

EARLY MODERN LITERARY STUDIES

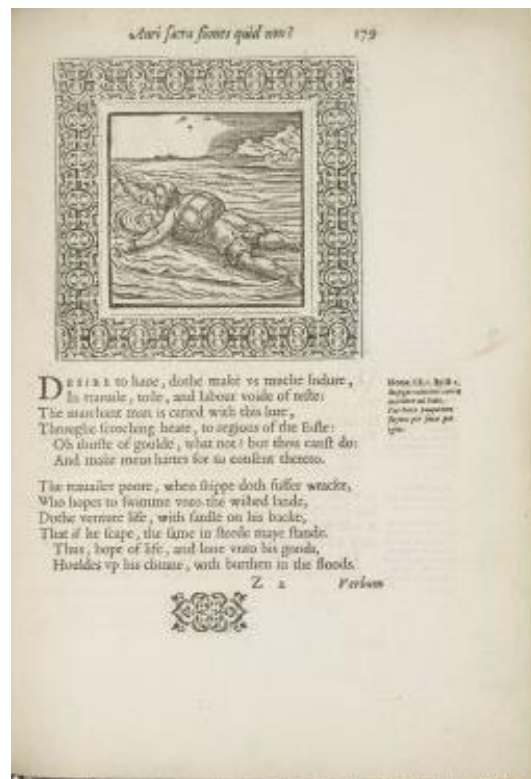


Settled and Unsettling: Space, Place, and Labour in Heywood's *King Edward IV* (1599)

Ann Christensen
University of Houston
achrist@uh.edu

Merchant must take heede of keeping his word and credit: for if he faile at his daies, and absent himselfe from the common place of entercourse, as we cal it the Bursse, let him be never so rich, he looseth a good opinion, and hazardeth his reputation for ever.

The rich cabinet (1616), N2v.



Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Deuises, for the Moste Parte Gathered Out of Sundrie Writers* (Leyden: [n. pub.], 1586), p. 179. Folger STC 25437.8. Reproduced by kind permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

When Spicing, one of the rebels at London's gates, boasts in Thomas Heywood's *The First Part of King Edward IV* (1599), 'We will be kings tonight, / [...] and sleep with merchants' wives / While their poor husbands lose their lives abroad', he projects victory (1.9.168-70).¹ But his gloat has behind it the not uncommon situation of 'merchants' wives' (and other household members) unpartnered at home while 'their poor husbands [...] [are] abroad', whether across town or across the sea. In the case of this play, the central husband figure, Matthew Shore, is not a long-distance merchant, yet, I suggest that his absences constellate with the expanding commercial milieu that impacted domestic life. Men's absences in Heywood's domestic plays, almost always spurred by their calling to business, lead to suspended marriages or 'broken nuptials'.² For example, John Frankford leaves his home and wife Anne for 'business' trips that are first legitimate and then falsified, while his houseguest thrills to remind her, 'your husband is from home, your bed's no blab' (*A Woman Killed with Kindness*, 1607).³ The heroine of Heywood's dramatized version of *The Rape of Lucrece* (1609, 1638) reminds on-stage auditors that the 'Lord is absent from this house' in this case, for military duty.⁴ In *The English Traveller* (1624) Young Geraldine's 'unfortunate travel' leaves his beloved to wed another, and, in the comic subplot, a merchant, Old Lionel, 'return[s] from sea' to discover his masterless home a shambles: 'I see my absence has begot some sport'.⁵

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¹ *The First and Second Parts of King Edward IV*, ed. by Richard H. Rowland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

² See Carol Thomas Neely, *Broken Nuptials in Shakespeare's Plays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

³ Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, ed. by Brian Scobie, New Mermaids Edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985), 6.163.

⁴ Thomas Heywood, 'The Rape of Lucrece', in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood: Now First Collected with Illustrative Notes and a Memoir of the Author* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), 5:209; also lines 210-14 and 217-20.

⁵ Thomas Heywood, *The English Traveller*, in *Three Marriage Plays*, ed. by Paul Merchant (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 5.1.49-50.

In the tragic register of *King Edward IV* (henceforth *Edward*), which was the playwright's 'most popular drama', absent masters beget no sport.⁶ Matthew Shore leaves his wife Jane 'sad alone' first, when he leaves Goldsmiths' Row on business elsewhere in London; second, when he leads the urban militia at the city's gates; and, third, when he abandons England, a shamed cuckold to King Edward (*Part I*).⁷ While recent critics are right to locate grave moral and political failures in the monarch and in the aristocratic values that monarchy embodies, I want to highlight how Heywood dramatizes men's absence from home *for business* as an emerging socioeconomic reality shaping domestic life – a reality with both promise and problems. Cohabitation was a marital ideal that international commerce and internal traffic made more difficult.⁸ According to Miller and Forse, Matthew Shore's case borders on "desertion" as described by domestic conduct literature insofar as Matthew 'renounces "all matrimoniall unitie" [...] [and] withdraws "from all societie with the other"'.⁹ Although many occupations demanded travel historically (e.g., carters and watermen, military officer and lawyers), the expanding international market, of which goldsmiths like Shore were a part, taxed 'matrimoniall unitie' on a larger scale.

Heywood extols the fulfillment of men's 'calling' and the bourgeois habits of thrift and modesty through, for example, the trades- and craftspeople in *Edward* and other plays, such as *The Four Prentices of London* and *The Fair Maid of the West*, which behaviors counter the catastrophic aristocratic leisure of an Edward and the misplaced energy of rebels.¹⁰ Complicating this seeming binary was an emergent socioeconomic milieu

⁶ Erin Miller and James H. Forse, 'The Failure to Be a "Goode Husbande" in Thomas Heywood's *Edward IV* (*Parts I/II*) and *A Woman Killed with Kindness*', *Ben Jonson Journal*, 18.2 (2011), 254-73 (p. 267). The play was reprinted six or more times between 1599 and 1626.

⁷ For other examples of travel as disruptive, see Thomas Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West, Parts I and II*, ed. by Robert Kean Turner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), esp. 1.2.9-12 and *The Captives or the Lost Recovered*, in *Three Marriage Plays*, ed. by Paul Merchant (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), esp. 2.2.81-85; 3.2.130-32; and 4.1.142-44.

⁸ Ann C. Christensen, *Separation Scenes: Domestic Drama in Early Modern England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), esp. pp. 1-24. For a discussion of broad economic trends affecting domestic travel, see Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), *passim*.

⁹ Miller and Forse, pp. 254-73 (p. 266) quoting the domestic manual penned by William Gouge (see note 16).

¹⁰ See Laura Caroline Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsman in Elizabethan Popular Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Laura Stevenson O'Connell, 'The Elizabethan Bourgeois Hero-Tale: Aspects of an Adolescent Social Consciousness', in *After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J.H. Hexter*, ed. by Barbara C. Malament (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), pp. 267-90; and Wendy Wall, 'Forgetting and Keeping: Jane Shore and the English Domestication of History', *Renaissance Drama*, 27 (1996), 123-56.

tolerant of risk and travel – merchants. In showing how men’s callings could both profit and disrupt domesticity, Heywood’s plays at once ‘validate the rising merchant/trading class’ and expose the potential costs of that rise.¹¹ Richard Helgerson has argued that *Edward* is fueled by ‘antagonism’ between the state and the home, the latter being ‘a place of great value, [and] [...] a compelling locus of affective attachment, both for the characters and the audience’.¹² Matthew vacates this affective ‘locus’ in order to attend ‘the common place of intercourse’, illustrating the merchant’s dilemma implicit in my epigraph and in the emblem of the merchant: business travel requires domestic absence.¹³ *Edward* deliberates the dynamic between domestic contentment and what we could call occupational travel and other forms of economically driven mobility.¹⁴ The play, without resolving this dilemma, reveals ambiguities within the meanings of business and home, especially in the context of the shifting experiences of and cultural attitudes toward trade, travel and home life in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

City gates, where the rebellion is fought, and the shop window, where Jane works and is accosted by the King, are sites where commercial, civic, and private life converge, liminal spaces that point to emotional and dramatic ambivalence and convey the uneasy interdependency between settled domesticity and unsettling mobility and unrest.¹⁵ Heywood uses these imagistic and theatrical nodes to develop a tragedy about the places of work and marriage in an urban commercial setting, where the costs and benefits of the householder’s absence concatenate at home. The plays ask viewers to compare who works and who does not; to consider the relative locations of and values for acts of work, consumption, and leisure. How does the fulfillment of a man’s professional calling comport with his ‘domestical duties’ (to use the title of one popular domestic conduct manual)?¹⁶ Can the labor of the individual contribute to the stability of both ‘the little commonwealth’ of home and the macro-economies of city and nation? How do these

¹¹ Theodora A. Jankowski, ‘Historicizing and Legitimizing Capitalism: Thomas Heywood’s *Edward IV* and *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*’, *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 7 (1995), 305-37 (pp. 315, 329).

