by Henry. While the casket shows Amymone weeping at Neptune's feet, Rosamond sees the power Amymone's tears have given her: "O myracle of loue, / That kindles fire in water, heate in teares, / And makes neglected beautie mightier proue" (394-96). Neptune may use his power to rape Amymone, but she has her own power to make him love her. Concentrating on the Io story, Clark must de-emphasise the Amymone story: "[d]espite the copiousness and complexity of

Daniel's account of Amymone, it is really a prelude to the much briefer description of the apparently equivalent and parallel carving of Io" (156). I contend Daniel has not simply given 23 lines to the Amymone story and 5 lines to the Io story; he has shown us which of the two stories "moved" (400) Rosamond herself.

In the contradictory images of a powerful and greedy wanton, a trapped and powerless maid, an old and doting king, and a powerful and lustful Jove, Daniel has established the array of conflicting impulses and emotions which have brought Rosamond and Henry together. Daniel goes some distance toward revealing the truth of Rosamond's situation: she is a lesson on the abuse of royal power, as a victim of that power, but she is also a moral lesson, as a vain and greedy sinner. However, Daniel's balancing act begins to wobble as he continues to portray Rosamond after her fall.

Perhaps Daniel's most significant alteration of the story of the royal mistress is his location of the mistress's power before her fall. Unlike Shore, Rosamond depends entirely on her beauty for her power. Rosamond is apparently without any of the courtly abilities demonstrated by Anne Boleyn: intelligence, eloquence, and wit. Rosamond's beauty is particularly silent and is set against the speeches of the "wise":

> Sweet silent rethorique of perswading eyes:
>
> Dombe eloquence, whose powre doth moue the blood,
>
> More then the words, or wisedome of the wise. (121-3)

Beauty's power, and therefore Rosamond's, is specifically anti-social: "it hath powre to counter-mand all deutie" (161). Whatever the promises of the "seeming Matron" or

the king, Rosamond has no power once she becomes Henry's mistress. Where Shore is perceived as having valuable access to the king once she becomes his mistress, Rosamond is portrayed in a political vacuum. If the jewels and casket sent to Rosamond are a sign that she can acquire wealth, this is contradicted by her growing isolation as she begins the affair. From the court, she is swept off to a "solitarie Grange" which serves as a kind of sin halfway-house; here she and Henry consummate the relationship, and subsequently she is completely isolated in the maze at Woodstock. Wealth can have no practical use for someone held beyond society. Unlike the historical Rosamond, Daniel's character never appears at court after becoming Henry's mistress. Rosamond's role is without social significance.

The potential acquisition of power is absent from the rewards held out by the matron, and a desire for power on Rosamond's part is made to seem monstrous. Once at Woodstock, Rosamond becomes Henry's prisoner: Daniel emphasises that the maze is not so much for Rosamond's protection as a way the king "might safeliest keepe so rich a pray" (462). Rosamond is "made a Prisoner" (502); she becomes the monster imprisoned by the maze:

> Heere I inclos'd from all the world a sunder,
> The Minotaure of shame kept for disgrace:
> The monster of fortune, and the worlds wonder,
> Liu'd cloystred in so desolate a case:
> None but the King might come into the place. (477-481)

The potential power of the mistress resurfaces in the cross-gender application of the

image of the minotaur to Rosamond.

In *The Mermaid and The Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise*, Dorothy Dinnerstein comments on the sexual roles implicit in the images of the mermaid and the minotaur. These images

> have bearing . . . on our sexual arrangements in particular. The treacherous mermaid, seductive and impenetrable female representative of the dark and magic underwater world from which our life comes and in which we cannot live, lures voyagers to their doom. The fearsome minotaur, gigantic and eternally infantile offspring of a mother's unnatural lust, male representative of mindless, greedy power, insatiably devours live human flesh. (5)

At first, the extreme masculinity of the half-bull, half-man image seems completely inappropriate when applied to this young female prisoner. The anxiety which surrounds the unmarried non-virgin is compounded by her unfeminine, and thus unnatural, association with power and is expressed in the application of a monstrous masculine image to Rosamond. Her power, however, like the minotaur, and like Rosamond herself is contained by the maze and remains unrealised. Rosamond is portrayed without personal ambition, but Daniel's effort to deny the potential for power inherent in the role of royal mistress is contradicted by the minotaur image which suggests her true potential and the extreme restraints necessary to render her powerless.

Denying all possibility of power for the royal mistress greatly diminishes the

role's attractiveness, but in Daniel's poem the attractiveness is also restricted by the eradication of female pleasure. After assuring us that she is ready to "wantonise" (364), Rosamond finds no physical pleasure with Henry:

> loe I ioyde my Louer not my Loue,
> And felt the hand of lust most vndesired:
> Enforc'd th'vnprooued bitter sweete to proue,
> Which yeeldes no mutuall pleasure when tis hired.
> Loue's not constrain'd, nor yet of due required,
> Iudge they who are vnfortunately wed,
> What tis to come vnto a loathed bed. (435-441)

Contrary to the Renaissance assumption that prostitutes are driven by their own lust, Daniel has Rosamond assert that no pleasure is possible for her because she is "hired." Adultery has not awakened an uncontrollable sexual appetite, as was rumoured in the cases of Anne Boleyn and Aemelia Lanyer.

Later in the poem, however, Rosamond suggests she has found some pleasure. Rosamond describes herself as one of the "Maydes misled, / Which bought theyr pleasures at so hie a rate" (549-550). This intimation of pleasure is unsettled by the "lesson" she sees her story teaching:

> This lesson which my selfe learnt with expence,
> How most it hurts that most delights the sence. (552-53)

While Henry has found love, Rosamond had found only a suggestion of pleasure which is inevitably accompanied by pain.

Much that might have seemed attractive in the relationship is disarmed by Daniel's deliberate distancing of Rosamond and Henry. As we have seen, most of the "wooing" of Rosamond is done by the matron. Although Rosamond reports rebuffing Henry's advances, we do not see him as an active suitor. The distancing of the characters is further accomplished by the aging of Henry. If Henry and Rosamond did meet in 1165, then Henry was 32 or 33; he would hardly have seemed a doddering old man and would not have been regarded either in the twelfth century or in the sixteenth century as beyond the age for marrying a young woman. Heltzel does not note when the age difference between the king and Rosamond first became part of the legend. In *The Collection of the Historie of England* (1612), Daniel seems aware of Henry's correct age. It seems likely that Daniel is responsible for exaggerating Henry's age, since William Warner's version of Rosamond's story, which also appeared in 1592, does not indicate an age difference. Daniel's exaggeration of the age difference makes the sexual relationship distasteful particularly for Rosamond. The matron suspects Rosamond's hesitation is because of Henry's age:

> What, doost thou stand on thys, that he is olde,
> Thy beauty hath the more to worke vppon:
> Thy pleasures want shal be supply'd with gold,
> Cold age dotes most when heate of youth is gone. (295-98)

The matron's assumption that Henry's age will affect Rosamond's pleasure is confirmed the night the relationship is consummated: "soone his age receiu'd his short contenting, / And sleepe seald vp his languishing desires" (442-43). The exaggerated

age difference is hardly a necessary addition to an already sinful arrangement; unless part of Daniel's purpose is to undermine the romantic qualities of the story by eliminating the possibility of a *love* affair. The use of the matron and the aging of Henry both seem to be deliberately repellent additions. A further explanation of the age difference, however, may follow from Dubrow's suggestion that these poems allow veiled criticism of the existing monarch. Henry's age may be additionally understood as commentary on the tendency for aging monarchs to dote unwisely on young favourites.

Henry's age is not the only part of the legend which Daniel manipulated. In his *Historie of England*, Daniel completes the history of Henry II with a list of Henry's issue. Daniel records,

> He [Henry] had also two naturall sonnes, by *Rosamund* daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, *William*, surnamed *Longespee*, in *English Long Sword*, and *Geffrey* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, who after five yeares banishment in his brother King *Johns* time died, *Anno* 1213. (95)

The association of these two sons of Henry with Rosamond may not have started before the late sixteenth century (Heltzel 2), but it then continued until the twentieth. Eyton refutes his own identification of Rosamond as Geoffrey's mother, while maintaining the connection with William Longespee (Eyton, *Court* vii); Warren does not attempt to identify either son's mother; and Given-Wilson and Curteis hedge their bets by claiming that William "is the only one of the king's bastards who might have

been the son of Rosamund, but it does not seem likely that he was" (9). Daniel's account does not hesitate in the identification of Rosamond as the mother of both Geoffrey and William, so why are they absent from the poem?

The existence of children is antithetical to Daniel's efforts to make Henry and Rosamond's relationship unattractive. The amount of time covered by the poem is deliberately vague, but we are given the impression of briefness; including the children would have complicated the timing. Since Geoffrey and William did not remain in shameful obscurity as a consequence of their bastardy, they become examples of another kind of power available to the mistress. At times the children of royal mistresses did achieve status and political power. Rosamond's children would have contradicted Daniel's denial of the power of the mistress. Rosamond's one reference to children comes as she is debating her situation with herself and asserts it would be better to be dead than to "disgrace thy selfe and grieve thine heires" (328). Any more direct attempt to include Rosamond's children would have resulted in a very different poem—one which could not have delivered the moral lesson Daniel intended.

Perhaps more surprising than the absence of Rosamond's children is Daniel's refusal to heighten his lesson by creating even momentary identification with Eleanor. She is the "wronged Queene" (570) who sets out to find her own revenge. Eleanor is cast briefly as Theseus following the thread and killing the minotaur, but this image of resolute action is overthrown by the description which follows:

> Enrag'd with madnes, scarce she speakes a word,
>
> But flyes with eger fury to my face,

Offring me most vnwoman'y disgrace. (579-581)

The queen is defending her rights and those of her children, but Daniel reduces her to a maddened beast attacking the "monster":

Looke how a Tygresse that hath lost her whelpe,
Runs fearcely raging through the woods astray:
And seeing her selfe depriu'd of hope or helpe,
Furiously assaults what's in her way,
To satisfie her wrath, not for a pray. (582-586)

Neither character is given the opportunity for direct speech, an arrangement which increases our impression of irrationality. Although compassion for Eleanor would have been morally consistent with Daniel's approach to the legend, sympathy for the queen would inevitably weaken our sympathy for the king. The king's long outpouring of grief after Rosamond's death can only be effective if we remain focused on his feelings of loss.

Many critics have found Henry's grief the most moving part of the poem, but they have not commented on the odd effect created by the combination of erotic imagery and Rosamond's death. The king's impassioned speeches on encountering Rosamond's funeral procession is interrupted by Rosamond's distanced description of his actions:

Thus as these passions doe him ouer-whelme,
He drawes him neere my bodie to behold it:
And as the Vine maried vnto the Elme

With strict imbraces, so doth he infold it;

And as he in hys carefull armes doth hold it,

Viewing the face that euen death commends,

On sencelesse lips, millions of kysses spends. (659-665)

Even allowing for current cultural distaste for embracing corpses, we are likely to find "millions" of kisses excessive. The "Vine maried unto the Elme" becomes a grotesque image as we realise that the gender switch—the Vine is usually the female—is in part a reflection of Henry's dependence on Rosamond for comfort but also suggests the stiffening of her corpse with rigor mortis. Rosamond's own dispassionate references to her body as "it" interferes with the reader's ability to regard the scene as a touching farewell.

The unsettling combination of eroticism and death is carried still further in Henry's next speech:

Ah how me thinks I see death dallying seekes,

To entertaine it selfe in loues sweet place:

Decayed Roses of discoloured cheekes,

Doe yet retaine deere notes of former grace:

And ougly death sits faire within her face;

Sweet remnants resting of vermilion red,

That death it selfe, doubts whether she be dead. (673-79)

Henry now sees death as Rosamond's lover dallying in the roses of her cheeks. Philippe Ariès, in *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the*

Present, traces the association of death with eroticism:

> At the end of the fifteenth century, we see the themes concerning death begin to take on an erotic meaning. In the oldest dances of death, Death scarcely touched the living to warn him and designate him. In the new iconography of the sixteenth century, Death raped the living. (56)

Ariès cites two examples of the new images of Death: "the paintings by Hans Baldung Grien (d. 1545), 'Rider with Death and a Maiden,' in the Louvre, and 'Death and the Woman,' in the museum of Basel" (56, n. 1).

Ariès is not prepared to try to explain why this shift occurred, although he does note that "[l]ike the sexual act, death was henceforth increasingly thought of as a transgression which tears man from his daily life, from rational society, from his monotonous work, in order to make him undergo a paroxysm, plunging him into an irrational, violent, and beautiful world" (57). These parallel influences of sex and death are suggested in Daniel's poem. When Rosamond first describes the impact of her beauty she emphasises the wonder that it strikes in men:

> Looke how a Comet at the first appearing,
> Drawes all mens eyes with wonder to behold it:
> Or as the saddest tale at suddaine hearing,
> Makes silent listning vnto him that told it:
> So did my speech when rubies did vnfold it;
> So did the blasing of my blush appeere,

T'amaze the world, that holds such sights so deere. (113-19)

The amazement and speechlessness are all repeated by Henry in his grief: "Amaz'd he standes, nor voyce nor body steares, / Words had no passage" (624-5). Similarly, Henry's reason is overthrown by his desire for Rosamond—"H'is forc'd forget himselfe" (199)—and by his grief—"these passions doe him ouer-whelme" (659). Henry's ready mixing of eroticism and death in the act of mourning his mistress echo the earlier reflections of Rosamond herself.

Shortly before relating the manner of her death, Rosamond wishes once more that she had remained an innocent country maid. Her thoughts on the peacefulness of such a maid's life lead from life to death:

> [A maid] [w]hose vnaffected innocencie thinks
> No guilefull fraude, as doth the Courtly liuer:
> She's deckt with trueth, the Riuer where she drinks
> Doth serue her for her glasse, her counsell giuer:
> She loues sincerely, and is loued euer.
>
> Her dayes are peace, and so she ends her breath,
>
> True life that knowes not what's to die till death. (540-46)

Rosamond's evident longing for peace is poignant, especially since her role seems to be to provide Henry with just such peace. The last line is heavy with despair, but the contrast of innocence and experience throughout this stanza makes the final line grimly humorous. It is difficult to avoid the possibility that this line turns on the favourite Elizabethan pun of "to die" as "to experience an orgasm," marking the

experience denied to the "happy Country mayde." Here then, Rosamond's thoughts on moral death, sexual "death," and death itself are intimately connected.

Henry's overwhelming grief shifts our attention away from Rosamond and tempts us to remember the poem as a love story, although from Rosamond's point of view the story was much more about power than love. Revisions to the poem in 1594 provide more of Rosamond's perspective.[2] Prior to the king's discovery of her body, Rosamond is given an additional twenty stanzas for her death speech (introduced after line 602). Although Rosamond's speech is primarily a warning to other women which hammers home Daniel's moral, the speech does reiterate the dangers and traps which surround a young woman at court. Nevertheless, these additions continue to deflect our attention from Henry's role in Rosamond's fall. Rosamond identifies beauty as a primary factor in her fall as she laments:

> Did Nature (ô for thys) deliberate,
> To shew in thee the glory of her best;
> Framing thine eye the star of thy ill fate,
> And made thy face the foe to spoyle the rest?
> O Beautie, thou an enemy profest,
> To chastitie and vs that loue thee most,
> Without thee how w'are loath'd, & w[ith] thee lost? (199: 50-6)

Beauty, not the men who place a certain value on it, is the "enemy" to chastity.

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[2]For the variant readings of *Rosamond* see A. C. Sprague, ed., *Poems and* A Defence of Ryme.

Although the judgment of the male spectator is present in the final line of the stanza, Rosamond does not make an explicit connection.

In a related gesture, Rosamond delivers a five stanza diatribe against procuresses. "[T]hese Bed-brokers vncleane, / (The Monsters of our sexe,)" are an unbearable addition to the pressures faced by beautiful women (200: 100-1). Rosamond asks,

> O is it not enough that wee, (poore wee,)
> Haue weaknes, beauty, gold, and men our foes,
> But we must haue some of our selues to bee
> Traytors vnto our selues, to ioyne with those? (200: 106-9)

Men are passed over as one more factor in a long list, as if the seeming matrons of the world are not acting on behalf of male employers. Rosamond's initial innocence and vulnerability and her piteous remorse after her fall arouse pity in the reader and promote the reader's acceptance of some moral middle ground, an "unparadised" state. Left feeling morally generous, the reader is not asked to reflect on the injustices of a system which makes a woman a desirable object which is devalued in the obtaining. Henry, as the representative lover, is distanced from the actual seduction—beauty, a traitorous woman, and the weaknesses of female nature destroy Rosamond. Despite Daniel's appeals to female patrons, the implied reader appears to be male. Invited to enjoy the spectacle of distraught beauty and freed of responsibility for her fate, the reader has his attention deflected from the main character as a subject in her own right.

When Henry is implicated in Rosamond's fall, it is in his role as king. *Rosamond* does provide some of the social observations we might expect in the *Mirror* tradition or from some interpretations of Ovidian mythology. In the figures on the casket, Henry obliquely acknowledges his abuse of power. Daniel, however, is much less comfortable with recognising the royal mistress's access to power. The image of the powerful mistress is translated into the minotaur: just as the maze isolates and contains the minotaur, Daniel isolates Rosamond and denies her power. Power we would expect to be located in the relationship between monarch and mistress is shifted to the illusory power of beauty. Once power is reduced to sexual attractiveness, the ability of the mistress to influence political action is no longer a threat. In Daniel's hands, Rosamond becomes the perfect image of a royal mistress for the aristocratic audience: she is one of them, not a social climber; she is without political ambition; she is childless, not a threat to the succession; and, she is completely isolated, not a courtier who might influence the king.

Chapter Three:

Other Rosamonds by Warner, Deloney, Drayton, and May

In *The Complaint of Rosamond*, Daniel has Rosamond lament that "[n]o Muse suggests the pittie of my case, / Each penne dooth overpasse my just complaint" (22-23); after Daniel's poem, Rosamond's rescue from obscurity was assured. Between 1592 and 1633, Rosamond's story appeared in a wide range of poetic forms. William Warner, Michael Drayton, Thomas Deloney, and Thomas May each took up the story in a different way: "Warner, the simple and brief tale; . . . Drayton, the epistolary exchange; Deloney, the ballad; and May, the historical romance" (Heltzel 27). As these versions move away from the *Mirror* tradition and the complaint genre, we might suspect that there will be a corresponding move away from political commentary and moral judgment. In fact, no such pattern emerges. The conventions and traditions of genre do not necessarily overwhelm the individual interests and concerns of the authors. Rosamond Clifford, the former maid/now mistress of the king, remains a figure to sympathise with, or condemn, or otherwise interpret.

The uncertain position Rosamond Clifford occupies is demonstrated in the variety of ways she is used as an *exemplum*. Rosamond appears in turn as a victim of fortune, the epitome of beauty, and yet one more fallen woman. In I. O.'s "The Lamentation of Troy for the death of Hector. Whereunto is annexed an *Olde Womans Tale in hir solitarie Cell*" (1594), Rosamond appears in the annexed poem as someone brought down by Fortune:

She [Fortune] is not constant to any ever.

For how hath she by her false indevor,

Thrown downe *Priam* from his royall chaire,

And *Hecuba* his queene so faire?

. . . . . .

How hath she causd faire *Rosamond* to mone?

And how (though she was meanly borne)

Hath she made *Shores* wife forlorne,

After estate and high calling,

And brought hir to most wofull falling?

Here we see Rosamond associated with Shore's wife, as Daniel's poem had suggested. Rosamond also becomes the epitome of beauty. A verse in Robert Jones's *Ultimum Vale* (1605) suggests the lady addressed is not superior to Rosamond's standard:

Wert thou the onely worlds admired, thou canst love but one,

And many have before beene lov'd, thou art not lov'd alone.

Couldst thou speake with heavenly grace,

Sapho might with thee compare:

Blush the Roses in thy face,

Rozamond was as faire. (Doughtie 205: 7-13)

Rosamond's beauty remains her trademark when she is cited as a whore. In John Taylor's "A Whore" (1630 folio edition), Rosamond is included in a long catalogue of whores:

> Our second *Henry* Aged, Childish, fond,
> On the faire feature of faire *Rosamond*:
> That it rais'd most unnaturall hatefull strife
> Betwixt himselfe, his children, and his wife.
> The end of which was, that the jealous Queene
> Did poyson *Rosamond* in furious spleene. (108)

After Daniel's poem, then, Rosamond enters the imagination of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century as an English example of a victim of fortune, a beauty, or a whore. Additional versions of her story do not establish a single conventional assessment of her behaviour and outcome.

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William Warner's *Albions England* is a versification of myth and history which first appeared in 1586, although Rosamond's story was not included until an edition which appeared in 1592. In his introduction to Warner's *Syrinx*, Wallace A. Bacon sums up the few available details of Warner's biography:

> He was born in 1558 in London, the son of a voyager who died, apparently in 1577, on a voyage to Guinea. He became an attorney of the Common Pleas, served (at least with his pen) the powerful Careys of Hertfordshire, wrote a famous poetic chronicle and a prose novel, witnessed the death of a traitor in Essex, and died in March, 1609, at the age of 50 or 51, in the little village of Great Amwell, Herts. (xxxvii)

Bacon suggests one reason that *Syrinx* did not meet with the same success as Lyly's *Euphues* or Sidney's *Arcadia* is that "it was written by a middle-class writer out of middle-class ideals, and its tone can scarcely be called courtly" (xix). *Albions England* achieved far greater recognition.

Daniel and Warner were not influenced by each other (Heltzel 14). This absence of a connection between the two writers makes Warner's version of Rosamond's story particularly interesting, since his approach and concerns are quite different from Daniel's. In many ways Warner's treatment of Rosamond seems contradictory. Warner uses Rosamond's story as a rather peculiar *exemplum* on the behaviour proper to a queen. This purpose, however, is confined to the story's frame, while the tale itself is far more sympathetic than moralistic.

Like Daniel, Warner separates the history of Henry II from the story of the relationship between Henry and Rosamond. In book 5, chapter 24 of *Albions England*, Warner presents the story of Henry II and Becket, then waits until book 8 to tell the story of Rosamond. Book 8 covers English history from Henry VIII to Queen Mary, whose story provides the occasion for Rosamond's tale. Chapter 41 tells of Queen Mary's troubles with her unfaithful husband, Philip, King of Spain. An unidentified speaker lectures the queen on patience when she learns of Philip's relationship with "rich *Brabants*":

> Haue patience, Madam, so it was was [sic] and will be as it is:
> Fourth, *Edward* did the like, yeat lou'd his Queene no whit the lesse,
> Nor did the like vnpatient her, that knew him to transgresse

As guiltie of a Leash of Loues, *Shores* wife and other twaine:

She knew as Strea[m]s, if stopt, surrownd, so Kings wil shew they raigne:

As did our second *Henry*, whom his Queene oft crost in vaine. (197-98)

Rosamond and Henry's story is then recounted for Queen Mary's benefit.

The advice offered to Mary might seem to be a lesson meant to apply to all wives of unfaithful husbands, but Warner's use of strictly royal and aristocratic examples is, I think, a sign of wider concerns. The speaker specifies that Edward's adultery has nothing to do with the king's love for his queen, but is a means of demonstrating his rule. Edward's power, likened to a stream, is expressed through his affairs with other women. This speaker's view of royal adultery as an expression of power is consistent with the historians who have suggested that Edward IV strengthened his connections with London merchants through his contacts among the citizens' wives. Mary is advised to regard Philip's adultery as a public expression of power not a private betrayal. Philip's and Edward's mistresses are both from a class lower than that of Rosamond, which would seem to make her story a less than accurate choice for comparison. Apparently Eleanor's fate, rather than Rosamond's, makes this story a useful *exemplum* for Warner.

The story of Rosamond and Henry II takes not quite four pages, but during that time the reader is inclined to forget the frame of the tale. Contrary to the expectations created by the frame, Warner does not give any particular emphasis to Eleanor's role within the tale itself. However, Warner's version of the relationship between the mistress and the king is quite different from Daniel's. While Daniel

works to distance the two characters and deliver a moral, Warner is clearly interested in writing a romance. Rosamond's story in *Albions England* shows no signs of the influence of the *Mirror for Magistrates* and is not presented as a *de casibus* story. Warner begins his tale with the action underway: Henry and Rosamond are engaged in conversation as the king tries to win her love. Warner adds the dramatic touch of having the king woo Rosamond in disguise, a device Warner may have borrowed from Robert Greene's "Shepherd's Tale" in *Mourning Garment* (1590) or the other way around (Heltzel 15). Many ballads present kings going among their subjects in disguise; perhaps the theme appealed to a fantasy of meeting royalty, much like fantasies of meeting the rich and famous today. The disguised king promises Rosamond "Loue, Wealth, Secresie" (198), but she refuses, and Henry must reveal himself to press his case. Henry declares, "I am the King, and for I am the rather let it mooue thee" (198). This Henry makes many of the same arguments that Daniel's matron had, but when the arguments are part of the dialogue between the two principal characters, they lose their cynical quality. Warner's Henry answers her fear of sin with "[t]he Pope for pay absolueth euery thing" (198), and while this may be a cynical reflection on the church, it does not present the lie that the king can absolve her.

A further promise to Rosamond remains nearly unspoken. While in disguise, Henry begins his appeal to Rosamond,

> Faire Maide, quoth he, beleeue me faire and all so faire thou art
> That, weare I *Henry Englands* King, thou shouldst be *Englands* Queene:
> But so must faile, for *Elenour* already is betweene. (198)

We cannot be certain that Warner was aware of Henry's efforts to obtain a divorce, but it does seem that Rosamond is promised marriage if something were to happen to Eleanor. The suggestion would seem like nothing more than one more argument in the married man's arsenal, if Eleanor and the princes did not regard Rosamond as a rival for the queenship: "The Kings three Sonnes had notice of their Fathers Leiman now, / So had the Queene, and they of such coriuing disallow" (199). When confronting Rosamond in the bower, Eleanor declares:

> best he take thee to the Court, Be thou his Queene, do call
> Me to attendance, if his Lust may stand for Law in all.
> I know it Strumpet, so harps he, and thou doest hope the same:
> But lo I liue, and liue I will, at least to marre that game. (200)

The queen and her faction suspect that Rosamond is potentially more than a sexual rival.

Part of the added threat Rosamond presents may be attributed to the mutual love which exists between her and Henry. Unlike Daniel's Rosamond, Warner's character does come to love Henry: "He kist, She blusht, and long it was ere loue from her he wrong, / For, whilst it played in her heart, it paused in her toung" (198-99). Rosamond's love for Henry is not portrayed as wantonness, and she retains a sense of modesty which lends dignity to the character. A further sign of her love for Henry is demonstrated by her attitude as she faces death. Rosamond may seek forgiveness as she dies, but she remains unrepentant in her love for Henry:

> Weare it that *Henry* knew his *Rosamund* weare thus,

No waightie busines might withhold but he would visit us.

Full well I lou'd and loue him still, that should not loue him so,

And for I should not worthely I labour of this woe. (200)

Rosamond's words are testimony to the mutuality of Henry and Rosamond's love. She feels she could depend on him to defend her from the queen.

The dignity of Rosamond's character is maintained by her evident lack of interest in material rewards and by the sense that Woodstock is not her prison but her court. Although wealth is one of Henry's promises to Rosamond, we do not see her accepting valuable gifts from the king. Warner does not include an equivalent of Daniel's casket, nor is greed cited as one of Rosamond's sins or as a factor in her fate. Although Warner portrays Rosamond as a possible rival to the queenship, he does not portray Rosamond's power as unfeminine or monstrous. Woodstock is repeatedly referred to as a "bower" and is not directly identified as a labyrinth or maze. When the comparison is made it seems primarily architectural:

Not *Sibils* Caue at *Cuma*, nor the *Labyrinth* in *Creat*,

Was like the Bower of *Rosamund*, for intricate and great. (199)

The minotaur is never mentioned, and the reader is deflected from pursuing the association of Rosamond and the monster by the additional comparison with the sybil's cave. The combination of the two comparisons evokes a sense of mystery and power without Daniel's suggestion of the monstrousness of female power.

Significantly, Woodstock is not a place of isolation, nor is Rosamond a prisoner. There is no hint that the bower hides Henry's private harem: Rosamond is

served by maids and a "Knight of trust" (199). Rosamond's fidelity is tested when the knight falls in love with her, but she rejects him: "*Henry*, quoth she, begunne and he shall end my thoughts unchast" (199). As in Daniel's poem, Rosamond's sexual experience has not resulted in promiscuous desires. Significantly, the knight remains in Rosamond's service: "Nor peach't she him, nor he, dismist, did hold himselfe disgrac'st" (199). Rosamond's actions demonstrate her generosity and reliance on her own judgment. Although no additional opportunity to develop an impression of Rosamond's use of her position is provided, Warner has created at least one situation in which she is shown exercising her power in a positive manner.

The incident with the knight is followed immediately by the queen's reaction to Rosamond's existence. The queen is not portrayed sympathetically, but her anger and jealousy are given rational expression. For example, Eleanor asks herself, "Came I from *France Queene* Dowager, quoth she, to pay so deere / For bringing him so great a wealth as to be Cuckquean'd heere?" (199) The queen and her attendants try unsuccessfully to enter the bower, and eventually resort to overpowering the knight to seize his "giding Clew" (199). Heltzel sees Warner's inclusion of this kind of detail as part of Warner's greater concern with plot as compared to "Daniel's dignified poem [which] is conceived on the highest level, artistic and moral" (17). Within his more simplistic version, however, Warner does use details of plot with considerable effectiveness. Warner's queen is a little more frightening than Daniel's raging beast because she is so ruthlessly determined and cruel. After promising to block Henry's plan to take Rosamond to court, Eleanor strikes Rosamond:

With that she dasht her on the Lippes, so dyed double red:

Hard was the heart that gaue the blow, soft were those lips that bled. (200)

Rosamond is then forced to drink the poison, and the queen and her attendants depart.

The cruelty of the queen is mitigated (perhaps unintentionally) by Warner's use of mythology. Eleanor's search for Rosamond gives rise to an odd comparison:

Like *Progne*, seeking *Philomel*, she seeked for and found

The Bower that lodg'd her Husba[n]ds Loue, built partly vnder grou[n]d.

(199)

Has a woman's search for a hidden lodge and her husband's mistress simply reminded Warner of Progne's search for the hidden Philomela? The comparison would seem to be a difficult one to use innocently. Progne is not merely searching for her husband's lover; she is trying to rescue her raped and mutilated sister, Philomela. Progne and Philomela join in revenging themselves on the unfaithful and brutal Tereus, described by George Sandys as a "lustfull Tyrant" (302). This disturbing choice of simile suggests a sisterhood which connects Rosamond and Eleanor, a connection based on their individual betrayals by Henry.

Warner's use of the Philomela myth is his strongest suggestion that Henry may have used his power tyrannically, but it is not the only reference to power. As Rosamond begs the queen's pardon, she asks, "But what may not so great a King by meanes or force command?" (200) As we have seen, the question is a reasonable one, but Eleanor is not satisfied. The narrator's response to Rosamond is equivocal: Rosamond is the "wronged Wench" and "(Save that intised of a King) stood free from

all defame" (200). Here Rosamond's unparadised state can apparently be set aside parenthetically—one king being her only flaw. This attitude seems quite different from Daniel's Rosamond, who frets over the fame of her sin. Warner, however, tempers his response with Rosamond's admission of beauty's vulnerability and vanity and her appeals to the queen for pardon and to God for mercy (201).

Unlike Daniel's feeble and ineffectual king, Warner's Henry woos on his own behalf and responds to Rosamond's murder with actions rather than words. Eleanor is imprisoned, and Eleanor and Henry's rebellious sons are defeated. We are also told, "[n]or lou'd the King the[n]ceforth the Queen, or left to err anew" (201). An active Henry who is not portrayed as significantly older, combined with a Rosamond who returns the king's love, result in a relationship much more attractive than that portrayed by Daniel. With Warner's version of Rosamond and Henry's story we see the initial signs of the fantasy of a companionate relationship. Neither figure doubts the other's devotion, and when Rosamond is tested by the knight's love for her, she remains faithful to Henry.

The mistress is not condemned by Warner, nor does he deny the potential power which may accompany the role. Although Warner's tale does not emphasise Rosamond's power, we do see her generous treatment of the lovestruck knight. The references to the queenship admit the potential for the royal mistress to acquire power through the relationship. Less direct comments reflect on the position Rosamond faces when wooed by Henry. His power to coerce her response is mentioned only fleetingly by her, and the possibility of an inward moral debate by Rosamond is never suggested.

The mythological simile used to relate Eleanor and Rosamond indirectly refers to the king's abuse of power, but the issue is never examined in detail. Warner, unlike Daniel, does not attempt to use Rosamond as a warning to women to defend their chastity.

In the final eight lines of the chapter, the speaker reminds us of the frame for Rosamond's story. The lesson for Queen Mary is interpreted as "[b]e bitter and it betters not, be patient and subdue" (201). Philip will return and may even live well if Mary will only be patient and not jealous. This "lesson" explains Warner's selection of this story over that of "Jane" Shore. Eleanor's reaction to Henry's affair results in her own downfall and imprisonment. By an odd inversion, Rosamond becomes the example of the loving mate who betrays no jealousy nor is tempted to stray. Rosamond's story appears an unsubtle threat that wives who are insufficiently loving and patient can expect their husbands to be unfaithful, but Warner's lesson may not be strictly private. The speaker introduces this story by relating the king's sexuality to a demonstration of his power: the queen should be patient because the betrayal is impersonal. Nevertheless, Warner's sympathetic portrayal of Rosamond and his suggestion of the king's tyranny toward both mistress and wife at least asks whether what must be accepted on a practical level need be accepted as either reasonable or just.

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Rosamond and Henry's story becomes a fantasy romance without a moralising frame in a popular ballad by Thomas Deloney, titled "A Mournfull Dittie,

on the death of *Rosamond*, King *Henry* the seconds Concubine," which begins "Whenas King Henry rul'd this land." F. O. Mann suggests that *The Garland of Good Will*, in which the ballad first appeared, was composed before March 5, 1593; however, the first extant edition of the *Garland* is dated 1631. Consequently, "[t]he earliest known copy of this ballad is that added to the 1607 edition of *Strange Histories*," also by Deloney (Mann 562-63).

Details of Deloney's life are scarce. Mann tells us Deloney died in 1600, but the year of his birth is unknown (vii). He was probably born in Norwich and was a silk weaver before turning to writing (vii). Mann cites at least one ballad which caused Deloney some trouble with the authorities: "[t]he *Ballad on the Want of Corn* has entirely disappeared. . . . But it seems fairly certain Deloney was now installed as the poet of the people, and his voicing of popular cries was beginning to bring him into trouble" (ix). Although Deloney responded to public problems, Mann characterises his attitudes as typically middle class:

> From his surviving work we can gather his acquaintance and sympathy with trade and handicraftsmen of all sorts, his admiration and satisfied acceptance of blue blood and the established order of things, which particularly marks the bourgeois class to which he belonged. . . . his sentimental conviction was the pre-eminent virtue of an aristocracy, so that all his kings are truly 'royal' and their ladies 'gracious'. (xiv)

Mann's general observations are an apt description of the situation we find in "A

Mournfull Dittie."

Heltzel cites numerous examples from the ballad to show that Deloney was primarily influenced by Warner rather than by Daniel, although Deloney does omit some of Warner's details and provides new elements of his own. Deloney's ballad begins later in the story than either Daniel's or Warner's versions. We do not see the wooing of Rosamond by either a go-between or by Henry himself. Deloney is first concerned to establish Rosamond's beauty, which is described is highly conventional terms:

> Her crisped locks like threds of Gold
> appeared to each mans sight:
> Her comely eyes like Orient pearles,
> did cast a heauenly light. (9-12)

Also from the start, we are to view Eleanor as Rosamond's enemy and Woodstock as Rosamond's defence against the queen. The bower becomes an oddly difficult-to-defend fortress:

> Most curiously this Bower was built
> of stone and timber strong,
> An hundred and fifty doores
> did to that bower belong. (25-28)

Although Woodstock is still made up of a maze and a bower, Deloney does not use the terms "maze" or "labyrinth." Deloney, perhaps following Warner, rejects the suggestions of monstrosity which arise from the image of the labyrinth and the minotaur, and describes Rosamond in the bower as "like an Angell set" (144). Other

details are also changed. As Heltzel notes, Deloney includes the knight who guards Rosamond and who was first introduced by Warner, but "Sir Thomas," as Deloney names him, does not fall in love with Rosamond. At first we may wonder if Deloney has chosen to weaken Rosamond's character by omitting the test of her faithfulness, but Deloney has added a new twist which augments rather than diminishes Rosamond's strength of character.

