

'Would the Scandal Vanish with My Life': John of Gaunt in Two Tudor Afterlives

Jessica Fure

Abstract

Two artefacts produced during the Tudor era, both depicting John of Gaunt, convey a surprisingly unified tone despite the difference in date and medium. The Beaufort Portrait shows Gaunt's dynastic ambitions and hints at the noble character established for him in Tudor lore. Shakespeare's characterisation of Gaunt from *Richard II* culminates in the iconic deathbed speech, one of the most-quoted descriptions of England in literature, makes Gaunt, in his own words, a prophet, eulogising his country's greatness as part of his family's legacy, and taking the peace of England with him when he dies. In each work, Gaunt appears positioned as a vital part of England's history, a noble founder of England's ruling family.

John of Gaunt, first Duke of Lancaster, was a dynamic figure at the end of the Middle Ages. As the fourth son of Edward III, he lived at the beginning of England's initial foray into becoming a serious European power. He attempted to gain his own domains on the continent, first as Duke of Aquitaine, a title he was forced to resign, then through a failed campaign to become King of Castile and León.¹ After the death of his older brothers, he became one of the primary forces in England, weathering such crises as the Peasant's Revolt and John Wycliffe's dispute with the church.² He served as a patron to both Wycliffe and Geoffrey Chaucer³ and counted English and European monarchs among his descendants.

Perhaps the most well-known of his descendants include Henry Bolingbroke, who became Henry IV in an accession that laid the foundation for the War of the Roses, and the Tudors, who emerged as the final, victorious Lancastrian claimants at the end of that turbulent era. The Tudor dynasty ruled England during the Renaissance era, enjoying the fruits of the artistic expansion as a supplement to their political power and employing them to craft a public image and control public perception. As their ancestor, John of Gaunt enjoyed an increased profile and a boost to his posthumous reputation, as seen in two Tudor-era artefacts, a portrait commemorating one of his political positions, and a fictionalised version which serves as pivotal character in a Shakespeare play.

¹ Gaunt relinquished the Duchy of Aquitaine after resistance from the Gascons. His claim to the Castilian throne was through his second wife, Constance of Castile, and supported by João I of Portugal. A joint invasion failed to occur, and Gaunt renounced his claim in a treaty with John of Trastámara sealed by the marriage of Gaunt's daughter Catharine to Trastámara's son Henry, resulting in Gaunt's descendants including the kings of Spain and Portugal, as well as the Holy Roman Emperors via the Hapsburgs.

² Gaunt was Wycliffe's staunch protector, and therefore also a significant figure in the pre-Reformation.

³ Eventually, Chaucer became Gaunt's brother-in-law after the duke married Katharine Swynford, his third and final wife.