¹² Richard Helgerson, *Adulterous Alliances: Home, State, and History in Early Modern European Drama and Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 45. Helgerson argues that Heywood’s play ‘help[ed] to initiate a new tragic genre’ (p. 34).

¹³ Miller and Forse, pp. 254-73 (pp. 266, 268).

¹⁴ See Giorgio Riello, ‘Global Things: Europe’s early modern material transformation’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling, and David Gaimster, Routledge History Handbooks (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 29-45.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Patricia Fumerton’s germinal work in *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), *passim*.

¹⁶ William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties: Eight Treatises. I. An Exposition of that Part of Scripture Out of Which Domesticall Duties are Raised. ... VIII. Duties of Masters* (London: John Haviland, 1622).

economic structures relate? In order to demonstrate how Heywood both raises and responds to these questions, I turn now to the stage business and spatial discourse relating to work in *Edward*.

Space, Stasis, and Work

The play's three social groupings are distinguished from and aligned with each other at various points in the play through their shifting relationships to labor: King Edward, the royal family and courtiers; the citizens, apprentices, and craftspeople of London and county; and the rebels, who are nominally English, but associated with the foreign.¹⁷ While King Edward, his new Queen, and courtiers appear more often in hunting gear, at banquets, and in pursuit of other pastimes, the citizens work at their respective trades that support their individual households. They also defend London and supply revenue to the state.¹⁸ Accompanying this middling-sort work ethic are other virtues of a settled life – the self-reliance, communal roots, good stewardship, and thrift that Hobs, the tanner, and Jane Shore practice and royals and rebels pointedly lack.¹⁹ The Shores' middle-class marriage and economic success structurally oppose the luxurious King and the discontented rebels, though, as we shall see, that opposition is never rigid.

The unhoused rebels imagine themselves as burgomasters, enjoying perks like the gainfully employed, such as marital households, profits, and titles, but without working.²⁰ The rebel leader Falconbridge renounces *all* affiliation with the working classes, though Edward at least pretends 'the common touch', for example, showing up at the Lord Mayor's feast in scene 16 and slumming in Tamworth in scenes 13 and 14. Although common people historically rebel against economic (and social) injustice, Falconbridge insists that his crew does not 'rise'

Basely, like tinkers, or such muddy slaves,
For mending measures, or the price of corn,
Or for some common in the weald of Kent
That's by some greedy cormorant enclosed

¹⁷ In *Holinshed's Chronicles*, the rebels are 'mariners, foreigners, and people from Kent' – qtd. in Wall, 'Forgetting', pp. 123-56 (p. 136).

¹⁸ See *Edward IV*, 1.18.13-104, 129-141, and on the terms 'tax' and 'benevolence', *Edward IV*, pp. 174-75, n22-26.

¹⁹ Howard chides a Tamworth landowner, Goodfellow: 'Here's a plain tanner can teach ye how to thrive' (1.18.63).

²⁰ See 2.9-38 for Falconbridge's full proclamation.

(1.2.29-32).

Without workaday worries over price gauging or access to pastureland, the suburban rebels distinguish their cause from rural insurrections, such as the Peasants Revolt of 1381 and the Kent uprising of 1451.²¹ As is often noted, Falconbridge's followers elevate themselves to such positions as 'masters of the Mint', merchants, and courtiers with access to 'merciers' shops', 'gold and plate', and free food and drink, along with the sexual possession of London's women (1.2.49-56, 66, 71, 90-5, 46-7). The rebels map out a kind of shopping route of London with stops at Leadenhall market that was built in Edward IV's reign, and Cheapside, home to Lombard Street and the Shores' shop. Although Smoke, Chub, and Spicing exhibit some connection to their past occupations (as smith, chandler, and grocer, respectively), when they pull rank among themselves, their talk is more often directed at London's cornucopia of consumables rather than tools of their erstwhile trades.²² This non-identification with occupations along with their habitual deprecation of legitimate laborers, including apprentices and 'carking' or anxious craftsmen, points to the rebels' simultaneous attraction to and revulsion from settled domesticity (1.6.11), ambivalence reminiscent of rogues and vagrants in other domestic plays, like *Arden's* Black Will.²³ *Edward* presents the rebels as a vexing and unsettled entity, but once the rebellion is defeated – which happens quickly – legitimate business becomes the source of disruptive mobility and criminal trespass.

The rebel invasion disrupts the domestic life of London, and Heywood uses numerous stratagems to both emphasize and interconnect the rebels' idleness and their mobility, their ambitious desires and their place-lessness – stratagems shared with his representation of the idle and errant king. Recent criticism of *Edward* recognizes the irony that the real threat to London's stability and security comes not from the Falconbridge rebellion, but from the English monarch. Rebels and royalty spurn work,

²¹ Helgerson discusses the 'established theatrical convention' for rebellions such as those of Cade and Jack Straw. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 210.

²² See *Edward IV*, 1.2.59-64, 73-4.

²³ On populations affected adversely by demographic change, steep inflation, falling wages, and unemployment, see A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985); and David Underdown, *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). On domestic tragedy, see Frank Whigham, *Seizures of the Will in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Ann C. Christensen, *Separation Scenes: Domestic Drama in Early Modern England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017).

defy the boundaries of private property, summon with caprice, and employ prerogatives of command.²⁴ For example, during their initial assault, Chub sings of the city's provision of goods, mimicking a Cleopatra-style monarch: 'if anybody ask who shall pay, / Cut off his head and send him away' (1.2.96-7). Similarly, but backed by institutional machinery, King Edward makes capricious demands and seizes people and goods; additionally, once in power, Richard III punishes his subjects with imperium.

Chub admits, as he leads Ned Spicing to the gallows, that he left his established profession to join the rebellion:

Oh, captain Spicing, thy vain enticing
Brought me from my trade;
From good candles-making to this pains-taking,
A rebel to be made
(1.10.166-9).

Chub's refrain, 'brought me from my trade', projects an image of the craftsman both physically removed from his shop, and professionally displaced, too – from lawful to treasonous 'business'. The miller also stresses his location – 'busy grinding at my mill' – when Falconbridge and Spicing appear, while noting their dislocation: 'vagrant idle knaves, / That had beset some true man from his house' (1.10.111-13).²⁵ In these accounts, the 'true man' labors in 'his house', where he is either 'beset' or enticed by vagrants. At various levels, men's professional ambition maintains and disrupts domesticity, causing Matthew's absences from Jane and contributing to social unrest and crime (e.g., the rebels and the engrossing trader Rufford). Even the paragon of settled life, Hobs of Tamworth, 'operates on the margins of legality'.²⁶

Hobs seems to be a throwback to the 'king and the commoner' ballad tradition whence he has sprung; a simple laborer unmoved by ambition or privilege who entertains a ruler-in-disguise. When this small-scale leather tradesman enters immediately after Chub's song, the scene changes from harsh London gallows to charming Tamworth woods on the borders of Staffordshire and Warwickshire. That Hobs has what Rowland calls "'a real job'" is Heywood's invention, pointing not to Hobs' traditional rural

²⁴ 'Cry havoc!' in war was the monarch's prerogative. *Edward IV*, p. 107, n69.

²⁵ On the role of location in depositions, especially for women, see Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 97-8.

²⁶ Richard Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre, 1599-1639: Locations, Translations, and Conflict* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), p. 28.

economy but to the ‘precariousness of his [...] position’.²⁷ Leather was a massive, complex, low-status, and highly regulated industry under the Tudors and Hobs shows glimpses of professional resentment, as Rowland explains. Hobs’ speeches are shot through with economic criticism, as when he counts his profits in tiny increments of pennies and groats and when he (mis)takes the ‘deer’ of the equestrienne Queen and Duchess for a chance to comment on how ‘dear’ he finds needed commodities, such as hides (I.11.20-6, 47-50). When he turns down the disguised King ‘Ned’s’ invitation to court – ‘I ha’ nothing to do at Court. I’ll home with my cowhides’ (I.13.69; also I.11.77-8) – Hobs also critiques courtly pastimes like hunting and acknowledges unjust legislation on tanning. Hobs invites ‘Ned’s’ party to stay the night and sleep on clean if rough-hewn sheets, spun of local hemp by his daughter Nell and use a horn chamber pot, a by-product of his tanning operation: ‘for we buy no bending pewter, nor breaking earth’ (I.14.118-22).²⁸ In this he plays the comic foil to the insatiable King and the rebels with ‘pilf’ring fingers’ (I.18.545). But he also defends a trade threatened if not by globalization then by corrupt officials (I.13.75-9). Hobs ‘like[s] not those pattens’, that is, patents (monopolies) that profit only ‘one subject’ when many deserve (I.13.75, 82-3).²⁹ And, although one critic claims that Hobs is a ‘gruesomely sentimental and patriotic commoner’, I find, with Rowland, that Hobs’ ‘attachment to his trade and his home’ is a platform for lambasting income inequality and unfair trade practices that were more common in Heywood’s early modernity than Edward IV’s medieval time. Hobs’ family line may cease because his son is condemned for robbery – a crime that may have arisen because ‘no work will down with him’, as his father claims, or because customary livelihoods are less available to his generation (I.14.101).³⁰ The *domestic* economy that Hobs doggedly defends is tinged with discontent and vulnerability, and furthermore lends some retrospective irony to King Edward’s spurning a French bride for one ‘nearer hand’ (I.1.18).