In place of either a wooing scene or a speech of mourning by Henry, Deloney gives us a scene of parting between Henry and Rosamond on Henry's leaving for France to put down his son's rebellion. Henry's loving farewell speech is met with intense sorrow from Rosamond, who "for the sorrow she conceiu'd, / her vitall spirits did faile" (75-76). Rosamond turns pale and swoons:

> So falling downe all in a swoond
> before King *Henries* face:
> Full oft betweene his Princely armes
> her corpes he did embrace.
>
> And twenty times, with watry eyes,
> he kist her tender cheeke. (77-82)

I suspect Deloney is drawing on the intense scene of Henry's mourning in Daniel's poem, but by shifting the expression of these emotions and the embraces to before Rosamond's death, Deloney has countered the grotesqueness suggested by Daniel. As with Warner, Deloney's characters are equally in love and are not distanced by a

distasteful age difference.

Deloney's new twist on the story is Rosamond's proposal when she recovers her senses. Rosamond suggests,

> But sith your grace, in forren coast,
> among your foes vnkind,
> Must go to hazard life and limbe,
> why should I stay behind;
> Nay rather let me, like a Page,
> your shield and Target beare,
> That on my brest the blow may light,
> that should annoy you there. (89-96)

Heltzel suggests that this new idea of Rosamond accompanying Henry disguised as a page may be another example of an event transferred from Eleanor's life to Rosamond's story: "Queen Eleanor once attempted to escape to France disguised in male attire. . . . Could this incident have been transferred by oral tradition to Rosamond and resulted in her plea to accompany King Henry to France as his page?" (n. 22, p. 22) Heltzel's suggestion is reasonable, but disguised accompaniment or pursuit of a loved one was a popular theme in ballads and plays. Rosamond's proposal gives a sense of her love for Henry and her willingness to take an active role. Henry insists that she stay at Woodstock, but we have had an opportunity to see Rosamond as something more than a passive victim.

As in Warner's version, Deloney's knight is overcome by the queen's

attendants, and the queen is amazed by Rosamond's beauty. Rosamond begs her pardon and shows the presence of mind to offer alternatives to her death:

> I will renounce this sinfull life,
>
> and in a cloister bide:
>
> Or else be banisht, if you please,
>
> to range the world so wide.
>
> And for the fault that I haue done,
>
> though I were forct thereto:
>
> Preserue my life, and punish me,
>
> as you thinke best to do. (161-68)

Rosamond accepts the blame and refers only obliquely to the difficulty of resisting the power of the king, but her added alternatives to death demonstrate her rationality in the face of the queen's rage.

Rosamond's death concludes the poem quickly; since Henry is out of the country it is her enemies who bury Rosamond at Godstow, a detail included by Daniel but not by Warner. Deloney does not include Eleanor's imprisonment as a punishment for killing Rosamond, but he returns to this subject in *Strange Histories*. The earliest extant edition of these poems is 1602, but it is not known when they were first published (Mann 585). In "The Imprisonment of Queene *Elenor*, wife to King *Henrie* the second," Deloney presents the queen's lamentation on her sixteen years in prison. Included in her wrongs to the king, Eleanor lists the killing of Rosamond:

> Sweete *Rosamond* that was so faire,

out of her curious bower I brought,

A poysoned cup I gaue her there,

whereby her death was quickly wrought.

The which I did with all despight,

because she was the Kings delight. (43-48)

We are given the impression that Rosamond's death is only a small part of the reason for Eleanor's imprisonment. Deloney's separation of this subject from the poem on Rosamond indicates that, unlike Warner, Deloney is not interested in developing a direct comparison of Eleanor and Rosamond.

Warner does have an influence on some of the details included in Deloney's ballad, but his primary impact would seem to be in the attitude taken toward the characters. Like Warner, Deloney portrays Rosamond as a strong character in her own right; her relationship with the king is based on mutual love; and, Rosamond is not presented as a moral *exemplum*. Unlike Warner, however, Deloney shows no particular interest in the power differential between the king and his potential mistress. Deloney's uncritical acceptance of Henry's behaviour supports Mann's notion that Deloney has a sentimental regard for the aristocracy. Whether this trait should be associated with Deloney's class is another matter: Warner's far more critical approach would seem to suggest a range of middle-class reactions to aristocratic behaviour.

Although Deloney does not address the issues of power surrounding Rosamond's role, he does contribute a new sense of vigour to her character. This Rosamond is the romantic heroine, ready to follow her lover as a page. Henry calls

her his "gallant Rose" (123). She faces the queen with bravery, and although she accepts blame and asks God's mercy, she does not express any shame or regret. We do not see her exercising power, but Woodstock is not her prison. Deloney clearly aims for romance and entertainment, but in the process, perhaps influenced by the dignity of Warner's character, he gives us an admirable Rosamond with a new sense of resolve.

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Michael Drayton was the next writer to show an interest in Rosamond and Henry II; he includes them as two of the correspondents in *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, first published in 1597. Drayton (1563-1631) "started in his native Warwickshire as page to Sir Henry Goodyere; Ann Goodyere was his Platonic *Idea* (1593). As he told Drummond, 'where I love, I love for years', and significantly he never married. . . . He sought patronage with mixed success" (Saunders 43). So begins a biographical entry on Drayton published in 1983. More recently, Jean R. Brink has re-examined the information available on Drayton's life and has shown "that critical approaches to Drayton's work have been colored by a biography that ignores and misconstrues the realities of literary clientage" (ix). For instance, Drayton's hopeless attachment to Anne Goodere is likely the result of "romantic fabrications" based on misinterpreted "bids for patronage" (Brink 4-5).

The omissions from accounts of Drayton's life are even more interesting than the fabrications. Brink finds,

> Drayton was noticeably hostile to distinctions of class. In 1593 he

> described those who bragged of their lineage as "forgers of suppos'd Gentillitie" (1:65.18): "When he his great, great Grand-sires glory blases, / And paints out fictions in base coyned Phrases" (19-20). Drayton's numerous assaults on titles and privilege have been ignored because they do not ring true as the docile reflections of a "goodly page," but his documentary biography accounts for his resentment of class distinctions. (5)

Drayton was "given a new background" because "genteel breeding and proper schooling were very important, especially within the high brow culture of scholarship" (Brink 4), but the available information does not support this biography (Brink 5-7). Brink examines evidence from a court case against the Gooderes which shows that Drayton was a servant of Thomas Goodere at Collingham, Nottinghamshire (5-6). Brink adds, "[n]o evidence exists that Drayton joined the Polesworth household after Thomas's death, but if we conjecture that he did, he was twenty-two or twenty-three years old, too old to act as a page" (6). He was not prepared for playing the patronage game:

> Drayton's background as a servant in the household of Thomas Goodere was respectable, but hardly genteel. . . . It was not so much snobbery that Drayton faced, as it was the lack of social connections, the associations that a university background and membership in one of the Inns of Court supplied. . . . Lacking credentials, connections, and experience with the clientage system,

Drayton faced extraordinary obstacles. (Brink 7)

Faced with a life-long struggle for the support of members of the upper class, Drayton was highly sensitive to issues of class and power, issues which influenced his representations of Rosamond Clifford and Mistress Shore.

Before dealing directly with the story of Rosamond and Henry, Drayton published two legends which were influenced by Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond.* Drayton's *The Legend of Piers Gaveston* (1593-94) follows *Rosamond* in the melding of the *Mirror* tradition with Ovidian mythology, although some critics suggest the latter has overtaken the former:

> What confronts us still is the lament of a man who is expiating life and misdeeds, but the mood is now changed. There is no more moralizing, no exhortation to the reader to view Piers' life as one to be sedulously avoided, but rather a plain narrative of his sad fate, used merely as a framework upon which to hang a series of exuberant descriptions. (Zocca 78-9)

Brink's evaluation tempers this view but points to the same tendency: "[l]aments over sin and ill fortune periodically intrude upon their delights, but both Gaveston and Edward are presented sympathetically" (34).

Drayton's sympathetic presentation of the love between Edward and Gaveston does not negate the possibility of political commentary. True, Drayton does not moralise on the illicit nature of the relationship between Edward and Gaveston, which probably seemed less clearly adulterous than a king/mistress relationship, but he

does reflect on ambition and the abuse of power. As a male favourite, Gaveston's access to power is more easily regularised than the power of a mistress. Edward can bestow on Gaveston a series of rewards including an advantageous marriage, titles, and positions of authority:

> He gave me then his Secretaries place,
> Thereby to trayne me in affaires of State:
> Me in those Roomes, that I was in, to grace,
> And Earle of *Cornwall* frankly did create,
> Besides, in Court more freely to partake me,
> Of *England*, he High Chamberlayne did make me. (301-6)

Gaveston, however, continually abuses the power he has acquired, and so incurs the hatred of the barons. Civil unrest follows, and Gaveston acknowledges that he is "the Cause of all these Troubles" (624). Drayton depicts an irrationally and extravagantly devoted pair in Edward and Gaveston, as well as making Gaveston the epitome of the dangers of power acquired through an unconventional relationship.

Drayton's next legend, *The Legend of Matilda* (1594), continues to examine the abuse of power but now includes the role of gender in power relations. Drayton continues to exhibit the influence of Daniel:

> the influence of Daniel pervades the poem. It is present in the framework, in descriptive passages such as the panegyric on Matilda's beauty and in dialogue and action; the messenger's arguments are those of Daniel's matron, and Fitzwalter laments in

> the same terms as Henry. Indeed Drayton seems only to diverge from Daniel when compelled by the different requirements of a chaste heroine. (Tillotson 5: 32)

Tillotson concludes, "[i]t is as a love poem, not as a drama nor as a 'mirror' of chastity, that *Matilda* strikes us; John is no ravisher but a wooer as plaintive as any sonneteer" (5: 32). This evaluation of John's role is bewildering: I agree that *Matilda* is not a "'mirror' of chastity," but I contend that *Matilda*, true to its genre, is a mirror for those with power.

Matilda is not entirely like *Rosamond*. In *Matilda*, the title character is not set adrift at court without the benefit of parental guidance. Matilda's father, Lord Robert Fitzwalter, discovers King John's interest in Matilda and warns her to avoid the traps which will be set for her. However, Fitzwalter himself acknowledges the limitless power at the king's disposal when he asks rhetorically, "And to availe his pleasure is there ought, / That such a Prince hath not within his power?" (176-7) Courted by John, Matilda is tempted to yield but decides to flee to safety:

> From Court resolv'd I secretly to goe,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Untill Time might this Passion over-blow,
>
> Or, if at least it wrought not, the extrusion
>
> Might strengthen me, yet, in my Resolution. (303-8)

John responds by attempting to dishonour Matilda's father and finally resorts to exiling Fitzwalter. Where Daniel implies that Rosamond would have been safe if she

had only remained in her parents' care, Drayton demonstrates the king's power to remove all obstacles to his goal including parental support.

Daniel's use of the matron as Henry's go-between adds to our impression of Henry as an aged and ineffectual figure who takes a passive role in the temptation of Rosamond; references to Henry's ability to use force to obtain his desire are marginalised. Drayton, on the other hand, creates an oppressive atmosphere where John's agents spread his influence throughout the kingdom.

With the departure of her father, Matilda contrasts her own desperation with John's self-satisfaction:

> When, like a Deere, before the Hounds imbost,
> When him his strength beginneth to forsake,
> Leaves the smooth Lands to which he trusted most,
> And to the Covert doth himselfe betake
> Doubling, and creepes from Brake againe to Brake,
> Thus still I shift me from the Princes Face,
> Who had me then continually in Chace.
>
> The Coast thus cleer'd, Suspicion layd to rest,
> And each thing fit to further his intent,
> It with much pleasure quieted his Brest,
> That every thing so prosperously went,
> And if the rest successefully consent:

Of former ayde I being quite forsaken,

He hopes, the Fort might in short time be taken. (386-99)

Unlike the deer of Wyatt's sonnet, Matilda is attempting to avoid the collar which will make her Caesar's possession. Matilda, then, faces the hunt without protection and exhibits the panic and exhaustion of the hunt from the deer/woman's point of view. The continual movement and vigilance required of Matilda stand in sharp contrast to John's stillness. Exercising the full extent of his spy-network, John seems all-powerful to Matilda:

His Power so spacious every way did lye,

That still I stood in his ambitious Eye. (419-20)

Finally, fear drives Matilda to seek refuge by withdrawing from the world entirely, and she joins an abbey at Dunmow.

John's angry response to Matilda's withdrawal to the cloister is to send a murderer to poison her. As Tillotson observes, the murderer employs many of the arguments of Daniel's matron: the financial rewards, the indulgence of youth and beauty, and the emptiness of reputation are each argued in turn (5: 32). However, Drayton's conflation of the figure who presents the arguments for yielding with the figure who holds the poison to kill Matilda creates a scene more sinister than any in Daniel's poem. Matilda's death is depicted in a manner similar to that of Rosamond, with the exception that Matilda can moralise on the comfort of a clear conscience: "'Death us, and our Delights can sever, / Vertue alone abandoneth us never'" (622-3).

In Daniel's *Rosamond*, the casket sent to Rosamond depicted the "options"

available to a woman pursued by a king: like Amymone, Rosamond could resist and be raped, or like Io, she could submit and become monstrous. In *Matilda*, Drayton appears to be examining the outcome of the option not taken by Rosamond. Matilda chooses the morally correct course of action and does successfully defend her chastity; however, the price of her resistance is her life. Matilda's story remains remarkably close to that of Rosamond, a figure whose choices are condemned. I suspect Drayton is using these similarities with *Rosamond* to underscore the ironic similarity of the story of the mistress and the story of the chaste maid. John's extreme abuse of power is emphasised throughout the poem, while his repentance is handled with a hint of irony:

> Some say, the King repentant for this Deed,
> When his Remorce to thinke thereof Him drave,
> Poorly disguised in a Pilgrims Weed,
> Offered His Teares on my untimely Grave,
> For which, no doubt, but Heaven his Sinne forgave,
> And my Bloud, calling for Revenge, appeas'd,
> He from the Sinne, I from my labours eas'd. (652-58)

"Some say" seems to reduce John's repentance to a rumour, while "[p]oorly disguised" suggests his actions are intended to sway public rather than divine opinion. Although Matilda is not openly bitter, her observation that John's tears are "no doubt" sufficient to obtain forgiveness for her murder suggests that she finds this a little too easy. The ease with which John obtains forgiveness reflects the double standard which judges

King John and King Henry II more generously than the women destroyed by them. Matilda's moral victory over John does not mitigate her victimization by him: Matilda is not celebrating in the afterlife.

In *Matilda*, Drayton has created a poem which evokes Daniel's poem of Rosamond, but has resisted the conventional contrasting of the unchaste woman with one who is chaste. Drayton's complex attitudes in *Matilda* raise the expectation of a similarly thoughtful treatment of Rosamond and Henry's story. When Drayton does turn directly to this subject, the story is familiar enough for him to count on the reader's knowledge of the details. Instead of creating one more narrative, Drayton turns to yet another genre and presents Rosamond and Henry as correspondents in *Englands Heroicall Epistles*. Drayton's argument at the beginning of "The Epistle of Rosamond to King Henry the Second" provides the setting for the exchange:

> HENRY *the Second keepeth (with much care)*
> *Lord* CLIFFORDS *daughter,* ROSAMOND *the faire:*
> *And whilst his Sonnes doe* Normandie *invade,*
> *He forc'd to* France, *with wond'rous cost had made*
> *A Labyrinth in* Woodstock, *where unseene*
> *His Love might lodge safe, from his jealous Queene:*
> *Yet when he stay'd beyond his time abroad,*
> *Her pensive Brest, his Darling to unload,*
> *In this Epistle doth her Griefe complaine;*
> *And his Rescription tells her his againe.*

Rosamond's epistle to Henry is followed by Henry's response. As in Warner's history and in Deloney's ballad, Rosamond and Henry are separated as a consequence of the rebellion led by Henry's sons.

Rosamond's appeal to Henry is not what the stereotypes might lead us to expect from a mistress left behind by her patron: Rosamond does not complain of his neglect; she does not plead for his return; nor does she tease him with the thought of the attentions he is missing or with real or imaginary rivals. Rosamond instead sends a letter full of self-loathing and shame. She begins with an abject appeal to Henry to read her letter:

> IF YET thine Eyes (Great HENRY) may endure
>
> These tainted Lines, drawne with a Hand impure,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Let me for Loves sake their acceptance crave,
>
> But that sweet Name (vile) I prophaned have;
>
> Punish my Fault, or pittie mine estate,
>
> Reade them for Love, if not for Love, for Hate. (1-8)

The troubled state of Rosamond's mind is reflected in her opening. Dwelling on her impurity, Rosamond is ready to be punished or pitied by Henry who may either love her or hate her. Unlike Daniel's Rosamond who glimpses a state between chastity and damnation—an "unparadised" middle ground—Drayton's Rosamond sees only the oppositional alternatives.

Defining herself and her situation by extremes, Rosamond compares herself

to the letter she sends to Henry:

> This scribbled Paper which I send to thee,
>
> If noted rightly, doth resemble mee:
>
> As this pure Ground, whereon these Letters stand,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> So cleere and spotlesse was mine Innocence:
>
> Now, like these Markes which taint this hatefull Scroule
>
> Such the blacke sinnes which spot my leprous Soule. (11-18)

All of the characterisations of Rosamond that we have seen include some degree of repentance if not shame, but Drayton's Rosamond carries self-reproach to a new level.

Everywhere Rosamond looks, she sees some reflection of her sinful nature. Rosamond recounts climbing to a turret at Woodstock where she watches travellers pass by. She is certain that "all cast their Eyes at mee, / As through the Stones my Shame did make them see" (79-80). Rosamond believes the married women curse her for "[w]ronging a faire Queene, and vertuous Wife" (84), while "[t]he Maidens wish, I buried quicke may die" (85). In a picture gallery, a detail added by Drayton, her maid asks about Lucrece's picture, but Rosamond cannot tell the story because of her shame. At dusk she wanders out to a "little Current," where the fish avoid her bait, and she reflects, "[t]hings Reasonless, thus warn'd by Nature be, / Yet I devour'd the Bait was layd for me" (123-24). In the garden, Rosamond sees a fountain depicting Diana and Acteon:

> This sacred Image I no sooner view'd,

But as that metamorphos'd Man, pursu'd

By his owne Hounds; so, by my Thoughts am I,

Which chase me still, which way soe'r I flye. (144-47)

Assuming she has nothing in common with Diana, Rosamond must associate herself with Acteon. Rosamond is portrayed by Drayton as an active reader and interpreter of everything around her; however, we soon begin to doubt Rosamond's ability to interpret these "lessons" or "messages" correctly.

None of these readings is based on objects with a sender and a receiver of an intended message. The hateful thoughts of the travellers likely originate in Rosamond's paranoia, as does her "reading" of the "bubbling Spring" which "[c]hides me away, lest sitting but too nie, / I should pollute that Native puritie" (127-28). By combining these highly exaggerated interpretations with Rosamond's overstatement of her sinfulness, Drayton tempts his readers to "read" with Rosamond, reinterpreting the "messages" in the process.

One object which tempts us to read for ourselves is the painting of Lucrece. Lucrece's story is passed over by Rosamond:

in the Gallerie this other day,

I and my Woman past the time away,

'Mongst many Pictures, which were hanging by,

The silly Girle at length hapt to espie

Chaste LUCRECE Image, and desires to know,

What shee should be, her selfe that murd'red so?

Why Girle (quoth I) this is that Roman Dame;

Not able then to tell the rest for shame,

My Tongue doth mine owne Guiltinesse betray. (93-101)

Rosamond sees only the contrast between a chaste woman and an unchaste woman, but the story which leaps readily to the mind of Drayton's readers presents a story of the abuse of power and a woman forced. Unlike Rosamond, Drayton's reader knows Rosamond will be killed shortly and is as likely to be struck by the similarities between Rosamond and Lucrece as by the differences.

Having presented a series of sights and readings of the sights and having made his reader cautious in accepting Rosamond's readings, Drayton finally arrives at the casket sent to Rosamond by Henry. Drayton retains the casket and the scenes depicted on it, as portrayed by Daniel. Rosamond describes the images,

In that faire Casket, of such wond'rous Cost,

Thou sent'st the Night before mine Honour lost,

AMIMONE was wrought, a harmelesse Maid,

By NEPTUNE, that adult'rous God, betray'd. (153-56)

As in *Rosamond*, the value of the casket is emphasised, and Drayton also begins first with the Amimone and Neptune story. Drayton is more explicit than Daniel in identifying Neptune as an adulterer, but he is equally interested in the defencelessness of Amimone against Neptune's power. Daniel's Rosamond sees the warnings in the images retrospectively:

These presidents presented to my view,

Wherein the presage of my fall was showne:

Might haue fore-warn'd me well what would ensue,

And others harmes haue made me shunne mine owne. (*Rosamond* 407-10)

The warning though, according to Daniel's Rosamond, comes impersonally from the images themselves, not from Henry: Daniel leaves it up to the reader to infer the connection between the message and the sender. Drayton's Rosamond "reads" the casket as the sender's message, which suggests that Drayton probably made this inference in his reading of Daniel's poem. After describing Amimone, Drayton's Rosamond adds,

This was not an intrapping Bait from thee,

But by thy Vertue gently warning mee,

And to declare for what intent it came,

Lest I therein should ever keepe my shame. (159-62)

In keeping with her self-blaming attitude, Rosamond realises that the casket is not a typical tool of seduction, a bait, but she credits Henry with trying to warn her of her impending shame because of his virtuous nature. Rosamond is too self-absorbed to appreciate the power relations depicted on the casket or to grasp Henry's attempt to claim sole responsibility when it must be shared: a strategy of seduction which denies the autonomy of the woman.

Turning to the Jove and Io story, Rosamond again accepts the images as a judgment on herself:

In this thou rightly imitatest JOVE,

Into a Beast thou hast transform'd thy Love;

Nay, worser farre (beyond their beastly kind)

A Monster both in Bodie and in Mind. (171-74)

Full of self-loathing, Rosamond cannot hear herself say who has done the transforming. Rosamond accepts the charge of monstrosity which began with Daniel, but sees herself as Io, the powerless heifer, not as the minotaur, the powerful bull/man.

In the "Henry to Rosamond" epistle, Henry's reply to Rosamond is primarily a detailed reading of her epistle to him. Just as Rosamond has shown a marked tendency to over-read as a consequence of her guilt, Henry reinterprets the images cited by Rosamond as justifications of his own behaviour. Henry's epistle betrays his selfishness: "[t]he parallelism of the letters exposes Henry's rationalization of his liaison with Rosamond. He knows that his wife Elinor's jealousy threatens his mistress, but balks at admitting that his attentions have made Rosamond unhappy" (Brink 39-40). Henry's epistle retraces the process of the king asserting his power over an unwilling subject.

Henry is initially bewildered by Rosamond's letter:

The more I reade, still doe I erre the more,

As though mistaking somewhat said before:

Missing the Point, the doubtfull Sense is broken. (13-5)

Having already read Rosamond's epistle, we know how little ambiguity there is to confuse a reader. Henry, however, can barely acknowledge Rosamond's unhappiness, which he refers to as "thy Troubles" (22), before he focuses on his own situation. In a

long speech which is a mixture of petulance and anger, Henry responds to Rosamond's despair with a kingly version of "you think you have problems":

> Am I at home pursu'd with private Hate,
>
> And Warre comes raging to my Palace Gate?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And by the pride of my rebellious Sonne,
>
> Rich *Normandie* with Armies over-runne?
>
> Unkind my Children, most unkind my Wife.
>
> Griefe, Cares, old Age, Suspition to torment me,
>
> Nothing on Earth to quiet or content me;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Of all Reliefe hath Fortune quite bereft me?
>
> Onely my Love yet to my Comfort left me:
>
> And is one Beautie thought so great a thing,
>
> To mitigate the Sorrowes of a King? (33-52)

We may feel sympathy for Henry, but he is hardly responding to Rosamond's feelings. She has not argued the king should not have a mistress, but his needs do not release her from her guilt.

Henry shifts from his complaint to an extravagant disavowal of his social position:

> Yet let me be with Povertie opprest,
>
> Of Earthly Blessings rob'd, and dis-possest,

. . . . . .

Let the Worlds Curse upon me still remaine,

And let the last bring on the first againe;

All Miseries that wretched Man may wound,

Leave for my Comfort onely ROSAMOND. (63-70)

Having already dwelt at length on how difficult and miserable his life is, Henry's willingness to give up everything rings a bit hollow. Not surprisingly, Henry ignores the power his position entails, reducing his offered sacrifice to a matter of wealth. His declaration of his need for Rosamond becomes a meditation on how she makes him feel. He attributes nearly supernatural abilities to Rosamond, whose "Presence hath repaired in one day, / What many Yeeres with Sorrowes did decay" (95-6). His fulsome tribute, lasting thirty-eight lines, serves only to contrast his pleasure with Rosamond's unhappiness. However, Henry does not see this disparity, and rather than sending an attempt to comfort her, he accuses her of injustice: "Ah, what Injustice then is this of Thee, / That thus the Guiltlesse do'st condemne for me?" (113-14) Like Daniel's Henry, Drayton's king attempts to claim more responsibility than is really possible:

When to our Wills perforce obey they must,

That's just in them, what ere in us unjust,

Of what we doe, not them account we make. (117-19)

At this stage in the poem Henry will still acknowledge the force of his power, but only as part of an argument which is intend to convince Rosamond to continue the

relationship.

Romeo-like, Henry offers to erase his name, if that is what offends Rosamond, but this reference to Rosamond's epistle entails a wilful misreading. Their names cut in the glass at Woodstock remind Rosamond of her guilt; it is her own name she would erase. By twisting Rosamond's use of the image and shifting its focus from Rosamond to himself, Henry denies the depth of Rosamond's feelings and belittles everything she has attempted to communicate. Henry chides,

> Say, that of all Names 'tis a Name of Woe,
> Once a Kings Name, but now it is not so:
> And when all this is done, I know 'twill grieve thee;
> And therefore (Sweet) why should I now beleeve thee? (129-32)

Henry begins his letter in uncertainty, but after this first direct misreading, he moves more confidently to "answer" Rosamond's epistle.

Rosamond interpreted the looks of the travellers as looks of hatred for the sinful life she leads, but Henry edits out her shame. He explains,

> Nor shouldst thou thinke, those Eyes with Envie lowre,
> Which passing by thee, gaze up to thy Towre;
> But rather prayse thine owne, which be so cleere. (133-35)

Henry ignores the judgment he has brought down on Rosamond by changing hatred to envy, before reinterpreting the gazes again as looks of praise. Continuing to reinterpret the images cited by Rosamond, Henry assures her that the spring does not chide but "for thy want, within the Channell weepes" (148). Likewise, the fish does

not refuse her bait, but is too amazed by her beauty to respond (149-52). All of these rereadings serve to justify Henry's attraction to Rosamond. All of creation, according to Henry, is impressed by her beauty and wants to be with her. Henry has moved away entirely from acknowledging Rosamond's "troubles," but not all of her images can be so easily manipulated.

Henry completely ignores the painting of Lucrece and Rosamond's stricken response to the painting. Henry's omission is not because of the possible contrast of the chaste woman with the unchaste, but rather, because of his own discomfort with the painting's reminder of the oppressive use of power. His discomfort is made clear when he attempts to reinterpret the figures on the casket. Henry preemptively dismisses discussion of the male figures: "Of JOVE, or NEPTUNE, how they did betray, / Speake not" (171-72). Henry is no longer prepared to admit the force of a "Princes Will," and so concentrates on the Io story as an image of the security he provides. He reminds Rosamond, "Long since (thou know'st) my Care provided for / To lodge thee safe from jealous ELLINOR " (177-78). Henry's "care" for Rosamond would not be necessary if his attentions had not endangered her in the first place, but Henry's self-delusions have enough momentum that he can completely externalise the threats to Rosamond. Henry's final reading of Rosamond's epistle betrays a similar strategy of externalisation. Henry now assumes that Rosamond's guilt arises not from her sense of her own sin, but from her discomfort with what others must think. He declares,

Accursed be that Heart, that Tongue, that Breath,

Should thinke, should speake, or whisper of thy Death;

For in one Smile, or Lowre from thy sweet Eye,

Consist my Life, my Hope, my Victorie. (199-202)

This curse should be directed at Rosamond who has explicitly expressed her desire for death, but Henry has twisted the sense of Rosamond's epistle to the point where he can only recognise potential external threats to her life and to his comfort.

Drayton's epistles of Rosamond and Henry at first seem to be developed entirely from Daniel's portrayal of these figures. Tillotson accepts this apparent debt: "D[rayton] owes the outlines of his story to Daniel, who also influences his conception of Rosamond's character. But he is original in his view of Henry" (5: 102). Drayton "has made Henry II romantic and pathetic in a way unparalleled in Daniel's poem" (Tillotson 5: 100). "Pathetic" I will accept as a characterisation of a Henry II, who is more self-deluding than deliberately vicious, like King John. However, a woman tortured by guilt and desirous of death, and a man who ignores this pain to focus on his own pleasures, are not the stuff of romance. Like Daniel, Drayton does not create a companionate relationship based on mutual love. Drayton, I think, exaggerates Daniel's characterisations in order to question the underlying social attitudes which complicated *Rosamond*. Where Daniel's poem expressed an uneasy mixture of sympathy for and condemnation of Rosamond, Drayton apparently presents an entirely guilty Rosamond. A reader does not need to feel sympathy for a character who has no sympathy for herself, but Rosamond's own harshness and tendency to exaggerate prompt the reader to temper these readings and the judgment they imply. When

Henry's reading of Rosamond's epistle shows a king twisting and manipulating her words to reflect his own needs and desires, the reader's appreciation for the pressures brought to bear on Rosamond is heightened. Drayton's playing of the two epistles against each other exposes the king's power to obliterate the woman's feelings, unlike a typical wooing scene which may mask this power with conventional arguments and courtly wittiness. Like Daniel, Drayton creates sympathy for an essentially powerless mistress; however, by implicating the reader in the exercise of rereading the mistress, Drayton insinuates an uncomfortable similarity between the king's power and that of the reader. Where Daniel tried unsuccessfully to blend sympathy and moral judgment, Drayton forces the reader to question the desirability of passing judgment. Drayton's epistles of Rosamond and Henry ask whether we really want to judge someone who has been placed in such an untenable position.

*

Finally, we come to Thomas May's *The Reigne of King Henry the Second* (1633), described by Heltzel as a "historical romance" (27). May (1595-1650) was "[t]he son of a Surrey knight of Mayfield. . . . He went to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge and Gray's Inn. . . . He became one of the joint secretaries [of Parliament] at £200 p.a." (Saunders 111). After a reversal of his family's fortunes, May turned to a career in writing (Chester 6). Royalists have attributed May's support of the Parliamentarians to his disappointment at failing to become poet laureate under Charles I (Chester 54-9). Chester suggests May's familiarity, both as a student and as a translator, with Lucan and other classical writers may have contributed to May's

republican tendencies (24-5). Chester also points to satire on the court in May's tragedies as additional evidence that the poet might have been critical of Stuart rule (52-3). Chester, then, portrays May as a poet interested in scholarship, history, and possibly issues of power.

May's seven book poem on Henry II is an interesting blend of historical detail and long passages of Ovidian mythology and decoration. May's interest in romance results in a history which resembles Daniel's *Rosamond* more than his *Historie of England*. Heltzel declares that May's version of Rosamond and Henry's story owes much to Daniel: "the plot is simple, being derived from Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*, with only a few alterations of minor importance" (27). I think Heltzel has underestimated the significance of the changes made by May, since, in addition to new or altered details, May proposes a distinct position on the issues of power and responsibility.

Rosamond makes her first appearance nearly halfway through the second book, which is set at the coronation of Henry II's son as the king of England. Henry sees Rosamond for the first time at the festivities surrounding the coronation. As Heltzel notes, "[t]he meeting at the coronation festival is more specific and plausible than Daniel's brief and vague treatment of the encounter of the two lovers at court" (27). I agree that May's inclusion of this new detail adds a concreteness which other versions lacked, but the setting of the first meeting also works against the tendency to abbreviate the duration of Rosamond's relationship with Henry. The coronation of the young Henry took place in 1170; although this setting does not extend the relationship

back as far as modern historians recommend, May has countered the sense of brevity created by poets such as Daniel.

May also makes skilful use of the historical materials in his efforts to prolong the relationship. Political reaction in France to the crowning of the young king distracts Henry in book two, as do thoughts of conquering Ireland. Rosamond, in the meantime, returns home, and the romance is not renewed until book three. On his return from Normandy, Henry finds that Rosamond has been called to court to serve Eleanor. The courtship of Rosamond follows, and she becomes Henry's mistress, but civil wars intrude before the end of book three. Henry returns to England in triumph in book five, only to learn of Rosamond's death, which is then recounted by the narrator. In Daniel's *Rosamond*, history remains around the edges of the story. Daniel's Henry complains of his political and domestic troubles, but the reader is not witness to the events. Warner inserts Henry and Rosamond's story in a section apart from the history of Henry's reign. Deloney and Drayton make only passing references to historical events. May, on the other hand, weaves the romance and the history together in a manner which makes Henry's relationship with Rosamond a significant part of his reign. By extending the presentation of their story through his history, May avoids the usual tendency to view such relationships as the material of digressions or as the material for complaints written separately from histories.

Since May is willing to present Rosamond and Henry's relationship in its full historical context, he can restore the existence of a child which the other poets omitted:

Yet thence, when time maturely shall disclose
Her burden'd wombe, (the fates had so decree'd)
A brave and Noble offspring must proceede
William surnamed Long-sword, after by
His right of Marriage Earle of Salisbury,
And made the happy father of a faire
And Noble issue, by that Earledomes heire.

Again the impression of a brief illicit encounter is tempered by the passage of time included by May. May is also less concerned with moral lessons; consequently, he does not need to erase the existence and success of Rosamond's child. Perhaps writing long after the anxiety of the succession issue has faded also frees May to mention this illegitimate child without raising the spectre of contention for the throne. This poet's interest in history may also lead him to present a more accurate reaction to illegitimacy. In 1174 or 1175, Jordan Fantosme wrote, "[t]he heart of a father who begets a good son, even though it be out of wedlock, is filled with rejoicings" (Fantosme st. 59). Daniel's omission of any children from Rosamond's story probably set the pattern for the works which followed. May has gone back to the chronicles with enough interest to reintroduce this detail after a long suppression.

Since May is not concerned with warning women of the dangers of succumbing to a king's advances, he can be more direct about the question of responsibility and the potential for power in the mistress's role. One alteration of Daniel's version by May is that "May makes much more of the initial stages of the

love-passion, emphasizing Rosamond's resistance, and logically enough, he elaborates the wiles of the procuress" (Heltzel 27). May develops both Henry's and Rosamond's states of mind. At the coronation festival, Venus hopes to see the spectacle of "some royall victory" which Cupid has promised, but although Henry receives "a royall wound," he does not immediately begin his pursuit of Rosamond. Instead, Henry betrays a degree of uncertainty new to the representation of the king:

> *Henry*, the more he lookes, does more encrease
> His flame; and whether he should checke desire,
> And goe about to quench so sweet a fire;
> Or feede the flame, he cannot yet resolve.

May's Henry is invested with the doubts and hesitation normally reserved for Rosamond; as a result, May is able to create a new sympathy for Henry. Where Drayton created a pitiful, self-absorbed monarch, May gives us a human being in love. Henry continues to waver:

> Sometimes he yeilds to Loves imperiall flame;
> Resolves to court her favour straight; but shame
> Restraines that thought.

Henry's display of conscience continues the echo of Rosamond's state of mind as depicted by other poets. May's exploration of Henry's thoughts increases our sympathy for him but also establishes Henry's share of responsibility for what will happen to Rosamond. He is conscious of the sinful nature of his desire before initiating the seduction.

