FAMILY POLITICS IN EARLY MODERN LITERATURE

Edited by
Hannah Crawforth and Sarah Lewis

EARLY MODERN LITERATURE IN HISTORY
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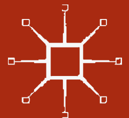

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Family Politics in Early Modern Literature

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Hannah Crawforth and Sarah Lewis

> By the Law of Nature the King becomes a naturall Father to all his Lieges at his Coronation: And as the Father of his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education, and vertuous gouernment of his children; euen so is the king bound to care for all his subiects [...][1]

Early modern writers repeatedly return to the analogy between family and politics most famously articulated here by James VI and I. The idea that political hierarchies and identities might usefully be evoked within discourses of the family is almost ubiquitous in the period, in which the metaphor is deployed in a wide variety of contexts and genres. In conduct literature, for example, it was common to present the family as 'a little commonwealth': '[a]s every mans house is his Castle, so is his *family* a private Common-wealth, wherein if due government be not observed, nothing but confusion is to be expected'.[2] Conversely, marriage, maternity, sibling and other familial bonds (including those of master and servants within the household) served important symbolic functions in the political discourse of early modern England. Amongst the best known of these

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figurations was *pater patriae*, the image of the king as father to his subjects. As James VI and I writes in *The true lawe of free monarchies, &c.*, first published in Scotland in 1598 and reissued by London presses on his assumption of the English throne in 1603, 'fatherly duty' motivates the 'care' of a monarch for his people, who are in turn figured as 'children' subject to his 'vertuous gouernment'. However, as the chapters in this collection will show, and as we will begin to suggest in this introduction, such analogies are not straightforward. Early modern writers are interested in subverting and questioning the power of such metaphors as much as they are in using them, and the subtle distinctions between these differing kinds of familial-political figures need to be carefully scrutinised if we are to fully understand how they functioned at this moment in England's literary history. This collection reveals the complexities behind this seemingly simple motif and explores the nuances that reside in literary treatments of the family as a political unit and of politics as something that can be imagined by recourse to the hierarchical relationships that structure the early modern family.

How did early modern writers think about the 'family'? And what, for that matter, did they consider to be 'politics'? This collection shows how essential it is that we understand these two terms in relation to one another in the period; their inextricability in early modern literature has been underestimated and their complex and subtle interactions are fundamental to how we approach the literary historical culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[3] Critics have begun the work of acknowledging the complex variability that defines textual intersections of the familial and the political that we hope to further here. Su Fang Ng's *Literature and the Politics of the Family in Seventeenth-Century England* argues that 'at the root of the family-state analogy was not a single ideology but a debate', and 'with a long history dating back to the ancient world, the analogy's meaning was not stable'.[4] Ng—who contributes a chapter to this book—recognises the malleability of the family politics analogy, an understanding that is central to the work done in this collection, which begins by redefining the terms 'family' and 'politics' themselves.

All the chapters presented here suggest, in one way or another, that it is necessary to broaden our sense of the early modern 'family' from a relatively small, nuclear, unit of people who bear a very close genetic relationship to one another to something much larger and more fluid, defined by social bonds as much as biological ones. The chapters in this volume frequently employ the term 'household' as a useful way of expressing

this concept, a word that allows their authors to think more broadly about families as organisations comprising favourites, wards, guardians, serving staff, apprentices and even pets and other domestic animals, alongside primary family members.[5] 'Kinship' is another key term in several of our chapters, implying a bond that is social as well as biological, and a familial structure that is built upon some form of likeness but does not require shared genetic material.[6]

The chapters in this collection suggest that if the use of such terms as 'household' and 'kinship' enable us to reconfigure our understanding of the early modern family, then we must likewise reconsider the meaning of 'politics' in the period. Our contributors engage with a broad definition of 'politics', encompassing different forms of governance, such as local and regional political activity, as much as national, parliamentary or monarchical politics. The politics of gender, and of age, are also central to many of the critical arguments put forward in this collection.[7] While both 'family' and 'politics' are potentially problematic terms, then, our juxtaposition of the two under the composite notion of 'family politics' functions as a productive source of discussion, partly as a result of some of these difficulties and tensions. The complexities we face in defining the terms are, of course, reflective of those encountered in the period itself, and thus are in sympathy with the texts and contexts studied in our volume (and may help us to read these works particularly acutely).

Before turning in detail to the particular concerns of our contributors and the organising principles behind the chapters gathered together here, we will first trace something of the history of family politics in early modern literature, sketching out the inheritance that this surprisingly complex analogy brought to the writers of the period. From its earliest inception, the popular analogy between the family unit and larger political organisations has been troubled. One of the most important originary moments for the metaphor is Aristotle's *The Politics*, a miscellaneous tract of uncertain textual history that is notorious for its assertions that subordinancy is a state innate to certain people (amongst them women, whom it argues are necessarily inferior to men).[8] *The Politics* was not much read in the years following Aristotle's death in the fourth-century BC; there were no translations into Latin during the classical period, no flourishing of Arabic scholarship on the subject, and it was not until the Flemish Dominican William of Moerbeke produced a Latin version of the text in c.1260–1265 that the ideas the tract contained began to take hold.[9] A translation by Florentine humanist Leonard Bruni Aretino followed in 1438; Albert the

Great and Thomas Aquinas both produced Latin commentaries upon the text; Louis le Roy, a discipline of Lorenzo Valla, rendered *The Politics* into French in 1568, and an English version appeared in 1598 (the same year, perhaps not coincidentally, as James VI and I's articulation of *pater patriae* in his first edition of *The true lawe*).[10] James Schmidt convincingly argues that Aristotle's text is itself a work of translation; the terms he uses in *The Politics* are not the conventional ones of the standard Greek of his time. Aristotle substitutes '*koinōnia politikē*' for the more typical '*polis*', for instance, a rewording that 'invites an attempt to see what the *polis* shares with such other communities as families and villages—the two other types of *koinōnia* discussed in Book I of the *Politics*'.[11] This unusual word choice opens up the possibility of comparison between families, villages and the state, implying that these differing kinds of political life share something even as Aristotle elsewhere insists on their incompatibility.

At the core of his political philosophy, Aristotle argues that the naturally occurring hierarchical pairings of man and woman, ruler and ruled (or master and slave, parent and child), are the foundations of the family unit and, more broadly, of a successful society. He describes how, through the multiplication of those pairings, families become households, households become villages and villages become 'city-states'.[12] Aristotle therefore seems to suggest that the Greek city-state, through which men achieve 'perfection' and 'self-sufficiency', is the family writ large (1252b27). Households are an 'association of persons, established according to nature for the satisfaction of daily needs', the most prominent of which are preservation and procreation (1252b9). The village is formed when 'offshoots of a household are set up by sons and grandsons', and subsequently through the 'association of a number of [these] houses for the satisfaction of something *more* than daily needs' (1252b15). At the next level, the state is a unification of several villages to facilitate 'the *good* life' (1252b27). This progression, from the hierarchical pairings of husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and slaves, towards fulfilment within the city-state is realised, as Trevor J. Saunders suggests, 'in accordance with nature' (55). The city-state in *The Politics* 'belongs to the class of objects which exist by nature' (1253a1). It is presented, according to Saunders, as 'the natural end and culmination of the other and earlier associations [families, households, villages], which were themselves natural' (55). Aristotle argues that the city-state is directly connected to the family, and in fact treats these two subdivisions of society as different only in scale, both having the same species of naturally occurring hierarchical

relationships and parallel power structures at their core. Slaves, women and children differ in their degree of understanding from man, and from each other: 'the deliberative faculty in the soul is not present at all in the slave; in a female it is present but ineffective, in a child present but undeveloped', whereas the male, adult ruler, 'must have moral virtue in its entirity' (1259b18). As Aristotle makes clear, these are differences in degree rather than kind: 'a king ought to have a natural superiority, but to be no different in birth; and this is just the condition of elder in relation to younger and of the father to son' (1259a37). The complicated sense of sameness and difference this quote implies, and which is made manifest simultaneously in both biological and social relationships, begins to suggest the ways in which Aristotle's use of the family and city-state metaphor is in fact fraught with contradiction.

Although the first book of *The Politics* clearly engages the 'family as microcosm of the commonwealth' metaphor, which so strongly influenced the writings of Niccolo Machiavelli, Jean Bodin and Richard Hooker, Aristotle's text also seems to undermine that analogy.[13] Aristotle argues that it is wrong to assume, as others have, that 'a master of slaves, for example, has to do with a few people, a household-manager with more, and a statesman or king with more still, as if there were no differences between a large household and a small state' (1252a1). He wants to disprove the argument that the functions of those in power at different levels of society are 'the same, on the ground that they differ not in kind but only in point of numbers of persons' (1252a1). Although Aristotle argues that 'every household is ruled by its senior member, as by a king', he goes on to suggest that 'the rule of a statesman is rule over free and equal persons' (1252b15, 1255b16). A king or father, for Aristotle, rules over inferiors, whereas a statesman rules over equals. There is, therefore, a difference in kind between the model of authority that structures the family (consisting of father as king over women, children and slaves, as inferior subjects), and that which structures the Greek city-state (consisting of statesmen and equal citizens). Aristotle's complex manipulations of the family politics analogy become even more elaborate when he asserts that within the family unit, 'over a wife, rule is as by a statesman; over children as by a king' (1259a37). This seems to suggest that the family is indeed a microcosm of both monarchical rule, and of the Greek city-state, and that wives have some equality with their husbands, despite the fact that they are necessarily ruled by them. Aristotle describes the male as 'more fitted to rule than the female, unless conditions are quite contrary to nature'

(1259a37). There is a natural supremacy of man over woman, ruler over ruled, which is the result of a difference in kind, not only degree. The ruler has 'intelligence to look ahead', whereas the ruled has 'the bodily strength to do the actual work': they have different natural virtues fitting them to their prescribed roles (1252a24).

All of this suggests something of the complexity of the family political analogy that is built into Aristotle's very early articulation of the idea. This complexity is borne out by the intricate, sometimes contradictory, nature of *The Politics*, which evokes the metaphor only to challenge it, rejecting any straightforward correspondence between the family and the political life of the state even as Aristotle's language seems to encourage the comparison. The paradoxes we find in Aristotle—who simultaneously denies the tenability of the family politics analogy and yet continues to deploy its metaphorical power—are representative of a duality strongly characteristic of the early modern texts examined in this collection. Indeed, it may be to Aristotle's works that writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries owe the complexity and even contrariness that shapes their attitude to the figurative relationship between family and politics, we suggest.[14] For example, most conduct literature in the early modern period follows Aristotle in arguing for both women's inherent inferiority and the necessarily hierarchical structure of social order. However, actually defining either the nature of women's inferiority, or of specific hierarchical relationships within the family and beyond, is a difficult task, and one which is tackled in a diverse range of ways in the literature of the period. It is accepted that the family is the foundation of social order, but there is huge variety in the ways in which the family is used as a model in the political sphere, in which political figures are used to model familial relationships.

These complexities are also the result of a methodological conflict arising from the difficulty of reconciling theoretical models of familial and political life with the realities of quotidian experience. The many and varied roles taken on by women, for example, are often far removed from the models of female inferiority expounded by the conduct manuals within either the familial or political arenas, as several of the chapters in this collection suggest. All of the writers discussed so far in this introduction struggle to maintain their intellectual commitment to the family politics analogy—specifically their insistence upon a difference in either kind or degree between king and people, women and men—in the face of their experience of how such relationships were actually manifested in their own communities.

Many of the writers studied in this collection are troubled by the fact that any conceptualisation of the family as the state in miniature is, as we have seen, complicated both by theorisations of that metaphor and by the practical realities of its application. As Thomas Hobbes notes in *Leviathan* (1651), a work printed towards the end of the period surveyed in this study, 'Aristotle, Cicero, and other men, Greeks and Romans', who are so influential to early modern political thought (and whose writings give rise to what Hobbes considers a dangerously reprehensible republicanism) came to their views via empirical observation rather than theoretical inference; they 'derived those rights, not from the principles of nature, but transcribed them into their books, out of the practice of their own commonwealths, which were popular'. Hobbes goes on to make a very perceptive—and instructive—comparison between Aristotle's method and that of linguists and rhetoricians who based their 'rules' upon descriptive rather than prescriptive methods: he writes of what he sees, 'as the grammarians describe the rules of language, out of the practice of the time; or the rules of poetry, out of the poems of Homer and Virgil'.[15] One might argue that the highly pragmatic approach that results generates some of the constructive ambiguities of Aristotle's text and its early modern reception; these are arguments muddied by contact with reality, not pure idealism. 'Aristotle is very alive to the fragility of political structures, the sources of conflict that haunt every political community, and the difficulty of maintaining political stability', write Marguerite Deslauriers and Pierre Destrée of Aristotle's 'pragmatic' belief that political models must fit the world they are designed to describe. 'So he is concerned to reconcile certain political ideals with political realities as he sees them', they conclude.[16] It is this spirit of pragmatism, of reconciling ideals and realities, which the chapters in this collection discern in early modern treatments of familial-political metaphors. Its contributors show that in fact it is contact with reality that causes the imaginative models by which we seek to shape and understand politics to evolve; realism has much to teach idealism, we will see.

This brief study of the reception of Aristotle's influential statement—and subversion—of analogies between the family and the state in *The Politics* has shown how such figurative language is under pressure almost from the first moment it is deployed. The chapters in this collection demonstrate that the metaphorical relationship between family and politics was under particular strain in early modern England, however, a time in which the religious upheavals of the Reformation and the ideological

turmoil of the Civil War would prompt fundamental reassessments of how both the family and political life were construed in theory and conducted in practice. Our volume spans this period, with contributors ranging in their focus from the early years of Edward VI (who later ruled from 1547 to his premature death in 1553) to the radically altered landscape of restoration England. The intention behind this wide sweep of coverage is to show how ideas about the family—and about politics—shape one another over time, revealing the subtle shifts in the ways in which the rhetoric of each is employed in the service of the other over the *longue durée*. The juxtapositions of chapters in this volume are revealing in themselves, and for this reason we do not follow chronological ordering but rather choose to group contributions thematically. As befits our interest in the effects of certain points of transition (or even crisis) upon the language of family politics, we have shaped this collection around three distinct moments: union, succession and rebellion. Each of these terms has a particular significance within the life of the family, as well as in political life.

Our first section, **Union** is concerned with both the moment of marriage, and also the longer term over which that marriage is played out, the duration over which its power relations are established and renegotiated. In **Julie Crawford**'s chapter, we see how the role of the 'wife' is at once familial and political—and, indeed, has the potential to transform both family and politics. Margaret Cavendish's role as a counsellor to her husband allows her a kind of agency that belies her gender. Likewise, the role of a wife's 'counsel' in shaping the political contributions of her husband, and even in exceeding his powers by offering an alternative kind of agency, lies at the heart of **Christina Luckyj**'s exploration of textual responses to the Overbury scandal and his incredibly popular posthumous poem, 'A Wife'. These chapters, and the two early modern women at their heart, rehabilitate the term 'wife' (and redefine the idea of a 'husband') by showing the crucial political powers of married women in the period, revealing their counsel to be fundamental to the workings of the state.

In addition to this marital sense, 'union' also comprises the metaphorical union between a monarch and his or her people. This is evident in the well-known quotation from James VI and I that we take as our epigraph above; during his reign, the term is repurposed to yoke together the disparate nations of England and Scotland. In the years leading up to the Civil War, the metaphor has a particularly rich life, working at once to provide a language in which to delineate the monarch's relationship to his people (as that of a spouse) and at the same time to open up the marital

relations of the King to political scrutiny (his moral conduct indicating his capacity to rule, or lack thereof). **Tom MacFaul**'s chapter on the ways in which Stuart drama responds to—and indeed seeks to shape—popular understanding of the marriage between Charles I and Henrietta Maria explores such formulations of the royal family in political terms, in the context of the use of marital metaphors in politics. His piece establishes just how central Charles I's marriage was to his political reputation and, conversely, how damaging suggestions of marital discord were for him. Marriage is not the sole unifying aspect of family life to take on important figurative significance in political discourse, however. The ties that bind families together take on a wider symbolic function in considerations of the allegiances that constitute a nation. **Helen Smith** considers the political implications of the ways in which the early modern family works to establish, police, define and develop its own identity through the negotiation of other forms of union. She helps us to further expand our understanding of what constitutes both the early modern family and the political life of the period by demonstrating that such discourses extend beyond the human; her chapter shows that animals play an important role in the household, and as such have their own political power in a period where familial-political analogies are common. Encouraging us to think beyond the modern nuclear family, Smith's chapter also shows the difficulties of Aristotle's binary model of familial and political life as consisting in the pairings of ruler and subject, husband and wife. Early modern unions are far more complex, and more intricately related, than that.

The second section of this book, **Succession**, further explores the early modern family's self-definition as a political unit, this time through the transfer of its values via inheritance, or the rejection of those values at moments of intergenerational conflict. In the private sphere, such values might include monetary worth, property, land and titles, but also comprise religious, social, intellectual and political commitments transmitted within the family. **Katy Mair**'s chapter reveals the political agency of Anne Bacon as mother to her sons, Anthony and Francis. Anne shapes their political life in accordance with her own distinctive values, which she passes across the generational divide, thus extending her own agency beyond her lifetime. Posthumous influence of a different kind is evident in **Naomi Miller**'s study of Mary Wroth's complex literary inheritances as a member of the Sidney family. Miller's chapter shows Wroth's finely developed political sense, and her shrewd self-fashioning as the inheritor of her literary and familial precursors.

Within state politics, succession becomes a national concern for those individuals in whom political power resides, and the ever-present question of how this power is communicated once it outlives those who hold it. Henry VIII is infamous for his preoccupation with ensuring his succession and his desire for a male heir. The iconography of depictions of his young son, Prince Edward (later—briefly—Edward VI) forms the subject of **Naomi Yavneh Klos**'s chapter. Klos charts the particular values that Henry is keen to instil in his offspring through the control he asserts over visual depictions in the portraiture of the period and, more particularly, explores perceptions of what Edward inherits from his father as reflected in the iconography of such images. Klos's chapter thus emphasises that the transmission of political values within a family works in both directions (the son's image contributes to the father's power, as much as the reverse) and as such her argument has much in common with Tom MacFaul's understanding of the political importance of royal marriage. Political succession is not only of importance to monarchists, of course; Oliver Cromwell's attempts to pass control of the Protectorate to his son Richard upon his own death show this all too clearly. In **Jessica Malay**'s chapter, we witness Anne Clifford's highly skilled efforts to secure her rightful familial inheritance against the backdrop of the political conflicts of the Civil War. Her family, riven by internal divisions between parliamentarians and royalists, emblematises the difficulties in transmitting assets across generations in times of instability, as well as providing an especially acute instance of how political acuity—which Clifford possesses in spades—can be brought to bear within the household. Malay's chapter does much to facilitate a rethinking of how we define the political in the period, demonstrating that early modern political life operates on many different scales. Politics are not simply—or primarily—national, but are in fact a local phenomenon, functioning at a regional, civic or even familial level.

As Clifford's difficulties indicate, the transferral of values across generations is not always straightforward. Intergenerational relationships are often characterised by tension and even outright conflict, as our final section, **Rebellion**, makes clear. Our contributors here consider the family in crisis—the family troubled, tested and stretched—focusing on the ways in which moments of intergenerational conflict challenge the familial identities that individuals work hard to establish and maintain in the previous parts of the collection. We begin with **Su Fang Ng**'s study of *King Lear*, in which we see Shakespeare—in characteristically iconoclastic mode—break down the doctrine of *pater patriae* at precisely the moment James VI and

I is working to secure its place as the prevailing trope of his newly inherited and newly united Anglo-Scottish nation. Lear fails tragically as both a father and a king: his daughters and his subjects rebel. Patriarchalism is unflinchingly rendered as vulnerable or even obsolete in the play, a move that Ng connects to the political context in which Shakespeare was writing, at the moment of transition from the long rule of a female monarch to that of the new King. As such, her contribution perfectly encapsulates the way in which chapters in this section (and indeed in this collection as a whole) read the familial in political terms, situating intergenerational conflict in relation to the difficulties of such moments of transition writ large.

This final group of chapters goes on to explore the idea of rebellion in political terms, considering those who disagree with the prevailing orthodoxies of early modern life and act upon that disagreement, with particular attention paid to the effects of this behaviour upon their families. Our period is bookended by two clear moments at which such acts of rebellion are especially prevalent, and at which they bring together the familial and the political in highly acute terms. The Reformation saw families riven along doctrinal divides, with those who outwardly conformed to the Protestant national church often living in the same household as recusants, who continued to practice Catholicism in secret (Robert Southwell, poet and practicing Jesuit in a prevalently conformist family, is a case in point).[17] Many young men were radicalised by Catholic education on the continent and returned to England more violently Popish than their parents. **Lucy Underwood**'s chapter shows the deeply problematic political questions raised by recusancy amongst early modern children. Through detailed archival work, Underwood shines new light on issues including that of who holds ultimate moral responsibility for children, how far parental rights extend (especially where they are in conflict with those of the state) and where the private and public spheres intersect. Conversely, **Abigail Shinn**'s chapter shows how the rhetoric of paternity shapes the enthusiastically Protestant conversion narratives of James Wadsworth and Thomas Gage. Both writers rebel against the religious commitments of their fathers, renouncing the Catholicism of their families. While they assert their doctrinal independence from their forbears, however, their narratives almost obsessively invoke figures of paternity (their own rhetoric seeming to enact a rebellion of its own—against its authors).

While the Reformation provoked many such divisions within families, the Civil War likewise brought national political conflict onto the doorstep and even sometimes into the home, with fathers and sons, mothers and

daughters taking differing positions in the conflict between the republicans and those loyal to the crown (Anne Clifford's family, whose varying political allegiances are charted earlier in the collection, is symptomatic of a broader tendency in this regard). At the restoration, such rhetoric would take on an additional Oedipal dimension, when popular figurations depicted the regicides as having killed their own father by executing the King.[18] We might note, however, that it was not always the case that the more conservative position, that of the old order, was adopted by the older generation, and there were plenty of monarchical political reactionaries amongst the sons and daughters of committed republicans. In the final chapter in this volume, **Lucy Munro** explores the 'politics of age' by considering the inversion of age hierarchies on the early modern stage, with detailed reference to three Jacobean plays. In her study of Thomas Heywood's play *The Late Lancashire Witches*, we find traditional orders turned upside down; fathers are ruled by sons and servants by their masters. In Nathan Field, John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Queen of Corinth*, we are presented with a 56-year-old 'youth', prodigalised and disempowered by his predatory uncle. In Fletcher's *The Humorous Lieutenant*, a king's lust disrupts the 'natural' hierarchical relationships between father and son, king and heir, ruler and subject. Munro reads such subversions with reference to the wider cultural orthodoxies that the plays also wish to challenge—political and social, gender and class-based.

In each of these sections, our contributors examine the ways in which the family defines itself both in the moment, in response to specific events and transitions, and through time, from one generation to the next. Thinking about the family and the state both in time (through a consideration of synchronic relationships) and through time (through a consideration of diachronic relationships), is crucial to all three sections of the collection. Throughout, we see the family—and politics—defined and redefined. As these terms are reinvented, so the dynamic between them must likewise be reimagined, and the complexities inherent in metaphors that depend upon them both are further revealed.

Notes

1. Charles Howard McIlwain, ed. *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 65.
2. William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties, Eight Treatises*, (1622), C^{v}; Richard Braithwaite, *The English Gentleman* (1630), X2^{r}.

3. The essays in this collection are indebted to several revisionary historical works, which have examined early modern families and the affective relationships around which they were structured. These include Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (1977), Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450–1700* (1984), Margaret J. M. Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (1987) and Kari Boyd (ed.), *Domestic Arrangements in Early Modern England* (2002).
4. Su Fang Ng, *Literature and the Politics of the Family in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 7.
5. Studies by Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600–1914* (1996) and R.C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (2010), fuse literary and historical methods to broaden our sense of the early modern family unit. Other studies focus on the more traditionally defined family roles and identities. For example, there are several important literary studies that have examined childhood within the early modern family, including *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World* (2006) and *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood* (2011), both edited by contributors to this collection, Naomi Miller and Naomi Yavneh Klos. Children, parents, fathers and mothers are examined through the works of: Patricia Crawford, *Parents of Poor Children in England 1580–1800* (2010); Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580–1720* (2012); Tom MacFaul, *Problem Fathers in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama* (2012); and Felicity Dunworth, *Mothers and meaning on the Early Modern English Stage* (2013). Other works have focused on specific relationships within the family, particularly between husbands and wives, including Joanne Bailey's *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660–1800* (1999) and Diana O'Hara's, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (2002).
6. The word is etymologically related to 'kind', and encompasses a sense of emotional allegiance as well as biological proximity, implying a generosity of spirit, as well as a familial or societal connection. *OED*, 'kin', n.1. *OED Online*. (Oxford University Press, December 2015).
7. Relevant recent work in gender and sexuality studies that is pertinent to our study includes Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England* (2012), as well studies rebalancing the field by awarding masculinity the same scrutiny that femininity has benefited from over the past forty or so years, namely Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (1999) and Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (2003). Bernard Capp's *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern*

England (2003) offers a new perspective on women's role not only within the family but also within the neighbourhood as a larger kind of family unit. Old age has been an important topic in literary studies of late, and several studies have shaped the way our contributors have explored anxieties about inheritance and succession within the family. Christopher Martin's, *Constituting Old Age in Early Modern English Literature* (2012), Nina Taunton's, *Fictions of Old Age in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (2011) and Erin Campbell's, *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe: Cultural Representations* (2006), are all relevant here. The corresponding question of how youth is perceived in the period and—crucially for our purposes—the political implications of being young within familial and national governmental structures, is addressed by Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560–1640* (1990) and Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and youth in early modern England* (1994).

8. Marguerite Deslauriers and Pierre Destrée note an emerging counter-narrative to such responses: 'There is a growing body of scholarship on these issues in his political philosophy, most of which now seeks neither to defend nor to revile Aristotle for his views, but to situate those views in the context of ancient debates, and to understand the implications of his discussions for our own political lives.' Introduction to *Cambridge Companion to Aristotle's Politics*, p. 2.
9. See James Schmidt, 'A Raven with a Halo: The Translation of Aristotle's *Politics*', *The History of Political Thought*, II.2 (1986), pp. 295–318 (p. 298).
10. See Cary J. Nederman, 'Mechanics and Citizens: The Reception of the Aristotelian Idea of Citizenship in Late Medieval Europe', *Vivarium* 40.1 (2002), pp. 75–102, (p. 86).
11. Schmidt, p. 296.
12. Aristotle, *The Poetics*, ed. by Trevor J. Saunders, trans. by T. A. Sinclair (London: Penguin, revised 1992). Aristotle is concerned with the state, 'by which he means specifically the Greek *polis* or 'city-state' (p. 53).
13. See T.A. Sinclair, Translator's Introduction, p. 17.
14. See also Constance Jordan, 'The Household and the State: Transformations in the Representation of an Analogy from Aristotle to James I', *Modern Language Quarterly* 54.3 (September 1993), pp. 307–326.
15. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. J.C.A. Gaskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 21.9 [111], p. 143.
16. They are thinking particularly of Book IV of *The Politics* here, in which Aristotle suggests that 'a legislator must have knowledge both of the best possible constitution under ideal circumstances, and of the various constitutions that would suit less ideal circumstances'; see Introduction, pp. 5–6.

17. See Hannah Crawforth, '"A Father to the Soul and a Son to the Body": Gender and Generation in Robert Southwell's Epistle to his Father', in Helen Smith and Simon Ditchfield, eds. *Conversions: Gender and Change in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
18. See, for example, *Oedipus: or, The resolver Being a clew that leads to the chiefe secrets and true resolution of amorous, natural, morall, and politicall problemes. Sutable to the fancie of all that are ingeniously inclin'd. By G.M.* (London, 1648).

PART I

Union

CHAPTER 2

Margaret Cavendish, Wife

Julie Crawford

> Eloquence was an invaluable asset for a statesman; it could turn even a woman into a senator.[1]

As most of her readers have noted, Margaret Cavendish was extremely self-conscious about her status as a wife, particularly as the wife of a peer. Yet rather than seeing this self-consciousness as a sign of gendered dependence or elitist vainglory, I read it in political terms. In particular, I want to argue that Cavendish understood and promoted the position of the noble wife as a kind of political office. In a section of *The Worlds Olio* (1655), Cavendish devotes attention to political leaders who ignored the counsel of their wives ('Caesar shewed himself a Fool in nothing but in quitting his Guard, and not hearkning to his Wife'). 'The Counsels of a Wife', she writes, are not 'alwaies to be despised [...] nor to be lockt from the private Affairs of her Husband'.[2] Cavendish evokes a political metaphor here, one in which, as Francis Bacon puts it in his essay 'Of Counsel', '*Soveraignty* is married to *Counsell*'.[3] *Consilium*, in this analogy, is the wife to *Imperium*, and ought to be listened to. Yet while Cavendish was certainly interested in the role of aristocratic counsel in a mixed or limited monarchy, she was

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also interested in the political position of actual wives. In her dedication to her husband in *Philosophical and Physical Opinions* (rev. ed. 1663), for example, she writes that 'Since your Return from a long Banishment into your Native Country, retiring to a Shepheard's Life, I your Shepherdess was resolved, to imploy all my Thoughts and Industry in good Huswifery, knowing your Lordship had great Debts after your great Losses' (sig A2r). At the same time as she presents herself as a wifely helpmeet, she also uses what has been called 'political pastoral', deploying 'homely forms' to 'glaunce at the greater matters' of political and economic redress; her husband's 'great Losses' during the Civil Wars and commonwealth needed to be recovered—Charles II had as yet failed to do so—and her 'housewifery' would be the means.[4] In this instance, good housekeeping in pastoral retirement was a form of political performance associated with aristocratic prominence and power. But it was also a claim on Cavendish's own behalf for her abilities, and rights, as a wife. In this chapter, I argue that these two concepts of the office of a wife inform much of Cavendish's political thought, particularly in her *Life* of her husband, her most influential and frequently reprinted text. If, as Markku Peltonen suggests, eloquence could make even a woman a senator, Cavendish's literary output was a material instantiation of this belief, at once a form of advice to princes, and an advertisement of her own skills.

Interregnum

From the beginning of *The World's Olio*, Cavendish draws attention to her status as wife. In a defence of her authorship against charges—whether real or strategic—that she was not the author of her books, Cavendish writes that 'if any use may be made' of her books, 'my Lord was the Master and I the Prentice' (26). Both an implicit claim for the utility of her 'recreational' book and an explicit statement of her dependence on her husband's wisdom, this statement advertises Cavendish's partnership with her husband.[5] Her subsequent attestation of intellectual (in)dependency—'I never had a familiar acquaintance, or constant conversation with any profest Scholar, in my life, or a familiar acquaintance with any man, so as to learn by them, but those that I have neer relation to, as my Husband, and Brothers'—is less a statement of gendered modesty than a statement of membership in 'the society of the few', the legitimate, and noble, bearers of *sapienta* and *virtu*.[6] That which makes a good poet, she tells her readers, is also that which makes a good 'Privie Councellor': 'observation, and experience, got

by time and company', and she is in very good company indeed (5). Her brothers and her husband were all notable royalist soldiers, and time spent in their company is both an affirmation of their values and of Cavendish's membership in their group.

Cavendish also makes it clear that her 'apprenticeship' to this company had a particular kind of outcome. While her husband helped her to discipline her mind into 'an absolute Monark, ruling alone'—a trope common in the self-presentation of royalists maintaining a principled resistance to the various collectivities of the commonwealth and in Cavendish's own writing—Cavendish also analogises her life to that of 'an expert Souldier', allying herself and her work with *negotium* over *otium* (46). What might seem to be a statement of wifely subordination and privatisation is thus better understood as a statement of familial and aristocratic membership and activism, a delineation of, and claim to, a particular kind of political position or 'office': that of a noble wife.

Amongst the commonplace political maxims on display in *The World's Olio*—'*A Tyrannical power never lasts*' (47); 'to study Court-ship, is rather to study dissembling formality, then noble reality' (48); 'there can be no Government without superiority or superiours' (50)—is the statement that 'Kings should be like good husbands' (50). Its unstated corollary is that subjects should be like good wives. This analogy was certainly used in the service of absolutism—wives were wholly subordinate to their husbands' wills, just as subjects were to their king's—but it was also used for a wide range of other ends, not least in the famous parliamentarian claim that just as there are limits on a wife's subjection to her husband, so too are there limits to a subject's subordination to his king.[7] Wives, in various versions of the analogy, were the partners of, even necessary advisors to, their husbands—the *consilium* to his *imperium*, the codeterminers of the nature of his governance and sharers in its implementation.

After a series of essays on marriage ('Of Marriage', 'Of Marriages' and 'Of Married Wifes') in *The World's Olio*, Cavendish discusses powerful men from Roman history who courted disaster by refusing to listen to their wives. Caesar, as we saw above, 'shewed himself a Fool in nothing but in quitting his Guard, and not hearkning to his Wife', thus 'quitting Prudence and Love', and dying a violent death (83). 'And Seianus quitting the Affection towards his Wife, and placing it upon Julian, raised such a Jealousie in Tyberius, as it cost him his Life, otherwise he might have ruled the Empire, and so the most part of the World'. 'Anthony's leaving his Wife for the love of Cleopatra', she writes in a third example,

'lost him the third part of the World' (83). The term Cavendish uses to describe these relationships is 'counsel'. The 'Counsels of a Wife', she writes, are not

> alwaies to be despised, nor to be lockt from the private Affairs of her Husband; Portia was able to keep a Secret, and was of Brutus her Husbands Confederacy, though not Actually, yet Concealing; And if Caesar had condescended to his Wives Perswasion, he had not gone to the Senate that day; and who knows but the next might have discovered the Conspiracy?. (83)

While 'numberless of the like Examples might be given', Cavendish is most interested in general principles: 'where the Husband and Wife disagree, their Family is in disorder, their Estates go to decay', but 'where the Husband and Wife are united in Minds, as well as in Body, all prospers' (83). In this analogy, the wife stands in relation to her husband in much the same way as (noble) subjects and rightful counsellors stand in relation to their rulers; their wisdom is not to be disregarded; indeed, it is often the key to political success. In Cavendish's rendering, the marital union is an emblem for just governance. The political implications of the marital analogy thus undergird both Cavendish's self-presentation as her husband's wife and her view of the essential and consiliary, rather than silently subordinate, role of noble subjects. In focusing on the wives of famous Roman politicians, Cavendish makes her own 'use of Roman historians' to offer analogues for the kind of power she herself embodied as the wife of the Marquis of Newcastle and as the author, quite literally, of the Cavendishes' political vindication.[8]

Cavendish remained interested in the marital analogy and its uses throughout her pre-Restoration work. *Natures Pictures* (1656), for example, includes the story of 'The Stoick Lady marryed to a Gallant Heroick Man', a barely shadowed account of the Cavendishes themselves in which the 'Stoick Lady' both 'bear[s] her part [of exile and impoverishment] patiently' and knows that the 'poor, smooth, smiling dissembling policyes' of unkept 'court promises' 'will sooner pull down Monarchy than defend it' (sig. R3^{r}-R3^{v}). In another story in the same volume, 'The Matrimonial Agreement', a couple makes a marital contract on the basis of (his promise of) constancy and (her) consent that is nonetheless caveated with her right, upon cause of suspicion, to 'depart from him, with such an allowance out of his estate as she thought fit to maintain her' (sig. R1^{v}). In each case, the wife serves both as a source of consiliary wisdom and as a caution on marital and, by extension, political tyranny.

The sixth book of *Nature's Pictures*, a story entitled 'The Contract', which takes up similar issues of consent, coercion and obligation, is the subject of Victoria Kahn's brilliant argument about the ways in which the romance genre engaged contemporary theories of contract by 'helping the reader both to imagine and to ask questions about a political subject who consents to be contractually bound'.[9] In Kahn's reading, Cavendish's account of a young woman contracted at birth to a man who thereafter breaks that contract and whom she does not marry until the very end of the story is a commentary on contemporary debates about political obligation. Cavendish uses the language of romance, Kahn argues, 'both to argue for a more equitable contractual relationship between husband and wife and to present an account of political obligation that is based on love rather than on filial obedience, wifely subordination, or a Hobbesian account of self-interest' (529).

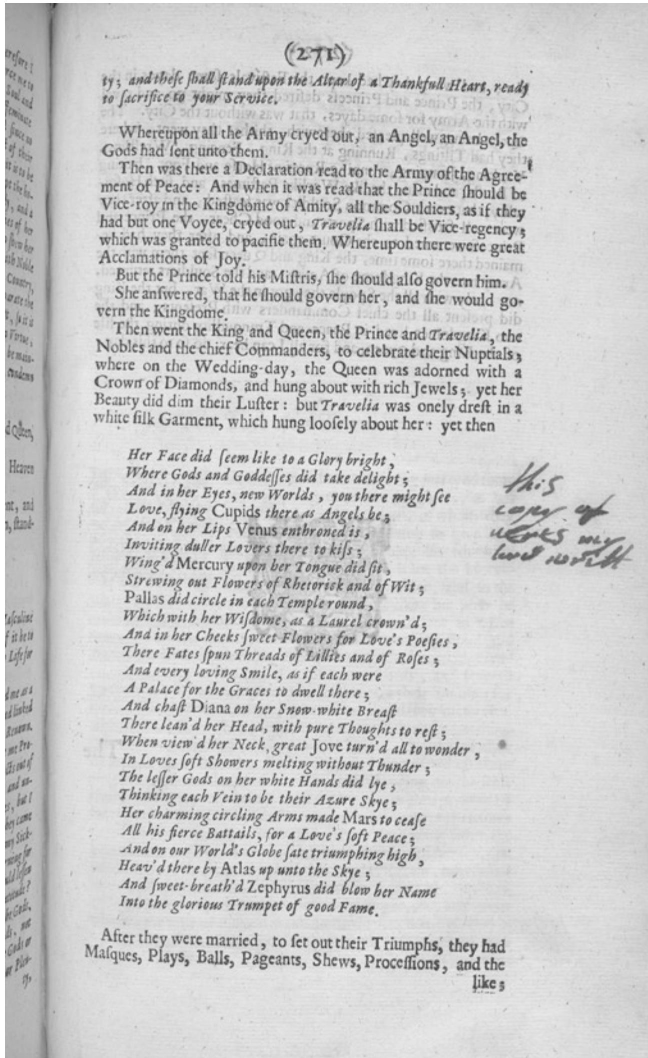
In keeping her focus on the 'ongoing consent and affection of the partners to a contract', rather than presuming, as Thomas Hobbes does, an irrevocable one-time-only act of consent, Cavendish's romance imagines a much more equitable social contract than many of those offered by her contemporaries. Yet, as Kahn goes on to argue, while an equitable marriage might be desirable even to a royalist, it could not be the basis of a subject's allegiance to an absolute sovereign: 'In her critique of the marriage contract', Kahn argues, 'the royalist Cavendish ironically draws near to the parliamentarians' theory of an original and revocable contract between the people and their ruler' (529). As I have been suggesting here, however, there are many political positions in between royal absolutism and parliamentarianism. Cavendish's own royalism was characterised by an ideal of love, fealty and mutual dependency between the nobility and the king—she believed, that is, in a mixed, rather than an absolutist, monarchy. Her promotion of a much debated and much deferred marriage in 'The Contract' thus keeps the focus on the grounds for such a contract rather than its irrevocability, and her use of romance highlights the central importance of both the consenting 'wife' and the ongoing negotiations inherent in the relationship. Indeed, there is nothing ironic about Cavendish's position at all; she is consistently invested in the ways in which marriage served as a figure for a limited monarchy, and 'The Contract' is no exception.[10]

Another story in the same volume, in which a 'Virgin buffeted by fortune' sails 'with a constant wind of Resolution' through an extensively dilatory series of romance adventures, pays even greater attention to the rights and affections of the contracting 'wife' (Ff3^{v}, 220). The heroine in

'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity', in fact, effects the education of a 'Prince', her future spouse, by teaching him lessons on the mastery of passion and the necessity of clemency; defending herself from and educating him out of his tyrannical behaviours; and ultimately, fighting wars and leading governments. Over the course of the romance, the Prince learns to give up coercion in favour of negotiating consent. After he attempts to rape the heroine, for example, he craves 'pardon for his former faults, promising her, that if she would be pleased to allow him her conversation, he would never inforce that on her which she was not willing to grant' (sig. Gg1^{v}; 226). His subsequent gambit for her consent, 'a present of all kindes of rich Persian silks, and tissues, fine linnen and laces, and all manner of toyes which young Ladyes use to make them fine and gay', evokes both Persian and patriarchal tyranny and thus solicits another lesson from the heroine, this time on the importance of reciprocity rather than dependence (sig. Gg2^{r}; 227). '[S]he returned them with great thanks, bidding the bringer tell the Prince, that she did never receive a present, but what she was able to return with advantage'. She insists, in other words, upon mutual obligation and reciprocity as the grounds for a successful 'marriage'.

The rest of the story, which proceeds over 52 pages (220–272) and travels through every available romance trope from shipwrecks and pirates to undiscovered lands, recounts the difficulties of effecting such an equitable contract. When the heroine and her Prince finally do marry, it is notable that they do so right after they have been made co-rulers of a state. The Prince's final words to the heroine are that 'she should also govern him' and hers to him 'that he should govern her, and she would govern the Kingdome' (Mm4^{r}; 271). Their marital contract is thus marked by an ongoing negotiation of the terms of subordination and sovereignty that highlights the importance of mutuality and debate rather than hierarchy and finality. At the conclusion of the story, moreover, Cavendish associates her romance of contract with her *own* marital situation. The marriage in 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' is celebrated, Cavendish tells her readers in her handwritten marginalia, with verses written by her husband, 'my Lord marquis' (271) (Fig. 2.1).

By signposting her literary collaboration with her husband—a process she later refers to as 'our Wits join[ed] as in Matrimony'—in the context of a romance about a marital contract, Cavendish suggests that there is a relationship between her own position as the wife of 'my Lord marquis' and those of all noble 'wives' entrusted with a central rather than subordinate role in the social and political contract.[11]



(271)

ty; and theſe ſhall ſtand upon the Altar of a Thankfull Heart, ready to ſacrifice to your Service.

Whereupon all the Army cryed out, an Angel, an Angel, the Gods had ſent unto them.

Then was there a Declaration read to the Army of the Agreement of Peace: And when it was read that the Prince ſhould be Vice-roy in the Kingdome of Amity, all the Souldiers, as if they had but one Voyce, cryed out, *Travelia* ſhall be Vice-regency; which was granted to pacifie them. Whereupon there were great Acclamations of Joy.

But the Prince told his Miſtris, ſhe ſhould alſo govern him.

She anſwered, that he ſhould govern her, and ſhe would govern the Kingdome.

Then went the King and Queen, the Prince and *Travelia*, the Nobles and the chief Commanders, to celebrate their Nuptials; where on the Wedding-day, the Queen was adorned with a Crown of Diamonds, and hung about with rich Jewels; yet her Beauty did dim their Luſter: but *Travelia* was onely dreſt in a white ſilk Garment, which hung looſely about her: yet then

Her Face did ſeem like to a Glory bright,
Where Gods and Goddeſſes did take delight;
And in her Eyes, new Worlds, you there might ſee
Love, flying Cupids *there as Angels be;*
And on her Lips Venus *enthroned is,*
Inviting duller Lovers there to kiſs;
Wing'd Mercury *upon her Tongue did ſit,*
Strewing out Flowers of Rhetorick and of Wit;
Pallas *did circle in each Temple round,*
Which with her Wiſdome, as a Laurel crown'd;
And in her Cheeks ſweet Flowers for Love's Poeſies,
There Fates ſpun Threads of Lillies and of Roſes;
And every loving Smile, as if each were
A Palace for the Graces to dwell there;
And chaſt Diana *on her Snow-white Breaſt*
There lean'd her Head, with pure Thoughts to reſt;
When view'd her Neck, great Jove *turn'd all to wonder,*
In Loves ſoft Showers melting without Thunder;
The leſſer Gods on her white Hands did lye,
Thinking each Vein to be their Azure Skye;
Her charming circling Arms made Mars *to ceaſe*
All his fierce Battails, for a Love's ſoft Peace;
And on our World's Globe ſate triumphing high,
Heav'd there by Atlas *up unto the Skye;*
And ſweet-breath'd Zephyrus *did blow her Name*
Into the glorious Trumpet of good Fame.

After they were married, to ſet out their Triumphs, they had Maſques, Plays, Balls, Pageants, Shews, Proceſſions, and the like;

Fig. 2.1 Margaret Cavendish, *Natures Pictures drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Life* (London, 1656), p. 271

The final entry in *Natures Pictures* is, fittingly, a biographical account of Cavendish's own life, particularly of her status as, as she puts it in the conclusion, 'daughter to one Master Lucas of St. John's neer Colchester in Essex, second Wife to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle' (sig. Ddd4^{r}; 391). While critics have often read this claim as Cavendish's plea for recognition outside a regime of patriarchal coverture (she identifies herself as 'second Wife'; she writes, 'for my Lord having had two Wives, I might easily have been mistaken, especially if I should dye, and my Lord Marry again'), it is equally powerfully an assertion of her rights as a noble scion and wife. 'A true Relation' begins with an account of another principled royalist wife: Cavendish's mother, Elizabeth Lucas. The Lucas estate was, famously, plundered during the Civil Wars. After her husband's death and throughout the Civil Wars, Cavendish recounts,

> my Mother was of an Heroick Spirit, in suffering patiently where there is no remedy, or to be industrious where she thought she could help; She was of a grave Behaviour, and had such a Majestick Grandeur, as it were continually hung about her, that it would strike a kind of an awe to the beholders, and command respect from the rudest, I mean the rudest of civiliz'd people, I mean not such Barbarous people, as plundered her, and used her cruelly, for they would have pulled God out of Heaven, had they had power, as they did Royaltie out of his Throne. (377)

In this account, Lady Lucas's 'husband' is at once Thomas Lucas and Charles I and her 'Heroick Spirit' that of both a loyal and industrious wife and a loyal and industrious political subject, 'industrious where she thought she could help'. Cavendish thus presents her mother as an exemplification of the political analogy between wives and subjects. The 'Majestick Grandeur' that hung about her very person is perhaps best understood as the apotheotic glow of aristocratic royalism, the divine right of kings slightly dispersed.[12] Yet in focusing on her mother's adept governance of the Lucas estate—'she was very skilfull in Leases, and setting of Lands, and Court-keeping, ordering of Stewards, and the like affaires' (sig. Ccc1^{r}; 377)—Cavendish describes a model royalist wife who was also a model estate manager and office holder: a singularly effective wife who was, quite literally, Cavendish's own forbearer. In her autobiography, Cavendish thus configures her status as a daughter and sister—her inheritance, that is, of a specific familial political disposition—as equally important as her marital status.

There is a collective imagination here, grouped in the present, but with roots deep in the past and offshoots into the future.

Cavendish's subsequent account of the anomalous nature of her own engagement with the parliamentarian regime—'for I never was at the Parliament-House, nor stood I ever at the doore', but once, when refused her 'share of my Lords Estate' (380)—is thus less an account of her gender subordination than of her principled and genealogically consistent royalism. During the commonwealth, royalist wives were entitled to a share of their husbands' sequestered estates; Cavendish was denied her share when she petitioned for it in 1651 because her husband was already a delinquent when she married him. When Cavendish 'whisperingly spoke to my brother [John Lucas] to conduct me out of that ungentlemanly place', she was both distancing herself from women petitioners and the regime that spawned them ('the Customes of England being changed as well as the Laws, where Women become Pleaders, Atturneys, Petitioners and the like') and attesting to her own royalist 'Confidence' in the imminent Restoration of the monarchy at both the ideological and practical levels (sig. Ccc2^{v}; 380). Rather than an indication of political quietism, her claim to be 'unpractised in publick Imployments' and 'unlearned' in the 'uncouth Ways' of those she had to appear before signals her refusal to be a 'flatterer', that is, someone subordinately subject to power in whatever 'ungentlemanly'—or parliamentary—form it takes. Instead, as she does in *The World's Olio*, Cavendish presents herself as a principled member of the society of the few: a counsellor, that is, rather than a flatterer. (While her two other brothers died as royalist martyrs, the brother she appeared with at the Committee had received a title, Baron Lucas of Shenfield, as compensation for his loyalty.) Rather than hanging around parliament's doors during the Interregnum, Cavendish reminds us, she was writing and publishing her books, including the one her readers presently hold in their hands. 'For who can tell but my poor Book may have/Honour'd renown, when I am in the Grave?' she writes in the volume's final couplet, seeking to erect one of the forms of monumentalism, or 'Majestick Grandeur', that she hoped would mark both her political stature and her legacy (sig. Fff2^{v}; 390). Cavendish's eloquence may not have made her a senator *per se*, but it was nonetheless her means of promoting both the consiliary rights of the nobility and her own political rights as a noble wife.

Post-Restoration

If Cavendish spent the Interregnum authoring a sustained political argument for a particular kind of royalism and her own family's place in it, the Restoration of the monarchy, and the subsequent re-securing of the Newcastle estates, enabled an improvement in her personal, if not necessarily political, fortunes. Her jointure was increased to £1125 per annum, and she was given a life interest in the family's primary estate, Bolsover Castle.[13] There is also ample evidence that Cavendish did in fact 'imploy' a great deal of her 'Thoughts and Industry in good Huswifery' in her post-Restoration life in the Newcastle estates. This 'Huswifery' took the form of the kinds of stewardship her own mother had effected in Colchester: the establishing of 'Leases, and setting of Lands, and Court-keeping, ordering of Stewards, and the like affaires', as well as the creation of material accounts of the Cavendish losses and records of the family's military and political loyalty, and the concerted promotion of their rights of redress and office-holding.[14] For Margaret Cavendish, her family's basis of power lay not only in the immanent 'Majestick Grandeur' of the (restored) royalist nobility but also in the more material practices of regional aristocratic power it had always asserted, and could still marshal, in the North. In her post-Restoration work, Cavendish continued to criticise the Stuart regime for its failure to reward the loyalty and reaffirm the political status of the royalist nobility and to uphold the traditional rights of that nobility as regional governors and counsellors to the monarch. She did so, moreover, increasingly on the basis of her own rights, encapsulated and emblazoned in her actively circulated folio volumes.[15]

In these volumes, Cavendish continued to make use of political analogies between women and subjects and wives and counsellors. Women, she writes in a preface to *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, are

> shut out of all power, and Authority by reason we are never imployed either in civil or marshall affaires, *our counsels are despised*, laught at, the best of our actions are trodden down with scorn, by the over-weaning conceit men have of themselves and through a dispisement of us.[16]

In contrast to such misogyny, her husband appears here, and in much of Cavendish's work, as a supporter of women, praising his wife's work as fighting the 'over-weaning' prerogative of men. In his epistle 'To the Lady Marquesse of Newcastle, On her Book intitled her Philosophicall,

and Physicall Opinions', for example, William praises her work in favourable comparison to 'old Grave Philosophers' and other 'learned men'), and in a second epistle, he defends her against those 'laying those false, and malicious aspersions of her, that she was not Authour of her BOOKS' by explicitly calling out anti-feminist sentiment.[17] In a prefatory letter to *Sociable Letters*, he even explicitly describes her writing as having the '*Style of States-men*' and criticises those who attack it.[18] If overweening male prerogative was often a sign of tyranny, the defence of women was, in turn, a sign of political balance: a rights-based argument that placed limits on claims to absolute power. As the resistant heroine Pamela says to her misogynist tyrant-tormenter in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, 'I know thy power is not unlimited'—a clear articulation of the limits a constant woman places on overweening power, and, by analogy, of the limits just counsellors place on kings who claim unlimited sovereignty.[19] Cavendish's promotion of her own status as an empowered wife was thus a central aspect of her post-Restoration promotion of her husband; the proto-feminism she ascribes to him functions as a sign not only of his consiliary wisdom and thus suitability for political office but of his own status as a 'Prince' in his own right—a right buttressed by the political perspicacity and eloquence of '*the thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, His Wife*'. Cavendish thus claims consiliar status both within her (equitable) marriage and within her country's political dispensation. Her books, moreover, continue to promote, and literally emblematise, these roles.

The official title of Cavendish's best-known work, her biography of her husband, illustrates the dynamic I have been highlighting, and I present it here in full:

> *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendishe, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Newcastle; Earl of Ogle; Viscount Mansfield; and Baron of Bolsover, of Ogle, Bothal and Hepple: Gentleman of His Majesties Bed-chamber; one of His Majesties most Honourable Privy-Councel; Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter; His Majesties Lieutenant of the County and Town of Nottingham; and Justice in Ayre Trent-North: who had the honour to be Governour to our most Glorious King, and Gracious Soveraign, in his Youth, when He was Prince of Wales; and soon after was made Captain General of all the Provinces beyond the River of Trent, and other Parts of the Kingdom of England, with Power, by a special Commission, to make Knights. Written by the thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, His Wife.*

While the title clearly blazons each of William Cavendish's titles—particularly his status as a 'PRINCE', the highest possible rank within the nobility—Margaret Cavendish is nonetheless the means by which this status is blazoned. Her account of her husband's life, defence of his military actions, account of his losses (the volume includes 'a Computation of My Lord's Losses, which he hath suffered by those unfortunate Warres') and argument for his suitability to be a 'Counselor' to the King is written by a 'Wife' who is both a 'Princess' and, as we will see, a strict record keeper, a scrupulous historian and a remarkably politic, or 'eloquent', senator on behalf of a quite radical set of political critiques and ideas.

As she did in *The Worlds Olio*, Cavendish presents herself in the *Life* as her husband's creature—his 'Lordship was [her] onely Tutor', she tells her readers, teaching her what he had 'found and observed by [his] own experience' as she was too young when he married her to 'have much knowledg of the world'. But she also advertises her own skills, pointing out that despite her youth, 'it pleased God to command his Servant Nature to indue [endow] me with a Poetical and Philosophical Genius, even from my Birth' and illustrating the ways in which her particular form of 'Genius' serves her husband (sig. a2^{r}). Cavendish draws a parallel between her 'Contemplating and Writing' and her husband's 'Loyal, Noble, and Heroick Actions' during the Civil Wars when she suggests that those whose 'spight and malice' has sought to 'stain' their actions are part of the same 'party': faced with the same enemies, husband and wife are thus configured as 'soldiers' for the same cause (sig. b1^{r}). Even though his actions were done 'publickly in the Field' with 'many thousand Eye-witnesses' and hers 'privately in my Closet' with no witnesses but her 'Waiting-maids' (sig. b1^{v}), Cavendish nonetheless suggests that her 'Contemplating and Writing' is a form of political activism.

Cavendish claims a specific political resonance for the kind of history she sets out to write in the *Life*. At the beginning of the volume, she claims that of the 'three chief kinds of history'—General, National and Particular—the last is the 'most secure' because it goes 'not out of its own Circle, but turns on its own Axis, and for the most part, keeps within the Circumference of Truth' (sig. c1^{v}). If, she argues, 'National' history is dangerous because 'it teaches subtil Policies, begets Factions, not onely between particular Families and Persons, but also between whole Nations, and great Princes', then 'Particular' history is 'Heroical', written only by 'the Prime Actors, or the Spectators of those Affairs and Actions of which they write'. Cavendish compares the former, moreover, 'to an Aristocracy', and the latter, 'to a

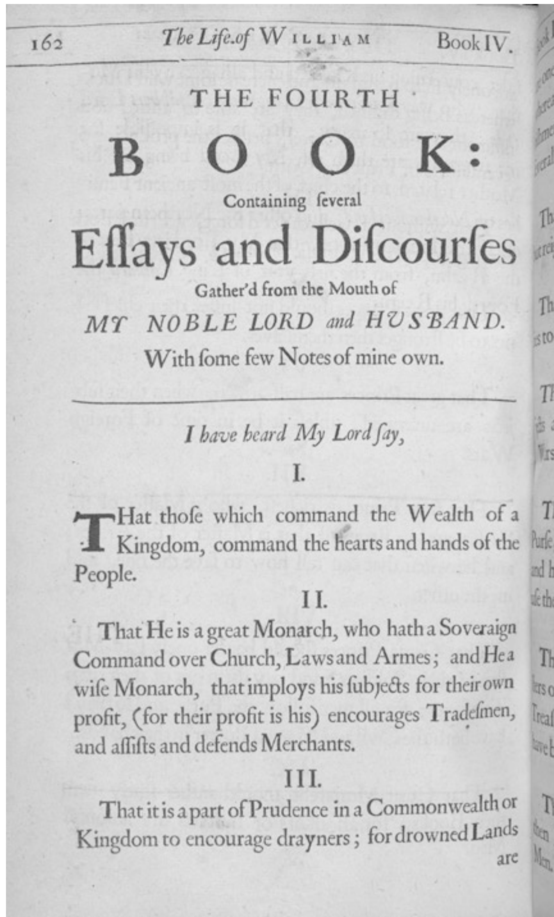
Monarchy' (sig. c1^{r}), clearly signalling the political intentions and loyalties of her own volume (and denying any factional ambitions of her own). It is not, Cavendish argues, 'inconsistent with my being a Woman, to write of wars' as these are not wars 'between Medes and Persians, Greeks and Trojans, Christians and Turks; but amongst my own Countreymen, whose Customs and Inclinations, and most of the Persons that held any considerable Place in the Armies, was well known to me'. '[B]esides all that', she continues, 'my Noble and Loyal Lord did act a chief Part in that fatal Tragedy, to have defended (if humane power could have done it) his most Gracious Soveraign, from the fury of his Rebellious Subjects' (sig.c1^{v}). Here Cavendish both distances her husband's actions—and thus her critique—from the factional self-interest associated with the 'Aristocratic' form of government and highlights the singular heroism of her husband in defending the King against his 'Rebellious subjects'.