Edward’s own relationship to labor is linguistic; he jokes that the only ‘work’ he plans to do is to have sex with his clandestine bride; later he ‘labour[s] to break into [Jane’s] plighted faith’ (I.1.8-9, I.19.11). His first sex/work pun comes in answer to his mother’s accusation that opens *Part I* – ‘You have made work!’ (I.1.7) – meaning his

²⁷ *Edward IV*, p. 28. See also ‘The Tanner of Tamworth’ section in *Edward IV*, pp. 26-36 (esp. p. 28).

²⁸ *Edward IV*, pp. 30, 35-36, and p. 153, n120-21.

²⁹ See Hobs’ reckoning scene (I.11.1-21).

³⁰ The first quote is from Jean E. Howard, ‘Forming the Commonwealth: Including, Excluding, and Criminalizing Women in Heywood’s *Edward IV* and Shakespeare’s *Henry V*’, in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jean R. Brink (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1993), pp. 109-21 (p. 113). The second is from *Edward IV*, pp. 34 and 152, n101. We later learn that Hobs’ son is sentenced to death for robbery (I.18.116-20; 23.29-33).

unsanctioned marriage to Lady Grey has ‘made [more] work’ for others. Edward’s sudden wedding does impose on others because it defies protocol, thwarts the Duchess’ ambition, and sullies international diplomacy (Warwick is negotiating a marriage in France offstage as the play opens). Edward condescends to the Duchess’ valid concerns about the marriage, ‘Tut, mother ’tis a stirring world!’, as if to say, ‘stuff happens’. But ‘stirring’ more often describes the fruitful movements by others elsewhere in the play (1.1.15). For now, the King opts for what reads as a cowardly stasis, celebrating his nuptials and waiting until the next day to deal with the London attack:

This night we’ll spend in feast and jollity
 [...]

 Tomorrow you shall have commission
 To raise up power against this heavy rebel.
 (1.1.155-58)

This is the King’s *modus operandi* – to privilege his ‘humour’ over his duty in teasing the tanner (1.1.13, 23), skulking under scarves (1.1.16), courting a subject (1.1. 17-19), kissing a widow (1.1. 23), or calling for suppers (1.1.62-3).

Meanwhile, the citizens’ labor extends from trades to the defense of London. With the King’s ‘inexplicable absence’ from the fray always in the background, and whereas the ‘rebels are retired to Mile End Green’, the apprentices remain present and active during the rebellion (1.7.5; 6.48).³¹ The Mayor twice praises them for having ‘bestirred’ themselves, the same term that he uses to describe Jane’s labor to prepare the banquet later: ‘see how neatly she bestirs herself’ (1.7.1-3; 16.48). Meanwhile, the rebel faction mocks the same men for their employment as low-level shopkeepers. Spicing, for example, reduces them to their plain ‘flatcaps’, the uniform of urban youth, and he ‘counsel[s them] [...] to keep your shops’.³² The insult extends to ventriloquizing their sales chatter: “‘What lack you?’” better will beseem your mouths / Than terms of war’, and Falconbridge calls them ‘boys’ (1.5.26, 29-31, 53). In response, one apprentice threatens to ‘fly about’ and sting like ‘angry hornets’, the wild cousins of bees (1.5.49-51). ‘Being moved’ justifies their momentary abandonment of servility (1.5.47-8).³³

³¹ *Edward IV*, p. 25.

³² Neil MacGregor, British Museum., and BBC Radio 4, ‘City Life, Urban Strife’, in *Shakespeare's Restless World* (New York: Viking, 2013), pp. 105-15.

³³ On youth in the period, see Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). On apprentices’ political action, see Mihoko Suzuki, *Subordinate Subjects: Gender, the Political Nation, and Literary Form in England, 1588-1688* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), esp. pp. 27-74.

The same accusations that the apprentices level against the rebels – of wilding, breaking rank, being idle, and so on – were routinely made against their own population of male youth in the city.³⁴ Still, the apprentices' self-defense hinges on identifications with settlement that was more elusive than they themselves admit. As Wall notes, they align 'with labor, patriotism, and sobriety (marked by residence in the city and enclosure in the home) and opposed to idleness (signified by life on the city's outskirts and release into the streets)'.³⁵ The free-ranging rebels, in contrast, spurn the necessary work to attain (and maintain) the lifestyle that they nonetheless long for.³⁶ Though they aim high – to 'be kings [...] and sleep with marchants wives' (1.9.169-70) – they descend on London like 'a troop of hungry travellers, / That fix their eyes upon a furnished feast' (1.2.81-82). These two images taken together – of domestic comfort (if by force) and restless hunger – reveal the vagrants' paradoxical desire for a settled home and mobility. Occupying a similarly marginal yet sanctioned status, the apprentices defend homes and shops where they are only tenuously housed and employed. In a different way, Matthew's spatial locations mirror his status in the mercantile economy: he is always leaving or returning to a home impacted by his trade.

In the impromptu battlefield of the streets, the youth assert a temporary hierarchy distinct from the patriarchal order of Mayor Crosby and Josselyn, the doddering Recorder (1.3.37; also 1.3.21, 44). Because elder statesmen are useless, the second apprentice, cries, 'Give us leave to work', deploying the very language of contractual articles to assert subordination within the guild:

My lord, return you back, Let us alone;
 You are our masters: give us leave to work!
 And if we do not vanquish them in fight,
 Let us go supperless to bed at night.
 (1.5.61-64)

³⁴ See *Edward IV*, esp. pp. 22-4; Amanda Bailey, 'Livery and Its Discontents: "Braving It" in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Renaissance Drama*, 33 (2004), 87-135; Mark Thornton Burnett, *Masters and Servants in English Renaissance Drama and Culture: Authority and Obedience* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); and Suzuki, *passim*.

³⁵ Wall, 'Forgetting', pp. 123-56 (p. 136).

³⁶ The rebels explicitly defy the household advice literature's language of 'calling.' Cleaver, for example, condemns those who 'live of the labours of other men, and themselves take no paines nor travaile' and commends the 'diligent' practice of one's calling: 'abundance' follows diligence and poverty follows sloth. Robert Cleaver and John Dod, *A Godlie Forme of Householde Government for the Ordering of Private Families* (London: Thomas Man, 1614), pp. 62-5.

‘Work’ puns on their routine occupational labor and the extraordinary service of civil defense – both of which are physically demanding and vital to political and economic security. By appropriating the prerogative of masters (more often mistresses) to withhold their food, the youth shows a keen awareness of normal working conditions, along with those of the current contingency. Everybody knows that these young subordinates are essential in the street, just as their laboring bodies sustain the commonwealth and increase their masters’ profits. Nonetheless, even as they gladly ‘embrace our shops’ and believe ‘It’s good indeed we should have such a care’, they know that they may go hungry to bed (1.5.42-3).

The apprentices’ desire to ‘work’ and the ‘great service’ they perform make them collective de facto spokesman for settled domesticity, while also attesting to the fragile security of that domesticity even in peacetime. In Patricia Fumerton’s suggestive terms: these subjects are ‘unsettled’. The paradoxical and chronic ‘state of rupture’ with which Fumerton characterizes the early modern period was experienced most acutely by servants and apprentices: they were no longer children, but not independent; separated from their own families of origin, yet also forbidden from starting their own.³⁷ The Shore plot dramatizes a similar rupture in a successful commercial household that is unsettled by the householder’s absence.