Developing the process of Henry's falling in love allows May an opportunity to parallel the emotions of the king with those of Rosamond. Initially, Rosamond is not in love with Henry, but she is flattered by Henry's attention:

> Faire *Rosamund* so young and inocent,
>
> She could not fully sound the kings intent,
>
> Yet loves the grace he does her, loves the thought
>
> Of that effect which her owne beauty wrought;
>
> And though she feele no flames reciprocall,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . , she loves king *Henry's* flame
>
> As her own trophee.

Rosamond's naivety makes it more difficult to interpret her pleasure at Henry's interest as the pride of a cold beauty. Similarly, the arguments of May's "subtle Dame" are likely to increase our sympathy with Rosamond even as she capitulates.

Many of the dame's arguments are different from the material and semi-threatening arguments of the matron in *Rosamond*. The dame works to convince Rosamond of the king's worthiness as a lover:

> The subtle Dame that waited on her there,
>
> On all occasions fill'd her tender eare
>
> With *Henry's* praise and fame, striving t'endeare
>
> His bounty and unaequall'd love to her.

Henry's age is never made an issue. Henry does send rich gifts, but the casket is not

included. Heltzel proposes that May has substituted the picture gallery for Daniel's casket, but May could also be drawing on Drayton. Using the gallery to persuade Rosamond, the dame does not use the examples of victims like Amymone and Io; instead, she uses the examples of women who cruelly refuse their lovers. The examples move Rosamond to ask,

> If love have power to make so deepe a wound,
> Has he not justice too? those two should be
> Inseparable in a Deity.
> Why fits he not his shafts to both the parts,
> And wounds reciprocally Lovers hearts?

Rosamond has clearly been set up to arrive at this question, which is part of the seduction strategy, but I think we are meant to apply the question more widely. Henry's power should also be accompanied by justice. This concept of justice as the desirable companion of power may explain why the dame does not hint at the king's ability to obtain what he desires through force.

Two interesting arguments which are presented by the dame are that kings love with more power because they have greater souls and that the fate of nations depends on kings so it would be unfortunate if they died for love. These arguments hint at the mistress's power to influence the king who loves her, but as in Warner's version, May is explicit about the potential for power. The dame spells out the possibility of Rosamond becoming queen:

> As high a fortune would from *Henry's* love

Accrew to *Rosamund*, should death remove

Queene *Elianor* away, as Englands throne

And royall title.

The dame goes on to argue that a divorce is also a real possibility. Like Warner, May acknowledges the mistress's potential power by reinstating details of Rosamond's history which had been omitted by other poets.

The dame's arguments create a conflict in Rosamond's mind, but ultimately it is the king's love for her which decides the outcome. In fairy tale fashion, Henry enters and wins Rosamond with a kiss:

Who with so sweete a kisse salutes his love,

That in his lipps his soule did seeme to moove,

And meete the object it desir'd so much.

In the fashion of spiritual lovers, Rosamond and Henry's souls meet in a kiss, and she becomes his mistress (Castiglione 336). Rosamond's acceptance of Henry is not a calculated capitulation based on dread of his power or on a desire for material possessions. May has presented the realities of the mistress's circumstance, but he continues to engage our sympathy through the arguments in favour of reciprocal love and through the assurance that Rosamond and Henry do love each other.

On Henry's departure to France, he leaves Rosamond in the protection of Woodstock in order to defend her from Eleanor. In book five, Henry learns that Rosamond has been murdered. May chooses to report Henry's grief rather than present a long speech of mourning. Since Henry's speech in Daniel's poem was

tainted by Henry's selfish dwelling on his own feelings, May seems wise to leave Henry's grief as inexpressible. Only those who have died for love really understand:

Oh what

Pathetike tongue can at the height relate

How much he griev'd? a starre-crost lovers woe

No living tongue can tell; they onely know,

Whom such a cause as that, has reav'd of breath.

Leaving Henry to his grief, May now tells the story of Rosamond's death.

May's description of the situation at Woodstock before the danger of Henry's absence is idyllic. Rosamond is not a prisoner or a monster. As in Drayton's epistle, Rosamond walks in the woods adjacent to Woodstock:

About those places, while the times were free,

Oft with a traine of her attendants, she

For pleasure walk'd; and, like the huntresse Queene

With her light Nymphs, was by the people seene.

Rosamond is associated unironically with the powerful and chaste figure of Diana. May's representation comes the closest to depicting Rosamond as presiding at her own court in a manner reminiscent of Diane de Poitiers. May's Rosamond is not kept in isolation, nor does she feel harshly judged by those who see her. May tells us,

Thither the countrey Ladds and Swaines, that neere

To Woodstock dwelt, would come to gaze on her.

Their jolly Maygames there would they present,

Their harmelesse sports, and rustick merryment

To give this beautious Paragon delight.

Nor that officious service would she slight:

But their rude pastimes gently entertaine.

Rosamond's generous spirit is attested to by her treatment of her admirers. This picture of life at Woodstock shows Rosamond happy and content with her situation.

Rosamond, though, does have some doubts. On the day she is to die, Rosamond is troubled by "Afflicting thoughts" of "feared dangers, and how farre (alas) / From her reliefe engaged *Henry* was." Moreover, Rosamond is troubled by thoughts of her lost honour, but these reflections are mixed with her ambitious desires:

Sometimes she thought how some more happy Dame

By such a beauty, as was hers, had wonne

From meanest birth, the honour of a Throne,

And what to some could highest glories gaine,

To her had purchas'd nothing but a stayne.

By mingling Rosamond's remorse for her lost honour with her recognition of her own ambition, May invests Rosamond with a dignity which is lost when Rosamond is consumed by guilt. On the other hand, the portrayal of Rosamond to this point prevents us from reducing her character to a selfish mercenary.

Rosamond retains her dignity when confronted by Eleanor. Rosamond realises that pleading with the queen will be useless. She also refuses to accept all of the blame: "Nor will I vainely plead excuse, to shew / By what strong arts I was at

first betray'd." Rosamond will not claim that she was forced, but neither will she deny Henry's role in her seduction. Instead of pleading, Rosamond asks for time to pray and do penance. Alternately, she offers Eleanor revenge against Rosamond's beauty: "Make poysonous leprosies orespread my skinne; / And punish that, that made your *Henry* sinne." This second offer is so terrible, I think it is intended to convince us that Rosamond's remorse is real, and she is not simply trying to save her life.

May's Rosamond may experience remorse, but unlike Drayton's Rosamond, she is not tortured by self-loathing and does not try to assume complete responsibility. Rosamond warns Eleanor that if she proceeds to murder she will have to endure seeing Henry's grief:

> For though my worthlesse selfe deserve from him
> No teares in death: yet when he weighs my crime,
> Of which he knowes how great a part was his,
> And what I suffer as a sacrifice
> For that offence; twill grieve his soule to be
> The cause of such a double tragaedy.

Rosamond anticipates that Henry will experience remorse as she has; even now their emotions run parallel. Rosamond also expects that Henry will demonstrate the justice which tempers his power when he "weighs" the degree of responsibility each must share. Rosamond anticipates that readers of her story will judge her as well. Rosamond warns Eleanor:

> If you had spar'd my life, I might have beene

In time to come th'example of your glory;

Not of your shame, as now. for when the story

Of haplesse *Rosamund* is read; the best

And holyest people, as they will detest

My crime, and call it foule: they will abhorre,

And call unjust the rage of *Elianor*.

May's Rosamond recognises the divided reading and judgment of her story which we have seen in all the versions: condemnation when tempered by a just evaluation of her situation necessarily evokes some sympathy from the reader.

Like Warner's and Deloney's stories, May's version of Rosamond's legend is based on the mutual love of the king and the mistress. Unlike Warner, May does not use this love to champion companionate relationships within marriage, but neither is May as simplistically romantic as Deloney. Rosamond and Henry both acknowledge moral responsibility without giving way to excessive guilt. Rosamond is not held up as a moral *exemplum*; instead, she is explicit about her own ambitions, and she achieves a degree of success. May gives us the most court-like depiction of life at Woodstock, and Rosamond's child does have a successful career. May is also explicit about the potential for Rosamond to become queen. While Daniel and Drayton both proceed from the assumption that the king/mistress relationship is essentially loveless, May assumes mutual love is possible and portrays the power relations and rewards accordingly.

When Daniel turned his hand to accounting for the unmarried, non-virgin, he

did so by creating an "unparadised" middle ground for this figure. *Rosamond* creates sympathy and pity for the title character, but it is a sympathy easily afforded after her troubling associations with power have been contained or eliminated. Daniel shifts Rosamond's power to before the relationship is consummated and reduces her power to the ability to attract a lover. Without ambition, offspring, or influence, Daniel's Rosamond is the minotaur tamed by the labyrinth.

Despite the widespread influence of the *Mirror* and its structural importance in Daniel's poem, the *Mirror* has relatively little impact on the other available versions of Rosamond's story. The ghost frame is not used again; Rosamond is not presented as a moral *exemplum*; and the rise and fall pattern is not emphasised. The moralising uses of Ovidian mythology do reappear. Where the *Mirror* morality is most obviously useful for criticising the character experiencing the fall (in this case the mistress), Ovidian morality may allow a more subtle targeting of the king.

Of the four additional versions of Rosamond's story examined in this chapter, Drayton appears to have been most influenced by Daniel's example. Drayton uses the characterisations created by Daniel, but pushes them to their logical extreme. Rosamond cannot see a moral middle ground and is consumed by remorse and self-loathing. Her sinfulness and remorse are an inevitable part of her character and are in accordance with social judgment, but when Drayton de-emphasises the "love" story and focuses attention on Rosamond's state of mind, her remorse no longer seems reasonable. Casual judgments are unsettled by the character's lack of charity for herself and by Drayton's attention to the king's role. Unlike Daniel, Drayton uses

Rosamond and Henry's story to expose the king's abuse of power. Drayton's powerless mistress is depicted at the mercy of a self-centred, manipulative king. Moral judgment of Rosamond can only seem unreasonable and unjust given the extreme power differential.

Where Drayton plays out the implications of Daniel's scenario, the other three writers rely less on Daniel's version. Warner, Deloney, and May all acknowledge Rosamond's access to power after she becomes a mistress: Rosamond is an agent, not merely a victim. Daniel expresses Rosamond's power in the monstrous form of the minotaur which he then contains and isolates in the labyrinth. Warner changes the labyrinth to a bower and recognises the possibility of Rosamond becoming queen. Deloney also identifies Woodstock as a bower, not a labyrinth, and creates an active, admirable mistress. May is the most explicit about the mistress's access to power: Rosamond might have become queen; her child by the king has a successful career; she admits to being ambitious. For May's Rosamond, Woodstock is her own court. All three writers have Rosamond admit to some degree of remorse, but she hardly seems to regret her choices and does not attempt to shoulder all of the blame. Although Henry's power is alluded to, the relationship between mistress and patron is loving and mutually supportive.

Warner, Deloney, and May all create an impression of Rosamond as a potentially powerful figure with some degree of agency. Apparently unaware of Rosamond's presentation at court, these writers must attempt the complicated task of showing Rosamond exercising her power at Woodstock. They succeed in creating

some sense of Rosamond's agency by playing down the notion of Woodstock as a labyrinth and by taking her out of isolation. Their acceptance of her power is accompanied by tempered reflections on the immorality of her situation, but these examples show that sympathetic treatment of the royal mistress does not depend on her victimization. Rosamond can be a powerful and a romantic character at the same time.

Drayton, in particular, uses Rosamond's story to examine more closely the role of the king and the potential for self-indulgent abuses of power. In the process, Drayton acknowledges the unbearable pressures which can be placed on a woman and provides a moving depiction of the misery which may result. Drayton takes Rosamond's self-blame and pushes it to an extreme which compels the reader to question the justice of conventional moral judgment.

Warner, Deloney, and May adopt a more optimistic approach. All three writers create a mutual loving relationship between mistress and king. These representations are particularly interesting for their positive attitude toward the mistress's acquisition of power. In these versions, Rosamond is an active figure, not the prisoner of a labyrinth. Even the possibility of her acquiring the queenship is treated as reasonable rather than monstrous. In the cases of Warner and May, it seems that the writing of history may include greater fidelity to the received history.

What these four versions of Rosamond's story demonstrate is that despite our impression that Daniel's *Rosamond* makes this figure the epitome of beauty's appealing vulnerability and weakness, strikingly distinct interpretations of this

character were being created both independent of and in spite of Daniel's example.

Chapter Four:

Elizabeth Shore and Thomas Churchyard

"Jane Shore" or Shore's wife, mistress to Edward IV, rivals Rosamond Clifford's popularity with Renaissance writers and readers. Although the names of Clifford and Shore were frequently linked in catalogues of mistresses, fallen women, and victims of fortune, the two figures represent quite different careers. Where Clifford's story reminds me of Anne Boleyn's experience—a well-born, unmarried, young woman makes a love match with the king which includes the possibility of replacing the queen—Shore's story resembles that of Aemilia Lanyer and probably many other mistresses who have left no record. Shore is from the middle class, and her relationship with her patron is less certainly based on love and more likely based on necessity. Neither formal concubinage nor replacement of the queen were ever possibilities for Shore. Although Edward did not discard her, his death left Shore unprotected. Her legend records her subsequent prosecution by Richard III, her decline into poverty, and her miserable death. From her history, we will see that the reports of her downfall and death were exaggerated: Shore, like Lanyer, continued on after her term as mistress was over; she married and survived. Shore's social background, marital status, and downfall all contribute to her story receiving literary treatments which differ considerably from the versions of Clifford's story.

Probably the most significant difference between the stories of Rosamond Clifford and "Jane" Shore lies in the relationship of each woman to power. While

many writers are prepared to hint at or to refer directly to Clifford's opportunity to become queen, she is rarely portrayed in the everyday exercise of power. Shore, on the other hand, though denied access to socially authorised power, did wield considerable influence at court. Both women were victims of those with power, and both women acquired power through personal attributes; however, Shore's class and historical circumstance precluded her access to socially sanctioned power, and, therefore, her story allows writers to explore her relationship to power more openly than Rosamond's story apparently did.

Shore's wife, the mistress of Edward IV, was in fact a woman named Elizabeth Lambert. Sir Thomas More's portrayal of Shore in *The History of King Richard III* was the primary source of information about her, until 1972 when Nicholas Barker and Sir Robert Birley began to fill in the details of her life.[1] Elizabeth (not "Jane") Shore was the daughter of a wealthy merchant, John Lambert. Lambert was a mercer, while his wife, Amy Marshall, was the daughter of a successful grocer. William Shore, Elizabeth's husband, was also a mercer, not a goldsmith as he became in some versions of the legend. Barker details a number of the financial dealings of both John Lambert and William Shore which demonstrate the magnitude of these transactions. Elizabeth's father, for instance, makes a sizeable loan

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[1]The details are provided in "Jane Shore," *Etoniana* 125-126 (June and December 1972): 383-414. Another significant source is Anne F. Sutton, "William Shore, Merchant of London and Derby," *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 106 (1986): 127-139.

to the king in 1469: "By at latest 1469 he had made a personal loan to the King of £95 8*s*. jointly with Thomas Gay, which was not paid back until 1477 or later" (Barker 386). Unlike Rosamond Clifford's family, then, Elizabeth Shore's family was not part of the nobility, but was a successful merchant-class family.

Historians have not yet established a date for the marriage of Elizabeth Lambert and William Shore, but based on circumstantial evidence, they were probably married

> in the late 1460s and certainly before March 1473, when he was in his early thirties and his bride possibly as much as fifteen years younger. Such a difference of ages was not unusual when a wealthy merchant father was able and anxious to secure a wealthy son-in-law already established in trade. (Sutton 129)

On March 1, 1476, Pope Sixtus IV sent representatives to hear Elizabeth Shore's petition for divorce "on the grounds of her husband's frigidity and impotence" (Barker 387-88). The petitions show that she married William,

> and cohabited with him for the lawful time, but that he is so frigid and impotent that she, being desirous of being a mother and having offspring, requested the official of London over and over again to cite the said William before him to answer her . . . and that, seeing that said official refused to do so, she appealed to the apostolic see. (*Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers Relating to England*, xiii. 487-8 quoted in Barker 388)

In a recent study of royal mistresses, Charles Carlton links Shore's petition to her relationship with Edward IV, suggesting that "[b]y March 1476 she [Shore] was influential enough for the Pope to commission a group of English bishops to hear her petition. . . . There is, however, no record that the action was successful" (24). However, there is no reason to assume Edward was involved in prompting the divorce or influencing the procedure.

Neither Barker nor Sutton believes that the grounds of the petition are necessarily false. As Sutton points out, Shore's family background was sufficiently influential to support the case:

> With a wealthy father (only identified by historians in 1972) she cannot now be seen as a woman unable to make an appeal to the Pope without the help of a royal protector; the quarrelsome John Lambert may not have tolerated a son in law incapable of giving him grandchildren and he had the means to support his daughter in her suit. (130-31)

As further support for the veracity of the petition, Sutton notes "that [William] Shore never remarried, and that the fear of God and the dictates of conscience were powerful deterrents against bringing false claims before an ecclesiastical court" (131). In any event, Elizabeth Shore's petition was successful.

Most of this history agrees with what More tells us, that Shore was "born in London, worshipfully frended, honestly brought vp, & very wel maryed" (*History* 55). William Shore is described as "an honest citezen, yonge & goodly & of good

substance" (*History* 55). More notes the age difference between Shore and her husband as a problem from the outset: "[b]ut forasmuche as they were coupled ere she wer wel ripe, she not very feruently loued, for whom she neuer longed" (*History* 55). Although Shore was probably not yet divorced when she began her relationship with Edward IV, she was not necessarily still cohabiting with William: "[t]he three years could have been completed long before the date of the Pope's mandate, and, indeed, before the liaison with the King began" (Sutton 131). Sutton's "suggested scenario is a marriage *circa* 1471, three years cohabitation, a liaison established by November 1474, and divorce proceedings completed in 1476" (138, n. 31). More does not mention the divorce, but his description of William Shore is more of a man abandoning the field than responding to infidelity: "when the king had abused her, anon her husband (as he was an honest man & one that could his good, not presuming to touch a kinges concubine) left her vp to him al togither" (*History* 55). More's description is of a man who politically got himself out of the way. There are signs in November 1474 that William was raising money, and after 1476 he apparently spent approximately eight years living and trading outside of London (Sutton 131).

Meanwhile, Elizabeth Shore was establishing herself as Edward's favourite mistress. We do not know when Shore and Edward IV first met, although the financial transaction cited above shows that Shore's father was directly involved in dealings with the king. Edward's dependence on the merchants for loans resulted in close interaction: "Edward courted, honoured, flattered and rewarded the leading London merchants more assiduously than any king before him" (Ross, *Edward IV*

353). Edward also socialised with his middle-class subjects: "more of a bourgeois than a prince, he loved to visit the city and attend the banquets arranged in his honour, even going into the homes of the leading citizens and winning the favours of their wives" (Simons 141). It seems likely, then, that Edward would have had ample opportunity to meet Elizabeth Shore, and his reputation for promiscuous behaviour encourages the belief that he took advantage of this meeting.

Ross cites considerable evidence of Edward's reputation for licentiousness. Contemporary and near-contemporary commentators agree on his reputation but also seem to agree that Edward's behaviour did not extend to blatantly offending his subjects:

> [Edward] came to enjoy a very considerable reputation as a successful womanizer. . . . In his flattering portrait of Edward . . . Sir Thomas More was emphatic on this point: 'He was of youth greatly given to fleshly wantonness' (from which, More tolerantly adds) 'health of body in great prosperity and fortune, without a special grace, hardly refraineth. This fault not greatly grieved the people. . . .' The shrewd [Dominic] Mancini had the same impression: 'he was licentious in the extreme. . . . He pursued with no discrimination the married and the unmarried, the noble and lowly: however, he took none by force.' The Croyland Chronicler, no less observant or well informed, remarked on the astonishment of Edward's subjects that he was able to combine a grasp of

> business with a passion for 'boon companionship, vanities, debauchery, extravagance and sensual enjoyments. . . .'
>
> (Ross, *Edward IV* 86)

While Edward may simply have been inclined to promiscuity, his behaviour was not without political consequences.

Philippe de Commynes reports three reasons for the support given to Edward by the people of London on his return to reclaim his crown in 1471:

> According to what I have been told, three things caused the townspeople's return to the king's side: firstly, he had partisans in sanctuary, including the queen his wife, who had given birth to a son; secondly, he had important debts which he owed throughout the town, and it was therefore to the merchants' interests that they should want him back; thirdly, many ladies of quality and rich townswomen of middle rank, with whom he had been on excellent terms and whom he had known intimately, gained their husbands and relatives for him. (1. 223)

Edward's affairs among the middle class may have provided him the opportunity to gain political supporters and, in more stable times, may have had some impact on the financial support he needed.

Were similar considerations behind the merchants' acceptance of Edward's behaviour? Perhaps the absence of force, as mentioned by Mancini, made Edward's behaviour acceptable to his subjects, but as we have seen, it is difficult for the king to

divorce himself from his own power, especially the power to intimidate. "Force" in this context might mean Edward refrained from rape, but this would not eliminate more subtle forms of coercion and possible resentment as a result. However, if Edward was careful to select willing companions, toleration by the merchants was more likely. Just as the Boleyn family was anxious to have a daughter in the king's bed, a wife's infidelity may have seemed a reasonable investment if it could increase access to the king and might influence profitable trade policies and investments. Similarly, the Lambert family may have hoped that having a daughter placed at court, even as the king's mistress, might translate into profit.

Although we must rely on More for most of our evidence of Shore's status at Edward's court, she did have a remarkably long tenure as his mistress. According to More, she was beautiful, but as in the case of Anne Boleyn, beauty was not her sole or primary attribute. She "delited not men so much in her bewty, as in her plesant behauiour" (More, *History* 56). Also like Boleyn and Lanyer, Shore apparently had some education, since she "could both rede wel & write" (More, *History* 56). She was also "mery in company, redy & quick of aunswer, neither mute nor ful of bable, sometime taunting w'out displesure & not w'out disport" (More, *History* 56). More quotes Edward as saying "that he had .iii. concubines, which in three diuers properties diuersly exceled. One the meriest, an other the wiliest, the thirde the holiest harlot in his realme" (*History* 56). More identifies Shore as the "merriest," "in whom the king therfore toke speciall pleasure. For many he had, but her he loued" (*History* 56). This portrait agrees with the historical cases which demonstrated that courtier-like wit

and address contributed to an attractive woman's opportunities as a royal mistress.

Not all of Edward's mistresses were from the merchant class: More explains that the "wiliest" and "holiest" mistresses mentioned by Edward were "somwhat greter parsonages" (*History* 56). Nevertheless, More attributes significant political influence to Shore. He contends that the king's favour

> she neuer abused to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comfort & relief: where the king toke displeasure, she would mitigate & appease his mind: where men were out of fauour, she wold bring them in his grace. For many that highly offended, shee obtained pardon. (*History* 56)

More's list of increasingly serious situations—from appeasing the king when he was displeased to obtaining a royal pardon—suggests Shore's influence may have extended as far as saving those who had been condemned to death. Her power also had financial implications: "[o]f great forfetures she gate men remission. And finally in many weighty sutes, she stode many men in gret stede" (More, *History* 56). More does not provide details of any specific suits in which Shore was involved. There is no record of any contemporary historians criticising Shore for abusing her influence with the king. Even Edward IV's detractors, according to More's *History*, do not accuse Shore of misusing her power. In the Duke of Buckingham's speech denouncing Edward IV, Buckingham notes Shore's disruptive effect on the usual positions of power:

> whoso was beste, bare alway lest rule, & more sute was in his

> dayes vnto Shores wife a vile & abhominable strumpet, then to al the lordes in England, except vnto those y^{t} made her their proctoure which simple woman was wel named & honest, tyll the kyng for his wanton lust & sinful affeccion byreft her from her husband a right honest substauncial yong man among you.
>
> (More, *History* 71-72)

Buckingham clearly sees Shore as a usurper of power which should rest with others, but he does not attack either Shore or Edward IV on the grounds that Shore abused the power she obtained.

Shore's relationship with Queen Elizabeth is more difficult to gauge. More describes an antagonistic situation as he explains why the queen and Shore would not have been co-conspirators against Richard: "wel thei wist, that ye quene was to wise to go aboute any such folye. And also if she would, yet wold she of all folke leste make Shoris wife of counsaile, whom of al women she most hated, as that concubine whom the king her husband had most loued" (*History* 48). Should we accept More's assessment? Although More's facts are reasonably reliable, I am not certain we need to accept all of his views on the psychology and attitudes of these women. More's assertion of the queen's hatred may be based on an unwarranted assumption that the queen and Shore were necessarily competitors for the king's attention. Traces of such an assumption appear earlier in the *History*, in a discussion of the queen's possible involvement in the death of Clarence, when More notes the "natural" opposition of the queen and her faction to the king's relatives: "women commonly not of malice but of

nature hate them whome theire housebandes loue" (*History* 7). Extrapolating from the example of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, Mary Clive suggests an alternative scenario: "More assumed that the Queen [Elizabeth] detested her rival, but that may not have been so; she may have been grateful for the bright little person who kept her husband amused and away from more grasping women" (242). Clive may be overstating the case, but More's suggestion of hatred seems rather strong. We know Edward IV showed no inclination to set Queen Elizabeth aside; at least three of their ten children were born after the king's liaison with Shore had begun. It would also seem remarkable that Shore could have remained the king's mistress for so long if the queen had actively opposed Shore's presence at court. Finally, general knowledge of open animosity between the queen and the royal mistress would probably have drawn comments from other sources.

Other contemporary and near contemporary historians of Edward IV's reign do not mention Shore's wife, but this does not necessarily mean that More has exaggerated her importance to the king or her power at court. More himself expects that her lack of influence after Edward's death might result in her absence from the histories: "I doubt not some shal think this woman to sleight a thing, to be written of & set amonge the remembraunces of great matters: which thei shal specially think, y^{t} happely shal esteme her only by y^{t} thei now see her" (*History* 56). We may also suspect that Shore's gender worked against the recording of her history, particularly when combined with her middle-class origins. Shore's fate after Edward's death does support More's depiction of her power at court.

On April 9, 1483, within two months of Edward IV's death, Shore was imprisoned. According to More, Richard staged a dramatic scene in which he charged the queen and Shore's wife with witchcraft:

> ye shal al se in what wise that sorceres [the queen] and that other witch of her counsel shoris wife w^{t} their affynite, haue by their sorcery & witchcraft wasted my body. And therew^{t} he plucked vp hys doublet sleue to his elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a werish withered arme and small, as it was neuer other.
>
> (*History* 48)

This accusation is part of the entrapment of Hastings, Edward IV's Lord Chamberlain, which follows. After Hastings is executed, Richard has Shore imprisoned and her property seized: "[n]ow then by & bi, as it wer for anger not for couetise, ye protector sent into ye house of shores wife (for her husband dwelled not w^{t} her) & spoiled her of al y^{t} euer she had, aboue ye value of .ii. or .iii. M. marks, & sent her body to prison" (More, *History* 54). The fact of her imprisonment is corroborated by Simon Stalloworth, who tells Sir William Stonor in a letter dated June 21, 1483 that "Mastres Chore is in prisone: what schall happyne hyr I knowe nott" (Kingsford 161). Although the reference is brief, it does suggest that Shore was well enough known that Stalloworth did not need to elaborate on her identity and that her fate was sufficiently interesting to warrant comment.

After Hastings' death, Richard issued a proclamation which charged Hastings with treason. More informs us that

> much mater was ther in ye proclamacion deuised to ye slaunder of ye lord chamberlain, as y^{t} he was an euil counseller to ye kinges father, intising him to many thinges highlye redounding . . . to ye uniuersal hurt of his realm, by his euyl company, sinister procuring, & vngracious ensample, as wel in many other thinges as in ye vicious liuing & inordinate abusion of his body, both w^{t} many other, & also specialli w^{t} shores wife, which was one also of his most secret counsel of this heynous treson, w^{t} whom he lay nightli, & nameli ye night last passed next before his death. (*History* 53)

Historians have generally been reluctant to accept the charge of conspiracy against Hastings or Shore: "The evidence for any conspiracy between Hastings and the Woodvilles, especially with Mistress Shore—the former mistress of Edward IV and now the mistress of Lord Hastings—as go-between, is slight indeed, and rests entirely on Richard's own allegations" (Ross, *Richard III* 81). It seems odd, then, that the same doubt has not been applied to the association of Shore with Hastings and later to the linking of Shore's name with Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset.

On October 23, 1483 Richard charged Thomas Grey with treason. In a charge which echoes the proclamation against Hastings, Grey is described as the "late Marquess of Dorset, who holds the unshameful and mischievous woman called Shore's wife in adultery" (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls* 1476-85, p 371 quoted in Barker 388). Barker interprets this edict as evidence that Shore had been released from prison at least briefly. Mark Noble, however, dismisses the accusation and assumes Shore was

continuously in prison at this time which would make the relationship with Dorset impossible (55). Clive is sceptical about the likelihood of Shore's involvement with both Hastings and Dorset: "after Edward's death there was no leisure for amorous intrigues, although it is quite possible that she [Shore] took refuge in the house of Hastings and was in touch with the Queen and Dorset" (286). Clive goes on to point out that by October 23, 1483 Dorset had already fled the country. Richard may well have been relying on the common assumption that mistresses are given to promiscuity to carry his accusations. Past rivalries between Hastings and Dorset may have resulted in the same charge being levelled at both men, despite the short time involved and the more pressing matters which occupied that time. Richard's repeated use of Shore in this fashion may well have reduced the effectiveness of his smear campaign against his enemies.

More explains that Richard continued the accusation of witchcraft against Shore for a time, but then switched to a more promising charge:

> when he had a while laide vnto her for the maner sake, y^{t} she went about to bewitch him, & y^{t} she was of counsel w^{t} the lord chamberlein to destroy him: in conclusion when y^{t} no colour could fasten vpon these matters, then he layd heinously to her charge, ye thing y^{t} her self could not deny, that al ye world wist was true, & that natheles euery man laughed at to here it then so sodainly so highly taken, y^{t} she was nought of her body. (*History* 54)

The charge of immorality was successful, and Shore was forced to do public penance.

More believes Richard staged this penance as a demonstration of his own "virtue," "as a goodly continent prince, clene & fautles of himself, sent oute of heauen into this vicious world for the amendement of mens maners" (*History* 54). According to More, however, the spectacle worked against the intentions of its author and won sympathy for its subject:

> he [Richard] caused the bishop of London to put her to open penance, going before the crosse in procession vpon a sonday with a taper in her hand. . . . her great shame wan her much praise, among those y^{t} were more amorous of her body then curious of her soule. And many good folke also y^{t} hated her liuing, & glad wer to se sin corrected: yet pitied thei more her penance, then reioyced therin, when thei considred that ye protector procured it, more of a corrupt intent then ani vertuous affeccion. (*History* 54-55)

More distinguishes between those spectators who are struck by Shore's physical beauty and those who condemn her for her way of life; nevertheless, both groups of spectators feel pity for Richard's victim and share a mistrust of his intentions.

Shore's penance did not have to provoke pity: as described by More, the penance corresponds to similar sentences for a range of sexual offenses. For example, in London in 1518 one Leticia Wall receives treatment similar to Shore:

> *She . . . states that she was known by Doctor J. B. and by George Lovekyn, and she cannot be certain which was the father of her child, but she believes in conscience that it was more likely to be*

> *George. His lordship orders her to precede the procession next Sunday, with unconcealed face and bare feet with a wax candle held up in her hand, which candle she is to give to the celebrant at offertory time, and that she is to say the psalm of the Blessed Mary during the mass, and to certify to all this on Monday next in the afternoon.* (Hair 146, n. 352)

A similar penance was also used for men.[2] Sexual offenses were not the only sins punished by public penance, as the case of Margaret Neale demonstrates:

> Aldeburgh, Suffolk, 1597. . . . She taketh uppon her to cure deseases by prayer, and therfore hath recorse of people to her farre and nighe. *She confesses* that she useth a prayer to God, and then the paternoster the creed and an other prayer . . . [She is sentenced to stand in church] having a paper on her brest written in capitall letters, for witchcraft and inchantment, with a white rodd in her hand. (Hair 133, n. 319)

The similarity of the punishments for sexual offenses and witchcraft may explain in part the interchangeability of the charges in Shore's case. The routine nature of the penance performed by Shore suggests that the reaction of the onlookers was

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[2]"Pendle, Lancashire, 1532. John Cronkshay is charged with adultery and incest . . . . and is ordered to process in front of the cross around Padiham chapel next Sunday, head and feet bare and wearing on the body only rags, holding a lit half-pound candle in the right hand and in the left" (Hair 156, n. 383).

unexpectedly warm. A brief account of the seizure of Shore's goods and her penance in *The Great Chronicle of London* provides further evidence of a general interest in these events.

Richard's moral agenda probably did not impress many, since he had not lived an entirely chaste life himself: "[h]e had two *acknowledged* bastards, John and Katherine. . . . John was old enough to be knighted during Richard's royal progress in 1483" (Ross, *Richard III* 138). If Shore's penance cannot be understood as part of Richard's own moral position or his attempt to declare a moral position, it may reflect an effort to distinguish his own morality from that of his opponents. Ross argues that Shore's penance is a part of Richard's larger campaign to denigrate his enemies:

> Richard's public persecution of the delectable Mistress Shore has all the hallmarks of an attempt to make political capital by smearing the moral reputation of those who opposed him. As a former mistress not only of King Edward IV but also of Lord Hastings . . . and later still of the marquis of Dorset, she was an obvious target to be pilloried as a bawd and adulteress, and hence to blacken by association the repute of two of Richard's declared enemies. (*Richard III* 137)

Daniel Kinney takes a similar position but describes Shore's penance in generic terms: "Casting himself [Richard] as the upright defender of public morality, he tries to accredit his moves against Edward's most loyal supporters by shaming them publicly in a facile *de casibus* drama of his own contriving" ("Kings' Tragicomedies" 139). If

More's reading of public reaction is accurate, Richard is unsuccessful in his attempt to blacken the reputations of his opponents.

Richard's motives for the penance may have been more complicated than we suppose. Kinney's description of the event as a staged *de casibus* drama seems ironic given Richard's own fate a short time later, but from Richard's perspective the moral lesson of the penance is pointed at social upstarts who had been favoured by Edward IV: Shore's "fall" is from an unwarranted position. While Hastings' death had served notice to the nobility, Shore's loss of her possessions and her public humiliation may have been aimed at the merchant class. If Shore had indeed served some symbolic and practical function as a sign of Edward's connection with the middle class, then Richard's treatment of Shore may have served as a warning that continued support of Edward's family and their faction could be financially and personally costly. Shore's penance may have been a successful tool of intimidation.

Evidence that Richard's interest in punishing Shore was political and impersonal comes from a letter written by Richard to John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln:

> Right reverend Father in God, &c. Signifying unto you that it is shewed unto us that our servant and sollicitor, Thomas Lynom merveislously blynded and abused w^{t} the late [wife] of William Shore now being in Ludgate by our commandment, hath made contract of matrimony w^{t} her, as it is said, and entendeth, to our full great mervaile, to procede to theffect of the same. We for many causes wolde be sory that hee soo sholde be disposed. Pray

> you there fore to sende for him and . . . exhorte and stirre hym to the contrary. And if ye finde him utterly set for to marye her and noon otherwise wolbe advertised then if it may stand w' the lawe of the churge, we be content the time of the marriage deferred to our commying next to London that upon sufficient suertie found of her good abering, ye doo send for hure keeper and discharge hym of our said commaundment by warrant of these committing her to the rule and guyding of her fader or any other by your discretion in the mean season. Yeven &c.
>
> (B.M. Harley MS 433, f 340b. quoted in Barker 388)

Clearly, Richard finds her to be an inappropriate match for his solicitor, but he does not take extreme measures to prevent the marriage: Shore does not disappear under mysterious circumstances. Whatever political use she may have had has apparently passed. However, her continued imprisonment after her public penance might suggest that Richard continued to regard her as a potential threat which could only be defused by marriage and be contained by patriarchal "rule."