Her account, she goes on to suggest, will avoid recriminating her husband's enemies. She will not tell 'Romansical Falshoods for Historical Truths', she writes in her preface, nor

> write to amuse my Readers, in a mystical and allegorical Style, of the disloyal Actions of the opposite Party, of the Treacherous Cowardise, Envy and Malice of some Persons, my Lords Enemies, and of the ingratitude of some of his seeming Friends. (sig. c2^{r})

She cannot, she avers, 'better obey his Lordships Commands to conceal those things, then in leaving them quite out, as I do, with submission to his Lordships desire, from whom I have learn'd Patience to overcome my Passions, and Discretion to yield to his Prudence' (c2^{r}). Here, she both highlights her husband's credentials as an effective counsellor—he is the stoic, discreet and prudent master of his passions—and, crucially, her own politic ability to circumvent them. As James Fitzmaurice has shown, Cavendish did in fact indict her husband's enemies and expose 'the ingratitude of some his seeming friends' in her *Life*. While she hand-corrected these 'few errors' in the actual copies of the book, her 'corrections' actually drew even greater attention to the 'errors' than if she had left them alone. Her 'errors', and her corrections of them, thus allowed Cavendish both the grounds for deniability and the vengeful exposure of perfidy.[20] At the end of the volume, she includes what seems to me to be the signature testament to her partnership with her husband: a product of their 'Wits join[ed…] in Matrimony' that is at once a record of their union and of its

status as a political analogy. In the last books, she tells us, she has set down 'some Essayes and Discourses of My Lords, together with some Notes and Remarques of mine own', a series of political observations that both avow their loyalty and proffer some trenchant criticism. (She introduces them at sig. D2^{r}; they appear starting on sig. Tt1^{v}; 162) (Fig. 2.2).



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THE FOURTH

BOOK:

Containing ſeveral

Eſſays and Diſcourſes

Gather'd from the Mouth of

MY NOBLE LORD and HUSBAND.

With ſome few Notes of mine own.

I have heard My Lord ſay,

I.

THat thoſe which command the Wealth of a Kingdom, command the hearts and hands of the People.

II.

That He is a great Monarch, who hath a Soveraign Command over Church, Laws and Armes; and He a wiſe Monarch, that imploys his ſubjects for their own profit, (for their profit is his) encourages Tradeſmen, and aſſiſts and defends Merchants.

III.

That it is a part of Prudence in a Commonwealth or Kingdom to encourage drayners; for drowned Lands are

Fig. 2.2 Margaret Cavendish, *The Life of the thrice Noble […] Prince, William Cavendishe* (London, 1667), p. 162

Throughout the *Life*, Cavendish reminds readers that 'before the Wars my Lord had as great an Estate as any subject in the Kingdom'—an estate, she points out, 'descended upon him most by Women' (sig. Bb1^{v}; 94)—and that he both raised his army 'upon his own Interest for the Service of His Majesty' and had governance over his own private Princedom. He had, she tells us,

> the Power of Coyning, Printing, Knighting, &c. which never any Subject had before, when His Soveraign Himself was in the Kingdom; as also the Command of so many Counties [...] and the Power of placing and displacing what Governours and Commanders he pleased, and of constituting what Garisons he thought fit. (sig. Gg1^{r})

In presenting her husband as both a regional sovereign and a military baron, Cavendish reminds her readers of the basis of the English monarchy, encapsulated in the Magna Carta and embodied by the titled, propertied and martially empowered barons of the feudal past.[21] While she spends time offering the history of Charles's conferral of the 'Titles and Dignities of Marquess, and Duke of Newcastle' (sig. Kk1^{r}; 125) upon her husband, she spends an equal amount of time on the 'little Book, or rather a Letter', Newcastle wrote to the King from his exile 'wherein he delivered his Opinion concerning the Government of his Dominions, whensoever God should be pleased to restore him to his Throne'.[22] Her biography establishes reciprocity—even at the level of number of sentences—as the basis of the relationship between the monarch and his noble subject: their contract is based not only on consent but on mutual obligation: the army Newcastle raises on 'his own interest' fights in defence of Charles I's prerogative; the titles and honours Charles II offers to Newcastle are balanced by the letter of political advice Newcastle wrote to him from exile.

As the biography progresses, Cavendish pays increasing attention to her own role in its economic and political accounting. She highlights her function as scribe and as interlocutor, relying less on private documents (the Letter, she tells her readers, was for Charles's eyes, not hers) than on her conversations with her husband. She bases her confirmations of his 'Natural Understanding and Judgment' 'upon some Discourse I held with him one time' (sig. Pp1^{v}; 146) and points out that the essays and discourses she presents are both 'Gather'd from the Mouth of My Noble Lord and Husband' and buttressed by some 'Notes of mine own'. Often her formulations of the most trenchant pieces of political commentary

begin with 'I have heard my Lord say', or 'I asked my Lord one time', formulations that display a dialogic engagement that is at once a model for counsel and for the union between *imperium* and *consilium*.

Her husband's 'Essays and Discourses' consistently defend the rights of the great peers: their freedom from taxation, their right to equity ('many Laws do rather entrap, then help the subject' [169]), their crucial role as local governors and their rightful place as the natural counsellors to the king ('Great Princes should onely have Great, Noble and Rich Persons to attend them, whose Purses and Power may alwayes be ready to assist them', [179]). Cavendish records one particularly interesting statement of Newcastle's political loyalty as follows:

> I have heard him say several times, That his love to his gracious Master King Charles the Second, was above the love he bore to his Wife, Children, and all his Posterity, nay to his own life: And when, since His Return into England, I answer'd him, That I observed His Gracious Master did not love him so well as he lov'd Him; he replied, That he cared not whether His Majesty lov'd him again or not; for he was resolved to love him. (sig. Zz2^{v}, 180)

Here Cavendish presents her husband as loyal to the King in a way that is at once analogous to marriage and a supersession of its bonds. Cavendish herself functions as the voice of a dissenting critique, at once critical of the King's failure to reward those who suffered for the cause ('*I observed* His Gracious Master did not love him so well as he lov'd Him'), and silenced by the man on whose behalf she is registering the complaint. Cavendish thus preserves her husband's unquestioned loyalty—'a real Friend' who 'profer[s his] honest service, either out of pure Love and Loyalty, or in hopes of Advancement, seeing there is none but by serving the State' (179)—and subjects the King's failure of appropriate reward to public scrutiny and critique.

At other moments, 'William Cavendish' corrects his wife's criticism of the government of Charles I, touting the inevitable righteousness of monarchy and the inevitability of Charles II's return (180); corrects her insistence that Princes err by focusing instead on the 'Follies of the people' (181); and corrects her assertion that Princes' 'splendor proceeds from the Ceremony which they receive from their Subjects', by insisting,

in contrast, 'that all the Honours and Titles, in which consists the chief splendor of a subject, were principally derived from [Princes]; for, said he, were there no Princes, there would be none to confer Honours and Titles' (183). In one dialogue, she naively asks why men of 'small parties' want to be 'Commanders' in 'States Affairs' and why they are more rewarded than men of 'Great Merit and Power'. Her Lord answers that the reason was 'That it was far more easie to reward Under-Officers, then Great Commanders' and allows her comment that 'States were afraid of [great men's] Power' to stand uncorrected (185). In each of these instances, Margaret Cavendish's often sharply critical opinion is negotiated and (often) mediated, or softened, by dialogue with her husband. Newcastle and Cavendish's conversations thus serve as models for political discourse in much the same way as their marital union serves as a model for an ideal political union.[23]

'The Some Few Notes of the Authoress' (191) that Cavendish offers following her husband's (nearly) unimpeachably loyal words of political wisdom thus stand out that much more sharply. Despite the fact that her husband was disadvantaged in raising an army on the King's behalf 'by reason a Kingly or Monarchical Government was then generally disliked', Cavendish points out that the impressive army Newcastle did raise was raised 'most upon his own and his Friends Interest' (191). He raised this army, moreover, 'upon his own Interest (he having many Friends and Kindred in the Northern parts) at such a time when his Gracious King and Soveraign was then not Master of his own Kingdome' (192). Here Cavendish highlights both her husband's sovereignty 'in the Northern parts' and the way in which it was the sole grounds on which the King—not, at the time, 'Master of his own Kingdome'—might possibly stand. Thus when Cavendish expresses her concern that while 'in other Kingdoms or Countries, to be the chief Governour of a Province, is not onely a place of Honour, but much Profit', the Lieutenancy of a County in England 'is barely a Title of Honour, without Profit' (sig. Eee2^{r}; 199), she is at once complaining about Charles II's failure to reward her husband—at the time the (thoroughly unremunerated) Lord Lieutenant of Nottingham—and reminding her readers that the nobility is the very foundation of the monarchy.[24] No Nobility, she seems to tell her readers—including Charles II—no King. The counsels of a wife are only ever despised at her husband's peril.

Notes

1. Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (1995), p. 171.
2. *The Worlds Olio* (London: J. Martin and J. Allestrye, 1655), p. 83. All subsequent references to this text will be cited parenthetically within the essay itself.
3. *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall.* Edited by Michael Kiernan (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1985) p. 64.
4. The term 'political pastoral' is David Norbrook's; see *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). On the codes of pastoral, see George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie.* A Facsimile Reproduction, with an introduction by Baxter Hathaway (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1970), p. 53.
5. For alternative discussions of Margaret Cavendish's concern with her status as a wife, see Karen Raber, '"Our wits joined as in matrimony": Margaret Cavendish's Playes and the Drama of Authority', *English Literary Renaissance* 28.3 (1998), pp. 463–494, and Kate Lilley, 'Contracting Readers: Margaret Newcastle and the Rhetoric of Conjugality', in *A Princely Brave Woman: Margaret Cavendish*, ed. S. Clucas (London: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 19–39.
6. The phrase 'society of the few' comes from Earl Miner, *The Cavalier Modes from Jonson to Cotton* (Princeton UP, 1971), p. 275.
7. The most famous articulation of this remains Mary Lyndon Shanley, 'Marriage Contract and Social Contract in Seventeenth Century English Political Thought'. *The Western Political Quarterly* 32.1 (Mar., 1979), pp. 79–91. See also Victoria Kahn, 'Margaret Cavendish and the Romance of Contract'. *Renaissance Quarterly* 50.2 (Summer, 1997), pp. 526–566.
8. The term comes from Malcolm Smuts, 'Court-Centered Politics and the Uses of Roman Historians, c. 1590–1630', *Culture and politics in early Stuart England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 21–43.
9. Victoria Kahn, 'Margaret Cavendish and the Romance of Contract', p. 528. All subsequent references to this essay will be cited parenthetically within the text.
10. Similarly, those who see her work as characterised by an 'ambiguous royalism' misunderstand the nature of the kind of royalism Cavendish promoted; rather than any scepticism about the institution itself, Cavendish believed in a mixed monarchy, what has sometimes been called 'aristocratic constitutionalism'. See, for example, Mihoko Suzuki, 'The Ambiguous Royalism of Margaret Cavendish', in *Subordinate Subjects: Gender, the*

Political Nation, and Literary Form in England, 1588–1688 (Ashgate, 2003), pp. 182–202.

11. See the Ninth Preface to her *Playes written by the thrice noble, illustrious and excellent princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London: Printed by A. Warren, for John Martyn, James Allestry, and Tho. Dicas, 1662), in which Cavendish emphasises the literary collaboration with her husband and uses the phrase 'my Lord' several times.
12. For a great reading of aristocratic exceptionalism, see Hero Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers, 1650–1689* (Oxford University Press, 2004).
13. Richard W. Goulding, *Margaret (Lucas) Duchess of Newcastle* (Lincolnshire: Chronic, 1925), p. 20.
14. On the Cavendish properties and economies, see Goulding, as well as Thomas Longuville, ed., *The First Duke and Duchess of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne* (London: Longman, Green, 1910), Douglas Grant, *Margaret the First: A Biography of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, 1623–1673* (London: Hart-Davis, 1957), Sara Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), and my 'Convents and Pleasures: Margaret Cavendish and the Drama of Property', *Renaissance Drama* 32 (2003), 177–223.
15. On her circulation of her work, see my entry on 'Margaret Cavendish' in the *Encyclopedia of English Renaissance Literature*, eds. Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., & Alan Stewart. 3 vols. (Blackwell, 2011), pp. 161–169.
16. 'To the Two Universityes' in *The philosophical and physical opinions written by Her Excellency the Lady Marchionesse of Newcastle* (Printed for J. Martin and J. Allestrye at the Bell in St. Pauls Church-Yard 1655), sig. B2^{v}, emphasis added.
17. *The philosophical and physical opinions*, sig. A: 'a Lady writes them, and to intrench so much upon the male prerogative, is not to be forgiven; but I know Gown-men will be more civil to her, because she is of the Gown too, and therefore I am confident you will defend her and truth, and thus be undeceived'.
18. 'To the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, on her Book of Epistles', in *CCXI sociable letters written by the thrice noble, illustrious, and excellent princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London: Printed by William Wilson, 1664), sig. A^{v}.
19. 'And then, Beastly woman (saide she) followe on, doo what thou wilt, and canst vpon me: *for I know thy power is not vnlimited*. Thou maist well wracke this sillie bodie, but me thou canst neuer ouerthrowe. For my part, I will not doo thee the pleasure to desire death of thee: but assure thy self, both my life and death, shall triumph with honour, laying shame vpon thy detestable tyranny'. Philip Sidney, *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia: The New Arcadia*. Edited Victor Skretkowicz. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York:

Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 553–554, emphasis added. I discuss this scene in *Mediatrix: Women, Politics and Literary Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford UP, 2014), pp. 63–72, esp. p. 70.

20. James Fitzmaurice, 'Margaret Cavendish on Her Own Writing: Evidence from Revision and Handmade Correction'. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 85 (September, 1991), pp. 297–307. In a prefatory letter to her husband, she states that she will not 'mention any thing or passage to the prejudice or disgrace of any family or particular person' in her work (sig. aii), and in the volume itself, she inked out two sections that seem to be in corrective keeping with this promise: one that claimed that William's troops stayed on duty during Bishops' wars in spite of King's failure to provide pay and one that accused Lord Goring and Sir Francis Mackworth of 'invigilancy and carelessness'. As Fitzmaurice illustrates, the attempted deletions of those offending passages were so light one could still make out the words underneath. In some editions, moreover, the inked out words are readily supplied in a contemporary hand (Fitzmaurice, 26).
21. On the 'barons', see J. S. A. Adamson, 'The Baronial Context of the English Civil War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series. Vol. 40 (1990), 93–120.
22. On William Cavendish's Letter to Charles II, see William Cavendish, *Ideology and Politics on the Eve of Restoration: Newcastle's Advice to Charles II*, transcribed and ed. by Thomas P. Slaughter (The American Philosophical Society, 1984), Conal Condren, 'Casuistry to Newcastle: 'The Prince' in the World of the Book' in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, edited by Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993), pp. 164–186, and Hilda Smith, '"A General War Amongst the Men… but None amongst the Women": Political Differences between Margaret and William Cavendish' in *Politics and the Political Imagination in Later Stuart Britain: Essays Presented to Lois Green Schwoerer*, ed. by Howard Nenner (Rochester: University of Rochester Press 1997), pp. 143–160.
23. See also Kate Lilley's reading of the 'catachrestic' dialogue between Margaret 'Newcastle' and her husband, especially her argument that Cavendish claims a 'symmetrical, even indivisible, relationship' with her husband and presents herself as 'creator and steward of an internally coherent and yet various, self-sustaining textual estate' (21, 22).
24. Cavendish includes her husband's honours in the *Life* at various moments, including a section entitled 'Of his Honours and Dignities' (pp. 137–138), which lists 13 different 'Honours, Titles and Dignities which were conferr'd upon my Lord, by King James, King Charles the First, and King Charles the Second, partly as an encouragement for future Service, and a Reward for past'.

CHAPTER 3

Reading Overbury's *Wife*: Politics and Marriage in 1616

Christina Luckyj

When publisher Laurence Lisle got hold of a manuscript of Thomas Overbury's little poem 'A Wife' and published it posthumously in 1614, he could have had no way of knowing that this wildly popular bestseller would run to 16 editions before the Civil War.[1] Initially conceived as a memorial to Overbury, a prominent courtier supposed to have penned his portrait of an ideal wife to register moral objections to the proposed match between Robert Carr Earl of Somerset, the King's favourite, and Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, the work took on new meaning in 1616 as both Carr and Howard were indicted and publically tried for Overbury's murder.[2] The seventh, eighth and ninth editions of 1616 included a burgeoning number of witty 'Characters' and elegies supplied by professional writers highlighting the scandalous circumstances of Overbury's death and their origins in corrupt court culture.[3] '*Great crimes* commit the *Greater* sort, / And boldest acts of shame blaze in the *Court*', writes elegist W.S, 'Things so farre out of frame, as if the day / Were come wherein another *Phaeton* / Stolne into *Phoebus waine*, had all misse-won / *A cleane contrary way*'.[4] Providing a moral tonic for such crimes is Overbury's own text, surviving him 'in pittying fame, / In [his] sweet Wife, in these most acute lines', as Thomas Gainsford

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writes.[5] Building on this Overburian ideal of a virtuous woman—an ideal that circulated as an antidote to that of the murderous whore—two early modern readers of Overbury's *Wife* generated their own related texts the same year. The author of several elegies for *A Wife*, Daniel Tuvill used the same publisher and printer to bring out his *Asylum Veneris, or a Sanctuary for Ladies* (1616), a contribution to the *querelle des femmes* that promoted the importance of wifely counsel and catalogued powerful and virtuous female rulers, while Sir John Davies produced *A Select Second Husband for Sir Thomas Overburies Wife, Now a Matchlesse Widow* (1616). While Davies is largely concerned with the qualities desirable in the ideal husband, Tuvill explicitly suggests that a husband who is less than ideal should be directed by his wife. In both cases, I shall argue, such domestic rhetoric is loaded with political meaning that points beyond the family. Yet these texts also suggest that the notoriously hierarchical relationship between husband and wife, the core unit of the early modern family, could be fundamentally reimagined in times of political crisis or change.

Both Tuvill's and Davies's texts were products of the intense political factionalism with which Overbury's *Wife*, like Overbury himself, was clearly associated. Aligned with what one correspondent called an '"aggregation of good patriots"—"patriot" in Jacobean political discourse, having already acquired a pro-Parliament, pro-Protestant, anti-Catholic tinge'—Overbury objected to Carr's affair with Frances Howard primarily for political reasons, because it 'pulled him into her family's orbit, away from Overbury's friends in the Southampton group'.[6] When, in 1613, Overbury was imprisoned, the 'patriots' suffered a severe blow; Robert Carr not only married the recently divorced Frances Howard in a lavish wedding at the King's expense, but also began to implement the King's pro-Spanish policies, brokering the proposed match of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta.[7] When Overbury died in the Tower, his death was initially attributed to illness. Two years later, as 'a full-scale factional struggle' at court broke out amid rumours of an impending Spanish invasion, the Protestant faction released evidence to suggest that he had in fact been murdered by Carr, Howard and their accomplices.[8] 'Their political motivation was obvious to foreign observers', notes David Lindley.[9] As the Protestant faction engineered Robert Carr's indictment for murder, they discredited his 'promotion of non-parliamentary, pro-Spanish and pro-Catholic policies', while their own fortunes climbed.[10] The texts of Overbury's *Wife* that circulated in the print marketplace from 1614 onwards were thus closely associated with the pro-Parliamentary cause. And, while the public

trials of Carr, Howard and their accomplices staged in 1616 advertised the justice of the King, his close association with them also led to 'concern about the royal capacity to govern the realm'.[11] As Lindley observes, 'the trials confirmed in the minds of auditors what they already believed of the court, that it was an immoral and villainous place. This posed something of a problem for the prosecutors, in that the mud could so easily stick to the King himself'.[12] Associated, like Overbury himself, with the hyper-Protestant, pro-Parliamentary court faction at a time when James and his court seemed both corrupt and anti-populist, both Tuvill and Davies build on the rhetoric of Overbury's *Wife* to tap into the well-known political marriage metaphor in which the wife figures Parliament and the nation, the husband, her King.

If the early modern family is frequently referred to as 'a little Commonwealth', the state is as often imagined as a family unit, with the monarch serving as husband to his people.[13] After nearly a half century of female rule, James began his reign by declaring the entire kingdom his wife: 'I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife; I am the head, and it is my body'.[14] Designed to make a divinely appointed king's power over his subjects as absolute as that accorded by scripture to husbands to 'rule over' their wives after the fall (Gen. 3:16), James's typical use of the marriage metaphor accords with the advice he gives his son in *Basilikon Doron*: 'Ye are the head, she is your body. It is your office to command, and hers to obey'.[15] In a defence of James's right to succession written at his behest at the turn of the century, Thomas Craig deploys the same spousal rhetoric to reinforce James's unilateral authority:

> The King is the husband of the Commonwealth, and its head also, and the Faith of Husband and Wife is mutual; yet it does not follow, that the Wife is Superior or Equal to the Husband, tho' he swore to be faithful to her. Neither is the man to be reckon'd inferior, because he plights his Faith to her, but with her Fidelity the Husband receives Power and Authority over his Wife, and all her goods, at the same time with an Oath. Now if he beats his Wife, or uses her ill, or wasts all her Estate prodigally, does he forfeit his Authority, and Command as a Husband? Or is he to be rejected by his Wife?[16]

Such questions were designed to be entirely rhetorical. Yet, as Su Fang Ng observes, 'at the root of the family-state analogy was not a single ideology but a debate. With a long history dating back to the ancient world, the

analogy's meaning was not stable'.[17] The analogy between marriage and politics had the potential to serve as a foundation for resistance theory; Mary Lyndon Shanley notes that 'advocates of parliamentary or popular checks on the king's prerogative tried to paint the marriage relationship as one in which the authority of husbands over wives could be limited or even broken'.[18] While Craig's defence of absolutism is not inconsistent with the English law of coverture, he violates the cherished English notion of mutual consent that normally governed the relation between monarch and subjects, enshrined in the traditional coronation of the monarch as a marriage contract in which 'the sovereign would secure legitimacy by submitting to law and counsel, while the subject would find security in the ruler's might'.[19] In a speech to the 1614 Parliament that roughly coincided with the publication of the first edition of Overbury's *Wife*, Sir Henry Neville declared:

> as in private families and all other societies where the straightest bands of nature or election do concur to unite affections there is almost a continual necessity of mutual offices of kindness to nourish and maintain that love, so in kingdoms besides that great bond of protection and allegiance between the sovereign and the subject there is a like necessary use of the frequent change of mutual effects of grace and love to cherish and foster that tender affection that is to be daily renewed between them.[20]

This affective and familial relation between sovereign and subject, allowing ideals of counsel and shared government to enter the public sphere, was so fundamental to defining English national identity in opposition to continental models as to be virtually axiomatic. Since, as Constance Jordan observes, in the wife as the 'quintessential political subject […] many men saw reflected aspects of their own social situations', discussions of the rights of the wife could be fraught with political implications.[21] Indeed, as she points out, 'the concept of a wife in relation to the household-state analogy […] shadow[s] the elements of what was to become the liberty of the people'.[22] Certainly, for those seeking a political language in which to express growing concerns about the infringement of royal prerogative on the ancient liberty of the subject, the marriage metaphor offered a useful paradigm. While Protestant tracts often appear to be purely domestic, both their implicit political analogies and the pressures of their historical moment can work to situate them in a broader political sphere. As Kevin Sharpe suggests, 'it is the political historian who may

see the highly topical, immediate and (perhaps) radical comment in the articulation at a specific moment of the timeless trope or convention'.[23] Particular historical events could put pressure on the familial metaphor and sharpen its political critique.

At first glance, any hint of political critique in the paratexts of the seventh, eighth and ninth editions of *Sir Thomas Overburie his Wife with new elegies vpon his (now knowne) vntimely death* (1616) seems swallowed up in the outpouring of misogyny so characteristic of responses to the Overbury scandal.[24] 'When Eve fell', writes John Ford, 'She tooke a care that all the Wo-men-kinde / That were to follow her, should be as blinde / As she was wilfull'. By contrast, Overbury's *Wife* is praised precisely because she is textual and not real, a 'peece of Vertue, that ne're tooke her life / From a fraile Mother's labor'.[25] Daniel Tuvil's prefatory tribute is representative:

> But heere's a Dame growen husbandlesse of late,
> Which not a Man but wisheth were his Mate.
> So faire without, so free from spot within,
> That Earth seemes heere to stand exempt from sin,
> *Juno* vouchsafe, and *Hymen*, when I wed,
> I may behold this Widdow in my Bed.[26]

If Overbury's 'wife' here represents an anti-type of the whore, a stereotype of female virtue with which to shame women like Frances Howard, the paradoxically chaste, bedded widow ultimately gestures towards a lofty public ideal, 'Lov'd, woo'd, admir'd, by all wise single men', that is more masculine than feminine.[27] In 'To a Friend upon Overbury's wife given to her', for example, Henry King begins by associating the virtues of *A Wife* with those of his female addressee, but ends by realigning them with those of her future husband: 'May he for whom you change your Virgin-life / Prove good to you, and perfect as this Wife'.[28] In 1615–16, Overbury's portrait appeared alongside the verses: 'A mans best fortune or his worsts a wife: / Yet I, that know nor marriage peace nor strife/ Live by a good, by a bad one lost my life'.[29] If Frances Howard was clearly the 'bad' wife responsible for Overbury's murder, the 'good' wife was identified with the virtuous male subject and counsellor now embodied in his own text. 'My *Wife* is my *Adopted-selfe*; and Shee / As Mee', declares Overbury.[30] Indeed, the conjugal equality of husband and wife in Overbury's poem may also suggest a political alternative to an increasingly patriarchal ruler.

In light of Overbury's 'puritanical spark', the text of *A Wife* may in fact have done double duty in domestic and political spheres.[31] As Jordan observes, 'If, as James announced, the commonwealth was analogically the king's wife, then whatever collective body, assembly or parliament signified the will of the people most obviously represented her'.[32] In this political context, the egalitarian attitudes to marriage expressed in Overbury's *Wife* are suggestive. 'We are *two halfes*, whiles each from other straies, / Both barren are; *Ioyn'd both* their *like* can raise', the poem observes of husband and wife.[33] If the pro-Parliament patriot Overbury declared from the grave that '*Mariage* doth reunite, / And makes them both but *one Hermaphrodite*', some readers might well understand his domestic advice to apply to the body politic.[34] If so, Overbury's text gestures towards the politics with which Overbury himself was associated, the pro-Parliamentary faction of 'discontented noblemen' such as the Earl of Pembroke and 'the Parliament mutineers' such as Sir Edwin Sandys, who 'believed that mending the King's relationship with Parliament was the best way to solve the crown's financial problems'.[35] Indeed, the initial popularity of Overbury's *Wife* may not be unrelated to the short-lived so-called parliament of love summoned by James in an attempt to remedy his increasing financial woes that year.[36] James began the ill-fated session with an implicitly marital metaphor in declaring that the 'will of the king and the state cannot be disjoined, for the good of either must subsist with the love of each', yet he continued to reject the Commons' insistence on their right to debate impositions and offer him advice; in the end, four MPs were imprisoned in the Tower for outspokenness.[37] Yet as David Colclough observes, 'many MPs in 1614 continued to assert Parliament's conciliar function: to present it as their right as well as their duty to advise the king'.[38] This advice could take the form of open criticism, as in Edwin Sandys' speech of 21 May, who lamented, 'it is come to be almost a tyrannical government in England' and insisted that 'all kings, howsoever they come in, settle their states by consent of their people'.[39] Overbury's emphasis on the importance of a wife's '*Conscience*' and '*understanding*' may similarly remind his readers of the principle of partnership in both family and state.

Despite the egalitarian notions with which it begins, however, Overbury's *Wife* ultimately falls back on a conventionally patriarchal understanding of woman's place. While Overbury stresses the importance of 'an *understanding Wife*' whose '*knowledge*' fortifies her 'vertue', he explicitly rejects '*Learning* and *pregnant wit* in Woman-kinde'. '*Domesticke* Charge doth best that Sex befit / Contiguous busines, so to fixe the minde', he

insists, falling in line with many early modern educational theorists.[40] Daniel Tuvill takes a different approach. 'It hath bin our pollicie from the beginning to busie them in domestical affaires, thereby to divert them from more serious imployments, in which if they had not surmounted us, they would at least have showne themselves our equals, and our parallels', writes Tuvill in his *Asylum Veneris*.[41] In this contribution to the controversy about women, Tuvill goes well beyond the conventions of the genre to offer what Linda Woodbridge heralds as a 'nearly feminist' text.[42] Yet, if modern readers appreciate the work's apparently protofeminist sentiments, early modern readers may well have detected its artful use of the familiar political marriage metaphor.

Tuvill begins his pamphlet with a poem entitled 'To the looser sort of women', which certainly refers obliquely to the Overbury affair:

> *Hence you, that seek by Philtres, drugs, & charms,*
> *To bring the curl'd-head Youth into your armes;*
> *And doe not feare by poyson to remove*
> *A worthy Husband, for a worthlesse Love.*[43]

Neatly conflating the Earl of Essex with Overbury as victims of Howard's pursuit of her 'worthlesse Love', Tuvill then goes on to redirect blame from such women to the men responsible for their falls. 'But self-conceitednesse hath like a canker eaten into the hearts of Men, and possessed them with such an admiration of their owne sufficiencie', writes Tuvil.

> They take upon them to bee their [wives'] Heads, and therefore if they prove not as they ought, the blame must light upon themselves. […] The eye is in fault if the foote doe stumble. The Chariot of the Sunne, as I said before was glorious, and did afford much comfort, but when *Phaeton* had the guiding of it, his unadvised rashnesse set all things in combustion.[44]

Perhaps recalling the elegy in the *Wife* that associates the Overbury murder with the unruly figure of Phaeton, Tuvill hints here at the particular culpability of the men behind the Overbury scandal.[45] Entered in the Stationer's Register in early May 1616, just before the sensational trials of Carr and Howard but after Howard's confession in January, his text reflects the increasing public compassion for Howard who, as Anne Clifford remarks, 'was much pitied by all beholders'.[46] Indeed, Howard's penitence, combined with the public execution of male accomplices, had

the effect of directing most of the remaining rage at Carr—and beyond him at the King, the man who fostered this serpent in his bosom. 'Is there any tumour therefore or inflammation in the Leg, or other inferiour parts of the bodie? let us see if the defluction which causeth it, proceede not from the Head', urges Tuvill.[47] Lest we should miss the political implications of this point, Tuvill notes: 'The deedes of men in authority, are alwaies Patrons for those of lower ranke. A subiect usually eies nothing but the example of his Superiour'.[48] 'Let him consider likewise if his owne Lordlynesse bee not a maine efficient of her lewdnesse', he cautions the husband—and by extension, the ruler who is his pattern.[49]

In his remarkable effort to expose the masculine scapegoating of Frances Howard, soon to be rebranded by the authorities as that 'unfortunate Lady', Tuvill may also have recognised that misogynistic responses to the Overbury scandal were in danger of imperiling the political marriage metaphor on which the pro-Parliamentary faction depended.[50] For in the rest of his text, he suggests not only that women's sins are primarily the responsibility of men but also that masculine corruption can be remedied by allowing the wife equal—or even greater—authority. Denouncing 'a countenance any way Tyrannicall' in husbands, he repeats the maxim 'that the woman was taken out of the side of man, to bee rankt in equall estimation with him; and not out of his foot, to become litier for his proud and insolent ambition to wallow on'.[51] This ideal of cooperative equality is extended later in the metaphor of the ambidextrous body, which provides a paradigm for the well-governed nation: 'That as those bodies are most perfect, and fitting for every action, which can, if occasion require, as well apply their left-hand to the businesse, as their right: so is that Commonwealth the most absolute which for good government can make use of Women, as well as of Men'.[52] Yet, mere equality is not enough for Tuvill; in many cases, husbands should be led by the direction of their wives. The biblical Sarah 'was endued besides with such an extraordinarie measure of knowledge and discretion, that the Lord commanded that worthy Patriarch hir husband to shew himselfe in all things obedient to hir directions', he observes. Female management becomes even more imperative when husbands fail, argues Tuvill: Queen Helena, wife to King John of Cyprus, 'who perceiving that hir husbands weakenesse was a blot whereon the greatest part of his nobility continually plaied [...] tooke the governement into hir owne hands, to the release of the Land, and the reliefe of all hir subjects'.[53] Indeed, women in Tuvill's pamphlet not only provide counsel but understand its value: Queen Isabella of Spain, for example,

clearly understands 'the chiefest Art that belongeth unto Soueraignetie' by showing her 'discerning judgement in the choise and election of Ministers'.[54] In marriage, insists Tuvill, the wife can provide the wisdom the husband lacks:

> He that is deprived of his bodily sight, is content to bee led, though by a childe: and shall hee, that is blinde in his understanding disdaine to be directed by her, who by the ordinance of God, and the rules of sacred Wedlocke, is alotted him a fellow-helper in all his businesses? The Husband and the Wife are the eyes of a Familie; if the right one bee so bleared, that it cannot well discerne; the guiding of the Houshold must of necessity be left unto the left, or on the sudden all will go to wracke.[55]

In a kingdom widely perceived as going to wrack in the hands of a weak and corrupt ruler, Tuvill here falls back on the well-understood domestic analogy to suggest the importance of the guiding hand of Parliament and of the pro-Parliamentary faction that produced, and were clearly identified with, Overbury's *Wife*.

Entered in the Stationers' Register six months earlier, Sir John Davies' *Select Second Husband for Sir Thomas Overburies Wife, Now a Matchlesse Widow* builds directly on the bestselling original to offer 'a prolix and dense sermon on the righteous man in parallel to the ideal wife, with admonitions against corruption in high places'.[56] Published anonymously and dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, 'one of the leaders of the faction that had engineered Somerset's downfall', Davies' work marks him as 'politically and stylistically allied with the "neo-Spenserian" community of Jacobean poets inclined toward the "patriot" politics best represented at court by the Pembroke-Southampton faction'.[57] Trading, like Tuvill, on the Overbury scandal and its implicit indictment of corruption in the household of the nation, Davies imagines remedies in a domestic sphere that is saturated with political meaning. Where Tuvill cites the creation of Eve to ground the idea of marital equality, Davies similarly recommends a husband 'love (his *bone*) his *wife*, / As his owne *flesh;* nay, as himselfe: that is, / Both *soule,* and *body*'.[58] Such domestic commonplaces occur alongside explicitly political language: if Tuvill cites the example of '*Isabella* [...] wife to *Christierne* King of *Denmarke,* whose discontented subjects, when they had degraded him from that royall dignitie; would willingly have conferred the types thereof upon hir', Davies offers his idealised sketch of 'a *husband* worth a *Monarchs* wife'.[59] If Tuvill extols the management

skills of wives to promote the ideal of Parliamentary counsel, Davies offers instruction to his King by prescribing the husband that Overbury's widow really deserves.

Specifying in detail this model of a 'Husband-*Paragon*,/To fitte one rare, but *Ouer-buried Wife'*, Davies begins with an anti-type that sounds suspiciously like James:

> But *Wit* and *Knowledge* so the *mind* inflate
> As make it most imperious: then, the *Wife*
> That's matcht to him that is so stiffe in *state*,
> Must live a supple *Slave*, else die in *strife*.[60]

As in his *A discoverie of the true causes why Ireland was never subdued* (1612), which alleges that Irish chieftains acquired so much power that 'the Lord [was] an absolute Tyrant, and the Tennant a verie slave and villain', Davies here participates in a 'radical political discourse' that marks his opposition to emerging Stuart discourses of absolutism.[61] Not until the English imported the system of common law into Ireland, argues Davies in his earlier work, did the Irish understand that 'they were free Subjects to the Kings of *England*, and not Slaves and Vassals to their pretended Lords'.[62] Though ostensibly about Ireland, Davies' *Discoverie* is an intervention in contemporary political debates about the limits of the royal prerogative. The Irish, he intimates, are not unlike the English themselves, 'In which condition of Subjects, they will gladly continue, without defection or adhaering to any other *Lord* or *King*, as long as they may be *Protected*, and *justly Governed*, without *Oppression*'.[63] As he figured English politics in his history of Ireland, Davies outlines in the domestic language of the *Select Second Husband* the core tenets of his political theory.

'The greatest *Clarks* are not the wisest *men* / And *wise-men* oft (like fools) for nought do lowre', continues Davies in what looks like veiled criticism of the scholarly, autocratic James. 'A good wise-man, makes no good *Husband* still: / For, hee is wayward, and his *Wife* must woo / For *kindenesse*; yet not bee too forward too'.[64] As former MP in Elizabeth's Parliament, Davies may here betray irritation at James's recent threat to close down parliament altogether and extend his own prerogative.[65] As a corrective, Davies offers the model of an husband 'of proofe: / Without a *checke*, to give a Queene the *mate*':

> Then let him be divinely wise (like GOD)
> Glad without *Joy*, and *Sad*, without Offence;
> That's all alike, to beare the *Staffe* and *Rod*;
> With *Temperance*, so, to feast his *soule* and *sence*:
> *Kinde*, and not *Wanton*; sober, yet not sowre,
> Still having all his *Passions* in his powre.[66]

It is hard to resist reading these lines as a comment on James's notorious intemperance and prodigality.[67] 'Of *outward cares* thou must the *Camell* be, / And beare them soundly for your *Commonwealth*', Davies advises the husband in a series of barely disguised political metaphors.[68] This idealised husband and ruler combines gentle love with stern control, but does not mistake himself for the God whose virtues he imitates:

> Hee is a *Lambe*, whose All is all so deare
> That nought of him is uselesse, love to get:
> Hee is a *Lyon*, making *Beasts* to feare
> His vertues: so, is milde, sterne, small, and great:
> Hee is, What not, if good? and *yet to God*
> *Hee is not ev'n*: yet with him never odde.[69]

Drawing on the iconography of kingship, Davies' verses offer an implied rebuke to a ruler who notoriously proclaimed that 'Kings are called gods by the prophetical King David because they sit upon God his throne in the earth'.[70]

Like Tuvill, Davies is keen not only to assert the rights of the wife but also to reinforce the responsibilities of the husband. Since the body's chastity depends on that of the head, the origin of the wife's sin is likely to lie with the husband himself:

> Would'st have the *body* chast, and not the *head*?
> That cannot be: but, she the *body* is,
> Whose *head* thou art: by thee she's bred or led
> To *good* or *ill*: then, do not thou amisse.
> "As good the *head* were *empty*, as not *full*
> "Of *braines* to governe all beneath the *scull*.[71]

'Then *wakefull* be, to keep thy *wife* from *sin*, / And *running* out, that marres thy *commings* in', Davies urges the husband.[72] Although such lines

initially appear to be in tension with the text's otherwise anti-authoritarian message, the insistence on strong government and husbandly correction makes sense in the run-up to the trials of 1616, when men like Davies and his patron Pembroke hoped that James would authorise the execution of both Carr and Howard. More frequently, however, Davies returns to the well-worn figure of the wife as a vessel rather than a vassal, as he urges the husband to 'love (his *bone*) his *wife* / as his owne *flesh*'.[73] In a neat twist of the usual logic that prohibits wife-beating as a form of self-mutilation, Davies argues that the husband must apply correction to both his wife and himself.[74] 'But, must thy selfe bee subject to thy *Rodde*?', he asks, citing in reply the example of God, who 'Correct[ed] him Selfe as *Man*, for *Man*'.[75] And if the husband's identity is inseparable from his wife's, then his rule also licenses hers:

> So, teach thy *wife*, by ruling, to obay;
> And, by obedience, rule with greater might:
> Thou rul'st aright, when she no worse doth sway,
> As *Kings* do when their *judges* judge aright:
> Good *Judges* make ill *Kings* rule graciously.[76]

Though the opening lines initially appear to endorse a husband who rules and a wife who obeys, their ambiguity soon becomes apparent: in fact, the wife obeys 'by ruling' and rules by obedience 'with greater might' as she 'no worse doth sway' than her husband. By equating the wife with the magistrate Davies constructs both as instruments of and correctives to the husband/ruler's will, even as he implicitly urges righteous judgement on Overbury's highly placed murderers.[77] Like Overbury himself, a virtuous subject who triumphs against court corruption, Overbury's 'deare *Wife* / Shall live till *death* be endlesse—*Glories* life'.[78] The posthumous text and the parliamentary counsel with which it is associated are simultaneously evoked as long-lasting public ideals that cannot die.

Davies' and Tuvill's domestic language allowed them to fly under the radar of state censorship, but later texts were not so lucky. Licensed for the press the same year (1616), the first edition of William Whately's *A Bride-bush, or a Wedding sermon* (1617), which suggested that a suffering wife had a right not only to her own conscience but also to legal divorce from an adulterous husband, apparently aroused no official consternation.[79] Yet when, in his expanded edition of 1619, Whately observed more daringly that adultery 'brings ruin on the state', his domestic conduct

book attracted the notice of the censors.[80] The analogy between adultery and idolatry was a *locus classicus* of Protestant thought, but its deployment as a justification for divorce must have been particularly risky in the tense political climate of 1619, when anxieties were rising about James's increased toleration for Catholics and lack of support for international Protestantism. In 1620, King James issued repeated proclamations against 'the excesse of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state', and in 1621 Whately was called before the High Commission and forced to acknowledge his position on divorce as erroneous.[81] Throughout *A Bride-bush*, the extended representation of marriage as 'this domesticall kingdom or Monarchy' allows Whately, in the guise of advising the husband, to offer criticism of the King. 'See then (all yee husbands) that your words to your wives hold agreement with the Lawes of God', insists Whately, 'else you governe not, but tyrannize; and *to disobey you is the best obedience*'.[82] Cyndia Susan Clegg argues that Whately's domestic subject matter was a thin veil for its political agenda, which came 'remarkably close to resistance theory', and the 1621 censorship of Whately's work certainly offers compelling evidence for the reception of domestic texts as political discourse.[83] Some five years earlier, however, Daniel Tuvill and John Davies also participated in this emerging public sphere by building on Overbury's *Wife* to deploy a rhetoric of marriage as political critique and instruction.

Notes

1. Thomas Overbury, *A wife now the widow of Sir Thomas Ouerburie, Being a most exquisite and singular poeme, of the choyse of a wife* (London, 1614). John Considine points out that the original poem is the only work that can confidently be attributed to Overbury himself, since it is mentioned in an epigram published before November 1612 ('The Invention of the Literary Circle of Sir Thomas Overbury', in *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth [University of Missouri Press, 2000], p. 60).
2. 'It was said by Overbury's father in a manuscript dating to 1640 [...] that he had written his poem 'A Wife' in order to dissuade Carr from marrying a woman who had pedigree but no virtue' (Donald Beecher, 'Introduction', *Characters, together with Poems, News, Edicts and Paradoxes based on the eleventh edition of A Wife Now the Widow of Sir Thomas Overbury* (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 2003), p. 21). Alastair Bellany observes that 'political and factional capital were also at stake' (*The Politics of Court Scandal in Early*

Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], p. 52.)

3. For this essay I consulted the eighth impression of the text, held by the Bodleian Library, made available through Early English Books Online.
4. W.S., 'Upon the untimely Death of the Author of this ingenious *Poem*, Sir Tho. Overbury, Knight, poisoned in *the Towre*' in *Sir Thomas Ouerburie his wife. With new elegies vpon his (now knowne) vntimely death. Whereunto are annexed, New newes and characters, written by himselfe and other learned gentlemen* (London, 1616), sig. 6[v]. W.S. has been identified with both William Strachey and William Stradling. See Beecher, *Characters*, pp. 126, 344–345.
5. Cap. Th[omas] Gainsford, '*In obitum intempestiuum & lachrimabilem Illustrissimi Equitis aurati Tho. Overburi magne spei & expectationis Viri*', *Sir Thomas Overburie*, sig. A1[r]. Associated with 'seditious pamphleteering', Gainsford was a hack writer so devoted to the radical Protestant cause that he was involved not only with the notorious anti-Spanish *Vox Populi* (1620) but also with the Dutch news *corantos* published by Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne to report on the wars on the Continent and promote English intervention in defending Protestant interests (Beecher in *Characters*, pp. 345–346).
6. Bellany, *Politics,* p. 67, 52.
7. Bellany notes that the bill for the 'outrageously lavish court wedding' was footed by the King, who 'paid most of the steep cost of the wedding and festivities and lavished valuable gifts on the bride and groom' (*Politics*, p. 57). See also Bellany, *Politics*, p. 67.
8. Bellany, *Politics*, p. 68, 202.
9. David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 157.
10. Bellany, *Politics*, p. 67.
11. Bellany, *Politics*, p. 141.
12. Lindley, *Trials*, p. 162.
13. William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London, 1622), p. 17.
14. Charles H. McIlwain, ed., *Political Works of James I* (New York: Russell, 1965), p. 272. In this speech James was also making the unpopular claim that the hitherto independent kingdoms of Scotland and England were a single body under his control and should therefore be politically united.
15. James I in *The True Law of Free Monarchies and Basilikon Doron,* ed. by Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 1996), p. 141.
16. Although not published until 1703, Craig's *Right of Succession* circulated widely in manuscript. Craig's text is cited in Anne McLaren, 'Challenging the Monarchical Republic: James I's Articulation of Kingship', in *The*

Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson, ed. by John F. McDiarmid (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 170, 176 n. 37.

17. Su Fang Ng, *Literature and the Politics of the Family in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 7.
18. Mary Lyndon Shanley, 'Marriage Contract and Social Contract in Seventeenth-Century English Political Thought' in *The Family in Political Thought*, ed. by Jean Bethke Elshtain (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), p. 84.
19. Melissa Sanchez, *Erotic Subjects: The Sexuality of Politics in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 13.
20. Henry Neville, in *Proceedings in Parliament 1614*, ed. by Maija Jansson (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988), p. 249. As the Protestant faction's nominee for the position of Secretary, Neville was at the centre of the factional struggle for power and influence. See Bellany, *Politics,* pp. 43–50.
21. Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 20.
22. Constance Jordan, 'The Household and the State: Transformation in the Representation of an Analogy from Aristotle to James I', *Modern Language Quarterly* 54 (1993), 310.
23. Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 45. See also Ng, who discusses the contextualist approach of early modern historians such as Pocock and Skinner to texts as political performances (p. 8).
24. In *Politic*s, Bellany documents the many libels, cheap print publications and broadsides that participated in this outpouring of misogyny. See, for example, I.T. *The just downfall of ambition, adultery and murder, whereunto are added 3 notorious sinners* (London, 1616).
25. John Ford, 'On *Sir Thomas Overburies* Poem The Wife', *Sir Thomas Ouerburie*, sig. A3^{r}.
26. Daniel Tuvil, 'On Sir *Thomas Overburies* Poem the Wife' in *Sir Thomas Ouerburie*, sig. A4^{r}.
27. Anon. 'On the Wife', *Sir Thomas Ouerburie*, sig. A5^{r}.
28. Henry King, *Poems, elegies, paradoxes, and sonets* (London, 1664), p. 8.
29. Simon Van de Passe, *Viva Effigies Thomae Overburii*, reproduced in Bellany, *Politics*, p. 122.
30. Thomas Overbury, *A Wife*, sig. C1^{v}.
31. On Overbury's 'puritanical spark', see Bellany, *Politics*, p. 41.
32. Jordan, 'Household', p. 308.
33. Overbury, *A wife,* sig. B1^{r}.

34. Overbury, *A wife*, sig. B1^{v}.
35. Bellany, *Politics*, pp. 43–44.
36. See Jansson, p. 417, 422. As James explained, 'his intent was to breed a love between the king and his subject' (p. 247).
37. Jansson, p. 44. Compare James's similar attempt to reassure Parliament in 1610 by drawing on the metaphor of companionate marriage: 'The marriage between law and prerogative is inseparable and like twins they must joy and mourn together, live and die together, the separation of the one is the ruin of the other' (in *Proceedings in Parliament 1610*, ed. by Elizabeth Read Foster [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966], p. 312). See David Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 160.
38. Colclough p. 165.
39. Jansson, p. 316.
40. Overbury, *A wife*, sig. B4^{r}, C1^{r}.
41. T[uvill], D[aniel], *Asylum veneris, or a Sanctuary for Ladies, Justly Protecting Them, their Virtues and Sufficiencies from the foule aspersions and forged imputations of traducing spirits* (London, 1616), p. 100.
42. Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind 1540–1620* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), p. 105.
43. Tuvill, *Asylum*, sig. A6^{r}.
44. Tuvill, *Asylum*, pp. 142–144.
45. Bellany and McRae observe that 'Contemporaries commonly compared James I's reckless young favourites to Phaeton'; 'If ever woe possess a stubbern heart' (note 2, 'Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources', ed. by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae, Early Modern Literary Studies Text Series I [2005]; http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/). Though Phaeton was clearly to blame for failing to control the horses of Phoebus's chariot, Phoebus offered him the opportunity.
46. Anne Clifford, 'The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford', *Women Writers in Renaissance England*, ed. by Randall Martin (New York: Longman, 2010), p. 253. Lindley sees in the about-face in attitudes to Howard "evidence of the way in which 'character' in the trials […] was not read as being constituted out of a unified and continuous 'personality" (p. 179).
47. Tuvill, *Asylum*, p. 152.
48. Tuvill, *Asylum*, p. 151.
49. Tuvill, *Asylum*, p. 147.
50. Francis Bacon referred to Frances Howard as an 'unfortunate Lady' during the May 1616 trial (cited Lindley, p. 178).
51. Tuvill, *Asylum,* p. 149.
52. Tuvill, *Asylum,* p. 139.

53. Tuvill, *Asylum,* p. 17, 108–109.
54. Tuvill, *Asylum,* p. 103.
55. Tuvill, *Asylum,* p. 97.
56. Beecher, *Characters*, p. 76. Davies' work was authorised by Thomas Goad, chaplain to Archbishop George Abbot, who held strongly Calvinist, anti-Spanish views.
57. Bellany, *Politics,* p. 116, 118.
58. [John Davies], *A Select Second Husband for Sir Thomas Overburies Wife, Now a Matchlesse Widow* (London, 1616), sig. C1^{r}.
59. Tuvill, *Asylum*, p. 84; [Davies], *A Select*, sig. B2^{r}.
60. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. B8^{r}, B7^{v}.
61. John Davies, *A discoverie of the true causes why Ireland was never subdued* (London, 1612), p. 178. In arguing that William the Conqueror continued to rule 'both English and Normans by one and the same law; which was the ancient common law of England, long before the conquest' (p. 127), Davies not only suggested the priority of the ancient liberties of the subject protected by the common law but also resisted any suggestion that the Scottish King James could rule England by conquest. Janelle Greenberg observes: 'While neither Camden, nor Owen, nor Davies explicitly linked conquest theory […] to fears of Stuart absolutism, all were surely aware that debates and resolutions in parliament did precisely that. […] All were familiar with the view that if the king of England governed by conquest, then he could make laws at his will and pleasure' (*The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001], p. 133.)
62. Davies, *A discoverie* p. 238.
63. Davies, *A discoverie*, p. 154.
64. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. B7^{r}.
65. In the 1601 Parliament, Davies 'attained prominence in the Commons by his insistence on legislative redress to the abuse of the Queen's prerogative of monopoly, much to Cecil's distaste' (Sean Kelsey, 'Davies, Sir John [*bap.* 1569, *d.* 1626]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008). See Colclough, pp. 166–167.
66. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. B8^{r}.
67. Puritan courtier Sir John Harington wrote in 1606: 'we are going on hereabouts, as if the devil was contriving every man should blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance' ('Letter from Sir John Harington to Mr. Secretary Barlow, 1606' in *James I by His Contemporaries*, ed. by R. Ashton [London: Hutchinson, 1969], p. 244).
68. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. C1^{v}.
69. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. B8^{v}, emphasis in the last two lines mine.
70. James I, *True Law,* p. 54.

71. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. C5r.
72. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. C4r.
73. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. D1r, C1r.
74. See, for example, Gouge, *Of domesticall duties*: 'The wife is as a mans selfe. […] No man but a frantike, furious, desperat wretch will beat himselfe' (p. 391).
75. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. D2v.
76. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. D3r.
77. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. D3r. The elegy by I.D. that follows Davies' poem makes the point explicitly: 'To let the good-man die / For *goodnesse* shewne, without our loudest cry / For *Justice*, for so damn'd, so div'lish *Crime*, / Were just *damnation* to the *Place* and *Time* / Wherein we live' (sig. D7v).
78. [Davies], *A Select*, sig. D6v. In 1613, Davies published a verse elegy on the death of Prince Henry that urged Kings 'To stretch their *power* beyond their *power* (though great) / But only for the publike-benefit'. He goes on to suggest that a ruler's legitimacy comes from the state (and therefore, the people): 'A *Prince* that ties himself himself unto / Doth much mistake himselfe: For, hee's not his; / Nor, is the *STATE* his: but, he still must do, / As if he were the *STATES:* for, so he is' (*The muses-teares for the losse of their hope* (London, 1613), sig. A4r).
79. Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 191.
80. William Whately, *A bride-bush or a Wedding sermon* (London, 1619), p. 4.
81. Cited in Clegg, p. 84. The 1623 edition of *Bride-bush* includes a disingenuous retraction of his position alongside a reprint of the offending text that, Whately claimed, the printer had neglected to correct as ordered. Clegg also posits that Whately's text had become censorable because of the 'change in the political environment in England' (p. 194).
82. Whately, *Bride-bush*, p. 112, 116 (emphasis mine).
83. Clegg, p. 192.

CHAPTER 4

Representations of the Family in Early Caroline Drama: Or, How Do You Solve a Problem Like Henrietta Maria?

Tom MacFaul

Late Jacobean drama had been preoccupied with a variety of familial tensions, many of which related, with differing degrees of obliquity, to the royal family: fathers, both royal and lower-status, were presented as either impotent, dishonourable or sinful, and sons were increasingly required to redeem their fathers' masculine honour.[1] Such representations of weakened paternal authority reflected a sense that James VI and I was a lame duck of a patriarchal king, particularly in his hesitations over military assistance to his daughter.[2] The drama of that period had been cagey in its attitude to the future Charles I, who had lacked the public profile of his dead brother, and who was therefore a rather mysterious or even romantic figure. Indeed, Charles's most recent biographer has argued that he was one of the most 'inscrutable' heirs to the throne in English history.[3] Plays like the anonymous *Swetnam the Woman Hater* (c. 1620), Dekker's *The Noble Spanish Soldier* (c. 1622) and *The Welsh Embassador* (1623) were therefore keen to present young heirs to the throne as mysterious and

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romantic figures, often with redemptive capacities. Once Charles came to the throne himself, however, other issues quickly came to the foreground, particularly the trouble over his marriage, and his lack of a bodily heir. Early Caroline drama, this chapter will show, was particularly concerned with the former problem, and, though it showed some interest in the latter issue, seemed reasonably happy not to accentuate its dangers.

Between the death of James VI and I in March 1625 and the birth of Prince Charles (the future Charles II) in May 1630, England's royal family was in a precarious position: Charles I, without children of his own, had only his sister Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia as his heir, and she was at the centre of the massive European conflict that would become known as the Thirty Years' War. The problem was accentuated by the fact that Charles married the Catholic Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII of France, very soon after he came to the throne, but then found himself in intermittent conflict with France in the early years of his reign, a factor which added to strains in his marriage.[4] Charles's first major impact on the public stage had come in 1623, on his return to England from Spain, having failed to marry the Spanish Infanta; the celebrations of his non-marriage were considerable (called a 'blessed revolution'), and set the tone for continued interest in the future king's private life.[5] There is no doubt that dramatic audiences were extremely interested in matters of dynastic politics: the extraordinary success of Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624) demonstrates that much. While later dramatists were rather more cautious than Middleton in their representations of high politics (partly, no doubt, because Middleton's play had been banned), they were, however, extremely interested in representing family politics, particularly the idea of a husband finding ways to control his wife. The persistence of an analogy between the family and the state, in which the king was seen as either married to or the father of his kingdom, enabled the representation of domestic life to reflect on political matters, and to do so in a way that was as easily deniable as it was transparent. Yet in doing so the playwrights also exposed a key paradox in the family-politics analogy: while the analogy's patriarchal ideology may seem tailor-made for an absolutist monarchy, they showed that a wider masculine—and sometimes feminine—community was needed to enforce regal authority, just as it was needed to enforce patriarchal authority in the private sphere. This chapter is based on a reading of all the surviving plays of the period 1625–30, focussing on those plays which most clearly represent the resolution of marriage troubles, and which seem to reflect on the royal marriage in some way or another. As we will see, the English

nation's sense of masculinity was invested in the King's control of his wife and was also marshalled to support the King's position.

Charles's marriage to the Catholic Henrietta Maria was always unpopular, but by 1628 they were a very happily married couple: Charles even set a court fashion by regularly sleeping with his wife. After 1630, when Charles had discharged his principal duty as a monarch by begetting an heir, his family life became extremely important to his public image and bolstered his own confidence as a monarch during the period of the Personal Rule.[6] The first few years of the reign, however, had been more difficult, as Charles's primary allegiance was to his favourite the Duke of Buckingham (until the latter's assassination in 1628). Furthermore, the vicissitudes of European conflict affected the King's relations with his young wife, as he struggled to control her French entourage during conflicts with France. At this stage, too, the King's primary foreign policy priority was his debt of honour to restore his sister to the Palatinate, a duty that was more acute for that sister being his heir apparent.