House and Work

Given what I have argued is *Edward’s* concentration of broad socio-economic developments in the nodes of work and space in *Part I*, and having discussed male characters’ relationships to space and labor (and leisure), as magistrates, tradesmen, unemployed rebels, and working apprentices, I turn now to the plays’ workingwomen in order to show how their conditions are impacted by men’s presence or absence. Unsurprisingly, the women – Hobs’ maiden daughter, Nell; the widows Norton and Blage; and the married Jane Shore – are identified through their economic and domestic relationships to men, whether in the commercial milieu of London’s Cheapside in the main plot or the rural environs of Tamworth. (The sexual desirability of Jane, Nell, and Norton further inflects their status.) Jane’s labor manifests in particular settings via the needlework that she carries into the shop that is set up with ‘weights and balances’; the paper petitions she handles in the street (1.18.8-9, 22; 1.2.27) and her medicinal props

³⁷ Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 17.

to aid Flood at Blage's inn (1.2.18). Mistress Blage's profession as a landlady defines her in the economy of makeshift, just as Nell's housewifery locates her in her father's lodging (2.16.52-3; 2.18; 1.1.4). The Widow Norton's semi-comical appearance at the close of *Part 1* centers on her contributing an increasing amount of stage cash (from twenty nobles to '[f]orty old angels') to the war chest of Edward with whom she exchanges pleasantries and kisses, followed by her rejection of a second marriage to Hobs (1.23.118-121, 135-47). Norton's role in the seeming throw-away denouement of *Part 1* limns an otherwise non-dramatized possibility for working womanhood – someone with the financial security to donate 'liberally' to the state and the integrity (however snobbish) to reject an unwanted match with a bumpkin: 'Clubs and clouted shoes', she harrumphs (1.23.147). More typically in *Edward* women reside(d) with male relatives whose absence or presence responds to conditions of a commercial or political economy. The deceased Master Blage, for example, 'fled, and died in France' after forfeiting his lands, and Jane and Nell are variously vulnerable to Edward's invasion, depending on who is at home with them (2.5.34).³⁸ Hobs half-jokingly promises his child to 'Ned', only if he 'forsake the court' for a proper occupation in the leather industry (1.15.59-65). Blage, although appearing independent and successful, too, is victimized since Richard III's proclamation leads to her arrest for 'harbouring' her old neighbor (2.18.204-7). Women's households, especially when unpartnered, are insecure.

The shifting of Jane's working conditions keeps audience attention simultaneously on Matthew's absence from the home and on the domesticity, including Jane's work, impacted by that absence. The trajectory of her labor also structures the two plays, as she moves in and out of domestic spaces, and up and down the social strata, in this way, illustrating the kind of tenuous hold on 'settlement' that was also apparent in the apprentices. Jane works in multiple settings: as mistress over shop and household; surrogate Lady Mayoress; intercessor at court, advocate for prisoners, healer, and ultimately, a masterless and un-harbored vagrant. Jane's multiple subject positions – bourgeois and married but unpartnered; domestic and commercial; consort and advocate; victim and hero – all pivot on Matthew's (and later, Edward's) occupational absences (though Richard III's proclaiming Jane Shore a felon is a political rather than commercial judgment). These settled and unsettling occupations for her mediate our experience of the play.

³⁸ Facets of the Blage backstory – economic ruin and spousal abandonment that seems to have a political origin (judging from the word 'forfeit') – reappear in the petitions that Jane reviews, and in her own life, as I discuss in the text below. I thank the anonymous reader for clarifying this point, and for other instructive comments.

We meet Jane in *Part I* after the first incursion when she and Matthew reunite outside their goldsmith shop or seated in the window. (The latter locale would lend further significance to the King's fenestrate disturbance later in the play.) Matthew comforts the distraught Jane in a short and tender dialogue, despite other historical and literary documents' inferences of a loveless marriage.³⁹ Confident that 'the rebels are repulsed', given London's audible celebration, Matthew questions her unique gloom: 'Canst thou, gentle Jane, be sad alone?' (1.8.5). She, too, interrogates him: 'tell me why you fought so desperately' (1.8.14). After he explains his motivation: to 'maintain King Edward's royalty', 'to defend the city's liberty', and 'chiefly' to protect her from the rebels who have demanded her by name, Jane comes to understand the personal danger she faces, and insists that she would choose suicide over rape (1.8.30-31). This exchange is interrupted by the arrival of the Lord Mayor's officer, calling for Matthew's 'speedy presence at Guildhall', because the fighting has recommenced (1.8.32). Matthew, 'captain of two companies', is charged to lead the vanguard ('vaward'), according to the officer, as a reward of his 'valor and [...] skill', (1.8.39-41), a position rooted in Matthew's occupation as a master craftsman and shopkeeper. The livery companies shared the responsibility for arming the watch: every male citizen was required to serve; aldermen and members of the Common Council organized musters as part of their service on the 'Committee for Martial Causes'.⁴⁰

In the standoff that follows, Matthew readily accepts the charge – 'Friend, tell my lord I'll wait upon him straight' – followed by Jane's rejection: 'Friend, tell my lord he does my husband wrong'. When Jane asserts her 'will' that her husband stay, Matthew complies with the officer's order, 'Friend, I *will* follow ye', and Jane once more contradicts, 'I'faith, ye *shall* not. Prithee, do not go' (1.8.42-3, 46-7, italics added). This stichomythia-peppered debate ends with Matthew's withering echo of Jane's last words, 'Not go, sweetheart?' as he explains that a man who stays is a coward, a traitor, and a cipher (1.8.48-9). After the officer's exit, the couple continue to discuss Jane's fate were Matthew to die. He cajoles, 'Enough will marry thee; / I leave thee worth at least five thousand pound' (1.8.56-7). Jane 'weeps' and begs: 'Let me go with thee, Mat' (1.8.59, 60). Matthew dismisses Jane's 'idle talk' and sends her to 'be merry and pray' with other unpartnered wives, 'my Lady Mayoress, and the rest' (1.8.61-4).

³⁹ On deviations from the 'Mistress Shore' of ballads, Holinshed, and Thomas More, see *Edward IV*, pp. 41-7, 57; and Jeanne MacIntyre, 'Shore's Wife and *The Shoemaker's Holiday*', *Cahiers Elisabethains*, 39.1 (1991), 17-28 (pp. 18-20).

⁴⁰ *Edward IV*, p. 97, n3-7; and Vimala Pasupathi, "'For Brittaines honour and my Masters trade": Apprentices in Arms on the Early Modern Stage' (unpublished manuscript presented at the 2016 meeting of the Renaissance Society of America).

But when we next see Jane at Crosby's house for the victory banquet, we learn that the host is 'a widower, / [who] lack[s] a Lady Mayoress in such need' (1.16.39-40, 43, 82). Although the death of Crosby's wife is never explained (did she die shortly before the action of the play begins?), the Shores are aware of the death since Jane assumes Mistress Crosby's duties.⁴¹ Why does Matthew send Jane to this deceased Mayoress to wait out the next battle in merriment and prayer? This mention of the Mayoress may be Heywood's oversight (Richard Rowland suggests it shows the King's lack of tact).⁴² Yet these references are significant. Matthew projects a community of women – Jane among 'the best' city wives – that never materializes. In fact, Mistress Blage, who originally counsels Jane to submit to the king's advances, later promises her, 'like two warm widows we may live', only to reject Jane and appropriate her possessions shortly thereafter (2.15.59-60; 18.125-87). Thus, when Jane is 'sad alone', as Matthew had queried, she really is alone, separated from a spouse, who is called away (twice) to muster and who also leaves to conduct business. Additionally, she finds no community support during those absences; and 'no friend to lean unto' in Richard's reign (2.18.126).

Jane's practical housewifery skills illustrate a bourgeois domestic productivity and class contentment that attract but elude the roguish king, who subsequently accosts Jane when Matthew is absent from their shop. At Crosby's, Jane 'makes huswifery to shine', 'beautif[ies the] house', and 'take[s] such pains to save our credit now', in the grateful mayor's words (1.16.49, 51, 57). In a scene dedicated to pleasure (of the victorious Londoners and the nobility) and 'credit' (to the male host), it is Jane alone who works – work that elevates her status.⁴³ As Wendy Wall has convincingly shown, *Edward* emphasizes Jane's housewifery through the recognition of her 'homely help' in the banquet scene above; in the subsequent shop scene, as mistress over goods and workers, where she also sews; as royal consort, when she works on behalf of deserving citizens and innocent prisoners; and in her practices of 'physic' as well as a kind of 'couples counseling' for the royals (1.16.47; 2.18.42; 2.10.120).⁴⁴ Jane's association with the spaces of 'house' as well as 'work' – that is, with domestic and commercial spaces left

⁴¹ Crosby's intimacy with the Shores is explicit (1.16.37, 41-2).

⁴² See Rowland, *Thomas*, p. 56. Rowland has suggested that her death may have been recent and unknown to Edward (email to author, 24 May 2016).

⁴³ On domestic space and properties, see Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

⁴⁴ Wall, 'Forgetting', pp. 123-56 (see esp. pp. 138-46). Jane ministers to the wounded Flood/Matthew in 2.18.1-56.

unsecured by a repeatedly absent husband and master – are dramatized with the same ‘unremitting specificity’ that critics find in his depiction of the tanner’s industry and his habitat.⁴⁵ The effect of Heywood’s detailed place-ment of Jane’s work/space is to highlight the complex and gendered interdependency of business and home.