Lynom was not to be dissuaded, and evidence of his marriage to Elizabeth comes from John Lambert's will, "dated 24 September 1487 and proved 20 October" (Barker 389). Elizabeth and her husband are listed among the beneficiaries of Lambert's will: "[a]lso I bequeath to Thomas Lyneham gentilman xxs. to Elizabeth Lyneham my daughter a bed of arras with the vilour tester and cortaynes [and] a stayned cloth of mary magdalen and martha. Also I bequeath to Julyan Lyneham xls"

(Barker 389). Shore's wife, then, did remarry and apparently did have a child, Julyan. Although her father's bequest refers to her past career, Elizabeth Lambert had obviously not been rejected by her family. The existence of Julyan may add credence to the charge brought against William Shore during the divorce proceedings. Barker provides the careers of two Thomas Lynom's, but he has not been able to ascertain which was Elizabeth's husband, and so cannot explain her situation later in life as described by Thomas More.

Birley attempts to deal with the apparent discrepancy between More's description of Shore's wife after Edward's death and her history as we now understand it. More tells us Shore's story is

> the more worthy to be remembred, in how much she is now in the more beggerly condicion, vnfrended & worne out of acquaintance, after good substance, after as gret fauour w^{t} the prince, after as gret sute & seking to w^{t} al those y^{t} those days had busynes to spede, as many other men were in their times, which be now famouse only by ye infamy of their il dedes. Her doinges were not much lesse, albeit thei be muche lesse remembred, because thei were not so euil. For men vse if they haue an euil turne, to write it in marble: & whoso doth vs a good tourne, we write it in duste which is not worst proued by her: for at this daye shee beggeth of many at this daye liuing, y^{t} at this day had begged if she had not bene.
>
> (*History* 56-7)

Birley points out that More's description "does not mean that Jane Shore went round with a begging bowl" (407). He suggests instead that "[i]t much more probably means that she wrote begging letters, perhaps after the death of her husband" (407). Birley's suggestion seems reasonable, since it is difficult to imagine that More would have been able to find and talk to Shore had she been reduced to a homeless beggar. Aemilia Lanyer's search for patronage while still married to Lanyer may be an example of the kind of financial support sought by Shore.

Birley also highlights the restricted time frame suggested by More's comments. Birley notes that More

> says 'She is now in the most beggarly condicion . . . after good substance'. Jane Shore's penance and her departure from the Court took place in 1483. More wrote his History some time between 1513 and 1518. The popular picture has it that Jane Shore fell at once from being a King's favoured mistress to a wandering beggar. Even if we grant that More did not mean this, but only that she became very poor, would he have used the word, 'now', when referring to a condition of life that had lasted for at least thirty years? (407, n. 16)

The image of the impoverished Jane Shore who begs by the roadside and dies in a ditch comes only indirectly from More's *History*.

Turning to the John Harding and Edward Hall versions of the *History*, Birley traces the likely source of the image of Shore as beggar:

> both Hardyng and Halle have here a similar text which reads a little differently. . . . 'After her wealth she went beggyng of many had begged them selfes if she had not halpen them'. The phrase 'went begging' produces quite a different picture. It is the picture adopted by Thomas Churchyard in his poem printed in 1563. (407)

As we will see, Churchyard's development of this image of Shore influenced many of the poets and dramatists who followed.

As complicated as it seems to be to assess More's history of Elizabeth Shore, the task is relatively straightforward when compared with the debate which ensues when Shore's literary role in the *History* and More's attitude towards her are considered. Critics of the *History* tend to approach Shore's role in one of two ways: first, Shore's role is understood to be important primarily on the functional level and any sympathy for her arises more from functional necessity than from More's own opinion of her, and secondly, Shore's wife is assumed to have intrinsic interest for More who presents her in a moving and sympathetic biographical sketch. These critical positions should probably be combined because it seems likely that a sophisticated writer and individual like More could combine function with sympathetic interest in a character. The difficulty, I think, arises from the obvious evidence for both positions which are summed up by C. S. Lewis who sees the portrait of Shore as "a beautiful example of the author's mingled charity and severity" ("Thomas More" 389). As we have seen, More has included many details about Shore which have been verified by other sources: he does make some use of the woman's biography. On the

other hand, *The History of King Richard III* is, among other things, a literary construct, and Shore is both a character and a historical figure. The problem, as I see it, is not the reconciliation of the biographical readings with the literary readings; the difficulty arises from the overtly moral nature of these readings. Critical examinations of Shore's function within the work have focused too intently on the moral aspects of the text, and, consequently, have neglected the political nature of this character and her role. In order to complete our understanding of Shore's presence in the *History*, we must recognise that she is both sympathetic victim and political actor.

In the works of Lee Cullen Khanna and James L. Harner, we see highly divergent critical readings of this text which both demonstrate far greater interest in the moral than the political context of the work. In "No Less Real Than Ideal: Images of Women in More's Work," Lee Cullen Khanna argues that More's interest in educated, intelligent women led him to create female characters who exemplify these characteristics. In the *History*, as we have seen, Mistress Shore belongs to this category, but Edward's queen, Elizabeth Woodville also shares in these qualities:

> Elizabeth Woodville was faithful to her dead husband and it was her chastity that won her a crown. Yet it is not her chastity that More emphasizes; it is her wisdom and eloquence. . . . As More describes her she was hardly a raving beauty but her intelligence and her 'words so well set' enflame the king. (Khanna 39-40)

Khanna maintains that More's primary interest in both Shore and Woodville is in their capabilities and actions rather than their chastity or lack thereof.

For evidence of More's views on sexuality, Khanna turns to *Utopia* and cites the "egalitarianism of Utopian courtship and punishment for adultery" (38). Khanna observes,

> The amusing scene of the young couple inspecting each others bodies in the presence of a sober matron and gentleman is memorable for its mutuality as well as for its humor. It is not simply women who are shown naked to men, as one might expect in a time of double standards, but men and women who are shown naked to each other. Women were to have the right to be pleased with their spouse's physical appearance as well as men. Similarly, adultery on either side of the marriage partnership was to be punished. Women's chastity was no more important than men's. (38)

In the case of Shore, More does not gloss over her guilt but does not dwell on it either as he is more interested in her virtues: "her strengths, her merry wit and her compassion—perhaps above all her compassion, her Christian charity—are important to More" (Khanna 46). Khanna concludes, "his most memorable female characters are admirable human beings. For Thomas More women are not simply stereotypes but can be either good or bad—both good and bad" (50).

Khanna's reading of the *History* stresses the charity of both the author and Mistress Shore. In "The Place of 'Shore's Wife' in More's *The History of King Richard III*," James L. Harner presents a very different view of Shore's role. Unlike

Khanna, who de-emphasised More's concern with adultery, Harner believes that the sexual behaviour of Shore is a central element of the portrait presented in the *History*. Harner argues that "More, who condemned adultery so emphatically in *Utopia* and in his polemical works" ("Place" 69), creates a sympathetic view of Shore strictly for functional purposes:

> the reasons for the compassionate presentation of an adulteress lie not so much in any contradiction in More's thought or in his feminism as in his concern for dramatic effectiveness: More designed "Shores wife" to provide an important foil for Richard and Elizabeth Woodville and to mitigate Edward's "fleshlye wantonnesse." (Harner, "Place" 69)

According to Harner, then, Shore's role fulfils these three essential tasks.

More obviously does use Shore as a foil for Richard. She has used her power generously without cost to others: Richard does not. Richard's treatment of Shore serves to demonstrate his own hypocrisy and cruelty. Harner's argument that Shore also serves as a foil to Elizabeth Woodville is less convincing: he argues that Woodville, unlike Shore, resists the king when she is propositioned by him. This difference, which necessarily follows the historical details, does not explain the many similarities between the characters which are noted by Khanna. Finally, Harner maintains that Shore is used to mitigate Edward's licentiousness:

> Most effective in extenuating Edward's 'fleshlye wantonnesse' is More's description of her use of her power. . . . The effectiveness

> of More's use of 'Shore's wife' . . . is nowhere more evident than in the refutation it provides of Buckingham's charges [regarding her importance at court]. ("Place" 71-72)

As previously noted, Buckingham's complaint is not against the manner in which Shore used her power but against her acquisition of power. This charge is not entirely answered by her responsible use of unauthorised influence, and, therefore, cannot mitigate Edward's fault as fully as denying her any influence would have.

In his conclusion, Harner implies that many readers have been duped through incautious readings into attributing sympathy to More where little exists:

> That much of More's 'sympathy' or 'pity' for Shore is conditioned by the functions she serves is now evident. However, it is easy for the reader to become captivated—as many have been—by More's irony, humor, and necessarily sympathetic treatment, and thus fail to realize that he by no means exculpates her. ("Place" 73)

Does More need to excuse Shore's behaviour in order to be convincingly sympathetic? The difficulty with Harner's reading of More's approach to Shore is that the functional roles Harner describes could have been admirably fulfilled by a much simpler version of the character. Why has More created so many similarities between Shore and Edward's queen, if they are to be contrasted? Why is Shore given so much power at court, if she is to make Edward's fault seem harmless? The functions described by Harner are a part of More's characterisation of Shore, but other forces are also at work, including the sympathy and proto-feminism observed by Khanna.

My attempt to combine the functional with the sympathetic readings of this character might appear to be motivated by a desire to have things both ways, but a brief examination of More's approach to marriage and adultery in *Utopia* supports a more complicated reading of Shore's character. Our modern tendency to assume that moralists are by definition inflexible has unnecessarily limited our approaches to More: the critical equation—if he opposes adultery, he must hate all adulteresses —precludes the rational and humane consideration of human dilemmas which More brings to his treatment of Shore's wife.

Harner begins his discussion by pointing to the apparent discrepancy between the presentation of Shore in the *History* and More's attitudes as expressed elsewhere: "it seems paradoxical that More, who condemned adultery so emphatically in *Utopia* and in his polemical works, would provide such an engaging portrait of Shore" ("Place" 69). As we have seen, Harner goes on to argue that Shore is condemned by More, who is not particularly sympathetic towards her. Khanna also made use of *Utopia* to demonstrate More's attitudes, pointing to "the egalitarianism of Utopian courtship and punishment for adultery" (38). These two uses of the evidence from *Utopia* are not entirely contradictory, since adultery could be condemned with equal severity whichever partner was involved. I am not convinced, however, that More's condemnation of adultery is entirely as clear-cut as Harner suggests.

In *Utopia*, More provides an extreme punishment for adultery: "Adulterers are sentenced to penal servitude. . . . If both offenders are married, their injured partners may, if they like, obtain a divorce and marry one another, or anyone else they

choose. . . . A second conviction means capital punishment" (104). Adulterers are also "disgraced and condemned to celibacy for life" (*Utopia* 104). The punishments are considerably more severe than anything which existed in More's day and appear to suggest that he was completely intolerant of this sin. Nevertheless, this is Utopian policy, not English, and the severity of the punishment is much less surprising when we recognise that More has tried to create a system in which monogamy should be more easily maintained.

Marriage in *Utopia* is a rational matter supported by mutual physical attraction, demonstrated by the display of the naked prospective partners to each other (103). More also provides for divorce: "[o]ccasionally, though, divorce by mutual consent is allowed on grounds of incompatibility, when both husband and wife have found alternative partners that seem likely to make them happier" (*Utopia* 104). These attempts to decrease the likelihood of people committing adultery demonstrate More's appreciation of the motivations of sinners in his own world. Stubborn persistence in adulterous behaviour is certainly a vice; however, I suspect More is prepared to entertain the possibility of mitigating circumstances. In the case of Shore's wife, a marriage too early, based on something other than mutual attraction, should temper our judgment of her.

Further evidence for how we should regard Shore's sin comes from More's *Four Last Things*. Alison Hanham argues that Shore is used to personify lechery, in order that More may develop a contrast between the sins of Hastings and Shore and that of Richard who is guilty of spiritual pride. Hanham asserts,

> Lechery is, then, in plain contrast to the man who, setting himself up 'as a goodly continent prince, clean and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of men's manners', murdered her lover and put her to penance for loose living. This is very much in accordance with the More of the *Four Last Things*. Lechery, gluttony, and sloth contain the seeds of their own repentance, but spiritual pride is almost incurable without God's special mercy. (180)

Hanham's example may support a functional view of Shore's role, but it also points to More's willingness to allow for varying degrees of sinfulness. Given the cast of characters assembled in More's *History*, More and his readers are not likely to need to excuse Shore's sin: her sin cannot begin to seem as serious as Richard's. As Esther Yael Beith-Halahmi observes, "in minimizing the sin of adultery in his *History*, More is not excusing it, but merely righting the balance that Richard has attempted to upset" (41-42). If modern readers have had some difficulty assessing More's views on the sin of adultery, we have likely been even further off the mark on the subject of repentance.

Shore's participation in Richard's drama of public penance has been assumed to be a sham: the possibility of Shore's repentance has not received serious consideration. Harner's reading of Shore's penance enforces his view that More stands in moral judgment of Shore:

> Even though More describes her penance in such a way that it

> emphasizes Richard's hypocrisy more than her own sin, he does not present Shore as a repentant sinner but as Richard's victim. In describing her forced penance (not her repentance) he is careful to point out that 'her great shame' (the result of being 'out of al array saue her kyrtle only' and of 'the wondering of the people') 'wan her much praise, among those y^t were more amorous of her body then curious of her soule' and to establish that the pity of the 'good folke . . . y^t hated her liuing, & glad wer to se sin corrected' arose from their recognition of Richard's hypocrisy. ("Place" 73)

The pity of the spectators may well arise from their feelings about Richard, but what should we make of Shore's reaction? In spite of Harner's assertions, the passage from the *History* does not make clear the source of her shame: "she went in coutenance & pace demure so womanly, & albeit she were out of al array saue her kyrtle only: yet went she so fair & louely, namelye while the wondering of the people caste a comly rud in her chekes (of whiche she before had most misse)" (More 54-55). Her shame is clearly <u>not</u> from appearing in her kirtle, since appearing in rags or other humble attire was a common part of such a penance. The spectators may cause some of her shame, but More adds that she had lacked shame previously—suggesting a significant change of heart.

Kinney's translation of the *Historia Richardi Tertii* provides a clearer version of the penance scene: "her expression and gait were so decorous as she stepped forward, and despite her disheveled and unkempt appearance her face was so

lovely, especially when her shame sent a most fetching blush into her snowy cheeks . . ." (More 425). Here the blush arises from her shame which is attributed neither to her dress nor the gaze of the crowd. More does not indicate that his readers should assume that Shore was unrepentant.

Finally, if we are to appreciate fully the role of Shore in More's *History*, we must balance interest in the moral stance of the text with a recognition of the significance of More's political interests. In the *History*, sexuality and power are nearly inseparable themes, an approach which has led some critics to assume that sexuality is the dominant issue in this work. Peter L. Rudnytsky calls on us to recognise the "pervasiveness of More's concern with sexuality" (155). Sylvester, however, reminds us of the highly political uses of this text:

> The *History* was an *exemplum* but, as More must have come to see, it was also a handbook. The potentially good monarch would profit from its powerful depiction of monstrous injustice, but it could also teach the potential tyrant much about that subtle policy which the later sixteenth century would identify as "Machiavellian."
>
> (*History* cii-ciii)

Sylvester suggests that More's own doubts about Henry VIII resulted in his abandonment of the project. Certainly, Henry VIII's later career would justify the attention More pays to sexual potency as a demonstration of royal power and to sexuality as political policy.

With the intertwining of the topics of sexuality and power, it seems

inevitable that Shore's role as Edward IV's mistress would place her at the centre of these issues. Shore's power comes from her sexuality, but it should not be assumed that this power is therefore distinct from political power: for Shore, sexual power creates access to political power. Only in light of this essential connection does the strength of Richard's response to Shore begin to make sense.

While it appears that the historical Richard's persecution of Shore was largely impersonal and practical, More's Richard responds to Shore's power with irrational vehemence. Where Rosamond Clifford's power makes her the monstrous minotaur, Shore becomes a witch. As Khanna points out, witchcraft, female power, and sexuality are all associated in Richard's conspiracy charges:

> the fear of witches has often been based on a fear of female power—both as a threat to male dominance and as a threat to male potency. Jane Shore was once powerful and Richard plays upon the fear of castration when he accuses Jane of witchcraft. He plucks up his sleeve to show his shrivelled arm, the arm he claims she shrivelled, and so gives a nearly phallic demonstration. (48)

Although Shore has been powerful, Richard cannot successfully transform her into a fear-inspiring figure and must settle for denouncing her immorality. However, his demonstration does further his campaign to distinguish himself from Edward IV. The king's sexuality is an expression of his potency. Richard attempts to demonstrate his superiority to Edward through chastity, but chastity can only be a virtue when it is a demonstration of personal control not the result of impotence. By punishing the witch

who would threaten his sexual potency, Richard asserts his virility, virtue, and power.

Richard's efforts to punish Shore do not eliminate the possibility that he is attracted to her. Rudnytsky explains, "[a]s Richard's parading of Jane . . . Shore in public penance . . . goes to show . . . his disgust follows the typical pattern of a reaction-formation in concealing a deeper attraction to the forbidden object" (156). Rudnytsky's oedipal reading reveals Richard's desire to supplant the king and possess the king's mistress:

> More states that Hastings was 'sore enamoured' of Shore's wife even during Edward's lifetime, but 'forbare her' . . . until after the monarch's death, when he took her as his own mistress. Richard's perception of the queen and Jane Shore as doubles is thus confirmed by the latter's role as the displaced object of oedipal desire, whom Hastings can possess only after the death of the paternal surrogate; and Richard's rage at Hastings in turn becomes explicable as a response to the acting out of his own repressed fantasies. (157)

Rudnytsky's psychological insights on the *History* are easily expanded to the political realm. Richard clearly desires to replace Edward IV on more than the sexual level. If Shore can be seen as a substitute for the queen, then the public penance becomes a sign of Richard's control over the body which previously "belonged" to the king. We must be careful, however, not to reduce Shore to a sign of the power of others. The successful substitution of Shore for the queen must depend in part on Shore having

held comparable power.

We have already seen More's testimony to Shore's ability to influence the decisions of the king on a wide range of cases. Although this power is clearly political, critics have emphasised the morality of Shore's actions: all comment on the contrast between her generosity and the selfishness of Richard and the others at court. Beith-Halahmi is typical in describing the lesson as a moral one: "[i]t is indeed to men's shame that the only example of virtue at court should be this courtesan, whom one would expect to be most venal" (41). Noting the "amity which surrounds the unambitious courtesan" (41), Beith-Halahmi argues "[t]hat generosity breeds amity is, indeed, the positive moral point which he [More] wishes to make" (n. 41, 41). Why is Shore assumed to be "unambitious"? Why is her use of her influence with the king assumed to be an act of Christian charity?

These questions take us first to More's ambiguous description of Shore's motives:

> she stode many men in gret stede, either for none, or very smal rewardes, & those rather gay then rich: either for that she was content w^t^ the dede selfe well done, or for y^t^ she delited to be suid vnto, & to show what she was able to do wyth the king, or for y^t^ wanton women and welthy be not alway couetouse. (*History* 56)

More does not pretend to understand entirely what motivates Shore, but the possibilities he lists are likely to all be in operation at various times. He is certain that financial reward is not a motive. The first motive, doing things for the sake of a

deed well done, supports the moral readings, and yet can as easily describe a sense of fair play and justice as a call to godliness. The next motive, to demonstrate her power, hardly seems disinterested or unambitious, since proving her power will most probably serve to increase the ranks of her suitors. More's final suggestion is less an additional motive than an ironic observation: maybe Shore assists others because wanton and wealthy women are not always covetous. This final possibility may be read two ways: either Shore was sexually and materially fulfilled and did not begrudge others good fortune, or the stereotype of the acquisitive royal mistress is not always true. The interpretations of Shore's behaviour offered by More create an impression of her which is barely recognisable in the unambitious Lady Benevolent version of Shore presented by most critics. This discrepancy arises, I believe, from the refusal of critics to see Shore as a political actor.

As a handbook, the *History* may be aimed primarily at rulers, but the work necessarily carries reflections on the role of the courtiers who guide, influence, or mislead the monarch. Edward IV, for instance, worries about the advice the young king and prince will receive after their father is dead: he fears that "either party shold counsayle for their owne commodity and rather by pleasaunte aduyse too wynne themselfe fauour" (More, *History* 10). Edward's suspicion that his courtiers will look after their own selfish interests instead of the interests of the king and realm is realised in the events which follow. Critics have recognised that Shore's use of power during Edward IV's reign stands in stark contrast to the abuses of power by Richard and his supporters. On a functional level it is effective to assign the contrasting positive role

to an unlikely woman, but it is also true that More is presenting the royal mistress as a powerful courtier. Shore is more than a moral *exemplum* of generosity; she is an example of a proper courtier.

As the conversation of More's alter ego with Raphael in the first book of *Utopia* demonstrates, it is not possible to participate at court and have the ear of the king without becoming involved in power games. Shore's position at Edward IV's court gives her power—the question is how will she use that power? More describes for Raphael a courtier who tries to make the best of a bad situation: More argues, "[i]f you can't completely eradicate wrong ideas, or deal with inveterate vices as effectively as you could wish, that's no reason for turning your back on public life altogether" (*Utopia* 63). More's courtier works to temper the situation: "[y]ou must go to work indirectly. You must handle everything as tactfully as you can, and what you can't put right you must try to make as little wrong as possible" (*Utopia* 64). Although More's power in Henry VIII's court was probably quite limited until he replaced Wolsey as Lord Chancellor in 1529, he was playing court power games much earlier (Marius 190-99). From this insider's description of the inner workings of court power, we see that he believed in power as process: a courtier must work through indirection and tact to influence decisions and events. More's understanding of power leaves little to distinguish between the courtier and the royal mistress. Shore's behaviour is that of a responsible courtier.

The parallels between the roles of courtier and mistress are supported by Marius's description of More. The qualities which made More a desirable courtier are

surprisingly familiar:

> More was . . . charming company for a king with some claim to learning. . . . More was so witty, Roper says, that the king and queen used to make him eat supper with them so they could delight in his conversation. . . . But probably the chief reason Henry wanted More in his council was . . . More was a city man. . . . Henry, who always courted London, wanted a man on the council who had the confidence of the city and who could represent the royal interests among the merchants. (Marius 192-93)

The qualities which made More a successful courtier are those same qualities More attributes to Shore. Beauty and sexual desirability are not necessarily the essential qualifications of a royal mistress. A mistress like Shore also shares many of the qualities of a good courtier and employs her skills responsibly.

In More's *History*, Shore's generous use of her power should not be reduced to Christian charity or to a morality lesson for her enemies. Shore's power is political: she is compared to the queen on a number of levels; Richard attempts to contain her power through charges of witchcraft; her middle-class connections make her politically useful to Edward IV; and, by her persecution, Richard can send a warning to the city and to other social climbers. Unlike Rosamond, Shore is active at court and the signs of her power are more easily portrayed. On the other hand, it is not quite so easy to use Shore's story to expose the king's abuse of power in the relationship. Sympathy for Shore is more difficult to create because she is married,

and therefore sexually experienced, and not a simple maid like Rosamond. She is more vulnerable to charges of promiscuity. Without excusing Shore's behaviour, More acknowledges the mitigating circumstances of an early marriage. Shore's "crime" must seem insignificant given her historical context. Shore's immorality is also balanced by her generosity and by her lack of interest in monetary gain. Finally, More is simply less interested in Shore's status as an adulterer or as a victim of royal power, than he is interested in depicting a responsible courtier with considerable political influence.

Thomas Churchyard's retelling of Shore's story is influenced by More's exploration of political issues, but Churchyard also pursues his own interests both in the power dynamics between king and mistress and in issues of class. Churchyard's background and experience may explain in part his interest in these subjects. Although evidence is scant, Churchyard was probably from a middle-class family and was born in 1523.[3] Around the age of fourteen, he entered the service of the Earl of Surrey,

> [probably] during Surrey's semi-retirement at Kenninghall, immediately after the death of the Queen, Jane Seymour, in November of 1537. . . . Such a period of relative quiet in the Earl's busy life was propitious for the young Churchyard to learn

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[3]Geimer reports records of Churchyards in Shrewsbury who were drapers and shoemakers (2). He also provides a convincing argument in favour of this birth date (Geimer 9-10).

> from Surrey, as he frequently attests he did. It was during this time that Surrey probably wrote some of his lyrics which were published in *Tottel's Miscellany*. The inclusion of works attributable to Churchyard in the same publication adds to the probability of their association at this particular time. (Geimer 9)

After four years in Surrey's service, Churchyard went on to a career as a soldier, serving in campaigns in Ireland, Scotland, France, and the Netherlands (Geimer 15-20, 45-50). Between campaigns, Churchyard unsuccessfully sought preferment at court and developed his career as a poet and writer. After a long military career, Churchyard was employed as a courier by Walsingham: "[h]e continued in this capacity at least until 2 April, 1577" (Geimer 67). Finally, his poetic skills and popularity were recognised by the queen, who awarded him a pension in 1593 (Geimer 113). Churchyard died in 1604.

Churchyard refers frequently to the evils of court. His criticisms may reflect his own bitterness at failing to acquire patronage, but his observations cover a wide range of behaviour by both would-be courtiers and powerful patrons. In one of his farewell to the court poems, "A Farewell When I Went to Studie, Written to the World," Churchyard includes a list of courtiers which reflects on the hypocrisy and misfortunes of court:

> Some pleasde the prince, yet had the peoples hate.
> Some serude them both, and did them both deceiue.
>
> . . . . . .

Some playde the foxe, that like a goose could looke,

Some askd what newes, and yet could wonders tell,

. . . . . .

Some wayted hard, but gate small fruite therefore,

Some had ill happe, and yet no vertue lackt. (Rahter 189-90)

In "A Tragical Discourse of the Haplesse Mans Life," Churchyard describes his own efforts to succeed as a courtier:

To serue the Prince, in Court I settled me:

Some friends I found, as friends doe goe you see,

That gaue me words, as sweete as hony still,

Yet let me liue, by head and cunning skill.

I crucht, I kneeld, and many a cap could vayle,

And watched late, and early rose at morne,

. . . . . .

To wayt and stare, among the states full hye:

Who feedes the poore, with many a friendly eye.

But who can liue, with goodly lookes alone,

Or merry words, that sounds like tabers pype,

Say what they will, they loue to keepe their owne. (Rahter 147)

From Churchyard's frequent references to betrayal by friends, it would seem that many

promises were made at court which were never fulfilled.

Churchyard's own financial struggles and his experiences as a soldier seem to have contributed to his understanding of the hardships of poverty. In "A Discourse of Gentlemen Lying in London, that were better keepe house in their Countrey," Churchyard describes the many traps of life in London and contrasts past practices with present abuses:

> England was cald, a librall countrey rich,
> That took great ioy, in spending beef and bred:
> In deede this day, the countrey spendeth mich,
> But that expense, stands poore in little sted:
> For they find nought, where hounds and hawks are fed,
> But hard colde posts, to leane at in great lacke:
> Who wants both foode, and clouts to cloth their backe.
>
> (Rahter 110)

In this poem as in many others, Churchyard's reflections on the hardships, and particularly the hunger of the poor, are accompanied by comments on the greed of the wealthy. Churchyard criticises the upper classes not simply for a lack of charity, but for specific practices like enclosure and hoarding which he believes have greatly worsened the condition of the poor. Churchyard's view of class relations, his sympathy for the poor, and his critical opinion of many courtiers all influence his version of Shore's story.

Churchyard's *Shore's Wife* first appeared in the 1563 edition of *The Mirror*

for Magistrates as "Howe Shores wife, Edwarde the fowerthes concubine, was by king Richarde despoyled of all her goodes, and forced to do open penance." Lily B. Campbell's introduction to the *Mirror* reminds us that the force behind this work was a politically astute group of men who took the task seriously: "to see the *Mirror* in true perspective, it is necessary to understand that it was written, not by literary hacks nor by minor writers of the day, but by learned men who were accepted as important figures in their own time" (20). The stories of the *Mirror* are used to convey "orthodox Tudor doctrine":

> Their tragedies taught, not only the duties of subjects to their king, but also the accountability of kings to the King of Kings—a part of the theory of the divine right less popular with the reigning monarchs. Against the tyrant, God permits the rebel to rage and war to threaten, conscience torments him, his kingdom may be taken from him, and by God's doom an ignominious death awaits him. (Campbell 52, 53)

The creators of the *Mirror* do not restrict their lessons to kings and tyrants. "Baldwin's Dedication" takes aim particularly at office holders who abuse their power: "the ambicious (that is to say prollers for power or gayne) seeke not for offices to helpe other, for whiche cause offices are ordayned, but with the vndoing of other, to pranke vp them selves" (63-4). The lessons of the *Mirror* are meant to be widely applicable "as a myrrour for al men as well noble as others, to shewe the slyppery deceytes of the wauerynge lady, and the due rewarde of all kinde of vices"

("Dedication" 68). Assuming that Baldwin and his companions had not suddenly abandoned their political purposes, part of our task is to determine the connection between *Shore's Wife* and the political lessons of the *Mirror*.

The place of *Shore's Wife* in the *Mirror* is not as anomalous as it may first appear. While it is true that the previous edition of 1559 did not include any tragedies of women, and the 1563 edition includes only one woman, Shore's wife, we must exercise caution before declaring the uniqueness of Churchyard's accomplishment. Willard Farnham argues that "the discovery which Churchyard made was that the prince's mistress could be as moving a subject for tragedy as the prince" (293). However, in "Sir Thomas More and Thomas Churchyard's *Shore's Wife*," Barbara Brown disputes Farnham's position by pointing to Churchyard's debt to More's *History*: "[i]n More's account Churchyard found a fully developed tragic heroine" (42). More's influence on Churchyard seems indisputable, but Churchyard remains responsible for recasting Shore's story in the form of a tragedy suitable for the *Mirror*. Beyond More's immediate influence, we must look to the *Mirror*'s precursor, Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, which included the falls of women subjects. As we saw earlier, through Lydgate's influence George Cavendish arrived independently of the *Mirror* at poetic tragedies similar to Shore's story. Baldwin and the others were probably aware of the precedents for including the tragedies of women in such a project.

The prose link which follows *Shore's Wife* in the 1563 edition tells us the tragedy "was so well lyked, that all together exhorted me [Baldwin] instantly, to

procure Maister Churchyarde to undertake and to penne as manye moe of the remaynder as myght by any meanes be attaynted at his handes" (387). The immediate approval of Baldwin and his colleagues suggests that Churchyard's tragedy met the criteria of the work. An appreciation for the complex set of factors the *Mirror*'s creators were concerned with when selecting and presenting the tragedies comes from John L. Lievsay. In his discussion of the principle of *decorum* in the *Mirror*, Lievsay observes the consistent concern with *decorum* the creators of the *Mirror* demonstrate in their frequent references to order and *decorum* throughout the prose links. They are concerned with the proper ordering of the tragedies, the suiting of "the manner and language of a composition to the abilities of its intended audience," and the fitting of "style and subject matter," "language and speaker," and "form and movement" (Lievsay 90). In his conclusion, Lievsay draws our attention to prose link 24, in which the poor metre of Richard's tragedy is explained as necessary to the keeping of *decorum*:

> The cumlynes called by the Rhetoricians *decorum*, is specially to be observed in al thinges. Seyng than that kyng Rychard never kept measure in any of his doings, seing also he speaketh in Hel, whereas is no order: it were agaynst the *decorum* of his personage, to vse eyther good Meter or order. (*Mirror* 371)

The appropriateness of Richard's poor metre is apparently matched by the good metre of Shore's wife. Prose link 24 finishes with an introduction of Shore's wife whose tragedy followed Richard's in the 1563 edition: "And to supplye that whych is

lackinge in him [Richard], here I haue Shores wyfe, an eloquent wentch, whyche shall furnishe out both in meter and matter, that which could not comlily be sayd in his person" (372). The more "comely" verse of *Shore's Wife* is found to agree entirely with the requirements of decorum: the style and language agree with the subject matter and the speaker. Neither Shore's gender or moral failings make it inappropriate for her to be eloquent and orderly.

A fuller impression of the character is created in the prose link substituted in the 1587 edition. Here, Shore steps forward to introduce herself and defends Churchyard's claim to his work: "my tragedy was in question among some that would not spare due commendation to the autor therof" (372). Shore explains that she appeared to Baldwin first: "a Minister and a Preacher: whose function and calling disdaynes to looke so lowe, as to searche the secrets of wanton women, (though commonly a Preacher with sufferaunce may rebuke vice)" (372). According to Shore, Baldwin, as a preacher, was uninterested in Shore's story; Churchyard proved a more open audience. Churchyard is apparently a more suitable auditor because he is a soldier, "who hath more experience both in defending of womens honour, and knowes somwhat more of theyr conditions and qualityes" (372). Churchyard, the prose link claims, is familiar with a greater variety of women and is better qualified to understand them. Although Shore describes her tragedy as "a matter scarce fit for womans shamefastnes to bewray," she is not apologetic: "since without blushing I haue so long beene a talkatiue wench, (whose words a world hath delighted in) I will now goe on boldly with my audacious manner: and so step I on the stage in my

shrowdeing sheete as I was buried" (372). The forthrightness of her speech is in keeping with the humorous tone of the prose link and yet remains appropriate to her story. Her appearance in yet another sheet may remind us of her public penance, but while shame was the appropriate response to her penance, she does not need to demonstrate shame at telling her story, nor is her audience censured for the pleasure they take from it.

Unlike Daniel who began *Rosamond* with primarily chronicle materials, Churchyard has More's version of Edward IV and Shore's relationship to draw on, an account which already relied in large part on literary structures. Although Brown is willing to argue that Churchyard is a better poet than generally assumed, she finds that Churchyard has done little of any interest with More's story of Shore's wife. Brown argues that anything that is interesting in *Shore's Wife* arises from More:

> [Churchyard's] tragedy of Shore's wife merely echoes faintly More's account. . . . As it stands, the poem, though not unattractive, is by no means the best of his work, and importance and influence have been attributed to it which should rightly be credited to More. (48)

More's work is the major source of the details and, at times, the attitudes presented in Churchyard's poem, but Churchyard must be credited for elaborating on the political role of Shore as first developed in More's *History* and for applying the political lessons not only to Richard's behaviour but also to Edward's actions. Less concerned with transmitting the historical details, Churchyard can simplify the story and focus on

Shore's character.

Shore's motives for becoming a mistress are a significant example of Churchyard reshaping the material received from More. More's *History* includes a range of motives for Shore's vulnerability to the king, beginning with her unhappy early marriage and progressing through a variety of personal weaknesses:

> forasmuche as they were coupled ere she wer wel ripe, she not very feruently loued, for whom she neuer longed. Which was happely the thinge, that the more easily made her encline vnto ye kings appetite when he required her. Howbeit ye respect of his royaltie, ^{y} hope of gay apparel, ease, plesure & other wanton welth, was hable soone to perse a softe tender hearte. (55)

As Brown observes, Churchyard follows More in partially attributing Shore's compliance to her early marriage; however, Brown has apparently overlooked More's provision of additional causes when she assigns Churchyard responsibility for creating Shore's "confused motivation" (48). Faced with More's conflicting list of motives, Churchyard retains them all but decides where he will place his own emphasis.

Interestingly, neither More nor Churchyard includes vanity as a contributing factor in Shore's adultery. Unlike Daniel, neither writer makes beauty the source of the mistress's power. Churchyard has the awkward task of describing Shore's beauty in a first person narrative which makes the impression of vanity difficult to avoid, but he does his best to compensate for this problem by turning attention away from the physical description. There is no catalogue of physical attributes in Shore's

description:

I could bragge of nature if I would,
Who fyld my face with favour freshe and fayer,
Whose beautie shone like Phebus in the ayer

My shape, some sayd, was seemely to eche sight,
My countenaunce did shewe a sober grace,
Myne eyes in lookes were never proved lyght,
My tongue in wordes were chaste in every case.
My eares were deafe, and would no lovers place,
Save that (alas) a prynce dyd blot my browe,
Loe, there the strong did make the weake to bowe. (68-77)

The impression is not that of a flirtatious beauty, but of a modest woman who remained faithful to her husband until pressured by the king.

Churchyard's Shore concentrates on the issues of forced marriage and the king's power. Although Shore refers to the motives of pleasure and greed first included by More, "[t]he ease of wealth, the gyftes whych were not smal, / Besieged me" (152-3), these qualities are passed over quickly. Brown finds the treatment of forced marriage pointlessly contradictory as Shore both blames her friends and accepts the blame herself:

But cleare from blame my frendes can not be found,
Before my time my youth they did abuse:

In maryage, a prentyse was I bound,

When that meere love I knewe not howe to vse.