For reasons clearly associated with these political issues, early Caroline drama prioritizes the re-affirmation of masculinity, focussing on the regaining of honour, and on the control of wives, but surprisingly little on the begetting of heirs. For instance, Philip Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (c.1625) is all about new starts. While it is obviously not an allegory of the royal succession, it does handle issues of the utmost relevance to that succession: continuity of family honour, changes of moral culture, the potential for redress of financial problems and the redemptive possibilities of war. It presents the renegotiation of men's social and economic positions in the light of the death of a worthy paternal figure. None of the play's characters exactly represents Charles I himself, but the play points urgently towards the need for a new dispensation under that King.

The play's romantic hero, Alworth, is described as 'His fathers picture in little' (1.2.49); given Charles I's height, this may be a rather backhanded compliment to the King.[7] His stepmother, Lady Alworth, who is the play's most powerfully redemptive figure, says that he is 'Like virgin parchement capable of any / Inscription, vitious, or honorable' (lines 78–79). This was how the new King was imagined, as a blank slate onto whom the nation could project its various aspirations. The context of this comment is a discussion of whether Alworth will go to the wars, and this perhaps reflects a sense that Charles I faced varying options in regard to continuing or deepening England's at the time rather non-committal involvement in the European conflict. At the end of the play, the prodigal Welborne will attempt to redeem

himself by going off to that war, suggesting that the play is mainly on the side of the conflict, even if only for honour's sake rather than as the result of any deep ideological commitment. As the play's plot develops, we might expect that Welborne would marry Lady Alworth but, though she does help Welborne towards his redemption, she marries Lovell, who has already been to the wars; Welborne cannot get any amorous conclusion to his plot until he has proved himself in war. This offers a general lesson in masculine priorities: as the standard tropes of romance insist, proving one's martial masculinity comes before marriage. It is easy to apply this lesson to Charles I: he ought not to marry until he has proved himself in other spheres.

Lovell, meanwhile, is himself an extremely king-like figure: his ability to help Alworth in his amours, without at first falling in love himself, shows a regal generosity that reminds us of the kings in earlier plays such as Munday's *Fair Em*, Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and Don Pedro in *Much Ado about Nothing*. Lovell insists that 'The summe of all that makes a iust man happy / Consists in the well choosing of his wife' (4.1.211–212), a generalised sentiment that could easily be applied to Charles I's need to make a judicious marriage. Lovell does ultimately marry the widow Alworth: though this obviously does not suggest that Charles should also marry an English widow, the slightly surprising outcome is designed to emphasise the paramount need for wifely virtue in the new Queen. Lady Alworth is a known quantity, as a foreign wife might not be; she is also a woman of the highest personal virtue, whose situation as a rejector of suitors makes her resemble Penelope, that icon of wifely fidelity.[8] Yet she is also a model hostess, with elements of the sacred, or even divine about her, which her name obviously reflects. When Welborne brings Marrall to dine with her: Marrall says, for instance, 'I am not good enough / To sit at your Steward's boord', and she promises to 'exalt' him for his humility (2.2.85–89); the language here resembles that of the Psalms, and of Luke 14. 10–11, where those who are humble are exalted to a higher place at the table. Even more strikingly, Marrall says 'I shall be conuerted, I begin to grow / Into a new beleefe, which Saints, nor Angels / Could haue woone me to have faith in' (lines 73–75). Though Marrall is a weathervane flatterer, and though the main reason for his wonderment is the hospitality shown to the down-and-out Welborne, there is still a clear sense of the redemptive power of women.[9] Of course, the power of women in the religious sphere was double-edged: with Charles about to marry a Catholic, her virtue would clearly need to outweigh the danger that she might bring up Papist children.

While marriage is presented as a matter of urgency in this play, the traditional motives for such urgency are called into question. There is a concern that delay in marriage might 'lose a night / In which perhaps he might get two boyes' (4.3.101–102). Yet this urgency is articulated by Overreach, the play's villain, and is in fact the device by which Overreach is duped by Lovell and Alworth. Is there a suggestion that overhasty marrying for the sake of heirs is absurd, and might lead to marital mistakes?[10] Overreach, it is clear, represents all those corrupt tendencies which might creep upon a new ruler, and Lovell rejects him in a very powerful temptation scene, where Overreach offers to enrich the lord without that lord having to get his hands dirty (4.1.83–132).[11] If the rejection of Overreach hints at a desire to get rid of corrupt ministers—or at least not to take on new ones—Overreach's sentiment about the urgency of marriage comes in question. Perhaps, correspondingly, the play hints that Charles need not be in too much of a hurry about getting an heir.[12]

The Great Duke of Florence, probably Massinger's next play, also suggests that an heir of one's own body is not necessary. The titular Duke Cozimo is betrayed by his nephew and his favourite, rather as James VI and I was considered to have been betrayed by Prince Charles and Buckingham when they went off to Spain in 1623. The betrayal here is of rather a different kind, though still involving matters of marriage and inheritance: Giovanni (the Duke's nephew and heir) and Sanazarro (the basically virtuous favourite) conceal the beauty of Lidia, in order to avoid the Duke marrying her. The motive for the concealment, though, is not political: it is simply a matter of both men being in love with the girl, the fair and virtuous daughter of Giovanni's tutor. Giovanni ends up marrying her, though she is a commoner, and Sanazarro ends up marrying Fiorinda, the princess of Urbino. Cozimo himself, meanwhile, remains unmarried, leaving his nephew as his heir as he originally intended. It is possible, then, that the play gestures towards English dynastic matters, suggesting that Charles might be content to have his own nephew, Elizabeth and Frederick's son Henry, as his heir, or at least hinting that this would be no bad thing. Cozimo is a man of extreme honour: though he wants to marry Lidia himself, he is forced to stick honourably by his vow not to remarry. Such a principled stance might be designed to appeal to the sense of compunctious honour that was such an important part of Charles I's own self-image. The play's final scene is a striking instance of a monarch being brought around, forced to change his plans by his subjects, who use his own sense of honour to effect this. He recognizes that his oath not to remarry is a form of

'necessity' for him (5.2.197), and he complains that all the other characters 'conspire / To force our mercy from us' (lines 202–203). The quality of mercy here is strained, but the tensions are acceptable because what is at issue is personal rather than truly political conflict. When love and honour are at the stake, there is no humiliation in a monarch backing down. As Ira Clark suggests, the play makes royal sovereignty less absolute, and this limitation is carried out through the personal rather than the political.[13] However absolute a monarch may be, his personal life is imagined as offering room for compromises and emotional reversals, which prevent him from becoming tyrannical.

On his first appearance, Cozimo receives a petition from his noblemen, urging him to marry again (specifically to marry Fiorinda, in order absorb her territories, at 1.2.12–33). Cozimo is quite clear, though, that 'in our Princely care we have provided / One worthy to succeed us' (lines 52–53) in the shape of Giovanni; Cozimo has preserved his prerogative in making this plan privately: the word 'care' both indicates his sense of duty to his nation, and a sense of this being only his own business. When Sanazarro persuades Giovanni to conceal Lidia from Cozimo, the favourite thinks that he is appealing to the heir's reversionary interest, but Giovanni is truly in love with Lidia, a fact that makes the motive for his deceit pure. Giovanni does not make himself a worse heir, then: personal passion is an acceptable basis for disobedience in a way that political calculation would not be.

Even Sanazarro can be forgiven: though royal favourites had generally been presented as vicious characters on the Renaissance stage, he and other favourites in this period of drama buck that trend.[14] His desire for Lidia must be thwarted, but it is not treated as particularly criminal. Lidia seems so automatically to produce desire that no one can really be blamed for it, and the situation is rescued when Sanazarro finally accepts Fiorinda's love. He may be forced into this as much as Cozimo is forced into forgiveness, in that Fiorinda leverages her forgiveness into making him love her, but love again offers a way of short-circuiting tensions between men of different status (5.1.133–138).

The final dissipation of the play's tensions comes, however, in a much lower-status form. The foolish Calandrino asks Cozimo's blessing on his marriage, insisting that his union with the equally idiotic Petronella will be good for the Duke because

> the whole race
> Of such as can act naturally fooles parts,
> Are quite worn out, and they that doe survive,
> Doe onely zanie us; and we will bring you,

> If we die not without issue, of both sexes
> Such chopping mirth-makers, as shall preserve
> Perpetuall cause of sport, both to your Grace,
> And your posterity, that sad melancholly
> Shall ne're approach you. (5.2.228–236)

The whole question of the obligation to procreate is here subverted, transferred into clownishness rather than the realm of politics. The effect is to suggest that children are optional: a source of pleasure, perhaps, but hardly necessities.[15]

The drama of this period, then, shows a shifting of masculine priorities: the duty to beget an heir is deprioritised or shelved, but there is a corresponding increase in the priority for men to control unruly wives, which clearly relates to anxieties about Charles's inability to master Henrietta Maria.[16] Earlier plays had certainly presented men trying to control their wives, but most of those plays exhibited considerable sympathy for the wives involved, and frequently presented the husbands' efforts as absurd. D'Avenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine* (1626/7) deals with royal marital problems that have some analogues to Charles I's, though their very exaggerated nature means that their application remains deniable. Like the Duke in Middleton's *The Witch* (1621), the titular conquering ruler has married the daughter of a man he killed, and adds insult to injury by using his wife's father's skull as a drinking vessel. Whereas Middleton's tragicomic play turns this unpromising situation to a happily forgiving ending, D'Avenant takes royal marital discontent in a tragic direction. The Queen, Rhodolinda, is so outraged by the mistreatment of her father's remains that she refuses to consummate her marriage, commits adultery, and ultimately, along with her favourite Hermegild, plots the King's death.

The vicious courtier Hermegild, like the Queen a foreigner, can be seen as a reflection on Henrietta Maria's entourage. More importantly, the non-consummation of the royal marriage may mirror the likelihood that Charles and his young wife had not got round to regular marital relations.[17] Of course, in the terms of the time, non-consummation meant that the marriage was not complete and could be quite easily undone; while that was not the case for Charles, the play's plot may offer solutions even as it stands as a warning about the difficulties of marrying a woman from an enemy country.[18] Though non-consummation is a source of frustration for Albovine, it does prevent him from being completely humiliated: it means

that when the Queen commits adultery, the King is not strictly speaking cuckolded. Though the King dies, he retains his honour.

Having been refused access to Rhodolinda's bed, Albovine envies his favourite Paradine, who has been able to consummate his own marriage. He significantly complains 'I (like the solitary Phoenix) / Expect no heat but in my funeral flame, / And strive t' engender of myself'.[19] The Phoenix, a standard image for the idea of royal succession, is made rather absurd here, as the obvious fact that a king cannot reproduce self-sufficiently queers the pitch of the idealising image. Albovine goes on to displace his thwarted marital ardour onto passionate embraces of his male favourite, nodding back to James VI and I's homoerotic favouritism, but also suggesting that Charles's marital frustrations were leading him to rely excessively on Buckingham, the favourite he inherited from his father. After Albovine's death, it turns out that he had a son and heir from a previous marriage, so the play avoids any sense of succession anxiety. The play's only consequence for its kingdom, then, is doing away with an undesirable queen and her foreign entourage. It is perhaps significant that the play was not performed: events may have caught up with it, as Buckingham was assassinated, and Charles and Henrietta Maria became intimate; D'Avenant himself, meanwhile, became a client of the Queen. Nonetheless, the play's anti-French rhetoric (e.g. pp. 46, 95) suggests that it reflects a real regret and anxiety about the royal marriage.[20] At an early stage, the courtiers of the play mock the King for being 'In love with his own wife! that's held incest / In Court' (p. 48); that may have been the normatively subversive attitude of the Jacobean court (and it would become important again at the Restoration), but soon enough Charles would start a fashion for displays of marital affection.[21]

D'Avenant's next play, *The Just Italian* (c. 1629), resolves marital discord through a tragicomic plot which involves the taming of a haughty wife: as the characters here are nobler than in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, the taming does not involve the same degree of husbandly bullying and coercion, but the effect is just as assertive of masculine control.[22] The wife Altezza has a gentleman usher, a kind of male servant whose presence causes huge amounts of anxiety and disdain in early seventeenth-century drama, and she and her sister are excited about men who can supply entertainers like dwarves (Henrietta Maria was, not incidentally, very fond of her dwarf, who appears in portraits with her).[23] The protagonist Altamont will not offer any kind of violence to his wife, despite her taking on a *cavalier servente* (importantly, she does not get the chance to have sex

with him). Rather, he forces her into repentance by faking his own death and making her pass judgement on herself. As its title implies, the play is concerned with marital justice: male control, it suggests, is essential to domestic happiness and political justice. Female vanity and associated courtly fripperies are accordingly purged from the play's world.

The reformation of bad wives is perhaps, then, the major theme of early Caroline drama: we see it in such minor plays as Arthur Wilson's *The Inconstant Lady* (1629) or in the brief subplot of Robert Davenport's *A New Trick to Catch the Devil* (c. 1625), for instance. But once Charles and Henrietta Maria had become close, the theme is subtly re-motivated, with more emphasis being placed on husbandly than wifely reform. Massinger's *The Picture* (c. 1629) deals with two forms of husbandly excess—jealousy and uxuriousness—concluding with a straightforward moral: 'to all married men be this a caution / Which they should duly tender as their life: / Neither to dote to much nor doubt a wife' (5.3.223–225). The doting King Ladislaus clearly relates to Charles I. After the death of Buckingham, Henrietta Maria had effectively replaced him as the King's favourite, with the result that earlier drama's preoccupation with royal favouritism has now disappeared, to be replaced by anxiety about the power of a queen.[24] Queen Honoria (whose name may reflect Charles's preoccupation with honour) is 'The daughter of a King' (1.2.96) like Henrietta Maria, and Ladislaus honours her far too much on this account, at least in the eyes of his good counsellor Eubulus, who needs to remind Ladislaus that he too is the offspring of a monarch. Eubulus worries that 'humility / In a husband and a King markes her the way to absolute tyranie' (lines 140–142). Worries about royal absolutism, once displaced onto favourites, are now projected onto the haughty foreign Queen, to whom Ladislaus gives 'absolute command' (154). In fact, though Charles I may have doted on his wife, he did not at this stage involve her much in policy matters; but drama, assuming a fundamental connection between domestic and political life, expresses concern that problems in the former sphere must inevitably affect the latter.[25]

Eubulus compares Honoria to Semiramis (whom her royal husband gave so much power that she ended up killing him), and she compares herself to Cleopatra. There is an ominous sense that this proud Queen must bring disaster to the realm. The King is clearly in sexual thrall to her. Eubulus warns him about his excessive desire:

> If you injoy it
> The moderate way the sport yeelds I confesse
> A pretty titillation, but to much oft

Will bring you on your knees. In my yonger daies
I was my selfe a gamster, and I found
By a sad experience, there is no such soker
As a yong spongie wife; she keepes a thousand
Horseleches in her box, and the thieues will sucke out
Both bloud, and marrow: I feele a kind of crampe
In my ioynts when I thinke on't, but it may be Queenes
And such a Queene as yours is, has the art—

The general Ferdinand interrupts this extraordinarily indecorous passage, whose homosocial appeal is clearly designed to downgrade and dehumanize women, but Eubulus goes on to warn that 'If you spend this way to much of your royall stock' the King's superiority will disappear (3.4.2–12, 14). The idea that the Queen's excessive sexuality will diminish the King so much that he will be no longer a king goes alongside a sense that her spongy sucking will only absorb his blood, rather than helping it to reproduce. This exchange is immediately followed by the King being denied access to his wife's bedchamber, her lady-in-waiting pleading medical advice; there is a clear parallel here to the priests denying Charles I access to Henrietta Maria, but in this case, the Queen's motives are even more suspect, as she is planning to try and seduce the martial hero Mathias.

The worry that Honoria's pride will not only prevent her from providing an heir to the royal stock but will also lead her into infidelity is obviated by the play's other plot, which has a faithful, humble wife at its centre. The Queen is jealous of Mathias's love for his wife Sophia, and envious of Sophia's purity; she attempts to seduce Mathias for these reasons rather than out of real desire for him. When Mathias is slandered by Honoria's agents, Sophia (who has, importantly, stayed at home) is briefly tempted into infidelity and this has an effect on the magic picture Mathias is carrying around to monitor his wife's behaviour; he therefore nearly accepts the Queen's overtures, but is stayed when the picture returns to its original purity, as Sophia ultimately resists temptation. Sophia's fidelity, acting at a distance, therefore helps to save the Queen's honour (though the Queen herself loses interest as a result of Mathias's momentary willingness). Domestic virtues have power to act as a corrective to courtly corruption and pride. Sophia condemns the impious magic of the picture, but its representational powers do offer a mediation between the domestic and the courtly sphere, resulting in the Queen being 'disenchanted' (4.1.82) and coming to humble

renewal in 'A second and a better marriage' (line 103). Sophia's 'simple deuotion' to her husband needs somehow to be translated to the court (3.2.36). Massinger here picks up on a theme we saw in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*: the ideal of the domestic wife's virtue, like that of Lady Alworth in the earlier play, acts as a corrective to the pride of a princess. It is easy to discern a hint here that Henrietta Maria might learn English domestic ways (perhaps from the English ladies-in-waiting who replaced her French entourage) and become a proper, obedient wife to the King.

In a similar but more abrupt manner, Brome's *The Queen's Exchange* (1630) sees the taming of a 'Tyrannesse' (III: 505) by 'a few nights trial' of sex with her husband (545). That husband, though, is not the King she initially intended to marry, but his doppelganger, the son of a lord she banished for opposing her will in the play's first scene. That lord (Segebert), in turn, had opposed her marriage to a foreign king because that must lead to the subversion of the 'wholsome Laws' and 'the hope / Of flourishing future fortunes' the Queen's father had worked so hard to instil in his country (458–459). The Queen insists on marrying because, as one of her sycophants says, 'succession is / The life of Kingdoms' (459), but Segebert argues that this could best be achieved by her marrying a subject. The fear here is of a foreign king's 'Innovation' which will 'pervert / Your Priviledges and your Government' (461). These are very much the terms in which people would criticize Charles and Henrietta Maria during the Personal Rule, though the play's initial situation more resembles the debates around Elizabeth I's potential marriage. The play's very complicated (though elegant) plot ultimately brings about an evidently providential domestic marriage through the doppelganger device; it also marries off the foreign King to Segebert's daughter, who is in any case more attractive to him than the Queen was. Alliance is created without compromising the nation's liberty. The device of the doppelganger is meanwhile neatly subversive: a subject is exactly as good as a king.[26] The virtue of ordinary people may correct the excesses of their monarch.

These issues even find their way into city comedy, where private individuals can also take on some of the wife-taming power the drama has imagined at the level of high politics. Brome's *The City Wit* (1630) puts its honest citizen hero in a similar predicament to the princes of early Caroline tragedy/tragicomedy: bankrupted because of his honesty, Crasy pretends to travel away from home, leaving behind a wife who has been complicit in schemes against him and who now plans infidelities with courtiers. He returns, of course, in a variety of disguises, in order to gull his various

enemies, including his wife. Setting himself up as both his wife's doctor and her gentleman usher enables him to manage her potential infidelities, and obviate their consummation, getting the various courtiers to beat each other up (and taking their gifts for himself). When all is revealed, his wife claims that she knew him all the time, and 'did but counterfeit, as you did, to maintaine the jest' (I: 369); this is a convenient fiction to enable a happy ending, but the play's subtitle 'The woman wears the Breeches' is indicative of wider anxiety about emasculation and feminine mastery.[27] Crasy's wife Josina wishes that women didn't have to take their husbands' names, thinking it would be better if the opposite were true; her maid responds 'Men, when they marry, become but halfe men: And the other half goes to their Wives. And therefore she is called Woman; where before she was call'd but Mayd' (I: 299). The sense of masculine diminution we see in this neat little joke has permeated early Caroline drama, though now it can be treated comically. Crasy, later in the same scene, asserts his masculinity by saying that a man can only be humiliated as a cuckold if he 'knows it, permits, and procures it' (I: 302). He contemplates divorcing her as a result of her merely intended infidelity, but decides, with bluff masculinity, talking to himself as if to a saloon-bar pal, 'though she be not a very modest woman for a Wife, thou mayst force her to be a reasonable private wench for a Whore', and that she's such 'a pretty Drabb' it would be hard to find 'such another' (I: 302). Only by diminishing and domesticating her in these humiliating terms can he assert himself.

Crasy's initial masculine failures are nowhere more acutely pointed than when his mother-in-law observes 'thou hast been married three years to my Daughter, and hast not got her with Child yet! How do'st answer that? For a woman to be married to a fruitfull Fool, there is some bearing with him yet. (I know it by myself) but a dry barren Fool! How dost thou satisfie that?' (I: 285). Crasy feebly points out that the 'defect' may be in his wife rather than him, but it seems he needs to prove his wit and mastery before he can become a father. Significantly, Charles I did become a father in the year of the play's production. The play mentions the role of tutor to a young prince (I: 320), suggesting that hopes for preferment were already being imagined at the time of (or before) the future Charles II's birth. The play's ability to treat marital discord in a comic manner may be a result of such emergent hope. Channelling high-political family anxieties into a relatively lower-class setting is of course a factor that enables the comic mode, but it seems likely that changes at the higher level enable the happier thinking at a lower level.

What I hope this chapter has shown is that arguably the major familial theme of late 1620s drama is the taming of unruly wives—from queens down to commoners. Of the forty or so surviving plays from the period 1625–30, nearly a third deal with the topic in one way or another, and around half of the remainder don't represent wives at all, or are less focussed on family matters. This surely relates, none-too-obliquely, to emergent anxieties about the foreign, Catholic Queen. Henrietta's initial recalcitrance may have given way to affectionate marriage, but a sense that the whole of the nation's masculinity was somehow threatened by the King's marriage is not hard to detect. Private individuals are enlisted in the cause of the theme of wife-taming, suggesting that the King needs help. At the same time, the anxiety about royal favourites, which had persisted in drama from the Elizabethan period through to the end of James's reign, gives way to a new sense of wives as a threat. As Charles's frustrations gave way to uxoriousness, though, the anxiety did not really change character, though the representations did become more optimistic. Even if fears about the succession informed early anxieties, the birth of Prince Charles in 1630 didn't seem to make all that much difference to the character of those anxieties, though they did make their solution seem more possible. The drama of the period suggests a persistent desire that the King take control of his wife, and that this is his subjects' business too: for their domestic virtues have a mutual relation with the King's masculine authority.

The more general issues that emerge from this argument are clear enough: the family-state analogy, central to this group of chapters, had a considerable appeal, but worked both ways; the King's image of masculinity was not just a way of exerting control, but was also needed to underpin the masculinity of private individuals, and so those individuals had a strong investment in their ruler's private life; that investment, in turn, was empowering, in that private individuals were able to shore up the King's masculinity. Yet all this talk of masculine control should not mask the fact that men were hugely dependent on the virtues of women: men's honour was vulnerable through their wives, and (which is nearly but not quite the same thing) their dynastic futures depended on their wives' fidelity.[28] The drama also presents high-status men as having very limited coercive authority over their wives: persuasion, whether that be verbal, sexual or through plot-contrivance, seems the key means of control.

The more specific issue addressed in this chapter is the unusual dynastic (that is to say, the most intensely family-political) problem experienced

in the period 1625–30: a king whose authority was insistently buttressed with the rhetoric of patriarchalism, and whose position was the keystone of a whole patriarchal system, was himself not a father. This generated imaginative solutions that decisively—if not for the first time—made husbandly authority more important than paternal authority in the construction of the patriarch figure. That husbandly authority mapped uneasily onto regal authority as Charles I's wife was a foreigner. Rule over the Queen, in such circumstances, was rather different from rule over one's domestic subjects. The family-politics analogy did not quite work: familial rule was in some ways a foreign-policy matter (as she had clear loyalties to her brother, Louis XIII). But that may have offered opportunities as well as problems: the subjects' patriotism could be invested in the King himself, as there was little chance of identifying with the Queen. In drama, the politics of the private family are made to resonate with the politics of the royal family. Drama offers a medium, a space in which the private and the public collide, in which the contradictions of the family-politics analogy can be both displayed and resolved, affirming homosocial bonds between the men of the nation and their King, and thereby diluting and diffusing his authority into the wider community. The drama of this particular short period seems especially keen to represent marriage as an ongoing process (however fraught), and as part of a community, rather than as a simple ceremonial moment of dramatic resolution between individuals.

Drama is particularly good at resolving political tensions that have a human or personal dimension. By transferring political tensions to the domestic sphere, codes of affection and honour are activated and personalized in ways that enable the emergence of compromises that might not be possible in the public sphere. Other literary forms would later politicize the person in ways that caused significant trouble for Charles I, but, early in his reign, the drama seemed willing and able to help him out.[29]

Notes

1. See Fred B. Tromly, *Fathers and Sons in Shakespeare: The Debt Never Promised* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
2. See Tom MacFaul, *Problem Fathers in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter five.
3. Richard Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life* (Harlow: Longman, 2005), p. 2.

4. On anxieties about Henrietta Maria, see Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton's Eve* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), chapter 1.
5. See Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), chapter 6.
6. Cust, *Charles I*, pp. 31, 29, 77, 148–149, 489, Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths, 1603–1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
7. References to Massinger's plays are to *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, ed. Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
8. A point reinforced by her likening Lovell to Ulysses (3.1.68).
9. On the redemptive power of femininity in the Seventeenth Century, see Daniel M. Gross, *The Secret History of Emotion: From Aristotle's* Rhetoric *to Modern Brain Science* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 102–103, and MacFaul, *Problem Fathers*, p. 135.
10. The play is full of allusions to *Hamlet* (for example, 2.3.7–8), the *locus classicus* of dramatic representations of 'o'erhasty marriage'.
11. See Ira Clark, *The Moral Art of Philip Massinger* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1993), p. 231.
12. This argument has the greatest force if we assume that the play's composition was in the brief period between the death of James in March 1625 and Charles's marriage to Henrietta Maria in June of that year, but as the points the play seems to be making are rather oblique and abstract, though, it is possible to imagine the play anticipating James's death, and making hints about royal policy before the issue arose, or even to see the play as reflecting negatively on Charles for an over-hasty marriage.
13. *The Moral Art of Philip Massinger*, p. 92.
14. Blair Worden, 'Favourites on the English Stage', in J. H. Elliott and L. W. B. Brockliss, eds., *The World of The Favourite* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); MacFaul, Tom, '"A Kingdom with my Friend": Favourites in Shakespeare', in *Literary Milieux*, ed. Richard A. McCabe and David Womersley (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008); Curtis Perry, *Literature and Favoritism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Royal favourites are treated rather favourably in early Caroline drama, perhaps particularly after the assassination of Buckingham. For a while, at least, negative representations of favourites had become too sensitive an issue, not least because, as Cust, *Charles I*, p. 80, points out, Charles refused to play the traditional 'game' of blaming problems on evil counsellors. The most notably and prominently positive treatment of a favourite comes in Lodowick Carlell's *The*

Deserving Favourite (1629), where an apparently killed (and very noble) favourite comes as if back from the dead in order to save the day. As Perry shows, later in Charles I's reign, the traditional discourse attacking favourites was redirected onto Henrietta Maria.

15. On the surprising lack of urgency about procreation in early modern England, see Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999) and Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
16. On the need to control wives more generally, see Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
17. Caroline M. Hibbard's *ODNB* account of Henrietta Maria's life points out that the royal marriage was initially soured, on the sexual front, by the Queen's spiritual advisors insisting on sexual abstinence at certain times, and controlling access to her bedchamber.
18. Richard Brome's comedy, *The Northern Lass* (c. 1629) also turns on marital non-consummation, and there it is argued that a divorce would be 'instantly granted' (5.4), if witnesses could attest to the fact that the married couple had not been alone together. However, in order that the central couple can be separated, and each can marry another, the play's plot also belatedly (and with a hint of inconsistency) reveals that the marriage was not performed by a 'lawful Minister' (5.8) but by a disguised servant. References are to *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brome*, 3 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1873), III: 90, 106 (the edition has no line numbers).
19. *The Dramatic Works of Sir William D'Avenant*, ed. James Maidment and W. H. Logan, 5 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1872), I: 48 (the edition has no line numbers).
20. See Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p. 62.
21. Mary Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant: Poet Laureate, Playwright, Civil War General, Restoration Theatre Manager* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 39, sees this as an 'obvious' reference to Charles, and suggests that this was why the play could not be performed.
22. It is quite rare for noblewomen to be physically chastised or restrained on the English Renaissance stage, and there's a distinct trend away from it as the period goes on. When women such as the Duchess of Malfi or *The Changeling*'s Beatrice-Joanna are so treated, it is a sign of their loss of status, associated with their sexual relationships with lower-status men. See Kim Solga, *Violence against Women in Early Modern Performance: Invisible Acts* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
23. The fullest definition of this role can be found in Brome's *The Northern Lass* (4.1). For Henrietta Maria's dwarf, see Nick Page, *Lord Minimus: The*

Extraordinary Life of Britain's Smallest Man (London: Harper Collins, 2001).

24. See Perry, *Literature and Favoritism.*
25. Cust, *Charles I*, p. 180 points out that the Queen remained a limited influence even later: she came to real political prominence only after 1641.
26. The play also contains a splendid clown whose name, Jeffrey, may recall that of Henrietta Maria's dwarf Jeffrey Hudson—see Page, *Lord Minimus* (London: Harper Collins, 2001).
27. It also, more subtly and ironically, refers to the revelation that Crasy's co-conspirator, Widow Tryman, is really a man (Crasy's apprentice Jeremy)—a denouement that involves him showing off his breeches.
28. It is striking, though, that very few high-status women give birth to children not their husbands' in Renaissance drama.
29. See Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity*, chapter 2.

CHAPTER 5

Animal Families

Helen Smith

> If I should shew at large and copiously, how many things may be collected out of the knowledge of beasts for familiar and houshold affaires, I might be infinite ...[1]

In his epistle dedicatory to *The House-holder, or Perfect Man: Preached in Three Sermons* (1610), Church of England clergyman Edward Topsell argued that '*Houshold Gouernment*' is 'the Parent & first beginner of Common-wealthes, the Seminary of Kingdoms, & Counsels'.[2] The analogy between domestic and national politics was commonplace. In an example that is widely cited by scholars of gender and the family, Robert Cleaver insisted 'A Householde is as it were a little common wealth, by the good gouernment wherof, Gods glorie may be aduanced, the common wealth which standes of seuerall families, benefited, and al that liue in that familie may receiue much comfort and commoditie'.[3] Applying the metaphor in the opposite direction, James VI and I explained in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598) that 'as the Father of his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education, and vertuous gouernment of his children; euen so is the king bound to care for all his subiects'.[4]

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Outlining the contents of his third sermon, Topsell introduces a further point of comparison, promising to show how the virtues of the 'perfect' householder are 'Exemplified in Beasts and Creatures'.[5] The animal, the household, and civil life are, he argues, tightly interlinked: 'So our Flockes and Heards are our Families, our Cattell, our charges Pastorall, and Magisteriall, kingdoms to Kinges, Monarchies to Emperors, Counties to Sheriffes, offices to Officers'.[6] Cleaver too extends his comparative frame to animals, though he instead distinguishes between how a householder treats his livestock and how he should treat his family:

> seeing all men be carefull, that their horses and bullocks, should haue sufficient fodder and prouender, to the end they may haue their labour in lieu and recompence thereof, it doth consequently follow, that therefore a christian Householder ought to haue ouer his children and seruants, a much more christian care, then he hath ouer his dumbe & insensible beasts'.[7]

Whilst Cleaver asserts the distance between cattle and family members, the language in which he describes the householder's relationship with his animals—understood to offer their labour 'in lieu and recompence' of the food they receive—blurs the line between rational, contractual man and 'dumbe & insensible' beast.

Cleaver's contractual cattle complicate the terms of political analogy, exposing the fault lines that consistently fracture apparently orderly animal analogies. His example, like Topsell's, underscores Laurie Shannon's claim that early modern thought about animals was couched in 'a fundamentally *political* idiom', whose recognition of 'legitimated capacities, authorities, and rights […] set animals within the scope of justice and the span of political imagination'.[8] At the same time, animal behaviour formed a central model for political life. Ants and bees in particular were staples of discussions of the commonwealth, a tradition encapsulated in the title and contents of Samuel Purchas's *A Theatre of Politicall Flying-Insects* (1657).[9] In less abstract terms, both Elizabeth I and James used beastly analogies to shape political relationships, with the latter in particular developing an elaborate vocabulary of pet names for his courtiers.[10]

This chapter, however, deals not with politics and the family, as mediated through the beastly, but with the politics of the family, as conceived of and experienced in relation to animals. In *When Species Meet*, Donna

Haraway defines politics through its association not only with the *polis* but with ideals of politeness, a connection she develops to describe a responsive 'cosmopolitics', 'with actual animals and people looking back at each other, sticky with all their muddled histories'.[11] Reclaiming 'a liveable politics', Haraway suggests, means 'learning to be "polite" in responsible relation to always asymmetrical living and dying and nurturing and killing'.[12] This chapter takes on Haraway's challenge to extend the scope of the political, asking how Topsell's writings illuminate the biopolitics of the early modern family. I explore how animal exemplars operated as ideals whose emotional and oeconomic behaviour was celebrated in terms which were often distinctly unflattering to the humans with whom they were compared, before going on to trace the intimate presence of animals in the spaces and routines of the home. Building on recent work that extends the early modern family to embrace servants, wards, and apprentices, this chapter argues that non-humans did not simply offer convenient mechanisms to conceptualise the politics and hierarchies of the family, but became part of the family's social and emotional, as well as bodily, life.

Constituting what Haraway terms a 'situated natureculture', an embodied history 'in which all the actors become who they are in the dance of relating, not from scratch, not ex-nihilo, but full of the patterns of their sometimes-joined, sometimes-separate heritages', the animal–human relationships created within and beyond the household were at once intimate and abstract, affective and analogical.[13] The twinned domestic and conceptual presence of animals challenges the dominance of the metaphor of civil politics as a model for the household and its hierarchies, and prompts us to investigate forms of household management and affect rooted as much in ideas of 'nature', kind, and feeling as in the ideals of statecraft and political theory.

'Considereth the Labors [...] of the Emmet'

Topsell is best known today for his compendia of animal knowledge, *The Historie of Four-Footed Beastes* (1607) and *The Historie of Serpents* (1608), which illustrate the physical characteristics of animal species, as well as expounding upon their 'politicall, ciuill, & domesticall vertues'.[14] Described by one commentator as 'a man of very little originality', Topsell drew extensively on Konrad Gesner's famous five-volume *Historia animalium* (Zurich, 1551–1558), which itself brought together materials from the Old Testament, ancient writers, especially Pliny and Aristotle,

folk knowledge, and medieval bestiaries. This miscellaneous heritage lends Gesner's, and hence Topsell's, writings an aphoristic and proverbial—as well as natural historical—force. Alongside this, Topsell paraphrased and reproduced materials from John Caius's *Of Englishe Dogges* (first published as *De Canibus Britannicis* in 1570; trans 1576), Thomas Blundeville's and Gervase Markham's accounts of horses and horsemanship, and Thomas Moffet's *Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum* (1634), which in turn drew on the prior publications of Gesner, Edward Wotton, and Thomas Penney.[15]

Topsell's lack of originality is precisely what makes his bestiaries compelling: they blend fable, folk knowledge, husbandry, natural philosophical observation, and personal experience, offering a rich picture of both the complexity and the confusion of ideas about animals in and beyond early modern England. Termed 'our English Gesner', Topsell was influential; his bestiaries and his sermons were widely cited by contemporaries.[16] *The Historie of Four-Footed Beastes* is referred to in texts as diverse as John Swan's popular *Speculum Mundi Or a Glasse Representing the Face of the World* (1635), Richard Ward's *Theologicall Questions, Dogmaticall Observations, and Evangelicall Essays* (1640), Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler* (1655), and Randle Holme's *The Academy of Armory* (1688). Edward Leigh drew on Topsell's sermons alongside *Four-Footed Beastes* in *A Treatise of Divinity Consisting of Three Bookes* (1646), whilst John Bagwell included Topsell among the 'most approved authors, both ancient and modern' he consulted to expand the sixth edition of Thomas Wilson's *A Complete Christian Dictionary* (1661). In a series of comparative tables designed to explain the diverse metaphors of the Bible, Benjamin Keach drew heavily on *Four-Footed Beastes* to flesh out biblical metaphors with details of observed animal behaviours, juxtaposing these descriptions with scriptural commentary and quotation to moralising ends.[17]

An intriguing instance of Topsell's contemporary reception exists in the commonplace (or household) book of Lady Ann Southwell. Between notes from St Augustine's *The City of God* and a list of miscellaneous apothegms, Southwell records 'for my ow[ne] memorye [...] some perticulers that I best affect' from *The Historie of Four-Footed Beastes*. Southwell is drawn not to the domestic exemplars that are my subject in this chapter (save the cat, which she celebrates as 'the Epitomie of a shee Lyon'), but to the more exotic inhabitants of Topsell's bestiary, including the manticore, the lamia, the rhinoceros and the hydra.[18] Yet the inclusion of these brief notes within a commonplace book devoted primarily to religious

writings, household accounts, receipts, and inventories, locates Topsell precisely within the oeconomic and moral contexts I explore below.

Topsell's concern for family is made explicit in the title of *The Householder*, but is already evident in his earliest surviving publication, *The Reward of Religion. Deliuered in Sundrie Lectures Upon the Booke of Ruth* (first published 1596), which is centrally occupied with the conduct and religious politics of the family. Though the encyclopaedic bestiaries for which Topsell is now known seem at first glance far removed from his concern for biblical exposition, his sermons routinely employ creaturely analogies as part of a programme of meditation in which readers are urged to 'Turne therefore your eyes to all things, to gather this wisedom, not onely to Heauen, but to Earth, to Men, to Beasts, to hel, to seas, to all'.[19] Equally, Topsell's expanding bestiary comments repeatedly upon the family lives and moral probity of animals, offering a running commentary on the pertinence of these observations to household management.

The preface to *The Historie of Four-Footed Beastes* explains that God preserved the beasts in Noah's ark (bringing 'them home to man as to a fold') so 'that a man might gaine out of them much deuine knowledge'.[20] 'Who', asks Topsell,

> is so vnnaturall and vnthankefull to his parents, but by reading how the young *Storkes* and *Wood-peckers* do in their parents olde age feed and nourish them, will not repent, amend his folly, and bee more naturall? What man is so void of compassion, that hearing the bounty of the *Bone-breaker Birde* to the young *Eagles,* will not become more liberall? Where is there svch a sluggard and drone, that considereth the labours, paines, and trauels of the Emmet, Little-bee, Field-mouse, Squirrell, and such other that will not learne for shame to be more industrious, and set his fingers to worke?[21]

Topsell was not, of course, the first author to emphasise the relevance of animal behaviour to household life. In 1580, Michael Cope highlighted the biblical roots of this tradition, directing readers of his *A Godly and Learned Exposition vppon the Prouerbes of Solomon* to consider in detail verses 6 to 8, which instructed them: 'Go to the pismire [ant], o sluggard: behold her waies, & be wise. / For she hauing no guide, gouernour, nor ruler: / Prepareth her meate in the sommer, and gathereth her foode in the haruest'.[22] Noting that the pismire is 'a litle feeble beast', Cope links the observation of animal behaviour directly to household governance, remarking that men 'ought to bee ashamed that the wise man sendeth

them […] to learne wisdome and wel to gouerne their houses and families'.[23] Cope reflects upon the ant community's lack of political structures, insisting that the benefits of civic hierarchy should compel men to behave better than beasts, since, unlike ants, men

> haue their parents and neighbours, whose example and counsel they shoulde folow: they haue maister workmen & labourers, of whome they may learne to do the necessarie woorks of this life. Besides this, there are the lawes of the Magistrates for to compel their subiects to labour. (R4^{v}–R5^{r})

The Swiss Reformed theologian Pierre Viret drew on the same passage from Proverbs in his *The Schoole of Beastes; Intituled, the Good Housholder, or the Oeconomickes* (1585), turning to the examples of diverse animals to consider the 'wel and wise gouerning the houses and families'.[24]

For Topsell, wasps offer a prime example of *oeconomia*, the art of good housekeeping.[25] Male wasps 'haue such a tender care ouer their females, […] and suffer them so much to haue their owne wills, as they will neither permit them to take any paynes abroade for theyr liuing, nor yet to seeke for their meate at home'.[26] Whilst to a modern consciousness the energy of the males 'flying about [… to] bring all home to their owne dwellings, thereby as it were strictly enioyning the femalls to keepe theselues within dores', seems a peculiar example of the females' dominant 'wills', it chimes with an ideology of the household which drew upon the classical precepts of Xenophon. The ideal of *oeconomia* positions the man as active in the socio-economic world, expending his energies to earn the substance which his wife at home manages with thrift and care.[27] As Cleaver summarised it: 'The dutie of the husband, is to get goods: and of the wife, to gather them together, and saue them. […] The dutie of the husband, is to get mony and prouision: and of the wiues, not vainely to spend it'.[28] 'There is', asserts Topsell, 'nothing more frugall then a Spyder, more laborious, cleanely, and fine. For she cannot abide that euen the least end or peece of her thred to be lost, or to be placed and set to no vse or profit'.[29]

Emphasising the mutuality of marital labours, Topsell notes that male and female spiders take on each others' roles when one is sick or weak, whilst Viret admires 'howe the wife spinneth and maketh the webbes and threds, and the husband on the other side chaseth and hunteth for their nourishment'.[30] This gendering of action imposes upon arachnids an ideological division, which maps neatly onto stereotypes of gendered human work. At the same time, both authors celebrate the spiders' cooperation in

order to maintain the household, which suggests the importance of women's work to middle and lower-status households.[31] Spiders are equally exemplary of the right way to bring up children, taking it in turns to sit upon their eggs, and, 'although […] they haue brought forth three hundereth young ones at once, yet do they traine them vp al alike without exception, to labour, parsimony, and paynes taking, and invre them in good order, to fashion and frame all things fit for the weaving craft'.[32] The language of craft and fashioning locates spiders in the world of the economic family, sustaining the future of the household through the reproduction of both children and skill.

Where animal families model the ideal *domus*, human families compare negatively to the innate virtues of beasts. In an elegant chiasmic structure, Topsell demonstrates the mirroring of the love which a nanny goat bears for her kids in the attentive affection of her children: 'the Damme doth most carefully educate and nourish her young, the younge ones againe, doe most thankefully recompence their mothers carefulnesse', grooming her, and bringing food and water.[33] The applicability of this moral behaviour is firmly driven home: kids are 'much like vnto reasonable men, which keepe and nourish theyr owne parents in their old decrepit age'. In *The Reward of Religion*, animal analogies conversely illuminate 'the gracelesse generations of our vngodly age', when parents spoil their children, choosing to 'put both feete into the graue by their ouer labours, then bring their vntamed steeres, and vnrulye heyfers, their sons and daughters to the yoke of diligent trauaile'.[34] Complaining about the excesses of modern parents in *The House-holder*, Topsell suggests 'Eyther they bring them vp to nothing but to play, as many of the rich, or else they traine them to nothing but to delue and digge the earth, as many of the poore'. A marginal note explains the distinction in animal terms: 'Mowing Apes. Digging Pigges'.[35]

Topsell's and Viret's concern for good housekeeping begins with the construction of the home. Wasps, for example, build 'very large dwellings, with Chambers and floores, in a round and orbicular forme, with roomes one aboue another, finely and wittily compacted'.[36] Topsell's emphasis upon the 'witty' buildings of the wasps is mirrored in his account of badgers' efforts to build an 'elaborate house', as well as the 'wit or naturall inuention' demonstrated by beavers in constructing their dens.[37] Animal homes occupy a potentially uneasy space between the built and the natural; Topsell celebrates beavers' ingenuity in selecting where their 'buildings are to be framed', a term that invokes at once the practical craft required to construct a home, and the divine maker's ability to 'frame' his creation.

Creaturely dwelling practices involve the exemplary practice of moral judgement: Topsell celebrates 'the wisedome of the Mouse' in providing multiple lodgings for herself, and describes swallows as 'prouident Birds', who collect wool from the backs of sheep in order to make 'their nestes to lodge their young ones after they bee hatched'.[38] Even the pig is 'very desirous of a cleane lodging', which must be maintained by the swineherd.[39] In his sermon on Ruth, Topsell emphasises the direct parallels between human and animal households, warning the uncharitable rich to 'take heed, that their owne styes, *I* meane their houses wherein such fat hogs as themselues are, liuing in pleasure and in follyes, be not made worse then the silly houell of [the poor]'.[40]

For both Viret and Topsell, animals offer copious examples of natural, even instinctive affection. Viret insists that '*the cheefest thing that is required in a good householder, is the amitie and loue of the husbande and the wife* [...] *and the care that the fathers and mothers of the familie, ought to haue of their children and families*'; his treatise is concerned to explore the virtues of those beasts '*whiche haue some singular gyfte more then the others haue, in the coniunction of the male with the female, and in the affection towardes their litle ones*'.[41] Topsell too insists upon the importance of affective marital bonds; numerous beastly examples of monogamous affection provide a means to reflect upon humans' inability to achieve a similar moral standard. Returning to spiders, he declares:

> I will not omit their temperance, a vertue in former ages proper onely to men, but now it should seeme peculiar to Spyders. [...] And as they cannot abide corriualles, if any wedlocke breakers, & Cockold-makers dare bee [...] so insolently proude as to presse into anothers House or Cottage, they reward him iustly with condigne punnishment for his temerations enterprize, & flagitious fact.[42]

Further from home, crocodiles are cited as doting lovers, with males loving their mates 'aboue all measure, yea euen to iealousie'. This intensity of feeling is considered praiseworthy: it is crocodiles' 'naturall affection they beare one to another, and how they choose out theyr fellowes' that makes them 'as it were fitte wiues and husbands for procreation'.[43]

Above all, animals were models for parental affection. In *The Citie of God*, translated into English in 1610, St Augustine demanded, '[f]or what Tyger is there that doth not nousle her yong ones, & fawn vpon them in their tendernesse? what Kite is there, though he fly solitarily about for his

prey, but wil tread his female, build his nest, sit his egges, feed his young, and assist his fellow in her motherly duety, all that in him lieth?'.[44] The passion of animal mothers at the loss of their offspring is frequently evoked. Tigers in particular, seeing their young carried away on ships, 'maketh so great lamentation vpon the Sea shoare howling, braying, and rancking, that many times she dyeth in the same place'.[45] Topsell's examples participate in the 'naturalization of motherhood—that is, its essentialist casting as adhering in the physical bodies of women', establishing maternal feeling as intense and innate by describing it within an animal realm where reason is only partially or occasionally understood to operate.[46] This comparison is complicated, and more fully endorsed, by Topsell's insistence that animals possess moral and affective, rather than simply instinctual, responses.

Where Patricia Phillippy has suggested that 'maternity is constructed in the [early modern] period as a unique site of affective and emotional license' against which men might establish a mean of mourning, animal examples at once enable an excess of feeling, and allow something of that emotional intensity to men as well as women.[47] In a striking example from Sir John Harington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, it is Rodomont, the epitome of masculinity, who is compared to the grieving tigress, pursuing his lost love, Doralice, 'Like as a Tyger', who, robbed of her young, 'Doth follow on the foote through eu'rie cost, / No dikes nor waters wide can make her stay'.[48] For Viret too, the animal world offers compelling examples of paternal affection. Male pigeons 'doe take with their females a part of the care and paine, that they must haue of their egges & young', whilst 'the lampries do beare the bel, and do merite the crowne aboue all other fishes in case of fatherly loue, and indulgence, goodnes and gentleness towards their yong-ones'.[49] Topsell's description of wasps moves between the family and the *polis*, returning us to the connection between fatherhood and political enfranchisement: wasps 'want not a harty and fatherly affection' manifested in 'more then heroycall courage and inuincible fury', since if anyone is 'so knack-hardy as to come neere there houses or dwelling places', the whole swarm 'rusheth out, being put into an amazed feare, to help their fellow Cittizen'.[50]

The modes of analogical thinking that turn to animals as examples for the maintenance of family relationships might be taken to support Erica Fudge's argument that in early modern literature and culture the animal 'becomes the thing which the human is constantly setting itself against'. Fudge asserts that Topsell's unoriginal compendia, like other literary descriptions, make visible not the living, breathing animal but 'the ways in

which humans define themselves as human in the face of the animal', even if, as in many of the cases described here, the animal is taken to represent virtues to which the human should aspire.[51] Yet, as Keith Thomas reminds us, whereas in modern England there are three people to every sheep, in the early modern period 'the ratio was the other way round'; animals were ever-present, in the household, and in village and city streets.[52] In Topsell's writings—and, I would argue, much more broadly across the period—the living, breathing presence of the animal, and, at times, the visceral presence of its parts, constantly asserts itself within the lines of description and analysis, contrast and comparison. Understood in the context of a relentless familiarity between man and beast, anthropomorphism is not an act of abstraction; rather, in John Berger's neat formulation, 'anthropomorphism was integral to the relationship between man and animal and was an expression of their proximity'.[53] As the next section will show, the presence of animals in and around the household complicates the metaphorical force of domestic and oeconomic beasts, rooting Topsell's and Viret's comparisons in a vital and shifting biopolitics.

Familiar Creatures

Recent scholarship has made a strong case for extending the ideas of family beyond immediate kin to encompass temporary and mobile residents. Susan Broomhall asks us to consider

> not the relationships created by the family connected through blood and marriage, but rather the connections forged by members of household communities. When people lived, ate and / or worked together in a household, what kinds of relationships were created? What was the nature of emotional content formed in the household among people drawn together by shared economic, social and biological needs, rather than necessarily by blood or marriage?[54]

Animals likewise lived, ate, and worked with humans, and their biological and social needs were complexly intertwined; these observations push us to extend the family to encompass an animal presence.

For Broomhall, 'master-servant relations were often modelled on the advice literature for parent-child interactions, suggesting that societies attempted to find ways to locate interaction between unconnected individuals residing in the household in familiar emotional paradigms'; animals

offered a further model for interactions that were at once hierarchical and affective, whilst the terms of service structured many animal relationships.[55] Bruce Boehrer, in a study of literary animals, identifies the persistent trope that linked the pet parrot and the servant, with the exploitation of both rendered, as a result, 'inevitable, commonplace, and therefore trivial'.[56] In contrast, Topsell emphasises mutual obligation between man and animal: the shepherd 'must rather be a guide vnto [his flock] then a Lord or master ouer them […] he must rather vse his chiding voice and shake his staffe at them, then cast either stone or dart at them'.[57] The bee-keeper must exert himself 'to keepe these good Pay-maisters, and to make them in loue with you', a phrase in which the bees' position as a source of income paradoxically establishes them as officers ('pay-masters') rather than employees.[58]

Dogs, in particular, embodied a relationship of loving service, 'induring many stripes patiently at the hands of his maister, and vsing no other meanes to pacifie his displeasure, then humiliation, prostration, assentation, and after beating, turneth a reuenge into a more feruent and whot loue'.[59] Citing Caius, Topsell describes the dog as 'a creature domesticall or houshold seruant, brought vp at home with offals of the trencher, and fragments of victuals', suggesting the extent to which participation at table constituted the extended family.[60] 'The Dog called Turnespete', employed in the kitchen, literalised the service relationship, so diligent in turning the meat by walking in a wheel 'that no drudge nor scullion can do the feate more cunningly'.[61] These examples of serviceable animals naturalise the hierarchies of the household; describing God's creation as '*lauta supellex*, our houshold furniture', Samuel Purchas rejoiced that 'the tamer beasts, fishes, fowles, [are] naturall slaues, and houshold-seruants'.[62]

Animal relations extended beyond the terms of loyal service, however. Though historians argue that the early modern period witnessed architectural and social changes that separated domestic animals from the family, who withdrew into the secure private household, there is copious evidence to suggest that these boundaries were, at best, loosely observed.[63] As Topsell's litany of domestic creatures reminds us, humans and animals lived in close proximity thanks to the structures and materials of the home, which provided convenient dwelling places for creaturely as well as human occupants. 'The little mouse', Topsell notes, 'is justly tearmed […] an inhabitant in our own houses, […] and a knawer of al things', while 'the Domestical weasel like a maide doth continually liue in houses'.[64]

According to Topsell, when hedgehogs 'are nourished at home in houses and brought vp tame, they drinke both Milke and Wine', whilst pine martens, 'taken when they be young […] grow wonderfull tame and familiar with men and dogs'.[65] Topsell's most frequently used word to describe animals that have been taken into the home is 'familiar', a term that is etymologically tied to family, and blurs the line between family, friends, servants, and household animals—as well as, in a different context, embracing the familiar animals of suspected witches.[66] Anecdotes instruct readers in the example of a bear nurtured at a prince's table, 'for he had vsed her to be familiar at his court, and to come into his owne chamber when he listed' and of 'a holy man, who kept a hind so familiar with him that in the wildernes he liued vpon her milke'.[67]

Topsell's emphasis upon the shaping influence of food and domestic space extends to a recognition that companion animals may have not only their family lives but their reproductive cycles shaped by the facts of cohabitation: it is, he observes, 'a common thing to al that liue familiarly among men' to give birth numerous times in a year, where they would do so only once in the wild.[68] This biological alteration reminds us of what Haraway terms the 'politics of animal and human reproduction' and the extent to which selective breeding practices are themselves enmeshed in political structures, a phenomenon perhaps most keenly attested during the early modern period in the celebration of hunting animals and birds, which were frequently deployed as gifts within a patronage economy. In 1588, for example, Robert Cecil wrote to his father, Lord Burghley, from Bruges, revealing that 'the Duke himself willed Richardotte to speak unto me for a hound and a brace of English greyhounds', and that

> M. la Motte sent me a cast of hawks when he sent my Lord Cobham his three hawks. There is no five days but I receive from him one courteous message or another; with sometimes a pheasant or a hare; which we can here requite them no way more to their contentment at Bruges than with five or six hundred oysters.[69]

The concept of familiarity could render even exotic creatures domestic. John Pory's 1600 translation of Leo Africanus's *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, for example, describes 'serpents so familiar with men, that at dinner-time they wil come like dogs & cats, and gather vp the crums vnder the table'.[70] Closer to home, Topsell describes how rabbits 'will very quickly grow tame and familiar to the hand of man', whilst a cat is a 'familiar and

well knowne beast'.[71] Squirrels too 'growe exceeding tame and familiar to men if they be accustomed and taken when they are young'. Sadly, 'they are very harmeful, and will eat al manner of woollen garments, and if it were not for that discommodity, they were sweete-sportful-beastes, and are very pleasant play-fellowes in a house'.[72]

The intimacy of 'sweete-sportful' squirrels, which 'runne vp to mens shoulders, and […] will oftentimes sit vpon their handes, creepe into their pockets for Nuttes, goe out of doores, and returne home againe', raises the question of the emotional bonds between familiar animals and humans. Whilst Keith Thomas argues that it was only towards the end of the period that pets became popular, and that the keeping of 'useless' animals 'reflects the tendency of modern men and women to withdraw into their own small family unit for their greater emotional satisfactions', there is copious earlier evidence for affectionate relationships between household animals and humans.[73] Topsell, evidently not a fan of the cat, which he describes as 'a dangerous beast', is nonetheless seduced into an engaging description of:

> how she flattereth by rubbing her skinne against ones Legges, how she whurleth with her voyce […] Therefore how she beggeth, playeth, leapeth, looketh, catcheth, tosseth with her foote, riseth vp to strings held ouer her head, sometime creeping, sometimes lying on the back, playing with one foot, somtime on the bely, snatching, now with mouth, & anon with foot, aprehending greedily any thing saue the hand of a man with diuers such gestical actions, it is needelesse to stand vpon'.[74]

His stern reminders that 'they which keepe their cats with them in their beds haue the aire corrupted' and that it is best to 'auoyde their harmes, making more account of their vse then of their persons', reveal that many early moderns did make much of their cats and went so far as to welcome them into their beds.[75] Equally, Topsell returns on several occasions to the fashion for lapdogs, which 'some wanton Women […] admit […] to their beds, and bring up their young ones in their owne bosomes'.[76] Such excessive affections threaten to disrupt the reproductive politics of the family; Topsell condemns those 'who delight more in Dogs that are depriued of all possibility of reason, then they do in children that be capeable of wisedome, and iudgment', even as he suggests that this affection may be the fruit of 'long lacke of issue', as the dog comes to substitute for the longed-for child.[77]

Such emotional—and evidently pleasurable—attachments did not prevent the use of animals as meat or medicine. As Berger argues of a later period, '[a] peasant becomes fond of his pig and is glad to salt away its pork. What is significant […] is that the two statements in that sentence are connected by an *and* and not by a *but*'.[78] Early moderns might feel affection for a wide range of 'familiar' animals whilst also employing them to culinary or medicinal ends. Jakob Rüff's *The Expert Midwife* (1637) informs readers that 'the ashes […] of a Hedgehog being burnt and tempered with oyle, affordeth an oyntment very commodious' to ease phlegmatic humours in a pregnant woman.[79] Topsell describes the medicinal use of 'litle dogs […] to aswage the sicknes of the stomack, being oftentimes thereunto applied as a plaster preseruatiue, or borne in the bosom of the diseased and weake person'. Whilst carrying the dog 'in the bosom' suggests an intimate relationship, the cure works by transferral, with the disease observed to 'changeth his place and entreth […] into the dog', transforming a mutually nurturing embrace into a mortal experience for the canine companion.[80]

Where nearly every animal is described as possessing medical virtues which add to its utility, it is those closest to home and most important to the household economy—dogs, horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs—whose entries contain details of how to treat their ailments. These cures, often markedly similar to the medicines Topsell recommends for humans, epitomise the kinds of symbiogenesis that Haraway identifies as a hallmark of the companion species, as humans apply or consume animal parts, and treatment regimes for animals demand physical intimacy and the transmission of human bodily fluids.[81] Within the terms of a medical regimen that insisted upon the porousness of the body and transformative effects of the environment, human bodies could be radically altered by the consumption of characterful animal flesh.[82] These effects extend to the mingling of human and animal sexual appetites and emotional capacity; Topsell records that: 'because the Roe-bucke doth wonderfully loue his female, there be some that affirme, that if a woman eate the bladder of a Roe, it will likewise make her husband to loue her exceedingly'.[83] Animal medicine was instrumental in creating and perpetuating both family affection and reproductive health; Rüff's receipts to cure sterility repeatedly call for the womb of a hare, mixed with other ingredients and used in baths, pills, and other confections.[84]

Topsell's and Viret's repeated emphasis upon building further suggests the extent to which animals may have been less an analogical than a practical resource for human observers. Responding to a description of the kingfisher's nest, one of Viret's protagonists, Tobias, exclaims: 'the

Halcions haue rather taught men the manner to make shippes and boates, then the *Halcions* haue learned of them the science & knowledge that they haue to builde their houses'.[85] In similar terms, Viret asks

> the silke-weauers and also the lynen cloth makers, & the tapestrie makers, and imbroderers, and also all those that make threddes come, and compare their woorke to the spiders webbes, & let them consider in which is most conning. And who hath learned them that occupation? It was not men, but rather they haue learned of them.[86]

There is, of course, a mythic aspect to these comparisons. Nonetheless, Viret's characters elide the distinction between human and animal skill, and emphasise the importance of natural knowledge to building and household craft.