Jane’s performance of domestic labor contrasts the many idle, violent, and mobile men represented elsewhere in the play. In particular, the Mayor’s party disperses early because of the sudden onset of Edward’s lust for Jane that operates in spatial terms – the king ‘starts from the table’, chides his ‘idle eye’ that he personifies, ‘wilt thou be gadding still? / Keep home, keep home, for fear of further ill’, and distractedly reads letters that call him away (he ‘*glances on* Mistress Shore in his reading’). Then, without warning (or eating), he leaves, bidding ‘Mistress Shore’ an enigmatic farewell, ‘Lady Mayoress, I should say; / ’Tis you have caused our parting at this time’ (I.16.163, 146-7, 153, 174-5).⁴⁶ Along with insulting his host, Edward’s Jane-blaming is also misguided; she is no causer of parting here or elsewhere.⁴⁷ Jane’s skillful administration of hospitality at the Mayor’s house, like her advocacy of marital cohabitation in scene 8, grounds her in house/work that contrasts the disruptive imagery common to commercial activity, political rebellion, and personal lust.

After her banquet ministrations, Jane’s second work site is the shop in Goldsmiths’ Row where she next appears. Critics seem more interested in her visibility in the shop window, where the muffled king spies her, than in the work she enacts there (I.16.17), a misplaced interest in Jane’s status as object to be seen or consumed rather than a working subject.⁴⁸ Before the King’s arrival, Jane enters ‘with her work in her hand’ (I.16.11). She manages two apprentices (possibly the same actors from the battle

⁴⁵ *Edward IV*, p. 34.

⁴⁶ On the ‘crucial significance’ of stage business relating to ‘the distribution – or wastage – of vital foodstuffs’ and the king’s ‘shocking violation’ of both the Lord Mayor’s proffered hospitality (I.1.16), and Hobs’ ‘homely fare’ (I.1.14), see *Edward IV*, p. 7. Also note that Jockie brings food parcels to relieve Jane (I.2.20).

⁴⁷ See Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. p. 22.

⁴⁸ Wall is a notable exception, ‘Forgetting’, pp. 123-56. Jankowski’s Marxist reading of the play discusses proletariats and capitalists, but overlooks Jane’s work. Jankowski, pp. 305-37. See also: ‘Women, Work, and Windows’ in Christensen, pp. 141-76; Laura Gowing, ‘“The Freedom of the Streets”: Women and Social Space, 1560-1640’, in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 130-51; Lena Cowen Orlin, ‘Women on the Threshold’, *Shakespeare Studies* 25 (1997), 50-8; and Lena Cowen Orlin, ‘A Case for Anecdotalism in Women’s History: The Witness Who Spoke When the Cock Crowed’, *English Literary Renaissance* 31.1 (2001), 52-77.

scenes), who regard her as a formidable mistress; they have laid out ‘plate’ and ‘weights and balances’, hoping to avoid punishment when ‘my mistress [...] comes down’ (1.17.8-9, 2-4). She also manages the goods and customers, despite her husband’s brief remark on her relative inexperience (1.20.37-41).⁴⁹

Jane’s activity in the shop (if not her acumen in the craft itself) illustrates an important dimension to the larger historical problem of gender in the processes of commercialization and urbanization that seemed to exclude women. Jane Shore is a wife unpartnered by the very requirements of her husband’s trade, not an independent entrepreneur like a fishwife or bawd, figures who caused anxiety within livery companies and often drew punishment from civil authorities.⁵⁰ Whereas Jean Howard’s assertion may be true, that in Shakespeare’s history plays ‘female economic independence [was] threatening to man’s patriarchal authority, [and] [...] recoded as sexual transgressiveness and criminalized’, in Heywood’s history play, Jane’s economic activity is *not* a threat to her husband, but a non-issue, if not a boon. Her routine service aids her husband’s success, perhaps as Norton had helped her ‘goodman’ and Nell contributes to her father’s household (1.23.128).⁵¹ Heywood links Jane firmly to both the labor of the shop and to the love and loyalty of the marriage by opening the scene with her performing *both* needlework and shop work, which activities also announce the realms as coterminous and interdependent.⁵² The scene closes with Jane exerting a (presumably futile) centripetal pull: ‘I pray thee come, my love, and sit by me. / No king that’s under heaven I love like thee’ (1.23.158-9).

⁴⁹ Shore tells the Mayor:

Though in my shop she sit, more to respect
Her servants duty, then for any skill
She doth, or can pretend, in what we trade,
(1.20.37-9).

Women in general lacked access to training in the highly skilled trades, including goldsmith, yet the wives of trades- and craftsmen provided an economic boon through their work in supervising and attending to customers.

⁵⁰ See Alena Buis, Christi Spain-Savage, and Myra E. Wright, ‘Attending to Fishwives: Views from Seventeenth-Century London and Amsterdam’, in *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), pp. 177-99.

⁵¹ See Howard, pp. 109-21 (pp. 111-12); Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare’s English Chronicles* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Jean E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare’s English Histories* (London: Routledge, 1997).

⁵² See Janelle Day Jenstad, “‘The City Cannot Hold You’: Social Conversion in the Goldsmith’s Shop’, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 8.2 (2002), 5.1-26 (Np n18)

<<http://purl.oclc.org.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/emls/08-2/jensgold.html>> [Accessed 29 July 2019].

It is Jane and the apprentices who represent the trade on stage, since Matthew himself appears more often in transit than conducting goldsmith business. When the disguised ‘customer’ visits the shop in scene 17, the master goldsmith is elsewhere in London, entering only at line 100, and remaining marginal to the exchange between the shopwife and Edward (1.17.109-110, 114, 137-9).⁵³ In fact Matthew later admits that ‘ever when he [the King] comes, / It is to her and will not deal with me’ (2.5.140-2). But, as Miller and Forse suggest, this is a poor excuse; Matthew never ‘consults with Jane about the dilemma they both face, nor does he take steps to isolate her from the king’. For these critics, Matthew has ‘ill prepared his wife to be a “yokemate”, either in his business or in his marital life’.⁵⁴ With Matthew absent during Edward’s visits, the household soon dissolves – a displaced husband and a relocated (and eventually homeless) wife, who is banished from the city walls ‘[i]nto the naked, cold, forsaken field’, an interstitial area associated with ‘risky’ behaviors in women, including prostitution.⁵⁵ In *Part 2* after Matthew is released from prison and sees the forsaken Jane praying in the fields, he reconstructs (or invents) an image of their one-time hearthside cohabitation: ‘Whereas we lived together man and wife, / Oft on a humble stool by the fireside / Sate she contented’ (2.20.208-10). Nostalgia like this, however, is not dramatized; instead the husband’s departures and the wife’s solitary domesticity stand for their marriage in the play. However, in the final scene of *Part 2*, Matthew and Jane do sit together on the brink of death, in a macabre tableau at the coffin of the recently executed Aire: ‘Lend me thy hand, to bury ... our friend, /.... Jane, sit thou there, here I my place will have’ (2.22.88, 90). This scene reprises the charged word ‘place’ that Matthew had previously claimed he lost: ‘There is no place allowed for me, / Where once a kind hath ta’en possession’ (1.22.96-7).

While some see Jane’s ‘display’ in the window in terms of the period commonplaces of Venetian courtesans or London prostitutes, I think that Heywood uses this threshold between shop and street to locate Jane’s work not only in a masterless space, but also particularly in a trade that, perhaps more than any other livery company in the period, was connected to an informally state-sponsored overseas market.⁵⁶ According to Janelle

⁵³ When Matthew returns in scene 17, his inane shop banter equating his wife and his goods causes some seat squirming (1.17.109-115).

⁵⁴ Miller and Forse, pp. 254-73 (p. 268).

⁵⁵ Gowing, ““Freedom””, pp. 130-51 (p. 145).