But wealaway, that can not me excuse,

The harme is mine though they deuysed my care,

And I must smart and syt in slaundrous snare. (106-112)

Although Shore presents us with a logical contradiction, her description of her situation is apt. Shore's society blames and punishes only her for her behaviour. Shore may recognise the injustice in this, but that knowledge does not alter her situation. As we have seen in Daniel's *Rosamond* and other works, the ultimate moral responsibility remains with the victim for both reasons of Christian doctrine and political practicality: neither God nor the king can be responsible for the sinner's fall. Within the given context, Churchyard argues the mitigating circumstances as far as they may be taken.

As Shore makes her case against forced marriage, we see the accumulation of images which is typical of Churchyard's style. Often the images appear unrelated, but the relationship can usually be found beneath the surface of the more complicated associations. For example, Shore argues,

Yet geve me leave to pleade my case at large,

Yf that the horse do runne beyond his race,

Or any thing that kepers have in charge

Do breake theyr course, where rulers may take place,

Or meat be set before the hungryes face,

Who is in fault? the offendour yea or no,

Or they that are the cause of all this wo? (113-19)

At least three levels of meaning are operating here. A horse or some other beast may break free if food is placed before others in its presence, but, Shore asks, is it the hungry animal's fault that it breaks loose or is it the fault of its keepers? By comparison, is the woman forced into a loveless marriage to be blamed for adultery when love and other comforts are offered to her, or are those who promoted the marriage to be blamed? A third meaning lurks behind the images: Churchyard quietly evokes the faces of the hungry poor who must watch the privileged eat before them. Are the poor to blame for their riots, or are those who keep them poor to blame? This hint of social criticism alerts the reader to the issue of poverty, which is developed more fully at the end of the poem.

An odder collection of images comes two stanzas later:

Compel the hawke to syt that is vnmande,

Or make the hound vntaught to drawe the deere,

Or bryng the free agaynst his wil in band,

Or move the sad a pleasaunt tale to heare,

Your time is lost and you are never the nere:

So love ne learnes of force the knot to knyt . . . (127-132)

The images may seem unrelated, but all of the examples are things done out of due course before the appropriate moment and, consequently, are a waste of time. Marriage itself is not an unprofitable activity any more than hawking, hunting, or

storytelling, but an early marriage may be unsuccessful because it is untimely or because it is forced.

Churchyard makes particularly interesting use of the image of the woman as a deer. Unlike the Wyatt sonnet which depicts the mistress as the hunted deer protected by the king, Churchyard's metaphor portrays the deer as initially self-sufficient. Once more Shore blames her vulnerability on the forced marriage created by her friends:

> What help in this, the pale thus broken downe,
> The Deere must nedes in daunger runne astraye:
> At me therfore why should the world so frowne,
> My weakenes made my youth a prynces praye. (141-44)

Marriage is not the "pale" which protects the deer but is the breaking down of the self-defended pale. The woman is her own keeper until betrayed by a marriage which makes her vulnerable to the king who takes her as his prey. In Churchyard's imagery, the king is a hunter, not a protector of the deer.

To this point, Churchyard's repeated comparisons of Shore with animals—a horse, a hawk, a hound, a deer—may seem infelicitous, suggesting a woman's position relative to her husband is that of a beast to its owner. Churchyard may have felt that the comparison was not inappropriate in cases of forced marriage; however, the images also play a part in linking the themes of forced marriage with the king's power over Shore.

Churchyard makes use of particularly intense images when portraying the

power differential between king and subject. This intensity is entirely of Churchyard's invention; if More touches on the subject at all, it is in the phrase "ye respect of his royaltie" (*History* 55). Churchyard's Shore describes the situation more forcefully:

> The maiestie that kynges to people beare,
> The stately porte, the awful chere they showe,
> Doth make the meane to shrynke and couche for feare,
> Like as the hound, that doth his maister knowe:
> What then, since I was made vnto the bowe:
> There is no cloke, can serve to hyde my fault,
> For I agreed the fort he should assaulte. (78-84)

The first five lines of the stanza create a strong impression of the king's power and his ability to inspire fear more than respect in his subjects. Shore imagines herself as the shrinking, frightened hound expecting a blow. Not surprisingly, the strong criticism of the king's role is mitigated by the final couplet of the stanza which returns the blame to Shore.

Having placed the blame with Shore, Churchyard uses the subsequent stanza to emphasise the impossibility of resistance; the stanza is a striking one which makes use of the images of kingship:

> The Egles force, subdues eche byrd that flyes,
> What mettal may resist the flaming fyre?
> Doth not the sonne, dasill the clearest eyes,
> And melt the ise, and make the frost retire?

> Who can withstand a puissaunt kynges desyre?
>
> The stiffest stones are perced through with tooles,
>
> The wisest are with princes made but fooles. (85-91)

The king's force cannot be resisted. The images of melting—the metal and the ice—suggest the awakening of passion in terms similar to the courtly love sonnets. The heart of stone is also evoked, but Churchyard's metaphor of piercing the stone with tools also suggests forced sexual penetration. Despite the apparent echoes of the courtly love sonnets, the repeated emphasis on force and strength with the reduction of the desired love object (not the lover) to a fool continues to stress the power disparity.

Curiously, the "Egles force" stanza took on a life of its own. In a letter to Prince Henry dated 1609, Sir John Harington offers a version of the stanza as a sonnet written by Henry VIII for Anne Boleyn:

> [I] will now venture to send to your readinge a special verse of King Henry the Eight, when he conceived love for Anna Bulleign. And hereof I entertain no doubt of the author; for, if I had no better reason than the rhyme, it were sufficient to think that no other than suche a King could write suche a sonnet; but of this my father oft gave me good assurance, who was in his household. This sonnet was sunge to the lady, at his commaundment. (137)

Harington goes on to quote the stanza with the omission, according to McClure's edition, of the fifth line. This omission might be interpreted as a softening of the stanza as a statement of power. It may also be that the question of the "puissaunt

kynges desire" would seem odd coming from the king himself. McClure does not examine the provenance of the lines except to point to Thomas Park's recognition of the lines in Churchyard's poem. McClure notes that Park "adds, charitably, that Churchyard may have borrowed King Henry's 'special verse'" (McClure 49). Judging by McClure's tone he was highly sceptical of Harington's story. Whether the borrowing was Churchyard from Henry VIII or Harington from Churchyard, it suggests that the parallel between Edward IV and Shore's wife and Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn was readily apparent at the time of the popularity of Shore's story.

The popularity of this stanza is attested to by its appearance in William Byrd's *Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets* dated 1611. Here the stanza appears with the fifth line intact (Doughtie 105). This version appears after Harington's 1609 letter, which suggests that the printed edition did not serve as either Harington's source or reminder, but the stanza, as a song, may have been circulating in the years immediately prior to publication. Byrd's use of the stanza cannot help us verify or dismiss Harington's story, but it does support a reading of Churchyard's poem which depends on the popularity of political themes and particularly the subject of royal power.

Churchyard's Shore backs off from criticising the king after this stanza and turns to the conventional weaknesses which come with beauty, the betrayal by her friends, and the other motives which deflect blame from the king. However, the reader who has been impressed by the overpowering force wielded by the king is likely to wonder if an absence of other motives could really have made a difference.

The social and moral answer is that a virtuous woman could successfully resist the king's advances; Churchyard cannot flatly contradict this viewpoint, but he does successfully raise serious doubts about the simplistic nature of this response.

In keeping with the "Egles force" stanza, Shore casts the king in the role of the conqueror rather than the courtly lover:

> Duke haniball in all his conquest greate.
> Or Ceaser yet, whose tryumphes did excede,
> Of all their spoyles which made them toyle and sweat,
> Were not so glad to haue so ryche a meade.
> As was this prince when I to hym agreed.
> And yelded me a prisoner willynglye,
> As one that knew no way awaye to flee. (155-161)

As with the animal imagery, the image of Shore as the spoils of war appears to objectify her; however, by casting Edward as a famous conqueror, Shore can remind us of the considerable power being exercised against her. By imagining herself as the richest possible spoils of battle, Shore imparts a sense of her own self-worth. Shore cannot resist, but she does see herself as a rich prize rather than a pitiful victim. Interestingly, Harner sees this comparison as evidence of Shore's pride in her beauty: "we see Shore's vanity displayed in her estimation of the King's conquest of her virtue (the allusions to Caesar and Hannibal, themselves examples of extremely proud men, are certainly significant)" (48). Shore's assertion of her value, however, comes as she shifts from considering the king's power to force her compliance to celebrating her

own power after she becomes the king's mistress.

As we have seen, More does attribute substantial power to Shore, but his reference to her ambitions is fleeting. Churchyard not only includes Shore's positive use of her power: he spends a significant amount of space conveying Shore's pleasure in her power and her conscious decision to exercise her power whenever necessary. Churchyard considers a desire for power as one of Shore's motives from the outset: "[t]he hope of will (that women seeke for all)" contributes to Shore's downfall (151). Once Shore has influence over the king, power becomes an inevitable part of her existence: how Shore will use this power becomes the essential question. Like More, Churchyard develops Shore as an example of a good courtier, in contrast with magistrates and rulers who abuse their power.

Churchyard's interest in Shore as a courtier can be verified by his use of the character beyond the original poem. *Shore's Wife* was not the only tragedy written by Churchyard, and Beith-Halahmi and other critics have argued that his repeated use of the genre represents a desperate attempt on Churchyard's part to capitalise on his earlier success. The 1587 edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates* includes a new tragedy by Churchyard, *How Thomas Wolsey did arise vnto great authority and gouernment, his maner of life, pompe, and dignity, and how hee fell downe into great disgrace, and was arested of high treason.* In an intriguing passage, Wolsey compares himself with Shore's wife. Wolsey, as we might expect, is contemptuous of the mistress, but once the comparison has been evoked, the reader is alerted to Churchyard's use of the two figures to develop opposing pictures of the role of the

courtier.

Critics struck by the inappropriateness of comparing an adulterous woman to a prominent Cardinal have tended to overlook the similarities played on by Churchyard. Beith-Halahmi proposes that the comparison is motivated by practical not artistic concerns:

> [Churchyard] imitates his "Shore's Wife," without, however, trying to ascertain whether what he imitates is appropriate to his subject. Thus Cardinal Wolsey draws a parallel between himself and Shore's wife, not in the matter of their fall, but in their power over the King and in their good deeds (ll. 218-45). Churchyard is trying to capitalize on the success of his earlier poem not only through a reference which will remind the reader of his authorship, but also through the very wording of the stanzas. (103)

Despite the connection Churchyard creates between the two tragedies, Beith-Halahmi views the tragedies as thematically divergent. In the Wolsey tragedy, "the theme of power seems to be the most important. . . . Thus, though Churchyard makes his Cardinal speak of his kindness to suitors which he compares to that of Jane Shore, his emphasis is different; the Cardinal sees in this too a manifestation of power" (Beith-Halahmi 105). I think the Cardinal is less interested in comparing good deeds, than in assuring his audience that his power bears no resemblance to the royal mistress's influence.

Wolsey's extended comparison of the roles reveals similarities which he is

anxious to deny:

> And as for sutes, about the King was none
> So apte as I, to speake and purchase grace.
> Though long before, some say *Shores* wife was one,
> That oft kneelde downe, before the Princes face
> For poore mens sutes, and holpe theire woefull case,
> Yet shee had not, such credite as I gate,
> Although a King, would heare the parret prate.
>
> My wordes were graue, and bore an equall poyes,
> In ballaunce iust, for many a weighty cause:
> Shee pleasde a Prince, with pretty merry toyes,
> And had no sight, in state, nor course of lawes.
> I coulde perswade, and make a Prince to pawes,
> And take a breath, before hee drew the sworde,
> And spy the time, to rule him with a worde. (*Wolsey* 218-231)

Beith-Halahmi points to a parallel in power and in good deeds, but Wolsey's interest in good deeds is highly suspect. Within Wolsey's self-important comparison, we notice that Shore is concerned with "poor mens sutes," while Wolsey's cases are those of "weighty cause" (*Wolsey* 222, 226). Despite his own humble origins, Wolsey implies that his own suits are more significant because of the type of suitor. Wolsey's preoccupation with self-aggrandizement, not good deeds, is confirmed in his depiction

of his pride and downfall:

> I hauing hap, did make account of none,
> But such as fed, my humour good or bad.
> To fawning doggs, sometimes I gaue a bone,
> And flong some scrapps, to such as nothing had:
> But in my hands, still kept the golden gad,
> That seru'd my turne, and laught the rest to skorne,
> As for himselfe, was Cardnall *Wolsey* borne. (*Wolsey* 393-99)

Wolsey is not interested in comparing good deeds; instead, Wolsey is determined to distinguish himself from Shore's wife.

Wolsey wants us to believe that his power differs entirely from that of the royal mistress. He is anxious to convince us that Shore's influence was a matter of momentary pleasure, while his own influence is based on seriousness and statecraft. Wolsey emphasises Shore's lack of reason: she is a "parret" who understands nothing of the law and merely pleases with "pretty merry toyes" (*Wolsey* 224-28). In contrast, Wolsey persuades through wisdom. Nevertheless, the more he protests, the more Wolsey unintentionally highlights the resemblances between himself and Shore. Wolsey's claim of better access to the king becomes an odd competition for access to the private chamber: "at all howres, I durst go draw the latch. / My voyce but heard, the dore was open streyght" (*Wolsey* 238-39). Wolsey's claim of influence through reason and wisdom is undermined by his further characterisation of the situation: "I rulde the King, by custom, arte, and sleight" (*Wolsey* 241). Distinctions between the

art of the royal councillor and the royal mistress are blurred in spite of Wolsey's protests.

Although Wolsey dismisses Shore as a "parret," he is indirectly acknowledging that her ability to please the king is based on more than sexual skills. Shore describes using her wit to influence the king:

> I ioynde my talke, my gestures, and my grace
> In wittie frames that long might last and stand,
> So that I brought the kyng in such a case,
> That to his death I was his chiefest hand. (*Shore's Wife* 169-172)

Viewing herself as Edward's "chiefest hand," Shore characterises herself as a significant councillor, not as a lover intended to occupy the king's idle hours. Wolsey's anxious denial of the mistress's power only serves to confirm the importance of her influence, but Shore's wife may not be the mistress Wolsey is so anxious to diminish.

Shore's wife is only mentioned by name in the first of the four stanzas which present the comparison. As Wolsey develops his comparison, we sense that he sees himself in competition for the king's attention. Wolsey gloats, "[o]ne sute of mine, was surely worth a score / Of hers indeede" (*Wolsey* 236-7). It is no longer clear that Wolsey is referring to Shore, a mistress from the past, and not to a contemporary royal mistress, Anne Boleyn. Nowhere in Wolsey's tragedy does Churchyard refer to the widely held belief that Boleyn was in part responsible for Wolsey's fall from power. Nevertheless, Wolsey's angry assertion of his superiority

over Shore alludes to his own conflict with the king's mistress and through the comparison indirectly confirms her power and generosity. Neither *Wolsey* nor *Shore's Wife* presents a direct connection with Queen Elizabeth's mother, but Churchyard is able to hint at the similarity between Boleyn and Shore. Both women were subject to the king's power, but both made positive use of their own power as courtiers.

In recognising More's treatment of Shore as a courtier, Churchyard demonstrates his acuteness as a reader of More. Unlike More's critics, Churchyard understood that Shore's use of her power not only contrasts with the widespread abuse of power by Richard III and his supporters, but also serves as an example of the positive use of power by a responsible courtier. The topic of Shore's power receives almost twice as many lines in Churchyard's poem as the topic of her beauty. Churchyard invests Shore with a conscious pleasure in her power which she enjoys for its own sake:

> Yf I did frowne, who then did looke awrye?
> Yf I dyd smyle, who would not laugh outryght?
> Yf I but spake, who durst my wordes denye?
> Yf I pursued, who would forsake the flyght?
> I meane my power was knowen to every wyght.
> On such a heyght good hap had buylt my bower,
> As though my swete should never have turned to sower. (183-89)

This celebration of power adds a touch of pride to Shore's character, but unlike Wolsey, Shore is not tempted to use her power for her own gain.

Shore's good deeds are not casual rewards for favourites as in Wolsey's case. Shore desires,

> To purchase prayse and winne the peoples zeale,
> Yea rather bent of kinde to do some good,
> I ever did vpholde the common weale,
> I had delyght to save the gylteles bloud:
> Eche suters cause when that I vnderstoode,
> I did preferre as it had bene mine owne,
> And helpt them vp, that might have bene orethrowne. (197-203)

Shore is willing to question the judgments of others and save "gylteles bloud." She does not act without understanding. She is generous and does not need to be prompted to act:

> My power was prest to ryght the poore mans wrong,
> My handes were free to geve where nede requyred,
> To watche for grace I never thought it long,
> To do men good I nede not be desyred.
> Nor yet with gyftes my hart was never hyred. (204-8)

From Shore's positive efforts at court, Churchyard turns again to the subject of pride, but as with the charge of adultery, the sin is mitigated by circumstances. We are unlikely to judge Shore's pride harshly, when she has not used her power to create her own favourites or to amass a personal fortune.

The second half of the poem is taken up with the subject of Shore's

persecution and suffering. Although Edward is now dead and Shore is powerless, the political interests of the poem are not abandoned. Shore's fall from power provides the opportunity for reflections on ambition and the vagaries of fortune. While Shore is primarily a positive example of courtiership, her fall remains a suitable subject for a *Mirror* tragedy because fortune's changes may happen to anyone. Shore explains that fortune is likely to shift most dramatically for those who have achieved positions of power: "they that clyme are carefull every hower, / For when they fall they light not very softe" (241-2). Shore's change in fortune comes with Edward's death, which makes her vulnerable to Richard, her "enemy most of all" (292). Perhaps recognising the lack of a clear motive for Richard's actions in More's account, Churchyard does not attempt to explain Richard's behaviour. An accusation of attempted poisoning is mentioned in passing, then Shore relates her penance. Witchcraft is not mentioned, an omission which prevents the demonising of women's power. Shore is not tied to any conspiracy with the queen; her relationship with Hastings is not explicit, nor is she connected with Dorset. The reference to Hastings and the others reminds us that many of Edward's courtiers were displaced by Richard's faction; the persecution of Shore is not necessarily a matter of morality (302-3). Churchyard's omission of plot details weakens the narrative line yet adds to our sense of the unpredictability and swiftness of fortune's changes.

Churchyard is less interested in the penance scene itself, than in the issues of justice which Shore's punishment raises. The spectacle described by More is underdeveloped in *Shore's Wife*. No reference is made to Shore's dishevelled

appearance, an absence which eliminates the possibly voyeuristic appeal of the scene. Patience and shame, not her abused beauty, win Shore the pity of the people:

> Eche iye did stare, and looke me in the face,
> As I past by the rumours on me ranne,
> But Patience then had lent me such a grace,
> My quiete lookes were praised of every man:
> The shamefast bloud brought me such colour than,
> That thousandes sayd, whiche sawe my sobre chere,
> It is great ruth to see this woman here. (309-315)

The people pity Shore but are powerless to help her.

Although Shore accepts her punishment with patience, her angry denunciation of Richard demonstrates her complete rejection of her punisher. Shore calls down a series of extravagant curses on Richard:

> Oh wicked wombe that such yll fruite did beare,
> Oh cursed earth that yeldeth forth such mud,
> The hell consume all thinges that dyd the good,
> The heavens shut theyr gates against thy spryte,
> The world tread downe thy glory vnder feete. (318-322)

Her curses are in keeping with the powerful figure she had become at court: she does not meekly accept Richard's judgment. Poverty may make Shore an object of pity, but Churchyard maintains her strength of character in a manner consistent with the portrayal of the first half of the poem.

The reflections on justice which follow the curses continue Churchyard's study of power and highlight the contrast between Shore and Richard in their use of power. Churchyard establishes the direct comparison by echoing terms previously associated with Shore in his characterisations of Richard. Where Shore had sought her "will" in order to help others, Richard "in his wrath he made his wyll a lawe" (301). Where Shore "had delyght to save the gylteles bloud" (200), Richard becomes "[t]his raging wolfe [that] would spare no gylteles bloud" (317). Shore delivers a warning to rulers not to act out of anger as Richard has but to temper their judgments with understanding and mercy:

> Ye Princes all, and Rulers everychone,
> In punyshement beware of hatreds yre.
> Before ye skourge, take hede, looke well thereon:
> In wrathes yl wil yf malice kyndle fyre,
> Your hartes wil bourne in such a hote desire,
> That in those flames the smoake shal dym your sight,
> Ye shal forget to ioyne your iustice ryght.
>
> You should not iudge til thinges be wel deserned,
> Your charge is styll to mainteyne vpryght lawes,
> In conscience rules ye should be throughly learned,
> Where clemencie byds wrath and rashenes pawes,
> And further sayeth, stryke not wythout a cause,

And when ye smite do it for Iustice sake,

Then in good part eche man your skourge wil take. (337-350)

The decision-making process described by Shore is consistent with Shore's behaviour while she had power to wield.

This passage on justice is particularly difficult for modern critics to digest. Brown dismisses this passage as inappropriate: Shore "shows a tendency to moralize at length and on abstract concepts, such as Justice, totally out of character" (48). New versions of decorum work against Churchyard at this point: we do not expect political philosophy to be versified; we do not expect characters to deliver long moral speeches; most significantly, we do not expect mistresses to have thoughts on any of these subjects. When we trace the political themes developed through this poem, this speech becomes the appropriate culmination of Churchyard's exploration of power and its uses. This passage spells out the criteria for responsible use of power which corresponds with Shore's behaviour and contrasts with Richard's abuses. Shore's shift from attacking Richard directly to addressing "[y]e Princes all, and Rulers everychone" may seem inappropriately detached, but by commenting on the general, Shore can remind us of Edward's unthinking abuse of his power when he made Shore his mistress. The point is not to create a direct comparison between Richard and Edward, but to remind those with power that they are responsible for exercising their power in a reasoned and generous manner. These are not words placed discordantly in the mouth of a royal plaything; instead, these conclusions are a logical consequence of Shore's experiences as mistress and courtier.

Shore's personal application of these reflections on justice confirms the continuing significance of the political moral to the second part of her story. In the penance scene, Shore accepts her penance but not her judge; now she explains that Richard's motivations account for her attitude. Shore objects not to her punishment but to the absence of justice:

> Yf that such zeale had moved this Tyrantes minde,
> To make my plague a warning for the rest,
> I had small cause such fault in him to finde,
> Such punishment is vsed for the best:
> But by yll wil and power I was opprest. (351-55)

The judgment Shore has applied to others she proves willing to apply to herself. Shore's acceptance of blame may continue to disturb us, but we must acknowledge that Churchyard invests his character with an ability to weigh her situation dispassionately—an ability which escapes the rulers in the poem.

Shore finishes her days, and the tragedy, "bare and poore" (356). Shore now joins the hungry poor:

> What fall was this, to come from Princes fare,
> To watche for crummes among the blinde and lame? (358-59)

Churchyard's images of poverty are graphic and arresting:

> I had no house wherein to hyde my head,
> The open strete my lodging was perforce,
> Ful ofte I went al hungry to my bed,

My fleshe consumed, I looked like a corse,

Yet in that plyght who had on me remorse?

O God thou knowest my frendes forsooke me than,

Not one holpe me that suckered many a man. (372-78)

Shore's rejection by her friends and her poverty are extreme examples of the workings of fortune, but also serve as additional evidence that she did not use her power for the sake of material benefits.

Shore concludes,

Thus long I lyved all weary of my life,

Tyl death approcht and rid me from that woe:

Example take by me both maide and wyfe,

Beware, take heede, fall not to follie so,

A myrrour make of my great overthrowe:

Defye this world, and all his wanton wayes,

Beware by me, that spent so yll her dayes. (386-392)

Brown concurs with Joan Rees "on the inadequacy of this statement as the moral conclusion of the whole work," and goes on to add Churchyard "follow[ed] his source, More, rather too closely up to this point and at the conclusion of the tragedy, recollecting the design of the *Mirror* as a whole, had felt an obligation to relate his work more obviously to the general editorial purpose, which was primarily didactic" (Brown 45). Brown then proposes that the stanza third from the end and the penultimate stanza "form a more satisfying conclusion from an artistic viewpoint" (45).

The fickleness of friends and fortune becomes the fitting moral of Shore's story. Harner, on the other hand, proposes another moral: "[t]he work is meant to be a warning against pride, specifically that pride which leads one to aspire to an unaturally [sic] high estate" (43). Shore is not without pride, but as her failing sin, pride is downplayed as much as the sin of adultery. The lesson of *Shore's Wife* is more complicated and far-reaching than the punishment of a private sin. Obviously the importance I have placed on the stanzas on justice betrays a similar urge to look for the conclusion prior to the final stanza. However, as the moral "lesson" of the tragedy, the passage on justice and punishment does develop logically from the course of the poem. Given the seriousness of Churchyard's exploration of power and the responsibilities of rulers and courtiers, as well as his portrayal of Shore's victimisation by two rulers, the final stanza can only strike us as ironic—a tongue-in-cheek reduction of Shore, the powerful and generous courtier, to a frivolous adulterous wife who "spent so yll her dayes."

More's *History* and the *Mirror for Magistrates* both offer lessons on the responsible use of power to princes and to those who serve them. We should not be surprised then, if More and Churchyard offer similar views of court politics and of Shore herself. Although More eventually rose to the position of Lord Chancellor, while Churchyard failed repeatedly to find a living as a courtier, both understood power as a matter of influence and persuasion. Their recognition of power as process shapes their reaction to the royal mistress who clearly <u>can</u> participate in this system of power.

Neither writer is interested in Shore as a moral exemplum. More does not excuse Shore's adultery, but he values her abilities as a courtier. Shore's downfall in the *History* is less a moral judgment of Shore, than a reflection of Richard's misuse of power. Churchyard develops Shore's downfall more fully, because it allows him the opportunity to include issues of poverty and justice. These reflections, however, are in keeping with Shore's experiences as a courtier and before becoming a mistress. Churchyard's powerful mistress is initially a powerless subject who cannot resist the power of the king. Churchyard hardly needs to mitigate Shore's adultery or career as a mistress, since she had so little choice. Churchyard's view of the power differential between king and potential mistress, as well as his observations on poverty and justice, complement More's representation of Shore as an influential and responsible courtier. These early versions of Shore's legend are overtly political.

Chapter Five:

Other Shores by Deloney, Chute, Heywood, Drayton, and Anonymous

In 1592, Samuel Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* was published and Jane Shore's story changed. The female *de casibus* poem, as interpreted by Churchyard, had been a useful forum for the examination of court power particularly in situations of unequal power relations—situations effectively illustrated through the already subordinate position of women. In Daniel's hands, the same material was transformed into the more familiar female complaint poem. Hallett D. Smith describes the change as one from the mistress as "an object lesson in the vagaries of fortune" to "more and more a warning against illicit love" (145). Harner characterises the female complaint poems as those "which emphasized Eros and problems peculiar to women" ("Jane Shore" 66). Both descriptions hint at the depoliticisation of the mistresses' stories which begins with Daniel's poem. The universal and public nature of the issues in Churchyard's poem give way to "problems peculiar to women" and moral in nature. The shift in focus cannot be accomplished all at once or without conflict: my examination of *Rosamond* in chapter two demonstrates Daniel's difficulties in responding to the political nature of both his model, Churchyard's poem, and the material, a royal mistress's existence. Daniel cannot tell Rosamond's story without anxiously denying or suppressing aspects of her experience. As far as possible, Daniel transmutes the mistress's story into a moral though sympathetic tale, but his struggles with the materials leave their mark on his text. The realities of the system of court

influence and favouritism can be denied, but the political dynamics of the personal relationship between mistress/subject and lover/king remain.

In the female complaint poems, attention is shifted away from issues such as the mistress's power and her role at court, while the circumstances which led to her "fall" and her subsequent misery become of paramount interest. As Harner observes, "practically every poem of this type carries a warning against the miseries of a forced marriage" ("Jane Shore" 73). As we have seen in the case of *Rosamond*, some social commentary remains, but the primary causes of the heroine's submission are internalised; ultimate responsibility rests with the woman, while the king's power to coerce his subject is downplayed. Harner suggests that the popularity of the form depended in part on its appeal to a wider audience: "the poems, with their emphasis on Eros, sentimentality, and problems peculiar to women in society, would naturally appeal to the larger audience of women readers which existed at the close of the sixteenth century" ("Jane Shore" 73). While the poets were clearly interested in female readers and patrons, the Ovidian decoration with its fantasies of domination and voyeurism was likely intended to appeal to a male audience.

*

In *Churchyard's Challenge* printed by John Wolfe in 1593, Churchyard includes a new version of *Shores Wife* "*much augmented with diuers newe aditions*" which contains 21 new stanzas and a new dedication. As Charles A. Rahter has pointed out, Churchyard reworked *Shore's Wife* "not in any way to emulate the current fashion for this type of poem set by Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*. No, he is

'augmenting' and re-publishing this poem to give the lie to those who have been denying his authorship of it since its appearance in the *Mirror*" (lxviii). Evidence that Churchyard is intent on providing proof of authorship appears in his presentation: the new lines "are clearly and purposefully indicated by the author by means of inverted commas" (Rahter lxix). Unfortunately, the circumstances which required Churchyard to defend his authorship remain a mystery.

Churchyard was influenced by the changes to the genre which began with Daniel's *Rosamond*. Harner goes so far as to suggest that only the most superficial link existed between Daniel's poem and Churchyard's revisions:

> I suspect that Churchyard had the work ready for press—it was entered in the Stationers' Register 9 April 1593—when *Rosamond* appeared. Ingenious hack poet that he was, Churchyard then added the references to Daniel's poem hoping to capitalize on the success currently being enjoyed by Rosamond. ("Jane Shore" 74)

Harner goes on to point to the apparent internal incoherence of the one stanza which refers directly to Rosamond. This new stanza is the second of four which were inserted between lines 70 and 71. Where this section in the initial version of *Shore's Wife* gave us a rather perfunctory assertion of Shore's beauty, the additions introduce the conventional descriptions of beauty a 1593 audience would expect. Rosamond provides the opportunity to introduce the typical red and white motif:

> The Damaske rose, or *Rosamond* the faire,
>
> That Henry held, as deere as Iewells be,

Who was kept close, in cage from open ayre:

For beauties boast, could scarse compare with me,

The kindly buds, and blosomes of braue tree,

With white and red, had deckt my cheekes so fine,

There stoode two balles, like drops of claret wine. (Rahter 130)

Harner suggests that "Churchyard simply cancelled the initial lines of the stanza as it was originally revised, adding the *Rosamond* reference at a later date" ("Jane Shore" 75). Since Rosamond's name invites association with roses, it hardly seems out of place for Churchyard to have introduced her at this point in his description. It also seems appropriate that Rosamond would be mentioned in the first series of additions which "beautify" *Shore's Wife*.

Churchyard acknowledges Daniel's influence in the dedication to the revised *Shores Wife*: "because Rosimond is so excellently sette forth (the actor whereof I honour) I haue somewhat beautified my Shores wife, not in any kind of emulation, but to make the world knowe, my deuice in age is as ripe & reddie, as my disposition and knowledge was in youth" (Rahter 128). Churchyard does not imply any kind of competition with Daniel and wisely avoids emulation. The impact of Daniel's example seems most evident in the new emphasis on morality which colours the poem. Nevertheless, Churchyard resists shifting entirely from public political concerns to private issues. The original political focus is maintained alongside the new concern for morality.

Although Churchyard sets out to "beautify" his poem, he does not fall

victim to the current taste for Ovidian decoration. Classical allusions and images are not welded onto the plainer style; however, Churchyard does linger longer over descriptions. Three new stanzas, which pick up on the comparison of Shore's words with the nightingale and lark, are added after line 168. Added to this section is an extended metaphor on singing plainsong:

> It is a sport, to heare the fine night-crow,
> Chaunt in the queere vpon a pricke song plaine:
> No musicke more may please a princes vaine,
> Then descant strange, and voice of faurets breest,
> In quiet bower, when birds be all at rest.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The king and I, agreed in such concorde,
> I ruld by loue, though he did raigne a Lord. (Rahter 133)

Previously, this section had passed directly from Shore's ability to please the king to her rule over him. The three new stanzas create a stronger impression of their liaison as a love relationship. Shore's character seems a little more sentimental. Churchyard's increased awareness of the potential of sentimentality may come from Daniel, but again Churchyard is responding to Daniel rather than simply copying him. Where the unequal relationship between Rosamond and Henry II repulses us, we are likely to find Shore and Edward IV's relationship more attractive.

The original *Shore's Wife* divided nearly equally into the section before

Shore's fall and the section after; in the revised poem Churchyard maintains this balance by adding 10 stanzas to the first half and 11 to the second. A greater emphasis on Shore's beauty and the new sentimentality noted above are the only significant additions to the first part of the poem. Churchyard does add three new stanzas to the description of Shore's behaviour at court, but these only confirm her generosity and unselfishness. The additions to the second section give new emphasis to the hardships of poverty and the moral lesson of Shore's fall.

Between Edward's death and Shore's penance nine new stanzas reflect on the misery of poverty (starting after line 287). The sense of shame conveyed in the additions prepares us for the penance scene:

> Brought bare and poore, and throwne in worldes disgrace,
> Holds downe the head, that neuer casts vp eye,
> Cast out of court, condemned in euery place,
> Condemned perforce, at mercies foote must lye:
> Hope is but small, when we for mercie crye. (Rahter 137)

From Shore's personal shame and misery, the passage expands to the plight of the poor everywhere. As with Shore's discussion of justice, her comments on poverty reflect both her own situation and the broader social context.

Again, Churchyard makes effective use of proverbs and animal imagery:

> The poor is pincht, and pointed at in deed,
> As baited bull, were leading to a stake,
> Wealth findes gret helpe, want gets no friend at neede,

A plaged wight, a booteles mone may make:

A naked soule, in street for colde may quake. (Rahter 137)

The details are chillingly realistic. Shore's fall creates more suffering than her own. The image of the baited bull dehumanises the poor, whose suffering becomes entertainment for the wealthy.

Churchyard also adds a new warning to young women which contains similar images of use followed by abuse:

You yonglings nowe, that vaine delights leads on,

To sell chast life, for lewd and light desires,

Poore gaine is gote, when rich good name is gon,

Foule blot and shame, liues vnder trimme attires:

World soone casts off, the hackney horse it hiers.

And when bare nagge, is ridden out of breath,

Tibbe is turnd lose, to feed on barren heath. (Rahter 137-38)

Rahter notes that "Tibbe" is "[a] calf; now dialectal," but Churchyard is clearly using it as the proper name of a "nagge" discarded on the heath when its wind is broken and it is not longer fit for use. With the pun on "hackney horse" as prostitute, this warning is more bitter and direct than any delivered by Shore in the earlier editions of the poem.

Unlike the previous version of the poem, *Shores Wife* is now more clearly intended as a moral exemplum to other women:

My fall and facte, makes proofe of that is spoke,

Tels world to much, of shadowes in the sunne,

. . . . . .

It ends with woe, that was with ioy begun. (Rahter 138)

This new moral emphasis would seem to indicate that the focus establ· hed by Daniel had influenced the direction of Churchyard's revisions. This change of direction might have lessened the impact of *Shore's Wife* and detracted from the political lessons had Churchyard not balanced the warning to young women with new political observations.

Churchyard adds a new stanza to the string of curses Shore calls down on Richard:

Woe worth the day, the time the howre and all,

When subiects clapt the crowne on *Richards* head,

Woe worth the Lordes, that sat in sumptuous hall,

To honour him, that Princes blood so shead:

Would God he had bin, boyld in scalding lead. (Rahter 139)

Shore's curses are now extended to encompass the subjects and nobles who supported Richard. This addition adds a new dimension to the scope of the political commentary of the poem and verifies that Churchyard did not abandon the political lessons of his poem in favour of private moral warnings. Daniel may have influenced some of the "beautifying" which Churchyard undertook, but the sentimentality and morality Daniel introduced to the female complaint poem alters the tone of Churchyard's poem without distracting from the political and social themes.