Topsell applies the terms of human dwelling to animal nests and dens: mice seek for 'conuenient lodginges prepared to their hand and they loue the hollow places of wals, or the roofes of houses', whilst bees are capable of so overloading themselves with honey that, 'they faint in their returne to their own priuate cotages'.[87] He thus simultaneously brings animals into the domain of the human and naturalises the human *domus*. As Karen Raber points out, leading proponents of architectural theory, including Vitruvius, Alberti and Wotton, 'saw architecture as a natural activity, analogous to the construction of nests by birds, bees, ants, and other animals—the best human architects are but belated and often less perfect imitators of animals'.[88] Such a view participates in what Tim Ingold, drawing on Heidegger, describes as a 'dwelling perspective', reversing the dominant view of buildings as constructions that precede habitation and suggesting instead that 'the activities of building—of cultivation and construction—belong to our dwelling in the world'.[89] The building is formed in response to the environment; in Viret and Topsell, animals offer compelling models of the techniques and practices of occupying and shaping space.

For Haraway, 'caring means to become subject to the unsettling obligation of curiosity, which requires knowing more at the end of the day than at the beginning'.[90] Tracking the behaviour of animals, Topsell and Viret encourage their readers towards what Ingold terms an 'education of attention', rooted in observation.[91] The term 'familiar' embraces knowledge gained through close association and, specifically, by frequent perception through the senses.[92] Noting the good behaviour of young swallows, taught 'to cast donge from their nest', Viret's Tobias comments

that this knowledge is ready to hand thanks to swallows' closeness to human habitation, nesting in the eaves and above the doors of buildings.[93] Though Topsell mingles his sources promiscuously, his text too is rooted in observation (first-hand or repeated), especially of those animals which live close to man. Topsell's text, with its promiscuous and lively mingling of sources and genres, guides the curious reader to watch and delight in the behaviour of animals, and to assent to the (divinely inspired) instinctual knowledge and order encapsulated in their actions and relationships.

Wasps, like bees, epitomise political life: Topsell offers it as 'a good Argument of their ciuill and politicall manner of life, in that they [...] build for themselues a Citty, both excellent and admirable for the notable buildings and houses in it'. Whilst wasp society is monarchical, Topsell notes, good government is ensured by 'the mutable and neuer fayling lawes of Nature' which wasps observe 'as well in their daily taskes, as in their dispositions and affections of mind'.[94] Such a construction does not simply naturalise political hierarchies; it suggests that the commonplace link between household and state government with which I opened this chapter (and which is explored throughout this collection) was rooted in a cosmopolitical worldview in which animals occupied domestic space, shaped the bodies and health of the family, and offered guides for living and for the conduct of 'daily taskes'. 'Humans', Ingold argues, 'are brought into existence within a world that is inhabited by beings of manifold kinds, both human and non-human'; in Topsell's words, God 'created all kind of Beastes and creatures before man, that he might bring him into a house furnished and adorned with all thinges'.[95] Whilst Topsell's viewpoint, like the majority of his contemporaries, ostensibly establishes animals as secondary and subservient to man, his text's insistent familiarity with animal habits and relationships flickers constantly between ideals of hierarchy, an elevation of natural morality over the inadequacies of fallen man, and a responsive attention to the real moods and needs of familiar creatures. The movement of animals in and out of the early modern household and the domestic consciousness renders literal Haraway's insistence that anthropomorphism is not merely forgivable but 'necessary to keep the humans alert to the fact that somebody is at home in the animals they work with'.[96] For early moderns, whose language and patterns of thought assume 'a continuity between human and non-human animal experience', 'familiar' non-humans shaped and sustained the family, being possessed of moral and emotional attributes, providing food, medicine, and loyal service, and licensing and patterning ideals of domestic feeling and household life.[97]

Notes

1. Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (London, 1607), ¶2^{r}.
2. Edward Topsell, *The House-holder* (London, 1609), ¶4^{v}.
3. Robert Cleaver, *A Godlie Forme of Hovseholde Government* (London, 1598), A7^{r}. On this analogy, see especially Susan D. Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), chapter 2.
4. *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, Iames* (London, 1616), R2^{r}.
5. Topsell, *The House-holder*, ¶3^{v}.
6. Topsell, *The House-holder*, I7^{r}.
7. Cleaver, *Householde Gouernment*, A3^{r}-A3^{v}.
8. Laurie Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal: Cosmopolity in Shakespearean Locales* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), p.3.
9. *A Theatre of Politicall Flying-Insects Wherein Especially the Nature, the Worth, the Work, the Wonder, and the Manner of Right-Ordering of the Bee, is Discovered and Described* (London, 1657). On this tradition, see Jonathan Woolfson, 'The Renaissance of Bees', *Renaissance Studies* 24 (2010), pp. 281–300.
10. Alan Stewart, 'Government by Beagle: the Impersonal Rule of James VI and I', in Erica Fudge (ed.), *Renaissance Beasts: of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), pp. 101–115.
11. Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp. 92; 42.
12. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, pp. 271; 42.
13. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 25.
14. Topsell, *The Historie of Serpents. Or, The Second Booke of Liuing Creatures* (London, 1608), Dd2^{v}.
15. C. E. Raven, *English Naturalists from Neckam to Ray: A Study of the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), p. 218; G. Lewis, 'Topsell, Edward (*bap.* 1572, *d.* 1625)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27557].
16. Stephen Jerome, *Englands Iubilee* (Dublin, 1625), P2^{v}.
17. *Troposchemalogia: Tropes and Figures* (London, 1682).
18. *The Southwell-Sibthorpe Commonplace Book, Folger MS V.b.198*, ed. Jean Klene, C.S.C. (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), pp. 103–105.
19. Topsell, *The House-holder*, B8^{v}.
20. Topsell, *Beastes*, A4^{r}.

21. Topsell, *Beastes*, A5[r].
22. Michael Cope, *A Godly and Learned Exposition vppon the Prouerbes of Solomon*, trans. Marcelline Outred (London, 1580), R4[r].
23. Cope, *Godly and Learned*, R4[v].
24. Pierre Viret, *The Schoole of Beastes; Intituled, the Good Housholder, or the Oeconomickes*, trans. I. R. (London, 1585), *2[r]. This is a translation of part II of Viret's 1561 *Metamorphose chrestienne*.
25. On *oeconomia* as it was interpreted in early modern England, see Viviana Comensoli, '*Household Business': Domestic Plays of Early Modern England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), esp. pp. 65–109; Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), esp. pp. 27–112.
26. Topsell, *Serpents*, L1[r].
27. Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1994), chapter one.
28. Cleaver, *Householde Gouernment*, M4[v]-M5[r]. See also Jared van Duinen, 'The Obligations of Governing Masculinity in the Early Stuart Gentry Family: The Barringtons of Hatfield Broad Oak', in Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, eds, *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 113–130.
29. Topsell, *Serpents*, Dd2[r].
30. Viret, *Schoole of Beastes*, C1[r].
31. Amy Louise Erickson concludes that for yeomanry families, 'women's work was not only essential but appears to have constituted at least half of the total household economy' ('Introduction' to Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. xix).
32. Topsell, *Serpents*, Dd2[v].
33. Topsell, *Beastes*, Y3[r].
34. Topsell, *Reward*, K7[v].
35. Topsell, *The House-holder*, M2[v].
36. Topsell, *Serpents*, I1[r].
37. Topsell, *Beastes*, D5[r]; E6[v].
38. Topsell, *Beastes*, Aaa2[v], Lll2[v].
39. Topsell, *Beastes*, Ppp1[r].
40. Topsell, *Reward of Religion*, Q6[r].
41. Viret, *Schoole of Beastes*, ¶3[r].
42. Topsell, *Serpents*, Dd2[r].
43. Topsell, *Serpents*, N2[r].
44. Augustine, *S. Augustine, of The Citie of God* (London, 1610), Ttt6[r].

45. Topsell, *Beastes*, Ss1^{r}.
46. Patricia Phillippy, 'London's Mourning Garment: Maternity, Mourning and Royal Succession', in Naomi Miller and Naomi Yavneh (eds), *Maternal Measures: Figuring Caregiving in the Early Modern Period* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 319–332 (p. 323).
47. Phillippy, 'London's Mourning Garment', p. 320.
48. Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, trans John Harington (London, 1591), M4^{v}.
49. Viret, *Schoole of Beastes*, C8^{v}-D1^{r}; D7^{r}.
50. Topsell, *Serpents*, K8^{v}.
51. Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000), p. 1.
52. Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500–1800* (rpt. Penguin, 1984), p.94. Karen Raber too suggests that scholars need to attend to questions of 'animal embodiment', recognising the historical presence of 'actual animals with actual bodies, animals that have more than just conceptual proximity' (*Animal Bodies, Renaissance Culture* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013], p. 12).
53. John Berger, *About Looking* (London: Bloomsbury, 1980), p. 11.
54. Susan Broomhall, 'Emotions in the Household', in Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household, 1200–1900* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 1–37 (p. 1).
55. Broomhall, 'Emotions in the Household', p. 4.
56. Bruce Boehrer, *Shakespeare Among the Animals: Nature and Society in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 132.
57. Topsell, *Beastes*, Iii5^{v}.
58. Topsell, *Serpents*, H2^{v}.
59. Topsell, *Beastes*, N5^{r}.
60. Topsell, *Beastes*, Q1^{v} cf. John Caius, *Of English Dogges*, trans Abraham Fleming (London, 1576), C8^{v}.
61. Topsell, *Beastes*, Q5^{r}; Caius, *Dogges*, F1^{v}.
62. Samuel Purchas, *The Kings Towre and Triumphant Arch of London* (London, 1623), B6^{r}.
63. See Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 95.
64. Topsell, *Beastes*, Vvv6^{r}; Ttt5^{r}.
65. Topsell, *Beastes*, Bb1^{v}; Vv3^{r}.
66. *OED*, 'Familiar', n., adj., and adv. (n., defs 1a, 2a, 3a; adj. defs 1a, 2a, 2b, 3a, 4a). *OED Online*. (Oxford University Press, December 2015).
67. Topsell, *Beastes*, L4^{v}; E3^{r}; N2^{v}.
68. Topsell, *Beastes*, Ooo5^{v}.

69. National Archives SP 77/3 f.42, Robert Cecil to his Father, Lord Burghley, April 5, 1588.
70. Leo, Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, trans John Pory (London, 1600), T5^{r-v}.
71. Topsell, *Beastes*, K4^{r}.
72. Topsell, *Beastes*, Nnn5^{v}.
73. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 119.
74. Topsell, *Beastes*, K5^{r}.
75. See, however, Boehrer, *Animal Characters: Nonhuman Beings in Early Modern Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), chapter three, for numerous examples of festive violence towards cats.
76. Topsell, *Beastes*, P4^{r}.
77. Topsell, *Beastes*, Q2^{v}.
78. Berger, *About Looking*, p. 7.
79. Jakob Rüff, *The Expert Midwife* (London, 1637), N1^{v}.
80. Topsell, *Beastes*, Q2^{v}.
81. Haraway, *When Species Meet,* p. 15. Raber notes that 'consuming urine, excrement, and (to us) odd body parts is a commonplace of Renaissance medical texts and husbandry manuals' aimed at humans, and explores animal medicines which use human urine, as well as licking or sucking infected areas (*Animal Bodies*, p. 104).
82. See Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
83. Topsell, *Beastes*, L5^{r}.
84. Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*—for example Dd1^{r}.
85. Viret, *Schoole of Beastes*, D5^{v}.
86. Viret, *Schoole of Beastes*, B8^{v}-C1^{r}.
87. Topsell, *Beastes*, Aa2^{r}; *Serpents*, H1^{r}.
88. Raber, *Animal Bodies*, p. 130.
89. Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment*, p. 185.
90. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 36.
91. Ingold, 'From the Transmission of Representations to the Education of Attention', in Harvey Whitehouse (ed.), *The Debated Mind: Evolutionary Psychology Versus Ethnography*, pp. 113–153 (p. 144).
92. *OED*, 'Familiar', *adj*. def. 5a. *OED Online*. (Oxford University Press, December 2015).

93. Viret, *Schoole of Beastes*, D1r.
94. Topsell, *Serpents*, H6v.
95. Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment*, 5; Topsell, *Beastes*, ¶4r.
96. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003), p. 50.
97. Boehrer, *Animal Characters*, p. 3.

PART II

Succession

CHAPTER 6

'Good Agreement Betwixt the Wombe and Frute': The Politics of Maternal Power in the Letters of Lady Anne Bacon

Katy Mair

> Mother-love is supposed to be continuous, unconditional. Love and anger cannot coexist. Female anger threatens the institution of motherhood.[1]

At times tender and caring, at others accusatory and manipulative, the letters between Lady Anne Bacon (*c*.1528–1610) and her sons Anthony and Francis reveal the ambivalence and ambiguity of the maternal role in the early modern period. Whilst the role of the mother was clearly defined in the early years of the child's life, the adult relationship was less so, resulting in conflict and confusion as to where nurture ended, and control began. This intergenerational tension was exacerbated by Anne's experience of spheres not usually traversed by women, as the extent of her education, her experience in court politics and estate management, as well as her respected status as a Puritan patron all combined to ensure there were few topics on which her maternal advice was not worth listening to. Although Anne's humanist education and her involvement in the early

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parenting of her children created an intellectual affinity between mother and son, her status as a widow and the responsibilities she came to bear for her sons' financial stability and their professional advancement worked to dismantle the empathy between them. The dual impulses of Anne's maternal role, namely the affection and care she desired to extend to them as a result of their biological relation, and the direction she was obliged to provide them for the secure establishment of the family line, created a paradoxical correspondence, one that flickered from affection to malice in a flash. Behind this polarised expression of motherly emotion lay the complex internal family politics of the Bacons, the pressures of competition within their wider kinship group, and their attempts to establish themselves politically in the court of Elizabeth I. This chapter will explore instances where the negotiation of family and courtly politics came to the forefront of Anne Bacon's correspondence, focusing particularly on how the role of the mother was delineated at different points in her relationships with her sons. The first section will sketch Anne's role as a mother, examining how her role was explicitly political as she attempted to establish the careers of her sons. Section two will focus on moments of family conflict that demonstrate how the concept of mothering shifted and changed depending on the interests of the parties involved. Throughout her life Anne performed a succession of maternal roles: a stepmother, a mother as a wife and then a mother as a widow. The political power of her maternal role and the expectation of the control she can enact over her sons are altered at each stage.

Family Relations

The correspondence between Anne and Anthony is the largest collection of letters between mother and son from the late sixteenth century, and offers an unparalleled insight into family politics. As the daughter of a respected humanist, Sir Anthony Cooke, Anne had received extensive training in classical and modern languages.[2] Her talents were put to good effect in her translations of Bernardino Ochino's sermons (editions published in 1548, 1551 and 1570), and John Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (published in 1564).[3] Both texts established her national and international reputation as a proponent for reformed religion, one that was still in place in 1581 when French theologian, Théodore de Bèze, dedicated a book to her.[4] In 1553 Anne married Nicholas Bacon, a lawyer and later Lord Keeper of the Great Seal when she was about twenty-five

years old. The kinship network that developed as a result of the marriages of Anne’s sisters meant that Anne’s connections stretched across the fabric of Elizabethan society, and linked her to humanist, political, and noble circles of power (Mildred married William Cecil later Lord Burghley, Elizabeth married Thomas Hoby and after his death John Russell second Earl of Bedford, Katherine married Henry Killigrew, and Margaret married Ralph Rowlett).

The letters between Anne and Anthony survive only for a concentrated period of their relationship, beginning from the point of Anthony’s return to England from France in 1592 and ending abruptly in 1596. They cover a tense phase in their relations, as after his father’s death in 1579 Anthony travelled abroad working as a spy, eventually settling in France. During Anthony’s absence abroad his mother took on heavy responsibilities for managing his estates back in England, but once he returned he was able to reassume control of his affairs. The letters demonstrate the practicalities of negotiating an adult mother and son relationship, a dynamic that is understudied in this period. Indeed much of the work on early modern mother and son relationships focuses on the early years, and draws heavily on the genre of mother’s advice books, which outline the priorities and objectives of mothering from the perspective of the mother.[5] These texts offer a model mother–child relationship, in which maternity becomes the basis of authority from which women could counsel and guide their children through classical and biblical quotations, references to their own experience and to their physical connection with their children, as well as with frequent references to their imminent demise.

Although these maternal objectives and rhetorical strategies are replicated to some extent in mother–son correspondence found in private papers, as prescriptive texts they lack what Raymond Anselment describes as the ‘spontanaeity’ and the ‘new dimension of intimacy and affection’ that can be found in family letters, such as those between Brilliana Harley and Katherine Paston and their sons.[6] The advice books also fail to address the readjustment of roles when the child reached maturity, and this is also where family letters offer more evidence. The potential that letters offer for understanding the mother–son relationship has been explored in a number of studies. Graham Williams analyses the significance of Joan Thynne’s decision to use scribes to write her letters to her son Thomas, and persuasively argues that Joan’s later choice to write in her own hand signals the healing of a family rift between mother and son.[7] Most pertinent for this essay is Gemma Allen’s work on Anne Bacon, in which she

argues that although Anne (and her sisters) reflected the 'prescriptive literature in highlighting that their counsel derived from the responsibilities of motherhood', they give further credence to their advice by emphasising the extent of their humanist learning through her use of classical language, quotations and allusions.[8]

Each of these readings prioritises the close reading of the correspondence between a mother and son in order to understand their relationship; they also demonstrate a concern with the material nature of the epistolary sources, a development that draws heavily on James Daybell's pioneering work in the field of women's letters. Letters have proved vital for tracing the political activities of women as they show the intersection of the domestic and the political, especially the way in which 'upperclass women were inevitably drawn into a world of high politics through performing conventional tasks'.[9] For Anne 'family remained the basic political unit', and provided an acceptable arena within which she could flex her power, as well as a justification for her actions in the public sphere.[10] The elision of the domestic and political spheres is important for this reading of Anne's letters, but there is perhaps a further argument to be made, drawing on Andy Wood's suggestion that 'politics is understood where power is reasserted, extended or challenged. Politics is therefore the product of deliberate, human agency and is pre-eminently about conflict and change'.[11] Mothering was not a static role, nor one that was confined to the nuclear family, and the letters of Anne Bacon show how it was shaped and reshaped by mother, sons, wider kin and friends at different moments in the life-cycle, for different purposes.[12]

'Good Agreement Betwixt the Wombe and Frute'[13]

The merging of maternal and political objectives that can be found in Anne's letters is unsurprising given her social connections and education. Barbara J. Harris interprets motherhood in Yorkist and early Tudor England as one of many commitments that lay within the remit of the vocation that was aristocratic wifehood, with affection for the child expressed in a practical manner by securing the future for the child both financially and professionally.[14] Whilst this model is relevant to Anne, newer trends in family dynamics drawn from Christian humanism, whereby the mother was encouraged to develop the son's participation in civil life, and the burgeoning Protestant culture of mothering, which extended the authority of the mother over the spiritual life of the child and demanded that the children actively protected and advanced the new religion, seem particu-

larly relevant for understanding the dynamic between her and her sons. For the proponents of reformed religion, the raising of faithful subjects committed to the service of God was imperative, as they needed to ensure the survival of the new church. Margot Todd suggests that 'the exalted ideal of the family which most Puritans held rather expanded this goal [of procreation] into the production of good commonwealth men and citizens of the kingdom of God'.[15] The humanist mother's duty was therefore to produce and raise a son who would become 'an eloquent and cultivated individual equipped with the urbanity and civility necessary for full social participation in the higher echelons of civic life', whilst at the same time the Reformation demanded that Protestant mothers also ensured that their children became active champions of the new religion.

Anne's role as a stepmother to six children (from Nicholas's first marriage to Jane Ferneley) is also indicative of the vocational nature of motherhood. Anne's responsibilities probably involved directing the early education of her stepchildren, and the decision of Nathaniel Bacon to place his wife, Anne Gresham, with his stepmother for an extended period of training suggests that her reputation as an educator was respected. His stepmother's guidance in this area was sought despite Nathaniel's ambivalent relationship with her, as 'in this respect I have ever liked of her, though in other thinges, as cause moveth me, it maie be I have great mislikinge of her'.[16] The discord hinted at is no surprise given the problematic nature of step-parenting—domestic advice books often referred to the fractious nature of the relationship, as it was commonly understood that interests of the biological children superseded the interests of the stepchildren.[17] The figure of the stepmother had undeniably negative connotations in early modern England, and as Jacqueline Vanhoutte argues: '[t]o Elizabethans, stepmothers clearly represented an aggravated insistence of the "subversion of good order, of all equitie and justice"'.[18] With the birth of Anthony in 1558, and Francis in 1561, the newly formed Bacon family became one of the 'reconstituted' and 'blended' families created as a result of widowhood and remarriage in the period.[19] It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that after the death of Nicholas Bacon the relationships between the two halves of the family unravelled. The brothers argued over where the money for their father's debts should come from, and over certain lands and leases that had not been explicitly discussed in the will.[20] The elder brothers questioned the neutrality of Lord Burghley's position as executor, and Nathaniel accused Anne of manipulating Burghley to arbitrate in her favour, and protested to him that 'by my Ladys meanes your Lordship was styrred greatlie againste me'.[21] Furious

at these allegations and what he reads as their obstructive behaviour, and offended by their lack of epistolary etiquette in not replying jointly to his letters (the manner in which he had written to them), Burghley remained adamant that the matter could be resolved without resorting to court proceedings. He urged Nicholas and Nathaniel to treat Anne with respect, as a stepmother who had 'yelded so much unto you for your benefitt as suerly no naturall mother could have yeilded more to hir own childeren'.[22] To counter the evil stepmother trope, Burghley depicted Anne as a fair mother to both parts of her late husband's family. His assessment opposes the concept of biological mothering with surrogate mothering, and argues for the validity of the latter in family relations and kinship circles. Anne also attempted to resolve the disagreement, and pleaded with Nicholas that they continue their previous good relations:

> I pray ^yow^, goode Syr Nicolas Bacon, let it do no hurt betwyxt us where there hath ben so long a continuance of more common amytee. Yow being the sonne, and I the wyff, and now the weedoe of the same ^good^ father and husbande.[23]

Anne eloquently attempts to secure their 'amytee' through their shared relationship to the deceased Nicholas Bacon, and tellingly does not claim an explicitly maternal role towards her stepson. In spite of the kindnesses she had shown to her stepfamily, we can assume that after Nicholas's death Anne did everything in her power to secure a beneficial outcome for her own two sons. Anthony's residence at Redbourn (one of the properties over which the two sides of the families had argued) in the 1590s suggested that the newer family was successful in defending their claims against the older part of the family. Few letters between the two halves of the family survive from after the dispute over the will, hinting that it permanently damaged their relationship.[24] Anne's navigation of the tricky family politics of the wider Bacon family can ultimately be seen as successful, and her negotiation of the transition to new family structure a testament to her political power.

Anne's role as a mother changed substantially upon the death of her husband. Anne had been left a generous settlement, and was charged with 'the well bryngynge upp of my twoo sonnes Anthonye and Fraunces that are nowe lefte poore orphans without a father'.[25] There are no extant letters between mother and sons during the lifetime of her husband, but the letters that do survive from the period when she is a widowed mother give some sense of the enhanced responsibility Anne felt towards her sons, and

the increasing power she wielded to influence their lives. The authority of the mother over the spiritual life of her children was culturally accepted, and Anne's letters are steeped in religious guidance. Anne's publications and letters allow us to trace a nuanced confessional identity that is shaped by the political currents around her—her translation of Ochino's sermons position her as an evangelical, yet through her service to Queen Mary she managed to protect her husband and brother-in-law William Cecil from persecution for their roles in Edward VI's government.[26] Her translation of Jewel's *Apologie* allowed her to defend the Elizabethan settlement, yet her dedicatory verse formed part of a manuscript of Bartholo Sylva'a *Giardino cosmografico*, compiled to rehabilitate the reputation of Puritan preacher Edward Dering.[27] Anne's letters suggest that she underwent a conversion experience in the 1570s, and from this point on her sharp criticisms of the church allow us to define her as a Puritan. The nature of Anne's support for her brand of Protestantism altered as the politico-religious climate became more censorious towards Nonconformists, and her letters illustrate more covert and personal attempts to help the cause as she offered patronage and financial assistance to Nonconformist preachers. By the time Anthony returned from France her letters demonstrate a passionate commitment to the Puritan cause, which she attempted to press on her sons. Anthony was welcomed home with a letter that framed her priorities in no uncertain terms, with primary concern for the state of his soul:

> This one cheffest cownsell your christian and naturall mother doth geve yow, even before the Lorde, that above all wordely respects yow carie yourself even at your first coming as one that doth unfeinedly profess the tru religion of Christ and hath the love of the truth now by long continuance fast settled in your hart.[28]

In her postscript Anne urged Anthony to 'use prayour twyse in a day', in contrast to his brother who is 'to negligent herin', setting her two sons against each other.

In the context of the Puritan struggle for the further reformation of the Elizabethan church in the 1590s, Anne's role as a Christian humanist mother was intrinsically politicised. Anthony's return engendered expectations that his experience abroad would be developed in some sort of professional capacity, and she prayed that 'god make yow able for his service and your cowntry and be carefull every way for it'.[29] She assumes

that his time in France has not been for the benefit of his country, and was particularly frustrated by his failure to present himself to the Queen, pointedly conveying rumours to him that 'her Majesti marvelled yow came not to see her being now so longe a tyme'.[30] By this point, Anthony had been home for over three years. But undercutting her ostensible desire to see Anthony secure a position at court is a strong sense that he is ill-equipped to do so. Her firm belief that Anthony lacked the experience and knowledge to be able to negotiate court politics led her to offer advice on his conduct:

> yow are sayde to be wyse, and to my comfort I willingly thynk so, but surely, sonne, on thother syde for want of home experience by action and yowr teadious unacqwaintance For yowr ^own^ cowntry by ^continuall^ chamber and bedkeeping, yow must nedes myss of considerate judgment in yowr verball onely travayling.[31]

Anne reiterates the damage his absence has done to his political capabilities and highlights how his physical disabilities have affected his prospects. She believes herself to be in a position to offer political advice because of her past experience:

> I think For my long attending in coorte and a cheeff cownsellours wyffe few *preclarae Feminae meae sortis* [distinguished women of my sort] are able or be alyve to speak and judg of such proceadings and worldly doings of ^men^. But'.[32]

The 'But' is signals that she knows her sons may not listen, despite her extensive acquaintance with such matters. Anne frequently justifies her role as political advisor, but is under no illusions that her advice will be accepted or acted upon, as she complains to Anthony 'my cownsell in this is mos[t needful] and allweyes hath ben both at your being abrode and at home, but too li[ttle] regarded, the Lorde knoweth'.[33]

The political vulnerability caused by her sons' fatherlessness is all too apparent to Anne, and during Anthony's time abroad she writes to Théodore de Bèze of her concerns: '[I]n my judgement they particularly miss and need the guidance of a father's authority and the solicitous concern of a loving parent'.[34] Their lack of a father to guide (and control) them becomes even more acute as Francis's failure to gain office drags on. Anne's kinship connections allowed her to intervene in the affairs of her sons at a high level, and in an interview with her nephew Robert

Cecil Anne attempts to unravel why Francis was continually passed over for preferment. She complains to Cecil that her son 'is but strangely used by mans dealing, God knowes who and why', and that considering his talents and achievements he would be well-suited to the position of solicitor-general.[35] She complains that her sons 'feel the smarting want of a father now in their ripe age', demonstrating that the influence and power of parenting extended beyond the early childhood years. Although Cecil asserted his support for Francis, Anne's description of his tone in a separate letter implies her suspicions as to his sincerity: '[T]ruly his spech was all kindely owtward and dyd desyre to have me think so of him'.[36] Anne keenly perceives the negative effects of Francis's persistent attempts to gain office, and advises her sons to dismiss such ambitions, complaining that 'yow and your brother specially yow be still occupied and entangled with state and wordely matters above your calling' and that she 'had rather yee both with God his blessed favour had veri goode health and well owt of dett, then eny office'.[37] Their failure to secure the patronage of the Cecils drove Anthony and Francis to seek the support of the Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex. Both Anthony and Anne framed this patronage in terms of parental relations; Anthony describes how 'the earle declareth himself more like a father then a frende unto him', and Anne pleads that they 'use his favour in goode and pertinent matters for your selffs and your own farthering'.[38] However Anne ultimately grew to dislike their alliance, and after Anthony had taken possession of rooms within Essex house on the Strand in 1595 she warned him 'yow have hetherto ben estemed as a worthy frende, now shalbe accounted his folower'.[39] Her political acumen is undeniable, and although Anthony was not formally implicated in the infamous 1601 rebellion his fortunes faded dramatically after Essex's fall.

'The Checks and Admonitions of a Mother'

Anne's position as a woman with political influence gave her counsel an extra potency, which seems at times to have threatened the stability of her relationship with her sons. The scope of her maternal power was increased yet further by Anthony's absence from England, as this gave her even more leverage over his financial and professional affairs. Anne was willing and able to promote her son's interests at court when she supported them, but when Anthony's actions were at odds with her religious and political views she attempted to block him by any means necessary. The conflict created by such opposing views necessitated the intervention of a wider

circle of acquaintances, as they attempted to negotiate the fraught world of adult mother–son relationships. Barbara J. Harris notes that the death of the patriarch was extremely difficult to negotiate, a fact evidenced by the 'frequency of feuds between widowed mothers and their eldest sons', and whilst relations between Anne and Anthony did not deteriorate to such an extreme extent, their correspondence shows how difficult their relationship became after the death of Nicholas.[40]

Anthony had left England shortly after the death of his father in 1579, and became an agent for Francis Walsingham's intelligence network.[41] Anne supported his wishes, and provided practical assistance in securing him an extension of his licence to pass beyond the seas in 1581 by instructing Anthony's messenger, Nicholas Faunt, to arrange for Walsingham to prepare a new licence, and further advising that it would be best to have the Queen sign it before she left London, as 'shee feared in the progresse tymes her Majestie wold not be drawen so easily to signe such thinges'.[42] Anne herself agreed to take responsibility for negotiating with Burghley. But her son's deepening financial troubles in spring of 1585 led Anne to alter her opinion, and she petitioned the Queen to recall Anthony.[43]

The severity of Anthony's communication and financial problems drove him to desperate measures, and in return for the conveyance of his recusant servant Lawson, and a loan of a thousand crowns from the Bishop of Cahors, Anthony was compelled to provide a letter of recommendation for two imprisoned Welsh Jesuits.[44] For Anthony toleration of Catholics was part and parcel of his intelligence gathering work, allowing him to monitor English recusants and Spanish affairs. Both Francis and Anthony Bacon propounded what Alexandra Gajda has described as 'a politique ideal of toleration and political stability', but this was a step too far for their mother.[45] As soon as Lawson reached London he was imprisoned on Burghley's orders, and in Anthony's later relation of these incidents he accused his uncle of having given way 'to my mothers passionate importunitie grounded upon false suggestions and surmises'.[46] Anne's maternal authority is used to very practical effect in this instance, and her objections to the company her son kept go far beyond the verbal protest that we see in her later letters, instead taking the form of practical action. Burghley's acquiescence to her demands illustrates his recognition of her maternal rights, and shows how, in this instance, her kinship connections bolstered her power.

Anne proved immune to all the methods that Anthony used to try persuade her to drop her vendetta against Lawson. Anthony dispatched one of his associates, Captain Francis Allen, to mediate with her, and the

emotional—and financial—exhaustion that Anthony has caused his mother is clear from her confession to Allen that 'the grife of mind, receaued dayly by reason of your stay wilbe her end also saith her iewlls be spent for you, and that she borrowed the last mony of 7 parsons'. Allen had 'neuer sien nor neuer shall see a wislady an honorable woman, a mother more perplexed for her sons absence, than I hau sien that honourable dame for yours'. Allen shows a respect for her opinions and seems to recognise the validity of her position. Even in the climax of her railings against Anthony, when she wishes that Anthony 'had bin fairly buried' as long as he had died a faithful Protestant, Allen recognises that these are sentiments expressed in anger, and notes that 'she spoke it in her passion, and repentid immediatly her words'.[47]

Anthony also arranged for an interview between Anne and theologian Thomas Cartwright, in the hope of improving their relations. Cartwright's account of the meeting showed that the conflict between Anne and Anthony occasioned a redefinition of their relationship, and he outlines a new understanding of the obligations of both mother and son. His mediation attempted to re-establish the reciprocal nature of the relationship, and he writes to Anthony that:

> as there is a duetie of yours towarde her Ladyship in indifferent things rather to liue to her liking then unto your own: so is there dutie of her Ladyship towarde yow in the same things by so much themore sparinglie to use her autoritie as boeth by age and by instinction.[48]

Cartwright suggests that whilst Anthony's duty is to submit to her wishes in the case of unimportant matters, so Anne should not wield her authority too heavily. He recognises that her power over Anthony emanates from the respect due to her because of her age, as well as from the natural power granted to her by motherhood. Cartwright, however, is no more successful than Allen, as Anne repeats that she will 'never condescend' to allow the release of Lawson.

A further test of her affections occurs when Anthony became involved with helping Anthony Standen, an imprisoned English Catholic and double agent. Rumours floated back to Anne that her son was actively aiding the recusant cause, and it was this that drove her to make her most extreme rejection of her son. In a letter to another servant of Anthony's, she is reported by Standen to have 'forbidden all kynde of speeches of him

in her presence giving him oute for illegitimate and not to be borne of her bodye', and advised that:

> the checks and admonitions of a mother are to be deliuered motherly in more couert and close maner, to babes and children proportionable to their tyme, to men of years experience and counsel as he is in a more mylde and wary maner.[49]

Standen drew a distinction between the control a mother is permitted over her son before and after he reaches majority, and implies that the public voicing of 'admonitions' was inappropriate. He views her anger as incompatible with her role as a mother, in contrast to Allen and Cartwright who seem to accept that Anthony's behaviour is reasonable grounds for her fury.

Indeed the predominant tone in Anne's letters to Anthony is one of anger, hurt and exasperation, in stark contrast to the kindness and concern found in the letters of other mothers from the period, or to the emotional distance expressed in the letters of Yorkist and Tudor aristocratic mothers. Although Anne rarely used affectionate terms of endearment, her letters are not empty of emotion, however. Instead her evident anger might be seen to reflect her emotional involvement, rather than indifference to her sons. At the same time, the expression of anger was also viewed as a sign of weakness, as Standen writes:

> You haue done exceedynglye well to be playne and specially with a woman which is a vessel so frayle and variable as euery wynde wavereth as you knowe. Although I well knowe my Ladye your mother to be one of the sufficientest without comparison of that sex, yet att the ende of the cariere [career] *il y a toujours de la femme*, with the perfyttest [perfectest] of them all'.[50]

Anne's anger in this instance is viewed as a 'challenge to patriarchal authority', and as such is defused by aligning it with gendered traits signalling intellectual inferiority.[51]

'Have Yow No Hope for Posterite?'

As well as her concerns regarding Anthony's religious continence Anne was also unnerved by the unstable financial position of her sons. Despite Anthony's income from leases and rent, both Anthony and Francis over-

spent significantly and were forced to live on credit. Although it was considered a 'last resort' to sell-off a family's patrimony (as it depleted the family's status) the Bacon brothers had no qualms about using such tactics, and on Anthony's return to England they whittled away at the family estates that their father had acquired.[52] Anne saw this as a direct rejection of familial care, and lamented '[h]ave yow no hope of posterite? Only my chyldern cownted in the worlde unworthy their father's care and provyding for them'.[53]

In searching for ways to repay his debts, Francis wished to sell Marks, an Essex manor he held jointly with Anne. Acquiring the complete transfer of the ownership of the estate from his mother to himself was no easy matter, and required delicate arbitration by Anthony, who skilfully exploited Anne's maternal anxieties to achieve their aims. In this sequence of letters we see the sons pitted against the mother in a generational battle of wills. Both sides play with the attendant meanings of mothering as they argue their case, casting a rhetoric of unquestioning and generous maternal care against accusations of self-serving behaviour and overreaching power. The letters demonstrate the divergence of the Bacon family interests, and illuminate the politicking undertaken by both sides as they fought for their position.

Anthony's initial letter of persuasion begins by reminding her of a promise she has made in regard to Marks:

> I assure my self that your Ladyship as a wise and kinde mother to us both wyll neyther finde it strange nor amise, yf tenderinge first my brother's helth, which I know by myne owne experience to depend not a litle upon a free mynde and then his credit, I presume to put your Ladyship in remembrance of your motherlie offer to him …[54]

Anthony implies that her actions as a mother will have a direct impact on Francis's health, thereby mobilising her maternal concerns for his own interests. By describing the transference of property as a 'motherlie offer', he suggests that material means are perceived to be an expression of maternal care, whilst also implying that such a gesture would be a voluntary action. Anthony suggests that he has initiated the request on the grounds of his 'brotherlie care and affection', and emphasises the Bacon family's ambitions for Francis's advancement as he attempts to persuade Anne to release Marks.

Anne's response to this request is a superb illustration of the contradictory impulses of her maternal feeling as, on the one hand, she is swayed by their appeals to her natural instinct to help them and, on the other, she is protective of the financial interests of the family, and seeks to maintain her authority. The physical structure of the letter reflects this confusion, as in a departure from Anne's usual practice it is written on separate leaves. The first part rails against her sons' ingratitude and lack of responsibility, whilst in the second leaf—seemingly appended later—she unexpectedly submits to the request. The letter opens with a direct response to the fraternal bond that Anthony had evoked in his letter: 'For your brotherly care of your brother Francis's state yow are to ^be^ well lyked and so I do as a christian mother that loveth yow both as the chyldern of god', thereby establishing from the outset that any criticism of them has to be set against the baseline of her maternal affection.[55] This serves as a foil against the next section of the letter, in which she protests that the 'state of yow both doth much disqwiett me', and threatens not to make them the executors of her will. She then proceeds to blame Francis's men for his actions, and makes explicit reference to her disappointment in him: '[H]e was a towardes yowng gentleman and a sonne of much goode hope in godliness. but truth he hath norished most synfull prowde villans wylfully'. The unconventional manoeuvre of adding another note on a separate leaf suggests that the anger of her initial response has cooled. In a dramatic *volte-face* she agrees to sign over the interest to Marks so that Francis can pay off his debts upon the condition that he 'reqwyre it him ^selff^' and that he 'make and geve me a true note of all his detts'. She emphasised her role in the resolution of the situation, as 'it shalbe performed by me to his qwiett discharge withowt combring him and so his credit'. Anne clearly sees this decision to help him financially as a method by which she can exert control over him and strike a blow at the associates she disapproves of; she continues: 'For I wyll not have his cormorant seducers and instruments of Satan to him committing fowle synns by his cowntenance to the displeasing of god'.

As we have seen, Anne's promise of financial aid carries obligations, and she appears to have overestimated the extent to which her sons were willing to accept her involvement, as Francis seemed to have strongly objected to her terms. Although his letter of reply does not survive we can glean some of the content from Anne's next letter to Anthony. Anne enclosed the letter from Francis, asking Anthony to 'constru the enterpretation. I do not understand his enigmaticall fowlded writing'.[56] Her letter indicates

that Francis had accused her of treating him as ward, and she denies this charge, writing that the 'scope of my so called by him circumstances, which I am sure he must understand, was not to use him as a warde; a remote phrase to my playn motherly meaning'. The practice of wardship could be highly beneficial to the wardship-holder, and often detrimental to the ward. Francis therefore places this business-like perception of guardianship in direct opposition to the affective mode of parenting as maternal care, implying that Anne's behaviour is unmotherly and self-serving. That she places her 'playn purpose' in opposition to his 'enigmaticall fowlded writing' suggests a battle of rhetorical styles as well as wills, and her assertion that she wants the money only to 'discharge his detts' indicates that she believes that she has been accused of wanting overstep the bounds of her role as a mother. She continues 'I am sure no preacher nor lawyer nor frende wolde have mislyked this', and by casting herself in the role of this alternative type of counsellor she attempts to move away from the confines of maternal advice in order to give a different validity to her words. Her conditional submission to their demands is justified by the greater family imperative to promote Francis and, rather poignantly, she notes that 'he was his Fathers first chis [choice] and God wyll supply yf he trust in him and call up upon in truth of hart, which God grant to mother and sonnes'. To break up the family estates goes against her vocation as a mother; it is for this reason that she argues against them. However, Anthony cleverly deflects her frequent assertions of maternal care back at her, resulting in a guilt-inducing bind that ultimately forces her to submit to their demands.

Conclusion

The letters of Lady Anne Bacon demonstrate the complexity of negotiating the world of courtly and family politics as a mother. Anne's role can be seen as explicitly political through her promotion of her sons' material and professional interests and her successful management of the transition from stepmother, to mother and finally to widow. Mothering was not a politically neutral role however, and the frequent clashes with her sons over their best interests and the interventions of friends and family give some indication of the true threat her power posed.

Notes

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CHAPTER 7

Allegiance and Alliance: Maternal Genealogies in the Works of Mary Wroth

Naomi J. Miller

Coming of age in the late years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and developing her voice as a writer in the court of Queen Anna of Denmark and King James VI and I, Lady Mary Wroth stands out as an early modern woman and author who learned to navigate the cross-currents of court politics through the familial framework of her identity as a Sidney. In her poems, play and prose romance, Mary Wroth represents intersecting networks of intergenerational bonds that at once reproduce and transmute familial prototypes, both within and beyond the political boundaries of the court.

Recent critical re-evaluations of the assumed patriarchalism of the traditional family-state analogy open new space for assessing the stratagems of early modern women authors in particular, whose works frequently offer non-traditional constructions of the social and political authority of early modern women within as well as without the domesticised arena of the household.[1] Considering manifestations of political boundaries in the early modern world as well as in the example of Mary Wroth in particular, my discussion defines 'family politics' as the negotiation of individual identity in relation to the family group within the larger political framework of

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the society. My chapter juxtaposes the facts of Mary Wroth's family identity—daughter, niece and godchild to socially powerful members of the Sidney family, and lover of her cousin William Herbert, one of the most influential political 'players' in King James's court—with familial narratives running through her works, from her sonnet sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus,* and her play, *Love's Victory,* to her prose romance, *Urania,* in order to consider how Wroth negotiated the boundaries at once distinguishing and linking family and politics in early modern England.[2]

Familial Bonds

Mary Wroth was born Mary Sidney in 1587, the first child of Robert Sidney (later Viscount de L'Isle and Earl of Leicester), and his wife, Barbara Gamage. Niece to both Sir Philip Sidney and Mary Sidney, the Countess of Pembroke, Wroth spent her childhood at Penshurst Place, the Sidney family estate, and came to court in the late years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Following her marriage to Robert Wroth in 1605, Mary Sidney Wroth maintained an active presence in court circles. She gave birth to a son, James, one month before her husband's death in 1614. When her son died two years later, the Wroth family estates reverted to her husband's uncle and brother, leaving Mary Wroth to shoulder the burden of her husband's considerable debts, accumulated by Robert Wroth in service to the monarch as the King's Forester. Subsequently, she engaged in an affair with her cousin, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, bearing illegitimate twins, William and Catherine, and maintained ties with her circle of friends and family despite her reduced visibility at court.[3]

The first portion of *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* was likely composed during these years, and was published in 1621 with her lyric sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*. Her pastoral play, *Love's Victory*, and the second portion of *Urania* were probably written in the early 1620s. Wroth's considerable cultural production as a writer engaging with the social and political mores of the Jacobean court across a multitude of literary genres was clearly shaped by her position within the talented network of writers that comprised the Sidney and Herbert families.

While the literary influence of Sir Philip Sidney, Wroth's literary forefather, has been much discussed by critics, in fact the first signal of family ties appearing on the title page of *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* is the declaration of her identity as 'daughter to the right noble Robert Earl of Leicester', followed by her identity as the niece to Philip Sidney and to Mary Sidney Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke. In many ways this reference to her father, who was serving as the Queen's Lord Chamberlain at the time of pub-

lication, might have established Wroth's courtly credentials more significantly than the succeeding references to her uncle and her aunt, both deceased by the time her work was published. Moreover, any understanding of the role of family politics in Wroth's works must be considered in relation to the shaping influences of both her father and her mother, Barbara Gamage Sidney.

The letters that Robert Sidney received from his steward, Rowland Whyte, during his frequent absences abroad throughout Mary's childhood, and the letters he wrote to his wife, Barbara, throughout their married life together, document in explicit terms his relation to his firstborn daughter, while implicitly conveying the existence of a distinctly separate mother–daughter bond. For instance, when Robert encourages his wife to consider visiting him abroad without the older children, he observes that 'they are not so young now, but that they may well be from their mother'—released, in other words, from the bonds of maternal authority, viewed as potentially excessive in the eyes of the father. Along these lines, Robert adds: 'I do not fear anything so much as your too much fondness.'[4] At that time, the term 'fondness' conveyed both 'folly' and 'foolish affection.'[5] Revealing the ongoing stratagems of family politics, Robert acknowledges his wife's maternal care on the one hand, while questioning from a patriarchal perspective, on the other hand, the impact of excessive maternal affection on the political self-fashioning of his sons.

Indeed, Robert's concerns in letters to his wife rest much more directly with the upbringing of his oldest son than with his firstborn daughter. Reminding Barbara of the distinction between paternal and maternal spheres of authority, Robert tells her that he will not meddle in the care of the girls, but that he must have his way when it comes to the care of the boys. Robert writes:

> For the girls, I cannot mislike the care you take of them: but for the boys, you must resolve to let me have my will. For I know better what belongs to a man than you do. Indeed I will have him lie from his maid, for it is time, and now no more to be in the nursery among women.[6]

Robert's assertion of his 'will' can refer at once to his fatherly authority and to his firstborn son, William Sidney, whom he desires to be released from the 'too much fondness' of his mother's governance. In deciding to relegate him to the care of a male 'schoolmaster,' Robert maintains that his son 'lieth still with his maid and doth not learn anything,' and advises Barbara to 'have the boy delivered to his charge only, and not to have him when he is to teach him to be troubled with the women.'[7] Fatherly authority in Robert Sidney's letters seemingly works in opposition to, rather than in conjunction with, the troubling domestic authority of the women of the household where sons are concerned.

Growing up 'in the nursery among women,' Mary Wroth learned to speak in the language of her father when she moved into the public arena of the court, even while constructing women with autonomous voices and political agency in her own poetry, drama and fiction. In one of the few surviving letters in Mary Wroth's own hand, she writes in 1614 to urge her father to protect the interests of her son from her husband's male relatives by assuming the wardship of the boy.[8] Mary Wroth enacts her maternal responsibility for her child by calling upon the paternal authority of her father. Moreover, Wroth writes her mother's voice into the conclusion of her letter, explicitly mentioning that her mother has instructed her to write with this message. In fact, the family dynamic that emerges in much of the Sidney correspondence for this period reflects a frequently absent father, abroad or at court, with a firm and constant mother holding both family and household together in her husband's absence.

Wroth's aunt and godmother, Mary Sidney Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke, who was another author-mother, can be recognised as a further figure of female familial authority. Margaret Hannay has explored, in illuminating detail, indications of the bond between Wroth and her aunt, which originated with Mary's frequent visits to her godmother's homes at Baynards Castle and Wilton House and continued into adulthood with the Countess's assistance in the preparations of Mary's wedding to Robert Wroth.[9] In a letter to Barbara Sidney during Mary's childhood, the Countess of Pembroke sends 'my blessing to my pretey Daughter', who was also her namesake.[10] The Countess not only turned her estate at Wilton into a gathering place for a group of writers that likely included Mary Wroth, but also wrote poetry and plays of her own. Raised 'among women' such as her aunt and her mother, who governed Penshurst in her father's absence, Mary Wroth fashioned her own role as author and mother in relation to a significant matrilineal heritage.

Gender Politics

Considering Mary Wroth's cultural production in the context of the Sidney family circle, as an author whose works at once reflect and engage with the politics of the court, it is instructive to review her poems, play and prose romance for signs of family politics.[11] When explicitly matrilineal self-fashioning navigates the political constraints of patriarchal court structures, genealogies become a matter not simply of collective identity under the name of the family patriarch, but of the individual voices and identities of mothers and daughters, godmothers and even grandmothers.

The instances in the popular mothers' advice books of early modern mothers claiming speaking positions for themselves not simply as reproductive bodies but as authors epitomise gendered negotiations of family politics. Those women writing about their roles as mothers, such as Dorothy Leigh in *The Mother's Blessing* (1616) or Elizabeth Joceline in *The mothers legacie to her unborn child* (1624), articulate their authority in specifically matrilineal terms. Indeed, Leigh references the family politics of her household in assuring her sons that 'if you get wives that be godly and you love them, you shall not need to forsake me', whereas 'if you have wives that you love not, I am sure I will forsake you', manifesting an extraordinary matrilineal alliance with her future daughters-in-law.[12]

Mary Wroth's poems in particular offer several alternative and sometimes competing configurations of maternity that extend the discursive constructions of early modern mothers' advice books, illuminating gender differences in procreative terms, as did the Countess of Pembroke in her translations of the psalms. At the same time, Wroth's explicit reconfigurations of lyric forms and strategies common to the sequences of her father and uncle indicate the parameters of her ongoing efforts to transmute the boundaries of her 'paternal' inheritance in order to fashion a voice of her own. Wroth's attention to maternity, for example, extends from the opening sonnet of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, where Venus's maternal authority results in the speaker's subjection to love—when Cupid shoots Pamphilia upon his mother's order—to many other sonnets in which she transforms the Petrarchan conceit of Night, referred to as 'unjust night' by Robert Sidney's speaker (Sonnet 6), into a comforting maternal ally.[13] Wroth thus writes mothers as social and political entities into a lyric form previously dominated by a masculine obsession with women as bodily parts to be 'emblazoned'.

Elsewhere in the sequence, Wroth rewrites the gender dynamics of familial authority within the home. During much of Wroth's childhood, as evidenced in the family letters discussed above, it was not her father, frequently absent, but her mother and herself who inhabited the family home. Where Robert Sidney's speaker journeys perpetually, Mary Wroth's speaker apparently dwells. Welcoming an alliance with the maternal presence of 'Night' in the face of male absence (*P* 43), Wroth's female speaker finds comfort, if not 'in the nursery', then certainly 'among women'. In effect, Wroth writes her mother into her father's house, where she has been, for Wroth, all along.

Moreover, Wroth's attention to the maternal body itself diverges sharply from the approach adopted by her other paternal forebear, Philip Sidney, who appropriates pregnancy as a metaphor for his male speaker Astrophil's discursive fertility: 'great with child to speake, and helplesse

in my throwes' (*AS* 1). Significantly, Wroth's godmother, the Countess of Pembroke, completed Philip Sidney's translation of the psalms with an attention to the connections of pregnant mother and child that achieves a distinctive maternal stamp quite different from the imagery adopted in the King James Bible of 1611. Even as the Countess of Pembroke intensifies the imagery of miscarriage in her metaphrase of Psalm 58, by describing the 'formlesse eyes' of 'the Embrio, whose vitall band / breakes er it holdes', so her niece and matrilineal successor lays claim to the authority of maternal discourse with her own lyric inscription of miscarriage.[14] In Wroth's sequence, love leads to disappointment, just as pregnancy leads to miscarriage, conveying the body's betrayal of its own fertility, which comes to represent the female speaker's recognition of the precarious relation between hope and desire: 'Faulce hope which feeds butt to destroy, and spill / What itt first breeds; unaturall to the birth / Of thine owne wombe; conceaving butt to kill' (*P* 40). Writing not as a man borrowing a convenient metaphor from the body of the opposite sex, but rather as a woman who, like her aunt, has herself suffered the physical and emotional loss of miscarriage, Wroth represents the cost of self-deception in distinctly female terms. 'Faulce hope' placed in an unfaithful lover results in a miscarriage of desire, and a concomitant challenge to the (re)productive authority of the female poet. Certainly the (pro)creativity in Wroth's sequence exhibits more commonality with the pattern of gestational losses recorded in other early modern women's diaries and correspondence than with Astrophil's phallic fertility.[15]

As Wroth's sequence progresses, metaphors of pregnancy and childbirth resurface in a pointed attack upon the falsehood of male sonneteers, who disguise their lust with the name of love in order to 'beget / This childe for love, who ought like monster borne / Bee from the court of Love, and reason torne' (*P* 85). In Wroth's dramatic reconfiguration of the obstetrical terms of Philip Sidney's opening sonnet, then, Astrophil's claim to be 'great with child to speake' (*AS* 1) only underscores the monstrosity of 'lust [...] faulcely nam'd' as love (*P* 85), resulting not in true (re)productive fertility, but rather in 'faulce hope which feeds butt to destroy [...] conceaving butt to kill' (*P* 40). Far from being the product of her male lover's discourse, like Philip Sidney's Stella, Wroth's Pamphilia undermines the 'faire shows' (*P* 40) of lustful male lovers by exposing the false premises of their discursive fertility. In place of the miscarriage of desire resulting from the deceptive practices of such male lovers, Pamphilia celebrates the 'light of true love', which 'brings fruite which none repent' and

offers a 'wombe for joyes increase' (*P* 78). Focusing upon the womb and drawing upon the models of her mother and her aunt, Wroth produces her own matrilineal inscription of female (pro)creativity, which relies upon the marks of gender difference to assert the capacity of women, both as lovers and as poets, to give birth to their own language of desire.

Maternal Authority

In moving from Wroth's poems to her play and prose romance, it is instructive first to notice instances in the literary texts of Wroth's own family where paternal restraint operates as a powerful force to balance a perceived excess of maternal 'fondness'. Wroth's uncle, Philip Sidney, in fact introduces the central female characters in his *Old Arcadia* in the context of their political containment by the male head of the family, when Gynecia appears with her daughters in the protective custody ordered by Basilius. Almost immediately, the issue of 'too much fondness' arises in inverted terms which undercut the reliability of maternal authority, when Gynecia sets herself against her own daughter, vowing that she will not allow Philoclea to supplant her in 'Cleophila's' affections: 'the life I have given thee, ungrateful Philoclea, I will sooner with these hands bereave thee of than my birth shall glory she hath bereaved me of my desires' (*OA*, 92).[16] Gynecia's bondage to passion transforms the familial bond between mother and daughter into an occasion for intergenerational conflict rather than alliance. Soon, Gynecia comes to perceive the domestic hierarchy itself in inverted terms: 'The growing of her daughter seemed the decay of herself. The blessings of a mother turned to the curses of a competitor' (*OA*, 382).

Sidney expands upon his representation of maternity as a threat to patriarchal power with the figure of Cecropia in the *New Arcadia*, whose excessive fondness for her son, Amphialus, works directly to undermine Basilius's political authority as governor of the community. Only Gynecia, in fact, is able to recognise Cecropia's hand in the intrusion of a lion and a bear into the pastorals (*NA*, 125), and her maternal warning to Pamela and Philoclea prepares them for their later persecution by their aunt. Cecropia's maternity, even more than Gynecia's, works malignantly in inverse proportion to the heroism of her offspring. Thus Amphialus is described as 'being (like a rose out of a brier) an excellent sonne of an evill mother' (*NA*, 363). In Sidney's configuration of gender, male heroism can evidently flourish despite a man's origin in the mother's body. Indeed, Philip Sidney's Gynecia and Cecropia serve in both versions of

the *Arcadia* less to signify maternal power than to reify, through their very failings, the forces of fatherly authority that they unsuccessfully attempt to displace. Whether in the examples of Philip Sidney's prose romance or Robert Sidney's letters, family politics can apparently pit fathers against mothers in literary texts as well as marital correspondence that renegotiates the boundaries of familial authority.

Wroth's play, *Love's Victory*, explores the constraints imposed by fatherly authority in conjunction with both the triumphs of maternal authority and its limitations. The play features two mother-figures whose alternately destructive or generative control over story-making, in the literal absence of fathers, compels the protagonists to rewrite the narratives that shape their paths. In contrast to the renditions of mothers in many male-authored romances, from Sidney's *Arcadia* to Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, where maternity can be used to express heightened emotions felt by the male patriarch, *Love's Victory* examines the potentially destructive consequences of placing mothers into fathers' roles.[17] Resuscitating the discourse of the father in the figure of the mother, *Love's Victory* offers a new romance paradigm, where performing maternity enables the construction of alternate narratives that redraw the family politics of the genre. In Mary Wroth's play, the mother's will both can and must be distinguished from the law of the father in order for maternal authority to achieve victory in its own right.[18]

Wroth's dramatic romance opens with the voice of the mother implied in its title: Venus, goddess of Love, who appears through much of the play to be concerned with causing the lovers to suffer. While in some way, the forcible and domineering maternity of Wroth's Venus might seem to echo the characteristics of Sidney's Gynecia and Cecropia, the most striking difference is a question of absence: there are no fathers in *Love's Victory* to share the stage.