⁵⁶ ‘Jane is [...] constructed as a spectacle, something to be observed, and then as a prize of war, something to be enjoyed along with other middle-class goods’; see Howard, pp. 109-21 (pp. 113, also 121). For eligible maidens sitting in their windows and displayed to suitors, not customers, see Diane Wolfthal, ‘The Woman in the Window: Licit and Illicit Sexual Desire in Renaissance Italy’, *Sex Acts in Early Modern Italy*:

Jenstad's study, the goldsmith's practice operated on a number of levels: 'As a banker, he exchanged gold coins for silver and silver for gold. As a craftsman, he converted old plate or bullion into new plate. As an agent of the crown, he took foreign coin, old coin, and bullion to the Mint, where it was converted into new currency'.⁵⁷ This fact and other elements in the play present a network of commerce that includes not only the goldsmith trade that connected the city to elite and royal clients at home and to international import and export, but also local traders, Hobs and Rufford, and privateering. This context of internal and international travel and trade sharpens Edward's conceit comparing Jane to the 'spark of precious diamond, / Of greater value than all India' (1.17.31-2).⁵⁸ To be sure, the metaphor implicates Edward, like Shakespeare's Tarquin, as an abusive monarch and colonizing plunderer of the rich jewel of a subject's chastity. By invoking 'India' on the threshold of the goldsmith's shop, the metaphor also points to actual conditions of travel and travail, including the cooperation between capital and crown in an expanding market. Dangerous maritime experience that seems to include plunder, after all, will later lead to Matthew's own apprehension and imprisonment in *Part 2*.

Along with her housewifery (at Crosby's) and trade work (in the window), Jane assumes a third form of work in a new space after she is taken by the king, staged toward the close of *Part 1* and the middle of *Part 2*. As 'governmental gatekeeper' Jane shuttles commoners' petitions between the street and the court.⁵⁹ Having been herself thrust outside the conventional gender order of home and marriage, Jane's adjudication of requests maintains borders and protects forms of settlement in others. She confers a royal pardon that saves the life of Aire's son, thereby keeping that family together; she promises to protect one Palmer from officers who unjustly detained his land, and to consider further Jockie's request for the restoration of his land held 'wranfully' from him; but she refuses engrossing Rufford the license to export corn and lead, a practice that would 'wound the commonwealth' (1.22.28-70).⁶⁰ This tableau, where the advocate for the settled life that is denied her 'confer[s] privately with her suitors, and look[s] on their bills' in scene 22, elicits bitter commentary (in four separate asides) from Matthew, who is yet again departing, this time out of England altogether (1.22.27, 10-27, 38, 44, 53, 59). This standoff ironizes scene 8, when Matthew was departing for the incursion and Jane urged him to stay home. Like Rufford's projected goods,

Practice, Perversion, Punishment, ed. by Allison Levy (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 57-123 (pp. 59-60). Thanks to Iman Sheeha for this reference.

⁵⁷ Jenstad, Np.

⁵⁸ See Jenstad, (Np and Np n34).

⁵⁹ Wall, 'Forgetting', pp. 123-56 (p. 141). Also see Helgersson, *Adulterous*, pp. 44, 48.

⁶⁰ See also 2.1.92-95; 2.20.220-4.

Matthew moves ‘from this land... to foreign realms’ (1.22.62). Jane is meanwhile left ‘sad alone’.

Jane’s last phase of work life amalgamates politics and housewifery, as she both intervenes in an international trade crisis and heals the wounded. Brackenbury begs Jane to assist in a pardon for a kinsman and ‘his crew, a company of proper men’ that (unknown to Jane) includes her own travel-worn husband, Shore (renamed Flood in *Part 2*, scene 9). As in the banquet and the shop scenes, Heywood stresses Jane’s labor and its spatial location, now, outside the Marshalsea Prison in Southwark, even as the viewer discovers something about Matthew’s offstage maritime experience. Before we can discuss Jane’s labor, we must understand Matthew’s diminished return and his imprisonment. While Heywood provides no evidence of Matthew’s work as a sailor per se (and the middle-aged tradesmen would not likely perform well in such a physically demanding job), his extended absence and immiserated condition nonetheless point to the economic and social problems facing seafaring communities and to the seamen’s risks of ‘captivity, injury, and death’.⁶¹

When Matthew leaves London at the end of *Part 1*, he reserves ‘a poor portion’ of his gift to Jane’s brother for his own passage (1.20.88-9). The Chorus in *Part 2* scene 8 instructs the audience to

[...] imagine, since you saw him last
Prepared for travel, he hath been abroad,
And seen the sundry fashions of the world.
(2.8.8-10)

The play proper uses only exposition for information on his capture and imprisonment, directing stage time instead to Jane’s life in port (and in limbo) and her subsequent ministrations on his behalf. Where ‘abroad’ has the self-exile gone? It may be that Matthew used some of his reserve funds to set up a goldsmith shop or find casual wage-work as a journeyman on the Continent. If his old commercial network failed, perhaps he traveled further south in the Mediterranean on a trading vessel as a ‘supercargo’ doing the ship’s buying and selling in foreign ports. Or, less likely, he may have remained at sea as a mariner or a privateer. These backstories are plausible, given Heywood’s lacuna in this plotline. Led by the ‘tall and skillful navigator’ Captain Harry

⁶¹ Michael J. Power, ‘The East London Working Community in the Seventeenth Century’, in *Work in Towns 850-1850*, ed. by Penelope Corfield and Derek Keene (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), pp. 103-20 (p. 109).

Straungebridge, Matthew and the crew – ignorant of the newly minted Anglo-French league – took ‘a prize of France’, and, having passed the English envoy, were apprehended en route to London from La Rochelle on France’s west coast (2.9.45-6). A contemporary comment on the high volume of trade in that port suggests gainful employment for an Englishman, whether goldsmith or a pirate: “‘gold and silver were as abundant as stones’”.⁶² As traveler, privateer, mariner, or tradesman, Matthew’s entr’acte experience arguably connects him to ‘the kind of seafaring for profit which had the nervous sanction of the state’.⁶³ The privateering of the 1580s contributed to the development of full-scale international trade led by the East India Company and other large trading companies. Furthermore, the same commercial vessels were used to defend England from the Armada and to attack ships in the Atlantic and the Channel.⁶⁴ Matthew-in-exile points to a newly available labor force uprooted for various reasons and hired ‘as workers in the port communities and sailing vessels that served merchant capitalism’.⁶⁵

Heywood repeats the fact that Matthew was a ‘passenger’ on this ship.⁶⁶ In fact, King Edward grows impatient with this terminology when he summarily discounts Jane’s plea for Flood’s life, ‘Pass me no passage, Jane. / [...] he dies’ (2.10.162-3). But this insistence that Matthew’s shipboard role was non-essential (a *mere* passenger) shows all the more pointedly the machinery of commercial travel and its potent if not fatal consequences. A man may travail for a merchant, and yet find himself the victim of a capricious socioeconomic world, international politics, and a harsh legal system. It is fitting that Matthew, the serially absent husband, is also the main exemplar of

⁶² Qtd. in *Edward IV*, p. 243, n46.

⁶³ Rowland suggests that the character of Captain Harry Stranguidge recalls the historical privateer, Henry Strangwyche (AKA The Red Rover of the Channel); see *Edward IV*, p. 207. Notably, Heywood calls him ‘Captain’, when ‘Master’ was the common title for the commander of a merchant vessel. See *OED Online*, ‘Master, *n.* 7a, nautical’. <www.oed.com/view/Entry/114751> [Accessed 11 July 2019].

⁶⁴ Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: NLB, 1974), p. 134; see also Jankowski, pp. 305-37 (p. 320).

⁶⁵ Daniel Vitkus, ‘Labor and Travel on the Early Modern Stage: Representing the Travail of Travel in Dekker’s *Old Fortunatus* and Shakespeare’s *Pericles*’, in *Working Subjects in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by Michelle M. Dowd and Natasha Korda (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), pp. 225-42 (p. 229, n8). See also, Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Redicker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000); Amanda Bailey, ‘Custom, Debt, and the Valuation of Service Within and Without Early Modern England’, in *Working Subjects*, ed. by Dowd and Korda, pp. 193-208; Richmond Barbour, ‘Corporate Praxis and the Legacy of Privateering: The Jacobean East India Company’, *CLIO* 41.1 (2011), 1-29; and Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁶⁶ See *Edward IV*, 2.9.94, 169; 2.10.161; 2.12.11, 36, 69.

international commercial travel in this play, or in Ulrich Kinzel's terms, the 'oceanic turn'.⁶⁷ Matthew's trajectory from well-respected member of a major London Livery Company to immiserated prisoner illustrates the range of risks and contingencies stemming from international trade.

Jane's own labor trajectory and relocation(s) respond to those of her husband, as we have observed: unpartnered in the shop, stand-in Mayoress, and intercessor from street to court. In her final iteration, Jane puts her skill in physic to work in binding wounds, prescribing a kind of occupational therapy, and otherwise caring for the seriously injured and still unrecognized Flood/Shore (2.18.3-73). Along with meting out popular justice, arguably to expiate her own crimes, Jane visits prisoners and intercedes to keep the peace in the marriage of the King and Queen, good neighborly services that were expected of women especially, and based in biblical teaching as well (2.10.120-48; also sc.12).⁶⁸ In all, Jane's labors are gendered (stemming from housewifery skill) and placed (home, window, street) and dependent on her husband's absence or presence.