Immediately following "A Mournfull Dittie, on the death of *Rosamond*, King *Henry* the seconds Concubine" in Deloney's *Garland of good Will* is "A New Sonnet, conteining the Lamentation of *Shores* wife, who was sometime Concubine to King *Edward* the fourth, setting forth her great fall, and withall her most miserable and wretched end." The appearance of "A New Sonnet" in the *Garland* sets the ballad's composition prior to March 5, 1593, but as in the case of "A Mournfull Dittie," "A New Sonnet" may have first circulated in broadside form. This date would place Deloney's ballad between Churchyard's *Shore's Wife* and Chute's *Beawtie Dishonoured*. Signs of both More's and Churchyard's influence can be seen in the ballad, but there are no direct signs of Daniel's influence.

Unlike Deloney's Rosamond ballad, which presented a fantasy romance, the Shore ballad is a sparse unsentimental narrative. In "A New Sonnet," Deloney gives much greater emphasis to the theme of fortune and has clearly been influenced by the *Mirror*. The first stanza establishes the rise and fall pattern we are expected to observe:

> Listen, faire Ladies,
> Vnto my misery:
> That liued late in pompous state,
> most delightfully.
> And now by Fortune's faire dissimulation,
> Brought to cruell and vncouth plagues,
> most spightfully. (1-7)

The pattern established, Deloney's first person narrator begins to relate the facts of her case. Following her narrative, Shore delivers a four-stanza conclusion which dwells on the details of her change in fortune.

The seven-stanza narrative is primarily a rehearsal of the events of Shore's story, although Deloney does establish a sense of the speaker's character. Deloney presents details which did not appear in either More's or Churchyard's versions. Shore tells us she lived "at the *Flower-de-luce* in *Cheapside*" (10). In keeping with the earlier versions, Shore's family is solidly middle-class:

> The only daughter of a wealthy merchant man,
> Against whose counsel euermore,
> I was rebelling. (12-14)

Deloney does not worry about developing his character's fall: Shore is rebellious from the outset. Shore's parents force her to marry for material gain (19). No argument about the evils of forced marriage is developed by Shore, although we are told her marriage "caused my repenting" (20-21). Shore's fall follows immediately on her marriage:

> Then being wedded,
> I was quickly tempted,
> My beauty caused many Gallants
> to salute me.
> The King commanding, I straight obayed:
> For his chiefest iewel then,

he did repute me. (22-28)

The gallants are another addition by Deloney, but Shore's response to these suitors is not specified. In the Rosamond ballad, Deloney portrays Henry as Rosamond's courtly lover, but here Edward remains Shore's king and superior. Edward commands, and Shore obeys. Deloney seems content to follow Churchyard's depiction of the power relationship. Edward can order Shore's compliance; only after Shore is Edward's mistress does she acquire independent power.

Shore's role at court is dealt with in a single stanza:

Brave was I trained,
Like a Queene I raigned,
And many poore mens suits
by me was obtained. (29-32)

Although Shore sounds proud, she does use her power to help the poor. Deloney does not diminish Shore's influence at court.

Similarly, Richard's response to Shore seems mostly impersonal and political. The accusations of witchcraft are absent. Shore is dispossessed "against all law and right" (41-42), and she is made to perform the public penance scene. Any sexual overtones to the scene have been removed along with the references to the spectators:

In a Procession,
For my transgression,
Bare foot he made me go,

for to shame me.

A Crosse before me there was carried plainly,

As a penance for my former life,

so to tame me. (43-49)

Shore interprets Richard's punishment of her as an action intended to shame her and "tame" or control her. However, Shore does not admit to feeling any shame or penitence and hardly sounds "tamed" by her ordeal. Richard's final command is to prohibit others from aiding her "[o]n paine of death" (54). As Harner points out, Deloney may have acquired this detail from *The True Tragedy* ("Jane Shore" 78-9). The command is a reasonable explanation for her extreme poverty and eventual death which Deloney wants to elaborate.

Many of the details of Shore's experience of poverty are taken from Churchyard's poem, but Deloney shows a real talent for creating the maximum horror and disgust in a few gruesome lines:

My rich attire,

By fortunes yre,

To rotten rags and nakednesse

they are beaten.

My body soft, which the King embraced oft,

With vermine vile annoyd

and eaten. (64-70)

Unlike Churchyard, who describes the hardships of poverty as part of his critique of

the upper class, Deloney ties Shore's miseries to the *de casibus* theme. Deloney contrasts Shore's past luxuries with her final wretchedness throughout this section. The repugnant nature of Shore's downfall is a warning to others, but the nature of the exemplum is uncertain.

In the final stanza, Shore again turns to the fair ladies addressed at the outset:

> Wherefore, Fair Ladies,
> With your sweet babies,
> My grieuous fall beare in your mind,
> and behold me:
> How strange a thing, that the loue of a King
> Should come to dye vnder a stall,
> as I told yee. (78-84)

The extreme nature of Shore's punishment leads obviously enough to the conclusion that Shore has become an object lesson on the subject of adultery: "there is no sympathy accorded her by the author. She simply becomes one more fallen woman, useful as an example to Citizens' wives and daughters" (Harner, "Jane Shore" 79). This conclusion makes sense up to line 81, but then is undermined by Shore's observation that her outcome is "strange." A review of the poem's details suggests Shore does not perceive her crime as adultery and her downfall as her due punishment.

Despite the difficulty of interpreting Shore's conclusion as a moral warning, Beith-Halahmi arrives at a position similar to that of Harner. Beith-Halahmi regards

the Rosamond and Shore ballads as a contrasting pair:

> The story of Shore's wife, as her appellation shows, is that of an adulteress, the wife of a London citizen who, by deceiving her husband, not only committed a mortal sin but also levelled a blow at the self-respect and masculine pride of the male members of her class. Rosamond, on the other hand, is a young unmarried maiden of the upper classes, a "rose" whose story can be viewed as a romance of the young lady in love with her king. (199)

Beith-Halahmi describes exactly the contrast most readers would expect. My difficulty with this reading is the scarcity of evidence. Shore is not rendered the heedless wanton wife the stereotype demands: she is not overweeningly proud of her beauty or thoughtlessly capricious in her use of power. The impact of her behaviour on her husband is never mentioned. The class difference is important in the two ballads: Rosamond is wooed, and Shore is commanded. Class may also offer Rosamond a better chance at being loved by the king. Both women, however, are adulteresses, both are concubines, and both die.

Deloney's ballad characterisation of Shore is simplistic but internally coherent. She consistently blames fortune for her fall. The king's power to command and her own rebelliousness are given equal emphasis by Shore, but they remain contributing not primary causes of her fall. Shore does not demonstrate shame or repentance. Although Shore does twice address herself to the "fair ladies" of her audience, she does not identify herself as an exemplum on adultery. Shore advises

them to "beare in your mind" her fall (80), but she does not warn women to "[d]efye this world, and all his wanton wayes" (*Shore's Wife* 391). If Shore is to be read as a moral exemplum, Deloney must expect Shore's experiences to be interpreted without reliance on the first person narrator. This sophisticated reading requirement seems to exceed the usual demands of a simple ballad. I suspect Deloney's presentation of a strong character who may only indirectly serve as a moral exemplum is a direct result of Churchyard's influence on the ballad. The complex moral position of *Shore's Wife* cannot be conveyed in a short ballad, but Deloney has resisted simplifying this complexity to an overt moral on the punishment of adultery. Deloney does not treat Shore as obviously sympathetically as Churchyard does in his poem, but Deloney does not revile Shore or reduce her to a caricature of her predecessor.

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Unlike Churchyard's *Shore's Wife* or Deloney's ballad, Anthony Chute's *Beawtie Dishonoured written under the Title of Shores Wife*, published in 1593 shows the full impact of Daniel's influence.[1] Although Beith-Halahmi credits Chute with originating the combination of "the 'Mirror' type of complaint poem with its strong moralistic strain, and the courtly, artificial Ovidian epyllion with its playful emphasis on the sensual, mythical aspect of the love tale" (111-12), Chute has clearly been influenced by Daniel's effort to combine genres in his *Rosamond*. Much of Chute's

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[1]Of the original 1593 imprint, only two copies are extant. An edition of the poem appears as an appendix to Willy Budig, *Untersuchungen über "Jane Shore"*, diss., Rostock, Schwerin, 1908, 89-111.

style, content, and treatment of his material betray a considerable debt to Daniel. Poetic skill obviously attracted Chute, but he may also have been looking for a model which would distance him from his immediate source, Churchyard.

Although relatively little is known of Anthony Chute, we do know that he became embroiled in the exchanges between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe. A limited biography can be extracted from Nashe's *Haue with You to Saffron-Walden*, 1596: "[a]llowing for Nashe's distortion, the general outline of Chute's life can be ascertained: He served in the English expedition to Portugal in 1589, drank heavily, and died in late 1594 or early 1595 of the dropsy" (Harner, "Jane Shore" 80). The Harvey-Nashe wranglings may have prompted Chute's poem:

> It is entirely possible that the poem [*Beawtie Dishonoured*] owes its existence to an attempt on Chute's part to embarrass Churchyard. Harvey had commented unfavorably on the elder poet in *Foure Letters* (1592) and Nashe had retaliated by praising "Shores Wife" in *Strange News* (1592). (Harner, "Jane Shore" 81)

As evidence for this argument, Harner points to Nashe's claim that Harvey got Chute's poem published and to the poem's "lack of similarity in detail to the older work" ("Jane Shore" 81). According to Harner, "although Chute assiduously avoided closely copying details from Churchyard's work, it is obvious that he consciously attempted to better 'Shores Wife'" ("Jane Shore" 82). However, because insult not intellectual competition set the tone of the exchanges in the Harvey-Nashe fray, I think it is more likely that Chute's plan was to mock Churchyard and *Shores Wife* while incidentally

writing a superior poem.

Evidence that Chute is mocking Churchyard is the striking difference in the attitudes of the poets to their subject. Although Churchyard includes some moral commentary, we never doubt that he likes and admires the character he depicts and is pleased that the "world hath delighted in" his "talkative wench." His concerns are essentially political, and Shore's reputation is a positive one in that light. Chute, on the other hand, employs every opportunity to undermine Shore's character, which he makes beautiful and pitiful but largely unsympathetic. Chute's Shore is immoral and, therefore, indefensible. Chute creates a version of Shore which is a humourless moral parody of Churchyard's poem.

In Churchyard's poem, we recognised that the mitigating factors for Shore's fall amounted to a defence limited only by the inadvisability of directly criticising royal abuses of power. In *Rosamond*, Daniel pulled back from this position through a number of strategies, including limiting the king's role, increasing the mistress's pride, and developing the mistress's complicity in her fall. Like Daniel, Chute employs similar strategies to shift the greatest part of the blame to the mistress.

In *Beawtie Dishonoured*, Shore's unhappy forced marriage rather than the king's power is the primary catalyst for her adultery, an inversion of the factors in Churchyard's poem. Chute dwells on the evils of forced marriage and alters the original material by aging Shore's husband. Borrowing from Daniel, Chute uses the repulsiveness of the age difference to explain Shore's behaviour (20-21), but Chute soon moves to an expectation of adultery:

Let th'ancient doting therefore be precise

The quicke ey'd young will haue a time to winke it,

Outward apparance can deceaue his eyes,

And she play wanton when he doth not thinke it,

For this as sure as selfe truth shall insue

If age be ielious youth must be untrue. (21)

While Churchyard made us sympathise with the young woman trapped in a loveless marriage, Chute dampens our sympathy with assumptions of deceitfulness.

Chute now begins a systematic distortion of the nature of Shore's character as portrayed by Churchyard. Churchyard assures us of Shore's modesty and chastity prior to her contact with Edward. Chute's Shore is the consummate flirt. In *Beawtie Dishonoured*, Shore is surrounded by suitors who change her "selfe opinion" (22) and impress on her the power of beauty: "I by practise learn'd the worst so well / In wanton arte the best I could excell" (23). Like Daniel, Chute shifts Shore's power from after Shore becomes Edward's mistress to before she is seduced: political power is traded for beauty's limited appeal. Her abilities as a courtier, which are praised by More and Churchyard, are reduced to the abilities of the private mistress by Chute:

My speech from humble, decent, pure, and true,

That hid no secresie in a plainly meaning,

To Courtlike, wanton, pleasant did ensue. (23)

Her "wit" is no longer a matter for praise but is employed for "motiues of desire" (24). Chute's systematic debasement of Shore's character and his emphasis on adultery

create an imperative morality far stronger than any depicted in Deloney's "A New Sonnet."

Shore's reputation soon precedes her in the form of Fame personified "who incenses Edward IV with erotic descriptions of Shore's beauty. Chute's fame is probably derived from Daniel's aged matron" (Harner, "Jane Shore" 86-7). Like the matron, Chute's Fame creates a distance between Shore and the king; there are no scenes of personal appeal or seduction. This distancing is increased by Edward's use of go-betweens who deliver gifts. Unlike Churchyard's Shore, Chute's character can be bought:

> My soule from chastitie, my selfe from me,
> With often presents taught how to retire
> Tasting the profers of a high degree:
> And then me thought though I ner prou'd before
> A kings imbrace was euen a heauen or more. (30)

Having decided Edward represents a good deal, Shore sets out to strengthen her position. Realising that those who are quickly seduced are quickly discarded, Shore plays hard to get (21-22). Shore's resistance is no longer part of a moral struggle, but is a tactical manoeuvre to extend her reign at court. Other virtues are also turned to vices.

Shore's responsible use of power and influence at court is dealt with by Chute in two stanzas:

> And though my life had staine, yet this did mend it,

That I was sorrie such an one to be,

My pittie my respect did still commend it,

And this was commendably praysd in me,

That Sutor wrongs my selfe to right would bring

If right might be procured from the king.

And now so deem'd so highly was I prysed,

No honor was too good, too great for mee,

I could commaund what euer thought deuised,

Delight to sence, or ioyes to mynde to bee:

And whilst I sat seated alone so highe,

The king could but command and so could I. (35)

Shore's pleasure arises less from being able to help others, than from the honours she acquires and the ability to satisfy her personal whims. The first two lines appear to be an ironic dismissal of Churchyard's defense of Shore. Beith-Halahmi points out that the "if" clause at the end of the first stanza "makes her [Shore's] help conditional. Chute implies that she only intervened in cases where success was assured" (128-29). Chute's Shore does not become a significant courtier, and the political lessons which Churchyard explored through the character of Shore are eliminated from *Beawtie Dishonoured.*

Chute's complete change of focus continues as his self-centred beauty encounters the stage tyrant, played by Richard. Richard confronts Shore in person,

accuses her of witchcraft, has her seized by his servants, orders her clothing rent, and sends her from court to beg her living. Chute's version changes "the political council scene in More's *History* to a private confrontation. . . . entirely bereft of its political attributes, it becomes a personal conflict between the cruel tyrant and his slandered victim" (Beith-Halahmi 133). Shore loses her significance as a political figure, and the psychological implications of Richard's actions are brought to the foreground. Without the public penance scene, Richard's actions lack any political motivation: his desire to control Shore's body is no longer a public sign of replacing Edward but becomes a symptom of an uncontrollable attraction to Shore's physical beauty. Richard's persecution of Shore should excite our sympathy, but Shore's knowing description of the impact of her beauty influences our reaction to the scene. Beith-Halahmi discusses the problem created by the "obtrusive" "Ovidian element" and cites stanzas from page 47 and 48 as evidence of Shore's contamination:

> And those unwilling handes that prayd vppon me
> (Happie they held me to behold my bewtie)
> Imbraste me faster with still gazing on me,
> To feede their eyes-listes not performe their duetie
> For had it bin in them I am assured
> Such tyrant lawes I should not haue endured. (48)

As Beith-Halahmi observes, "[t]he Ovidian element . . . negates the pathos by surrounding the heroine who describes the situation erotically, with a subtle aura of depravity" (116). Beith-Halahmi attributes this effect to the use of the first-person

narrative which complicates Chute's efforts to combine the Ovidian and moralistic elements. While I hesitate to suggest that Chute deliberately created this "aura of depravity," I find that his treatment of Shore in this passage corresponds with his overall approach.

Once Shore is put out to beg, the poem ends quickly. Shore is not given time to grow old or ugly, since the frame of the poem is concerned with death's reaction to her beauty. Shore has supposedly delivered the poem as a speech from her deathbed. This new frame for Shore's story also changes the reader's impression of her. Churchyard's Shore was an "eloquent wench," but Chute's Shore begins and concludes in silence. Control of her story is given over to the narrator, a persona of the author of her story, who refers in the first line to "my funerall verse." Five stanzas of Shore's panting, grieving, and crying become a dumb show enjoyed by death (and the narrator):

> Then through transparance of the white was left her,
> Freshly peeres secret glorie of her bloud,
> When euen that death, of life that would haue reft her
> With feare and reuerence amazed stood,
> Doubting, though at the last gaspe she did lye,
> A bewtie so deuine could neuer dye. (8)

Finally, Shore is able to struggle through her grief and into speech:

> When teares the mother issue of greefes restraint
> (Bound in the greatnesse of their owne condition)

Passiue in Action, had performd complaint,

In seene, not heard plea of her harts contrition,

When eyes were dim, when panting she lay wan,

Teares hauing playd their part, her toung began. (8)

"Passive in Action" seems an appropriate description for the role Shore is given. Other than her brief period of active flirtation, Shore is relatively passive throughout her story—particularly at court—and continues the passive role in the telling of her story.

The concluding section of the poem's frame again reduces Shore to panting and groaning:

I must (quoth she) addresse my selfe to death,

And therewithall, clasping her handes in one,

And wresting oft sighes with a deepe fetcht breath,

She panteth forth a poore complayning grone,

When closing fast her eyes (first ope to heauen)

She now seem's both of speech and life bereauen. (51)

The final eleven stanzas of the poem are delivered by the narrator who observes death's reaction to Shore's beauty. Life and death struggle for control until they sort out their claims:

Her body went to death: her fame to life

Thus life, and death, in unitie agreeing

Dated the tenor of their sonderie strife,

Death vow'd her body should be eyed neuer,

Yet life hath vow'd her fame should liue for euer. (54)

Beith-Halahmi observes in this stanza that "slandered beauty is vindicated, since life takes charge of Jane's fame, thus making it everlasting, whereas death, the jealous lover only takes possession of her sinful body" (128). Shore achieves fame in this poem, but a defence is not offered as in Churchyard's poem nor a hope of eternal peace as in Daniel's *Rosamond*. I would not equate Shore's fame with vindication as Beith-Halahmi does. Even in death Shore does not achieve control of her own body but is claimed by yet another covetous male. Shore's final possession by death completes the pattern of passivity and powerlessness which characterises her in Chute's poem.

If Chute is indeed working his way through Churchyard's poem and mutating it into a moral lesson, then Shore's extreme passivity becomes an effective means of negating the power and accomplishments attributed to her by More and Churchyard. By omitting the issues of the king's power and Shore's responsible use of her influence, Chute can emphasise Shore's pride and responsibility for her own fall. Chute condemns Shore not because she is a beauty who is dishonoured by others, as in Churchyard's version, but because she is a woman who has dishonoured beauty through her wanton and adulterous behaviour.

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While Shore's story was being related in courtly poetry and ballads, her presence was also being felt in both academic and popular drama. Shore appears as a

mute character in Thomas Legge's Latin university play, *Richard Tertius*, written between 1573 and 1579/80, and she is also mentioned four times in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, although she does not appear. Shore has much greater dramatic importance in Thomas Heywood's *Edward the Fourth, Parts 1 and 2* (1594-99), but her first central dramatic role is apparently in *The True Tragedy of Richard the Third*.

The True Tragedy was published in 1594, but the play was probably written earlier.[2] The play exists in an incomplete form which shows numerous signs of oral transmission and consequently "seems to be in a rather chaotic state" (Greg vii). Still, the text seems structurally coherent and does allow discussion of Shore's role within the drama as a whole. Irving Ribner, in *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare*, dismisses Shore's role in *The True Tragedy* as "extraneous passages . . . which add nothing to the play" (87). While it is true that Shore appears in only two scenes in *The True Tragedy*, the anonymous playwright's attention to these scenes argues that they are not frivolous additions. Significantly, the author does not stray from his chronicle sources except to include the details of Shore's downfall. Shore is the central character in both of her scenes, and four other characters are created solely for the purpose of interacting with her. If the two scenes do not serve any necessary narrative function, that does not preclude thematic uses of Shore's character, uses the chronicle material alone could not adequately accommodate.

The True Tragedy attempts to cover events from the time of Edward IV's

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[2]A variety of dates have been suggested, ranging from 1588 to 1591. (Harner, "Jane Shore" 119 n. 19)

death until Richard III's defeat by Richmond. Ribner finds *The True Tragedy* a fundamentally simplistic play, with "only one discernible historical purpose and that is to assert the blessings of peace and to affirm the traditional Tudor doctrine . . . that this has been the fruit of the blessed union of the houses of York and Lancaster" (87). Ribner maintains, "[t]he theme of the play is the chaos and discord of Richard's reign and the contrasting peace and prosperity which had come with the triumphs of the Tudors" (88). While Ribner's assessment is essentially accurate, his description fails to convey adequately the complexity of the contrast created by the unknown dramatist, who expends considerable effort on developing a broad social portrait of Richard's impact. As Beith-Halahmi has observed, the Shore scenes

> are meant to show the effect of Richard's usurpation on the commons . . . and since . . . there is no sharp differentiation in style between commoner and noble in the play, low class characters do not produce the effect that some of Shakespeare's country yokels, city grooms, or clowns do. (254-55)

The Shore scenes are not comic digressions but are treated with the same seriousness as the main scenes of the play. The audience's familiarity with the *Mirror* format prepares them to accept the parallelling of characters' fates, even characters as apparently different as Shore and Richard III; consequently, the audience might also be expected to notice other parallels developed through the course of the play and the moments when such similarities are deliberately disrupted. Ambition, betrayal, and hypocrisy are seen to corrupt all levels of society, but those who trust in God

eventually triumph.

The popularity of Shore's legend makes her an economical character for the playwright: only the portions of her background story which are desired for the theme at hand need be developed. Shore's first scene takes place after Edward's death—an event still unknown to her. The scene begins with Shore railing against fortune. Shore's relationship to fortune defines a part of her purpose in *The True Tragedy*. With the news of Edward's death, Shore foresees that she will "be a mirrour and looking glasse, / To all her enemies" (256-57). As Harner notes, "the rise and subsequent fall of Shore, already well documented and made familiar by Churchyard's poem, will be paralleled by that of Richard" ("Jane Shore" 110-111). Initially, then, the playwright uses Shore's story as a parallel to Richard's rise and fall. Similarities between other unlikely characters are developed throughout the play.

Ambition infects characters at all levels of society. Edward IV's dying wish is to create stability between Lord Hastings and "Marcus," the Marquess of Dorset, who "are resolute in their ambition" (107). Using the images of the *Mirror*, Richard declares "I climb" (437), while Richard's Page, who serves a partially choric function, observes "I see my Lord is fully resolued to climbe, but how hee climbes ile leaue that to your iudgements, but what his fall will be thats hard to say" (475-77). The Page also admits to his own ambitions, "[a]s my Lorde hopes to weare the Crown, so I hope by that means to haue preferment" (897-98). Ambition eventually destabilises many of the political alliances, while Richard's campaign of fear leads to other betrayals.

Richard sets the tone of his reign by using accusations of treachery to entrap

his opponents, at the same time as he plots the betrayal of the princes in his charge. Untrustworthy himself, Richard becomes suspicious of everyone. The Page tells us Richard "spares none whom he but mistrusteth to be a hinderer to his proceedings, he is straight chopt vp in prison" (905-6). Despite betraying so many others, including Hastings, Richard reacts with righteous indignation when Blunt and Oxford support Richmond: "O villaines, rebels, fugetiues, theeues, how are we betrayd, when our owne swoordes shall beate vs, and our owne subiects seekes the subuertion of the state" (1630-32). Harner cites further betrayals in the desertion of some of Richard's army at Bosworth ("Jane Shore" 111). As Harner observes, "[o]ne of the most obvious parallels between the main and subplot is the desertion of friends when Fortune fails" ("Jane Shore" 111).

The betrayal of Shore is set in motion by Richard's effective use of fear. Early in his campaign, Richard asserts the value of fear: "A mightie arme wil sway the baser sort, authority doth terrifie" (456). Richard's commands for the persecution of Shore are based on the use of fear:

> And now that Shores wifes goods be confiscate, goe from me to the Bishop of London, and see that she receiue her open penance, let her be turnd out of prison, but so bare as a wretch that worthily hath deserued that plague: and let there be straight proclaimation made by my Lord the Mayor, that none shall releeue her nor pittie her, and priuie spies set in euerie corner of the Citie, that they may take notice of them that releeues her: for as her beginning was most

> famous aboue all, so will I haue her end most infamous aboue all.
>
> (1007-1016)

In *Richard the Third Up to Shakespeare*, George B. Churchill notes that the confiscation and penance are from More, and the begging from the *Mirror for Magistrates*, but the mayor's proclamation and the use of spies are the additions of the author of *The True Tragedy* (437). In the scene with Shore that follows, we see the success of Richard's plan. Lodowick, the Citizen, and Morton had all previously promised Shore their assistance in gratitude for the favours she obtained for them. In Shore's second scene, each of the men she has helped reject her.

Lodowick does not recognise the begging Shore, but swears "as I am a gentleman, I will pittie thee" (1060-61). His oath is soon forgotten, when he learns her identity:

> I cannot deny but my lands she restored me, but shall I by releeuing of her hurt my selfe, no: for straight proclamation is made that none shall succour her, therefore for feare I should be seene talke with her, I will shun her company and get me to my chamber, and there set downe in heroicall verse, the shameful end of a Kings Concubin, which is no doubt as wonderfull as the desolation of a kingdome. (1073-79)

Lodowick will not risk his own safety to help Shore. Although his desire to record her story in "heroicall verse" suggests a continued measure of respect, we must wonder if the poem will not be one more way for Lodowick to benefit from Shore.

Like Lodowick, the Citizen is willing to help Shore, until he realises her identity. Once again fear leads to betrayal:

> I would not for twentie pounds haue giuen her one farthing, the proclamation is so hard by king Richard. Why minion are you she that was the dishonour to the King? the shame to her husband, the discredit to the Citie?. . . . O neighbour I grow verie choloricke, and thou didst saue the life of my soone, why if thou hadst not, another would: and for my part, I would he had bene hangd seuen yeeres ago, it had saued me a great deal of mony then. (1119-28)

The Citizen's moral condemnation of Shore is hardly likely to impress us, when he is willing to wish his own son dead. The Citizen betrays Shore and changes from gratitude for her saving of his son's life to ingratitude. The Citizen's disregard for his son's life foreshadows Lord Stanley's pledge of his own son's life to Richard: "say that I leaue my sonne vnto the King, and that I should but aide Earle Richmond, my sonne George Standley dies" (1550-52). Later, when Richard demands Stanley's support, Stanley sends answer through Catsbie: "he answered, he had another sonne left to make Lord Standley" (1937-38). Only through the kindness of two messengers is George Stanley's life saved. This parallel suggests the Citizen has betrayed his son in betraying Shore.

The final suitor to betray Shore is Morton, a serving man. Of the three men she has helped, Morton is the least well off, but he is willing to help. Morton is prepared to share what he has, but the Page enters and interrupts them:

> *Seru.* [Morton]. . . . In troth mistress Shore, my store is but small, yet as it is, weele part stakes, but soft I cannot do what I would, I am watcht.
>
> Enters Page.
>
> *Shore.* Good Morton releeue me.
>
> *Seru.* What should I releeue my Kings enemy?
>
> *Shore.* Why thou promist thou wouldst.
>
> *Seru.* I tell thee I wil not, & so be answered.
>
> Sownes I would with all my heart, but for yonder villaine, a plague on him. (1151-59)

Morton is the most generous of the three men, but even he is frightened off by Richard's spy. Alliances based on political expedience, blood relationships, or moral debts of gratitude are all susceptible in the fearful and unstable climate created by Richard. The Shore scenes are particularly useful for demonstrating the breakdown of friendships among the lower classes.

The Shore scenes also demonstrate how betrayal may be justified by moral condemnation. The censuring of Shore's behaviour by the Citizen shows the hypocrisy which infects the realm. Richard is, of course, the most hypocritical character, manipulating justice and morality for his own ends. Richard's indictment of Hastings is portrayed as a nearly casual afterthought:

> *Rich.* Come bring him away, let this suffice, thou and that accursed sorceresse the mother Queene hath bewitched me, with assistance of

> that famous strumpet of my brothers, Shores wife: my withered arme is a sufficient testimony. (943-46)

Similar perversions of justice occur throughout the play. Just as justice has little to do with Hastings' execution, morality has little to do with the persecution of Shore.

All of the characters who condemn Shore on moral grounds are disreputable themselves. In addition to Richard and the Citizen, Shore is finally tormented by the Page. After Morton's exit, the Page begins to taunt Shore:

> *Page.* Why twere pitie to do thee good, but me thinkes she is fulsome and stinkes.
>
> *Shore.* If I be fulsome shun my company, for none but thy Lord sought my miserie, and he hath vndone me.
>
> *Page.* Why hath he vndone thee? nay thy wicked and naughtie life hath vndone thee, but if thou wantest maintenance, why doest thou not fall to thy old trade againe? (1164-1170)

The Page continues to moralise, but the audience is hardly likely to identify with him. A man truly bothered by the keeping of mistresses (or as he implies, prostitution) would hardly encourage Shore to continue in the "trade." Shore's dignified response signals her refusal to banter with her tormentor: "Nay villaine, I haue done open penance, and am sorie for my sinnes that are past" (1171-72). Shore justly remarks, "Why hang thee, if thy faults were so written in thy forehead as mine is, it would be as wrong with thee" (1175-76). Her comment points to Richard's corruption of justice, since the Page's crimes are far weightier than any of Shore's sins. Unlike the

Page in either More or Shakespeare, the Page of *The True Tragedy* participates in Richard's plan to murder the Princes:

> *Rich.* Why thus it is, I would haue my two Nephewes the yoong Prince and his brother secretly murthered, Sownes villaine tis out, wilt thou do it? or wilt thou betray me?
>
> *Page.* My Lord you shall see my forwardnesse herein, I am acquainted with one Iames Terrell . . . (992-6)

The Page's criticism of Shore is the least effective, since his own behaviour implicates him in the worst of Richard's villainy. The Shore scenes are an important part of the process of evaluation developed in *The True Tragedy*, demonstrating as they do the socially pervasive corruption resulting from Richard's influence. Nevertheless, the two scenes may be more important for the differences rather than the parallels they indicate.

Despite Shore's beggarly condition in her final scene, her character is ultimately hopeful rather than pitiful. In a play where ambition is rife, Shore represents disinterested generosity. She reminds us of her generosity in a speech to her maid:

> For thou knowest this Hursly, I haue bene good to all,
> And still readie to preferre my friends,
> To what preferment I could,
> For what was it his grace would deny Shores wife?
> Of any thing, yea were it halfe his reuenewes,

> I know his grace would not see me want,
>
> And if his grace should die,
>
> As heauens forfend it should be so,
>
> I haue left me nothing now to comfort me withall. (213-21)

Shore has not been generous to others for mercenary reasons, nor has she been using her position with the king to acquire personal wealth. The first scene continues with Lodowick, the Citizen, and Morton all paying tribute to her generosity. Shore is a realist, however, and anticipates that those she has helped will not return the favour. Shore foresees the betrayals that will follow: "Those whom I haue done most good, will now forsake me" (251). The assistance Shore has offered others has not been out of an expectation of future repayment. Shore's generosity distinguishes her from the other characters in the play but does not provide Shore with any apparent benefits in this world. The Shore scenes also serve as reminders of another world where we may expect Shore's deeds to be rewarded.

With the morally corrosive effects of Richard's reign evident everywhere in the play's society, it is easy to lose sight of the Christian framework which will lead inevitably to the defeat of the tyrant. Ribner points to the play's emphasis on the opposition of Christian and classical attitudes:

> The play is of some further significance in indicating the opposition between the Christian and the classical views of history. Richard III, the villain, never calls upon God for assistance, or attributes events to the will of providence. . . . it is always upon fortune that

he calls for aid. (88)

Ribner also notes that Richmond "constantly calls upon God, as the guiding force of the universe, for help in his cause" (89). Harner makes the connection between the Shore scenes and Ribner's observations: "Shore begins as did Richard, trusting upon Fortune; however, she ends, as does Richmond, calling on God" ("Jane Shore" 113). The connection is a significant one; however, Harner does not indicate the differing attitudes to fortune expressed by Shore and Richard.

Although the topic of Fortune attracts the interest of both Shore and Richard, Shore's first speech is a realist's rejection of Fortune:

> *Shore*: And Fortune I would thou hadst neuer fauoured me.
>
> *Hursly*: Why mistresse, if you exclaime against Fortune,
>
> You condemne your selfe,
>
> For who hath aduanced you but Fortune?
>
> *Shore*: I as she hath aduanced me,
>
> So may she throw me downe. (200-205)

Her pragmatism contrasts sharply with Richard's apostrophe to Fortune which follows soon after:

> Why so, now Fortune make me a King, Fortune giue me a kingdome . . . if I be but King for a yeare, nay but halfe a yeare, nay a moneth, a weeke, three dayes, one day, or halfe a day, nay an houre, swounes half an houre, nay sweete Fortune, clap but the Crowne on my head, that the vassals may but once say, God saue

King *Richards* life, it is inough. (443-49)

Although both characters acknowledge fortune's role in their lives, Shore's attitude prepares us for her later penitence. Shore's final speech turns to prayer:

> Therefore sweet God forgiue all my foule offence:
>
> And though I haue done wickedly in this world,
>
> Into hell fire, let not my soule be hurld. (1185-88)

Shore's awareness of potential damnation is echoed in Richard's final words, yet Richard remains impenitent:

> golden thoughts that reached for a Crowne, danted before by Fortunes cruell spight, are come as comforts to my drooping heart, and bids me keepe my Crowne and die a King. These are my last, what more I haue to say, iie make report among the damned soules. (1995-99)

Finally, Shore allies herself with the restorative powers figured by Richmond. Shore reminds us of debts and reckonings beyond this world in the scene immediately prior to the killing of the princes and four scenes before the arrival of Richmond. The Shore scene reminds the audience that providence is at work in the realm even when things seem the bleakest, and Shore's penitence provides hope for salvation on the individual level.

The play dramatises the plight of the commoner swept up in the plots of the tyrant. The dilemma may be best expressed by the innkeeper who must choose between resisting Richard or handing his keys over and betraying Lord Rivers:

> Alasse what shall I do? who were I best to offend? shall I betraie that good olde Earle that hath laine at my house this fortie yeares? why and I doe hee will hang me: nay then on the other side, if I should not do as my Lord Protector commands, he will chop off my head, but is there no remedie? (569-73)

Shore's story suggests that the answer may lie in Christian consolation: there may be no remedy now, but ultimately the accounts will be settled. Passive resistance is the conventional response. In "An Exhortacion concernyng Good Ordre and Obedience to Rulers and Magistrates," the homilist leaves some role for the individual conscience:

> let us beleve undoubtedly, good Christian people, that we may not obey kynges, magistrates, or any other, though thei be our awne fathers, if thei would commaunde us to do any thyng contrary to Gods commaundementes. . . . nevertheles in that case, we maye not in any wyse resist violently or rebell against rulers, or make any insurrection . . . against the anoynted of the Lord or any of his appointed officers. But we must in suche case paciently suffre all wronges and injuries, referrying the judgement of oure cause onely to God. (167)

Shore's Christ-like patience in her suffering is eventually rewarded.

Shore's resistance of Richard is entirely passive, but <u>is</u> successful. Richard's goal in humiliating and impoverishing Shore is not to bring about her contrition and forgiveness, nor is she being used as an example to other adulterers. As

Richard describes it, his goal is "as her beginning was most famous aboue all, so will I haue her end most infamous aboue all" (1014-16). Richard's use of the terms "famous" and "infamous" is puzzling. If the words are employed in the usual fashion, then Shore is surely already "infamous," as Edward IV's mistress. Forced penance and poverty will not further blacken her reputation. I suspect Richard really means to pose "famous" and "infamous" as opposites, using "in" in the negative sense "not."