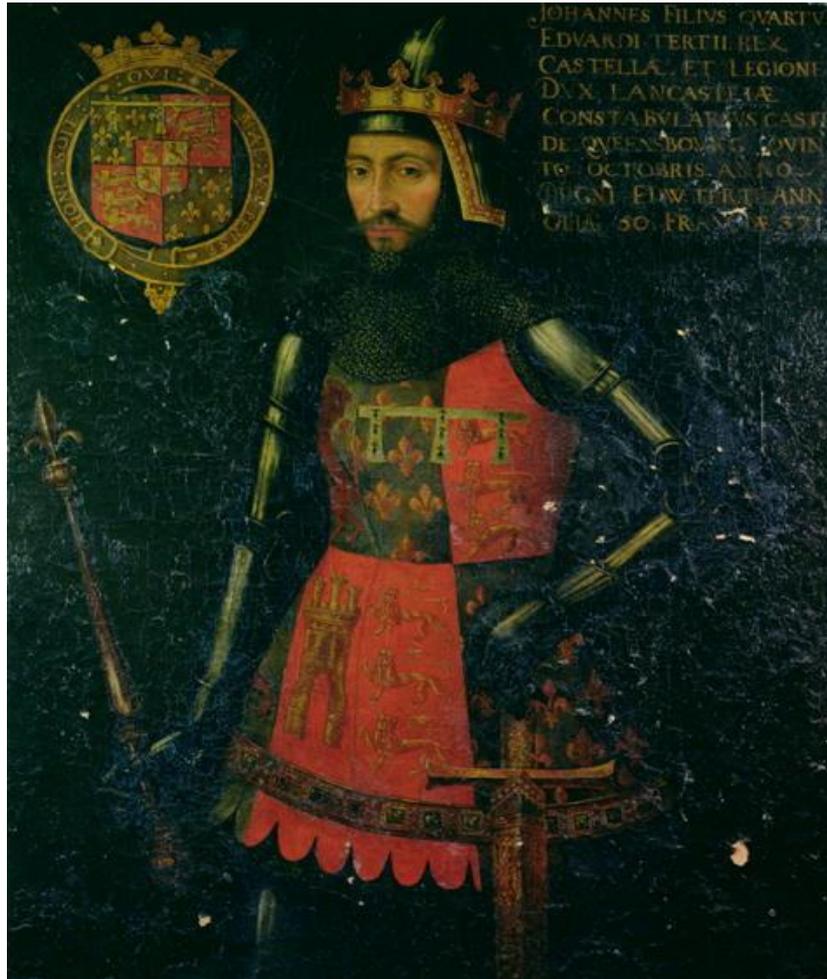


Figure 1. Lucas Cornelisz, Lucas (1495 -1552), *John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (1340-99)*. Private Collection. By Permission © Bridgeman.

The painting in question (Figure 1), unofficially called 'The Beaufort Portrait,' remains the possession of the current Duke of Beaufort.⁴ Executed in tempera on a panel, it was created as one of a series of portraits depicting the Constables of Queenborough Castle, said to have been commissioned by a later warden, Sir Thomas Cheyne.⁵ As part of this series, the portrait serves as part of demonstrating the level of political power and honour that the title of Constable entails, bolstering the reputation of the office itself as well as its current holder. However, when examined closely, it reveals a surprisingly well-crafted narrative of Gaunt's persona, an image shaped, purposefully or not, to suit the Tudor regime's purposes.

In basic terms, the portrait shows a man in three-quarters pose staring out with a confident gaze. He wears formal armour, complete with his ducal coronet, his title reinforced by the ducal scepter in his right hand,⁶ a symbol of authority and responsibility. His left hand rests atop his sword; along with the armour, it suggests a wherewithal and willingness to defend his domains.

The three-quarter pose itself performs some interesting functions. It allows a nearly full view of the face, improving the level of facial detail with the addition of some, but not all

⁴ Anil Silva-Vigier, *This Moste Highe Prince John of Gaunt, 1340-1399* (Edinburgh: Pentland, 1992) pp. 77-78.

⁵ For the purposes of this essay, Bridgeman Education, the organization providing the rights to the image distribution, is considered to have the final answer regarding the commissioning party as per the information provided at the image site, "John of Gaunt," Bridgeman Education. <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:3050/ImageView.aspx?result=14&balid=53169> [accessed 22 Feb 2015].

⁶ The *fleur-de-lis* ducal scepter was an innovation originating with the Black Prince, according to David Crouch in his book, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London: Routledge, 1992).

of a profile's curves. The shoulder angle does not detract much from the body's bulk, important if the painting must convey a sense of physical, political or personal strength. The pose became widely used in Renaissance portraits, maintaining that popularity afterwards⁷.

It might seem odd that the portrait shows such an abbreviated view of the face; the coif, while an important component of the armour, also obscures the line of the chin and the left facial area. One important point of this, however, is that it draws attention to the eyes, clearly a strong feature in Tudor court paintings after Holbein, and rendering the arresting gaze more powerful when surrounded by the predominating darkness. Upon close inspection, it also highlights the traces of light brown and gold (possibly faded from the legendary Plantagenet red-and-gold colouring)⁸ in Gaunt's beard, traces that would be lost without the contrast of a dark background.

The upper left corner contains Gaunt's coat of arms. The ducal coronet sits atop a representation of the Garter – as in The Order of the Garter – imprinted with the motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense* (Middle French: 'shame on him who thinks evil of it') in gold lettering, both symbols indicating Gaunt's exalted rank and corresponding honors. Within the Garter, the escutcheon bears the Plantagenet arms showing the lions of England quartered with the *fleur-de-lis* of France, marked out with Gaunt's heraldic difference, a label of three points ermine. An inescutcheon of pretence occupies the centre, indicating John of Gaunt's claim to the throne of Castile and León.