The other maternal figure in the play is the widowed mother of Musella, given no name but 'Mother to Musella' in the *dramatis personae*, so that she is defined solely by her role as the only mother other than Venus in the play. In this instance, Wroth represents a mother–daughter bond in a family in which the father is dead and there is no son, producing a domestic configuration, lacking any male presence, that in itself diverges from the paternally dominated romances of Sidney and Shakespeare. The mother–daughter bond in Wroth's play is threatened, however, by fatherly authority from beyond the grave, when Musella's mother betrothes her daughter to a country bumpkin called Rustic, according to her late husband's

instructions but against Musella's will. Bound by the father's will, Musella and her mother find themselves forced to enact a story not of their own making.

Musella's mother is no insensitive tyrant like Cecropia, however, but a woman bound by the strictures of a marriage not wholly unlike that of Mary Wroth's own mother, Barbara Gamage Sidney, whose husband would write to her that 'for the boys, you must resolve to let me have my will'. The difference is that in Mary Wroth's family, the father's will pertained more directly to 'the boys' than the girls, and Barbara Sidney maintained ties with her daughters whether her husband was present or absent. Mary Wroth, herself, however, was well-acquainted—both through the family politics of her own arranged marriage and her financially straitened widowhood, as well as the legal battles of a friend such as Anne Clifford—with privations that a father's will could impose upon children, quite beyond the powers of a mother to redress.[19] Although set within a pastoral romance frame, the simultaneous suffering of mother and daughter within Wroth's play shifts the narrative focus beyond the traditional boundaries of romance that ultimately reify patriarchy, to expose the familial inequities of a contemporary patriarchal system in which, on a social level distinct from the mythic maternal authority of Venus, a daughter might not be able to benefit from a mother's advice after all.

At the climax of Wroth's play, however, after the lovers have been revived from their seemingly tragic ends by the priests of Venus, mother and daughter find not only their bond restored, but also their shared discourse renewed. Significantly, Wroth puts into words the fruition of a mother's blessing in motherhood itself: 'Pardon my fault, enjoy and blessed be, / And children and their children's children see' (5.7.77–82). Musella's reply to her mother is a concomitant request for forgiveness and expression of affection, recognising and affirming her mother's 'care' from the start. Multiplying the generativity of maternity, Wroth's Philisses addresses his beloved Musella's mother as 'Mother, for so your gift makes me you call' (5.7.87), in thanking her for her blessing. Rather than reproduce the paternal appropriation or erasure of the mother's part that marks the behaviour of romance father-figures such as Philip Sidney's Basilius and Euarchus, Wroth locates a sufficiency of parental authority in a female figure. Initially disparaged by the other characters, Musella's mother finally receives honour from all for her enduring love for her daughter. Beyond the world of the text can be glimpsed an allusive reference to the family politics of Mary Wroth's own forced marriage to a man she hadn't chosen,

where her father's will determined her domestic fate as a wife. Her ongoing bond with her mother, manifest in her letters to her father from her mother's side shortly before her mother's death, addressing the wardship of her son, attest to her continuing need for strategic self-fashioning in a patriarchal family as a daughter who is also a mother. In her play, Wroth could fashion an outcome not available in her life.

Ultimately, in *Love's Victory*, the destructive potential of a human father's will is deflected by an even more powerful mother and ruler, the goddess Venus, 'whose love to you / Made her descend on earth, and your cares view' (5.7.93–94). Rather than dislocating the familial authority of the patriarch so frequently represented by male-authored romances, Mary Wroth redraws the boundaries of political authority that frame the patriarch's power, so that a daughter can negotiate a future not proscribed by the father's literal will enacted by the mother, and a mother can affirm her core alliance with her daughter outside the scope of her husband's control.

Allegiance and Alliance

Wroth's *Urania* offers even more extended attention to the impact of maternal genealogy on familial identity and political authority than her sonnet sequence or her play. Urania's opening lament over her lack of knowledge of her family origins signals Wroth's acknowledgment of the importance of familial identity to any definition of individual identity. Moreover, among the early modern prose romances, only Mary Wroth's *Urania* situates maternity as a generative force in shaping female identity in particular.[20] Urania's lament offers an opportunity for Wroth to locate the mother as an originary figure for identity construction. After initially mourning the absence of parents whose identities could stabilise her own, Urania particularises her lament to the absence of the mother: 'Miserable Urania, worse art thou now then these thy Lambs: for they know their dams, while thou liue unknown of any'.[21] Subsequently, when she comes upon a lamb wandering lost, she returns to the subject of her own desire for a maternal genealogy: 'Poor Lambe, said she, what moane thou mak'st for losse of thy deare dam? What torments do I then suffer, which never knew my mother?' (16). Like the authors of the mothers' advice books, Wroth privileges maternal identity over physical nourishment in giving voice to Urania's search for self-definition in relation to maternity. Urania's recognition of the importance of mothering to the

development of 'knowledge' of oneself shapes her subsequent mothering of other female characters seeking to define feminine parameters of self-fashioning throughout the narrative.

Pamphilia, on the other hand, inhabits an overdetermined familial identity, not only as a royal patriarch's daughter, but also as the King of Pamphilia's 'Neece, who by his gift was to enjoy that kingdome after his decease, and therefore bore that name likewise given by him' (82). Far from experiencing Urania's problem of not knowing her parents, Pamphilia finds herself flanked by a strong father and a strong uncle—recalling Wroth's own familial identity—while being courted by Amphilanthus, the most heroic of princes, long associated by Wroth scholars with William Herbert, her cousin and lover and the King's Lord Chamberlain. Wroth further acknowledges her own familial heritage by forming Pamphilia's name from a combination of syllables that echoes the names of Sidney's Pamela and Philoclea. Small wonder, then, that Wroth represents Pamphilia's concern with asserting and preserving authority as an author, as well as political autonomy as a ruler.

Throughout *Urania*, Wroth locates individual identity in relation to family bonds, exposing the problematic gendering of authority within a frame of family politics. One male character takes care to distinguish between the sexes, for example, in commenting upon the admirable self-control of a lady following the death of her beloved: 'O women how excellent are you, when you take the right way? else, I must confesse, you are the children of men, and like them fault-full' (36). This judgement of course depends upon a male conception of 'the right way' in the first place, and assumes a masculine capability to evaluate the faults of women as fathered by men. On the other hand, when another male character inveighs against women's lightness and jealousy, having lost the favour of his own beloved, it is Urania's future husband, Steriamus, who reminds him that 'your mother was a woman, and you must be favour'd by an other, to be blessed with brave posterity' (159). Such a reminder balances the earlier construction of women as 'the children of men' with a recognition of the engendering role of women as mothers. Moreover, Wroth's distinction between the reproductive agency of mothers and the limitations associated with 'the children of men' underscores her own capacity to move beyond the characterisations of her male predecessors in the romance tradition, transforming those 'children of men' through her representation of alliances within the family structure itself.

Steriamus's acknowledgment of maternal power additionally recalls Pyrocles's exploration of his male identity in Sidney's *Arcadia*: 'if I be anything, […] I was to come to it born of a woman and nursed of a woman' (*OA*, 21). Yet Pyrocles relegates that dependence to his origins while maintaining the autonomy of his present state, assuring Musidorus that in spite of his Amazon attire 'there is nothing I desire more than fully to prove myself a man in this enterprise' (*OA*, 22–23). By contrast, Steriamus, whose subsequent marriage to Urania represents one of the most stable unions in Wroth's romance, underscores the terms of male dependence upon women as mothers not only as a past connection, but also as a present and future one: 'you must be favour'd by an other, to be blessed with brave posterity'. In effect, Wroth shifts the focus from the mother's body as a fortuitous conjunction of womb and breasts to the mother's role as author of posterity. Wroth's emphasis not merely on the physical procreative potential of women, but on their maternal authority as well, situates her narrative in relation both to author-mothers such as Dorothy Leigh and Elizabeth Joceline and to the instructive examples of her own mother and godmother.

The parental relation to children is not always a benign one in *Urania*, particularly when fathers and daughters are involved. In many cases, akin to the example of *Love's Victory* as well as Wroth's own marriage, the father's will enforces upon the daughter an unwelcome betrothal that results in the daughter's experience of a divided identity. One female character named Bellamira, for example, observes regarding the cost of obeying her father's choice of husband, 'Thus more then equally did I devide my selfe' (334). Another female character, Limena, finds that her accession to 'her fathers will' produces self-loathing, 'for consenting in shew to that which was most contrarie to it selfe' (5). In an echo of the relation between Musella and her mother in *Love's Victory*, when Limena's mother comes upon evidence that suggests that her daughter is dead, she is 'readie to die with her, as if shee had brought her forth to bee still as her life, that though two, yet like those eyes, that one being struck in a certaine part of it, the other unhurt doth lose likewise the sight: so she having lost her, lost likewise all comfort with her' (14). In fact, it is Urania who is responsible ultimately for restoring Limena to her mother, when she urges Limena's lover, Perissus, to keep searching for her rather than succumbing to the passivity of despair.

In writing against the effects of fatherly authority, Wroth encodes within her text direct references to the influential father-figures in her own life.

After Urania's first lover, Parselius, abandons her to marry Dalinea, he sees a vision of Urania in a dream, and explains to his wife that he must temporarily leave her because 'hee saw all Arcadia on fire, the earth flaming, and in the midst his father burning, who with lamentable cryes demanded helpe of him' (125). As Jeff Masten has pointed out, Wroth here stages the burning of 'Arcadia'—not simply the country but Philip Sidney's text as well—within a context that exposes male inconstancy, while consigning a 'father' to the same flames.[22] Certainly, the exposure of Parselius at this point conveys the insufficiency of fatherly authority to justify male inconstancy.

Subsequently, however, when Urania is happily matched with Steriamus, and Parselius proves faithful to his wife, Wroth seems less concerned to focus upon male inconstancy or even, in oppositional terms, upon her uncle's and father's texts, than to stake out a new centre of discursive authority within her own text, based upon specifically female as well as familial alliances.[23] In the manuscript continuation of *Urania,* when Parselius arrives at Tempe in the course of his travels, he compares the landscape favourably with literary descriptions of Arcadia: '[Poets] in their olde fictions doe most strangely rave on the desarts, and rarenesses of the pleasant Arcadia, butt to mee this seems as pleasing, rare, and farr more delightfull because more richly stored with Varieties' (II: fol. 3^{v}). No longer preoccupied with 'burning' her uncle's text, Wroth redefines the family politics of Sidney's romance in her own narrative, asserting the 'Varieties' of her own text to be 'farr more delightfull' than 'olde fictions' of Arcadia.

In counterbalance to the many subplots in which tyrannical fathers subject their daughters to unhappy betrothals, and mothers accede to patriarchal objectification or oppression, Wroth represents the familial ties among the major female protagonists of *Urania* in unusually supportive terms, including a number of strong maternal figures as well as several illegitimate children who are accepted by their extended families rather than associated with maternal shame or failure. Over the course of the narrative, one of the strongest political and familial alliances is that between Pamphilia and her widowed aunt, the Queen of Naples—widely recognised by scholars as a figure for the Countess of Pembroke—who is at once 'her most honord friend' (314) and the 'matchlesse' mother of Amphilanthus (316), as well as being 'rare in Poetry' (415–416).[24] Describing the conversations between the Queen of Naples and Pamphilia, Wroth emphasises the intellectual substance of their discourse across time as well as generations:

'No time was lost betweene them, for each minute was fild with store of wit, which passed betweene them' (316). The strength of this surrogate mother–daughter bond resides in what 'passed betweene them', manifesting a clear matrilineal succession which reflects their political as well as familial allegiance and alliance.

Wroth expands upon Pamphilia's closeness to both her mother and her aunt in the course of the narration of Pamphilia's wedding to Rodomandro, king of Tartaria, which epitomises a strategic political alliance in the form of a marital bond. Even as Pamphilia's mother takes her aside for a supportive conversation during the days preceding the wedding (II: fol. 19), so the Queen of Naples assists Pamphilia during the wedding ceremony itself (II: fol. 22^{v}), in an echo of the assistance provided Mary Wroth by her own mother and aunt in preparation for her wedding to Robert Wroth. Furthermore, when the Queen of Naples becomes aware of the prior bond between her niece and her son, she arranges that the two remain in contact after Pamphilia's wedding, and remains close to Pamphilia herself (II: fol. 23^{v}). Wroth represents intergenerational alliances fostered by the sympathy and agency of women when Pamphilia takes over the maternal role of her aunt in offering aid and counsel to her own niece and nephew.[25]

The Queen of Naples, of course, turns out to be not only the mother of Amphilanthus, but the long-lost mother of Urania as well, and her bond with her own daughter proves as significantly enduring as that with her niece. In the manuscript continuation of the romance, Wroth describes the union of Urania and Steriamus, where 'blessed with many children they thought fit to looke to the breeding of them, and soe resolved to send their eldest daughter to her grandmother the brave and discreet queen of Naples' (I: fol. 8). The mother–daughter connection that was broken when Urania was not raised by her mother can now be restored by her decision to allow her mother to 'looke to the breeding' of this granddaughter. Over time, the Queen of Naples receives several other grandchildren and great-nieces and nephews into her charge, becoming the central matriarchal figure in the romance.

In constructing a discourse of maternal succession, Wroth moves beyond the purview even of her female contemporaries, conjoining a private rhetoric of authority within the family with a public vocabulary of nurture and desire within the state, thus giving voice to the dynamic of family politics that informed her own family and well as the familial language and practice of leadership employed, separately, by King James and

Queen Anna. Transfiguring the primarily youthful protagonists populating the romances of Sidney and Shakespeare, Wroth crafts family narratives whose protagonists grow from youth to maturity. Maidens become not only mothers, but also rulers with political as well as familial authority, and ultimately grandmothers with wisdom to offer across generational boundaries.

In *Urania*, the nascent maternal subjectivity that underlies *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* and emerges into the open in *Love's Victory* proves central to the regenerative political alliances of mothers and daughters, aunts and nieces. Published the year that Wroth's mother died, and asserting on its title page Wroth's allegiance to her author-aunt, the Countess of Pembroke, who died the same year, Wroth's *Urania* represents a spectrum of family politics. By juxtaposing oppressive instances of fatherly authority with the frequently liberating effects of maternal presence, in figures ranging from the Queen of Naples to Urania herself, Mary Wroth re-presents the mothers rendered as absent, dead, malevolent or merely incompetent in many of the texts of her paternal forebears as speaking subjects in their own right, whose maternal authority at once establishes and transmutes political alliances across generations of familial relations.

Notes

1. See Su Fang Ng, *Literature and the Politics of Family in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. pp. 6–8, 16–18; also Danielle Clarke, *The Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Harlow: Longman/Pearson Education, 2001).
2. See my own *Changing the Subject: Mary Wroth and Figurations of Gender in Early Modern England* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996) for an expanded consideration of intersections between Wroth's cultural production as an author and her familial identity, esp. Chapter Three, 'Matriarch's Daughter: Ties that Bind', pp. 64–108.
3. For an comprehensive survey of the facts of Mary Wroth's life as well as her genealogical pedigree, viewed in relation to her works, see Margaret Hannay's comprehensive biography, *Mary Sidney, Lady* Wroth (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), as well as her *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
4. Robert Sidney to Barbara Sidney, 20 April 1597, Letter 126 in *Domestic Politics and Family Absence: The Correspondence (1588–1621) of Robert Sidney, First Earl of Leicester, and Barbara Gamage Sidney, Countess of Leicester*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and

Michael G. Brennan (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), p. 103, hereafter cited as *Domestic Politics*.

5. See historical provenance and usage in the Oxford Dictionary (2007).
6. Robert Sidney to Barbara Sidney, 20 April 1597, Letter 127 in *Domestic Politics*, p. 104.
7. Robert Sidney to Barbara Sidney, 20 and 22 April 1597, Letters 124 and 127 in *Domestic Politics*, pp. 101, 124.
8. Mary Wroth to Robert Sidney, 17 Oct. 1614, De L'Isle MS U1475, C52.
9. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, p. 143, and 'The Countess of Pembroke as Mentor', in *Reading Mary Wroth*, ed. Naomi Miller and Gary Waller (Knoxville: University. of Tennessee Press, 1991), pp. 15–34 (esp. pp. 20–23).
10. Mary Sidney, the Countess of Pembroke, to Barbara Sidney, 9 Sept. 1590, British Library Add. MS 15232.
11. Modern published editions of Wroth's works include *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Josephine A. Roberts (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983); *Lady Mary Wroth's Love's Victory: The Penshurst Manuscript*, ed. Michael G. Brennan (London: The Roxburghe Club, 1988); *Love's Victory* in *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents*, ed. S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 90–126; *The First Part of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania by Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Josephine A. Roberts (Binghamton, NY: Renaissance English Text Society, 1995); *The Second Part of The Countess of Mongomery's Urania by Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Josephine A. Roberts, Suzanne Gossett, and Janel Mueller (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society and Arizona Center for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, 1999); *The Countess of Montomgery's Urania (abridged)*, ed. Mary Ellen Lamb (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2011). In this essay, I've drawn from the modern published editions of the poems (ed. Roberts) and the play (ed. Wynne-Davies), using Roberts's numbering scheme for the poems and act, scene and line numbers for the play. For *Urania*, I've quoted by page number from the 1621 published edition, and by book and folio number from the Newberry manuscript of the continuation.
12. Dorothy Leigh, *The Mother's Blessing* (1616) in *Daughters, Wives and Widows: Writings by Men about Women and Marriage in England, 1500–1640,* ed. Joan Larsen Klein (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), p. 302.
13. For additional sonnets by Wroth on Venus as a mother figure, see especially P85 and P95; sonnets that represent Night as a comforting maternal presence include P13, P17, and P43. Citations from Robert Sidney's poems reference the *Poems of Robert Sidney*, ed. P.J. Croft (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

14. Psalm 58 in *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*, Vol. II: *The Psalmes of David*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon and Michael G. Brennan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 62.
15. See Patricia Crawford, 'The Construction and Experience of Maternity in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. Valerie Fildes (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 3–38.
16. Citations from Philip Sidney's prose romance are drawn from *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (*The Old Arcadia*), ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), and from Vol. I (1590 text of the '*New Arcadia*') of *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (1912); rpt. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), hereafter cited as *OA* and *NA* by page number in the text.
17. See Helen Hackett, '"Gracious Be the Issue": Maternity and Narrative in Shakespeare's Late Plays', in *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings*, ed. Jennifer Richards and James Knowles (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 26.
18. For more extensive consideration of Wroth's constructions of maternity in *Love's Victory*, as situated within a tradition of dramatic romance, see my essay, 'Forcible Love: Performing Maternity in Renaissance Romance', in *Maternity and English Romance Narratives in Early Modern England*, ed. Karen Bamford and Naomi Miller (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), pp. 137–153.
19. See 'Matriarch's Daughter', Chapter 9 in *Changing the Subject*, pp. 74–76, for additional discussion of analogues between Anne Clifford's circumstances and those of Mary Wroth.
20. Danielle Clarke, '"Which is Truth, and Which My Story": *The Countesse of Mountgomeries Urania* (1621)', in *The Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Harlow: Longman/Pearson Education, 2001), pp. 239–252 (p. 252), offers a perceptive analysis of how 'Wroth's rereading and rewriting of the romance disrupts the genre', without, however, addressing the significance of matrilineal authority.
21. Mary Wroth, *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (London, 1621), p. 1.
22. Jeff Masten, '"All Arcadia on Fire": Mary Wroth reads Philip Sidney', paper delivered at 1990 MLA convention in special session entitled 'Sexual/Textual Poetics: Mary Wroth and the Sidney Family Men'.
23. See 'Between Women: Becoming Visible', Chapter 6 in *Changing the Subject*, pp. 217–233, for more discussion of this issue.
24. Margaret Hannay, 'Your vertuous and learned Aunt', in *Reading Mary Wroth*, ed. Miller and Waller, p. 24; see also the much more extensive discussion in her recent biography, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth*.
25. Barbara Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 292.

CHAPTER 8

Mini-Majesty: Dynasty and Succession in the Portraiture of Henry VIII and Edward VI

Naomi Yavneh Klos

The best-known fact regarding Henry VIII (other than his break with the Catholic Church and increasing obesity) was that he had six wives. An almost equally familiar corollary, intimately tied with the saga of the first three wives, was Henry's desperation for a legitimate son who would bolster and extend the Tudor lineage started by Henry VII. Contrary to popular view, this desire for a male offspring was not only a reflection of the King's ego but also grounded in contemporary political reality: the birth of a son would reduce the risk of civil war (which might be caused by the selection of a non-filial or illegitimate male relative as heir apparent) or the passing of control of England itself to a continental power, as might occur were a queen regnant to marry a prince consort.

This chapter will focus on the dynastic portraiture of Henry VIII and his family, with a particular emphasis on the work of Hans Holbein, especially Holbein's portrait of the future Edward VI as a toddler, painted as a New Year's gift to Henry in 1539 (Fig. 8.1). In that portrait, Prince

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Edward is adorable, his rosy cheeks and childish hands emphasised by their contrast with his elaborate courtly attire. Yet, despite its charm, this gift for the toddler's father, Henry VIII, is not primarily designed to capture the boy's childish attractions for eternal remembrance. Although Edward displays many of the physical features of a young child, the pose, colour-scheme and costume are those habitually used by the artist and his circle for portraits of the father; these iconographic features, along with his physical resemblance to his father (red hair, fair complexion, piercing eyes) function as a visual reminder of the Prince's role as Henry's legitimate heir. In other words, this is a painting of the son, but about the father.

Fig. 8.1 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Edward, Prince of Wales*, oil on oak, c. 1538, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

This duality—that an official portrait of an heir presents not just the figure of him or herself but his or her position in a family lineage—is inherent in the very concept of dynastic portraiture, and becomes a central conundrum in the representation of children. In a contemporary example, the widely circulated official photograph of the British royal family, taken at the christening of the current Prince George in October 2013, represents an opportunity to memorialise not only the child's birth, but the rehabilitation and perpetuation of the House of Windsor. Despite the presence at the photograph's centre of the Prince whose baptism is the occasion for the gathering, the conceptual heart of the image is focused as well on the impeccably dressed great-grandmother seated to George's left, England's longest reigning sovereign, and on the thriving future of the monarchy embodied in her son, grandson and great-grandson. With their smiling faces and tight grouping, the figures in the portrait present joy and unity. Yet the photograph also serves as a reminder that to examine the meaning of images, whether contemporary or early modern, is not only to engage in a study of iconography and convention, but the interaction of such praxes in a particular historical moment. The photograph draws much of its meaning from the concatenation of both our understanding of the conventions of family portraiture and our familiarity with the individuals in this specific representation: the Prince is the grandson of both the heir to the throne and Diana, the 'people's princess', whose failed marriage and death challenged the monarchic tradition. This formal portrait offers an official correction: tradition is continued, but with a contemporary spin that includes a new wife for the divorced Prince of Wales and the non-royal family of the new Prince's mother, who, like the Madonna flanked with saints in a sixteenth-century *Sacra conversazione*, holds on her lap the precious baby, the focus of all attention but, as yet, unaware of his own future role and immense power.

However distant a digital photograph may seem from sixteenth-century portraiture in oil and precious pigments, the photograph of Prince George's christening offers a useful perspective from which to consider dynastic imagery in general and Holbein's painting in particular. Yet if the two images serve a similar function, reading the Holbein portrait is nevertheless a more complicated process. The impact of the christening portrait derives, in part, from its simultaneous resemblance to, and distinction from, similar photographs of 'regular' families. How can we understand such discrepancies—and, indeed, the meaning of such images—for a culture temporally distant from our own? For example, in Northern Renaissance paintings such as *The Virgin and Child Before a Firescreen* attributed to a follower of Roger Campin (c.1440; National Gallery, London), the iconographic

symbolism is enhanced by the placement of the Madonna and Child in a domestic interior, where homely fixtures (such as the firescreen) double as sacred emblems (the Virgin's halo) in order to augment the viewer's sense of identification with this human mother, even as they mark her distinction from other women. This painting, and the firescreen itself (a quotidian object now rendered obsolete and recherché), highlight the question of how images communicate across time and of how the modern viewer can recuperate implications that would have been obvious to a work's original intended audience. A related set of issues is raised by a genre such as the *Madonna lactans*, in which the Virgin's bared breast had radically different associations for the fourteenth-century viewer than it does for us.[1]

Leo Steinberg has argued that, even armed with a background in iconography, our post-modern preconceptions and readings of images can cause us to miss important, telling features of early modern art. In *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, Steinberg zestfully discusses, for example, how modern critics have either misunderstood or ignored the common presence of Baby Jesus' erect penis.[2] According to Steinberg, this literal ignorance has led to modern obliviousness to an important theological message of such images: the centrality of the theology of the Incarnation—the mystery of God's transformation into human flesh. The shift in emphasis from Christ's divinity to his humanity that is visible in the transition from the representation of the Child as *puer senex*, prevalent in the fourteenth century (for example, in the 'little old man' Jesus of Giotto's *Ognissanti Madonna*; c.1310) to the fleshy *bambini* of Quattrocento Florence (exemplified in Raphael's multiple representations of the Madonna and Child), is underscored in Steinberg's reading by the specific emphasis on the genitals as synecdoche for humanity, and by his use of the controversial term, 'sexuality', which he argues is that humanity's central attribute. Leaving aside Steinberg's loaded terminology, his visual emphasis on the embodied Bambino Gesù extends beyond the images in which a penis (erect or otherwise) is visible and is equally present in the lifelike and engaging representations of the Madonna and Child of a High Renaissance artist such as Raphael. In his works the affective intimacy of mother and baby draws attention to the fact that child is simultaneously both like, and decidedly different from, all other children. In Raphael's *Madonna of the Chair*, for instance (1515), the seated Madonna tightly embraces the chubby toddler who, seated on her lap, faces her, her encircling arms and their inclined bodies echoing the tondo format of the painting. Although Jesus is looking directly at

the viewer, he draws back towards his mother, his hand tucked beneath her shawl, as she draws him close to protect him. This naturalistic representation and the developmentally appropriate behaviour portrayed here ('stranger anxiety') underscore the shared humanity of mother and child, even as they point to the shared suffering his Incarnation will entail.

This simultaneous drawing of attention to the ways in which Jesus and the Virgin both resemble and are distinguished from secular, quotidian mothers and their children is central, I will argue, to issues at the heart of Hans Holbein's portrait of Edward, completed when the Prince was just 14 months old, and presented to the child's father a little over a year after the mother's death from post-childbirth complications.[3] Like the baby in Raphael's *Madonna of the Chair,* this child's clear skin and round, pink cheeks render him an exemplar of robust health at a time when infant mortality was a heart-rending commonplace.

But infant mortality and lack of an heir, of course, have a special significance for the Tudor family and for sixteenth-century England. As indicated above, even twenty-first-century viewers are aware that Henry rid himself of his first two wives (not to mention two others), who failed to provide him with a son. Sixteenth-century viewers would have been painfully familiar with the details of the Divorce, the rupture with the Catholic Church, the coronation and subsequent repudiation and beheading of Anne Boleyn, and the concomitant bastardisation of first Mary and then Elizabeth. The birth of Edward to Henry's 'first true wife', Jane Seymour—despite her death 12 days later—marked the clearly legitimate continuation of the Tudor dynasty founded by the King's father, Henry VII. In this portrait, then, Edward may not be the son of God, but he is the son of the head of God's Church, the King, as evidenced by his garb and the clear allusions to Holbein's own depictions of the boy's father.

A portrait, of course, is not a snapshot, a seemingly exact and neutral reproduced likeness of a particular individual at a particular time. Rather, it represents a series of choices, based on the artist's abilities and predilections, prevailing contemporary styles in artwork (and the desire to conform with or to move away from them), the patron's wishes and wallet, ideological concerns, and the intended purpose of the work.[4] As we shall see, for example, whether or not we choose to view such paintings as part of a political programme of propaganda as some have argued we must, portraits of Henry VIII would certainly have been designed to show his power, prestige and wealth.[5] The way Henry's broad shoulders extend beyond the frame of Holbein's Thyssen Portrait (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza,

Madrid, c. 1537) is as much about Henry's dominance and *imperium* as it is about his famous girth. Specific jewels or other accoutrements serve as markers of prestige and wealth, and may also indicate the sitter's specific identity; indeed, sometimes a portrait might be created from clothing after a subject's death.[6]

Although the Prince's attire is frequently included in websites delineating the dress of sixteenth-century children, his clothing should be considered as part of the construct of the portrait—along with his health, his pose, and physical attributes—rather than as a 'realistic' depiction of the toddler Edward Tudor. Edward VI may or may not have been a sickly baby (he was clearly in ill health as an adolescent and died at the age of 15) and perhaps did indeed walk before the age of one, but those matters are not directly relevant to our understanding of this image, which is a painting of Edward as he never physically existed.

In order to grasp the complex messages conveyed in this painting of the son which, I argue, is designed to extoll the father's glory, it is helpful to look first at Holbein's depiction of that father. We see Holbein's Henry VIII most notably, but not exclusively, in the Whitehall Mural created in 1537, either shortly before or after Edward's birth and Jane Seymour's death, and originally located on a wall of the King's Privy Chamber in Whitehall Palace. The painting itself was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1698, and is therefore only visible to us now through two copies made by Remigius van Leemput (one commissioned in 1667 by King Charles II; and one, probably for the Seymour family, in 1669) as well as in a portion of Holbein's life-size cartoon (Fig. 8.2), now in the National Portrait Gallery.[7] Although aspects of the original are thus irrevocably lost (its size, disposition in the Privy Chamber and relation to other features of the room), we can nevertheless consider what we do know about the organisation and iconography of this image designed, in Susan Foister's words, to 'celebrate the Tudor dynasty for posterity'.[8] This image includes what has become an iconic representation of King Henry himself, along with depictions of his wife, Jane Seymour (modelled on the portrait now in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum), and of his parents Henry VII and Elizabeth of York.

In considering this lost mural, it is also important to understand the role of the Privy Chamber. Henry VIII, after acquiring Whitehall Palace 'upon Cardinal Wolsey's fall from grace' had 'immediately set to work to make it one of the grandest of his palaces', but unfortunately neither the building nor most of the building accounts are extant.[9] Foister explains that the Privy Chamber 'was at the heart of a sequence of royal lodgings found in a number of Tudor palaces, leading from the public rooms, the Guard

Fig. 8.2 Hans Holbein the Younger, *King Henry VIII; King Henry VII*, ink and watercolour on paper, c. 1536–1537, National Portrait Gallery, London

Chamber and the Presence Chamber, to the Privy chamber and a sequence of private rooms'.[10] In other words, the Privy chamber was a liminal space between public and private, 'a room to which Henry could retreat in private, but in which he might also dine and receive select visitors'.[11] As Erich Ives argues, 'With the King the focus of Tudor government and politics, it follows that government and politics focused on where the king was, in other words the royal household'.[12] The King's appearances in state rooms such as the 'presence chamber' were, in Ives' terms, carefully calculated. Access to the King, then, in the nominally private, restricted space of the privy chamber, was highly valued; the 'politics of intimacy', in Greg Walker's terms, was 'based upon proximity to the sovereign and access to his person'.[13] Henry was accompanied in this space not just by the pages and grooms charged with its cleaning but a group of privileged gentlemen, some of them peers, tasked with both entertaining and conversing

with the King and also tending to his personal needs. Because at Whitehall new construction allowed the King 'more privacy in rooms beyond the Privy Chamber', it is likely, Foister posits, that 'the Privy chamber [...] was more often used as a public room', and became, therefore, 'the most privileged space in which to meet the King'.[14] The mural, a visual reminder of the King's lineage and status, would underscore the role of the Privy chamber as a locus of power, controlled access and privilege.

Art historians generally concur that the ornate, classicised setting of the mural would have fitted the palace's decor. Equally significant, in Tatiana String's reading, is the message that such a setting, along with some of the mannerist features of the painting (such as the 'elongations of Henry's body'), would have conveyed to Henry's visitors: that the King was 'up to date with current trends, suggesting comparisons with a rival such as Francis I, and plugged into the prestige and authority of antiquity, [... able] to cast himself among the continental elite and to afford to do so'.[15] String's comments are helpful in understanding how the elements of contemporary continental painting deployed in this work (placed in the relatively intimate and politically central location of the Privy Chamber) underscore not just the artist's technique but both his own and the patron's place in an elite cultural milieu. These underpinnings provide a framework in which to consider the mural's dynastic theme visually articulated in the four full-body portraits of Kings Henry VII and VIII, presented opposite their wives, Elizabeth of York and Jane Seymour, on either side of what appears to be a large stone altar. While Henry VII and Elizabeth, Henry VIII's parents, stand on a ledge behind the younger couple, the use of perspective is exaggerated, rendering Henry the dominant figure, looming large in the foreground, and dwarfing the image of his tiny, pale-skinned wife, standing demurely with hands folded. Although the altar's Latin inscription, discussed below, poses the ostensibly unresolved question of whether father or son is pre-eminent, Henry VIII's position and stance, with bent arms, puffed sleeves and a voluminous cloak that almost extend beyond the picture frame, infer the unsurpassable power of the reigning monarch, across from the beloved consort who has borne (or will bear), finally, his own legitimate male successor.

Roy Strong finds this Henry both definitive and repulsive: 'No one ever thinks of Henry VIII in any other way than as this gouty, pig-eyed pile of flesh, whose astounding girth is only emphasised by the layers of slashed velvets and furs that encase him'.[16] Strong's language is evocative in describing Henry's larger-than-life presence in his elaborate garb, but

the art historian's reading seems inflected by both Charles Laughton's filmic depiction of Henry in *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933), as well as by retrospective knowledge of Henry's final years, when the previously handsome and athletic King was virtually immobilised by leg ulcers compounded by obesity. Even if the viewer shares Strong's obvious distaste, Henry's bejewelled opulence should be read, I would argue, as a display of power and richesse. Although the details are not as clear in Remigius' copy, Henry's garments are related to those he sports in the Thyssen portrait, also by Holbein, which are made of cloth of gold and silver; as in that image, rubies fasten the slashes in his sleeves, while a chain of gold, including yet more rubies, stretches across his neck. The puffed sleeves and cloak emphasise the breadth of his shoulders, but below the skirt of his doublet (which is parted by his bulging codpiece), his legs are elongated, with the shapely, well-muscled calves of a dancer.

The splendours of his fashionable garments both draw attention to, and are emphasised by, Henry's pose. Although his torso is slightly shifted to the left, suggesting the mobility and action created by Renaissance *contrapposto*, his feet are firmly planted in a sign of authority. String points out that, even dressed in courtly garb, Henry stands as would a man in armour, with weight evenly distributed rather than shifted to one hip, so that the pose conflates Henry with the representation of military heroes, thus conferring 'the resonance of this physical, combative identity'.[17] In Strong's reading, his placement has a specific art-historical reference as well: Henry's is the heroic pose evolved in fifteenth-century Florence to represent 'figures of knightly triumph against tremendous, often supernatural powers', such as Donatello's St. George, for example, or Perugino's St. Michael. Strong affirms: Henry 'joins them in the double role of *imperator* and *chevalier*'.[18] That duality is especially visible in the positioning of his hands, with one reflecting a courtly role by holding a glove, while the other reaches towards the short dagger that juts horizontally, with phallic effect, towards the stone altar. The dynamism created by Henry's pose is in marked contrast to the almost passive quality of the bent arms of the other three figures in the work: the women bring their hands together in a sedate and modest gesture, and the older King lounges nonchalantly with his elbow resting on the altar. With or without armour, the image of Henry VIII reflects power and masculinity.

The representation of Henry VIII in Remigius' copy of the finished wall painting differs in one notable respect from that in the cartoon: rather than looking to one side, he stares straight ahead, a pose made famous

in innumerable copies. Although it is unclear where exactly on the wall the image was located, in the intimate space of the Privy Chamber, the perspective implies, in Foister's terms, that 'Henry looks out rather than down'; his head would have directly faced the viewer, his piercing eyes deliberately meeting our gaze with an impassive stare.[19] Citing the words of a sixteenth-century ambassador, Strong declares that 'Henry alone communicates with the onlooker and the effect on visitors was that they were abashed, annihilated'.

In the conventions of Renaissance painting, a direct look, breaking the 'fourth wall' of Alberti's 'window onto nature', is designed to draw the viewer into the world of the painting; the Baby Jesus of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Madonna del latte* invites us to join him in the Eucharist symbolised by his suckling, for example.[20] But Henry's gaze is especially arresting and unusual. The full-frontal portrait is infrequent in sixteenth-century art; a 1548 treatise by a Portuguese humanist, Francisco de Holanda, describes such a portrait as 'graceless', and twentieth-century art historian Lorne Campbell notes that 'the full-face view can give the impression of so direct a confrontation […] that the spectator may feel uneasy'.[21] Holbein subsequently used a frontal view in his portraits of potential royal brides Christina of Denmark and Anne of Cleves, presumably to give an impression not of confrontation but artlessness, through a direct and unfashionable pose. Here, however, the shift from the slightly turned head found in both the cartoon and related portraiture of Henry (for example, the Thyssen portrait) to the mural's direct stare renders this male figure even more authoritative and imposing.[22]

Henry is not just powerful but specifically masculine, as evidenced by his pose, his beard and his codpiece, where our attention, String argues, is deliberately drawn by the convergence of two triangles:

> The splayed legs and the distance between the feet create the first; the shoulders are an equal width and form one side of the second triangle with the bent right arm acting as the second side and the left arm the third. Holbein has, thereby, created a clear focal point at the groin, one which forces his viewers to confront […] the large, protruding codpiece.[23]

We have already seen that the volume and luxury of Henry's garments serve as conveyors of prestige and power. Carole Frick observes that as clothing for the elite 'became a powerful visual designator of the more abstract political and social concerns of those wearing it', the meaning of

the codpiece was transformed. Although the codpiece had initially emerged 'as a necessary modest addition to complete the male costume' comprised of short doublets and tunics, what had previously served primarily as a protective component of armour, becomes, along with beards and short hair, part of the displayed vocabulary of masculinity.[24] Ostentatious codpieces, accordingly, are a prominent feature of sixteenth-century fashion and portraiture, serving as an affirmation of the wearer's physical endowment and potency. The specific emphasis on the codpiece and the virile representation of Henry VIII is significant in a work explicitly focused on genealogy and the perpetuation of the Tudor lineage, established only two generations previously by Henry VII.

In Remigius' reproduction of this image the inscription on the stone altar configures verbally Henry VIII's almost overweening virility as a heroic competition he has won: 'Great the contest (and) the rivalry, great the debate whether the father or the son were victor'.

> If it rejoice thee to behold the glorious likenesses of heroes, look on these, for greater no tablet ever bore. Great the contest (and) the rivalry, great the debate whether the father or the son were victor. Each was the victor, the father over his foes, for he quenched the fires of civil strife and to his people granted lasting peace. The son, born to yet greater destiny, from the altars banished the undeserving and in their place set men of worth. To his outstanding virtue the presumption of popes yielded, and when Henry VIII in his hand wielded the scepter (true) religion was restored, and in his reign the precepts of God began to be held in their due honour.[25]

The inscription's depiction of the son 'born to yet greater destiny' than that of his peace-bringing father mirrors a progressive view of his succession evident in the historiography of the Tudor period, as Strong points out, in which the Kings of England are presented as a pageant of worthy (or negative) exempla, culminating in the glory of Henry VIII, termed by Polydorius Vergil the 'fruit of the union' of the houses of Lancaster and York, 'in whom the true royal lines were joined'.[26] As we have seen, Henry VIII is also the dominant and most active figure in the painting. Neither Queen meets the viewer's gaze; rather each stares impassively into the distance beyond the left side of the painting, her body aligned with her head. Henry VII's eyes do engage the viewer, but his face is painted in a three-quarter view less striking than his son's full-frontal position, and his robes, their ermine lining visible at the cuffs and in the long sleeve slits,

bear more resemblance to the gowns of the Queens on the left than to his son's fashion-forward and overtly masculine attire.

Critics have frequently pointed out the resemblance of this painting's structure to that of Holbein's *Ambassadors,* painted in 1534.[27] A full discussion of that work is well beyond the scope of this chapter, except to note that both images, according to Strong, lack a central focal point; a dilemma solved for the earlier painting, he argues, by the placement of a still-life depicting books and instruments at the work's centre, a position here occupied 'unsatisfactorily' by the mural's dedicatory inscription.[28] In my view, however, a possible solution to the problem is offered by another genre of work Strong mentions as 'an immediate single compositional source': the commonly depicted Madonna and Child enthroned within a room and flanked by saints, known in Italian as a *sacra conversazione*. Strong gives as an example an altarpiece by Cosimo Roselli, observing that 'by removing the Virgin and Child the group would be reduced to four figures placed in an ascending order on either side of a marble dais. The source for Holbein's great work could not be more succinctly demonstrated'.[29] To me, the solution to the 'missing central focal point' is right here and is, in fact, explicitly spelled out in Remigius' Petworth copy of the mural, likely created for the Seymour family. In this version, the inscription of the stone altar is replaced by a representation of Edward VI, a smaller, mirror image of his father, with the same feathered cap and an ermine-bordered cloak (recalling his grandfather's) that—despite his delicate head, hands and legs—has the same capacious and expansive volume as his father's. The white diagonals of his bent arms (the right, like his father's, holding a rapier) guide the viewer's eyes to his hands which, along with the blue pouch that extends from the right, frame Edward's own projecting codpiece that asserts his place in the ascendant Tudor dynasty—somewhat wistfully, in this retrospective copy, since the Prince in fact died without issue. In the Petworth version, that generative link is underscored by the King's emphasised codpiece, which directs our gaze to the boy; in the original mural dated 1537 (Edward's birth year), the King's generative organ points directly in front of the altar, suggesting his son as the definitive resolution to the inscription's question, and the absent presence in the painting.

Just as the reading of even as erudite a critic as Strong is inflected by later, less sympathetic versions of Henry's iconic full-frontal image, our understanding of the copies—and of the mural itself, were it still extant—is coloured by our knowledge of the subsequent events of succession: the

death in adolescence of the sickly Edward VI; the brief reign of Lady Jane Gray; the restoration of Catholicism under Mary; and the Tudor triumph of Elizabeth, who of course died without an heir. The ideal, as well as the real contemporary viewer of the 1530s, knew none of this, but only that both Tudor Kings depicted had faced repeated threats to their rule. Their male successor would, it was fervently hoped, settle the succession after the turmoil caused not only by the attempts at rebellion and assassination from the outside, but also the internecine strife created by the divorce, and all the concomitant events surrounding Henry VIII's first two marriages. Even the way in which the representation of Henry VIII surpasses that of VII underscores that the King's—any king's—ultimate dynastic triumph is fathering a son. Paradoxically, however, until that son himself becomes king, the Prince points to the power of his reigning father.

That understanding of the living king's son as a projection of his father can be helpful in reading Holbein's New Year's painting of Edward, a portrait not so much of a toddler but rather a prince, proleptically posed and wardrobed to reflect his future role as King of England as well as his status as the son of Henry VIII. The connection is further emphasised by the verses inscribed on the parapet, exhorting the 'little one' (*parvule*) to emulate his father:

> Little one! Imitate your father, and be the heir of his virtue, the world contains nothing greater—Heaven and Nature could scarcely give a son whose glory should surpass that of such a father. You only equal the acts of your parent, the wishes of men cannot go beyond this. Surpass him, and you have surpassed all the kings the world ever worshipped, and none will ever surpass you.[30]

The theme of rivalry that the Whitehall inscription established between two successive and successful kings is evoked again; here, the competition serves to praise the father by suggesting that even to equal him is already to surpass all others. The theme of imitation is reflected in the presentation of the child within the painting; although his body is turned slightly to his right, Edward is presented facing frontally in the central foreground of the painting, mirroring his father's presentation in the portrait of Henry now in Rome, and attributed to Holbein's studio (that Henry likewise appears against a blue ground, as did Edward, although the colour has now faded).[31] Although the Prince is not here popping out of the frame, as Henry does in the Thyssen portrait, he is the image's sole figure, and his rich red cloak

creates a monumentality that joins with the parapet to establish a pyramid. Like the portraits of Henry, Edward faces towards the viewer, although his blue eyes are cast slightly down, in contrast to his father's.

Edward has fair skin with a rosy complexion, coral bowed lips, and the extremely chubby cheeks of a well-fed toddler. His delicate features and colouring, along with his slightly downcast eyes, recall feminine ideals of beauty during the period, even as the golden-red fringe along his forehead remind us of his father. The cap on his head, topped with delicately depicted white feathers, recalls the headgear of Henry VIII in his own portraits, while the close-fitting bonnet beneath seems the only item an actual baby might wear. Otherwise, he is richly garbed in clothing appropriate for an adult male, in expensive red and cloth of gold, with bright white ruffs at the wrist and at his neck, serving—like the feather in his cap—to accentuate the rich colours of the rest of his garments.

But if Edward's garments project authority and privilege, as in his father's portraits, his hands are dimpled and baby-like. One is open, waving in a possible gesture of munificence, while the other holds a gold rattle. Although it has been argued the rattle is a burlesque of the kingly accoutrements of orb and sceptre, missing from portraits of Henry but implied by his prepossessing presence, the shape and colouring of the ornate red and gold toy also evoke the elaborate codpieces that we have seen to be a distinctive presence in portraiture of this period in general and that particularly characterise representations of Henry (notably, the portrait now in Rome and, of course, the Whitehall mural). In the discussion of codpieces referenced above, Frick has argued that this 'socially constructed image of masculinity', the codpiece, serves to 'demonstrate familial stability'. Like Edward's clothing, complexion and hair, the codpiece in his chubby little hand suggests not just his own future power and virility, but that of the father he is called to emulate.

The Latin inscription by Robert Morison exhorts the *parvule patrissa* (the father's little one) to emulate his father and be heir to his virtue. It verbally underscores the fact that, despite the boy's regal bearing, he remains endearingly a child, albeit one containing the seeds of greatness, by virtue of the legitimate parentage that shines through his physical features. Even the rattle, in its resemblance to a codpiece, conjures his father's masculinity and prowess (sexual and otherwise), as it proleptically evokes not just the son's role as heir but also his status as future father to future Tudor heirs.

Notes

1. As Margaret Miles and others have argued, a contemporary understanding of Trecento images of the lactating Virgin would have been informed by the ubiquity of breastfeeding (including wet nursing) in a society without refrigeration or formula, and by high maternal and infant mortality rates exacerbated first by famine and then the Black Death. See Margaret Miles, 'The Virgin's One Bare Breast: Female Nudity and Religious Meaning in Tuscan Early Renaissance Culture', in *The Female Body in Western Culture*, ed. By Susan Suleiman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 193–208, *passim,* and Naomi Yavneh, 'To Bare or Not Too Bare: Sofonisba Anguissola's Nursing Madonna and the Womanly Art of Breastfeeding' in *Maternal Measures: Figuring Caregiving in the Early Modern Period*, ed. By Naomi Miller and Naomi Yavneh (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2000) pp. 65–81.
2. Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983, 2nd ed 1996).
3. Edward was born 12 October, 1537; his mother, Jane, died on 24 October. The presentation of the painting by the artist to Henry VIII on 1 January, 1539 is recorded in the New Year's Gift Roll in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, Ms. Z. d.11, dated 'First daie of January anno xxx' of the reign of Henry VIII, 'By hanse holbyne a table of the pictour of the prince grace.'
4. An excellent and detailed consideration of portraiture is provided in Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990). See also John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1966).
5. The bibliography and debate on this topic are broad. See, for example, Roy Strong, *Holbein and Henry VIII* (London: Routledge and K. Paul for the Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art, 1967), Tatiana String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2008), Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).
6. Titian, for example, painted a portrait of the Duchess of Urbino, Giulia Varano, from some of her garments and her husband's verbal description of his wife; see Campbell, p. 144. A century after Henry VIII's death, Charles I's niece Sophia, Electress of Hanover, wrote of her surprise to see Queen Henrietta Maria, 'whom I had seen so beautiful in her painting [by Van Dyck], was really a tiny woman … with long, withered arms, crooked shoulders, and teeth projecting from her mouth like defences.' My translation from the French quoted in Campbell, p. 247, n. 9, citing A. Kocher, ed. *Memoiren der Herzogin Sophie nachmals Kurfurstin von Hannover*

(*Publicationen aus den K. Presussischen Staatsarchiven,* iv, 1), Leipzig, 1879, p. 38. That the primary purpose of Renaissance portraiture was often not simple verisimilitude does not negate that paintings were often used in arranging noble alliances. Holbein, notably, was sent to the continent after the death of Jane Seymour to capture the likenesses of several potential Queens, including Christina of Denmark and, ill-fatedly, Anne of Cleves. The aims of such portraiture would have determined certain features such as the pose: both women are seen frontally (and Christina, full-length), not fashionable at the time, but designed, presumably, to present the women in a literally straight-forward manner. That choice, of course, does not mean that the representation was not in some way idealised or that no flaws were hidden, any more than in other portraits. Lorne Campbell suggests that the frontal portrait of Anne might have hid the very long nose that Henry found distasteful.

7. Strong, p. 35. The 1667 copy is still in the Royal Collections while the 1669 copy is now at Petworth house.
8. Susan Foister, *Holbein in England* (London: Tate Publications, 2006), p. 175. The cartoon, which measures 257.8 × 137.2 cm, is in the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 4027).
9. Foister, p. 175.
10. Foister, p. 178.
11. Foister, p. 178.
12. Eric Ives, 'Henry VIII: the Political Perspective', in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and* Piety ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), p. 16.
13. Greg Walker, 'Henry VIII and the Invention of the Royal Court', *History Today,* 47 (1997), p. 13.
14. Foister, pp. 178–179.
15. String, p. 152.
16. String, p. 39.
17. String, p. 146.
18. Strong, p. 39.
19. Unfortunately, the exact structure and design of the Whitehall Privy Chamber are unknown. According to Foister, *Holbein in England*, the chamber was 22 feet (7 meters) wide on the south wall; based on the cartoon, the mural's dimensions would have been 11'10" × 8'10" (3.6 × 2.7 meters) or perhaps a little bigger (p. 181). The placement of the mural within the Privy Chamber is a matter of scholarly debate, especially regarding height. Foister argues that the architectural detailing within the mural would have made it a continuation of the decorative painting that appeared on the upper level above a layer of panelling, and below a frieze that extends in paint into the mural. The work's perspective is thus 'that of an

altarpiece, to which people gazed up' (pp. 51–52). Henry's 'dais, chair and cloth of estate' would have been placed below his image, framing 'the gross figure of Henry VIII' as 'the living embodiment of the genealogy of the Houses of York and Lancaster above him' (p. 54). More recently, Foister has proposed that the almost life-size of the figures suggests that 'they and the space around them were intended to deceive viewers into believing that they were in the royal presence', pointing out that 'the feet of the foreground figures, who stand on a step, are shown slightly from above, not from below' (p. 182).

20. According to early modern humoral theory, milk is blood, whitened.
21. Sanchez-Canton, 1921, p. 63.
22. The frontal pose was a model for subsequent portraiture, for example the portrait now in Rome.
23. String, p. 149.
24. Carol Frick, 'Boys to Men: Codpieces and Masculinity in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood*, ed. Naomi Miller and Naomi Yavneh (London and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2011), p. 158.
25. *Si ucat heroum claras videsse figuras,*
    Specta has, maiores nulla tabella tulit.
    Certamen magnum, Is, quaestio magna paterne.
    Fius an vincat. Vicit. Uterque quidem.
    Iste suos hostes, patriaeque incendia saepe
    Sustulit, et pacem civibus usque dedit.
    Filius ad maiora quidem prognatus ab aris
    Sumovet indignosi substituitque probos.
    Certae, virtuti, paparum audacia cessit,
    Henrico octavo sceptra gerente manu
    Reddita religio est, isto regnante deique
    Dogmata ceperunt esse in honore suo.

    Cited by Strong, p. 57, where the author credits Margot Eates with the translation.
26. Polydorius Vergil, *Anglica Historia*. Cited in Strong, p. 58.
27. Foister, for example, notes that Henry VII's pose echoes that of Georges de Selve, but in reverse; p. 183.
28. Strong, p. 49.
29. Strong, pp. 49–50.
30. Richard Morison on Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Edward, Prince of Wales*, oil on oak, c.1538, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.
31. The pigment (according to Foister, pp. 197–198), was the blue glass pigment smalt, also used in the background of the painting of Jane Seymour, his mother, now in Vienna.

CHAPTER 9

Beyond the Palace: The Transmission of Political Power in the Clifford Circle

Jessica L. Malay

Lady Anne Clifford is the most well-known member of the Clifford family of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Her fame arose early through her administration of large portions of Northwest England including most of Westmoreland and the northwest of Yorkshire. She also held significant dower lands in Kent and Wiltshire. Anne Clifford sought to contextualise her authority through her manuscript publications, most especially her *Great Books of Record*.[1] Her letters, historical work, and life writing provide unique insight into how the familial was often the political. These texts illustrate Clifford family strategies over the centuries to secure political power and ensure the continuation of this power into future generations. Anne Clifford served as a key intermediary figure in the transmission of political power between her parents' generation in the reign of Elizabeth I and her grandchildren after the Restoration and into the eighteenth century. Her texts provide the documentary evidence that future generations would use when their rights were challenged, and also provided a rationale for their political activities. As such these texts reveal

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how one early modern family in the seventeenth century secured and distributed political power across generations.

In the early sixteenth century the Clifford family was determined to re-establish its power after devastating loss during the Civil Wars of the previous century when the Clifford lands were confiscated and the child Henry, tenth Lord Clifford, was raised quietly on his mother's lands in the north, far away from the court of Edward IV. With the restoration of their northern land holdings during the reign of Henry VII, the Cliffords aggressively pursued the restoration of their political status, with Henry, eleventh Lord Clifford, sent to court to be raised with Henry VIII. The friendship between the two Henries resulted in the eleventh Lord Clifford being raised to Earl of Cumberland. This first Earl of Cumberland, keen to capitalise on his relationship with the King, was able to arrange the marriage of his son, another Henry, to Eleanor Brandon, daughter of Henry VIII's sister the princess, and at one point queen consort of France, Mary. Anne Clifford's father George, third Lord Clifford, was also keen to make the most of the position bequeathed to him by his father and grandfather. While his own mother was a Dacre, his half-sister, Margaret Clifford granddaughter of Mary, was at one point the next heir to the throne of England according to Henry VIII's will, and this placed George in an excellent position to pursue his dynastic aims. But while he excelled as a courtier, being chosen as the Queen's champion in 1590, success at court and power in the north required a great deal of money. George Clifford believed that adventures upon the seas during the naval conflicts with Spain would return both financial and political advantages. And while he found success illusive he was determined to turn his greatest military success, the sacking of San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1598, to his advantage. With this in mind he wrote an account of this adventure in a letter to his sister-in-law Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick in the hopes of securing further support of the Queen for his sea adventures. In the surviving holograph manuscript, his account of the sacking of Puerto Rico is followed by a detailed plan for another sea adventure designed to cripple the King of Spain's finances and force him to sue for peace, thus securing English dominance of the seas. Clifford wrote to the Countess that, 'I take God to witness before whom wee must all answer, I went this tyme abroad more to doe her Majestie service, then for getting wealth as it is made apparant by my proceedings at Porta Rico'.[2] And while the comment about his desire for wealth may be slightly disingenuous, he hoped to enlist Anne Russell's support in his plans to defeat the Spanish. Clifford had good

reason to suppose Russell would be a potent political ally in promoting his military plans. Her place in court and her access to Elizabeth was nearly unprecedented. In addition Russell had long supported and promoted George Clifford. In a letter from the mid-1590s Russell wrote to her sister, Margaret, wife to George Clifford, that she was 'careful of hym'.[3] Clearly Clifford hoped that Russell's care would extend to her furtherance of what he believed was a sure opportunity for defeating Spanish power in Europe, thus securing his own position in the court of Elizabeth I and furthering the interests of the Clifford family.[4]

In the 1590s the Countess of Warwick was an important ally both for the furtherance of political strategies and the promotion of personal ambition (so often interlinked in this period). In 1594 Lawrence Smith wrote from Ireland asking the Countess to assist in the appointment of a new chief justice of Ireland following the death of William Weston. Apparently Smith as well as William Russell, Lord Deputy of Ireland (from 1594–1597), could not get an answer from Lord Burghley concerning the appointment and turned to the Countess to apply pressure on him.[5] William Russell was Anne Russell's brother. The Countess continued to participate in affairs in Ireland, suggesting a captain for the 1596 military expedition (as did her sister Margaret). There is much evidence that throughout the last decade of Elizabeth's life Anne Russell remained one of Queen Elizabeth's intimates and as such was much sought after as a conduit for favours to and from the Queen. During Elizabeth's reign, Anne Russell operated as the chief protector and promoter of her family's intergenerational ambitions as can be seen not only in her support of George and Margaret Clifford, but also her wider Russell family. Her staunch support of her family reveals an understanding of the importance of dynasty building and the opportunities intimate access to the monarch could provide.

This understanding is also shown in the ageing Countess's mentoring of her niece, Anne Clifford, who spent time in her aunt's court chambers, in the ways of the courtier.[6] This experience was key to Anne Clifford's early political development. During her short time at court, Anne was able to witness women exercising great power, including Elizabeth herself. This experience encouraged the development of Anne's political will and gave her insight into effective political strategies as discussed below. She used this knowledge in later years to ensure a nearly unassailable political position in Westmorland that secured for her progeny continuity and protection from the vicissitudes of the wider political landscape.