In Shore's scene which follows Richard's proclamation, we find evidence for a reading of "infamous" as "not famous." Shore enters much as she does in the *Mirror* mourning over her shame. She meets with Lodowick, the Citizen, and Morton in turn. At each encounter she is first unrecognized as she begs for assistance and then is rejected when she makes herself known. Churchill finds their failure to recognize Shore "absurd" (437), but for a mistress whose initial acquisition of power depended on her appearance nothing could demonstrate more clearly her loss of influence. Richard's persecution of Shore has not really made her "infamous" as in "notorious" but has instead erased her fame, made her unrecognisable. Richard's need to eradicate Shore's fame is understandable when we realise how much Richard desires fame himself. Richard's primary motivation for pursuing the kingship is not power or riches but fame. Richard declares, "I regard more the glorie then the gaine, for the very name of a King redouble[s] a mans life with fame, when death hath done his worst" (437-39). Richard wants to be remembered after his death, and he believes "fame conqueres death" (398). Richard's vendetta against Shore is a jealous attempt to strip her of the fame she has acquired.

Shore survives Richard's persecution both literally and figuratively. Shore's final lines, delivered after the Page's exit, express the penitence we have already considered but also reflect on Richard's fate:

> And all such vsurping kings as thy Lord is, may come to a shamefull end, which no doubt I may liue yet to see. (1184-85)

Shore is not shown dying in a ditch, nor is there any reason to assume she dies off stage. Following More rather than Churchyard, *The True Tragedy* leaves Shore alive to see her tormentor's death. On the secular level, Richard's scheme is unsuccessful because Lodowick's poem in the play and the play itself both confirm Shore's continued fame. On the religious level, Richard's forced humiliation of Shore is transformed by his intended victim into a sincere penance which provides hope of her salvation. The significant differences between Shore and Richard are underscored by one final parodic similarity. Richmond issues a proclamation for Richard's body to be publicly humiliated:

> I will it be proclaimed presently, that traytrous Richard
> Be by our command, drawne through the streets of *Lester*,
> Starke naked on a Colliers horse let him be laide,
> For as of others paines he had no regard,
> So let him haue a traytors due reward. (2153-57)

Richard ultimately becomes the kind of spectacle he had tried to make Shore; however, unlike Shore, Richard is beyond any hope of contrition and forgiveness. In the decision to leave Shore alive, the playwright raises the possibility that the abused

commoner may outlive the powerful tyrant. Although overt resistance is futile, moral passive resistance may conquer.

*

Thomas Heywood's *The First and Second Parts of King Edward the Fourth* (1600) constitute a radical redirection of the Shore legend. Like Chute, Heywood sets out to deliver a moral and to repudiate the earlier interpretations of Shore's story and their resulting lessons. For Heywood, Shore is an exemplum on neither courtiership nor passive resistance but on the evils of adultery. Shore is stripped of her political significance and is consistently condemned for her sin; all earlier defences for her behaviour are rewritten or refuted. Unlike Chute's moral, however, the lesson advanced by Heywood focuses on Shore's husband, "Matthew," the brave and loyal citizen, while Shore herself is pushed to the margin of her story.[3]

Heywood's moral intentions for his drama are specified in *An Apology for Actors* published in 1612. Plays, according to Heywood, present models of courage, patriotism, and morality which will so move the spectator that he or she will be improved through emulation. Heywood asks,

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[3]As Harner points out "[n]ecessity forced Heywood to invent Christian names for the Shores: husband and wife would be expected to call one another by first names" ("Jane Shore" 137 n.5). For convenience sake, I will use "Jane" and "Matthew" during this discussion. Because we now know "Jane" was really Elizabeth and because the name "Jane" does not appear before Heywood's play, I have not referred to Shore's wife as "Jane" Shore throughout these chapters.

> what English blood seeing the person of any bold English man presented and doth not hugge his fame, and hunnye at his valor . . . so bewitching a thing is liuely and well spirited action, that it hath power to new mold the harts of the spectators and fashion them to the shape of any noble and notable attempt. (*An Apology*)

Historical plays are used "to perswade men to humanity and good life, to instruct them in ciuility and good manners, shewing them the fruits of honesty, and the end of villany" (*An Apology*). In *Edward IV*, Matthew Shore is the epitome of the ideal citizen—brave, loyal, and virtuous.

Matthew's prominence is established from his first scene: he appears in the company of the Lord Mayor of London and is involved in the plans to defend the city against the rebellion led by Falconbridge. An officer sent from the Mayor informs Matthew of the role the goldsmith is to play in the return attack:

> You being Captaine of two companies,
> In honour of your valour and your skill,
> Must leade the vaward. (24)[4]

Matthew's bravery is matched by his modesty. When Edward IV knights those who led the defence, Matthew declines the honour as being above him (33). Matthew's exemplary nature is further enhanced by the sympathy his situation evokes. In spite of being in Matthew's debt, Edward pursues Matthew's wife: "[i]n the eyes of the

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[4]All quotations of *Edward IV* are cited by page from *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, vol. 1.

audience, the King is guilty not merely of adultery but also of ingratitude to a loyal subject" (Harner, "Jane Shore" 130). Audience sympathy for Matthew is maintained during and after Jane's seduction:

> whereas the traditional figure of the cuckold husband had been one of ridicule, Heywood endows his hero with dignity. Although his passive endurance of the King's campaign to seduce his wife does not allow him to become a tragic figure, he has at least the qualities of strength, uncompromising virtue and resolute loyalty.
>
> (Beith-Halahmi 296-7)

Matthew's resigned acceptance of Jane's fate does not signal any weakening of his moral position. As Harner observes, Matthew's consistent refusal to take Jane back is a sign of his moral superiority ("Jane Shore" 131). Although he is the wronged husband, Matthew shows pity for Jane by attempting to bring her food after she is dispossessed (171). Finally, at their mutual deaths, Matthew forgives Jane and is reconciled with her (182-83). Left alone on the stage after Jane's death, Matthew delivers his final speech:

> Oh, vnconstant world,
>
> Here lies a true anatomie of thee,
>
> A king had all my ioy, that her enioyed,
>
> And by a king again she was destroyed.
>
> All ages of my kingly woes shall tell.
>
> Once more, inconstant world farewell, farewell.

He dyes. (183)

The story and the fame now belong to Matthew not Jane. He is the sympathetic model citizen the audience should use as a civic and moral guide.

The price of Matthew's exemplary nature is the absence of political and moral complexity in the play. Heywood

> is not concerned with the more abstract problems of government. The rights of kings, the problems which usurpation poses for the honest citizen, are voiced in the play, but the only answer to these complicated matters which Heywood can offer is that of legalism—the duty of upholding the *status quo*.
>
> (Beith-Halahmi 311)

The simplification of political choices in the realm of Heywood's play is demonstrated in the Falconbridge rebellion. Falconbridge wants to free Henry VI from imprisonment in the Tower of London. Falconbridge is a bit like Hotspur, admirable for his bravado, but his supporters are uniformly villainous. One of the apprentices who defends London characterises the rebels as the criminal class:

> You are those desperate, idle, swaggering mates,
> That haunt the suburbes in the time of peace,
> And raise vp ale-house brawls in the streete;
> . . . . . .
> Your pilfring fingers break into our locks,
> Vntil at *Tyburn* you acquit the fault. (18)

Honest citizens recognise their duty in supporting the force of stability, in this case, Edward IV. No citizen is portrayed struggling with divided loyalties; no family is split between support of the old king and support of the new. Likewise, once Richard has attained power, he becomes the figure to support: "Matthew . . . does his best to defend his dead king's two sons, yet he recognizes the authority of King Richard after they are killed" (Beith-Halahmi 311). Beyond the support of middle class interests in the form of political stability, the ordinary citizen has no business meddling in the affairs of state.

In Heywood's universe, there is simply no place for a royal mistress like Churchyard's Snore who negotiates the subtle politics of court to help those she can. In the problematic worlds of *Shore's Wife* and *The True Tragedy*, the defences of Shore's behaviour are presented in all seriousness in recognition of the complexity of her situation. In *Edward IV*, Jane's choices are between good and evil, and she makes the wrong decision. Jane cannot find love; she can only lose it. Her power is never real. Her good deeds are performed for the wrong reasons and are private not political acts. Jane is guilty of adultery, is punished accordingly, and is an example to others.

A desire for love, which might arouse audience sympathy or identification, is never part of Jane's motivation. Heywood carefully eliminates from his play all suggestions that Jane was forced into an unhappy, loveless marriage. This theme, which would have appealed to Heywood's audience, would also have created sympathy for Jane. Heywood does not want to leave Jane <u>any</u> justification for her adultery; consequently, he portrays the relationship between Matthew and Jane as

mutually loving. Similar emotional rewards are not part of Jane's relationship with the king: "[i]t is noticeable that in this drama on the seduction of a beautiful woman by a handsome king, the only love scenes are those that take place between the husband and wife before the courtship of the King begins" (Beith-Halahmi 285). Jane expresses both respect and fear of Edward but nowhere does she declare she loves him. When confronted with the queen's mercy, for example, Jane encourages the king to banish herself and love his queen (130). Although Jane is overcome by emotion in this scene, her readiness to part from Edward suggests her lack of emotional attachment to him. Jane must not love the king: at the level of plot, Jane must remain in love with Matthew for a reconciliation to be convincing; and, at the level of moral, the role of mistress cannot appear to offer any rewards comparable to those of a respectable marriage. Jane cannot find emotional satisfaction with the king; she can only lose the loving relationship she has with Matthew.

Jane's motivations for succumbing to the king are unclear: "Jane seeks the advice of her hypocritical neighbour Mistress Blague. Blague, an invention of Heywood but derived from Daniel's "seeming Matrone," summarizes the arguments for becoming the King's mistress" (Harner, "Jane Shore" 123). Blague argues that the king can lessen Jane's fault and that Jane will acquire power and glory (74). The arguments apparently leave Jane in doubt, but in the next scene the king adds his own persuasions. Although the king appears in disguise in Matthew's shop apparently ready to woo Jane, he eventually loses patience with the courtly game. Edward's power is momentarily revealed:

But, leauing this our enigmatick talke,

Thou must sweete *Jane*, repaire vnto the Court.

His tongue intreates, controuls the greatest peer:

His hand plights loue, a royall sceptre holds;

And in his heart he hath confirmd thy good,

Which may not, must not, shall not be withstood.

Jane. If you inforce me, I haue nought to say;

But wish I had not liued to see this day. (76)

In Churchyard's poem, the king's power to coerce is treated as a serious subject and is recognised as a highly important factor in Shore's fall. Why is the king's power never as convincing a mitigating factor in Heywood's play?

Despite the overt statement of power by the king and Jane's joyless acquiescence, the audience is never invited to sympathise with Jane as a woman forced to become a concubine. Jane's resignation and regret expressed in the speech above are undercut by her earlier avowal of fidelity to Matthew:

Jane. . . . The greatest prince the Sunne did

euer see,

Shall neuer make me proue vntrue to thee.

Shore. I feare not faire means, but a rebels force.

Jane. These hands shall make this body a dead corse

Ere force or flattery shall mine honour stain.

Shore. True fame suruiues, when death the flesh hath slain. (24)

Jane has already promised to kill herself before yielding to force, and Matthew has validated the choice. In spite of the completely Christian context of the story, both characters approve of the Lucrece solution.

In the context of the play, Jane's firm resolve should protect her from Edward's advances. Edward himself denies the impact of his power by asserting Jane's ability to reject his suit. When Edward is first attracted to Jane at the Mayor's reception, he muses "If chast resolue be to such beauty tide, / Sue how thou canst, thou wilt be still denide" (61). Whether courted by king or commoner, the woman remains solely responsible for the defence of her chastity. In Heywood's moral universe, we cannot sympathise with Jane for succumbing to the enormous pressure exerted by a powerful monarch. Heywood's Edward purports to believe that "no means no": Jane's fault is in failing to consistently resist the king.

Sympathy is further deflected from Jane by continual reminders of the fundamental weakness of women. The underlying similarity of all women is first depicted comically in the scene where Hobs, the Tanner of Tamworth, encounters the Queen and Duchess who are out hunting. Hob mistakes their enquiries about the deer for flirtatious banter, then explains his error by pointing to the similarity of all women when masked: "See, if all gentlewomen be not alike when their blacke faces be on! I tooke the Queene, as I am a true tanner, for mistress Ferris" (40). The similarity of all women noted comically by the tanner takes on a more serious aspect when we are reminded of the moral weakness that all women share. In the scene of confrontation between the queen and Jane, the queen berates Jane, threatens her with a knife, but

finally kneels and embraces her:

> *Jane*, I forgiue thee. What fort is so strong,
> But, with besieging, he will batter it?
> Weep not (sweet *Jane*) alas, I know thy sex,
> Toucht with the self-same weaknes that thou art:
> And if my state had beene as meane as thine,
> And such a beauty to allure his eye
> (Though I may promise much to mine owne strength),
> What might haue hapt to mee I cannot tell. (129)

The queen's mercy may establish her as Jane's moral superior, but the queen's acknowledgment of a sisterhood of weakness suggests that this superiority may only be a consequence of circumstances beyond a woman's control. The "natural" weakness of women eliminates the dramatist's need for rationalising Jane's fall. Without extraordinary motives for her fall, Jane cannot be sufficiently unique to arouse the audience's sympathy.

The same scene between the queen and Jane establishes the powerlessness of the royal mistress. The scene ends with Edward belatedly arriving to rescue Jane from the queen and Dorset. Sir Robert Brackenburie, the constable of the Tower, enters to attempt once again to obtain the king's pardon for Stranguidge, an English ship captain, and his crew. Stranguidge and the crew stand condemned for attacking a French ship while unaware of a new treaty between England and France. The queen and Jane, kneeling on either side of the king, appeal to him to repeal the death

sentences, but Edward remains obdurate. Jane adds a further appeal for the life of Stranguidge's innocent passenger—the as yet unrevealed Matthew—but again the king refuses. Edward later overturns his decision, and Jane rushes to the scaffold with the general pardon (138-39). Although Jane delivers the pardon, the point has been made that her power is insubstantial. Unlike Churchyard, Heywood wants us to perceive the mistress's reliance on the king's power as distinct from the reliance of the male courtiers. Neither the queen nor the royal mistress is credited with effective access to power.

In *Shore's Wife* and *The True Tragedy*, Jane's willingness to use her power in aid of others is a lesson in political responsibility. Chute limits references to Jane's good deeds and suggests selfish motivations for her generosity. Heywood also makes use of essentially selfish motivation for Jane's good deeds; however, this selfishness arises not from pride but from misplaced remorse. As Jane provides the pardon for John Ayre's son, she refuses payment and expresses her sense of guilt:

> *Jane.* What think ye that I buie and sell for bribes
> His highness fauour, or his subiects blood?
> No, without gifts, God grant I may do good.
> For all my good cannot redeeme my ill;
> Yet to doe good I will endeuour still. (82)

Good deeds alone cannot obtain Jane's redemption. In case we have missed the point, the scene is accompanied by asides from Matthew. Matthew adds, "Yet all this good doth but guild ore thy ill" (82) Jane's good deeds cannot atone for her sin, nor do

they create an acceptable identity for her.

In earlier versions of Jane's story, her generosity became an integral part of her identity, gave meaning to her position in society. Ayre's attempt to name Jane corresponds to this earlier tradition: "Her name is Mistresse *Shore*, the kings beloued; / A special friend to suitors at the court" (81). Matthew refutes this identification later in the scene:

> Thou wast a wife, but now thou art not so;
>
> Thou wast a maid, a maid when thou wast wife;
>
> Thou wast a wife, euen when thou wast a maide;
>
> So good, so modest, and so chaste thou wast!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Thy wifehood staind, by thy dishonour'd life.
>
> For now thou art nor widow, maide, nor wife. (84)

Matthew invokes the same proverb which will be used to unclassify Mariana in *Measure for Measure*. The good deeds which have previously been a significant part of Jane's identity and defence are now reinterpreted and diminished by her wronged husband. In addition, Jane's deeds are depoliticised by their removal from the court, and are portrayed more as the deeds of a private almsgiver than as the appropriately used signs of a courtier's power. Jane's generosity may be praised by her suitors, but Matthew's accompanying commentary cautions the audience against believing that this behaviour can redeem Jane.

In Heywood's version of the legend, Jane's story does not offer reflections

on the vicissitudes of fortune, the evils of forced marriage, the power of the king to coerce his subjects, or the duties of the good courtier. Jane is an object lesson on the consequences of adultery. Jane's adultery (not the king's ingratitude) is perceived by Matthew as the cause of his misfortunes: "by my wife came all these woes to passe" (125). Adultery leads inevitably to Jane's misery and eventually her mortification. Jane responds to her penance with a torrent of self-disgust and remorse. When told by her apparitors that she may remove her "robe of shame," she responds,

> My robe of shame? Oh, that so foule a name
> Should be applied vnto so faire a garment!
> Which is no more to be condemned of shame
> Then snow of putrefaction is deserued,
> To couer an infectious heap of dung. (165)

Like Chute's Shore, Jane is reduced to the language of tears and sighs:

> Let hearts deepe throbbing sighs be all my bread;
> My drink salt teares; my guests repentant thoughts
> That whoso knew me, and doth see me now,
> May shun by me the breach of wedlocks vow. (166)

Jane interprets her story as an exemplum on adultery with an additional lesson on the undeserved loyalty of husbands. When Matthew is arrested for ignoring Richard's proclamation and attempting to aid her, Jane declares, "Fair dames, behold! let my example proue, / There is no loue like to a husbands loue" (175). Although Matthew's refusal to take Jane back results in her death, Jane joyfully embraces death

as a "dying marriage" which reunites her with her husband (183). Adultery is a sin which calls for extreme punishment and penance before redemption is possible. Matthew's forbearance may extend to forgiving Jane, but complete marital reconciliation in this world is not possible.

Nothing in *The First and Second Parts of King Edward the Fourth* suggests any interest in accessing a female point of view. Jane is not provided with even a rudimentary psychology, as we have seen in the lack of motivation for her fall. Her potential sphere of significance has been drastically curtailed. Where other versions of Shore's story recognise a woman's potential access to status, wealth, and power through the role of royal mistress, Heywood suggests all of these benefits are illusory. Heywood may incorporate useful details from his predecessors including Churchyard, Chute, and Daniel, but he employs only those elements which will not create an ambiguous response to Jane and to her relationship with the king. Matthew cannot serve as a civic and moral model if he is implicated in Jane's adultery. For the character of Matthew to have its fullest impact, our sympathies must remain securely with him.

Matthew is introduced first; he provides the moral commentary to Jane's scenes; he gives the final speech as he and Jane die. Matthew's point of view, not Jane's, is central to Heywood's *Edward IV*. When the stories of royal mistresses are approached as male fantasies, it is usually assumed that the fantasy is from the perspective of the monarch; Heywood's play, however, is the fantasy of the wronged husband. Unlike other versions of Shore's legend, Heywood's telling exculpates the

husband from any part in his wife's adultery. A wife's adultery may occur without reasonable motivation and consequently does not reflect unfavourably on a husband's age, virility, or other husbandly qualities. This comforting fantasy continues when the audience realises that Jane benefits less from her alliance with the king than she did from her marriage to a middle class merchant. Before her fall, Jane was protected by a husband who saved her from Falconbridge; after her fall, Jane is left vulnerable to attacks by the queen and Dorset. As Matthew's wife, Jane enjoyed the prestige of hosting civic events for the Lord Mayor, while Jane's power and influence as a mistress are empty. Finally, the fantasy offered is one of control. Although his wife is one king's mistress and falls under the proclamation of a second king, Matthew retains ultimate control of Jane's fate. Matthew decides he will not take her back, that her suffering will continue, and that she will die. Interpretative control of the character is also managed through the husband, who provides the moral commentary in the scenes where the audience is in danger of appreciating or approving of Jane. Ambiguity, which other treatments included or fostered, is systematically eliminated by Heywood in order to control the lessons of *Edward IV*.

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When Drayton comes to portray Shore in *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, she is a popular literary figure, but the nature of her character is not fixed. The alternatives range from the positive portrait by Churchyard who emphasises Shore's vulnerability in the face of parental and royal pressure and her power after she becomes Edward's mistress, to the censorious portrait by Heywood who emphasises Shore's moral

weakness and adultery and her powerlessness as a royal mistress. Drayton creates a curious and seemingly contradictory portrait of Shore by combining unexpected aspects of the Shore legend, but is Drayton's version of Shore's character simply the result of using too many sources without regard to interpretative stance or is some other purpose served?

Drayton is influenced by Heywood.[5] The Argument which introduces "Edward the Fourth to Mistres *Shore*" demonstrates Heywood's impact on the epistles:

> EDWARD *the Fourth bewitch'd with the Report*
> *Of Mistres* SHORE, *resounded through his Court;*
> *Steales to the Citie in a strange Disguise.* (2: 247)

Drayton uses Heywood's disguised visit by the king as the occasion for Edward writing to Shore. An exchange of letters is appropriate at this moment in the relationship but sets the epistles prior to the most familiar and most frequently developed elements of Shore's legend. Harner observes that Drayton has pre-empted the usual moralisations: "there is no hint in the poems *per se* of any moral condemnation of Mistress Shore. And, of course, the portion of the legend he treats precludes any intrusion of the Tudor myth" ("Jane Shore" 146). If the morals are pre-empted, so are most of the defenses of Shore's behaviour. Drayton has concentrated our attentions on Shore's personality at the moment of her seduction, isolated from the

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[5]Tillotson supports this chronology: "comparison suggests that D[rayton] had seen the play before writing his Epistle" (5: 126). Harner also supports this position ("Jane Shore" 144).

events of her story which follow. The characters of both Edward and Shore which are exposed at this private, self-indulgent moment owe much to Heywood's *Edward IV*.

Edward's epistle is full of predictable courtly compliments, but the rhetoric of seduction is disrupted by Edward's preoccupation with Shore's husband and the images of the goldsmith's trade. Heywood's Matthew Shore recognised his wife's seduction as an injury against himself, and Drayton's Edward IV regards Shore's husband as his rival. Edward begins his epistle to Shore by wishing for the eradication of his rival's sign of ownership:

> Ah, would to God thy Title were no more,
>
> That no remembrance might remaine of SHORE,
>
> To countermaund a Monarchs high desire,
>
> And barre mine Eyes of what they most admire! (3-6)

"Countermaund" and "barre" suggest active opposition of the king's will and ignore the legal and moral rights of marriage. By positioning Shore's husband as a direct rival, Edward reduces himself to the bourgeois king who was criticised for mingling too freely with his subjects.

A few lines later, Edward again turns to the subject of Shore's husband, this time depicting him as a miser: "Who having all, yet knowes not what is had" (20). Edward portrays his rival as unappreciative of Shore's beauty, while reporting that he himself was "strucken dumbe with wonder" by the sight of her (15). Describing his disguised visit to the shop, Edward recounts the husband's display of his wares:

> But yet I knew that he had one Jewell more,

And deadly curst him, that he did deny it,

That I might not for Love or Money buy it. (40-42)

Again Edward portrays himself as more aware of Shore's value than her husband, while dramatising the strength of his own passions by cursing Shore's husband.

Edward moves from the subject of Shore's husband to present a catalogue of flattering images only to turn back abruptly to the original topic:

Me thinkes thy Husband takes his marke awry,

To set his Plate to sale, when thou art by;

When they which doe thy Angell-locks behold,

As the base Drosse, doe but respect his Gold. (71-4)

Although he continues to compliment Shore through this section, Edward is preoccupied with thoughts of his rival. Casting a merchant as a miser is a predictable enough rhetorical strategy, but here Edward directs his criticism at his rival's skills as a merchant.

Near the conclusion of his epistle, Edward challenges Shore:

Then know the diff'rence (if thou list to prove)

Betwixt a Vulgar and a Kingly love;

And when thou find'st, as now thou doubt'st, the troth,

Be thou thy selfe unpartiall Judge of both. (159-62)

Here Edward sounds completely confident of his own superiority, but Edward's continuing awareness of his rival throughout the epistle undercuts his certainty. Of all the versions of Shore's legend, Drayton offers us the clearest depiction of seduction as

competition between rival males.[6] Heywood's *Edward IV* evokes the spectre of male competition, particularly in Edward's ingratitude to Matthew. Nevertheless, Heywood retreats from a full identification of Matthew and Edward as rivals: Matthew's departure for the continent creates a strong impression of the futility of opposing Edward. In Drayton's epistles, the power differential between the men is obscured by Edward's anxious awareness of his rival and by his bourgeois nature.

Edward's preoccupation with the images of commerce betrays his uneasy identification with the middle class. Throughout his epistle, Edward describes Shore's beauty as a form of wealth which is not so much possessed by Shore herself as it is owned by the man who possesses her. Like all currency, Shore's beauty can be hoarded, displayed, and exchanged. At the beginning of his epistle, Edward complains,

> O, why should Fortune make the Citie proud,
> To give that more, then is the Court allow'd?
> Where they (like Wretches) hoord it up to spare,
> And doe ingrosse it, as they doe their Ware. (7-10)

Edward's complaint that the city monopolises both Shore's beauty and their goods demonstrates his competitiveness and hints at his impatience with his financial reliance on the London merchants. A seduction of a merchant's wife may serve as a means of

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[6]Edward is so motivated by rivalry that he makes Matthew more of a rival than he can possibly be in reality. As Sedgwick observes, "the bond that links the two rivals is as intense and potent as the bond that links either of the rivals to the beloved" (21).

reasserting his power over the city.

Continuing to contrast the city and court, Edward argues that Shore's beauty can only be enhanced by a change of setting:

> If now thy Beautie be of such esteeme,
>
> Which all of so rare excellencie deeme;
>
> What would it be, and prized at what rate,
>
> Were it adorned with a Kingly State?
>
> Which being now but in so meane a Bed,
>
> Is like an un-cut Diamond in Lead. . . . (23-8)

Shore becomes a jewel which will be removed from one setting and placed in another in order to increase her worth, the rate at which she is "prized." An increase in Shore's market value does not immediately translate into any tangible gains for her; the pun on "Bed" implies she will only be trading one bed for another.

Edward places such emphasis on the jewel imagery that Shore becomes one more gem:

> How silly is the *Polander* and *Dane*,
>
> To bring us Crystall from the frozen Maine?
>
> When thy cleare Skins transparence doth surpasse
>
> Their Crystall, as the Diamond doth Glasse. (61-4)

Lips of rubies and pearl teeth occur everywhere in courtly poetry, but when combined with Edward's effusion of jewel images, Shore becomes an image of beauty frozen in stone. As Harner points out, "[t]he King addresses himself only to her physical

beauty" ("Jane Shore" 142). Drayton does not include anything "comparable to More's apology for the relationship with references to the qualities of her mind—her 'proper wit,' her ability to read and write, her capability as a hostess, or her conversational ability" (Harner, "Jane Shore" 142). Given the shallowness of Edward's attraction to Shore, his use of dehumanising imagery is not surprising.

In one of the few passages where Edward returns Shore to life, he depicts her shopping. He is unable to imagine her outside of mercantile activities. Even in this passage, Shore becomes difficult to tell from the wares around her: "And those which buy . . . / Will take thy Hand for Lawne, Lawne for thy Hand" (99-100). Edward's extravagant compliments conceal how few promises he makes Shore. In keeping with her status as commodity, Shore is not offered any explicit deals or an invitation to bargain.

In his conclusion, Edward vaguely promises that "Tilts and Triumphs" will be performed for Shore; however, this apparent incentive casts Shore as a passive spectator at best. The final city/court contrast treats Shore as Edward's *objet d'art*, purchased from the city and displayed at court:

> Nor is it fit, a Citie-shop should hide
> The Worlds Delight, and Natures onely Pride;
> But in a Princes sumptuous Gallerie,
> Hung all with Tissue, floor'd with Tapestrie;
> Where thou shalt sit, and from thy State shalt see
> The Tilts and Triumphs that are done for thee. (153-58)

As if aware that he has promised very little, Edward warns that his invitation to become his mistress may be a limited time offer:

> Delay breedes doubts, no Cunning to be coy;
>
> Whilst lazie Time his turne by tarriance serves,
>
> Love still growes sickly, and Hope dayly starves. (164-66)

Having promised few concrete advantages, Edward reinforces his position through an unsubtle warning that his interest may be fleeting. Although Edward is generous with his compliments, his lack of interest in anything but Shore's appearance combined with his obvious interest in competition and acquisition makes his letter of seduction less than flattering. The underlying assumption on Edward's part appears to be that a merchant's wife will be seduced by any deal which is superior to her present situation. Edward's error, however, is to assume that a beautiful woman most desires appreciation of her beauty. Shore's epistle in response to Edward shows how completely he has misunderstood her.

Drayton's Annotations to Edward's epistle show that his characterisation of the king is in accord with Heywood's portrayal. Drayton refers to the commentary of "Comineus" and describes Edward as "*very Amorous, applying his sweet and amiable Aspect to attaine his wanton Appetite*" (2: 252). Drayton also cites Edward's behaviour as the cause of the destruction of the princes: "Edwards *intemperate desires, with which he was wholly overcome, how tragically they in his Off-spring were punished, is universally knowne*" (252). Drayton is far more judgmental here than anywhere in the Rosamond and Henry II epistles.

The Rosamond and Henry II exchange is a good example of the interaction of Drayton's pairs of epistles: "[t]he unit is not the single letter, but the letter and its reply. And the replies are real replies . . . they interlock even in small details" (Tillotson 5: 98). Although Shore's epistle does respond to Edward IV's epistle, Shore creates a sense of distance from her correspondent that is unique in the epistles. The opening of Shore's epistle sets a new tone for the exchange:

> As the weake Child, that from the Mothers wing,
> Is taught the Lutes delicious fingering,
> At ev'ry strings soft touch, is mov'd with feare,
> Noting his Masters curious list'ning Eare;
> Whose trembling Hand, at ev'ry straine bewrayes,
> In what doubt he his new-set Lesson playes:
> As this poore Child, so sit I to indite,
> At ev'ry word still quaking as I write. (1-8)

I think Shore's choice of metaphor for beginning her epistle catches us by surprise. Given the images of commerce and jewels which permeate Edward's epistle, we must expect that Shore will respond to these images. Nothing in Edward's epistle prepares us for Shore's self-representation as a "weake" and "poore" child. The images of the child give an impression of Shore's relative innocence and uncertainty. Her nervous response to the "list'ning Eare" of the master suggests awe and fear mixed with a desire to emulate the master. The music lesson becomes an image for both epistle writing and the proposed sexual relationship. Edward is clearly the master in both

cases. In spite of her fears, Shore reveals the responsiveness of her sensual nature: she is ready to be taught "the Lutes delicious fingering" (2). Shore's initial response, then, ignores Edward's imagery and cuts to the main issue: power. The child/master image underlines the vast power differential between Edward and Shore, a circumstance obscured by his bourgeois images. However, Shore's image is not one of the usual images of the power differential (for example, slave/master, dog/master, and so on); the child can learn the lessons and become the master. Shore depicts herself in a dynamic relationship where she has some hope of acquiring power.

Shore's manipulation of courtly conventions makes her epistle seem quite different from the tortured and repentant epistle of Rosamond, but Shore evokes Rosamond's situation by using images taken from Daniel's *Rosamond*. Like Rosamond, Shore wishes she had remained in the country away from the temptations of the city (9-12); also like Rosamond, Shore compares herself to the eye-catching comet (13-14). The image of the comet as a warning of impending doom is used by Rosamond after her fall, but Shore uses it prior to her capitulation. Her choice of image appears to contain an ironic reference to her ultimate fate and is dependent on the reader's knowledge of Shore's story. By evoking Rosamond's story, Shore raises the possibility that their situations are not as disparate as they might at first seem.

In an odd passage which asserts the natural superiority of English beauty, Shore responds to Edward's imagery. The passage seems to arise from the tradition of using Shore as a type of English, and particularly London, beauty. Once again Shore's imagery contradicts that used by Edward: she emphasizes the naturalness of

London beauty, describing the city as "this Garden [where] (onely) springs the Rose" (47). Unlike the beauties of other nations, London's beauties do not "pranke old Wrinckles up in new Attyre" (53). Edward's jewel images are used in criticising the practices of other nations who try "To make a Glasse to seeme a Diamond" (58). The themes here are popular ones, but Shore makes use of them in a way which rebuffs Edward's images of artificial brilliance and defends herself from some of the charges of vanity commonly laid against beautiful women.

Shore's flirtatious epistle manoeuvres back and forth between rejecting Edward and accepting him. Shore's dexterity in the courtly game becomes apparent in the next passage where she asserts her fidelity to her husband, but then reassures Edward that there is hope for his suit. Shore declaims, "let me die the vildest death, / Then live to draw that sinne-polluted breath" (81-2). Her deliberate overstatement of her resistance is followed by a turn in the next line: "But our kind Hearts, Mens Teares cannot abide, / And we least angry oft, when most we chide" (83-4). However, Shore is not merely exhibiting the stereotypical changeableness of a wanton: she is fully aware of the tactics of seduction and plays the game. Shore claims,

> Too well know Men what our Creation made us,
> And Nature too well taught them to invade us:
> They know but too well, how, what, when, and where,
> To write, to speake, to sue, and to forbeare. (85-9)

Shore apparently agrees with the conventional view that women are by nature vulnerable to these tactics. Lanyer had pointed out the double standard inherent in

accusing women of having a weaker nature, and then blaming them when they fall. Shore uses the double standard to shift the blame from the women who are seduced to the men who are, as Shore observes, "so shamelesse, when you tempt us thus, / To lay the fault on Beautie and on us" (101-2). Shore is not a naive victim of Edward's rhetoric of seduction, although she claims to be moved by his strategies (115-8). Shore's nearly complete rejection of the imagery offered by Edward suggests she is less moved by his empty flattery than by the opportunities inherent in the situation.

Shore's expectations for her new situation are reflected in her criticisms of her marriage. Shore clearly resents her early marriage to a man who satisfies himself and offers nothing in return:

> Our churlish Husbands, which our Youth injoy'd,
> Who with our Dainties have their stomacks cloy'd,
> Doe loath, our smooth Hands with their Lips to feele,
> T'inrich our Favours, by our Beds to kneele,
> At our Command to wait, to send, to goe,
> As ev'ry Houre our amorous servants doe;
> . . . . . .
> When he all day torments us with a Frowne,
> Yet sports with VENUS in a Bed of Downe. (119-28)

Shore perceives the relations of marriage as a matter of male ownership and rights, while the courtly relationship offers a woman greater control over her own situation.

Edward's epistle vaguely offers Shore the role of a glorified passive

spectator, but power and freedom, not homage to her beauty, are the rewards Shore desires for accepting Edward's suit. For Shore, the absence of freedom is the necessary cost of a respectable marriage. Husbands must curtail their wives' activities, because relationships outside of marriage are so much more attractive: a situation Shore acknowledges when she asks, "Blame you our Husbands then, if they denie / Our publique Walking, our loose Libertie?" (133-34). Shore continues with a description of the unbearable restrictions placed on a wife:

> What Sports have we, whereon our Minds to set?
> Our Dogge, our Parrat, or our Marmuzet;
> Or once a weeke to walke into the field.
> Small is the pleasure that these Toyes do yeeld. (147-150)

Like the pets Shore mentions, women are kept captive for the amusement of their husbands. As a mistress, Shore will be freed from these restrictions, and association with a king will further increase her power:

> But to this griefe a medicine you apply,
> To cure restraint with that sweet Libertie;
> And Soveraigntie (O that bewitching thing)
> Yet made more great, by promise of a King;
> And more, that Honour which doth most intice
> The holi'st Nunne, and she that's ne're so nice. (151-56)

It is Shore's "Soveraigntie" which will be increased by her involvement with Edward. Commenting on this passage, Beith-Halahmi proposes that "[i]n Drayton's poem the

wantonness of Jane matches that of the King, and in her mouth the value of 'Honour' is subverted" (168). Rather than "subverting" the meaning of honour, I suspect Shore is looking beyond a narrow definition of honour which bases respect for women solely on their chastity. The honours of court life are not tied so closely to morality: as the Annotations to King John's epistle to Matilda observe, John tempts Matilda "*with promises of Honour, which he thinketh to be the last and greatest Meanes, and to have greatest power in her Sexe*" (2: 152). The respect and homage due to the most successful of Edward's courtiers is achieved by Shore.

