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Rape, Possession and the Law in Thomas Middleton's *Women Beware Women* and *The Changeling*

Throughout history the question of rape has been one that has long preoccupied both the law and the literary arts. By examining the relationships of power, possession and ownership within the rape laws and rape representation in Renaissance England, I intend to explore the position of woman's 'value' as a human being, and what should happen with, and to, her physical body. Rape as a popular drama motif began increasing during the Jacobean Era, becoming 'striking and more circumscribed' (Catty, 1999, p.91)—many scholars argue that the upsurge of incidences began immediately following the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, and then remains pronounced throughout the seventeenth century (Catty, 1999; Garrett, 2004; Ritscher, 2004).

Renaissance drama provides an extraordinarily rich set of examples of female rape and its aftermath. Women within these dramatic works are not only taken by their rapists as possessions, but are viewed as an item in need of

and even waiting to be possessed: only in possession can the woman be said to be in existence. The scope of this paper will centre around one of the most prominent playwrights of the time—Thomas Middleton. Many of his most renowned works depict, allude to, or insinuate rape or attempted rape, frequently as a pivotal incident central to the narrative. Such works include *The Ghost of Lucrece* (1600), *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606), *Hengist* (1620), *The Spanish Gypsy* (1623), and *A Game at Chess* (1624), among others. By looking at Middleton's two most acclaimed tragedies, *Women Beware Women* (c.1621) and *The Changeling* (c.1622), I intend to trace how the psychological and physical severity of rape is minimized through possession, and is seen as a right of the man, as well as a societal necessity satisfying the 'needs' of the woman.

The Cultural Significance of Rape in Renaissance England

In order to understand the history of a society, we must understand its culture. As Ritscher (2009) notes, to gain a thorough appreciation of a culture, we must turn to the representations put forth by that culture. As such, he clarifies that 'the early modern English stage practices were in a complex relationship to its culture...it reflects local practices and customs [and] acted as a place where those local practices and customs could be critiqued and followed to their logical conclusions' (2009, p.77). Middleton's works were performed on a wide variety of stages and covered a wide variety of genres, and are thus representative of the contemporary theatre and culture. Middleton and Carroll (2009) note McMillian's observation pertaining to the breadth of Middleton's plays, particularly when compared with Shakespeare, and observe that Middleton 'had his work performed on a greater variety of London stages' (p.ix), and delivered styles that 'Shakespeare never undertook' (p.ix).

To interpret this material, it is necessary to delve into the social context of the era, particularly the laws by which the people were governed. As noted by Thiroux and Krasemann, 'we can say...that law is the public codification of morality in that it lists for all members of a society what has come to be accepted as the moral way to behave in that society' (2012, p.17). Such realizations become disquieting, as within the associated laws women are insinuated and embodied as inferior, unstable, untrustworthy, and in need of

perpetual protection. It is important to observe, however, that such attitudes are neither original to, nor singular within, the English Renaissance. Additionally, such misogynistic attitudes can not only be connected to the origination of the word ‘rape’ itself, but even earlier (although these lie outside the scope of this paper). For instance, the term *rape* is defined as a trespass, or the theft of a commodity. Moreover, the term *rapere* represents a form of robbery, and originates from Latin—more specifically, the act of taking by force. Similarly, to ravish, a widespread synonym, originates from the French *ravissement*, and represents a form of transport. More disturbing is the connotation of the word, which refers to a form of transport with *delight* (Burks, 1995, pp.759-790).

Early Rape Law

The earliest rape laws were concerned with the ‘regulation of private vengeance’ (Ritscher, 2009, p.2), and placed a wergild on the victim, or a monetary retribution to be paid by the perpetrator to the victim’s male family members. Wergild payments (interestingly, from the Anglo-Saxon *wer*, meaning man, and *gild*, meaning payment), instilled by King Æthelbert (r.560-616), corresponded to the rank of the woman, and were thus incrementally increased along with her ‘value.’ For instance, a widow of the first class was worth 50 shillings, of the second class was worth 20 shillings, and so on. Not surprisingly, such a mandate only augmented action—it did not eradicate it (Ritscher, 2009).