Anne Russell was a member of that select group who stood vigil around the Queen in the last hours of Elizabeth's reign, watching her own political power ebb with the dying monarch. Anne Clifford remembers the days after Elizabeth's death:

> At this time we used to go very much to Whitehall and walked much in the garden which was much frequented by Lords and Ladies, being all full of several hopes, every man expecting mountains and finding molehills, excepting Sir Robert Cecil and the house of the Howards who hated my mother and did not much love my aunt of Warwick.[7]

This comment, while likely written in retrospect, reveals Anne Clifford's developing political instinct concerning the uncertain nature of political power that depended upon the will of the sovereign.

After the death of Queen Elizabeth, Anne Clifford observed the loss of power of her aunt and the powerful women who once served the Queen.[8] This lesson was not lost upon Anne who came to understand through this experience that court influence relied on the favour of the monarch and his or her inner circle. With the death of Elizabeth, Anne Russell's influence evaporated. However, George Clifford's political situation experienced a vast improvement. Anne Russell's support for George Clifford throughout Elizabeth's reign was useful, but failed to secure for him the key political positions he craved. On James VI and I's accession he was able to broker an advantageous place within the newly established court through his aristocratic heritage, the useful position of his northern lands and to a certain extent a set of shared common interests, including hunting. James entrusted Clifford with the wardship of the borderlands between England and Scotland and on June 8, 1603 he also appointed Clifford as the warden of the English Marches and captain of Carlisle. James also knighted 23 men sponsored by George Clifford in July of 1603, a significant act of favour that bolstered Clifford's powerbase in the north. Earlier, barely two weeks after Elizabeth's death, Clifford was made a member of the Privy Council—a position that had eluded him throughout Elizabeth's reign.[9] Anne Clifford witnessed her father's advancement within the court, while at the same time experiencing more painfully her mother's fall and debasement.

Her aunt Anne Russell's removal from court power also resulted in the loss of political influence of her sisters including Anne Clifford's mother Margaret and stymied intergenerational transmission of power through the female line for decades. George Clifford made his brother Francis

Clifford heir to the northern Clifford estates denying his daughter Anne Clifford any political power in the region. As her mother Margaret Russell would complain:

> Her Uncle of Cumberland have more landes & honours left him than many other Earles of England hath; she being the first daughter & sole heire to an Earle since the time of the Conquest left without any land at all, & the first of all times as I think, that was so deceitfully wrested out of the Lands of her Inheritance.[10]

Margaret Russell refused to accept this attempt by George Clifford to redirect the intergenerational flow of power from his daughter and direct descendent in favour of the male Clifford line. Unfortunately, the political climate in the newly established court of James VI and I remained hostile to the ladies Elizabeth favoured. As political power in this period continued to be very much centred upon the body of the monarch, the change from a female to a male monarch resulted in direct access to the monarch being mediated through male attendants. James VI and I favoured his male courtiers even to the exclusion of his Queen, creating a further barrier to female influence in his reign.

Margaret Russell, whom Anne described as much loved by Queen Elizabeth, was clearly loathed by James VI and I.[11] Margaret Russell complains in a letter to Lodovick Stuart, the Earl of Lennox 'I know some Ladies that were suspected to bee acquainted with the gunpowder treason that had more grace at the court than I now had'.[12] To Henry Howard, the Earl of Northampton, she wrote: 'I cannot follow the King's house, yett I will attend his going out & coming in & cast aside the thoughts of any scorns I meet with'.[13] While to Edward Bruce, Lord Kinloss she describes her relationship to King James as that of a mouse to a lion.[14] These letters were written after George Clifford's death as Margaret Russell fought to secure the inheritance of the Clifford northern lands for her daughter in opposition to the interests of leading courtiers, most especially Robert Cecil. But even before her husband's death, James showed complete disdain for Margaret Russell. He made no attempts to enforce an agreement entered into by George Clifford to provide support for Margaret Russell after their marital separation. Margaret wrote several pleading letters to James which the King ignored, and which further incensed George against her.[15]

In defending the rights of her daughter, Margaret Russell instead turned to the law and marriage politics in an attempt to secure Anne Clifford's

inheritance, and in this she was initially quite successful. The marriage of Anne Clifford to Richard Sackville secured the patronage of Prince Henry, which Margaret clearly hoped would prove an effective counter-balance to James's hostility.[16] In this way Margaret Russell effectively inserted a male into the equation in the hopes that the gender bias that had influenced George Clifford in the disposition of his estates could in some way be countermanded. In addition several legal victories in the years 1608 and 1609 justified Anne Clifford's claims to the northern lands of her father. Many of the records now found in Anne Clifford's Great Books were selected because they provided clear proof that George Clifford could not legally pass over his daughter and leave these lands to his brother Francis. Unfortunately the death of Prince Henry in 1612 and the marriage of Francis Clifford's son, Henry to Robert Cecil's daughter Frances that same year, threw the decision regarding the lands back into the hostile lap of James I.

These experiences in Anne Clifford's youth were to prove influential in her own political strategies. Her observations of Elizabeth's court convinced her that women could exercise political power effectively, while the deaths of Elizabeth and Prince Henry and the hostility both she and her mother experienced at the hands of James I illustrated the risks of basing political power on a position in court. However, these early experiences did not completely deter Anne Clifford from seeking court-based support for her goals. Her second marriage to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, was contracted because Anne hoped to leverage his position in the court of Charles I to ensure that the northern lands of her father descended to her as stipulated in the 1617 agreement.[17] Herbert was Lord Chamberlain of Charles I's household, and was an important and favoured figure in the court when Anne Clifford married him in 1630.

This last foray into court politics was to prove a final salient—though completely unforeseen—lesson on the dangers of relying on courtly favour in search of the political power necessary for dynasty building and maintenance. The Civil Wars and the deposition and execution of Charles I could have jeopardised Anne Clifford's careful strategy for securing an uncontested inheritance of her father's lands for herself and her heirs. Fortunately, her husband, Philip Herbert, managed to navigate the treacherous political climate by joining the Parliamentarians, thus ensuring that any claims she had to the Clifford lands would be respected, while her daughters' families remained royalist. This allowed Anne Clifford to retain supporters in both camps. The result of this canny political manoeuvring meant that

she inherited her father's estate at her cousin's death uncontested, and that she retained this estate throughout this period of political unrest.[18]

As Clifford watched her family, friends, acquaintances, and the royal family itself suffer unexpected reversals of fortune and loss of power, she was composing her Great Books. In the Great Books she chronicled over 500 years of Veteripont and Clifford power in Westmorland and Craven strongholdings in Yorkshire. The vital contributions by women provided models from which Clifford derived strategies, inspiration, and justification as she witnessed the political disarray of the Civil Wars. Much later Clifford would underline in her copy of John Barclay's *His Argenis*, 'many of us are sicke of Kings diseases in our private fortune: wee are Kings to our Suppliants'.[19] Clifford had watched the effect of 'King's diseases' on her own fortunes and those of others. Her research on the Clifford dynasty convinced her that the remedy was to establish regional political autonomy that could insulate familial interests from the changing fortunes of the monarchy.

She began to enact this strategy as early as 1643 shortly after she inherited the Clifford lands in Westmorland and Skipton. The Civil Wars made the north too dangerous for her to travel there herself. Instead she managed her estates through the use of agents, most especially her cousin John Lowther. Even at a distance Clifford built up loyalties and dispensed patronage in the region in order to consolidate authority in her hands. Upon her arrival in 1649 she immediately began rebuilding Skipton Castle as well as pursuing the reestablishment of her rights in the region, including the renegotiation of tenancies. These actions illustrate Anne's understanding that her power was dependent upon her financial and social position in the area.

These activities soon elicited resistance from her tenants and unwanted scrutiny of the Parliamentarian government, nervous at the reestablishment of a possible royal stronghold at Skipton. Clifford had cannily avoided involvement in the wars, maintaining relations with important parliamentarian figures, even while her daughters, son-in-laws, and grandsons suffered under the penalties imposed for their royalist activities. Her apparent neutrality served her well when her carefully planned activities in Yorkshire came under attack. At this point she appealed to Adam Baynes, a parliamentarian officer also described as a 'key satellite' of Cromwell's Major General John Lambert.[20] Baynes was also a kinsman of Clifford's client Richard Clapham, and in 1649 Baynes was appointed as a Member of Parliament for Appleby by Richard Cromwell—a borough that was

increasingly under her own political control. On September 10, 1659 Clifford wrote to Baynes concerning a threatened second slighting of Skipton Castle:

> I have bin informed as well by your kinsman Master Richard Clapham, as by other hands, howe much I have bin obliged to you for your readines to afford mee all friendly offices and respects in any of my businesses, wherein I have had justice and right on my side; which I shall ever thankfully acknowledge to you. Itt is the vindication of my just rights, that hath created mee (unjustly) some enemyes in theis parts who not beinge able to compass their ends in a legall manner, seek to doe itt by way of revenge, in endeavoringe to have my castle of Skipton pulld downe & demolisht and to that end I am informed, have beene procuringe hands to a Peticion against itt.

> I hope itt cannot, by any honest or good men, bee objected to mee as a crime; in makinge my owne house, att my owne charge; an habitable place; which before I assure you Sir itt was not nor sufficient to contayne my selfe and my family [household] with ordinary accommodacion. This Sir, is my condicion, and I doubt not but I may have the favor and assistance of all good men to preserve mee from violence; and the continuance of yours, as opportunitie shal bee offered.[21]

In this letter Clifford asserts her rights and portrays those who act against her as intransigent men with no respect for law or decency, attacking her simply because she has defended her ancient manorial rights. She was at the time taking legal action against her tenants in Skipton as she sought to update tenancy agreements. The courts upheld her claims against her tenants, who were forced to accept Anne's terms. But resentment lingered and Anne believed—or at least wished to believe—that the threat to Skipton Castle was a result of these resentments, rather than legitimate military concerns. She also positioned herself within gender and cultural norms, which she hoped would elicit a normed response from Baynes. By describing Skipton as her house and her rebuilding efforts as a response to the needs of her family or household, Clifford attempted to present herself as the responsible matron who sees to the needs of her dependents. Her plea to Baynes and all 'good men to preserve mee from violence' works within this cultural subject position calling upon accepted expectations (albeit idealised ones) for men to protect women, especially widows, and for widows to provide adequate care for their dependents.

Her next letter to Baynes, written a month later, again engages with these norms, but also employs ameliorative language and counter-offers that address possible military concerns, as well as inferring that her support is wide-ranging. The subtext suggests that her friends could be Baynes's friends should he prove effective in his assistance to her:

> I am confident this castle of myne will never bee found to be any such place of strength if it were viewed by persons of judgement and indifferently. If so much favour might bee procured for mee from the House either by a reference to Major Generall Lilburne or some other officers of the army, justices of peace, or other gentlemen of quality in the countey to view the place and to certify the untenablenesse strength, or what might bee done to make it soe with the least prejudice that it may not be left to the giddy-headed multitude to throw it downe, then I should nott doubt that my house would suffer any greate harme. And to this purpose I have now sent upp your kinsmann Mr Richard Clapham; both to informe yourselfe & other my good freindes more particularly of the condition thereof, and to imploy my interest with my freindes in the House and others for the accomplishing of this my desire.[22]

It is unclear whether it was Clifford's political connections, pleas to Major General Lambert, her argument that Skipton Castle was not militarily viable, or the march of George Monck and his army from the north in January and his triumphant entry into London in February, that saved Skipton Castle. The last months of 1659 were perilous ones, but Clifford navigated these successfully, preserving her stronghold in Skipton.

The 1650s were a time of consolidation of Clifford's authority in the north. Her major challenges were the political instability of the period and her struggles with her tenants. As her letters to Baynes illustrate, she maintained political connections in Cromwell's government while at the same time avoiding any taint of active support that could have costly consequences should Charles II be reinstated. She was aided in maintaining this delicate political balance by her daughters and son-in-laws who were staunch Royalists. When her castles were garrisoned by Parliamentarian forces, she passively acquiesced.[23] Her comments on the summer disturbances of 1651 give a clear indication of her concern about 'Kings' diseases' when she notes in her summary of that year:

> Manie places of Westmorland and especially my castle of Aplebie was full of soldiers who lay here a great parte of that sommer. Butt I thank God I

> received no harme or dammage by them nor by the King [Charles II] and his army who thatt August came into England and within sixe or seven myles of Apleby Castle though they came not to yt.[24]

Clifford's concern is clearly the safety of her lands, not the wider political conflicts being played out regionally and nationally. Her political activities during this period, as indeed throughout her life, were designed to safeguard her lands for posterity, an important goal for both men and women of the period. If courtly intrigue had suggested to her early in life the dangers of over-reliance on any one court or monarch, the war made clear that the wisest political course was to position oneself ambiguously and attempt to negotiate crises through a network of connections in several camps. This political strategy in the last decade of the Interregnum worked to protect Clifford's holdings in the north from external political forces.

However, in order to truly secure her position she also needed to assert her authority upon the region itself. Initially she attempted to position herself as a benevolent maternal figure, using rhetoric similar to that employed by Queen Elizabeth. In a letter delivered to John Lowther in April 1644 and intended for her tenants in Westmorland she wrote:

> This is to desire my good and lovinge tennentts in Westmorland nott to paye anney renttes or fines thatt are grone due to mee since the deathe of my cosen garrmain the latte Earl of Cumberland butt to keepe such rentees or fines due to mee in ther one [own] handes tille you shall receve farder partichulur derecxciques [directions] from mee under my one hand writtinge […] which will increase my love, and good meninge [meaning] more and more to all my tennantes in Westmorland hom [whom] I intend iff God spare my life to bee a good Land Laddy to you all.[25]

However, a later undated draft of a letter to these same tenants, while reiterating her commitment to be a good and generous landlady to them, also strongly defends her ancestral rights and signals her intention to insist on the tenants' obedient acceptance of these:

> They [the tenants] have moved mee earnestly to limitte my […] sucksessors, in the lands to take from them heere-after butt 7^{d} [shilling] fine; which request I have absoluttley denied. Yett to express my greatt love to this countrey, and my tennents in it; I do by this writing in my one [own] hand declare that itt is my ernest desire, and a charge I laye itt on my posterety,

> that thay never gooe aboutt to rase unreasonable fines in this countrey […] Butt to bee good landlordes to them [the tenants] after the commendable costom of my dessessed Noble Ancisteres the Vetrepontes and Cliffordes; who hath bin suckcesssley Lorde and Barrons of Westmerland from the 5: yeare of Kinge Johns time till now; and most of them good to ther tennants […] [However, concerning the tenants claims] In regarde itt is absoluttley in my power to give and dispose of my landes in this countrey of Westmorland to hom I please.[26]

This mixture of implacable insistence on her rights along with a rhetoric of benevolence illustrates Clifford's strategy as she imposed her authority on the northern lands of her inheritance. Her many benevolent and charitable works were accompanied by her vigilant defence of her rights in courts, her eviction of recalcitrant tenants, and in one case the execution of one of the ringleaders in the disastrously ill-conceived Kaber Rigg plot. Clifford records his execution in her summary of 1664:

> In which time they kept the assizes in the moothall in Appleby towne where Robert Atkinson one of my tennants in Mallerstang and that had been my great enemy was condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered as a traitor to the King for having a hand in the late plott and conspiracie so as he was executed accordingly the first day of the month followinge.[27]

And while technically his execution was a result of his treason, his leadership of the Westmorland tenants against Clifford's demands was part of his larger political resistance towards the reestablishment of feudal rights in Westmorland. His participation in the Kaber Rigg plot and his legal challenges to Clifford's rights in Westmorland were part of the same political impetus.

Clifford sited her rights in her ancestral heritage. Her careful collecting of documents related to these rights and compiled in the Great Books created a body of proof that was unassailable, and she was able to defeat her tenants in Skipton and in Westmorland in the courts. Most (with the exception of agitators like Atkinson) eventually accepted this defeat and sought a more amiable relationship with Clifford resulting in a state of mutual reciprocity in the region (again recalling Queen Elizabeth's preferred political strategy). Clifford rebuilt the infrastructure of Westmorland and Skipton using local labour, bought vast amounts of foodstuffs and other goods from local producers and vendors, provided patronage for young men and women, increased educational opportunities for many, funded projects to care for

the indigent elderly, and even provided support to lessen the suffering of prisoners in Westmorland jails. She promoted the careers of gentlemen in the region placing them in lucrative local offices and using her connections in the south and her network of relatives to provide opportunities for these gentlemen and their sons outside of Westmorland and Yorkshire, which in turn increased her own political position more widely.

A particularly good example of the strength of her political position in Westmorland and Westminster in the later years of her life is the well-documented attempt to elect Joseph Williamson as a member of parliament for Appleby, which she opposed. Horace Walpole is the source for the most famous quotation attributed to Clifford relating to this affair. Walpole records her stating, 'I have been bullied by a usurper, I have been neglected by a Court, but will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man shan't stand'.[28] George Williamson, in his early twentieth-century biography of Clifford makes a compelling case for the apocryphal nature of this statement. However, letters concerning Joseph Williamson's unsuccessful attempt to be elected as the MP for Appleby show Clifford as politically confident and secure as this quotation suggests.

The episode began after the death of John Lowther, cousin to Clifford in 1667. Quickly machinations began to place Williamson in the vacant seat. Williamson was a private secretary to Henry Bennet, First Earl of Arlington. Arlington was Secretary of State, a member of the Privy Council of Charles II and was a significant voice in the setting of policy in Charles's reign. However, his powerful political position had no effect on Clifford. Once she heard of the machinations afoot by others to put forth Joseph Williamson as a candidate, she quickly wrote to Joseph stating:

> I received your letter of this 11th of this moneth by the last post, as alsoe my cozen Mr John Dalston of Acornbanke, his desyres to mee, to yet the same effect on your behalfe, that I would imploy my interest in Appleby, to procure you to bee chosen Burgesse there in the place of my cosen John Lowther lately deceased. I should have been very willinge, Sir, to have done you service therein, but that I had a prior engagement upon mee both for my owne grandchildren in the southerne parts, and some of my own kindred and friends in these. Which I hope you will take in good part as a reasonable apollogie for my selfe in this businesse.[29]

This letter was Clifford's first and last word on the subject, though it took several powerful men of the region and the country much longer to realise this. Clifford's confidence in her ability to dictate to the elec-

tors of Appleby reveals how firmly she had established her will in the area by 1668. And it also provides insight into the way in which Clifford was working with her daughter Margaret to ensure that her political strength endured beyond her own life, empowering her descendants.

Soon Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesey and also of the Privy Council, entered the scene in support of Williamson's candidacy, this time by applying pressure on Margaret Sackville, Clifford's daughter. Clifford wrote to her daughter, 'I intend not to recede from my first resolves'.[30] At the same time four leading gentlemen of Westmorland sent a joint petition to Clifford asking that she support Williamson's candidacy, to which she replied,

> I beg leave to returne you this short, and I hope, satisfactory answere; that I was engaged to my daughter of Thanet's three younger sons, John, Richard, and Thomas Tufton, nor of them shall accept thereof, beside my promise to other of my kindred if they refuse it. And thus much I signified by a letter of my owne to Mr Williamson himselfe [...] from her who is gentlemen, your assured friend and humble servant Anne Pembroke.[31]

The supporters of Williamson refused to accept Clifford's position and continued to agitate for their candidate, approaching the Tufton grandsons to encourage them to step aside, and sending more appeals to Margaret Sackville to convince either her mother or her sons to support Williamson. This activity in and of itself illustrates the vital importance of Clifford's endorsement of any candidate, for as Dr Thomas Smith, brother to the mayor of Appleby, explained to Williamson that while the 'whole county wishes to have you chosen [...] they of Appleby, having so absolute a dependence upon her (as indeed they have) it would be vain to strive against that stream'.[32]

It was left for Lord Arlington to make the final push to influence Clifford, which resulted in a forthright letter from her dated February 6, 1668. First she makes clear that it was she, and not her daughter nor her grandsons, who were responsible for her decision to 'attempt the makeing of one of her [Margaret's] younger sonnes a Burgesse for Appleby'. In this way she sought to minimise any political damage to her daughter and grandsons by focusing Arlington's irritation on her only. She further explains that 'I think I am bound in honor and conscience to strive to maintaine my owne, as far as it lyes in my power'. She acknowledges, perhaps slightly disingenuously, that she cannot enforce her will upon the

electors, but asserts again her intention to stand firmly for her grandsons or kinsmen, ‘If it should happen otherwise, I will submitt to it with patience, but will never yield my consent’. Finally, she both acknowledges Arlington’s power, and then turns this back upon him, alluding to his duty to those beyond his current favourite:

> I know very well how powerfull a man a Secretarie of State is throughout all our Kings dominions; so as I am confident your Lordshipp, by your favour and recommendacions might quickly help this Mr Joseph Williamson to a burgesshipp, without doing wrong or discourtesy to a widow that was but 2 of fourescore yeares old; and to her grandchildren, whose father and mother suffered as much in their worldly fortunes for the King as most of his Majesties subjects did.[33]

Here she upholds the worthiness of her grandsons, the suffering of their parents and her position as a very old widow. This was a position she used before in the letters regarding the threatened slighting of Skipton Castle. In this way she attempted to shame her adversary using contemporary gender norms, while simultaneously occupying a position of some political strength.

This is a brief summary of what was a veritable flurry of letters in the last two weeks of January and the first week of February in 1668. These letters reveal the unassailable political position Clifford had secured in her northern lands, and reveal her determination to ensure that her daughter, her Tufton grandsons, and her granddaughter Alathea Compton by her second daughter, Isabella, would enjoy the same political strength in the region as she did. The successful candidate in the election was Thomas Tufton, fourth son of Margaret Sackville. Thomas held the Westmorland and Skipton inheritance for 45 years—after the deaths of his grandmother, mother, and three brothers who all died within eight years of each other. Like his grandmother, he would base his political strength on a network of patronage and financial interests derived from his estates in the north and in Kent, rather than his position at court. Again, like his grandmother, he looked to the Great Books as both a place for instruction and proof of rights. His own additions to the Great Books were concerned with firmly establishing his rights to the Clifford barony, and maintaining the ancestral rights that had come to him through the Veteriponts and Cliffords—especially the sheriffwick of Westmorland, the only remaining hereditary sheriffwick in the country. Clifford’s choice of this grandson for the MP

for Appleby reveals a keen judgement, and while she lived he promoted her agenda on the wider political stage.

Clifford's early training in the court of Elizabeth taught her valuable lessons concerning strategies for, and the very nature of, political power. The Queen's death and the subsequent humiliations of both her aunt Anne Russell and her mother, and later the collapse of the court and execution of Charles I, impressed upon Clifford the dangers of relying on court patronage for personal advancement. Instead, the history of her ancestors, with which she became intimately acquainted through the great legal battles of her youth and her later manuscript productions, convinced her that political power was built upon the strength of regional authority—in this way her ancestors had survived the political vicissitudes of over 500 years mostly unscathed. It was only in those times when they suffered from the 'King's diseases', most especially the fifteenth-century civil wars, that their power was endangered.

When Clifford arrived at the ruined Skipton Castle in July of 1649 she embarked on a programme of reconstructing the lands of her inheritance both physically and socially, positioning herself as the centre of social, political, and financial stability in a region that had been devastated by war. She did this through the insistence on her ancient—often feudal—land rights, through the dispensing of patronage and largesse, and with a canny understanding of the way in which she could turn the cultural restrictions imposed upon her gender into a strength. She maintained a wide network of connections in the governments of Charles I and Charles II, and in the Interregnum parliaments. In her lands in the North she grew to exercise nearly autonomous control. Her biographer Robert Spence describes her as behaving like 'surrogate northern royalty'.[34] Certainly this is how she was viewed both by her contemporaries and later biographers. The bishop of Carlisle, Edward Rainbow eulogised her as resembling the 'Great, Wise Queen' Elizabeth, while her household officer, the gentleman George Sedgewick wrote in his private autobiography: 'A great estate God had blest her with and given her withall a noble heart and an open and liberall hand to doe good generally to all'.[35] In the nineteenth century, John Craik commented that she was seen as the 'Queen of the North'.[36] These statements testify to Clifford's successful political strategy in the 'lands of her inheritance'. She bequeathed both this strategy and her political dominance to her descendants, who continued to enjoy considerable authority in the area for another two centuries and even today retain a degree of influence in the region.

Notes

1. Anne Clifford, *Great Books of Record*, ed. Jessica L. Malay (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015). All three extant manuscript sets are held by the Cumbria Archive Service, Kendal, UK. Each set of the Great Books is in three volumes and are comprised of copies of historical documents, biographies and a large autobiographical section that includes both retrospective memoir and yearly summaries of her life.
2. Earl of Cumberland's letter to Anne, Countess of Warwick, Cumbria Archive Service, Hoth A988/7. Spelling will be retained as it appears in the manuscripts from which the quotations are taken throughout this chapter.
3. Anne, Countess of Warwick to Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, WD Hoth, Box 44. Cumbria Archive Service.
4. George Clifford's brother was Francis Clifford who had a son Henry. It is clear that the brothers worked together in furtherance of George Clifford's elevation in court. At this time Clifford had only one surviving child, Anne, but evidence suggests that Margaret Clifford may have believed or at least hoped to have further pregnancies.
5. from 1594 to 1597.
6. Anne Clifford, *The Memoir of 1603 and The Diary of 1616–1619*, ed. Katherine O. Acheson (Ontario: Broadview, 2007), p. 43.
7. Acheson, p. 45.
8. Acheson, p. 50.
9. Richard T. Spence, *The Privateering Earl: George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland*, 1558–1605 (Stroud: Sutton, 1995), p. 187.
10. Letter from Margaret Russell to Edward Bruce, December 11, 1608, Portland Papers, PO/VOL. XXIII, Longleat House Archives, Wiltshire, p. 52.
11. Great Books, p. 711.
12. Letter from Margaret Russell to Lodovick Stuart, July 1606, WD Hoth, Box 44, Cumbria Archives, Kendal,; also in Portland Papers, p. 45
13. Portland papers p. 43
14. Portland papers p. 52.
15. Draft petitions to James I, 1603. Cumbria Archives, Kendal. Box 44.
16. See Jessica L. Malay, 'The Marrying of Anne Clifford: Marriage Strategy in the Clifford Inheritance Dispute', *Northern History* 159.2 (2012), pp. 251–264.
17. The 1617 Agreement reiterated George Clifford's intention, stated in his will, that should the male line of his brother, Francis Clifford fail, the lands would descend to his daughter Anne Clifford and her heirs. By the late 1620s Henry Clifford's only living children were daughters and it was

unlikely his ageing wife would bear more children. All three of their sons died in infancy.

18. This strategy had a high personal cost as members of her family were imprisoned and exiled while she endured an abusive marriage.
19. John Barclay, *His Argenis* (London, 1625), p. 197. Anne Clifford's copy is Huntington Library, CSmH RB 97024, San Marino, California.
20. David Farr, *John Lambert, Parliamentary Soldier and Cromwellian Major-general, 1619–1684* (Woodbridge, Sussex: Boydell, 2003), p. 94. Lambert was from a Skipton family.
21. Letter from Anne Clifford to Adam Baynes, September 10, 1659, British Library, Additional 2145 f. 127. Vertically in the left hand margin, Anne Clifford writes: 'I assure you Sir the addition I have made in this castle, is only a sleight superstructure upon some parts of the Old Wall, not above two foote thicknes & noe way considerable att all for strength, as hath bin adjudged, by such as have skill & knowledge in matters of this nature. I beseech you Sir, present this inclosed letter from mee to my Lord Lambert'.
22. Letter from Anne Clifford to Adam Baynes, October 3, 1659, British Library, Additional 2145, f. 148.
23. Appleby was garrisoned with Parliamentarian forces in the summer of 1651, and Skipton in the summer of 1659
24. *Great Books*, p. 818.
25. Letter Anne Clifford to Westmorland tenants, April 4, 1644, Cumbria Archives, Carlisle, DLons/L1/1/28/2.
26. Letter Anne Clifford to Westmorland tenants, c. 1650, Cumbria Archives, Kendal, Hoth 44.
27. *Great Books*, p. 865.
28. George Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford* (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1922), p. 285. This quotation is found in *The World*, April 5, 1753.
29. Letter from Anne Clifford to Joseph Williamson, January 16, 1668. National Archives, SP 29/232, f.191.
30. Letter from Anne Clifford to Margaret Sackville, January 17, 1668. National Archives, SP 29/232, f.203.
31. Letter from Anne Clifford to Westmorland gentlemen, January 18, 1668. National Archives, SP 29/232, f.214.
32. Letter from Dr Thomas Smith to Joseph Williamson, January 18, 1668. National Archives, SP 29/232 f.238.
33. Letter from Anne Clifford to Lord Arlington, February 6, 1668. National Archives, SP 29/234 f.161.
34. Richard Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud: Stroud: Sutton), p. 204.
35. George Sedgewick, Diary, Cumbria Archives, Carlisle. D Lons/L 12/2/16, p. 75.
36. George Lillie Craik, *The Romance of the Peerage*, vol. 4 (London, 1850), p. 128.

PART III

Rebellion

CHAPTER 10

Bare-Forked Animals: *King Lear* and the Problems of Patriarchalism

Su Fang Ng

Shakespeare's *King Lear* is a tragedy of a king whose political division of the kingdom sets in motion a domestic breakdown in father–child relations. Familial relations go badly awry when Lear's own foolish act undoes political hierarchy. Lear's failure as a king stems from this sovereign act, but the play is both a domestic and a political tragedy. Lear's doubled identity as both king and father is central. He names himself as both when seeking recourse from Regan: 'The King would speak with Cornwall; the dear father / Would with his daughter speak, commands, tends service'.[1] These lines encapsulate the deeply ironic paradox of his situation: he that would command must tend service. It soon becomes clear that his act of dissolution has rendered him neither father nor king, the very 'nothing' to which he condemns Cordelia. By so merging family and state politics, the play offers a view of the patriarchal political theory espoused by England's new King, James VI and I.

Notoriously difficult to read, Shakespeare's family politics in *Lear* sometimes appears to be in opposition to the works of Shakespeare's own royal patron. Yet the play invites such a reading. While parent–child rela-

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tions abound in Shakespeare, *King Lear* is more insistent than most on the identity of father and king and the dire consequences of the father-king's failings for the children and for the state. As scholars note, Shakespeare's early Jacobean plays seem to comment on matters of interest to the new monarch, who became patron to his company, renamed the King's Men in 1603 with James' accession. *Macbeth* (c. 1606), which flatters James, who traces his line back to Banquo, and *Measure for Measure* (performed 1604), whose Duke has been compared to James, are among Shakespeare's early Jacobean plays responding to issues and concerns brought to the fore by England's new King. *King Lear* too could be viewed as a play that flatters the King with the Duke of Albany (Albania being the old name for Scotland), the one good kingly character remaining at the end of the play who, in at least in one version, becomes the new ruler of a united Britain, much like the Scottish James himself wished to do. As Richard Halpern notes, '*King Lear* is studded with references to James' policies and predilections and was clearly composed with a court performance in mind', and further suggests that *Lear* responds to the 'Union Controversy' of 1604–1608.[2] Not merely a play that flatters James, *King Lear* also, in its dark vision of social breakdown, engages and tests the limits of his theories of sovereignty, especially the idea of king as *pater patriae*, father of his country.

One of the things the English quickly learnt about their new King was his view of kingship. As King of Scotland, James published, albeit anonymously, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598) and *Basilikon Doron* (1599) in a very limited run of seven copies for private distribution. Both these works were later reprinted more widely (in Edinburgh just before the death of Elizabeth I, and in London soon after her death and James' accession to the English throne), and thus were easily accessible by his new subjects. James' conception of kingship is encapsulated in the term *pater patriae*, the king as father of his country. A notion explored in detail in both *Trew Law* and *Basilikon Doron*, it posits that the king derives authority from his analogous position to that of a father.[3] In *Trew Law* James claims:

> The King towards his people is rightly compared to a father of children, and to a head of a body composed of diuers members: For as fathers, the good Princes, and Magistrates of the people of God acknowledged themselues to their subiects. And for all other well ruled Common-wealths, the stile of *Pater patriae* was euer, and is commonly vsed to Kings.[4]

James' conception of authority is bolstered by his belief in the divine origin of kingly sovereignty. In addition, *Trew Law* avers that the king's paternal authority is based on his creation of the state through the legal act of distributing land, a point important for my reading of *King Lear*.

At the foundation of patriarchal political theory is the equation of father and king, positing that the king derives his authority from his status as father to the nation. Reading the contours of political patriarchalism as outlined in James VI and I's works and Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* against *King Lear*, I suggest that Shakespeare puts this fundamental assumption under considerable pressure. Goneril and Regan are shockingly unkind even when Lear surely remains their (biological) father. The ground of patriarchalism is unstable. Political patriarchalism's conflation of father and king means that paternal authority is transferred as easily as that of a king. In *King Lear,* the political deployment of the father-king analogy hollows out the meaning of fatherhood. Lear has no paternal power without kingly authority. Ultimately, the king's engrossing of paternal power—fundamental to political patriarchalism—is presented as dangerous and politically destabilising. By the end of Shakespeare's surprisingly unorthodox *King Lear*, neither monarchical nor paternal authority can sustain the state.

Allegiance and Territory

Repeating his error in disavowing Cordelia almost immediately with his treatment of Kent, who attempts to offer counsel, Lear turns as savagely on him:

> Hear me, recreant; on thine allegiance hear me!
> That thou hast sought to make us break our vows,
> Which we durst never yet, and with strained pride
> To come betwixt our sentence and our power. (1.1.164–167)

The question of allegiance is paramount in Lear's relations with almost every character in the play. Lear equates Kent's allegiance as subject with his submission to the King's law-making words. Both Cordelia's and Kent's attempts to offer counsel are utterly rejected. For Lear, allegiance must be a complete obedience, and he treats Kent and Cordelia similarly. Touching on crucial issues of authority and allegiance raised in James VI and I's *Trew Law* and *Basilikon Doron*, Shakespeare's *King Lear* calls into question the unlimited authority attributed to the king based on the paternal analogy.

Familial ties are displaced by relations based on naked power. In this section, I consider how the first act exposes power relations between king and subject in light of James' belief that kingship is grounded in property. Showing the weaknesses of patriarchalism's insistence on absolute obedience to the father-king, *King Lear* understands the problem of allegiance to be tied to land ownership and territory.

James VI and I wrote *Trew Law* instructing subjects on their duty with the expressed intent to prevent rebellions. So important is civil obedience—loyalty and allegiance—that *Trew Law* ranks it next to religious faith as 'a thing so necessarie to be knowne […] especially in a *Monarchie*' (p. 63). Responding to tyrannicides like his own tutor George Buchanan, who argued for the justice of rebellion against bad kings, James begins with the assumption that '*Monarchie* is the trew paterne of Diuinitie' and that 'Kings are called Gods' (64), going on to describe the king's role as 'louing Father' (p. 65). Although initially *Trew Law* stresses the king's benevolence, James rejects limits to monarchical power. In an extended passage arguing by analogy for the king's fatherly duty to his subjects, James moves from duty of care to the privilege to chastise:

> By the Law of Nature the King becomes a naturall Father to all his Lieges at his Coronation: And as the Father of his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education, and vertuous gouernment of his children; euen so is the king bound to care for all his subiects […] As the fathers wrath and correction vpon any of his children that offendeth, ought to be by a fatherly chastisement seasoned with pitie, as long as there is any hope of amendment in them; so ought the King towards any of his Lieges that offend in that measure. (p. 65)

Although punishment is leavened with pity, James is clear that no resistance from subjects can be justified, no matter how bad the king. To illustrate the point, he offers a startling image of a father who attempts to kill his offspring: 'Yea, suppose the father were furiously following his sonnes with a drawen sword, is it lawfull for them to turne and strike againe, or make any resistance but by flight?' (p. 77). The only resistance permissible is the passive act of flight.

The father-king's absolute right is portrayed by Lear's arbitrary judgments in the opening scene, raising the question, so paramount in *Trew Law*, of whether resisting a bad king is permitted. Because king–subject relations are imagined in familial terms, the first scene stages Lear's

disavowal of not one but two children. Thus Kent reminds Lear of their bonds of affection and duty: 'Royal Lear, / Whom I have ever honoured as my King, / Loved as my father, as my master followed, / As my great patron thought on in my prayers' (1.1.137–40). Lear's repeated refusal to listen provokes Kent into rudeness: 'Be Kent unmannerly, / When Lear is mad' (1.1.143–144). Not heeding Kent's plea that Lear let him 'still remain / The true blank of thine eye' (1.1.157–158), that is, to be his wise counsellor, Lear threatens him with violence. Like James' example of the father who pursues his sons with a drawn sword, so Lear gives Kent (and Cordelia) only the options of death or exile.

Lear's response to Kent marks the failure of counsel. For Lear, who seems a proponent of James' ideas, the king as father compels absolute obedience. However, Kent's dissenting opinion suggests an alternative view of the analogy as enabling relations of counsel. Sharing Kent's view, Cordelia too tries to offer counsel. While her first response is to say 'Nothing' (1.1.85), she has much to say on the duties and obligations of familial bonds, much that seems critical of James' absolutism. The complete devotion Lear demands, as Cordelia points out, elevates the father's role and the father–child bond to the exclusion and distortion of other familial relations: 'Why have my sisters husbands, if they say / They love you all?' (1.1.97–98). Events would prove Lear's attempt to create a world without other relations and loyalties foolhardy. Later he would be respected neither as father nor as king. As William Dodd suggests, 'The love test, with its devastating political and personal consequences, starkly spells out the risks inherent in the absolutist mix of the dynastic and the familial'.[5]

Although Lear and James VI and I view wrathful chastisement as paternal prerogative, inherited traditions of counsel emphasise the need for kings to listen to advisors. James' *Basilikon Doron*, an instruction book for his heir Henry, makes a major generic revision to the genre of mirrors to princes. The European Middle Ages' most popular mirror, *Secretum Secretorum*, which continued to circulate in early modern England, purports to be Aristotle's advice to Alexander the Great. In *Basilikon Doron*, James compares Prince Henry to Alexander and himself to Philip of Macedon, a comparison taken up by others: Isaac Wake, Oxford University Orator, praises Henry, who entered Magdalen College, as an Alexander to James' Philip and Aristotle.[6] But playing the role of counsellor, James shifts the genre's dynamics. He is both king and counsellor. This closed

world leaves no room for the subject's counsel. In James' terms, Lear's disinheriting of Cordelia is just since he believes her wicked. But Kent is a reminder of the older traditions of counsel. *King Lear* depicts the problems that arise when the links that tie monarch and subject through counsel are short-circuited.

These broken links result from the violent power dynamics permitted by James' theories and enacted by Lear. The love-test may be seen as a familial version of the Oath of Allegiance passed by Parliament in 1606 against Catholics in response to the Gunpowder Plot. Resting on the assumptions of *Trew Law*, 'the ideological foundations of the oath of allegiance', M. C. Questier argues, 'were potentially a model for the royal supremacy'.[7] J. P. Sommerville contends that James pursued an absolutist programme: 'James and his supporters in this controversy claimed that kings derived their powers from God alone and were therefore accountable to neither pope nor people. They portrayed kings as sovereign lawmakers, not as bound by the law of the land'.[8] By rejecting subjects' right to give counsel, Lear declares himself not accountable to the people. The unbalanced power relation is starkly visible as he demands absolute allegiance, which ultimately must be coerced.

Relations of power between subject and king have a material basis in Shakespeare's play. Lear tries to gain allegiance by giving or withholding land. But in disowning Cordelia, Lear undoes the English tradition of heritability of property, which grounds familial and political relations. Inviting Cordelia to say her part, Lear offers her the inducement of property: 'To thee and thine, hereditary ever, / Remain this ample third of our fair kingdom' (1.1.78–79). What was 'hereditary ever' with the doom of his words becomes transferable. Exploring Kent's association with the county's independent spirit, Ronald Cooley argues that the character ultimately defends primogeniture, in opposition to the widespread usage of partible inheritance in the county of Kent; *King Lear*'s Kent thus represents the interests of the region's aristocracy, who follow the nation's more common practices of primogeniture.[9] Cooley follows R. A. Foakes, who noted that the alteration from the Quarto's 'Reverse thy doom' to the Folio's 'Reserve thy state' (1.1.147) changes Kent's criticism to that of the project of dividing the kingdom.[10] However, Kent defends Cordelia even in the Folio: 'Thy youngest daughter does not love thee least' (1.1.150). Rather than a radical shift from the defence of Cordelia to the critique of partible inheritance, Lear's phrase about prop-

erty as 'hereditary ever' foregrounds issues of breakable and unbreakable familial bonds.

The division of the kingdom has been read as an inverted allusion to King James' proposal for Union of Scotland and England.[11] In *Basilikon Doron*, James advises Henry:

> And in case it please God to prouide you to all these three Kingdomes, make your eldest sonne *Isaac*, leauing him all your kingdomes; and prouide the rest with priuate possessions: Otherwayes by deuiding your kingdomes, yee shall leaue the seed of diuision and discord among your posteritie; as befell to this Ile, by the diuision and assignement thereof, to the three sonnes of *Brutus*, *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*. (p. 42)

In *King Lear* the chaos following the division suggests sympathy to the Union project. Yet the Union question can obscure rather than enlighten. The first scene may be read instead as the exchange of land for political allegiance, an exchange Cordelia rejects.

Some time ago Harry Jaffa suggested that Lear is merely anticipating what would happen after his death. Even if Lear has a son, says Jaffa, he 'would still have had to gain the support of major powers in the kingdom—and abroad—for his settlement. And he had to bind them to that settlement by both pledges and self-interest in order to assure its durability'.[12] Like any English king, Lear needs the support of the lords of territories in the peripheries to maintain control. The division is to bring about political unity: as Lear says, that 'future strife / May be prevented now' (1.1.43–44). Jaffa insists that Lear's 'delegation of authority to his sons-in-law remained fundamentally distinguished from an abdication'.[13] The love-test 'was to supply [...] pledges of support for the division of the kingdom which [Lear] was in process of announcing', whereby Cordelia would inherit the richest part of the kingdom, and thus support was sought especially from the other sisters who might conceivably object.[14]

The scene of the kingdom's division lends itself to an alternate Jacobean reading once we recall how King James attributed law-making powers to the king by linking it to the act of distributing land. In *Trew Law* James asserts that by the kings of Scotland 'was the land distributed (which at the first was whole theirs) states erected and decerned, and formes of gouernement deuised and established' (p. 73). As part of a larger argument that 'the King is aboue the law' (p. 75), land turns out to be foundational to Jacobean sovereignty. Referring to the first King Fergus from Ireland,

James argues, 'The kings therefore in *Scotland* were before any estates or rankes of men within the same, before any Parliaments were holden, or lawes made' and thus 'kings were the authors and makers of the Lawes, and not the Lawes of the kings' (p. 73). But kings are lawmakers upon the ground of property. James describes kings as '*Dominus omnium bonorum*, and *Dominus directus totius Dominij*, the whole subiects being but his vassals, and from him holding all their lands as their ouer-lord' (p. 73).

Richard Halpern argues from this passage that 'James's use of feudal precedent focused far less on medieval theories of royal power than on feudal property law' and 'asserted that the crown was a piece of inherited property'; indeed, 'Not only the crown but, in James's mind, the entire kingdom and its inhabitants ultimately belonged to him as landlord; and it is this *property* relation that secured his political authority'.[15] Halpern's insight can be taken further. For James, the king is not only landowner, but establishes law through the original act of distributing land. The distribution of land is the origin of kingship. Thus, I suggest that we consider Lear's act as an emblem of the king's role as a distributor of land. My argument is consonant with Curtis Perry's reading of Lear as King James' 'nourish-father'—or nursing father, a term James takes from Isaiah 49 to describe the king as nurturer of his people—who is 'at once an ideal and symptomatically unstable'.[16] Focusing on *King Lear*'s engagement with Jacobean theoretical justifications for absolute monarchy, I emphasise how the royal munificence Perry examines is given a legal basis, once the link between Lear's act and James' theory of the king as property-giver is recognised.

Lear certainly thinks his act of distributing lands is not one of complete divestment of kingship. In his instructions to Cornwall and Albany, he says 'we will divest us both of rule, / Interest of territory, cares of state' (1.1.47–48). Still, he tries to retain monarchical privileges: 'Only we shall retain / The name and all th'addition to a king. The sway, / Revenue, execution of the rest, / Belovèd sons, be yours' (1.1.133–136). Richard Halpern interprets *Lear* as located in the timeless space of romance. But when read against *Trew Law*, this instruction suggests a particular moment in that romance: the originary moment of the state's establishment. Etiological stories are inevitably mythic, and James' story of Scotland's foundation is no different. James identifies that originary moment in the legal act of distributing land.

Trew Law's aetiology of the state as founded in land distribution fits James' self-image as a magnanimous king. His well-known munificence, however, caused him political difficulties as he drained the royal coffers

dry.[17] Perry interprets Lear's distribution as part of a failure of kingly munificence or generosity in Shakespeare's play. But if, according to James, the power to distribute land is what makes kings, Lear is settling a more stable state and attempting, as Jaffa suggests, to maintain control over territories represented by Albany and Cornwall (Scotland and the west country). *King Lear*'s romance time suggests the scene may be an allegory of the state's originary institution: Lear is *pater patriae* because he gives out land.

Inheritance's importance is evident elsewhere in the play. Aside from the subplot involving Gloucester's sons (and the connotations of Kent's name), there is another allusion to primogeniture versus partible inheritance in the rivalry between Burgundy and France. Like the potential rivalry of Albany and Cornwall, theirs must also be seen in territorial terms. In the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) fought between England and France over control of France, with French territories coming in and out of English power, control over the duchy of Burgundy was separated from the French crown. John II of France gave it to his youngest son, Philip the Bold, leading to the situation of the Dukes of Burgundy becoming rivals to France. Although Gloucester's practice of primogeniture does not prevent violent conflict over inheritance, John's historical act of partible inheritance did no better, leading to political division and conflict.[18] As primogeniture and partible inheritance are pitted against each other in the play, familial conflicts are manifestations of territorial disputes.

Interrogating the property-based theoretical foundations of James' conception of kingship, *King Lear* shows how land distribution creates the very problem it is meant to prevent. Allegiance cannot be firmly secured through this means. By the end of the play, Cordelia's actions raise the spectre of rebellion. Her sisters are unfaithful daughters, but she threatens English sovereignty when she leads a French invasion: chiding her husband, Goneril says, 'France spreads his banners in our noiseless land, / With plumèd helm thy flaxen biggin threats' (Q1, Scene 16.55–56).[19] After slinking off penniless in the first scene, when she next appears Cordelia is accompanied by a great army. While she says it is 'No blown ambition doth our arms incite' (4.3.27), she raises a force far greater than those of her sisters. The fear of a French invasion is raised and then perhaps dismissed: in the first Quarto, the 'King of France is so suddenly gone back' (Q1, Scene 17.1), and Cordelia is described as striving to overcome 'her passion who, most rebel-like, / Sought to be king o'er her' (Q1, Scene 17.15–56). While leading an invasion, Cordelia 'heaved the name of "father"' (Q1, Scene 17.26): this paradox makes manifest her divided

duty alluded to in the first scene, daughter of Britain and wife of an invading France. The play undoes the fantasy of absolute allegiance.

Domesticating Politics

King Lear interrogates not only political relations and territorial concerns in relation to patriarchalism's assumptions, as my first section argues, but also domestic relations. Two other aspects of Jacobean patriarchalism come to the fore in the play's second half, after Lear has been stripped of his royal trappings. The first is King James' definition of *pater patriae* as the father of the people to supplant their biological fathers: *Trew Law* argues, 'By the Law of Nature the King becomes a naturall Father to all his Lieges at his Coronation' (p. 65). The second is Adamic patriarchalism, a biblically based ideology tracing political authority back to Adam. Although later codified by Sir Robert Filmer in his *Patriarcha*, whose work circulated in manuscript in the 1620s (published in 1680), the ideas may have been available even earlier. James himself gestures at it when he views monarchical authority as divinely conferred. His patriarchalism revises the meaning of the word 'natural' to elevate political fatherhood above biological. Playing on the multiple meanings of the word 'natural'—both the unnatural son Edmund and Lear as a natural fool—*King Lear* shows through *reductio ad absurdum* the dangers of patriarchalism's fundamental tenets, especially the biological father's displacement.

James' *Trew Law* argues from the law of nature for the displacement of biological fathers by the king as political father. His term 'naturall Father' for the king concentrates authority in the ruler. The word 'natural' has a number of meanings in the early modern period, some of which come into play in *King Lear*. James seems to use the adjective as an extension of what he understands to be the basis of political authority, which is natural law, understood as God's unwritten law. But in so using the word 'natural', he radically revises its meaning. This shift may be clearer if we compare this with his use of 'natural' in *Basilikon Doron*. There he distinguishes between the good king as the people's 'naturall father and kindly Master' and the tyrant who is 'as a step-father and an vncouth hireling' (p. 20). The opposition between 'naturall father' and step-father suggests a distinction between a biological and an adopted father. If the 'naturall father['s]' opposite is the step-father, then natural fatherhood ought to be innate rather than acquired. But by attributing 'natural' to political fatherhood, James transfers authority from biological fathers to kings, identifying the

coronation as a kind of constitutional event of political fatherhood. In *Trew Law*, the king as father leaves little room for fathers of families to exercise authority where the king's interest is concerned.

The implications of this naturalising of political fatherhood—where the king is made 'naturall father' to exclude biological fathers of families—are more sinister when read against *Basilikon Doron*. Like *Trew Law*, *Basilikon Doron* stresses the authority of the king by analogy to fathers, calling the king '*communis parens* to all your people' (p. 36). A book of advice for his son, James underlines the divine right of kings, saying to Henry that God 'made you a little GOD to sit on his Throne, and rule ouer other men' (p. 12). For all his emphasis on paternal authority, the biological father all but disappears in *Basilikon Doron* as it did in *Trew Law*, displaced by the king. The argument for parental authority in *Basilikon Doron* is specific to the prince. For James, parental authority is transferred to the king at his coronation. His advice to Henry about maintaining complete control over his courtiers makes this clear: 'Suffer none about you to meddle in any mens particulars, but like the Turkes Ianisaries, let them know no father but you, nor particular but yours' (p. 38). The king's courtiers are to be trained like Ottoman janissaries, infantry units legendary for their discipline, composed of those gathered through the *devshirme* system (or child tax), whereby young Christian children from Ottoman colonies of Albania and Bulgaria were taken from their parents, converted to Islam and trained to be the Ottoman sultan's loyal retainers. The popular stereotype in Europe represented the Turkish sultan as a tyrant, and the myths surrounding the janissaries were part of this stereotype. James references the Ottoman janissaries with approval, even though the *devshirme* system's complete breaking of familial bonds—where children are removed from parents and converted religiously and culturally to become enemies of their biological families—makes janissaries perhaps the most extreme example of political fatherhood's erasure of biological fatherhood.

The consequences of the transfer of authority from biological fathers to kings are explored in *King Lear*, especially in the subplot of Edmund's betrayal of his father. James' (and Lear's) command that loyalties be transferred to the king is so absolute that the subject must recognise no other father, but *King Lear*'s dissenting voices remind us of the set of interconnecting familial obligations. Cordelia is not the only character whose duties are divided. When Kent pleads with Lear, his plea sketches the various social roles of a subject: 'Royal Lear, / Whom I have ever honour'd as my King, / Lov'd as my father, as my master follow'd, / As my great

patron thought on in my prayers—' (1.1.138–142). Cordelia counterbalances two potentially conflicting duties, between dutiful daughter and loyal wife (of a foreign king)—while Kent outlines a series of corresponding roles. Although Kent describes all his roles in relation to the king, they need not be so: father, master, and patron can be different authorities demanding different loyalties. Rather than redundancy, his parallels constitute a reminder of the whole structure of hierarchy of which the king is only a part, even if the most important one.

While Lear does not receive the absolute obedience he demands from Kent and Cordelia, one character readily sacrifices his own father to his lord and king. Edmund's betrayal of Gloucester is quite clearly self-motivated, but it is significant that his transfer of loyalties is performed through the specific language of (political) fatherhood. When he falsely accuses his father of collaborating with the French in a planned invasion of England, Edmund is rewarded for his ostensible loyalty by Cornwall, who says, 'I will lay trust upon thee; and thou shalt find a dearer father in my love' (3.5.21–22). When Kent addresses Lear as father, he uses the term more analogically; in contrast Cornwall offers to supplant Gloucester. By so elevating political fatherhood, Cornwall, with Edmund's collaboration, offers a type of kingship that excludes biological fathers. Cornwall thus revises the notion of natural to mean instead a relation that is essentially political. For Edmund, this trade yields him a greater share of family inheritance than he had a right to expect; taking Cornwall as father allows him to become Gloucester, that is, to displace his own father.

In playing with the opposing terms 'natural' and 'unnatural', *King Lear* recalls *Trew Law*'s argument that describes the king as 'naturall Father'. This opposition is depicted in the play's various father–children relations. After his knights are taken away, Lear curses his daughters for being 'unnatural hags' (2.2.444). But it is Edmund who exemplifies the deep contradictions of the word's multiple meanings. Edmund's deception causes Gloucester to confound the meaning of the terms 'natural' and 'unnatural'. In Act 1, Scene 2, he calls the loyal Edgar an 'unnatural, detested, brutish villain' (1.2.73); and in Act 2, Scene 1, he calls the false Edmund, 'Loyal and natural boy' (2.1.83). In Act 2, Gloucester puns on the term 'natural'—Edmund is natural because he is a bastard, but Gloucester also thinks him natural, meaning having kindly affection, for exposing a plot against his life. We, however, know that Edmund is both a natural and unnatural child—natural because he is illegitimate, but unnatural because

he betrays his blood relations. Both Lear and Cornwall would be the Jacobean king who is 'naturall Father' to his people. Cornwall's fatherly benevolence towards Edmund, however, demands the elimination of the biological father—Gloucester is spared from death but has his eyes put out. Cornwall becomes father to Edmund following a series of vicious and arguably unnatural acts by all parties—Edmund, Cornwall and Lear's daughters.

Cornwall and Edmund's newly created father-son bond—a political relation that James argues prevents rebellions, and therefore preserves the stability of the state—is undermined by a new plot development when both Regan and Goneril fall in love with Edmund. While Cornwall offers to be Edmund's father, Regan has a different familial position in mind. Edmund's insinuation into the family perverts the institution. Early in the play when he discovers Edgar's supposed treachery, Gloucester already plans to undo the laws of inheritance, suggesting he will, 'work the means' to make Edmund 'capable' of inheriting (2.1.83–84). Having supplanted his elder, legitimate brother, Edmund trades Gloucester for another father. At the end, he seeks to supplant his new father, Cornwall, in his marital bed. Edmund's wickedness is made possible by other characters' willingness to dissolve familial bonds—Lear and Gloucester are willing to disown children and Goneril and Regan to divorce husbands—to reforge new political bonds in the familial mould. The sisters forget their bond as they fight over Edmund. This fluidity in familial bonds destroys the family, as new allegiances are forged through the rupture of old ones. Blood ties give way to self-interest.

King Lear extends its examination of the contradictions of the term 'natural', applying it not only to sons but also to fathers. Aside from Edmund, one other figure is called 'natural': in Act 4, Scene 6, when the mad Lear is found by Cordelia's men, Lear names himself 'The natural fool of Fortune' (4.6.189). Kenneth Muir's edition here notes William Empson's suggestion that 'there is a quibble on *natural,* which can mean *imbecile* as well as *born'*.[20] I would like to offer another possible reading of the word, drawing on the contrast found in James' writings to argue that it suggests something related to nature and thus not artificial. Might Lear be thought of as natural because he is reduced to an Adamic state? At one point he discards his clothing, a scene played with remarkable verve by Ian MacKellen in Trevor Nunn's stage and later 2008 film version. Lear's natural, Adamic state, I suggest, has political valences related to discussions of *pater patriae*.

Although his codification of patriarchalism was completed only in the 1620s, Robert Filmer's treatise, *Patriarcha*, is especially interesting for tracing monarchy's origins back to Adam. Filmer was not the first to do so, but his account was in the service of supporting patriarchal political theory. I am primarily concerned with his claim that power descends from Adam, made in the first chapter. Filmer draws out the implications of Bellarmine's contention that creation made Adam ruler over his descendants:

> not only Adam but succeeding patriarchs had, by right of fatherhood, royal authority over their children [...] For as Adam was lord over his own children, so his children under him had a command and power over their own children, but still with subordination to the first parent, who is lord paramount over his children's children to all generations, as being the grandfather of his people.[21]

From this assumption, Filmer argues for Adam's absolute power that forms the foundation of monarchical authority. It is from the first father that current monarchs inherit their sovereignty: 'This lordship which Adam by creation had over the whole world, and by right descending from him the patriarchs did enjoy, was as large and ample as the absolutest dominion of any monarch which hath been since the creation' (p. 7). Filmer further argues for the maintenance of this structure after the biblical flood and after the dispersion from Babel, even though people were scattered into several 'distinct families' (p. 8). Tellingly, Filmer reads the scene of the Israelites asking for a king in 1 Samuel as God re-establishing 'the ancient and prime right of lineal succession to paternal government' (p. 9), despite clear evidence of Samuel's disapproval of the people's request—a strong reading that conforms to King James' interpretation.