At the conclusion of her epistle, Shore addresses Edward directly, crediting him with overcoming her resistance. Responding to his anxieties, she grants Edward victory over his rival: "Thou art the cause, SHORE pleaseth not my sight, / That his embraces give me no delight" (161-62). We know Shore's response to her husband is more complicated than this, but perhaps she can afford to treat Edward generously since she is also fulfilling her own desires. Her final couplet also appears to credit Edward with a victory: "And thus by strength thou art become my fate, / And mak'st me love even in the mid'st of hate" (167-8). Unlike Edward, we recognise that Shore may not be referring to the king's strength but to the power she will acquire on becoming a royal mistress.

How far does Shore's self-awareness extend, and how much of the epistle depends on dramatic irony based on the reader's knowledge of the legend? Beith-Halahmi argues that a significant part of the conclusion of Shore's epistle depends on an irony lost on Shore:

> She [Shore] is not yet aware of the extent of her self-betrayal when she tells the King: 'Thou art the cause I to my selfe am strange [a stranger or an enemy to herself]' (*l.* 163) and how truly she foresees her fate when she says: 'Thy comming is my Full, thy Set my Change' (*l.* 164), but the reader can perceive the irony of the situation. (168)

While it is true that Shore does not know the fate in store for her, particularly her destitution after Edward's death, Shore does not enter her arrangement with Edward under any misapprehension. Edward ended his own epistle with a warning that his interest might change, and Shore concludes her epistle with the recognition that such a change is inevitable. By casting the king in the usually feminine role of the inconstant moon, Shore indicates her awareness of his reputation for affairs and her acceptance of the unavoidable change in her circumstances with his eventual change of heart. Shore's awareness prevents us from judging her on the basis of our knowledge of her eventual fall from power. Drayton does not use irony to undercut her position.

Shore's story makes her an easy target for irony, so the lack of ironic undercutting in the epistle makes the stance taken in the Annotations all that more surprising. Drayton returns to the issue of Shore's motivation in the Annotations which follow her epistle: "*though* Shores *Wife wantonly plead for Libertie, which is the true humour of a Curtizan; yet much more is the prayse of Modestie, then of such Libertie*" (2: 260). "Libertie," here, seems to be equated with licentiousness. Are we to understand that the "Soveraigntie" that Shore seeks is nothing more than a desire to

control men and indulge her passions? Should we assume, as one critic has suggested, that the Annotations serve to introduce Drayton's "own moral position" (Beith-Halahmi 113) or even, a final moral position? This answer is certainly the easiest: Shore is an attractive character because of Drayton's effective first-person narrative techniques; the Annotations provide the moral frame for an amoral epistle.

I remain unconvinced by this simple solution, in part, because of Drayton's manipulation of his sources. Drayton owes much to Heywood's *Edward IV*, and the moral line taken in the Annotations agrees fully with Heywood's position. Nevertheless, Drayton's version differs from Heywood's in significant ways. Heywood, for instance, portrays the Shore marriage as a completely happy lovematch: Mistress Shore's adulterous betrayal of her husband is completely motiveless. As we have seen, Drayton rejects these details of Heywood's version. By including references to a loveless marriage, Drayton restores details originally found in More's and Churchyard's versions of the story. Is Drayton guilty of haphazardly mingling details from his sources, or is he bringing them together deliberately?

I think by using Heywood so obviously as a source for the epistles, Drayton is able to expose the narrowmindedness which may be disguised as morality. A desire for "Soveraigntie" or "Libertie" can be reduced to licentiousness only if we ignore the effective depiction of the extreme physical and emotional restrictions of marriage. Shore's unhappy and unpleasant marriage makes her desire for liberty entirely understandable, if not morally acceptable. I also think we come to respect and admire her strength of character as she cuts through Edward's rhetoric and resists his attempt

to reduce her to an object. Like Heywood, Edward is not aware that Shore may have motives and desires of her own. The strength of Shore's position is not undermined by irony and can hardly be overturned by a remark in the Annotations. "*Libertie . . . is the true humour of a Curtizan*" becomes a trite overgeneralisation belonging to the Heywoods and Edwards of society, after we have met Shore as a subject in her own right—not as an object.

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From the moral complexity of Drayton's *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, we return briefly to the ballad tradition. Three anonymous songs which take us into the seventeenth century demonstrate the variety of the themes which were now associated with Shore's legend. The first work, an anonymous ballad, titled "*The Woful Lamentation of* Mrs. JANE SHORE, *a Gold-smith's Wife of London, sometime* King Edward *the Fourth's Concubine, who for her Wanton Life came to a Miserable End. Set forth for the Example of all wicked Livers*," shows the considerable influence Heywood was having on subsequent versions of the story. Harner dates the composition of the ballad to "between 1597 and 11 June 1603 when the ballad was entered to William White" ("Jane Shore" 146). As Harner points out, the ballad entered in the Stationers' Register as "of ye Lamentacon of mistres Jane Shore" is unlikely to refer to Deloney's ballad, as F.O. Mann and Tyder Rollins assume, since Deloney does not use the name "Jane" ("Jane Shore" 152 n. 19). Heywood's impact on the ballad is attested to by Harner who describes the poem as "little more than a synopsis of the legend as depicted in Heywood's *Edward IV*" ("Jane Shore" 146). The

ballad does follow the outline of *Edward IV* but with some peculiar changes.

Like Deloney's "A New Sonnet," "The Woful Lamentation" makes use of a first-person narrative. "A Woful Lamentation" also uses a single stanza to introduce the narrative, then proceeds to present Shore's story. Probably because of the details taken from Heywood, this ballad is much longer than Deloney's and has apparently abandoned reflections on the vagaries of fortune for a more clearly moralistic tale.

One odd change in Shore's story is the appearance of other suitors <u>before</u> her marriage to Matthew. Deloney, Chute, and Heywood all portray men interested in Shore after her marriage, but in "The Woful Lamentation" we are told,

> In maidens years my beauty bright
> Was lovèd dear of Lord and Knight;
> But yet the love that they requir'd,
> It was not as my friends desir'd. (109)

The ballad does not elaborate on this new element, but it might be reasonable to see this as a reference to the impoverished nobles who were now looking for brides from the wealthy merchant class. This reading is supported by Shore's next assertion: she tells us she "Was forc'd to wed against my will" because of her parents "thirst for gain" (109). This motivation for Shore's parents is included in many versions but does not appear in Heywood's *Edward IV*. By reintroducing this cause for Shore's unhappiness, this ballad appears to soften the attitude taken by Heywood, but moral condemnation reappears in the next stanza:

> To *Matthew Shore* I was a wife,

Till lust brought ruine to my life;

And then my life, I lewdly spent,

Which makes my soul for to lament. (109)

Shore's wantonness is probably derived from Chute rather than Heywood, but it does reinforce the moral lessons supported by Heywood.

Following Heywood's story, the ballad writer includes Mistress Blague's role in persuading Shore, although he does make Blague more convincing than she appears to be in *Edward IV*. Also as in Heywood's version, Shore's role as Edward's mistress is portrayed as a loss in status rather than a gain: Shore must her "state resign, / To be King *Edwards* Concubine" (110). Once Shore becomes Edward's mistress, the ballad again diverges from Heywood's version. Heywood makes it abundantly clear that there is nothing attractive about life as a mistress, but in "The Woful Lamentation," the role does offer some rewards. Shore explains,

From City then to Court I went,

To reap the pleasure of content;

And had the Joys that love could bring,

And knew the secrets of a King. (110)

Further rewards include the ability to promote her friends, including Mistress Blague. The ballad writer has obviously been influenced by sources beyond Heywood, but his addition of these details makes little sense given his moralising intentions.

"The Woful Lamentation" continues with details of Matthew's disgrace and departure from England, as well as Shore's generosity toward the poor. With

Richard's advent, Shore is forced to perform public penance for her "rude and wanton life" (112). As in *Edward IV*, our attention is focused on Shore's reaction to her penance, rather than on the reactions of the onlookers. Shore tells us, "the tears run down my face, / To think upon my foul disgrace" (112). The ballad does little to evoke our sympathies through the scenes which follow. Unlike Deloney's ballad which vividly evoked the horrors of poverty, this ballad continues the account without any appreciable change in tone. The dramatic alteration of Shore's circumstances becomes,

> My Gowns, beset with pearl and gold,
> Are turn'd to simple garments old;
> My chains and jems and golden Rings,
> To filthy rags and loathsome things. (113)

"The Woful Lamentation" does not manage to evoke the emotional responses called for by either Deloney or Heywood.

Unlike Heywood, who allows Shore the possibility of redemption during the fatal reunion with her husband, the ballad writer leaves Shore to die alone in a ditch. The final three stanzas of "The Woful Lamentation" drive home the moral against lust and adultery:

> You wanton wives, that fall to lust,
> Be you assur'd that God is just;
> Whoredom shall not escape his hand,
> Nor Pride unpunisht in this land.

. . . . . .

Women, be warn'd, when you are wives,

What plagues are due to sinful lives! (114-15)

This conclusion reinforces the warning which has been repeated as the chorus throughout the ballad. Each stanza has concluded with "Then, wanton Wives, in time amend. / For love and beauty will have end" (109). The moral of "The Woful Lamentation" is as explicit and direct as that of Heywood's *Edward IV*.

The ballad's deviations from Heywood's version appear to add little to the ballad's moral purpose. Beith-Halahmi develops a reading of this poem which argues that the ballad creates a "delicate balance between moral judgment and human sympathy" (212). While it is true that this ballad reintroduces mitigating factors which were omitted by Heywood, the ballad does not exhibit any signs of an organised redirection of Heywood's story. For example, the details of Shore's early wantonness differ from Heywood but cannot be read as an attempt to balance Heywood's moral judgment. I believe this ballad writer has collected details from other versions of Shore's story and cobbled them together with Heywood's version in an attempt either to be thorough or to appear less derivative. Although "The Woful Lamentation" is muddled by its tendency to inclusiveness, it stands as an interesting catalogue of many of the most familiar details of Shore's legend.

"The Woful Lamentation" is accompanied by a ballad titled "*The Second Part of* JANE SHORE *wherein her sorrowful husband bewaileth his own Estate and Wife's Wantoness, the wrong of Marriage, the Fall of Pride; being a Warning for*

Women." This ballad is a first-person narrative by Matthew Shore who recounts his travels, experiences, and death after his wife's adultery. Harner notes that this ballad is "[p]rinted with all extant seventeenth century editions of 'The Wofull Lamentation'" ("Jane Shore" 148). Harner adds, "I suspect . . . that this ballad is of later date than 'The Wofull Lamentation" since much of its plot has no source in any of the previous treatments of the legend" ("Jane Shore" 148). Although the details of this poem are new, the moral attitude is similar to that of Heywood's *Edward IV*. Jane's sinfulness is the cause of Matthew's misery:

> Kind *Matthew Shore* men callèd me,
> A goldsmith once of good degree,
> And might have livèd long therein,
> Had not my wife been wed to sin.
> O, gentle Jane! thy wanton race
> Hath brought me to this foul disgrace! (115)

As in Heywood's play, the ballad identifies Jane as both the cause of Matthew's disgrace and the source of all his subsequent misfortunes. Aside from reinforcing Jane's sinfulness, this ballad contributes nothing new to her legend. Curiously, Matthew does not return to die with Jane, but does return after her death and is eventually condemned for clipping gold. Although now a criminal himself, Matthew concludes that his fate is the fault of Shore's fall as a "Strumpet lewd" (120).

A final section to these two ballads provides "The Description of Jane Shore" (120-21). This prose section describes Shore's beauty and a painting of her

which shows her "such as she was when she rose out of her bed in the morning, having nothing on but a Rich Mantle cast under her Arm, over which her naked arm did lye" (121). The description is taken almost directly from Drayton's Annotations, and appears to be included in order to emphasise Shore's historical existence. "The Woful Lamentation" provides evidence of Heywood's continuing impact on perceptions of Shore and of the continuing popularity of the subject.

The two final songs I want to examine show far less interest in Shore as a historical figure. These songs also show that Shore's story continued to be interpreted and used in completely divergent ways.

The first song is found in B.M. Egerton MSS. 2009-2012.[7] These four manuscript books each present a musical part: 2009—*Superius*, 2011—*Medius*, and 2012—*Bassus*. The *Altus*—2010 contain many of the same songs, but they are not in the same order. The *Tenor* is missing. Subjects of the songs include the murder of the princes by Richard III, praise of Queen Mary, and Shore's Wife. The reference within the song to "shores wyfe" rather than to "Jane" Shore may suggest a relatively early date of composition, but since the song does not relate any of the details of the legend, it is impossible to tell which versions might have been known to the author.

The verse is simple, but moving:

> What thing more rare then beauty
> more faire then painted shew
> of pecocks feathers

---

[7]Neither Harner nor Beith-Halahmi mentions this song.

and yet how soon it wethers

No Garden greene nor roses red nor lyllys
nor fairy queen nor Phillida nor Phillis
more then shores wife a princes Concubine
for bewtie most devine
was of all men admired
& by great lords desired
& yet behold the grave wherin she lyeth
& you shall see how soone faire beawtie dyeth.

The words mourn the loss of beauty and express regret for its fleeting nature. The admiration and desire which Shore inspires do not prevent her death, but this faint echo of the earlier *de casibus* versions of her story is not accompanied by any overt reflections on politics or morality. Here, Shore seems to serve, as any of the classical beauties might, as a symbol of the fleeting nature of beauty. Shore can stand as a native exemplum of beauty distinct from the details of her life as Edward's mistress.

The approach to Shore in the Egerton song differs sharply from that of the final song. The ballad, "King Edward and Jane Shore. In imitation, and to the Tune of, St. *George* and the *Dragon*," appears in the anonymously edited *A Collection of Old Ballads*.[8] This mock-heroic ballad depicts Shore as the sexual conqueror of Edward IV. The collection is dated 1723, and the editorial note introducing "King

[8]Vol. I, 153-58.

Edward and Jane Shore" describes the poem as "really old" (153), but no further information about the date or origin of this ballad is provided. As the editor suggests, the poet is not really critical of Shore: the "Song is a Burlesque upon her, but rather seems written by a Wag than an Enemy to her Memory" (153). Other than Shore's liaison with Edward, the ballad mentions none of the details of Shore's story. However, the ballad is part of the tradition of promoting English mistresses over examples from the continent and from classical sources. This odd type of patriotism is the major theme of the poem, as we see from the first stanza,

> Why should we boast of *Laius* and his Knights,
> Knowing such Champions entrapt by Whorish Lights?
> Or why should we speak of *Thais's* curled Locks,
> Or *Rhodope* that gave so many Men the P__x?
> Read in Old Stories, and there you will find,
> How *Jane Shore, Jane Shore*, she pleas'd King *Edward's* Mind,
>
> Jane Shore *she was for* England, *Queen* Frederick *was for* France,
> *Sing* Honi soit qui mal y pense. (153-54)

Continuing in this patriotic strain, the ballad finds Shore superior to a wide range of figures from classical legends, the Arthurian stories, and history.

Throughout the ballad, Shore's triumph over Edward is reiterated: Shore "took down King *Edward's* Mettle" (154); she "overcame King *Edward*, altho' he had her under" (154); and, "she made King *Edward* tame" (155). In keeping with the

mock-heroic style, the ballad assigns Shore a warlike nature:

> *Cleopatra* lov'd *Mark Anthony*, and *Brownal* she did Feats;
>
> But compar'd to our Virago, they were but meerly Cheats:
>
> Brave Carpit-Knights in *Cupid*'s Fights, their milk white Rapiers drew;
>
> But *Jane Shore, Jane Shore*, King *Edward* did subdue. (157)

Again, we see the patriotic claim that "our" Virago is superior to all others. Shore's ability to "subdue" Edward is expressed most extravagantly in the final stanza when Edward is described as "a Bond-slave fetter'd within *Jane Shore's* All-conquering Thighs" (158). The bawdy nature of this ballad removes Shore completely from serious discussion of power and morality, but the good-natured treatment she receives suggests a comfortable acceptance of her presence in history, something not found in the earlier moralistic treatments of the legend. Ironically, this ballad which reduces Shore to a strictly sexual figure, also credits her with national and historical interest and reinvests her with power, if only of a sexual nature.

In the Egerton manuscript song and "King Edward and Jane Shore," the absence of details attests to a general familiarity with Shore's legend. On the other hand, the anonymous ballad, "The Woful Lamentation of Mrs. Jane Shore," gathers such a diversity of details of Shore's story that we are inadvertently reminded of the surprising extent of the issues evoked by representations of Shore. As with Rosamond's story, Shore's offers opportunities to consider the psychological and social motives for becoming a royal mistress. In addition, the role of the king in influencing his subject's decision, either through bribery, flattery, or coercion, can be

explored. Unlike Rosamond, however, Shore is also identified as an adulterer and provides additional opportunities to comment on the weaknesses of women. While Rosamond's isolation presents special challenges when it comes to demonstrating her power, writers can take full advantage of Shore's presence at court when examining the influence she acquires. Finally, Shore's story also provides a second king and subject relationship in Richard's persecution of Shore: reflections on the vagaries of fortune, the fickleness of friends, and the injustices of tyranny are all possible.

The first representations of Shore opt for the political rather than moral issues. The influence of Sir Thomas More's *History* on Thomas Churchyard's *Shore's Wife* is evident in the numerous similarities between the two works. Both forego idealised or strictly philosophical views of power, in favour of more realistic depictions of power as process—a messy combination of authority, factional infighting, and influence. In both works, Shore is a responsible courtier who makes generous use of her influence with Edward IV. Little attention is paid to the subject of adultery and allowance is made for mitigating circumstances.

Despite the similarities between the representations of Shore by More and Churchyard, Churchyard develops themes which are only hinted at by More. Unlike More who includes Shore as one figure in a larger story, Churchyard presents events from Shore's perspective. Churchyard, for instance, examines in greater detail Shore's situation prior to becoming Edward's mistress. Edward's power to coerce Shore is made explicit. Churchyard also adds reflections on poverty and justice which follow from Richard's persecution of Shore. Churchyard's first-hand experience of hardship

develops another dimension of Shore's legend.

While Churchyard's *Shore's Wife* is admirably suited to the editorial aim of the *Mirror for Magistrates*—to serve as a political handbook for those with power—the poem also sets Shore's story firmly among the tragedies marked by a distinct rise and fall pattern with an emphasis on fortune. Thomas Deloney's ballad, "A New Sonnet, conteining the Lamentation of *Shores* wife," shifts attention from the political themes to the theme of fortune. However, Shore's change of fortune is not explicitly tied to the subject of adultery, and her character remains admirable if not sympathetic. Overtly moralistic versions of Shore's story are still to come.

With his revisions to *Shore's Wife* in 1593, Churchyard signals the influence of Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*. In the revised poem new attention is paid to Shore's beauty and to the sentimental side of her relationship with Edward. Churchyard also adds a new warning to young women, but this interest in moral lessons does not overwhelm the political critique.

In other works, the balance shifts in favour of observations on morality, while issues of power and political responsibility are abandoned. Influenced by Daniel, Anthony Chute creates a portrait of Shore as a victimised, powerless sinner. In *Beawtie Dishonoured*, we are invited to view (and enjoy) Shore's distress, but we are unlikely to sympathise with this flirtatious adulteress. Thomas Heywood's Jane Shore, in *The First and Second Parts of King Edward the Fourth*, is equally powerless and morally weak. Heywood goes even further than Chute in restricting our sympathetic interest in Shore by shifting the focus to her husband, Matthew. Both

Chute and Heywood create morally absolute worlds where Shore must be condemned for not preserving her chastity. We have come a long way from the political complexities of court life as depicted by More and Churchyard.

The anonymous *True Tragedy of Richard the Third* is an interesting blend of realistic political observation and idealised response. Shore's betrayal by those she has helped dramatises the breakdown of social values which accompanies Richard's campaign of fear. The anonymous playwright departs from previous versions of Shore's story by developing a contrast between the former mistress and the tyrant which is not based on their respective uses of power; Richard's reliance on fortune signals his ultimate damnation, while Shore's passive resistance suggests that the hope of the individual subject depends on Christian consolation. Issues of power and justice remain central in *The True Tragedy*, but the approach seems less worldly than that of More and Churchyard.

Although influenced by Heywood, Michael Drayton offers a complicated response in his representation of Edward IV and Shore in *Englands Heroicall Epistles*. Since the epistles are set before Shore becomes Edward's mistress, any discussion of Shore's use of power or her treatment by Richard is forestalled. The shallow flattery of Edward's epistle reveals his obsession not with obtaining Shore as his mistress but with competing for her against her husband. Unlike Churchyard, Drayton does not criticise Edward for abusing his power. Drayton's depiction of Edward's self-absorbed reduction of Shore to an object for acquisition is a general indictment of patriarchy as represented by Edward. Shore is a strong character who resists objectification. She

sees through Edward's strategy of seduction and perceives a relationship with him as an opportunity to escape the confines of marriage. The possibility of liberty and sovereignty compensate for the risks involved in becoming a royal mistress. We do not sympathise with Shore as a coerced subject or a victim of a tyrant; we do not admire her for her responsible use of power or her Christian stoicism; we do respect and admire her effort to seize control of the roles others would assign her.

Conclusion: Unparadised Fantasies

or Where's the Sex?

Figures of social and political significance from one period may be co-opted by the fantasies of another age, and this is true of the English royal mistresses represented in Renaissance literature. Critics and historians have had their own fantasies about these women while, at the same time, they have assumed they understood the fantasies which directed the representations of these women. The most pervasive, unexamined, and constrictive assumption has been that the royal mistress is a titillating figure provided for the pleasure of the male reader who will imagine himself in the place of his society's dominant male—the king.

A review of the representations encountered during this research leads to my subtitle, "where's the sex?" The bawdy ballad of "King Edward and Jane Shore" is clearly exceptional in its treatment of the material and occurs late in the tradition. For the most part, eroticism appears only sporadically in the literature. The average sonnet sequence often contains more titillating material than is found in the representations of royal mistresses. If mistresses are not women who are on average more lustful, more sexually creative, or more sexually experienced, then what are the fantasies they fulfil?

I do not intend to review all of the texts in detail here, but I believe by revisiting a few of the more influential works, I can begin to place these texts along a continuum of discourse which traverses the issues of power and gender relations. Throughout this project I have been conscious of how vital the comparative approach

can be to my readings. In my initial encounters with the texts, my views were often radically altered as I became familiar with more material. I believe my project demonstrates the usefulness of a relational approach as described by Jean E. Howard. Howard argues that "a new historical criticism attempting to talk about the ideological function of literature in a specific period can most usefully do so only by seeing a specific work relationally . . . by seeing how its representations stand in regard to those of other specific works and discourses" (29). The ideological significance of subtle differences between representations becomes clearer through comparison: "a work can only be said to contest, subvert, recuperate, or reproduce dominant ideologies (and it may do any of these) if one can place the work—at least provisionally and strategically—in relation to others" (Howard 29-30). Representations of royal mistresses encompass this range of possibilities: contesting, subverting, recuperating, and reproducing the dominant ideologies of their day.

Samuel Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* may be seen as one expression of the patriarchal fantasy. Coppélia Kahn's highly suggestive reading of *King Lear* might as easily describe a significant aspect of *Rosamond*. Kahn notes that Lear "wants two mutually exclusive things at once: to have absolute control over those closest to him and to be absolutely dependent on them" (40). Rosamond's youth and innocence combine with her subordinate position as Henry's subject and as a woman to place her completely in his control: her subjection is "the measure of his patriarchal authority and thus of his manliness" (Kahn 39). Her inability to escape patriarchal control, signalled by the labyrinth, allows him to be dependent on her for the comfort and

solace he cannot obtain from his far more independent and uncontrollable wife (Andresen-Thom 274). The male reader is invited to imagine himself in the role of the king—able to command the services of a beautiful young woman regardless of his age and diminished virility. Despite the attractions of this patriarchal fantasy, the poem does not reproduce patriarchal ideology completely unconsciously. Signs of unease with the double standard are detectable in the text. The determined marshalling of tactics to deflect moral responsibility from Henry seems overanxious and is undercut by hints that Rosamond is not absolutely responsible for her fall. Knowledge of the cost borne by the royal mistress unparadises the patriarchal fantasy.

Thomas Heywood's *Edward IV* shifts the focus from the emotional rewards of a patriarchal system to the issue of control of female sexuality. The fantasy here is not from the perspective of the king but from the perspective of the cuckolded husband. Matthew, not Edward IV or Richard III, has ultimate control over Jane's fate. The play celebrates Matthew's moral decision to refuse to take Jane back even though his refusal leads to her death. The similarities with Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* are striking:

> Potentially, she [Anne Frankford] represents a challenge to patriarchy and to the whole ideology of a man's ownership of his wife's sexuality. . . . But, of course, she does not end up serving this function. She repents her "crime," dies of a broken heart at her husband's sadistic "kindness" and becomes a testament to the rightness of male rule. In short, the subversive elements of her

> sexuality are recuperated by a Christian ideology in the service of patriarchy which interprets a woman's sexual independence as a sin and a violation of natural order. And the woman is represented, finally, as concurring. (Howard 40)

In *Edward IV*, Jane's potential for subversiveness is similarly recuperated by her repentance and by her reconciliation with Matthew. Matthew's significance here is the exception rather than the rule; more often, the threat to the husband's control of his wife's sexuality (or the father's of the daughter's) is of negligible importance. For me, what is most striking about the example of *Edward IV* is the reminder of how rarely royal mistresses are represented as sexually independent females threatening the patriarchal fantasy of absolute control.

I hope it is clear that by the term "patriarchal fantasy," I do not mean to imply that the restrictive and damaging impact of patriarchy on the lives of women is in any way merely imaginary. I use the term as a reminder that the hierarchical structure of English Renaissance society ensures that the rewards of patriarchy are not equally distributed. Domination of women may help to obscure or compensate for social inequality, but even patriarchal authority often proves illusory. Women, too, are part of the class structure, and "practically, by virtue of their status, they might also exert a certain control over men who were their social inferiors" (Jordan 96). Works which obscure, reproduce, or recuperate patriarchy may invite the imaginative enjoyment of rewards which in reality are denied or are only partially available to many members of the audience.

Perhaps it should be less surprising then that some works contest or subvert patriarchal ideology. As Jordan explains,

> in the position of woman as the quintessential subject—that is, as politically subordinate, economically dependent, and legally incapacitated—many Renaissance men saw reflected aspects of their own social situations. For whatever his rank, a man of this period would have been obliged to contend with the effects of a social hierarchy. The more rigorous his experience of subordination and its consequent disempowerment, the more his "male position" would have resembled that of the "female." His maleness and masculinity were therefore susceptible to a degree of qualification quite alien to the experience of men in less stratified societies. (20)

Jordan's observations highlight the role of class in shaping individual responses to dominant ideologies, but they also suggest that the individual experience of these circumstances is a factor. Dissatisfaction with the social hierarchy, dissatisfaction with the failed promises of patriarchy, and potential subordination to a powerful woman, all experienced in varying degrees, may give rise to resistance or subversion of the social hierarchy and patriarchy. At times, the situation of the royal mistress may serve as a useful metaphor for the disempowered subject: *The True Tragedy* is a good example of a work in which class issues are paramount and gender issues or reflections on patriarchy are incidental. In other works, more extensive critiques of the injustices of both systems are developed.

In Thomas Churchyard's *Shore's Wife*, we find criticisms of class and patriarchal structures working together. Edward's use of his power to force Shore's compliance provides a context for reflecting on the abuses of power in unequal social relationships, but also leads to a questioning of the terms of patriarchy. If Shore cannot resist the king's power, how can she be responsible for her own fall? *Shore's Wife* demonstrates some understanding of the political nature of sexual and personal relationships. Shore's sexual independence is not depicted as a threat to her husband's control, nor is patriarchal control of her sexuality reasserted through the safe transfer of control from one man to another. Because it is the political tyrant, Richard III, who attempts to reinstate control of Shore's sexuality, patriarchal control of female sexuality is rendered highly problematic and cannot be easily distinguished from political, and specifically state, control. The case being made, in works like *The Mirror for Magistrates*, for justice to be exercised rationally and mercifully by those with power is extended to include the treatment of women. While injustices of class and patriarchy are exposed and criticised in this work, *Shore's Wife* does not offer much hope for individual resistance. Any hope of change seems to lie with the exceptional individual who gains access to power, and Shore's ultimate fate shows how fleeting that access may be.

Michael Drayton's *Englands Heroicall Epistles* both criticises patriarchal practices and offers some hope of subversion. The exchange between Rosamond and Henry II does not criticise patriarchal practices directly; instead, uncomfortable similarities are drawn between the abuse of power and the uncritical acceptance of

moral and social judgments. Although the king's power to coerce Rosamond is depicted in her epistle, Rosamond does not allow for the possibility of mitigating circumstances in her own defense. In an orgy of self-loathing and shame, Rosamond voices the patriarchal condemnation of the unchaste woman. When Henry "answers" Rosamond's epistle, he is compelled by his own self-interest to ruthlessly rewrite her letter, obliterating her thoughts and feelings in the process. The reader is witness to the impact of the power differential as it is re-enacted in Henry's discourse. As readers or as members of a patriarchal society, our power to judge Rosamond is exposed as a part of the system of power which supports Henry's casual brutality.

In the epistle of Edward IV to Mistress Shore, Edward's fascination with his rival, Shore's husband, illustrates the patriarchal assumption that Shore is an object of exchange between men. In Shore's epistle, the consequences of patriarchy are elaborated: Shore describes the lack of mutual concern and satisfaction in marital relations which results from a treatment of marriage as a matter of male ownership and rights. The resulting unhappiness of the wife leads to the husband's restriction of her personal freedom in an effort to protect his property. The critique of patriarchy delivered by Shore speaks effectively of the price paid by both sexes. However, the epistle goes beyond criticising patriarchy to suggest subversion is possible. While Edward and Shore's husband regard her as an object, she asserts her subjectivity in her desire for liberty and sovereignty and in her ability to use the situation for her own purposes. Some space for individual resistance and agency is created.

This review of a representative selection of texts demonstrates something of

the range of responses to dominant ideologies expressed in the representations of royal mistresses. We also see the variety of strategies employed in the criticism or subversion of patriarchy. The variations among representations of royal mistresses are more than reflections of lives of various mistresses or reflections of men's various fantasies about mistresses; they are part of an ongoing cultural conversation struggling with options for women's lives, for relations between men and women, and for the distribution and responsible use of power.

When I began, I suggested that we might want to reconsider a painting of Diane de Poitiers. While Berger's reading of nude paintings as a sign of female submission to the male spectator-owner is persuasive, I now believe that a relational approach to such paintings can yield new perspectives. Two sixteenth-century paintings of a woman, identified by plaques as "Jane Shore (Died c. 1527)," adorn the library of Eton College (Figs. 2 and 3). That these paintings have been present in the college for four centuries is a fitting tribute to the contradictory nature of the royal mistress's role. The woman's bared breasts identify her as a mistress, but the likelihood that both Shore and Edward IV were dead when the paintings were created makes it difficult to explain the paintings in terms of Edward's ownership and enjoyment. Shore is displayed for the male gaze, but the erotic or pleasurable function of the paintings is balanced by a public function. The paintings commemorate a college benefactor who, it was believed, exercised her political influence with the king on their behalf.

The contradictory purposes of the paintings are multiplied in the differences

between the representations. In figure two, we see the public face of Shore. Shore's cosmetics and whitened skin remind us of the charges of vanity frequently levelled at mistresses, and the quantity of jewellery in the painting may suggest greed. However, this artificial brilliance also works to distance the figure. Despite her nudity, Shore does not seem welcoming or provocative. In this painting, the directness of the mistress's gaze combines with the positioning of her body to create an impression of boldness. This Shore apparently knows how to get what she wants.

The iconographic and emotional differences between the paintings are striking. In figure three, the mood is altogether softer, more private. Shore is virtually unadorned, and consequently, she appears to have been caught at a more vulnerable moment. This figure also makes eye contact, but her look includes a half-smile which seems to welcome the viewer. Although her hands are raised, it does not appear that she is trying to cover her breasts. Her right hand is raised in what might be a beckoning gesture, while her left hand rests lightly at the top of her breast. This mistress is not displayed as openly as the mistress in figure two, but the overall effect is more erotic. As with the literary representations, the paintings challenge us to recognise the private possession and the public agent in the figure of the royal mistress.

Fig. 2. *Jane Shore (Died c. 1527)*, Windsor, England. Photograph with permission of Eton College.

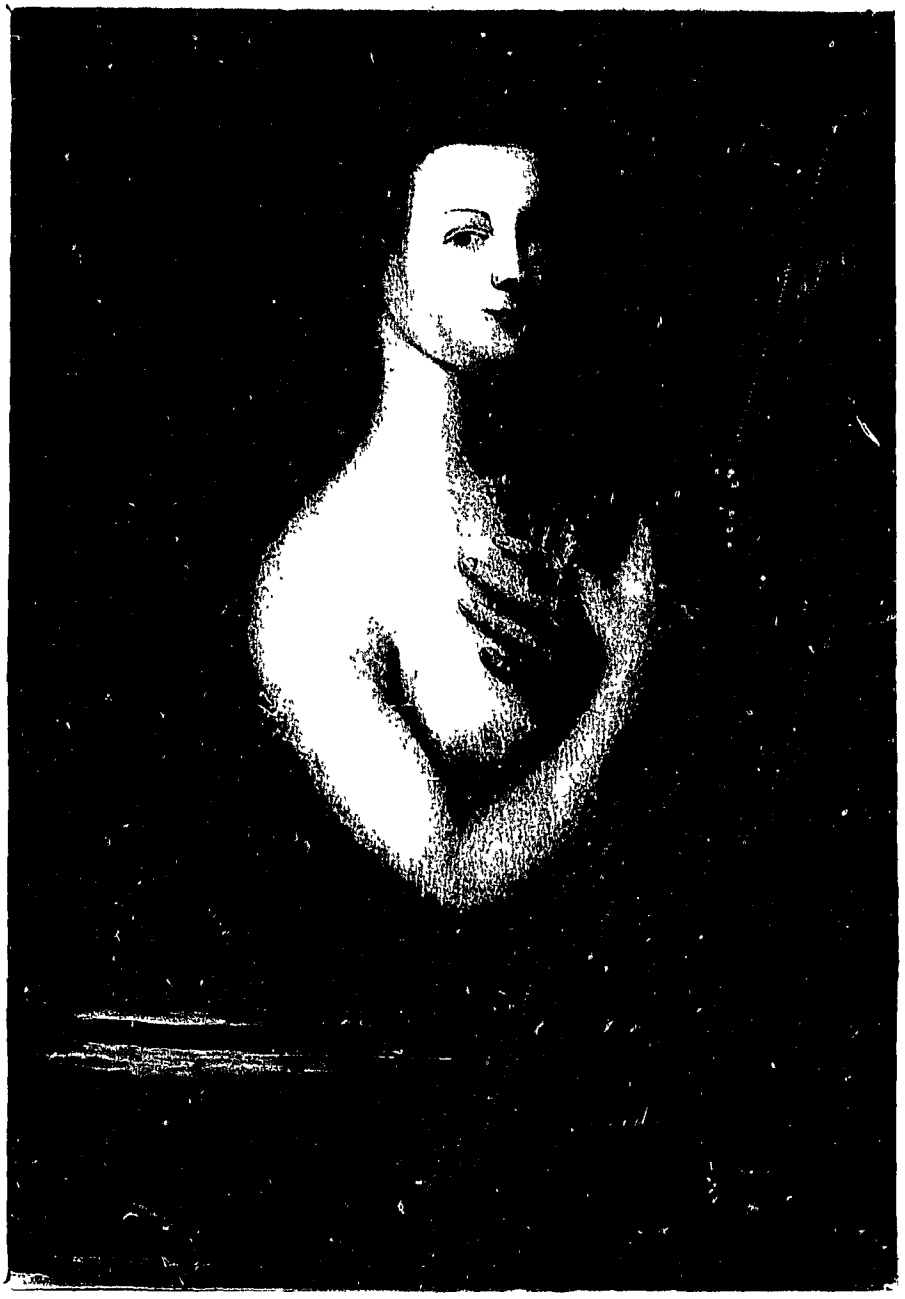

Fig. 3. *Jane Shore (Died c. 1527)*, Windsor, England. Photograph with permission of Eton College.

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