A few centuries later, King Ælfred (r.871-899) decided to broaden wergild-based sexual violence edicts by adding prescriptions based upon bodily damage. Also designed to curtail familial retribution, fees were levied according to a scale similar to the aforementioned. For example, grabbing the breast of a ‘churlish maid’ would cost about five shillings; physically throwing her would cost 10 shillings; and sexual intercourse remained a sliding scale, again determined according to the woman’s ‘value.’ Through Ælfred’s design, ‘value’ was not only determined by social class, but more precisely by sexual history. As such, non-virgin assault fees were decreased by half (Ritscher, 2009, pp.2-4).

The Norman era and reign of William I (r. 1066-1087) ushered in the need for austere rape penalties including castration and blinding. The need for hardened verdicts developed as the Anglo-Saxons tried to prevent Norman invaders from 'viewing rape as a crime that could be rectified with a payment to the victim's family' (Ritscher, 2009, p.6). During this period of unrest, rape law appeared to be evolving, offering some semblance of social equality by punishing all offenders in the same manner; unfortunately, uniformity of punishment (regardless of victim class) would be short-lived.

An additional amendment in rape regulation developed during the reign of Henry II (r. 1154-1189). Henry added the possibility of trial, but, more importantly, he made it possible for a woman to file suit against a man who raped her. Not surprisingly, only virgin women could seek retribution through the court, and although this modification established a precedent for procedure, the positive implications of the procedure are debatable. Documents profiled by Brownmiller (1975) and written in the thirteenth century by Henry Bratton (Bracton) outline the required course of action:

She must go at once and while the deed is newly done, with hue and cry, to the neighboring townships and there show the injury done to her to men of good repute, the blood and her clothing stained with blood, and her torn garments. And in the same way she ought to go to the reeve of the hundred, the king's serjeant, the coroners and the sheriff. (Brownmiller, 1975, p.26)

Evidently, the sexually violated woman would be rather busy on the day of her attack. Moreover, this process raises questions concerning voice, corroboration, social class, and other problematic aspects of the system, and then offers them as paradoxical constructs and inequities.

Modern rape laws are often attributed to the next substantial changes made during the reign of Edward I (r.1272-1307). The change reflected an underlying fear of women, as men realized that by bequeathing women the right to accuse men of a crime carrying the weight of such severe penalties, they were obliquely conferring great power to an inferior and unstable sex. Thus, the statutes of Westminster I and Westminster II, established in 1275 and 1285 respectively, removed the blanket punishment of castration and blinding, and the crime reverted back to that of a property trespass. Within Westminster I, the sentence stood at two years of imprisonment and/or a fine levied by the King. Not long after, however, the need for stricter consequences

was apparent within the rise of violation occurrences. Westminster II therefore re-established the possibility of execution, and yet most accusations were never punished so severely (Brownmiller, 1975).

A more profound consequence of Westminster II emerged from within the process itself. No longer was a woman the one primarily responsible for procuring charges against the assailant; presentment juries were now the vehicle for judicial indictment. More specifically, this mandate prescribed the Crown's right to prosecute, should the victim or her family fail to file suit within forty days. As with most other early rape laws, what seemed on the surface to be advancement was actually two-sided, and although some of the burden was removed from the woman, this alteration also engendered extreme scrutinization of the victim (Brownmiller, 1975).

In reference to rape law evolution, Lee Ritscher (2009) coins the reign of Elizabeth I as the 'Age of Consent and Benefit of Clergy' (p.8). It is during this period that an 'official' age of consent is documented within law (age 10), and that the prejudicial 'Neck-Verse' is expunged, no longer allowing assailants to claim 'benefit of clergy' simply by declaiming Psalm 51.1, which essentially 'saved the neck' of the rapist and allowed him to walk free (Ritscher, 2009, p.8). Albeit significant shifts, these variations and modifications remained meretricious, and have arguably proven insidious parameters that still endure today. As such, SASCWR.org (the Sexual Assault Support Centre of Waterloo Region) identifies three 'roots of today's laws and assumptions of women' (*The History of Rape Laws*, 2013) delineated throughout Brownmiller's text as (1) 'That women of "previous chaste character" deserve more protection under the law (i.e. differences in treatment of unmarried and married victims)'; (2) 'Corroboration: "hue & cry"' and (3) 'That women are the property of men (i.e. rape in marriage)'.