Concerned to show that patriarchal power was never lost, Filmer takes pains to argue for its transmission from Adam to present-day kings. He acknowledges that kings are not 'natural parents' of their subjects, but, with a sleight of hand, argues that they might as well be: 'yet they all either are, or are to be reputed as the next heirs to those progenitors who were at first the natural parents of the whole people' (p. 10). Later in time, it is political parenthood rather than biological that matters to Filmer: after the time of biblical patriarchs, 'true fatherhood itself was extinct and only the right of the father descended to the true heir, then the title of prince of king was more significant to express the power of him who succeeds only to the right of that fatherhood which his ancestors did naturally enjoy'

(p. 10). Although Filmer's *pater patriae* is ultimately a title that pertains to the political power of fatherhood, he insists on its origins in biological fatherhood, and that the origins go back to Adam himself.

Filmer's tracing of paternal power back to Adam implies a dispersion of monarchical power in later generations. Present-day kings share in Adam's paternal power and exercise it over their own people. As the progenitor of all humankind, Adam's paternal power is the most comprehensive—the most 'perfect' would be the language James might use—and thus the most absolute. The Adamic state, in Filmer's view, is a state of all-encompassing power. But *King Lear* explores the implications of an Adamic state to show something quite the opposite.

Act 3, set on the heath, shows Lear reduced to an Adamic state, without his retinue of knights, without possessions, stripped even of clothing. Far from a state of innocence, Lear's return to nature is portrayed as a degradation. Lear's fall into an Adamic state begins with his giving up of power; it progresses with his daughters stripping away the little authority he reserves to himself, his hundred knights; and it culminates with the scene of his descent into madness. Encountering Edgar pretending to be mad, Lear concludes, 'Unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art' (3.4.95–97). His response is to remove his remaining clothes: 'Off, off, you lendings! Come; unbutton here' (3.4.97–98). Naked as Adam as he may be, Lear does not possess the first father's paternal dominion. Instead, the removal of clothing symbolises an acknowledgement of his utter lack of sovereignty. Lear's progressive fall, even into animality, ironically traces the lines of authority back to Adam in order to make clear the hollowness of his protestations of his fatherhood and of his act of parcelling out land. Distinguishing between the storm's inhuman ferocity and his daughters' unnatural cruelty, Lear shouts at the storm: 'I tax you not, you elements, with unkindness; / I never gave you kingdom, called you children, / You owe me no subscription' (3.2.15–17). Daughters whom he fathered and to whom he gifted land act as cruelly as the storm. Even the enlightenment that comes with material deprivation exacts the price of his sanity. Lear's understanding of his circumstances leads not to an accommodation but a further deterioration of his mental state. As Edgar notes, these woes weigh far more heavily on the king: 'How light and portable my pain seems now, / When that which makes me bend makes the king bow; / He childed as I father'd' (Q1, Scene 13.97–99).

On the whole, *King Lear* is critical of Jacobean patriarchalism. Many of the tenets and foundations of *pater patriae* as articulated by James and Filmer are rejected or subverted. The father-king is inept, blinded by self-regard. Yet *King Lear* is by no means a radical or covertly republican text.[22] The dutiful Cordelia is content to be banished; she 'return[s] those duties back as are right fit' but will not rebel even against an unjust father-king (1.1.95). This is not a wholesale rejection of the society centred on a father-king figure. Nonetheless, the play shows the potential for an extreme Jacobean patriarchalism to turn into tyranny, disorder, and rebellion, leading to both political disorder and familial dissolution. *King Lear* sets the extremes of patriarchalism against the utter disregard for paternal authority and traditional customs—Lear's disavowal of his biological daughter against Edmund's rebellion and rejection of primogeniture—to link them together as 'unnatural' acts.

Notes

1. William Shakespeare, *The Norton Shakespeare, Based on the Oxford Edition*, gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997, 2008). Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from *King Lear* are to the version from the first folio, *The Tragedy of King Lear*, from this edition, and cited parenthetically (2.2.266–267).
2. Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 219.
3. Elsewhere I have examined James' political writings about the role of father-king in relation to the contradictions of roles within the royal family, as evidenced by his letters, and to the queen's role as portrayed in royal masques; see Ng, *Literature and the Politics of Family in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapter 1, 'Father-kings and Amazon queens', pp. 21–48.
4. King James VI and I, *Political Writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 76. All quotations from James will be from this edition and cited parenthetically.
5. William Dodd, 'Impossible Worlds: What Happens in *King Lear,* Act 1, Scene 1?' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 50.4 (Winter 1999), pp. 477–507 (p. 484).
6. Charles Howard McIlwain, ed. *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918), 4, 48; Isaac Wake, *Rex Platonicus: sive, de potentissimi principis Iacobi Britanniarum Regis, ad illustrissimam academiam Oxoniensem* (Oxford, 1607), sig. A2v.

7. M.C. Questier, 'Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', *Historical Journal* 40.2 (June 1997), pp. 311–329 (p. 321).
8. Johann P. Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots: Politics and Ideology in England, 1603–1640* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), p. 109. For the Oath's impact on literary figures, see Rebecca Lemon, *Treason by Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 109.
9. Ronald W. Cooley, 'Kent and Primogeniture in *King Lear', SEL: Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 48.2 (2008), pp. 327–348.
10. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. R. A. Foakes, Arden Shakespeare, Third Series (Walton-on Thames: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1997), 168 n. 150. For a contrary reading, see Dodd, 'Impossible Worlds', pp. 477–507 (p. 504).
11. Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 148–159; Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 181–185.
12. Harry V. Jaffa, 'The Limits of Politics: *King Lear*, Act I, Scene I', in Allan Bloom, with Harry V. Jaffa, *Shakespeare's Politics* (New York and London: Basic Books, 1964), pp. 113–145 (121).
13. Jaffa, 'Limits', p. 123.
14. Jaffa, 'Limits', p. 127.
15. Halpern, *Poetics*, p. 221.
16. Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 123.
17. See Perry, *Making of Jacobean Culture*, pp. 115–149, for a reading of *Lear* and *Macbeth* as responses to James as a bountiful father.
18. For Philip the Bold's establishment of Valois power with the land grant of Burgundy, see Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Dukes of Burgundy*, new ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1979, 2011).
19. In the conflated text, the second line is revised: 'France spreads his banners in our noiseless land, / With plumèd helm thy state begins to threat' (4.2.57–58).
20. William Shakespeare, *King Lear,* ed. Kenneth Muir (London: Methuen, 1972), 4.5.189, note.
21. Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha and Other Writings*, ed. Johann Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 6–7. All further citations to *Patriarcha* refer to this edition and are given parenthetically.
22. For a republican Shakespeare, see Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

CHAPTER 11

The State, Childhood and Religious Dissent

Lucy Underwood

In 1612, George Carew, Master of the Court of Wards, observed that 'All Monarkes and Soveraigne kinges, have generally the appellation of Patres Patria'.[1] Carew invoked imagery that was indeed used across Europe to describe the relationship of kings to their kingdoms.[2] Using this metaphor makes a claim about kingship: a relationship that involves love as well as authority and obedience, and above all is natural. One can no more cease to be one's prince's subject than one's father's offspring. It also suggests something about allegiance and patriotism: if the king is 'father of the fatherland', he is the source of the *patria*, and serving the *patria* necessarily means serving the king. To call the king '*pater patriae*' also implies a claim about fatherhood. If the king is 'father' to the kingdom, then the father is 'king' to his family, or household. Notions of authority in polity and family are mutually reinforcing.

This chapter explores what happened when religious dissent caused conflict between the 'father' of the kingdom and the 'kingdom' of the household: when Protestant regimes perceived the Catholic upbringing of children as dangerous to the confessional state. It examines instances of state intervention in the education or custody of children, their motivation

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and justification, as well as cultural forces which limited intervention, and the English Catholic responses to threats to parental custody. The threat of religious dissent to family order, as an aspect of its threat to the polity, has been remarked on; for instance, Frances Dolan noted how wives promoting Catholicism against their husbands' Protestantism was seen as emblematic of the subversive influence of recusancy.[3] Conversions to Catholicism by children and young people could represent rejection of both state and parental authority.[4] Toleration of Catholicism among wives, children or servants—the 'family'—by Protestant householders was also complained at: when the king of the miniature polity failed to uphold its order, he failed in his duty to the wider polity and the *pater patriae*. But still, the problem was one of inadequate patriarchy, rather than opposition between paternal authority and the state. What happened when the father's governance itself threatened the political order? That is, when fathers educated their children in a proscribed religion? When obedience within the family meant religious disunity in the polity, and disobedience to the monarch, familial and political order were in direct confrontation. Lena Cowen Orlin examines texts dealing with household subordinates co-operating in householders' misdeeds, but her focus is on overtly deviant behaviour.[5] The systemic problem of religious dissent represented not disorder, but the deeper threat of an alternative order which also claimed moral authority.

This conundrum surfaced repeatedly in early modern England, as Protestant regimes recognised that one reason for the perpetuation of the Papist problem was that Catholics had Catholic children.[6] And they wondered whether, as William Cecil apparently suggested in 1583, they might solve this by 'making the parents, in every shire, to send their children to be virtuously brought up at a certain place for that end appointed [...] by this way their number will be quickly lessened'.[7] With the possible exception of the Interregnum regimes in the late 1640s and 1650s, there was never a national policy regarding Catholic children; yet there was always an idea that there should be.[8] Statesmen like Cecil and Francis Walsingham toyed with the idea and Puritan preachers extolled it.[9] Cases where the government intervened in the upbringing of children recurred. Most Parliaments between 1593 and 1660 considered a bill prescribing the Protestant education of Catholic children, but none passed such an act.[10] This paradox—of a policy both irresistible and unthinkable—arose from conflicting cultural assumptions at the intersection of family, politics and religion. Those conflicts illuminate both the ambitions and the limitations of the confessional state within the society that gave it birth.

Wardship, Kingship and Fatherhood

George Carew applied the '*pater patriae*' metaphor to the Court of Wards:

> our king by the auncient lawes of the kingdome hath this further and peculiar, that he is Pater Pupillorum, where there is any tenure by knights service of the Crowne […] And so being a representative father, his purpose is to imitate […] the offices and dueties of a naturall father.[11]

Royal wardship developed from feudal tenure. If a tenant holding land by knight's service left an heir either too young to render feudal service, or female, the overlord regained control of the lands until the heir came of age (or married if female); he also gained control of the heir's upbringing and his (or her) marriage.[12] By the mid-sixteenth century, wardship other than by the Crown had declined; but where families held lands *in capite* (directly from the Crown), it meant temporary reversion of estates to the Crown with rights of guardianship. The Crown usually leased both lands and guardianship to 'committees', making useful revenue. By the early seventeenth century, there was considerable resentment of this system: a premature death cost the family money and inconvenience to purchase the lease on the wardship, assuming someone else did not do so, causing temporary alienation of the estates.[13] In this context, Carew's words attempt an alternative interpretation of wardship. '*Pater pupillorum*' [father of the orphans or wards] links wardship to the king's 'fatherhood' of the nation, and conflates a legal arrangement with a natural relationship. As Carew then claims explicitly, this is not about land and revenue, but the king's fatherly care for subjects left fatherless: he imitates the 'dueties of a naturall father'.

Not that paternalistic care precluded a political function. Through wardship, the king exercises a paternal role for 'most of the auncient, great, wealthy, or generouse families of this kingdome', 'in the education and well bestowing in marriage of […] the wardes'.[14] Ensuring the good upbringing especially of the ruling classes helps to ensure the kingdom's stability. One manifestation of the king's care was his insistence on guardians 'sownde in religion, of good gouernance in theyre owne families, w*ith*out dissolution, w*ith*out distemper, no greedy persons, no stepmothers'.[15] Future tenants-in-chief must be protected from the self-interested, from wastrels, from inadequate patriarchs, and from religious dissent. Carew's allusion to religious orthodoxy refers to a 1606 statute,

which banned recusants—those identified as Catholic dissidents—from purchasing wardships.[16] Wardship illustrates the link between two crucial components of early modern state formation: the relationship between family and polity; and religious uniformity.

Intervention in wardship on religious grounds was justified through the same linking of familial and political responsibility which Carew's reference to the royal '*pater pupillorum*' suggested. In 1610, James VI and I ordered the master of the Court of Wards (then Robert Cecil) to require Lord Mordaunt's committee to place his ward in the charge of the bishop of London (George Abbot). The King stated that 'it is no smale pointe of o*ur* Care that *th*e nobilitie of *th*is Realme be brede bo*th* in such sort as becometh their ranck and in so good instruccon as the religion established in our Kingdome; as that by receiveing *th*e corrupcon of superstitious and daungerouss opinions they be not made unserviceable'.[17] Lady Mordaunt and her deceased husband were known Catholics, and the King wished the young Lord Mordaunt to be brought up as a Protestant. James exploited wardship to facilitate this intervention, but he framed it in more general terms: the 'breeding' of the nobility is 'the king's care'. The aristocracy exists to serve the kingdom, and religious dissent may make them 'unserviceable'. Lord Mordant's future public role meant his mother's domestic governance could not be considered private.

In this instance, the King's claim specified the nobility, whose upbringing had particular public significance. But he expressed a concept of the family's public liability that was potentially far-reaching, as an episode during Elizabeth I's reign suggests. In March 1600, the Council of the North (the main instrument of royal governance in the northern border areas) called upon the local government of York to investigate the education of the children of Catholics.[18] Certain recusants and non-communicants (Catholics who attended services of the established Church unlike recusants, but refused to receive Protestant communion) were required to sign financial bonds that they would 'educate and bring up [their] children in the knowledge and profession of the religion established in this realm, and not in Popish religion or in recusancy'.[19] Those refusing risked arrest, and in December 1602 the Council ordered a follow-up enquiry.[20]

The scope and the grounds of the claim made are interesting. Elizabethan measures against Catholicism tended not to aim directly at the abjuration of beliefs, but to penalise specific actions, such as attendance at Mass, or refusal to attend Protestant churches. Accordingly, the fact of these recusants' Catholic beliefs is accepted—but they are directed to teach their children contradictory ones. Practices hindering this are

prohibited: the children are not to be 'put into any service' with known Catholics, taught by 'any schoolmaster but such as are allowed to teach' by secular or ecclesiastical officials, or sent 'out of the realm without sufficient licence'. Unlicensed schoolmasters and Catholic education overseas were illegal anyway; but the Council of the North aspired to intervene in domestic religious practice, and in what parents taught their children. The grounds of their claim catch one's attention:

> It is the duty of all Christian magistrates to have a care of the good education of all youths and children within their charge, that they may be instructed and seasoned at the first with the true knowledge of God and His religion, whereby they are liable to become good members of the Church and common weal, and dutiful subjects to her Majesty and the State, and therefore to prevent the danger of such youths and children, whose parents are recusants or non-communicants, by Popish schoolmasters, in such superstitious and false religion.[21]

'Youths and children' are 'in the charge' of Christian magistrates, whose responsibility their 'good education' is. Parents represent the danger to be guarded against. Children's education is the concern of Christian magistrates because they are responsible for the Christian commonwealth—and good education produces 'good members of the Church and common weal, and dutiful subjects'. How children are brought up affects how they behave as adults, and how adults behave benefits or undermines the state. Yet this reduction of the family to a tool for the commonwealth's purposes sounds more like post-enlightenment state ideology than early modern England as we usually think of it.

One of the influences that enabled such a rhetoric in 1600 was religious: the responsibility of the '*Christian* magistrate'. Such language recalls Martin Luther's exhortation of 1524, urging magistrates of godly cities to provide schools:

> But what if the parents fail to do their duty? […] It therefore behooves the council and the authorities to devote the greatest care and attention to the young […] they would be remiss in their duty before God and man if they did not seek [the city's] welfare […] A city's best and greatest welfare, safety and strength consist rather in its having many able, learned, wise and honourable and well-educated citizens.[22]

In Reformed cities, where the Church as a supranational institution had been disavowed, and where ecclesiastical and civic government were

increasingly merged, there was an enhanced role for 'Christian magistrates'. Magistrates should not only behave like Christians, but were responsible as magistrates for the Christianity of the commonwealth. Luther does not give magistrates the 'charge' of children, but he exhorts them to intervene in case of parental failure. The Elizabethan Council of the North applied this reasoning to religious orthodoxy. Neither example suggests removing children from parental custody, but the underlying concept (the state must educate children in the right values) is relevant to such conflicts.

Discourses of household and patriarchy were also relevant. Lena Cowen Orlin has discussed how applying patriarchal household models to political theory affected the household: making the polity a supra-household, and the king a supra-father, created a hierarchy of households.[23] A householder was 'responsible for the maintenance of moral order in his immediate sphere but to macrocosmic benefit'.[24] If he failed, he might not only forfeit his domestic subjects' loyalty, but be superseded by the supra-household.[25] In the patriarchal polity, arguably the commonwealth or kingdom was the prior entity of which each household was a microcosm; it was a valid household only insofar as the *pater* faithfully deputed for the *pater patriae*. Hence one could refer to children as the charge of the commonwealth's representatives.

Similar claims are implied by the 1606 act which debarred recusants from holding wardships: it is baldly observed that 'Recusants convict are not thought meete […] to have the Educacon of their owne Children, much lesse of the Children of any other of the Kings Subjectes'.[26] No statute ever deprived recusants of their own children's custody (though recusant mothers of wards were prevented from being guardians); the sweeping statement is the relic of a clause for removing Catholic children from their parents, which (*malgré* the Commons) had been deleted by the Lords. The assertion that recusants are not 'meet' to be parents, let alone guardians, is a claim of moderation—king and parliament are attempting less than would be justified. It is also a claim to adjudge what is 'meet' in the upbringing of children; and to judge what is normative—'recusants are not thought meet' expresses a universal assumption, not a proposition. To describe wards as 'the Children of […] the Kings Subjectes' prioritises this relationship: to raise children is to raise the king's subjects. And the oft-expressed doubts of Protestant statesmen as to whether Catholics could be good subjects dominated the discourse about Catholic dissent, and were invoked to justify virtually all measures against Catholicism. Here it is suggested that bad subjects cannot be good parents.

The Commons argued for retaining the 'education' clause in revealing terms: 'it is not unnaturall; for though the Parent have much in the Childe, yet the Common-wealth hath more Interest in every mans Person then himselfe; Therefore in every mans Childe […]'.[27] The exclusive claim of the state over the individual could hardly be put more strongly. But, while the statute includes language reminiscent of this overpowering ideology, the Lords' assertion that the measure was 'unnaturall, dangerous, exceeding difficult, and scandalous' carried the legislative day.[28] Through wardship and other channels, outright claims to supersede the patriarchal household and deny parental custody on religious grounds were made, but not enshrined in law. Even accountability fell short in practice: York's recusant householders were required to govern their domestic subordinates to 'macrocosmic benefit' as defined by the Protestant state. But only three of the twelve parents signed recognisances. Five refused, one was dead, and three avoided appearing.[29] The campaign does not seem to have been repeated. This invites the question of what prevented such attempts. What principles or cultural assumptions challenged the polity's claim to supersede the family?

In 1593, William Cecil made some observations on anti-recusancy measures under discussion in Parliament, which included a proposition for taking custody of the children of recusants.[30] But Cecil felt that 'to take his childe from hym as sone as he is eight yeares ould is thought hard'. Former laws had 'stood with the honor of our appollogies', that no-one was persecuted for 'matter of Conscience'; this bill 'hathe a discordance […] for wee ever condemme on the Churche of Rome the reducynge of consciences by terror'. It would 'exasperat the humours abroade and make our Government odious'.[31] An Act further penalising recusancy was passed in 1593, but it did not include the removal of children. Cecil and his colleagues did not fear using physical coercion. Existing statutes provided for: imprisonment as penalty for hearing Mass; execution if a priest ordained abroad entered England; execution for harbouring or assisting a priest and execution for being reconciled (or reconciling anyone) to the Catholic church. A law governing children's education would not have resulted in anyone being tortured, executed or even imprisoned. Why did Cecil fear that it, like no other policy, would be a 'resort to terror'? The House of Lords' description in 1606 of such measures as 'unnaturall' may be pertinent. Forcible separation of parents and children amounts to 'terror' because it is 'unnatural': this implies that the parent–child bond is part of human nature, not merely societal convention. By speaking of 'terror'

and 'hardship', Cecil acknowledges the value placed on affective ties of kinship. The Lords' comment indicates that, though treating the family as a political unit, early modern society also recognised it as a natural entity. This made it difficult for the state to trump the family, unless one argued that the polity was as, or more, natural than the family—which is what the *pater patriae* metaphor suggested. The appeal to 'nature' was used to challenge state intervention in religious upbringing. Crucially, the recognition of 'natural ties' takes both the assault on, and defence of, parental rights beyond questions of patriarchy.

Family Beyond Patriarchy

Conflict between the micro-polity of the family and the macro-household of the kingdom invites focus on paternal rights. But concepts of household and family order went beyond that, as disputes over child custody involving Catholic mothers and other relatives illustrate. Since the father usually had to be dead for a child to become a ward, in wardship cases wider familial rights were at stake. The Court of Wards could intervene against Catholic mothers because all relatives lacked legal rights until 1610 (when the Court granted, as a concession not a right, priority to close kin in purchasing wardships); thereafter, Catholic families were peculiarly disadvantaged. Excluding recusant relatives from the 1610 concession asserted that Catholic religious dissent negated natural rights. But for Catholic mothers to lose practical custody (rather than only legal guardianship) was rare, suggesting that this assertion was contentious. Protestants helped Catholics to circumvent restrictions because they did not think it reasonable to take children from their families—even if they were teaching them popery.

In December 1626, Dorothy Fowler was ordered to surrender her six-year-old son, Walter, to Matthew Cradock, his committee, to be 'vertuously and religiously educated'.[32] A lawyer's casebook notes that Cradock had 'suffered *th*e ward beinge very yonge to bredd w*it*h his mo*th*er a Recusant', but was ordered 'to remove him & to breede him virtuouslie & religiouslie'.[33] Cradock, a distant relative of the Fowlers, was employed as a lawyer by many Staffordshire gentry; he may have been sought as a complaisant guardian.[34] The Court of Wards disallowed this strategy: Protestant committees were to ensure Protestant wards, not merely to maintain legal restrictions on Catholic adults. But eventually Cradock sub-let the wardship to Walter, Lord Aston of Forfar, former

ambassador to Spain. Aston later became a Catholic, and probably already had Catholic sympathies.[35] There is no evidence of Dorothy Fowler's part in this transaction, but a wealthy, powerful, crypto-Catholic committee was what a recusant family with an heir in ward might look for if they needed to avoid pressure from the Court. In another case, the mother of 15-year-old Thomas Skrymshere was ordered in 1625 to hand him over to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 'to be by his Lordship religiously educated'; a further injunction was addressed also to 'Gataker', probably Thomas' maternal grandfather, and a recusant.[36] This suggests suspicion of wider Catholic kin networks influencing a ward.

In 1645, during the Civil War, the Parliamentarian government introduced the closest thing attempted to a policy on Catholic upbringing. They stipulated that the wives and children of those whose estates were sequestrated for being royalists or recusants would be allowed one-fifth of the confiscated income, but this would apply only to children 'educated and brought up in the Protestant religion'.[37] This measure did not explicitly deprive parents of custody—it financially penalised Catholic upbringing. Most instances of intervention from 1643–1660, however, did not strictly operate by this ordinance, and they indicate what rights and obligations Parliamentarian regimes claimed towards families: were they less likely to challenge paternal rights than maternal ones? Did they attack parental custody directly, or exploit financial penalties? Eleven cases involved heirs of deceased fathers: where a child inherited estates sequestered for recusancy, the government sought proof of Protestant upbringing before lifting the sequestration. This might mean supplanting Catholic mothers with Protestant guardians, as when the Committee for Compounding ordered the guardian of John Thornton to bring him up Protestant, his widowed mother being a recusant.[38] In six cases, the Committee set conditions on property assigned to the heirs of living recusants: for example, rents set aside by Sir Robert Brett for his children were exempted from sequestration, but nothing was to be paid until Protestant education was demonstrated.[39] These cases combined financial sanctions with direct orders for Protestant education, and involved fathers and mothers.

Of two known cases in which children were removed in connection with the 1645 ordinance one involved a widow and the other two living parents. The Dorset County Committee ordered Sara Keynes to be brought up by Protestant guardians, who were paid £10 out of her parents' estate—presumably Sara's share of the one-fifth (in fact, Mrs Keynes was only a reputed widow: she and her husband faked his death in order

to release the estate from sequestration).[40] Three children of Christopher and Alethea Anderton were removed from their parents around 1646.[41] Christopher died in 1650; Mrs Anderton later ended the sequestration by swearing the Oath of Abjuration, a formal denial of Catholic beliefs. One recusant mother prevailed over her recusant husband; Lady Morley requested, in 1651, that her son Thomas be placed with Protestant guardians, whereas her husband (then in prison for hearing Mass) was, she said, 'ready rather to give assistance to those that would undo the child'.[42] To 'undo' is an emphatic yet ambiguous term. It implies total ruin, but does not specify how: it might mean unorthodox political allegiance (that is to say, royalism), false religion, or simply the financial cost imposed on open Catholicism. Calling the 15-year-old a 'child' emphasises his vulnerability and lack of culpability. The real reasons for Lady Morley's ostentatious compliance remain unclear; she herself apparently remained a recusant.[43] But her case proves that the father's rights would not prevail over the mother's if religious orthodoxy was on her side.

Cultural preconceptions about 'family' beyond parent–child rights (whether paternal or maternal) also affected how governments dealt with dissident parents. The Court of Wards may have found intervention easier when they could appeal to wider kinship against a Catholic parent. In 1625, Sir William Spencer's recusant mother, Margaret, attempted to 'seduce' her children to Catholicism. The ward's committees were Protestant relatives of the deceased father, and the Court ordered not only the ward, but also his younger brothers to be handed over to them.[44] In 1620, immediately on his father's death, the Privy Council commanded the bishop of Chester to secure 12-year-old Christopher Anderton, to ensure that his wardship went to a reliable Protestant, rather than Catholic relatives. The ensuing conflict saw the bishop send magistrates in four different directions to hunt for the child while his Catholic friends, led by one John Preston, physically hid him. Christopher's father had attempted to boost chances of a Catholic guardian by creating new family ties: he had contracted the boy in marriage to Preston's 12-year-old daughter, and Preston involved himself on behalf of his 'little son-in-law'. Eventually Preston consented to hand Christopher over, provided he was committed to 'some one of his own bloud'.[45] On this occasion, the claims of wider kin were not only part of the conflict, but also finally facilitated a compromise.

If the perceived rights of different relatives had an impact, what about those of the children themselves? Modern debates about state and family are frequently framed as questions of children's rights or 'best inter-

ests'; one may ask whether early modern sources offer anything analogous. Children were invoked in favour of intervention; Cornelius Burges, advocating legislation for Protestant upbringing in 1641, urged that 'the souls of many thousands would for ever blesse you, by whose means they should be delivered out of the power of that Aegyptian darknes'.[46] Whether children's rights likewise helped to limit intervention is unclear. In 1593, Cecil seemed to fear the repercussions of violating parental rights rather than unjustified detention of children: 'to take his childe from hym [...] is thought hard', not 'to take him from his parents'. It is possible that the conscience which would be 'reduced by terror' is that of the child, placed in the control of strangers. The Lords' assertion in 1606 that taking children from parents was 'unnatural' presumably acknowledged a two-way bond. But these seem rather slight (and uncertain) nods towards children's rights.

Cultural assumptions that militated against intervention in children's religious upbringing were not limited to notions about patriarchy, though these were certainly important. Attempts to prevent the generational transmission of religious dissent also had to reckon with a sense of the decorum of household and family in general.

Catholic Responses to State Intervention

The tensions awakened by attempting to import the confessional state into the family constrained intervention in practice; cases remained small in number, and relatively isolated. But the idea that this could happen became incorporated into English Catholic narratives of persecution. To Catholics, challenges to parental custody were an example of tyranny. In condemning such tyranny, their accounts tend to emphasise the children—as both victims and agents—more than government sources do. Reporting on religious persecution in 1591, the Jesuit Robert Southwell wrote that 'the children of Catholickes have bene somtimes taken from their parents and forced against their conscieunces'.[47] These children are Catholics with their own consciences to be 'forced', not passive objects of education. The description of the attempted re-education of four brothers named Worthington, captured *en route* overseas in 1584, emphasises their active resistance. They refuse to attend church, despite threats and beatings; they debate with a Protestant schoolmaster when made to attend school; even the 11-year-old argues with the Protestant bishop. Their conduct inspires adult Catholics to firmer resistance. The project of

Protestant indoctrination fails primarily because the children defend their Catholicism.[48] In 1633 a Catholic newsletter reported of a royal ward, Sir Charles Shirley:

> young S[i]r Charles Sherly a youth of ten yeares of age baronett, since he was taken from his mother my Lady Dorothy & given to her brother, his uncle the Earle of Essex to be bred in Protestantisme, hath never since shewed any ioy, and still refuseth to go to church, or to praiers with them, seeing that his father charged him upon his death bedd [with] his religion, yea it is reported further that his father appeared severall times unto him & spoke to him in this effect, but I suspend my belief for that matter till I have heard better proof than I have donn yet.[49]

Charles' fidelity consists in his refusal to 'go to church' and his unhappiness rather than in actively challenging Protestant authorities. More emphasis is placed on the paternal relationship: the child respects his father's dying injunctions, what was 'charged him upon [his father's] death bedd'. Including possible visions in which that 'charge' is repeated implies that the paternal role continues after death: this protests against the assault, through wardship, on even a dead father's authority. But it is still the child's resistance which validates the rejection of Protestantism.

When challenges to parental custody actually occurred, Catholic parents usually responded with evasion rather than confrontation. George Jerningham did not plead the inviolability of patriarchy when his sons were placed with a Protestant schoolmaster in 1593; he petitioned the Privy Council that sickness was spreading in London and he had to take them home for their health.[50] In 1620, when the Privy Council summoned Viscount Montague and his son, saying that they wanted the boy educated at a Protestant school, Lord Montague replied that neither of them could travel due to poor health—and that there was no law which could force him to send his son to Eton.[51] Perhaps Catholics feared that challenging the grounds of interference was an invitation to shift that ground. They relied instead on the cultural assumptions that would keep government claims in check, and guarantee allies in their evasion.

If a parent did lose custody of a child due to recusancy it created a peculiar dilemma: not simply that religious constancy brought hardship, but that professing the faith meant sacrificing one's children's faith. Both Mrs Keynes and Alethea Anderton eventually took the Oath of Abjuration. The Catholic account of the Andertons says that after about five years'

absence, 'their mother found how to get them home'.[52] The records of the Committee for Compounding indicate that the means she found was to swear her denial of Catholicism. But having regained her children, Mrs Anderton encountered another problem. Alethea and Dorothea had reportedly spent two years with abusive guardians, who 'allowed them scarce meat or cloths & kept [them] bare leg'd in sackcloth […] Besides that, they did beat them with whips that had croocked pins in them'. They were then moved to other guardians who treated them better—and achieved what brutality had not: young Alethea 'became great in the bible', and assimilated Protestant beliefs such that 'Catholic religion she could not abide'. Returned home, 'she would not say the Ave Maria unles her Mother whipt her, & even then […] she would afterwards spit out again the words'.[53] One can only guess at the confusion in the child's mind, but if Mrs Anderton had committed apostasy in order to be able to re-Catholicise her children, both guilt and desperation may have motivated her severity.

This account (based probably on Alethea's testimony) emphasises the cruelty to the children involved in re-education attempts, but does not avoid the fact that, often enough, they worked. And therefore they had to be resisted: parents wanted to keep custody of their children not only because it was 'natural', but because they cared as much as did any government official about the children's religious orthodoxy. To people for whom life's ultimate aim was salvation after death, this was as much part of parental love as providing food, clothes and affection.

Conclusion

One battle over child custody, fought between 1636 and 1641, epitomises the key issues: patriarchy, the household's integrity, its public liability, natural rights, and the merits of evasion versus challenge. When the first Viscount Fairfax, of Gilling, Yorkshire, made a will providing that his eldest grandson be educated by the Protestant Sir Thomas Wentworth (future Earl of Strafford), rather than by Fairfax's Catholic son, one could easily argue that it had little legal force. So in backing Wentworth, the Privy Council made the largest possible claim for the state's right to enforce religious conformity over paternal rights. Resisting this claim, the second viscount was driven to articulate the theoretical questions more clearly than any other Catholic. When he died only a few years later, wardship achieved

what grander claims could not: the new Lord Fairfax was committed to Protestant guardians and removed from his mother's custody.[54]

Lord Fairfax's reply to the Privy Council's demand in 1639 begins with defence rather than defiance:

1. that he is resolved rather to lose the 1200li. then part wth. his sonne and (soe conceiving that this being in his choyce) his fathers will is in that behalfe performed.[55]
   Fairfax argues first that his father's will can be fulfilled other than by his son's Protestant education. Only then does he risk an actual objection. The law backs paternal rights:
2. 'that the lawes of the land gives [*sic*] the father ownly an interest in the disposicion of his eldest sonne'.
   His father, he suggests, was not competent to make such a will, and as such, the Council has nothing to enforce. But, as though aware that this proposition was as ideologically contentious as it was legally unanswerable, Fairfax moves on to persuasion, producing various subsidiary reasons for the Council to leave him alone.
3. that he is not ownly ready to spend his life, but also his estate to doe his Majesty service and hath in obedience to his Majesty and his lawes paid his Irish subsidies for his title, compounded for his Recusancy […] And soe hee humbly desires hee may be noe worse in the good favour of your Majesty then the rest of the Recusants in England.
4. that he hath many younger children to provide for, and that the estranging of the eldest sonne from him and his mother, may produce such effects by the discontents of their mind, as might be inconvenient to all three, besides the hope of the advancement of his younger children (hee being but tenant for life) dependes onely upon the value of his eldest sonnes marige, which probably may be lost by the separacion of his sonne from him, and his mother.
5. that hee is in noe way either factious or seditious, but one that in all things hath expressed as much duty and obedience to his Majesty and his lawes, as any other of his ranke and quality.
6. that there are noe presidents of this nature, for either they were Peeres of the Realme in warde or such as might other ways endanger the state of the Realme.

As well as emphasising Fairfax's loyalty, citing the recusancy fines he obediently pays links the removal of children to persecution in general: he

asks to be 'noe worse' treated than 'the rest of the Recusants'. But this is as close as Fairfax treads towards the actual centre of the case, religious orthodoxy. Fairfax pleads for household integrity: 'estranging' the future head of the family will break its unity, perhaps disrupting the household order whereby the head willingly cares for his dependents. Only by implication does he suggest that religious division might be the cause of such disruption. In his last objection, Fairfax continues to avoid his biggest liability, that education by Wentworth would be Protestant and by Fairfax Catholic, claiming that 'if he were to part with his son' he would not object to Wentworth: '7. Lastely, that if hee were to parte with his sonne, hee would part with him as soon to the Lord Deputy [Wentworth] as any other: but the Lawe of nature gives the mother the custody of her owne childe'.[56] Finally, Fairfax cites the 'law of nature': while he can plead English law only for the father, not the mother, he more than compensates by invoking nature itself in favour of maternal custody. Fairfax appeals both to the polity's laws favouring patriarchy, and to cultural assumptions about the natural family.

The Privy Council did not detail its counter-arguments for rejecting Fairfax's case. But the terms in which the chosen Protestant guardian pursued his claims are instructive. Wentworth, like Fairfax, avoided the confessional issue when he took up the first viscount's bequest. He wrote to the new Lord and Lady Fairfax (in April 1637) in courteous terms which assumed they would co-operate. He offered himself as 'a ready Instrument to the task of the Education of the Heir of that House to which I am allied in Blood and of that Person that ever was esteemed and beloved in my Family'.[57] When co-operation was not forthcoming, Wentworth invoked the Privy Council. But his initial letter is more than a threat worded nicely. Wentworth's ally in the rescue of young William Fairfax was Henry Fairfax, the new viscount's brother. In November 1637, after Wentworth's first attempt had failed, Henry wrote about his brother and sister-in-law's continued evasion. He told Wentworth, 'I thinke myself made happy by your Lordships Noble and Free Expression of your Affection in the memory of my Father, the wellfare of our howse, and accomplishment of his will'.[58] Wentworth's reply referred again to 'the trust of my Lord your Father [...] the beleefe his Lordship had in me'. He enclosed a letter directly to Lord Fairfax, in which he declared that 'It was a Legacye left me by my owne Father to Honour and Serve the Howse of Walton [...] I hereby desire your Lordship's full Resolution, whether I shall receive that pledge of your Fathers trust from you or noe'.[59] Wentworth and Henry Fairfax were

also invoking the family polity. Wentworth is resolved to serve the 'house' and 'family' of his kinsman, the first viscount; among other reasons, he is obliged by his own filial duty ('a legacy left me by my own father'). Henry Fairfax thanks Wentworth for his concern for the 'welfare of our house'. An appeal to 'family' and 'household' thus enables a challenge to the rights of a father.

Catholicism is the elephant in the room. In defending the rights of father and family, Lord Fairfax avoided saying that these rights held absolutely, and religious dissent was irrelevant. But that was necessarily what he meant. Wentworth and Henry Fairfax did not say that removing the heir was necessary for the welfare of the house because its current head was a Papist, but that is their implied argument. If transmitted to his son, Lord Fairfax's Catholicism will damage the family. His religious dissent negates his headship of the house. The first viscount's headship has to continue posthumously, as it were, bypassing his disobedient son's aberration in order to restore—in the next generation—right order in the household, and thus between the household and the polity. The Privy Council's response to Lord Fairfax's declaration of 1639 was simply that they saw no reason to reverse their order in Wentworth's favour. But when Lord Fairfax died, in 1641, his son was still with his parents at Gilling (it was only then that the wardship was sold to Protestants, and young Fairfax was sent away to a Protestant school).[60] Lack of action by the Council may imply an acceptance that in practice they could not push the law that far. But the theoretical argument was not conceded.

Religious dissidence profoundly threatened the cohesive imagery of the paternal monarch and the household kingdom. The results were that, firstly, English rulers sometimes tried to prioritise one imperative over the other. Secondly, as far as English Catholics were concerned, the household won. As persecution in general decreased during the later seventeenth century, we hear little more about intervention in religious upbringing. This demonstrates the power of confessionalisation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it drove statesmen to attempt the dissolution of the family. But it also demonstrates the limits of confessionalisation: though religious practices might be criminalised, religious uniformity could not encompass the household. It further indicates the practical limits of state ideology: private rights still superseded the perceived responsibilities of the state. Yet there was no ideological triumph for parental rights. Whether the state should protect children from their parents' errors remained an

open question; what became clear was that, in the seventeenth century, it could not.

In a way, the debate remains open. In modern Britain, it is accepted that the state can replace parents as guardians when necessity arises—though necessity is not currently deemed to include teaching children the wrong religion. Early modern statesmen assumed that formation in the wrong religion was a bad thing, but were less sure about the state's rights over children. Modern states are more likely to use a discourse of the rights of children, while early modern politicians spoke of the state's right and obligation to ensure national religious unity; one perhaps expresses greater individualisation, while the other prioritises the larger unit. Both approaches, though, find the 'middle unit' of the family—an institution smaller than the state to which the individual also belongs—uneasy. Despite changing contexts, similar questions recur. What are the boundaries between state and family? What, if anything, justifies state intervention in the upbringing of children? To whom do children belong?

Notes

1. TNA, State Papers (SP from here on) 14/69/69. See also Lucy Underwood, *Childhood, youth and religious dissent in post-Reformation England* (Basingstoke, 2014), chapters 4–5. Material in these chapters is used here.
2. Richard Huscroft, 'The State', in Cavallo, S. & Evangelisti, S., *A cultural history of childhood and family in the early modern age* (Oxford, 2010) pp. 127–144; B. Premo, *Children of the father king: Youth, authority and legal minority in colonial Lima* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2005) esp. pp. 27–31.
3. F.E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, gender and seventeenth century print culture* (Ithaca & London, 1999).
4. Lucy Underwood, 'Youth, religious identity and autobiography at the English Colleges in Rome and Valladolid, 1592–1685' in *Historical Journal* 55:2 (2012), pp. 349–374; Underwood, *Childhood*, chapter 2.
5. L.Cowen Orlin, *Private matters and public culture in post-Reformation England* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 115–125.
6. Cornelius Burges 'Another Sermon Preached to the Honourable House of Commons now Assembled in Parliament, November the Fifth, 1641' in R. Jeffs (ed.), *The English Revolution I: Fast Sermons to Parliament*, 34 vols. (London, 1970–1971) I, pp. 333–401 (p. 371); British Library Lansdowne Ms.97 ff. 156–158.

7. ‘advice in matters of religion and State’, attributed to William Cecil, Lord Burghley., in J. Somers & W. Scott (eds.) *Somers Tracts*, 13 vols. (London, 1809–1815), I, p. 166.
8. Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 73–112.
9. See Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 73–74, for examples.
10. A.C.F Beales, *Education under Penalty: English Catholic education from the Reformation to the fall of James II* (London, 1963) pp. 61–62, 93–97, 101–103.
11. SP 14/69/69.
12. H.E.Bell, *An Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards and Liveries* (Cambridge, 1953).
13. Bell, *Court of Wards*, chapter 7; P. Croft, ‘Wardship in the parliament of 1604’ in *Parliamentary History* 2 (1983), pp. 39–48; N. Cuddy ‘The real, attempted ‘Tudor Revolution in Government’: Salisbury’s 1610 Great Contract’, in G.W. Bernard & S.J. Gunn (eds.), *Authority and Consent in Tudor England* (Aldershot, 1988) pp. 249–270.
14. SP 14/69/69.
15. SP 14/69/69.
16. Underwood, *Childhood*, chapter 4.
17. Salisbury Mss. 214/66; Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 83–84, 85. Mordant’s commitee, Sir Henry Compton, was probably a Catholic sympathiser, but an outward conformist.
18. J. Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic forefathers related by themselves*, 3 vols. (London, 1872–1877), III, pp. 287–288; York City Archives, York Housebooks B32 f.79^{v}-81; Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 100–102, 109.
19. Morris, *Troubles*, III, pp. 288–289.
20. Morris, *Troubles*, III, pp. 291–292; YCA B32 f.241–242.
21. Morris, *Troubles*, III, p. 287.
22. Martin Luther, ‘To Councilmen of all cities in Germany that they establish Christian schools’ (trans. J.Pelikan and H.T.Lehman), in T.F. Lull (ed.) *Martin Luther’s basic theological writings*, 2nd edn. (Minneapolis MN, 2005) pp. 460–478 (p. 465).
23. Orlin, *Private matters*, pp. 85–86.
24. Orlin, *Private matters*, p. 3.
25. Orlin, *Private matters*, chapter 2.
26. *Statutes of the Realm*, IV.ii, 3 Jac I c.5, p. 1081. Beales, *Education*, p. 92; *House of Commnons Journal* I, p. 264; D.H.Wilson (ed.) *The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer, 1606–1607* (New York, 1971) pp. 30, 106, 160–163, 170–175, 183–184.
27. Wilson, *Bowyer’s Diary* p. 172.
28. Wilson, *Bowyer’s Diary* p. 172.
29. Morris, *Troubles*, III, pp. 289–290.

30. Catholic Record Society Records Series, vol. 53 (1961), pp. 116–117, from Cecil Papers.
31. Catholic Record Society Records Series, vol. 53 (1961), pp. 120–121, from Cecil Papers.
32. TNA WARD 9/299 (unfoliated) 2 Dec 1626.
33. Notebook of Henry Cole, British Library Lansdowne Ms.608 f.53v; TNA C142/404/126; TNA WARD 9/207 f.47.
34. He appears as witness, trustee and so on, in various Chancery documents relating to Staffordshire families. I am grateful to Simon Healy of the History of Parliament Trust for this information.
35. A.C. Clifford (ed.) *Tixall Letters*, 2 vols (London, 1815), I, pp. 63–70; ODNB Walter Aston 1584–1639; G.M. Bell, *A handlist of British diplomatic representatives 1509–1688* (London, 1990) pp. 258–259.
36. WARD 9/299 19 February 1624/5; WARD 9/299 31 May 625; WARD 9/299 20 February 1625/6; Underwood, *Chilldhood*, p. 78
37. *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, p. 769; see also Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 102–108.
38. Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 103–104; M.A.E. Green, *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Commitee for Compounding* [*CCC* from here on], 5 vols (London, 1889–1892, repr. 1967) IV, p. 2591.
39. *CCC*: III pp. 1644–1646; see also, *CCC*: IV pp. 2503–2504, 2539–2541, 2492–2494; *CCC*: III pp. 2226–2228; SP 23/19/f.1116^{r}.
40. Underwood, *Childhood*, p. 106.
41. The main source is a Catholic report. Records of the Committee for Compounding offer circumstantial corroboration; see Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 106–107, and below.
42. *CCC*: III pp. 2276–2283 (pp. 2278–2279); A.K.Tompkins, 'The English Catholic Issue, 1640–1662: Factionalism, Perceptions and Exploitation', (unpublished PhD. dissertation, University of London 2010), pp. 103, 112–114. Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 104–105.
43. *CCC*: III pp. 2279, 2282.
44. Underwood, *Childhood*, p. 79.
45. Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 82–83; SP 14/112/59.I; SP 14/112/9.
46. Cornelius Burges, 'Another Sermon', p. 371.
47. CRS: 52, pp. 1–16 at p. 6.
48. John Gibbon, *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia* (Trier, 1588) pt.2. Addenda sig.A1^{v} -sig.C2^{v}; Beales, *Education*, pp. 59–60.
49. Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster, B47, f.68 (13 Dec 1633). I am grateful to Michelle Howell for this reference.
50. Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 94, 110.
51. *Acts of the Privy Council* vol. 37 (1619–21), pp. 363–4; SP 14/120/20 f.30.

52. Chronicles of St Monica's Convent, Louvain, property of Augustinian Canonesses of Windesheim, Kingston-near-Lewes, held at Douai Abbey, Reading, pp. 607–611, 615. I am grateful to Caroline Bowden for her transcript, and to the Canonesses for permission to quote; Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 106–107.
53. Chronicles of St Monica's Convent, pp. 607–611, 615.
54. See J.C.H. Aveling, 'The Yorkshire Fairfaxes', in *Recusant History* 4:2, pp. 61–101; Underwood, *Childhood*, pp. 81–82, 110–111.
55. The funds provided by the first Viscount for his grandson's Protestant education, to go to the 2nd viscount's brother if he did not comply. Aveling, 'Yorkshire Fairfaxes' p. 64
56. Quotations from text printed in full in Aveling, 'Yorkshire Fairfaxes', pp. 64–65. Abbreviations expanded.
57. Aveling, 'Yorkshire Fairfaxes', p. 62.
58. Aveling, 'Yorkshire Fairfaxes', p. 65.
59. Aveling, 'Yorkshire Fairfaxes', p. 66.
60. Aveling, 'Yorkshire Fairfaxes', pp. 65, 75–76, 78.

CHAPTER 12

Father Figures: Paternal Politics in the Conversion Narratives of Thomas Gage and James Wadsworth

Abigail Shinn

In what follows, I will consider how two seventeenth-century converts to Protestantism, Thomas Gage (1603–1656) and James Wadsworth (b. 1604), employ father figures as a powerful and multivalent anti-Catholic trope.[1] Paying particular attention to the literary construction of their conversion narratives I will argue that both Gage and Wadsworth use paternal metaphors as a way of organising and justifying their conversions to Protestantism. Most commonly this is figured as a renouncement of the faith of their paternal biological parent and a turn towards a heavenly father. This is not the only way in which the language of fatherhood is employed, however, and both men compose elaborate chains of paternal association which encompass God, Christ, the Pope, monarch, magistrate and confessor, while always looking towards a moment of divine judgement. By focusing upon the father figure in these texts it is therefore possible to identify fatherhood as a key metaphor for religious and national affiliation, and to demonstrate that the language of paternal

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relationships and inheritance, and the correspondent framing of the convert as a child, provided converts with a powerful way of articulating their spiritual transformation.

In order to uncover the central role played by 'father figures' in Wadsworth and Gage's texts I will firstly consider how these converts describe their motivations for abandoning the faith of their fathers in order to embrace Protestantism. I will then examine how they utilise the paternal language of hierarchy employed by religious orders such as the Jesuits and Dominicans and reframe it to outline a Catholic perversion of the filial bond between father and son; an image further emphasised by Gage's and Wadsworth's description of Protestant England as a true mother. This will culminate in an analysis of the slippage between paternity, patrimony and patronage when discussing issues of inheritance, a correlation of particular importance for writers looking to secure patronage for their work. Finally, I will map this paternal language onto Wadsworth and Gage's view of their conversions as a teleological progress towards redemption and resurrection, a process which they tie to the model of inheritance via primogeniture.

James Wadsworth's father (also called James) converted to Catholicism while working for the English ambassador to Spain, Sir Charles Cornwallis, in 1605 and he subsequently conveyed his family to Andalusia and placed his son in a Jesuit school.[2] Wadsworth Jnr. details his renouncement of his father's Catholicism in *The English Spanish Pilgrime* (1629), a description of his time in Catholic schools in Spain and St. Omer, his realisation of the truth of Protestant teaching and subsequent desire for a return to the country of his forefathers. His narrative vacillates between accounts of the workings of the Jesuit school system, descriptions of false miracles perpetuated by the Jesuits in order to convince their charges to remain, descriptions of sea battles, and an account of his kidnapping by pirates, identified as '*Mooriscoes*' who sodomised Wadsworth's young companions and smoked opium until 'halfe drunk'.[3] His intent is to 'rippe vp the very bowels of these treacherous […] Fathers [the Jesuits]' and display their perfidy to an English readership (D2^{r}).[4] *The English Spanish Pilgrime* was popular enough to secure the publication of *Fvrther Observations of the English Spanish Pilgrime Concerning Spaine* in 1630, indicating that his insider knowledge of both Catholic institutions and the Spanish court—where his father acted as tutor to the Infanta—was of interest to the English reading public.[5] Wadsworth's narrative publicised the names of English, Scottish and Irish fugitives in Spain, including the traveller and Catholic convert

Anthony Shirley, and provided details of his experiences acting as an interpreter for the young Charles I while he was at the Spanish court in 1623. He also outlines his later career working as a (rather unsuccessful) spy for the English crown and as a pursuivant hunting recusants.[6]

Thomas Gage came from a prominent recusant family in Surrey and both of his parents were condemned to death for harbouring priests but were later reprieved. Like Wadsworth, he was educated at St. Omer. Gage wrote about his conversion to Protestantism in *The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land* (1648), a narrative which addresses his spiritual transformation alongside an account of his travels in the New World as a Dominican missionary. Gage's conversion is associated with an early dissatisfaction with Catholic doctrine but culminates in a moment of doubt prompted by watching a mouse eat the communal wafer (S3^r). Appended to *The English-American* is a 'Grammar' of the native language of '*Poconchi*, or *Pocoman*' (titlepage) which he identifies as the '*Indian* tongue' used in Guatemala and Honduras, and he goes to considerable lengths to describe the native peoples of the West Indies and their habits and environments, dedicating a chapter to chocolate (T5^r). One of Gage's primary concerns is the barbarity of Spanish colonialists and he argues for greater English involvement in South America in order to counter both Spanish imperialism and Catholic domination: 'Of wronged *indians*, whom you shall set free / From Spanish yoke, and *Romes* Idolatry' (A6^v).[7]

Gage's text also details his decision to join the Dominican order rather than the Jesuits as his father, John Gage, had wished; a resolution that causes an irreparable breach with his family. Gage would famously turn informant during the Civil War years and testify against his former Catholic brethren, including his own brother, Father George Gage; his evidence leading to the execution of at least three priests he had known previously.[8] This aspect of his biography has led to successive editors of *The English-American* excising his more virulently anti-Catholic opinions. Uncomfortable with Gage's 'foul infamy' they have 'deleted the greater part of those unpleasantries' or reframed the text as an adventure narrative focused primarily on Gage's interactions with the native peoples of South America, turning the text into a Boy's Own adventure.[9] This was a trend that would start as early as 1655 with the publication of an edition of *The English-American*, newly titled *A new survey of the West-India's, or, The English-American, his travail by sea and land*, this was structured as a travel narrative and included a series of detailed maps.[10]

There are many similarities between Gage's and Wadsworth's narratives besides these biographical details and the conflated national affiliations indicated by their books' titles, particularly in their descriptions of the foreign cultures of Spain and the Americas and their recollection of experiences within Catholic institutions. The dates of the two texts (*The English Spanish Pilgrime* was published in 1629 and *The English-American* in 1648) also place the publication of their narratives within periods of heightened anti-Catholic feeling in England. In the 1620s there was increased anti-Catholic sentiment associated with negotiations over the Spanish match (1614–1623) and anxieties about a number of prominent conversions of English noblewomen connected with the court of the Catholic queen Henrietta Maria.[11] In 1628 a proclamation called for the arrest of all Jesuits and the return of children educated in Catholic institutions overseas—a shift in the treatment of the English recusant community which appears to be mirrored by many aspects of Wadsworth's narrative, particularly when he recounts how the sons of noblemen are tricked into remaining in Jesuit schools and constrained from leaving and returning to their families.[12] For example, Wadsworth includes the story of Estenelaus Brown who made a bid to escape by forging a letter from his father but is discovered. The fathers inform his parent that 'if euer hee should bee in *England* […] he would turne Protestant' (E2^{r}).

In the 1640s the Irish rebellion was being painted as a confessional conflict and presses associated with the parliamentarian John Pym were disseminating anti-Catholic material in the hopes of influencing the further radicalisation of the parliamentary cause.[13] Given Gage's support for parliament's persecution of Catholics during the Civil War, it is possible to connect his conversion text to this period of politically motivated anti-Catholic feeling, and he may have opportunistically sought to publicly ally himself with growing anger over perceived Catholic involvement in the Royalist struggle. Wadsworth and Gage are therefore engaging in wider debates about the threat posed by Catholic communities and religious orders overseas, and use their conversion narratives as a vehicle for religious polemic which allies them to prominent anti-Catholic movements in England.

Wadsworth and Gage renounced the faith of their fathers and after extensive periods in Catholic institutions, returned to England and converted to Protestantism, (although for Gage this is a considerably more drawn-out process than it is for Wadsworth).[14] Beyond the many similarities in their conversion experiences, however, their efforts to disseminate

proof of their change in confessional affiliation result in texts which are fundamentally structured around the use of different father figures and they cleverly use the image of true and false paternities to organise their anti-papal and anti-Catholic discourse.

From Father to Faith

Wadsworth's conversion begins when aged 18 he reads the scriptures in secret:

> [...] when I came to be 18 yeeres of age or there abouts, I vndertooke in secret to read and peruse the sacred scriptures [...] after I had conferred one thing with another, I found more resemblance and probability of the truth in the Protestants religion than in our own. (L3^{v})

His clandestine reading of what may be an English translation of the Bible is accompanied by a growing distaste with the behaviour of his Jesuit teachers. He claims they 'make spels of their reliques' and that in contrast the Protestants he meets are 'modest, religious, and honest, quite contrarie to the report of the Iesuites' (L4^{r}, M1^{r}). Wadsworth's focus upon scripture acting as a catalyst for conversion is a commonplace of Protestant conversion narratives, but the text makes clear that his conversion is fundamentally shaped around a rejection of his father's Catholicism and not truly complete until his father dies and he returns to England: 'my Father being dead, and I at my owne disposal, I came for *England*' (M1^{v}).[15]

The title page to *The English Spanish Pilgrime* immediately signals Wadsworth's position as the son of a Catholic convert:

> Composed by *James Wadsworth* Gentleman, newly conuerted into his true mothers bosome, the *Church of England* [...] Sonne to M^{r}. *Iames Wadsworth*, Bachelor of Diuinity, sometime of *Emanuell* Colledge in the Vniuersity of *Cambridge*, who was peruerted in the yeere 1604. and late Tutor to *Donis Maria Infanta* of *Spaine*.

The text informs the reader that Wadsworth Jnr.'s conversion is a movement from a 'peruerted' father to a 'true mother', a father who, regardless of his apostasy, is university educated and affiliated with the Spanish court. Wadsworth is clearly anxious to stress his father's social position, thereby allowing his secular paternal inheritance to remain intact even as

he renounces his father's faith. This is later mirrored by Wadsworth's insistence that his father 'grew into dislike with the Iesuites' after hearing his son recount stories of their behaviour (G3^{v}). This is an instance where Wadsworth attempts to rehabilitate his parent by dwelling upon his place in Spanish society and his later susceptibility to reconversion. Wadsworth does not shy away from his paternal history but rather glosses it in such a way as to emphasise his status as a legitimate gentleman's son and a Protestant with unique access to the workings of the Spanish court.

Wadsworth's description of his father's death echoes the language of the title page in its attempt to simultaneously rehabilitate his Catholic parent while foregrounding Wadsworth Jnr.'s position as a gentleman. Before his death, Wadsworth Snr., having lost faith with the Jesuits and informed that the Order was developing 'plots and information against him', leaves the Infanta's employ and returns home only to fall sick and die 'after eight dayes space' (H2^{v}). Wadsworth Snr. is depicted by his son as a convert who at his death regrets his turn to Rome, a narrative reinforced by Wadsworth's discovery of some of his father's letters in which he infers he expressed doubts about Catholic doctrine: 'his Letters […] gaue me to vnderstand, that the *Romane* Faith was not the surest way to Saluation' (L4^{v}). Wadsworth is also careful to list the number of gentlemen and noblemen of the court, including the 'Earle *Gondamor*', who attend his father's funeral (H3^{r}). This foregrounding of his father's position in the Spanish court is followed by the description of Wadsworth and his brother going to 'kisse the Infantas and *Don Oliuares*' hands before receiving his father's pension (H3^{r}). Wadsworth is critical of his father's decision to convert, and his death allows his son the freedom to return to England, but nonetheless he maintains that his father is well respected by those in power and that the family retains proximity to the Spanish crown. As James VI and I had sought a possible alliance with Spain through the proposed marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta, (negotiations which potentially touched upon the two Wadsworths in their positions as tutor and interpreter), the implication is that the Wadsworth family were also affiliated to the English monarchy. It is likely that Wadsworth Jnr. sought to exploit this tenuous link while rehabilitating his parent in order to promote his later career as a spy for the English crown.