Gates, Walls, and Windows

Gates and windows that predominate in the plays both divide and connect the dramaturgical and dramatic nodes of domesticity and 'business'. Home is represented by interior space and either stasis or useful 'stirring' by its inhabitants; 'business' occurs abroad and is associated with sometimes violent movement. While some historically accurate walls dominate *Edward's* stage business and discourse, Heywoodian enhancements further stress the moral and dramatic weight of the play's thresholds. For example, the rebels regroup at the Mile End Green fields outside of London to the east, just beyond Aldgate, where other armed rebels in the Peasants' Revolt had camped in June 1381 and where King Richard II eventually negotiated with and subsequently betrayed them. This location is also significant as the marshaling area for the citizen militia under Elizabeth, according to John Stow's *Survey of London*.⁶⁹ The drama of the first half of the play unfolds at the city gates with both parties invoking entrance, chains,

⁶⁷ Ulrich Kinzel, 'Orientation as a Paradigm of Maritime Modernity', in *Fictions of the Sea: Critical Perspectives on the Ocean in British Literature and Culture*, ed. by Bernhard Klein (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), pp. 28-48 (p. 28).

⁶⁸ Barbara J. Baines, *Thomas Heywood* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), p. 21.

⁶⁹ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. by C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), I, p. 103 and II, p. 284. Also cited in *Edward IV*, p. 104 n66. In *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* the grocer's wife commands their apprentice, Rafe to 'march to Mile End and exhort your soldiers to be merry' (5.57-60); qtd. in Pasupathi, p. 10.

locks, and so forth sixteen times in scene 4 and the same number of times in scene 5, as men call for or imagine walls fortified, locks picked, and hinges slashed (1.5.72). The attackers want access, while London's citizens at times are enclosed and at others sally forth to meet the rebels (1.3.54, 60; 1.6.115-21).

The coordinates of inside and outside, closed and open continually shift in value, reinforcing the play's depictions of the contingencies and co-dependencies between domestic settlement and unsettling mobility. For example, home keeping is disreputable for Matthew who argues in defense of leading his citizen brigade, but it is also exemplary, in the case of the hearth-hugging Hobs, who nonetheless must travel to London because the next generation cannot hold down a job. The nominal 'preserve[r]' of London's 'goods, [...] children, and [...] wives', the Lord Mayor, eventually cries, 'Set open the gates. [...] / It never shall be said, when I was Mayor, / The Londoners were shut up in the city' (1.3.95, 1.5.115-17). Falconbridge demands 'passage' as the only means to end his assault: 'Until your lofty buildings kiss our feet; / Unless you grant me passage through your streets' (1.9.91).⁷⁰ But the citizens hold the gate, and eventually their enemies 'are dispersed all and fled' (1.9.177; also lines 175, 93-4). The rebels' strategy had been to 'get between the city gates and them'; the Mayor surmises their plan 'to compass it about / To hem us in, or get the gate of us', and Spicing reports, 'We are now quite behind our enemies' backs' (1.9.160-2, 171).

The repeated and highly specific placement of intruders and defenders, particularly in relation to the gate – similar locating detail recurs when Edward arrives at Jane's window, where he uses rebel strategy to breach the shop, hem in Jane, and maneuver 'behind [Matthew's] back'. Also like the rebels, Edward at the threshold 'compasses it' in both the sense of contriving and 'aggressively encircling, gaining advantage'.⁷¹ This similar verbal and dramaturgical attention to the security of city gate and shop window provides a concrete spatial dimension to the oft-noted parallels between monarch and rebels.⁷² Heywood treats Edward's breach as a perverse 'royal progress', a narrative of movement, like the rebels' advance on London. Edward reports himself landing at Lion Quay from Westminster, and then: 'Soft. Here I must turn: / Here's Lombard Street, and here's the Pelican' (1.16.27-8). Heywood deploys itinerant soliloquies like this

⁷⁰ Falconbridge and Spicing each 'command' gates to open, the former threatening, 'Our power shall rush like thunder through the walls' (1.4.1, 4, 3).

⁷¹ *Edward IV*, p. 123 n160.

⁷² See Helgersson, *Forms*, p. 239; Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550-1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 31, 29; and Frances E. Dolan, 'Gender, Moral Agency, and Dramatic Form in *A Warning for Fair Women*', *SEL* 29.2 (1989), 201-18 (p. 203).

voiced in the present tense in his other domestic dramas. For example, when cuckold John Frankford returns from a feigned business trip, he – while paused at his gate – talks his way through his set of keys to the rooms of his darkened house in *Woman Killed* (13.14);⁷³ the wronged merchant father, Old Lionel, after ‘merchandis[ing] abroad’, stands outside of his own locked house and asks how ‘My own gates shut upon me[?]’ in *English Traveller* (3.2.86). In the same play, Geraldine, a ‘friend’ and hopeful lover to Mistress Wincott (once safely widowed), moves audibly through Wincott’s midnight house, eventually finding that her adultery-hiding ‘doors to me / Appear as horrid as the gates of hell’ (4.3.89-157, 5.1.38-39). Men who depart and approach in domestic drama freeze in doorways, increasing visually the freight of the threshold.

In *Edward*, the city gate operates, in Wall’s terms, as ‘a fault line’ by which authorities sort out the “‘proper” ideological place’ of productive citizens who are loyal to the current monarch (inside) and idle rebels who challenge the monarchy (outside).⁷⁴ This breached but defended civic border is clearly analogous to Jane’s domestic border, but it is also one reason Jane is left *undefended*: war, like commerce, calls men away. For Wall, ‘*Edward IV* makes [Jane’s] failure to be contained within the household signify the breakdown of court/civic relations’, and ‘the play’s insistent use of the terms “home” and “exile” to signify foreign travel and return as well as moral failure [...] underscores this point’.⁷⁵ This spatially inflected language must also be understood in the context of the commercial and other occupational obligations that called men from home and unpartnered their wives.

Absent ‘Masters’ and Failed Homecomings

Throughout both parts of the play King Edward is the very definition of an absent husband and ruler, dropping into a locale long enough to take his leave again – whether it is his own nuptial party, the siege of his capital, the homes of the Mayor and Hobs, and even his mission to France, which concludes with little effort on his part in *Part 2*. The Mayor, rebels, and citizens alike know that the London rebellion was quashed ‘without the help [...] of king, / Or any but of God and our own selves’, despite the Mayor’s fawning and Edward’s ‘assurance’ of his commitment to their cause (2.9.205-7, 184-6; also 9). Edward expects the troops simply to accept his ‘royal word’ to excuse

⁷³ Emma Katherine Atwood, ‘Inside Out: Domestic Tragedy and the Dramaturgy of Extrusion’ (unpublished paper presented at the Durham Early Modern Studies Conference, July 2019), pp. 6-9.

⁷⁴ Wall, ‘Forgetting’, pp. 123-56 (p. 136).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, (p. 143).

both his tardy arrival as well as his hasty retreat: 'haste to help you in this needful time / Made me on sudden to forsake my bride' (2.9.245-6). Of course, citizens enjoy no such privilege: Matthew is compelled to muster despite Jane's willing him to stay. Recall that the first news of Falconbridge's assault had disrupted but not delayed Edward's nuptials in the first scene of *Part I*; now he uses those very nuptials as an excuse to 'forsake' the men (2.9.155-7). Edward's absences affect his family and his consort, not only the state's business, and both Jane and the Queen display anxiety about his whereabouts. In particular, Jane laments the King's absence because it prohibits her intervention in the Straunguide case and leaves her personally in Dorset's rough hands (2.9.67-9, 95-6, 113). Jane's prediction correctly applies to both herself and the queen: 'If Edward die, confounded is my state' (2.12.167), a condition both women experience even when Edward lived.

After Edward's death, Richard III's punishments of Jane extend the vulnerable, interstitial status that began with her husband's commercial and military obligations and his self-exile.⁷⁶ Richard forbids her 'succor' and 'relief' – benefits that fall under the spatial sign of 'harbour', a term repeated numerous times (2.18.102, 204-7, 220-1). As Brackenbury reports Richard's proclamation, 'none shall harbour you, / Or give you food, or clothes to keep you warm' (2.18.102-3). I am not comparing Jane's once loving husband to the cruel king, but suggesting that Jane's demise falls along a continuum, from unpartnered in marriage to un-harbored after her consort dies. Matthew has failed to defend Jane's 'fort' (1.22.86-95); yet in his prison speech, he blames 'weak women's imperfections / That leave their husbands' safe protections' (2.9.175-76). Frances Dolan has theorized this vulnerable domesticity for the unpartnered wives of absent husbands: 'household and marriage confine without protecting [the wife] [...] [a husband's] prolonged absences diminish the effectiveness of [...] surveillance and expose its inadequacy'.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the terms of Richard's proclamation return Jane (and audience attention) to the imperiled threshold where the rebels first uttered her name: 'You shall be then thrust forth the city gates' (2.18.105). Jane's doom to vagrancy is ironic: with the harbor of neither house, marriage, nor work, Jane becomes as radically unsettled as the rebels, whose desire for her was like an anchor to settled life.