Regardless of our current legal constructs, these shifts in Renaissance law were far from effectual. Possession of the woman's body was simply moved from her father or her husband to the overarching patriarchy: the State. Additionally, protections through indictment were generally only granted to noblewomen or young children, which nurtured court case designs of only the surest and/or most heinous crimes. Estimates also suggest that approximately 80% of criminals evaded trial altogether (Bashar, 1983). In a culture of such developments, it is not surprising the system fostered paradoxical cultural

constructs and beliefs. In order to map these representations of rape and women throughout Middleton's plays, three constructs will be illuminated. First, the emphasis on chastity and silence; second, the importance of compliance and consent; and third, the manipulation of medical opinion and theory. It is through these representations, all of which are symbiotic with the abovementioned laws, that cultural values and mores can be uncovered. It is also because of these constructs that violated women were left with very limited options for justice after rape had been committed. A violated woman could (a) elect to marry the perpetrator of the rape, (b) have her family seek vengeance (and thus be shamed) for the crime, or (c) protect her family's honour by committing suicide (the choice of the 'model' wife or daughter) (Ritscher, 2009). These choices are played out in countless Renaissance drama rape representations, and correspond with the archetypal rape victim: aristocratic or noble, married or betrothed, violated by a man of economic or social superiority, and (most importantly) dead by the end.

Chastity and Silence

Where one group of people is considered a 'possession' of another, the political and personal ramifications of a loss of control over them could prove disastrous; this is comparable to the loss of land or any other significant form of property, and is a consequence, by design, of such a patriarchal structure. As such, paranoia and anxiety emerge as precarious forms of jealousy and power grappling—moreover, 'A husband's accusation—false or not—may have functioned to pre-empt and thus compensate for the impotence [sic] and dishonour he seems to have regularly feared as a result of anticipating his own cuckoldry' (Breitenberg, 1993, p.381). Because of such misgivings and suspicions, chastity becomes an obsession. Accordingly, virginity tests are a common motif within various Renaissance writing, including Middleton and his contemporaries.

A common literary occurrence, assorted 'chastity tests' are performed to help mollify male suspicions. Within *The Changeling*, for example, Beatrice-Joanna is subjected to a 'chastity test' on her own wedding night, as her betrothed, Alsemero, grows to fear that she may be deflowered (and, she is—

ironically *deflowered* by *DeFlores*). Luckily, the morally reckless Beatrice-Joanna was privy to this test ahead of time, allowing her to find a substitute woman to stand in her stead (insinuating that women are, after all, interchangeable) (Jardine, 1996). Through such examples and representations we are able to unearth masculine anxiety concerning female chastity and sexuality; after all, a chaste woman cannot contribute to cuckoldry, nor can she contribute to the ruination of her family reputation or lineage. As Breitenberg so eloquently speculates, ‘it might even be that the very copia of representations of cuckoldry and jealousy were in part a response to the impossibility of certainty about the matter...’ (Breitenberg, 1993, p.382).

A ravished woman would frequently marry her attacker as a last-ditch attempt to reclaim her own honour. Although such an action might protect the woman’s ‘reputation’, that of her family often remained in jeopardy. In such an action, not only was this considered a form of consent (acknowledgement that she accepts/accepted the sexual encounter), but could also cause the permeation of inferior pedigree into a family of note. Because of this fear, or ‘paternity anxiety’ (Breitenberg, 1993, pp. 377-398), a woman’s chastity was viewed with the utmost importance: it was a commodity that was irreplaceable, and that was necessary to protect the family. This objectification of ‘purity’ shows the societal lack of concern for the condition of the woman, and emphasizes the significance of property and family power (Burks, 1995, pp. 759-790). Breitenberg notes the necessity for this ‘chastity focus’:

Jealousy is a form of paranoia that is always in place in an economy in which women are constructed by men as other. In other words, the self-consuming frustration, anxiety, and violence of the jealous man is a ‘logical’ response to the inequalities of the same patriarchal economy that has engendered his very identity in the first place. (1993, p.382)

Chastity was also viewed as a means by which the woman could maintain a certain form of maleness—and therefore maintain a higher level of respect within society. Abstaining from sexual relations ensured that the woman would not have to experience childbirth, a female characteristic attained through the Fall of Adam and Eve and thus associated with Edenic fault (Bamford, 2000, p.26). A woman concerned with the respect of herself and her family would value and protect her chastity.