Wadsworth details how his return to his 'true mothers bosome, the *Church of England*' (title page) follows the death of his father, a journey which is also prompted by what Wadsworth sees as a natural affinity for his native country: 'I was still (as all men are by naturall inclination) well

affected towards my natiue soyle' (L3r). This is a homecoming described as a return to his family's Protestant past, a self-conscious mapping of his conversion onto the story of the prodigal son, although in this instance the return is an act of repatriation which is only made possible by the death of his father.

In contrast to Wadsworth, Gage's text is much more circumspect about his paternal lineage. His break with his father happens well before his conversion and is based upon his decision to join the Dominicans, a rupture which provides the inspiration for his travels. When Gage is living with a Dominican order in Xerez in Andalucía, a group of friars arrive with the intent of recruiting men for a mission to New Spain. Gage knows one of them, a man called Melendez. Melendez invites Gage to supper and proceeds to get drunk: '*Bacheus* metamorphosed him from a Divine into a Orator, and made him a *Cicero* in parts of Rhetoricall eloquence' (B6r). In his cups, Melendez describes a fecund world in the Indies which exceeds even the bounty associated with the land God promised to Abraham in the Book of Genesis: the Indies are 'paved with tiles of silver and gold, the stones to be Pearls, Rubies, and Diamonds […] the fields to be planted with Sugar Canes, which should so sweeten the *Chocolate*, that it should farre exceed the milk and hony of the land of promise' (B6v). Intrigued by Melendez's account of the riches of the Americas, Gage retires for the night and unable to sleep he contemplates an 'angry and harsh' letter he has received from his father (B6v). Incensed that his son has joined the Dominican order rather than the Jesuits, Gage Snr. writes that 'he would have thought his money better spent, if I had been a Scullion in a Colledge of Jesuits, then if I should prove a Generall of the Order of Dominicans; that I should never think to be welcome to my Brothers nor kindred in *England*' (B6v). Gage's father, as further punishment, cuts his son off from the family's money, 'a childs part due unto me', leaving him dependent upon the Order (D1r). Ruminating upon this Gage decides to embark upon the mission to New Spain, vowing

> to visit *America*, and there to abide till such time as Death should surprise my angry Father […] and till I might there gain […] treasure that might Counterpoise that Childs part, which for detesting the foure Cornered Cap, and black Coat of Jesuits, my father had deprived me of. (D1r)

His role as a missionary is therefore shaped by his father's stipulation that he remain in exile and by his desire to recoup the wealth lost from

his inheritance in a land he believes is 'paved with tiles of silver and gold'. Gage's narrative is initially just as indebted to a paternal figure as Wadsworth's, but he makes no attempt to rehabilitate his parent. Instead, his father's disapproval provides the initial catalyst for Gage's travels and thereby for his later conversion.

Early in the text Gage describes feeling doubts about 'some chief of the Popish tenents' prior to leaving for the Americas, and he makes it clear that he is able to explore these concerns when distanced from his father's influence in England (C1^r). This space for contemplation is described by Gage as one of the opportunities presented by travel. Travel provides 'the increase of knowledge naturall by the insight of rich *Americas* and flourishing *Asia*, and of knowledge spirituall by a long contemplation of that new planted Church, and of those Church Planters lives and conversations' (C1^r). The missionary church in the Americas provides both new spiritual knowledge and conversation and crucially removes Gage from the sphere of influence associated with his father. Gage's return to England, like Wadsworth's, follows the death of his father in 1626. Gage, however, only begins his journey home in 1637, returning to England after two decades abroad. Gage fails to allude to his father's death in the text until after his return to England—a glaring omission considering his motives for leaving Europe. But while his father's death is not mentioned before or immediately upon his return, Gage later describes his attempts to recover his inheritance. When he questions his younger brother about his father's will he is told that while his father left money for his other siblings and second wife he has left nothing for Thomas: 'to mee nothing, nay that at his death he did not so much as remember mee' (T1^r). It is perhaps this moment in the narrative which signals the final, and permanent, severing of the bond between father and son, thereby allowing Gage to complete his conversion to Protestantism. This occurs five years after his return to England, a change formally acknowledged by the publication of a sermon titled *The Tyranny of Satan Discovered in the Tears of a Converted Sinner* (1642). Throughout the text, every stage in Gage's movement towards Protestantism, from his initial journey to the Americas, to his return to England, is typified by a step away from the obstacle represented by his father.

Despite Wadsworth and Gage's differing approaches to the role played by their biological fathers in their conversions, perhaps defined by the Gage family's long-standing recusancy and Wadsworth Snr.'s status as a new convert (it would have been very difficult for Gage to rehabilitate the

memory of his father), in both their narratives the father is formulated as a barrier which has to be surmounted before the son can return from exile and embrace Protestantism.

Ghostly Fathers and the Confessor

While both *The English-American* and *The English Spanish Pilgrime* depict a movement away from a biological parent, these are not the only fathers present in these texts. Both Gage and Wadsworth spent considerable time within Catholic institutions modelled on paternal hierarchies: the Jesuit and Dominican orders. As such, they both identify the language of Catholic fatherhood with a perversion of familial roles. For example, Wadsworth compiles a satirical ten commandments which he says all Jesuits live by, these include 'To be still jocund and merry' and 'To gouerne their neighbours wife'. The eighth commandment is 'To make a slave of their ghostly child' (E2^{v}). Throughout the text Wadsworth refers to the Jesuits as 'ghostly Fathers' implying that the 'ghostly child' is the child to whom they act as confessor (D1^{v}). Wadsworth argues that the priests within the Jesuit school in St. Omer abuse this relationship, turning the students into slaves. He describes confession as an 'Interrogatory', allying the priest with the interrogator and torturer (D2^{r}). These ghostly fathers can also be linked to the Pope, whose title is derived from the Latin *papa* or father, a connection highlighted by Gage in *The English-American* when he describes the Pope in the following terms: '*the head of* Rome, *who sacrilegiously stiles himselfe Holinesse and most Holy Father*' (M1^{v}).

Wadsworth reinforces his focus upon the corruption of fatherhood within the Jesuit order by referring to the priests collectively as the 'paternities' (C2^{r}). He also details the story of one Colonel Simple who founded the Scottish seminary in Madrid with the intention of making his 'base sonne' the prefect (I4^{v}). These multiple fathers, whose names are always presaged with 'father' in the text, may therefore themselves stem from a dubious paternal line, one which bars them from legitimate paternal inheritance. Due to clerical celibacy the expectation is also that the priests themselves will not bear children, including sons who will carry on their bloodline. This is contrary to a common focus upon the social and cultural importance of reproduction for men, although as Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster have argued, childless men could still assume paternal roles within a wider household.[16]

Wadsworth also describes how a monastery in Antwerp controls nunneries made up of the daughters of English gentlemen and 'Chambermaids [...] hauing been by the Iesuites well rigd [sic] of their maidenhead' (L1^{r}). The implication is that clerics may also be fathering illegitimate sons and daughters. This image of priests as both potentially illegitimate and unable to take on the role of biological parents, unless by producing illegitimate children, allows Wadsworth to highlight the irony inherent in their position as Fathers or 'paternities'. This is exacerbated by the fact that the English students at St. Omer have been transferred by their biological fathers into the care of the Jesuits and 'their [the students] chiefest quality is noble blood' (C3^{v}). By educating the male children of noblemen the Jesuits presumably hope to secure influence with their parents. The focus here is upon religious inheritance through primogeniture, although for Wadsworth this is the transferral of error rather than religious truth, a progression from fatherly perversion to corrupt Jesuit paternities that is mirrored by his own experience. Using the example of a boy named Herbert Crafts, Wadsworth argues that occasionally the Jesuits will even steal a child away against the parent's wishes, severing the natural bond between father and son (D3^{v}). Wadsworth consequently paints a multi-layered image of corrupt Catholic paternity as a means of critiquing the Jesuit school system.

Similarly, Gage employs the language of paternity to highlight the corruption of both the Catholic faith and the Dominican and Jesuit orders. He criticises the way that Catholics 'all yield [...] to blind Obedience, and their most holy Fathers infallibility', associating submission to the Pope with perverted filial obedience (B1^{r}). Like Wadsworth, he talks about the Jesuits' interest in educating the children of the nobility as a way of securing power over their parents: 'strive they so much for the education of Gentlemens Children in their Colledges, that by teaching the sonnes, the love of the fathers and mothers may bee more easily gained' (B2^{v}). In accordance with his own experience of being disinherited, he reserves particular venom for Jesuits who persuade fathers to leave all their wealth to the church rather than their rightful son and heir, using the example of a Venetian senator:

> They politickly drew him to make his will according to their will and pleasure, leaving to his son and heire no more then what they should think fit to afford him [...] appropriating to themselves the chiefest part of the young heires meanes. (B2^{v})

For Gage this is an unnatural perversion of the line of inheritance and evidence of the Jesuits' corruption of familial bonds in service of their avarice.

Gage also details the enmity between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, claiming that the Jesuits are the more ambitious, but that the Dominicans have secured the role of 'ghostly father' [confessor] to the King of Spain, a position which the Jesuits covet (B3^{v}). Priests consequently subvert the natural filial relationship between father and son in order to further their claim for a universal Catholic church. But Gage also frames them as having the ability—through the confessional—to corrupt and influence those in power, including monarchs.

The confessional was one of the key points of divergence between Catholics and Protestants and in anti-Catholic discourse it was associated with the sophistry of Machiavellian priests who could use the relationship between penitent and confessor to manipulate and corrupt the vulnerable. For both Wadsworth and Gage, paternal power in the hands of priests represents a distortion of natural filial obedience. Ghostly fathers sever the bonds between fathers and sons, replacing the biological parent with a confessor who manipulates the child into serving devilish error rather than divine truth. In this case the father figure has become a warped mockery of the paternal bond—not only between father and son but also between man and God.

It is significant that both Gage and Wadsworth figure their conversion and return to England as an abandonment of Catholic paternities and a return to a maternal bond signified by Protestant England. For Wadsworth this is demonstrated by *The English Spanish Pilgrime*'s advertisement that he has been 'newly conuerted into his true mothers bosome' (title page). Gage also figures the church as a mother who ensures the virtue of good magistrates (G4^{v}). Furthermore, Gage, upon his return to England, is worried that he can no longer speak his mother tongue of English: 'I was much troubled within my selfe for want of my Mother tongue' (S6^{v}). He thereby identifies his first language as a maternal force, which stands in contrast to Catholic paternities. There is an echo of this connection between mother tongue and Protestant identity in Wadsworth's recollection that the Jesuits refused to allow the students at St Omer to speak English: 'The losse of [...] breakfast is their punishment whose names had beene giuen vp to the Prefect for hauing spoke *English* the day before' (C4^{r}). This transfer of familial power from false fathers to true mothers subsequently

runs parallel to Gage and Wadsworth's conversions to Protestantism and reinforces their reading of Catholicism as a corruption of fatherhood.

Paternity, Patrimony, Patronage, Patriarch

For Gage and Wadsworth Catholicism degrades the paternal bond in both earthly and spiritual form. This is not just a sense of fatherhood as comprising both biological parent and God, however. Gage, in particular, employs the language of fatherhood when discussing political structures which correspond to the ruler and magistrate as a form of patriarch.[17] When describing the covetousness of the Viceroy of New Mexico he argues that such behaviour is particularly despicable in those with power as greed subverts the paternal relationship between ruler and subject:

> Somewhat might bee observed from the Viceroyes covetousnesse; which doubtlesse in all is a great sinne [...] but much more to bee condemned in a Prince or Governour; whom it may blind in the exercise of Justice and Judgment, and harden those tender bowels (which ought to bee in him) of a father and shepheard to his flock and children. (G3v)

Avarice hardens the bowels of those who should be tender towards their subjects, but also undermines the ruler's responsibility to be both father and shepherd. In this instance, Gage reminds the reader that rulers not only stand in *loco parentis*, but in an echo of Psalm 23:1 ('the lord is my shepherd, I shall not want') they should tend their flock in the same manner as Christ. The covetous leader is therefore not only a bad father but a corruption of the ideal paternity represented by God the father. Given Gage's argument that the confessor who gains access to a king has the ability to pervert the head of the body politic, it is possible to extend the image of corrupting Catholic paternities to the wielding of political as well as spiritual power.

Using maternal imagery to describe the church, Gage also goes on to argue that not only the ruler but also the magistrate—in the form of the father—must care for and protect their people.

> Oh surely the Church so far is a good Mother, as it allowes a Magistrate to be a Father. And great comfort have those that live within the pale of the Church, to know that they have the Magistrate a Father to flye unto in their pressures and discomforts. (G4r)

The maternal role played by the church allows the magistrate to adopt the position of its gendered opposite and partner: the father. The result is an image of successful rule modelled on the structure of the family, a harmonious balance between masculine and feminine which secures the safety and prosperity of the nation's subjects, or (metaphorical) children.

Gage's association of power structures with paternal images is accompanied by an awareness of the links between property ownership in the form of patrimony and a further distortion of paternal power. Specifically, Gage questions the legitimacy of the patrimony conferred by the Pope on the King of Spain and his representatives in the New World:

> The King of *Spain* gloryeth to have received from the Pope power over those Kingdomes farr greater than any other Princes of *Europe* have enjoyed from him. But the pity is, that what power these Princes have, they must acknowledge it from *Rome,* having given their own power and strength unto the Beast, *Revel.* 17. 13 [...] Which Policy since the first Conquest of the West *India's,* and ambition to advance the Popes name, hath granted to the Kings of *Spain,* by a speciall title, naming those Kingdomes [...] *Patrimonio Real,* The Royall Patrimony; upon this Condition, that the King of *Spain* must maintain there the preaching of the Gospel, Fryers, Priests and Jesuites to preach it with all the erroneous Popish doctrines, which tend to the advancement of the Popes glory, power, and authority. (B1^{v})

The King of Spain, despite ruling over a vast territory, owes his power to the gift of the Pope and is therefore committed to the spread of 'Popish doctrines' throughout the Americas. The role of the Spanish in the New World is hereby linked explicitly to Papal control, a model of monarchy ruled by the church which is in direct contrast to the English monarch's position as head of the church of England. Gage is composing his narrative at the outset of the English Civil War (1642–1651) and he would later support the Cromwellian religious establishment after the regicide, but nonetheless, his association of Papal dominance in the New World with a weak and child-like Spanish monarchy reflects positively on England following the Henrician Act of Royal Supremacy (1534). His work suggests that a good king—a good father—would assert a royal system of patrimony that allowed for inheritance through the monarch-as-father rather than the Pope. The ruler, magistrate and king must all act as good fathers for the benefit of their subjects rather than allowing the natural

process of patrimony (in the form of power passed down from father to son) to be superseded by perverted Catholic paternities.

The concept of patrimony as an inheritance through fathers in *The English-American* is joined in both Wadsworth's and Gage's texts by an interesting conflation between patron and father in the form of the master–servant bond. As we see elsewhere in this collection, the father was often termed the king of the household and men would also take on a paternal role in relation to servants and apprentices, regardless of whether they had children of their own.[18] This broad understanding of paternity allows us to read Gage and Wadsworth's adoption of the role of servant in relation to their patrons as another form of filial bond. Wadsworth dedicates *The English-Spanish Pilgrime* to William, Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of Oxford University. Pembroke has secured Wadsworth a special licence for his work, thereby legitimising the publication of this recent convert's story. Wadsworth signs his dedication to Pembroke, in which he asks him to 'take this booke vnder your protection for the furthering of my cause', with 'Your Honuors most humble and deuoted seruant, James Wadsworth' (A3^{v}-A3^{r}). Similarly, Gage dedicates his text to Sir Thomas Fairfax, the parliamentary general. This signals Gage's affiliation with parliament's grievances against the king, but it also allows Gage to connect military leaders with fathers, as he signs the dedication 'The most devoted and humblest of your Excellencies servants, THO. GAGE' (A4^{v}). The framing of the humble author as a servant was a common form of address in dedications, but given the focus upon legitimate and illegitimate paternities in these texts it allows both Wadsworth and Gage to frame their patrons as good fathers who are representatives of the spiritual family of Protestant England.

The language of fatherhood employed by Gage and Wadsworth is thus not confined simply to the issue of biological parenthood or to the familial roles employed by spiritual advisors; it also encompasses power structures as diverse as those of magistrate, viceroy, king and patron. This allows the two converts to extend their arguments about the danger of unnatural Catholic paternities to secular political systems of influence and rule. The implication is that turning a blind eye to the role of Catholic orders, both overseas and at home, will have serious ramifications for Protestant authority: one fraudulent father represents a multiplicity of potential corruptions to the stability of both social and religious order.

Conclusion: Telos and Inheritance

One of the most important implications of Gage's and Wadsworth's use of father figures in the form of the multiple possible meanings evoked by paternal metaphor, is the resulting focus upon inheritance. As we have seen, this can take the form of a critique of the corruption of inheritance represented by the transfer of Catholic beliefs from father to son, the illegitimate inheritance of patrimony given by the Pope to the Spanish monarchy and the corruption of paternal inheritance by priests. Importantly, however, paternal inheritance can also be linked to teleological progress in the form of a rejection of corrupt earthly paternities and a movement towards God the ultimate father.[19]

A focus upon religious progress was an important aspect of Protestant discourse, particularly in relation to the problems associated with the rejection of prior authority in the form of non-scriptural Catholic teaching. The reformer William Tyndale explicitly framed this process as a rejection of false fathers in *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528). Tyndale outlines how priests will counter a Protestant focus upon the reading of scripture by claiming a historical legitimacy for Catholic doctrine: 'When they cry fathers fathers, remember that it were the fathers that both blinded and robbed the whole world and brought us into this captivity wherein these enforce to keep us still'.[20] Tyndale's repetition of 'father fathers' as an echoing cry made by Catholic challengers to the Protestant Reformation emphasises the chain of error perpetuated by Catholicism's paternal lineage. Protestants must counter the Catholic strategy of calling on the authority of fatherhood by focusing upon the inheritance of error and the danger that corrupted paternity perpetuates that error. Those who belong to the true faith must reject the faith of their fathers and take their religious inheritance only from God, an argument which can be connected to Gage's and Wadsworth's depictions of their conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism as a movement from false to true paternities. Gage's and Wadsworth's use of the language of paternity simultaneously denotes biological parent, God, priest, confessor, Pope, magistrate, patron and king, a multivalency which is connected to the Protestant understanding of conversion as an inevitable and providential transformation which moves Christian history forwards. The persistence of this motif, spanning the distance between Tyndale's early sixteenth-century text and two conversion narratives from a century later, testifies to the usefulness and

power of the language of fatherhood for Protestant converts who sought to justify and explicate their new religious identity.

Notes

1. On the role played by converts from Rome in propagating anti-Catholic polemic, particularly via systems of patronage, see Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 47–48. Peter Lake explores the role of anti-popery in shaping Protestant identity in 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603–1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), pp. 72–106. On the discursive modes of anti-Catholic discourse produced in the early Stuart era, see Anthony Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism', *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. 85–115.
2. A.J. Loomie, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28390?docPos=2, accessed 5th September 2015. Wadsworth Snr. published a tract which focused upon sin and repentance, *The Contrition of a Protestant Preacher* (St. Omers, 1615). Questier discusses the conversion of Wadsworth Snr., placing him alongside other converts who had previously been staunch professors of an alternate faith, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England*, pp. 79–80. Lucy Underwood argues that in Wadsworth Jnr.'s narrative, conversion to Catholicism 'represents a dereliction of parental duty'; see *Childhood, Youth and Religious Dissent in Post-Reformation England* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 176.
3. James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime or A New Discoverie of Spanish Popery, and Hereticall Stratagems* (London: T. C. for Michael Sparke, 1629), F3^{r}–F4^{r}.
4. For a study of the dissemination of anti-Jesuit mythology in this period see Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IA: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), pp. 42–53.
5. Wadsworth also acted as a translator, occasionally using the pseudonym Diego de Vadesfoote. Among the texts he translated was Antonio Colmenero's *A Curious Treatise of the Nature and Quality of Chocolate* (London: I. Okes, 1640), another point of connection to Gage who included a chapter on chocolate in the *English-American*.

6. Wadsworth offered his services to the Privy Council when he returned to England in 1625. He was sent as a spy to Paris and Calais only to be imprisoned in both cities. Allen D. Boyer, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10274?docPos=1, accessed 5th September 2015.
7. Thomas Gage, *The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land: Or A New Svrvey of the West-Indias, Containing A Journall of Three thousand and Three hundred Miles within the main Land of America … As Also his strange and Wonderfull Conversion and Calling from those remote Parts to his Native Countrey* (London: R. Cotes, 1648), A6v. This quotation is taken from a dedicatory verse apparently written by 'Thomas Chaloner' potentially one of the regicides or the man whose son 'Henry Challoner' the Jesuits attempt to convert because a friar wishes him for his 'bed fellow' H2r.
8. The priests were Father Thomas Holland, Father Arthur Bell and Father Peter Wright. Holland had been a schoolmate in St. Omer, Bell was a friend's chaplain and Wright was the Jesuit military chaplain who had held Thomas's brother, Sir Henry Gage, while he died, Boyer, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
9. *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World* ed. by J. Eric S. Thompson (Norman, OA: University of Oklahoma Press, second ed. 1969), p. xiii and p. xiv; *Thomas Gage: The English American A New Survey of the West Indies* ed. by A. P. Newton (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1928).
10. Thomas Gage, *A new survey of the West-India's, or, The English American, his travail by sea and land* (London: E. Cotes, 1655).
11. Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 305–306.
12. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 301. Sharpe also notes that there was a significant increase in recusancy fines in this period, resulting in many Catholic families going bankrupt (p. 303). Wadsworth includes the story of Henry Fairfax who was reluctant to convert until the Jesuits, dressed as angels, beat him in his sleep: 'speaking vnto him in Latine that they were Angels sent from the Virgin to chastise him for some offences by him committed', sig. D2v.
13. Michael J. Braddick, 'Prayer Book and Protestation: Anti-Popery, Anti-Puritanism and the Outbreak of the English Civil War', *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited*, ed. Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 125–146 (pp. 125–127). Braddick argues that anti-Catholicism, rather than being an irrational prejudice, in fact helped to mobilise public opinion so that parliamentarians could gain control of government institutions, p. 140. The period 1629–1648 is also associated with the promotion of Arminian anti-Calvinism during the personal rule of

Charles I, and both a resulting backlash on the part of Calvinists and the perception among Catholics that a reconciliation with Rome was imminent, see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 227–228. On anti-Catholicism in the lead up to the Civil War see Robin Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London: Macmillan Press, 1983, first ed. 1973), pp. 144–167.

14. After Gage's initial return to England in 1637 where he lived with the recusant community for three years, he travelled to Rome in 1639, returned once again to England after being kidnapped by French privateers, and in 1642 he preached a sermon announcing his conversion which was later printed as *The Tyranny of Satan Discovered in the Tears of a Converted Sinner* (London: Tho. Badger for Humphrey Mosley, 1642). In contrast, Wadsworth's conversion is described as prompting his return to England and occurs after reading the scriptures in secret.
15. On the large number of Protestant conversion narratives which link conversion to reading see Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 438.
16. Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster, 'Childless Men in Early Modern England' in *The Family in Early Modern England*, ed. by Berry and Foyster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 158–183 (p. 183).
17. The association between the structure of the family and the structure of the state was a common one, but as S. D. Amussen argues, the role of the family analogy frequently changed with the demands of enforcement by the state, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560–1725', in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* ed. by Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 196–217 (p. 196). Debora Shuger associates a sacred fatherly image of kingship with James VI and I's divine right of kings, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 1990), p. 156. The analogy could also work the other way and Su Fang Ng points out that domestic handbooks frequently called the father 'king', *Literature and the Politics of family in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 1.
18. Berry and Foyster, 'Childless Men', p. 183.
19. See *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions*, ed. by C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).
20. William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed. by David Daniel (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 176.

CHAPTER 13

Family Politics and Age in Early Modern England

Lucy Munro

All is not well within the Seely family of Lancashire. Overnight, hierarchies within the household have been turned upside down; the servants have dominion over the master and mistress, and the children over the parents:

> The good man
> In all obedience kneels unto his son;
> He with an austere brow commands his father.
> The wife presumes not in the daughter's sight
> Without a prepared courtesy. The girl, she
> Expects it as a duty; chides her mother,
> Who quakes and trembles at each word she speaks [.][1]

Formerly 'respected / For his discretion and known gravity', Master Seely is no longer 'master of a governed family', and the hierarchies of age and class that would normally structure his household have been thoroughly inverted; as his nephew, Arthur, comments, 'The house (as if the ridge were fixed below, / And groundsels lifted up to make the roof) / All now turned topsy-turvy' (speech 88). The disruption to the Seely household

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is one of a series of magical attacks on the community in Richard Brome and Thomas Heywood's play *The Late Lancashire Witches*, staged at the Globe by the King's Men in 1634. A scenario in which the dramatists try to imagine the worst misfortune that witches could inflict on a household, it represents in microcosm the witches' threat against a broader range of structures and hierarchies—social, cultural and, implicitly, political—and it is a potent symbol of their disruptive power.

What interests me in particular about the disruption of the Seely household is the emphasis that is placed on age hierarchies, and the presentation of age and intergenerational relationships as points of potential vulnerability in the well-ordered household. Early modern England had a heavy social and psychological investment in hierarchies of age, which interacted with other hierarchies—notably those of gender, nationality and class—to structure the politics of both family and state. These interactions can be seen, for example, in the sermons and homilies issued successively by Edward VI, Elizabeth I, James VI and I, and Charles I. One of these, 'An Exhortation Concerning Good Order, and Obedience to Rulers and Magistrates', reads:

> euery degree of people in their vocation, calling and office, hath appoynted to them their duty and order: some are in high degree, some in low; some Kings and Princes, some inferiours and subiects, Priests, and Lay men, Masters and Seruants, Fathers, and Children, Husbands, and Wiues, Rich and Poore, and euery one haue neede of other, so that in all things is to bee loued and praised the goodly order of GOD, without the which no house, no City, no Common-wealth, can continue and indure or last.[2]

The 'Exhortation' traces a set of interlocking hierarchies in which all parties—parents, children, local and national authorities—were expected to know their place in an ordered society. Within this model, age was both a source of authority—parents govern their children in part because they are older and more experienced—and a process that might undermine that authority through the physical or mental weakness caused by an individual's increasing age. The bewitching of the Seely family thus reminds us that family hierarchies are not static but transitional and relational: the play's inverted set of relationships are not merely fantastic, but potentially a vision of a future in which age has rendered Master and Mistress Seely dependent on the goodwill of their children.

In what follows, I explore the interaction between the politics of the family and what Paul Griffiths terms a 'politics of age'.[3] While early modern treatises debated the place of older people in society, and their role within the state and the family, the depiction of familial upheaval took on a particular force in the commercial theatre, in which social roles were enacted, challenges to hierarchy were presented in vivid and often visceral forms, and the ages of actors were different from those of the characters they played. Plays experimented with fantastic inversions of familial and age hierarchies, and imagined situations in which age was both essential and performative. Moreover, while little was known—although much might be speculated—about age-related and intergenerational tensions within the real royal household, dramatists could tell stories in which familiar patterns of distrust and exploitation were played out with a cast of kings, queens and princes.

I focus here on moments in three plays in which the family's hierarchies of age are transformed, exploited or disrupted. In *The Late Lancashire Witches*, as we have seen, the Seely family is bewitched and inverted. In Nathan Field, John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Queen of Corinth* (King's Men, *c.* 1617), a middle-aged usurer's son, Lamprias, has been conned by his predatory uncle into thinking that he has not yet come of age. In Fletcher's *The Humorous Lieutenant* (King's Men, *c.* 1619), King Antigonus's lust for his son's fiancée unsettles the relationship between father and son, king and heir, ruler and subject. These plays deal in varying ways with local and national politics. *The Late Lancashire Witches* and *The Queen of Corinth* invoke the corruption of local and national institutions such as wardship and inheritance when age hierarchies within the family are disrupted, dealing mainly with the ways in which these issues affect the middling sort and gentry. *The Humorous Lieutenant* explores similar issues of family structure, authority and inheritance, but its focus on a ruling family means that it deals more sharply with the politics of state. Yet certain over-arching concerns unite these plays. In depicting relationships in which children take on the authority of parents, guardians abuse their authority, and fathers attempt to take the place of their sons, they not only explore the social and emotional impact of dysfunction within the family, but also acknowledge the contingent aspects of kinship bonds, the instability of age-related hierarchies, and the capacity of family relationships to shape the destiny of the state.

Age, Authority and *The Late Lancashire Witches*

When Arthur in *The Late Lancashire Witches* complains that Master Seely is no longer 'master of a *governed* family' (my emphasis), he draws on a long rhetorical tradition that elided structures of authority within the family with those within the state. Using similar language, *The Prince, or Maxims of State*, published under Sir Walter Ralegh's name in 1621, argues that '[a] man must first governe himselfe, ere he be fit to governe a Family: And his Family, ere hee bee fit to beare the Governement in the Common-wealth'.[4] Yet it was not only witchcraft that could unsettle the capacity of a man to govern his family, but the tensions between generations and the process of ageing itself. Early modern England valued age as a marker of authority and status: as Keith Thomas writes, 'the prevailing ideal was gerontocratic: the young were to serve and the old were to rule'.[5] The gerontocratic ideal did not always, however, function smoothly. Griffiths points out that although early modern society had an investment in 'static and durable representations of orderly age-relations', there was nonetheless an underlying tension, and relationships between young and old might be 'disputed, redefined, and renegotiated'.[6] Conventional ideology was challenged by the refusal of the young to stay in the position ordained for them, or by the perceived failure of parents to 'train' or, even, 'break' their children effectively. In *Observations Divine and Moral* (1625), John Robinson writes:

> Many parents desire to have their *young ones* trayned up in such exercises, and courses, as may inbolden them: But they should, for the most part, provide much better for them, (specially in our audacious age) if they got them held constantly in courses of modestie, and shamefastnes.[7]

Familial, social and political structures would be maintained, he argues, by both young and old acting in ways that were thought appropriate to their respective ages, and by their willing submission to hierarchical structures.

A concern with social order pervades Thomas Nash's dialogue *Quaternio or A Fourfold Way to a Happy Life* (1633), which summarises approvingly ancient customs regarding generational structures:

> [T]hey enjoyne superiors likewise to haue a vigilant care and respect of those over whom they haue authoritie; not to place age where youth should sit, nor yet youth where age should sit; *Mars where Mercurie should sit*, nor yet *Mercurie* where *Mars* should sit, for that were to put the Gyants habit vpon the little *Pigmee*, and the *Pigmees* habit vpon the great *Garagantua*.[8]

For Nash, the relationship between youth and age ought to be governed by a universal and trans-historical decorum; to depart from this pattern results in incongruity, even monstrosity. Other commentators worried, however, that such an upheaval could be not only conceivable but also imminent. In *Vindiciae Senectutis, or, A Plea for Old Age* (1639), Thomas Sheafe writes that youth 'stands most in opposition' to age, and 'lookes at it commonly with an eye full of scorne and contempt: repining at its length of daies, and oftentimes thinking it long ere it succeeds the Old-man in his offices, lands or goods'.[9] Tensions between young and old periodically became acute. As J. A. Sharpe comments, 'concern over the age hierarchy, over the problems of maintaining appropriate behaviour in different age groups, and of ensuring the authority of older people over younger ones were all firmly embedded in Tudor and Stuart social comment', and this concern could be increased by particular social and political pressures.[10]

Tensions between old and young were also complicated by various forms of generational thinking. Multiple generations within the family and the commonwealth meant that there were gradations within the 'young' and 'old', such as young children, youths, adults, parents and grandparents. Although generational thinking helped to maintain structures of authority within the family, age itself might help to undo those structures. As Patricia M. Crawford argues, the family was 'an uncertain social unit', shifting over time: 'Children themselves became parents—"the son was now the father"—and brothers and sisters extended into uncles and aunts'.[11] Models of authority that depended either on family structures or on rhetorical configurations of those structures were therefore built on shifting foundations. Where age was relative, it reinforced the power of the parent over the child; where age was absolute, it had the potential to undermine that authority.

The bewitching of the Seely family evokes precisely the processes and anxieties described above, creating a topsy-turvy dystopia in which temporal changes within the family are accelerated, with the effect that the children usurp the place of their parents before the latter have proven themselves unable to govern. Seely is transformed into his 'child's child', the enchantment similarly transforming Gregory into the bold and shameless child criticised by Robinson and other commentators. While Doughty tells Gregory that he is 'so beneath / The title of a son, you cannot claim / To be a man' (speech 113), the young man casts himself as the protector of his own estate, which is put at risk by his father's prodigal behaviour and his willingness to financially support his nephew as well as his son:

Gregory. […] Was it a fatherly part, think you, having a son, to offer to enter in bonds for his nephew, so to endanger my estate to redeem his mortgage?
Seely. But I did it not, son!
Gregory. I know it very well, but your dotage had done it, if my care had not prevented it.
Doughty. Is that the business? Why, if he had done it, had he not been sufficiently secured in having the mortgage made over to himself?
Gregory. He does nothing but practise ways to undo himself and me: a very spendthrift, a prodigal sire! He was at the ale but tother day, and spent a four-penny club.
Seely. 'Tis gone and past, son.
Gregory. Can you hold your peace, sir?—[*To DOUGHTY*] And not long ago at the wine he spent his tester, and twopence to the piper. That was brave, was it not?
Seely. Truly we were civilly merry. But I have left it.
Gregory. Your civility, have you not?—[*To DOUGHTY*] For no longer ago than last holiday evening he gamed away eight double-ringed tokens on a rubbers at bowls with the curate and some of his idle companions.

(1.2; speeches 121–129)

Gregory's description presents his father as a superannuated prodigal who wastes the household's resources through riotous behaviour, although Master Seely's indulgences are actually comically moderate and he claims repeatedly to have given up even this low-key revelry. In response, Doughty again appeals to the conventional relationship between father and son and to its inversion, saying, 'Fie, Master Gregory Seely, is this seemly in a son? / You'll have a rod for the child your father shortly, I fear'. Yet even he gets pulled into the warped set of relationships presented to him, asking Old Seely 'Alas, did he make it cry?' (speech 130). Doughty falls into addressing the old man in a parody of baby-talk, using the 'it' that was conventionally addressed to babies and small children. He thus recognises linguistically the attack on Old Seely's authority within the household even as he attempts to resist it.

Writers such as Robinson, Nash and Sheafe tend to focus on the roles of old and young men, fathers and sons, in part because this enables them to make broader political arguments about the stability of society. In contrast,

Brome and Heywood's play is also interested in the inversion of the relationship between mother and daughter. Later in the scene explored above, Joan Seely and her daughter, Winny, display a similar reversal to Seely and Gregory, although their dispute centres on clothing rather than money itself, and on disposable income rather than inheritance. In a parody of sequences in other plays in which young women demand to be allowed to wear fashionable clothes, Winny demands that her mother conform to her tastes, asking her 'Is this a fit habit for a handsome young gentlewoman's mother?' (1.2; speech 153). However, the subordination of the mother to the daughter carries less narrative and emotional charge than that of the father to the son. Doughty comments on it only twice in short asides, and does not attempt to intervene, and Joan and Winny quickly give way to their servingwoman, Parnell. Although the authority of the wife and mother was an integral part of the structure of the early modern family, there is more at stake politically and socially in male authority, whether it affects the ruler, the father or the male heir. For this reason, anxieties about age and authority in early modern texts tend to centre on older men, and *The Late Lancashire Witches* is unusual in devoting even limited attention to the situation of older women within the family.

Old Men and Inheritance in *The Queen of Corinth*

As Gregory Seely's criticism of his father suggests, a key point of tension between generations within the family was inheritance. Many early modern plays feature plots in which heirs are gulled and lose their property, often to usurers, older relatives or smart young men, as money moves around or between generations. *The Queen of Corinth* is notable in that it makes age not only central to this narrative but also part of the process through which the heir is swindled. The play's comic sub-plot explores the effects on the fifty-something Lamprias, also called 'Onos' (Ass) in the earliest printed text, of a horribly simple scam in which his father's younger brother has convinced him that he has not yet reached the age of 21, and is therefore unable to claim his inheritance.[12] The unnamed Uncle has short-circuited the process through which the family's wealth should have moved from one generation to another, and has kept his nephew as his ward 'this forty yeare' (4.1.61).

Although the Uncle's age is unspecified, his treatment of Lamprias raises questions about the point at which older men were expected to resign their authority to the younger generation, an issue that was contested in

early modern culture. Biblical authority could be called on to justify the continued social and political power of older men: a 1621 English translation of Simon Goulart's *Le sage vieillard* quotes Ecclesiasticus 25.4.5, 'O how pleasant a thing is it when gray-headed men minister judgement, and when the Elders can giue good counsell', and Proverbs 16.31, 'Age is a crowne of glorie, when it is found in the way of righteousnesse'.[13] Yet many commentators were ambivalent about the idea that men should retain their authority into extreme old age. Goulart himself cites the theory that the word 'senator' is 'deriued from the Latine word sense, which signifies old men, who are so styled in honour of their experience, prudence, and wisedome, inseperable companions of such old men, who are appointed to haue the superintendency and gouernment ouer others', and he writes that a 'King, Prince, Lord, that is old and wise [...] is a true and liuely image of God among men'. However, he also asserts that 'old men, who are of a dry and cold constitution, are lesse fit to vndertake many actions, exploites, or imploiments. They are not quicke enough of apprehension, their senses fayling them by little and little'.[14] Old age might be described by the same writer as a 'safe hauen of rest', a period in which men would 'abstaine from humane affaires, and [...] be busied in deuine', and one in which public service was an imperative: 'age doth challenge as proper and peculiar vnto it selfe this care of gouerning of others: For verie often those times do happen, wherein olde men with their wisedome, and vertue haue established and strengthened the common wealth, which the rashnesse of young men hath almost ouerthrowne'.[15] Within both state and family, the position of older people—and older men in particular—was thus ambiguous. Were they to govern others, or to hand over government to 'younger strengths', as King Lear puts it?[16]

In *The Queen of Corinth*, the Uncle shows no sign of relinquishing his authority over Lamprias, and the pernicious effect of this distortion of temporal process within the family is marked in the mockery to which Lamprias is subjected. Before he appears on stage, Eraton describes him as 'the youth / Of six and fifty', while Sosicles describes him as having been 'sent to travel [...] till he came to age, / And was fit for a Wife'.[17] The concept of youth was relatively plastic in the early modern period, often stretching to the late twenties—the time at which many men would complete their apprenticeships—or even beyond.[18] Yet the idea of a fifty-something youth would nonetheless have registered as something unusual, even grotesque, and this hint is developed in *The Queen of Corinth*. Lamprias would have been 16 when his father died, and when he appears on stage in the company of his uncle and tutor, it is clear that he has not developed socially

or intellectually in the last 40 years. Instead of conducting himself with the sobriety that would be expected of a middle-aged man, he enters being instructed by his tutor to put 'That legge a little higher' and to 'put [his] face into the Travellors posture' (1.3.15–16). Sosicles exclaims 'How they have trimm'd him up / Like an old Reveller', to which Neathes replies,

> Curl'd him and perfum'd him,
> But that was done with judgement, for he lookes
> Like one that purg'd perpetually; trust me,
> That Witches face of his is painted too,
> And every ditch upon it buries more
> Then would set off ten Bawds, and all their tenants
> (1.3.20–1, 25–7)

Lamprias confuses categories of age and status: he is tricked up to look like a young gallant, in fashionable clothes, but the illusion is only shakily maintained through the use of elaborate coiffure and cosmetics that fill out his wrinkles. The 'old Reveller' is, Neathes suggests, unnatural, the product of witchcraft.

Lamprias's speech is also more suited to his clothes than his years. His tutor and uncle describe him as 'An absolute man. / As any of his years' (1.3.32–3), and boast of his accomplishments. However, he is capable verbally only of clichés that would be more usually associated with the dissolute young men of the early modern stage, and his deficiencies are underlined by the sardonic comments of the young courtiers:

> *Neanthes.* They have taught him like an Ape,
> To doe his tricks by signes: now he begins.
> *Onos.* When shall we be drunke together?
> *Tutor.* That's the first.
> *Onos.* Where shall we whore to night?
> *Uncle.* That ever followes.
> *Eraton.* 'Odds me, he now lookes angry.
> *Onos.* Shall we quarrell?
> *Neanthes* With me at no hand Sir.
> *Onos.* Then let's protest.
> *Eraton.* Is this all?
> *Tutor.* These are Sir, the foure new Vertues

That are in fashion: many a mile we measur'd
Before we could arrive unto this knowledge.
(1.3.50–8)

Where the prodigals of Jacobean city comedy self-fashion themselves in roles that are appropriate to their youth and inexperience, Lamprias rather appears—like Seely in *The Late Lancashire Witches*—to have prodigality thrust upon him. In the place of his adult capital and authority he is granted only hollow fashionable flourishes which themselves make him ridiculous. The perversion of age within this family unit is exaggerated even further at the end of the scene, when Lamprias asks 'Did I not rarely?' and the Tutor replies 'He shall have sixe Plumbs for it' (1.3.63–64); the dialogue imitates the conversational structures that we would normally associate with an exchange between a parent and a small child.

Time has been collapsed, and the process through which Lamprias should have achieved his majority has been arrested. The role of the guardian should be to take care of the child's estate until he comes of age; instead, Lamprias's uncle has kept him ignorant of his true age and status. First prodigalised and then infantalised, Lamprias has been preyed upon by an uncle reluctant to give up his usurped property and status. Indeed, the Uncle's ambitions go even further: 'Faine would I have his state', he comments in an aside,

and now of late
He did enquire at *Ephesus* for his age,
But the Church Booke being burnt with *Dians* Temple
He lost his ayme: I have try'd to famish him,
Marry he'l live o' stones: and then for Poysons,
He is an Antidote 'gainst all of 'em;
He sprung from *Mithridates*; he is so dry and hot,
He will eat Spiders faster then a Monkey:
His Maw (unhurt) keeps Quicksilver like a bladder,
The largest dosse of Camphire, Opium,
Harmes not his braine; I think his Skul's as empty
As a suckt Egge; Vitrioll, and Oyle of Tartar
He will eat tosts of: Henbane I am sure
And Hemblock I have made his Pot-hearbs often.
(4.1.62–75)

Although the Uncle's frustrated catalogue of the various ways in which he has attempted to poison his nephew is darkly funny, it underlines his utterly unscrupulous treatment of Lamprias and, with it, his perversion of family structures.

As a result of his 'education' at the hands of his uncle and tutor, Lamprias is repeatedly shown as being out of his depth in adult social exchanges. Significantly, he is mocked first through his abortive courtship of Beliza and second in a sequence in which he is attacked by a page. In the latter exchange, the dispute focuses explicitly on questions of age:

> *Tutor.* He is a Boy,
> And we may run away with honour.
> *Page.* That ye shall not, —
> And being a Boy I am fitter to encounter
> A Childe in Law as you are, under twenty:
> Thou Sot, thou three-score Sot, and that's a Childe
> Againe I grant you.
> *Unckle.* Nephew, here's an age:
> Boyes are turn'd men, and men are Children.
> (4.1.141–147)

Echoing the cliché also articulated to devastating effect in *King Lear*, *The Queen of Corinth* positions the elderly 'child' as paradoxically unnatural and natural. Old men may be likened to children in popular discourse, but Lamprias has jumped straight from infancy to the childish dependency of senescence without achieving the status and position within a household that his maturity should have granted him. The playwrights underline the family politics of his situation by making his guardian his uncle, a fact that is important for two key reasons: Lamprias is owed a double duty of care through the institutions of the family and of wardship; and his uncle's actions prevent him from having a family or household of his own. The uncle exploits his own age-derived superiority within the family to keep his nephew ignorant, immature and subordinate. Moreover, in doing so he imprisons Lamprias in an inappropriate generational position within society.

The Queen of Corinth and *The Late Lancashire Witches* thus animate onstage fantasies in which the chronological development of the family is reversed, stalled or accelerated, and access to its resources is altered or perverted. Middle-aged men are reduced to the status of a child or a prodigal, losing or being denied control of their estates, while a son or a father's younger brother moves from a subordinate to a dominant position, usurping a place at the head of the family. Each play invokes the fears expressed by commentators such as Nash and Sheafe, but each also keeps it within tight generic and narrative structures. Moreover, their focus on the gentry and middling sort means that the political implications of these

fantasies remain implicit or sub-textual, even though questions relating to inheritance in particular have implications for both local and national politics because they affect the ownership of property within the realm. In *The Humorous Lieutenant*, in contrast, the inversion of age-related hierarchies in the family is brought into the heart of government.

Fathers, Sons and the Safety of the Realm in *The Humorous Lieutenant*

Set in ancient Greece, *The Humorous Lieutenant* depicts the aftermath of Alexander's conquests. Four kings have inherited his conquered lands in equal shares, and three of them are engaged in a war against the fourth, Antigonus. Described in the *dramatis personae* printed in the second Folio edition of the works of Fletcher and his collaborators as '*an old Man with young desires*', Antigonus does not lead his armies himself; instead they are headed by his son and heir, Demetrius.[19] Thus, while the King maintains his position as ruler, he is unable or unwilling to carry out all of the offices associated with it. His position then becomes more compromised still when he lusts after Demetrius's intended wife, Celia, a young woman taken prisoner at the siege of Antioch. Antigonus takes advantage of the fact that he can ensure his son's absence and courts Celia for himself, making use of his long-established arrangement with a bawd, Leucippe, and moving Celia into a secluded apartment at court. The King's relatively advanced age is emphasised. Celia asks her governess, 'What age is the King of?', and is told, with tart innuendo, 'Hee's an old man, and full of businesse' (3.2.102–103). Later in the play, Antigonus comes to her without revealing his identity and she, appearing to realise that he is the King, muses aloud on what would befall her

> when the good old spunge had suckt my youth dry,
> And left some of his royall aches in my bones:
> When time shall tell me I have plough'd my life up,
> And cast long furrowes in my face to sinke me […]
> (4.1.108–111)

In describing her prospects in the topsy-turvy liaison with the aged Antigonus, Celia imagines a process in which she will be left prematurely aged, drained by his lust and infected with his diseases.

Antigonus's attempt to usurp his son is underlined not only in his unscrupulous efforts to use magic and a potion to corrupt Celia, but also in his appearance tricked up in youthful clothes, probably looking not unlike Lamprias in *The Queen of Corinth*. Fletcher underlines the visual spectacle through the comments of his characters. Immediately before Celia enters, Antigonus asks the bawd, 'How do I looke? how do my clothes become me? / I am not very gray', and she replies 'A very youth sir, / Upon my maidenhead as smug as April: / Heaven blesse that sweet face, 'twill undoe a thousand' (4.5.8–11). Leucippe's reference to her virginity highlights the ironies of the situation: it is presumably long gone, and the King is not in the spring of his life, but the winter. When she spots him, Celia comments in asides:

> *Celia* [*aside*]. [...] This royall devill againe? strange, how he haunts me!
> How like a poison'd potion his eyes fright me!
> Has made himselfe hansome too.
> *Antigonus*. Doe you looke now, Lady?
> You will leap anon.
> *Celia* [*aside*].Curl'd and perfum'd? I smell him:
> He looks on's leggs too: sure he will cut a caper,
> God-a-mercie deare December.
> (4.5.18–24)

While Antigonus imagines erotic activity—Celia may leap on him, or perform feats of sexual 'leaping'—she derisively imagines him performing dance steps that will expose his age and physical deficiencies.[20] He mistakes her scornful smiling for approval, but he is quickly disabused, and when he threatens Celia with sexual assault, asking her 'Say I should force ye? / I have it in my will', she replies, 'Your will's a poore one; / And though it be a Kings will, a despised one, / Weaker then Infants leggs, your will's in swadling clouts' (4.5.59–62). In the face of Antigonus's attempt to take his son's place, Celia insists that he has not restored his youth but infantalised himself, drawing on gerontophobic traditions that emphasised the incongruity of older people's sexual desire or 'will'. The sequence draws on the same ideas about age as a second childhood that inform the treatment of Seely and Lamprias, but here they are given additional political force: the King's attempt to assert his sexual authority leads him to childish senescence that undermines his capacity to perform the role of the 'old and wise' ruler described by Goulart or Carlo Paschal.

Fletcher places against this backdrop of familial inversion sequences in which Demetrius repeatedly stresses his loyalty and duty to his father, and his deference is emphasised in a key scene in which Antigonus lies to his son, saying that he has had Celia executed because she was a harlot and a witch who had planned 'my Empires overthrow' (4.2.63). 'Ye are my father sir', Demetrius protests, describing him as 'Dread Father' and 'sacred sir' (4.2.38, 51, 55); eventually, in response to Antigonus's comment that Celia 'is dead, deservedly she died', he says

> I am your sonne sir,
> And to all you shall command stand most obedient,
> Only a little time I must intreat you
> To study to forget her […]
> (4.2.69, 72–75)

Unaware of his father's betrayal, Demetrius attempts through his repeated use of words such as 'father' and 'son' to maintain the familial structures of authority to which he is accustomed.

By the end of the play, Antigonus has reformed, Demetrius and Celia have been reunited, Demetrius has been thoroughly punished for doubting Celia's ability to defend her chastity, and Celia has been revealed to be Enanthe, daughter of Antigonus's former enemy King Seleucus. Two families are thus reconstituted, and the succession of two kingdoms is apparently secured. Yet tensions may still lurk beneath the surface, as Seleucus tells Antigonus 'take what ye please, we yield it; / The honour done us by your sonne constraines it, / Your noble sonne' (5.4.1–4). Antigonus replies with a variation on an old theme: 'It is sufficient, Princes; / And now we are one againe, one mind, one body, / And one sword shall strike for us' (5.4.4–6), but Seleucus continues to emphasise Demetrius's individual role in his defeat, saying 'Let Prince *Demetrius* / But lead us on: for we are his vowed servants' (4.5.6–7). Antigonus continues to misinterpret the structures of the family, and to usurp Demetrius's position, albeit that he here uses a metaphor more commonly applied to friends or spouses, rather than trying to usurp his son sexually.

Fletcher thus depicts a situation in which the old King's sexual desire leads him to transgress the structures of age and family on which so much social and political rhetoric depended. Furthermore, Antigonus appears ultimately unable to regulate his role within the family and, potentially, the state. This is a variation on the narrative offered in many early modern

plays, in which the sexual misdemeanours of monarchs provide a relatively safe space for a critique of the abuse of royal power, examples including Robert Greene's *James IV* (?Queen's Men, 1590), Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy* (King's Men, 1610) and Brome's *Queen and Concubine* (King's Revels Company, 1635).[21] Nonetheless, the transgressive potential of the incestuous desire of the father for his son's partner means that *The Humorous Lieutenant* is able to exploit a situation that is especially politically loaded. As *pater patriae* the King has a duty not only to his own heir but also to the country, and his desire for Celia risks destabilising both his family and his realm. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the scenes featuring Celia, Demetrius and Antigonus with those focusing on the diseased Lieutenant—who drinks the potion meant for Celia and dotes on the King in her place—suggest the extent to which the corruption of the royal family unit is part of wider structures of bodily and political transgression.[22] Some years later, John Ford was to return to this narrative in *The Lover's Melancholy* (King's Men, 1628), in which it is revealed that some years before the opening of the play the dead King tried to rape his son's betrothed wife. *The Lover's Melancholy* thus depicts a court and country in stasis, unable to move on until the lost wife is recovered, and the father's crimes against his son are assuaged. *The Humorous Lieutenant* does not go this far: Celia is able to defend herself, and the play's comic structures ensure that sexual violence is only raised as a passing threat, easily dispelled. Yet both Ford and Fletcher register what is at stake in these narratives for both the family and the realm.

Conclusion

When James VI and I wrote, in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, that 'as the Father by his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education and uertuous gouernment of his children; euen so is the king bound to care for all his subjects', his analogy depended on the stability of the hierarchical relationship between parent and child and, especially, father and son.[23] As we have seen, however, writers could imagine all too easily the collapse of this structure and the other hierarchies on which the conventional family unit depended. Indeed, the imaginative reconstructions of the family that early modern drama presents can be bleak indeed. The Uncle in *The Queen of Corinth* does not nurture Lamprias, educate him or govern him virtuously; instead, he exploits his authority and maintains his nephew in a state of juvenile submission. Similarly, although he even-

tually reforms, Antigonus in *The Humorous Lieutenant* shows little care either for his son or his subjects as his sexual desires lead him to attempt to usurp his own heir. *The Late Lancashire Witches* presents one of the most jovial and carnivalesque portraits of household inversion on the early modern stage, yet it, too, engages with serious issues when it portrays Master Seely's new inability to support his nephew financially in the face of Gregory's domestic tyranny and his desire to protect his inheritance.

Early modern drama is intriguingly positioned in relation to family politics in part because it presents a point of intersection between rhetoric and lived experience. Playwrights were steeped in social and political texts that drew on images of the family to discuss politics, and images of politics to discuss the family, but their plays drew some of their power from their attempts to reflect the lives of their spectators. This is not to say that the plays are realistic in their treatment of the family; rather, writers were able to give artificial narratives and situations an affective edge by drawing on the rich emotional resonances of the shared experience of living, or having lived, within a family. Dramatic representations of the family are generally unstable, often radically so. This instability is probably due in part to the narrative imperative to create dispute and debate, characteristics on which drama depends. Yet in the plays examined here, the corruption or exploitation of family structures arouses strong emotion: Doughty laments the way in which Gregory Seely bullies his father; the Page angrily criticises Lamprias's state of childish dependency; and Celia attacks the lust of her prospective father-in-law. Plays thus provide a space in which writers and spectators could collectively imagine—and emotionally taste—breakdowns in the structure of the family that might be genuinely traumatic outside the playhouse. They ponder what it was to be old or young, a parent or a child, and to live in a culture that was shaped by family politics.

Notes

1. *The Late Lancashire Witches*, ed. Helen Ostovich, in *Richard Brome Online*, gen. ed. Richard Allen Cave (Sheffield: Humanities Research Institute), http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome, 1.1; speech 92 (this edition uses speech numbers instead of line numbers).
2. *Certaine Sermons or Homilies Appoynted to be Read in Churches, in the Time of the Late Queene Elizabeth of Famous Memory. And Now Thought Fit to be Reprinted by Authority from the Kings most Excellent Maiesty* (London, 1633), F5^{r}.

3. This is the title of Chapter 2 in *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 62–110.
4. *The Prince, or Maxims of State, Written by Sir Walter Ralegh* (London, 1621), p. 1.
5. 'Age and Authority in Early Modern England', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 62 (1976), pp. 205–248 (p. 207).
6. *Youth and Authority*, pp. 62–63. On the 'the politics of age', see also 'Masterless Young People in Norwich, 1560–1645', in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 146–186.
7. *Observations Divine and Morall for the Furthering of Knowledg, and Vertue* (London, 1625), p. 315.
8. *Quaternio or A Fourefold Way to a Happie Life set Forth in a Dialogue Betweene a Countryman and a Citizen, a Divine and a Lawyer* (London, 1633), S1^{v}.
9. *Vindiciae Senectutis, or, A Plea for Old-Age* (London, 1639), H8^{v}.
10. 'Disruption in the Well-Ordered Household: Age, Authority and Possessed Young People', in *Experience of Authority*, pp. 187–212 (pp. 187–8).
11. *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2004), p. 4. Crawford quotes Peter Porter, 'Where We Came In', in *Family Ties: Australian Poems of the Family*, ed. Jennifer Strauss (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 130.
12. Lamprias is so called in the text, but the speech prefixes call him 'Onos'. See Robert Kean Turner, ed., *The Queen of Corinth*, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, 10 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966–1996), 8: 94. Turner speculates that Massinger chose the name 'Lamprias' but Fletcher amended it to the funnier 'Onos'.
13. *The Wise Vieillard, or Old Man. Translated out of French into English by an Obscure Englishman, a Friend and Fauourer of all Wise Old-men* (London, 1621).
14. *The Wise Vieillard*, pp. 27, 90, 24.
15. Carlo Paschal, *False Complaints. Or The Censure of an Unthankfull Mind, the Labour of Carolus Pascalius Translated into English by W.C.* (London, 1605), pp. 206–207.
16. *King Lear*, ed. R.A. Foakes (London: Thomas Nelson, 1997), 1.1.39.
17. Turner, ed., *The Queen of Corinth*, 1.3.7–10. All references are to this edition.
18. Henry Cuffe in *The Differences of the Ages of Mans Life* (London, 1607) writes that youth lasts until the age of 25 (I3^{r-v}), while Randle Holme in *The Academy of Armory* (Chester, 1688), describes the 'young man' as being aged between 21 and 30 (p. 403).

19. *The Humorous Lieutenant*, ed. Cyrus Hoy, in Bowers, *Dramatic Works*, 5: 304, l. 1.
20. See *OED*, 'leap', *v*. 9. *OED Online*. (Oxford University Press, December 2015).
21. On representations of tyranny in *The Humorous Lieutenant* and other plays of the Fletcher canon see Robert Y. Turner, 'Responses to Tyranny in John Fletcher's Plays', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 4 (1989), pp. 123–141; Philip J. Finkelpearl, *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Gordon McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994).
22. For an excellent account of these aspects of the play see Vimala C. Pasupathi, 'The King's Privates: Sex and the Soldier's Place in John Fletcher's *The Humorous Lieutenant* (ca. 1618)', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 47 (2008), pp. 25–50.
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