Matthew too becomes a wanderer. In fact, the Chorus views his return to London as 'Ulysses-like' comparing the Homeric and Heywoodian heroes' exile, hardship, and

⁷⁶ See MacIntyre, pp. 17-28 (p. 18).

⁷⁷ Dolan, 'Gender', pp. 201-18 (p. 203).

adventure, and also alluding to the vulnerable state of their homebound wives.⁷⁸ Like the Greek at Ithaka, Matthew returns ‘disguised’ and recognized by no one, which suggests his weather-beaten face, possibly the result of his time on ship or coastal poaching (2.8.11, 9, 52). Matthew’s quotidian work in the Goldsmiths’ Company, as I have already discussed, places him within emerging and expanding transnational networks of trade and credit.⁷⁹ His homecoming and reluctant reunion with Jane fragilely restore a marital union that his absences had compromised all along. Because only a husband, not a ‘stranger’, may relieve one’s lawful wife, ‘Flood’ reveals his true identity in a last-ditch attempt to save ‘his once loved wife [from] famine’ (2.21.106-53). But Richard craftily stipulates ‘Except thou take her home again to thee. / Thou art a stranger, and it shall not be’ (2.21.144-5). This semantic debate reveals Matthew’s enduring pain from the alteration of his relationship, status, and identity as a cuckold to a king; the possibility of forgiveness; and the sexual facet of the marital bond, since Matthew distinguishes his proposed charity from his conjugal ‘use [of] her as my wife’ (2.21.142-3). With these dimensions at work, I think ‘home’ is the operative word in Richard’s injunction, ‘thou take her *home*’. The promise of a true homecoming has been thwarted by Matthew’s refusal to cohabit. ‘Thou take her *home*’ reinforces the play’s revelation that *housekeeping* – as both the joint occupation of domestic space and the labor in it often performed by women – depends on merchant-husbands’ absences. In the succession of Matthew’s callings to business, war, and flight, and in Edward’s absence and death, Jane is rendered home-less, but she has been husbandless a while.⁸⁰

Heywood dramatizes a brief, pivotal reunion near the close of *Part I*, when Jane spies Matthew, initially unrecognized, walking ‘aloof off’ and they exchange their irreconcilably different perspectives on their situation: he is angry and hurt and she repentant; he has relinquished his householder role along with ‘lands, goods, all I have’, while she preserves the rightful land ownership of others and restricts the unethical export of goods (1.22.72; 1.20.87). Matthew’s bitter farewell to England uncannily relives his separation from Jane during the rebellion (which calls to mind other wartime separations that were longer term). In this later scene, Jane ‘lament[s]’ as she had earlier wept, and begs (as before), ‘Let me go with thee’. Jane tries to reinstate her ‘true service’, even as a slave; when he refuses (‘Thou go with me, Jane?’), her rejoinder

⁷⁸ Blage concludes that Matthew has died (2.15.61-2). Marriages sometimes ended because the man was ‘lost at sea,’ meaning he had died, drowned, or been killed. Many maritime wives were left in a limbo state when husbands went to sea and did not return. See Cheryl A. Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of Elizabethan Seamen, 1580-1603* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002).

⁷⁹ See Vitkus, pp. 225-42 (p. 228).

⁸⁰ Maritime wives were often ‘husbandless’, with no news of their spouses’ return. See Walter Mountford, *The Launching of the Mary, Or The Seaman’s Honest Wife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933).

again echoes scene 8: ‘let me entreat thee stay’ (1.8.22, 75, 103, 107, 114). For Howard, the play ‘voices the fear that the middle class man’s empowerment within the commonwealth is threatened by his wife’s sexuality and autonomy’.⁸¹ But something like the inverse seems truer to me – the domestic stability housed in middle-class marriage is threatened by political and economic contingencies that require men to travel.

In their reunion-cum-separation near the end of *Part I*, Matthew stresses Jane’s loss of identity as the king’s consort – neither ‘maid’, ‘wife’, nor ‘widow’ – and his own loss of place: ‘there is no place allowed for me’ (1.22.78-85, 96). Matthew believes that resuming marriage to Jane makes him a ‘traitor to my king’, ‘a felon to his pleasures’ (1.22.108-9). While Jane concurs: ‘I have lost that name [wife]’, her service to the commonwealth grants her an alternative identity even if there is no name for it – at this point, managing the petitioners and even offering Matthew her influence: ‘What is’t with Edward that I cannot do?’ (1.22.71, 114). Given Matthew’s psycho-spatial unmooring, his exodus bears a certain logic. But Heywood has also shown a ‘place’ available to but vacated by Matthew. Meanwhile Jane, is imperiled by the mobility of men: the advance of the rebels and Matthew’s commercial and military absences; Edward’s ‘sly walking’ into Cheapside and his later mission to France (1.20.45). Ultimately, Edward’s abandonment in death obliterates Jane’s self-defining labor and relative security.

The socio-political crises in *Edward IV* – from the assault by vagrant rebels to the difficulties of unpartnered wives, from unhoused citizens to imprisoned mariners – stem in some way from new economic conditions bred by trade’s increase. The paradoxical risk and necessity of travel was a topic that Heywood confronted in many plays often in a comic register, in a clown’s wry commentary on the personal, economic, and social costs of sea travel. The bawd, Mildew in *The Captives*, laments his lost ‘commodities’ (that is, ‘my girls’) with a cynicism shared by the poor fishermen: ‘[Who] would trust his safety to a rotten plank / That hath on earth sound footing?’ (2.3.23, 21, 4-5).⁸² With this confluence of men’s travel breaking nuptials and disrupting domesticity at the level of plot, and the critique of sea travel and other forms of mobility discursively embedded, Heywood’s plays also explore the concomitantly shifting relationships between men’s commercial travel and an increasingly feminized domesticity. In this, his theatre participated in a wider cultural discourse that was critical of economic developments in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, evident in particular in *Edward*’s Hobs, who

⁸¹ Howard, pp. 109-21 (p. 114).

⁸² ‘The Captives or the Lost Recovered’, in *Three Marriage Plays*, ed. by Merchant.

contrasts the virtues of house keeping with the needless movements of men and goods. This criticism features as well in the apprentice's description of the rebels as

desperate, idle, swaggering mates,
That haunt the suburbs in the time of peace
And raise up ale-house brawls in the street.
(1.5.37-9)

This negative association of mobility sticks to other travel, like mud on boot heels, as the same language of purposeless, violent, and destructive movement applies to Edward's itinerant 'humours', his roving eye, and his marauding siege of Jane's 'fort'.⁸³ As I hope I have also shown, however, home dwellers like Hobs; the apprentices, who want to 'keep [their] shops'; and Jane, who protects the boundaries of home and commonwealth – these icons of settlement also show the 'unsettlement' inherent in new economy with greater than ever risks and rewards. Matthew poses a special representational problem as both an itinerant and a domestic hero; because his successful trade supports and absents him from home, he illustrates the lessening return of 'safer [and] staid... traditional economic practices' relative to foreign markets.⁸⁴ This irony is apparent in the dramaturgy of the plays' reunion/separation scenes that typify the Shores' encounters. Along with the muster and the self-exile scenes of *Part 1* (scenes 8 and 22), Matthew confronts unsettling settlement when he sues to relieve his wife in *Part 2*; he is subject to the laws of cohabitation that he disavows in *Part 1* (1.21.107-12). Their 'dying marriage' is one last instance of union and division, the irony of which is evident in the fact that it is now Matthew who begs Jane, 'Go not away so soon, a little stay' (1.21.70). Jane explains the irony in her last breath: 'Thou grave, which only shouldst part faithful friends, / Bringst us together, and dost join our hands' (2.22.102-3). The kind of improvisational mobility that was increasingly valued in a proto-capitalist economy benefited some and hurt others, impacting domestic economies in various ways. Playwrights in the period used tropes of mobility and unsettledness to characterize the prodigal of city comedy and heroes of romance, as Michelle Dowd has recently argued. Domestic tragedy's relative emphasis on the space of the home and its remnants, however, shows the often tragic *consequences* of that mobility.

⁸³ Falconbridge's insults stress the men's vagrancy: 'dirty' and 'muddy', 'hedge-bred rascal' and 'filthy fry of ditches', referring to the roadside places where homeless people gathered or rested (1.5.102, 110).

⁸⁴ Michelle Dowd, *The Dynamics of Inheritance on the Shakespearean Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 122, 149.