Quite often, an equally important marker of chastity was silence, as the silent woman was thought to exhibit an ‘aura of impermeability for the chaste woman—an invisible but detectable barrier no man can penetrate’ (Ritscher, 2009, p.12). Conversely, the ‘gabby’ woman was thought to be as promiscuous as she was talkative—Newman (1989) notes that, ‘The slippage from the whore’s thirsty mouth to her insatiable genitals is a commonplace. The talking woman is everywhere equated with a voracious sexuality...’ (p.506). Such ideology was not only misogynist, but also paradoxical, as sexual assault claims could not be made public without the woman broadcasting—through the very act of speaking out about the rape—that she was unchaste. Basically, by acknowledging her rape, the woman was publically confessing to her own lack of chastity (Ritscher, 2009, p.13).

Notions of silence and chastity are interwoven throughout Middleton’s *The Changeling*, where he presents an outspoken female character, Beatrice-Joanna, who lacks traditional morality and integrity, and who is open about her dislike of her pre-selected future husband. Middleton’s depiction of Beatrice-Joanna as going against the ‘proper behaviour’ expected of her, specifically against her father’s intentions for her marriage, encourages the audience to have no sympathy towards her after she is raped: through her transgressive behaviour she has in some way ‘deserved it’. Symbolically, after she is assaulted by her father’s servant, DeFlores, in order for her to show atonement for such grievous sins, Beatrice is murdered (by her rapist). As she dies, she juxtaposes her murder with the murder of her familial honour. She expresses this to her father:

Oh come not near me, sir; I shall defile you.
I am that of your blood was taken from you
For your better health; look no more upon’t
But cast it to the ground regardlessly;
Let the common sewer take it from distinction.
(Middleton , *The Changeling*, V.iii, 149-53)

By requesting that her father abstain from touching her body, she acknowledges that she has shamed him, and that by touching her body, he would taint the family lineage. (Burks, 1995, p.14). Ultimately, this episode shows the commoditization of the woman’s body within the family; and Beatrice, yet belonging to her father, exemplifies the destruction of family

purity—and her body, then, the object of which has created the destruction. In order for Middleton to resolve Beatrice's problematic personality within the narrative, the only option available for her is death. In this instance, Beatrice is not even afforded the luxury of controlling her own death through suicide, but is murdered as to remove any 'goodness' that might be afforded her character. Thus, through her death, the male manifestation of concerns and fears associated with women's desire are reconciled.

Switching focus to Middleton's *Women Beware Women*, the ravished character fits more amiably into the ascribed archetypal mould. The already-married Bianca, who is raped by the visiting Duke, consents to her rape through silence. She is persuaded to leave her husband, marries the Duke, and is 'rewarded' in this action by having control over her own death. The shame of her adultery (committed through her rape) being the catalyst for her own suicide, undertaken to save her family's honour. In recognition of her sin, she concretely eliminates any chance of repeat adultery by kissing the Duke's poison lips (Levin, 1997, pp.371-389). As she dies, she blames not only herself, but also her gender:

Leantio, now I feel the breach of marriage
At my heart-breaking! Oh the deadly snares
That women set for women, without pity
Either to soul or honour! Learn by me
To know your foes. In this belief I die:
Like our own sex, we have no enemy, no enemy!
(Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, V.v. 210-215)

Calling out to her first husband in an acknowledgement of guilt, Bianca atones for her affair by destroying her beauty—by destroying herself—what she notes earlier as the cause, as she asks, "Why should I / Preserve that fair that caused the leprosy?" (Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, II.ii, 424-25). Dawson notes, 'So goes the economy: she is seen, desired, stolen (Leantio) or raped (the Duke), promoted (wife, Duchess), and killed off. In the process, her moral status declines, until it is restored by her death—she is "saved" by the very sadism that has made the story' (1987, p.312). For Bianca, her chastity is broken, and a final compliance is needed: her death.