These arms reoccur on Gaunt's surcoat, as they would in battle, with the difference that the castle and lions are fully presented, being quartered on the garment's dexter side. Arthur Charles Fox-Davies calls heraldry 'the shorthand of history.'⁹ The text on the right of the painting reads *Johannes Filius Quartus/Edward Tertii. Rex/Castellae Et Legionis/Dux Lancastriae/Constabularus Castelle De Queensbourg Quin/to Octobris. Anno/Regni EDW Tertii Ann/gliae 50. Franciae 37*, or 'John, fourth son of Edward III. King of Castile and León, Constable of Queenborough Castle, Fifth of October, in the fiftieth year of Edward II's reign of England, thirty-seventh year of reign of France.' The date refers to Gaunt's appointment as Constable in October of 1376, the 50th year of Edward III's reign.¹⁰

The painting, then, establishes Gaunt as a formidable political player; it informs us repeatedly of Gaunt's position in the Plantagenet dynasty at a time when their campaign against France was at its most successful, and indicates Gaunt's own ambitions towards a foreign throne. The arms and armor speak to his military prowess, instrumental in both cases, but they also bolster the weight of his authority on his native soil. If such a powerful figure occupied the office of Constable, the position gains importance through association, but it also suggests that the position is honourable enough to merit noting among the other indications of Gaunt's impressive rank. This idea of the office's merit increased by holder who in turn gains more honour even as he confers it, almost creates a paired mirror effect, amplifying the concept to infinity: Gaunt's glory magnifies Queenborough's, which increases Gaunt's, *ad infinitum*.

If glorifying a previous Constable were not enough, Cheyne would have extra incentive to remind viewers of a connection to Gaunt. His career spanned the reign of each Tudor monarch, joining the court at the end of Henry VII's time, and ending only with his own death soon after Elizabeth I confirmed all the honours and offices conferred on him by her predecessors. His most active years were spent during the reign of Henry VIII, and included some additional good fortune through his friendship with Thomas Cromwell and his familial ties to Anne Boleyn; it is a testament to his statesmanship and relationship with Henry VIII that Cheyne escaped any significant damage when the king's favorites

⁷ For more on dating, see note 18.

⁸ This is especially interesting on a more spurious note: Gaunt's purported illegitimacy would mean careful emphasis on visual ties to his father and other relations.

⁹ Arthur C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2007), p. v.

¹⁰ This also includes a reign of 37 years over (part of) France.

fell. He displayed the same political acuity in evading repercussions of supporting Jane Grey's accession, becoming instrumental to Mary I. Part of his continued success may have been his support of her Spanish marriage, even to the point of receiving a monetary reward from Philip of Spain.¹¹

The Tudor-Spanish connection holds an important key to understanding the Beaufort Portrait, which suffers from some discrepancies regarding not only the execution date of this version, but as to the dating of the subject.¹² Both Anil Silva-Vigier and Alison Weir suggest that one reason for confusion regarding the painting's date stems from the presence of the Castilian arms, saying that it must be a copy from an original pre-1388, as Gaunt renounced his claim at that time.¹³ This is not necessarily the case; in fact, a painting executed at any point after Catharine of Aragon's arrival in England might include the Castile and León arms, symbolising an alliance of two houses descended from John of Gaunt.¹⁴ In fact, pageants celebrating Catharine's marriage to Arthur, Prince of Wales in 1501,¹⁵ Emperor Charles V's arrival into London for his visit of 1522,¹⁶ and Mary I's marriage to Philip, King of Spain in 1544¹⁷ all included genealogical tracing of a common lineage via Gaunt as a point of pride.

The Beaufort painting may be based on an earlier portrait, but the inclusions and expansions of detail¹⁸ are in line with the Tudor aims. Cheyne's career began after Catharine's first marriage, but was in full swing by Charles' visit and certainly at a crucial point before and after Philip's arrival. He had every reason to want to underline the Castilian connection via Gaunt at any time during these two periods, while simultaneously adding an additional link to the sitting monarchs, reminding them that he held an office worthy of their ancestor. Again, Gaunt's prestige enhances the office and its current holder, creating a valid reason for any Constable of Queenborough to showcase it to maximum effect, let alone one serving monarchs doubly connected to Gaunt, and therefore, this increases an already existent incentive to paint Gaunt in a positive light.

One of the most formative portraits of Gaunt, however, is not in a visual medium. Shakespeare's version of the Duke of Lancaster from *Richard II* carries such cultural weight that it changed his name in popular consciousness.¹⁹ The play opens with Richard addressing his uncle using 'Gaunt' as a familiar name before reminding the audience of the Duke's title,²⁰ and from there, John, Duke of Lancaster becomes John of Gaunt in popular nomenclature.

¹¹ Details of Cheyne's life and career are taken from the work of Stanford Lehmborg in 'Cheyne, Sir Thomas (c.1485–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) [<http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/5263>, accessed 26 Feb 2015].