Compliance and Consent

The heightened fear of power and loss of possession within a patriarchal society breeds the male propensity to speculate and place blame. Along with protecting her chastity, the woman, should she honour her father and/or husband, would not elicit male desire, and should be responsible for what happens to her body; remember: true chastity is impenetrable. Woman's propensity to elicit the sexuality of a man (often thought of as to satisfy her own physical needs and desires) was a frequent determination of consent; a truly chaste woman would not elicit such desire or arousal. Not only is a woman sent conflicting information as to how to react to her rape, but she was considered responsible for any male attention provoked by her physical countenance. In a construct of such beliefs, the confessions of a raped woman are inherently problematic.

Bianca, in *Women Beware Women*, is charged with being too beautiful. Her rapist, the Duke, is only responding to her attractiveness. One of the other male characters, Guardiano, explains her fault: 'Nor can I blame his appetite, or tax / His raptures of slight folly; she's a creature / Able to draw a State from serious business' (Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, II.ii, 15-17). By drawing this attention from the Duke, she has brought upon herself responsibility for her own rape (Dawson, 1987, p.309). Her violation is not surprising, as Bianca's objectification is an early theme within the play. Despite her husband's attempts to keep her locked up and 'undiscovered', her beauty proves so evocative, that even after only being seen through a window, the Duke immediately decides that he must have her (Dawson, 1987). Shortly thereafter, she is raped off-stage and is later enticed by the Duke to leave her husband for him and marry; to Renaissance audiences, her marriage thus solidifies her consent. Further evidence of her unwitting solicitation of male desire is depicted through the incorporation of an early scene in which the Duke first discovers her, and readers/viewers are provided with a visual in which she stands, breathtakingly framed within the window, 'on display for consumption' (Hellor, 2005, p.429) and a 'passive object of the male gaze' (Dawson, 1987, p.309). Bianca acknowledges the gaze of the Duke as he passes below, querying her mother-in-law (husband Leantio's mother who carefully positioned her in the casement) 'Did not the Duke look up?' (Middleton,

Women Beware Women, I.iii, 105). Thus, from one simple glance, the Duke determines that he will have her for his own.

Similarly, *The Changeling's* Beatrice-Joanna is charged with enticing her rapist. DeFlores speaks out about his incessant desire to seek her out, claiming that he must 'please [him]self with the sight / Of her, at all opportunities' (Middleton, *The Changeling*, I.i, 105-106). Unable to resist her beauty, he is able to invert the power relationship (he is her servant) by agreeing to carry out the murder of Beatrice-Joanna's betrothed, and informs her that his payment will be satisfied with her rape (Haber, 2003, p. 79, p.98). As with *Women Beware Women's* Bianca, Beatrice-Joanna consents through acquiescence as well, later claiming that she has come to 'love anon' what she initially 'fear'st and faint'st to venture on' (Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, III.iv, 170-171).

Although both of these instances portray consent through acquiescence (or at least delayed acquiescence), real life rape scenes were not as clear-cut. In addition to the contradictory requirement that the ravaged woman immediately report, i.e. 'hue and cry' the event, her physical reaction also proves a consideration. Because neither Beatrice-Joanna nor Bianca speaks out immediately following assault, they are forced to consent to their subjugation and accept their position. The other option, as raped women in a society that denounces feminine violence of any sort (outside of death, which is yet to come), was to procure evidence of resistance against the assailant. Walker explains:

The legal requirements of proof and non-consent or corroboration meant that a raped woman had to present tangible proof that she adequately resisted the rapist. Non-consent is often defined as active physical resistance. But in the early modern period there was good reason why women might not have articulated their non-consent in this way: the language of true self-defence was male. (Walker, 1998, p.8)

Adding another facet into the complex discussion of consent, such a notion was also indicative of the woman's pleasure, circling back to the idea that the woman sought to elicit the ravishment (Bashar, 1983). This detail, coupled with faulty medical opinion, takes us into the third construct of my analysis.

Medical Theory and Beliefs

Medical beliefs and suppositions about sex intensified debate and doubt about consent. Markedly, widespread opinion supported the belief that a woman could only conceive through climax. In turn, common sense dictates that a woman could only climax through enjoyment (as a voluntary response); therefore, conception of a child equates to consent. Published by George Bishop, *Aristotle's Masterpiece: Or, the Secrets of Generation*, first translated into English in 1583, became a widely referenced pseudoscientific text that 'formed the basis for reproductive theory until the discoveries of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries' (Ritscher, 2009, p.17). Although this text was not written by Aristotle (many writings attributed to him by an unknown author or authors are now widely classed as 'Pseudo-Aristotle'), many such texts in the Early Modern period claimed to be the work of classical philosophers, when they were in fact contemporary to the times. The writer of *Aristotle's Masterpiece* espoused that 'When both the Husband and Wife meet with an equal Ardor in their Conjugal Embraces, it is very rare, if it not be attended with Conception' (Ritscher, 2009, p.17). Because of such wide-spread beliefs, in such cases where pregnancy was resultant of a rape, women often faced great scepticism.