¹² This confusion also extends to the artist's name, given variously as Luca Cornelli, or Lucas Cornelisz. Again, Bridgeman Education's information is the author's preferred resource.

¹³ Alison Weir, *Mistress of the Monarchy: The Life of Katherine Swynford, Duchess of Lancaster* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2009), p. 56 and Silva-Vigier, p. 78.

¹⁴ Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p. 17.

¹⁵ Leanda De Lisle, *Tudor: The Family Story* (New York: PublicAffairs 2013. Online).

¹⁶ Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven, Connecticut, 2013, Online).

¹⁷ Goodman, p. 17.

¹⁸ Robert Graves dismisses the problem of invention or copy when he says "The most important works of Lucas Cornelisz which remain in this country are the sixteen small portraits of the constables of Queenborough Castle, now at Penshurst, although almost all of them must be copies of earlier pictures, if not apocryphal," stressing the importance of Corneliez's role rather than his source. *Dictionary of Painters and Engraver: Biographical and Critical*. New Ed., Rev. and Enl. (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1886), p. 325.

¹⁹ Charles Forker says, 'It is a mark of Shakespeare's popular appeal as a historian that 'John of Gaunt' is now a common name for this Duke of Lancaster,' noting that the name had not been in common usage during the Duke's life. Charles R. Forker, 'Introduction,' in *King Richard II*, William Shakespeare and Charles R. Forker (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2002), p. 174. Indeed, thanks to the rumours about his paternity, contemporary usage would have been offensive, if not slanderous. The verbal corruption of his birthplace "Ghent" into "Gaunt," has also served to produce a certain romanticism or suspicion onto his character in later writings, thanks to the connotations of the word entirely unconnected with the Duke.

²⁰ Harry Berger makes a fascinating argument regarding Richard's address of his uncle in *Imaginary Audition: Shakespeare on Stage and Page* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 51-53.

Methinks I am a prophet new inspired
And thus expiring do foretell of him:
His rash fierce blaze of riot cannot last,
For violent fires soon burn out themselves;
Small showers last long, but sudden storms are short;
He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes;
With eager feeding food doth choke the feeder:
Light vanity, insatiate cormorant,
Consuming means, soon preys upon itself.
This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Fear'd by their breed and famous by their birth,
Renowned for their deeds as far from home,
For Christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry,
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son,
This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leased out, I die pronouncing it,
Like to a tenement or pelting farm:
England, bound in with the triumphant sea
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds:
That England, that was wont to conquer others,
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.
Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life,
How happy then were my ensuing death!

Richard II, Act 2, Scene I, lines 31-68

Shakespeare gives Gaunt an unprecedented amount of spiritual and social authority in this scene. As the eldest living Plantagenet male, he speaks to his younger brother, the Duke of York²¹ while occupying a liminal space between living and dying, which lends a mystical weight to his words. His impending death also allows him the freedom to criticise his royal nephew; he begins the speech by likening the king to short-lived forces of nature that damage their surroundings while destroying themselves (lines 32-39) before spending the next nineteen lines praising the land Richard is poised to ruin.²²

²¹ The end of the play bears out the idea of York as a lesser power, one who cannot control the fighting in his own house, let alone hold the peace in England, and again subtly implies that the York branch is lesser than the Lancaster.

²² Forker describes this moment as 'Shakespeare's character, in his function as spokesman for the highest values of English Monarch, as champion of the common people...' Forker, pp. 146-147.

Here, *Richard's* Gaunt speaks as the good gardener bound to his land by both love and duty of care, embodying the principal values of a feudal world which fades further with his passing.²³ This tribute to a vanished time comes with a reminder that not only Gaunt is becoming part of that past, but also that he – and by association, his son – comes from the same exalted lineage that Richard is poised to fail. Gaunt's virtue of care implicitly passes to his son, who, unlike Richard, has had a father's guidance to nurture the noble values necessary in a good king (40-55).

The rationale for praising England's geographical isolation (50-56) becomes clear in light of Gaunt's contention that it is being destroyed from within (64-73). By stressing the idea that the nation is naturally impervious to outside forces, Gaunt places the blame for potential ruin upon those within its boundaries. In calling Richard a landlord, Gaunt suggests the king has cheapened his position and reiterates the idea that Richard had the greatest responsibility for the realm. Gaunt closes the speech with a final act of *noblesse oblige*, 'Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life/How happy then were my ensuing death!' (74-75) Gaunt cannot bear the impending shame to his family and his land, lamenting that he cannot take England's disgrace to the grave instead of the memory of its glory.