An equally faulty and widespread belief outlined within Bishop's piece is that of the seven month full-term child. Under this belief, it was purported that the male child, being innately 'perfect', was able to be born in the seventh month, whereas the female child, being innately inferior, could not. Bishop believed that male children, *in utero*, engendered more heat than their female counterparts, thus avowing them the possibility of earlier parturition (Ritscher, 2009). Such medical theory allowed men to deny paternity, often claiming that the child was the result of a seven or eight month pregnancy; he then, of course, could profess his absence at the time of conception. Ritscher notes that 'The interconnectedness of legal and medical theory led to a double-bind for most rape victims who found themselves pregnant from the assault' (2009, p.18). Moreover, 'how could a woman accuse a man of rape without admitting, through contemporary medical theory, that the sexual assault had been pleasurable, if not consensual?' (2009, p.18)?

The most pervasive fallacy, however, is the belief that the woman, every woman, desires sexual aggressiveness—such beliefs have surfaced at various

points throughout history, and purport that women are inherently masochist—they have a deep need to be dominated (Brownmiller, 1975). Middleton poses such themes within *The Changeling*, and indicates the woman's desire to be ravished, as Beatrice-Joanna's rapist, DeFlores, believes 'Methinks I feel...her wanton fingers combing out this beard / And pleased with, praising this bad face' (Middleton, *The Changeling*, II.ii, 147-49). Thus, DeFlores envisions his victim as a satisfied recipient of his power and domination; she clearly desires him sexually (Burks, 1995). Additionally, because his rape victim (who originally detested him) subsequently falls for him, her love, coupled with her forward sexual nature, work as a form of consent and indication of enjoyment (Burks, 1995).

Women Beware Women expresses desired force within the bedroom, as the Duke teases Bianca about force within their upcoming coupling. After fighting off his unwelcome advances, the Duke persists, mocking her about the upcoming excitement by reproaching her that 'This strength were excellent employ'd in love' (Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, II.ii, 330). He further expresses the fun in forceful sex by pronouncing that 'Thou know'st the way to please me. / I affect / A passionate pleading 'bove an easy yielding' (Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, II.ii, 359-360). More persuasively, he emphasizes the enjoyment that is yet to come, 'Yet if thou truly knewest / The infinite pleasure my affection takes...You'd make more haste to please me' (Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, II.ii, 363-364, 367).

Conclusion

Throughout the texts, each of these rape victims is connected to the fault of her own rape designed from her sexual desires and their 'temptress' qualities. Because they are the possessions of their husbands and fathers, their violation directly relates back to these men; therefore, the woman's natural propensity to be ravished elicits a man's cultural predisposition to possess. Moreover, in order for the patriarchal structure to maintain stability, it is necessary—and the right of the man—to exercise sovereign jurisdiction over the woman.

Ultimately, possession is the factor that perpetuated, justified, and defended the man's desire to rape, and that purported the woman's fault in her own rape. The act of rape, then, was nothing more than a political means of

advancement in a culture filled with women in need of being ruled; ruled not only in their lives, but in their sexuality as well. Rape can be seen as an act that highlights the pervasive attitudes of the time towards women as possessions—and how the fields of the law, medical science and contemporary drama all conspired to locate the woman even more fixedly in this position which the society of the time had decided for her. Looking at Middleton's plays as cultural artefacts enables us to uncover some of these prevailing attitudes. As such, it is evident that commodification of women was an insidious custom that not only demeaned her worth, but increased her vulnerability. Middleton expresses such concepts within the rape victims of his plays, exposing the cultural focus on chastity and silence, compliance and consent. Coupled with faulty medical theory and beliefs, the plight of the rape victim proved a paradoxical dilemma from which most did not emerge alive.

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