This passage marks a highlight of Shakespeare's work, but it is also a significant example of the tension inherent in dramatising history.²⁴ The play's Gaunt straddles a blurred line between fact and fiction,²⁵ and it is difficult to tell whether this serves Shakespeare's purpose as a dramatist more than his political commentary on the Tudor monarchs. Robert Ornstein says that 'Elizabethans hoped to find in the past recorded in the Chronicles and recreated by poets and dramatists a mirror for their own times,'²⁶ but as with the portrait, the work is a product of the political climate at the time of its creation. Charles Forker notes the manner in which Shakespeare uses an earlier play, *Woodstock*, transferring much of the title character's virtues onto his portrayal of Gaunt, especially significant as Thomas of Woodstock did not have Gaunt's genealogical cachet.²⁷

As a focal figure in the Tudor lineage, it is unsurprising that Gaunt should appear favourably in artefacts produced during the dynasty's reign. Through glorifying the Duke of Lancaster, his descendants bask in the additional glow of his bolstered reputation. The opportunity to rewrite history and repurpose art as an overriding narrative with room for expansion and elaboration was and remains a powerful political tool. The consistent narrative across mediums over the span of decades or even centuries, is somewhat more unusual, but not entirely unexpected. Other artefacts concerning John of Gaunt may tell

²³ Margaret Shrewring presents an interesting commentary on Gaunt's role as bridge, saying he 'represents an apparently unbroken continuity with that ancient world,' while describing 'his imagined, remembered England'. 'In the Context of English History', in *Shakespeare's Histories*, ed. by Emma Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004) p. 185.

²⁴ Paola Pugatti constructs a compelling argument about history onstage in *Shakespeare the Historian*: 'The dramatist's responsibility was even heavier than the historian's, for the dramatist addressed a large and varied audience, which did not coincide with the public that read history books, or indeed any books at all. This meant for a large part of the audience, the past of their country was not what was set out in written narratives but rather what was presented on the stage, and what the stage presented was often much less conformist than what they could read in the chronicles: not only on account of the 'amphibiology' of certain plays, but also because of their realistic stance and their skeptical attitude towards the idea of a history dominated by providence.' (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996), p. 50.

²⁵ In his introduction to *Richard II*, J. Dover Wilson claims the speech's beginnings derives from Froissart. J. Dover Wilson, 'Introduction', William Shakespeare and John Dover Wilson. *King Richard II* (London: Cambridge University Press), pp. lvi – lvii, while Forker calls the play's Gaunt 'a bold reconceptualisation of the historical duke' whom Holinshed referred to as an 'arrogant, quarrelsome, ambitious, devious and self-aggrandizing noble'. Forker, p. 129.

²⁶ Robert Ornstein, *A Kingdom for a Stage: The Achievement of Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1972), p. 103.

²⁷ Forker, pp. 144-152. He also quotes George Walton Williams' statement that 'Gaunt is consistently idealized in the play', Forker, p. 174.

a more complicated story, but the ones told by the Beaufort Portrait and Shakespeare's 'time-honour'd Lancaster'²⁸ echo in much the same manner.

Both works address the past and the future, using a deceased subject to mould the perceptions of living observers. The Beaufort Portrait exists as part of a series establishing an office's lineage; it emphasises Gaunt's vitality and power to represent the weight of his presence while he lived in order to enhance the position and its current holder. In effect, although it is a static portrait, the past acts as an active force in the composition, bringing to bear all the weight of the subject's life. Shakespeare's Gaunt suggests the weight of his death,²⁹ using the power of a dying man's speech to evoke the glory of an era that fades with him while simultaneously passing the burden of that historic lineage onwards past the limit of his vision. He mourns the immediate future as much or more than the past, implicitly urging his listeners to look forward and carry his noble principles into practice. While the Beaufort Portrait recalls the firm foundation of the Tudor dynasty, *Richard II's* John of Gaunt reminds all who will listen of the perils and necessity that entailed the birth of that lineage.

These two posthumous portraits sustain a vivid afterlife, informing modern viewers with additional layers of meaning, even as they once revised history for their contemporary audiences. Both artefacts wield the authority of antiquity, and were meant to do so from the moment of their creation, but now have the additional function of serving as a commentary on the age that produced them. Their narrative influence continues to move on in the manner of the living, despite being tinged with death from their beginnings.

²⁸ *Richard II*, Act I, Scene I, line 1.

²⁹ This may be yet another reason why Shakespeare chose to call him by the then lesser-known appellation; 'Gaunt' evokes death even in his name.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Cornelisz, Lucas (1495 - 1552), *John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (1340-99)*, Private Collection

Shakespeare, William, and Charles R. Forker, *King Richard II* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2002)

Walpole, Horace and George Vertue, 'Lucas Cornelisz de Kock', in *Anecdotes of Painting in England: With Some Account of the Principal Artists, and Incidental Notes on Other Arts* (1782) <http://dbooks.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/books/PDFs/555047721.pdf> [accessed March 2015]

Secondary Sources

Baker, Herschel, 'Richard II' in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, by William Shakespeare, and G. B. Evans (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), pp. 842-846

Berger, Harry, *Imaginary Audition: Shakespeare on Stage and Page* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989)

_____, 'Psychoanalyzing the Shakespeare Text', in *Shakespeare's Histories*, ed. by Emma Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2004), pp. 103-122

Bloom, Harold, ed., *William Shakespeare's Richard II* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988)

Campbell, Lily B., *Shakespeare's "histories": Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy* (London: Methuen, 1977)

Chernaik, Warren L., *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Crouch, David, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London: Routledge, 1992)

Davies, C. S. L., 'The Tudor Delusion', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 11 (June 2008)

De Lisle, Leanda, *Tudor: Passion, Manipulation, Murder; The Story of England's Most Notorious Royal Family*, (New York: PublicAffairs, 2013)

Farrell, Kirby, ed., *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's Richard II* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1999)

Forker, Charles J., 'Introduction,' *King Richard II* by William Shakespeare and Charles R. Forker (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2002)

Fox-Davies, Arthur C., *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2007)

Friedman, Donald M., 'John of Gaunt and the Rhetoric of Frustration', *English Literary History*, vol. 43, no. 3 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 279-99

Goodman, Anthony, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992)

Graves, Robert Edmund, 'Lucas Corneliz,' in *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers: Biographical and Critical*, new edn., rev. and enl., ed. by Robert Edmund Graves, Michael Bryan, and Sir Walter Armstrong (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1886), p. 325

Hackett, Helen, 'Dreams or Designs, Cults or constructions? The Study of Images of Monarchs', *The Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), pp. 811-23

Holderness, Graham, *Shakespeare: The Histories* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000)

Holmes, Sir Charles J., 'New French Pictures in the National Gallery', Robert E. Dell, C J. Holmes, Harold H. Child, Lionel Cust, and Roger Fry, *The Burlington Magazine* (London: The Burlington Magazine Publications LTD., 1903), pp. 83-84

Joughin, John J. 'Richard II and the Performance of Grief', in *Shakespeare's Histories and Counter-Histories* ed. by Dermot Cavanagh, Stuart Hampton-Reeves, and Stephen Longstaffe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 15-31

King, J. N, 'The Royal Image, 1535- 1603', in *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 104-32

Legatt, Alexander, *Shakespeare's Political Drama: The History Plays and the Roman Plays*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1988)

Ornstein, Robert, *A Kingdom for a Stage: The Achievement of Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972)

Phillips, Seymour, *Edward II* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010)

Pugliatti, Paola, *Shakespeare the Historian* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996)

Richardson, Glenn, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013)

Shewring, Margaret, 'In the Context of English History', in *Shakespeare's Histories*, ed. by Emma Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), pp. 253-271

Silva-Vigier, Anil, *This Moste Highe Prince John of Gaunt, 1340-1399* (Edinburgh: Pentland, 1992)

Strohm, Paul, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)

Tillyard, E. M. W., *Shakespeare's History Plays* (New York: Macmillan, 1946)

Traversi, Derek, *Shakespeare: From Richard II to Henry V* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957)

Unknown, W. S. G., 'A Visit to Historical Acquaintances', in *New Monthly Magazine*, ed. by William Harrison Ainsworth (London, 1800), pp. 246-252

Walpole, Horace, and George Vertue, 'Lucas Cornelisz' in *Anecdotes of Painting in England: With Some Account of the Principal Artists, and Incidental Notes on Other Arts. Also, a Catalogue of Engravers Who Have Been Born or Resided in England*, ed. by Horace Walpole and George Vertue (London: H.G. Bohn, 1849)

Weir, Alison, *Mistress of the Monarchy: The Life of Katherine Swynford, Duchess of Lancaster* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2009)

Wilson, J. Dover, 'Introduction', in *King Richard II* by William Shakespeare ed. John D. Wilson (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. vii-xciii