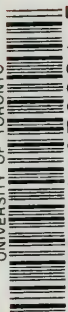


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE
GENERAL EDITOR : W. J. CRAIG
1899-1906 : R. H. CASE, 1909

THE THIRD PART
OF
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

THE WORKS
OF
SHAKESPEARE

THE THIRD PART OF
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

EDITED BY
H. C. HART



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INTRODUCTION

[It is greatly to be regretted that owing to the lamented death of the Editor, the three Parts of *Henry VI.* had not the advantage of being printed under his own supervision. But his work has been preserved with all the fidelity permitted by its comparatively rough though otherwise complete condition. In preparing the plays for the press, I have confined my corrections to matters of fact, and where I differed from the Editor in matters of opinion, I did not feel justified in altering his words. While I have emended or ascertained the accuracy of nearly every quotation and reference, a very few remain which must be taken on his authority. In the third part I have had the great advantage of advice and help from the General Editor, Professor R. H. Case.

C. K. POOLER]

The text of 3 *Henry VI.* is from the Folio 1623. As was the case with Part II., it receives a few slight emendations from the Quarto (Q 1, of which it is an expanded form) known as *The True Tragedy* (and forming the second part of *The Whole Contention*) which was first printed in 1595 with this title: The true tragedie of Richard | *Duke of Yorke, and the death of* | good King Henrie the Sixt, | *with the whole contention betweene* | the two Houses Lancaster | and Yorke, as it was sundrie times | acted by the Right Honoura- | ble the Earle of Pem- | brooke his seruants. | (T. M.'s Device)—Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Milling- | ton, and are to be sold at his shoppe under | *Saint Peters Church in* | *Cornwal* 1595. | This "Quarto" is in fact a small octavo.

The second edition (Q 2) was printed with the same title in 1600 with the alteration: "Printed at London by W. W. for Thomas . . . 1600."

The third edition (Q 3) is the second part of *The Whole Contention*, without separate title-page. It has a head-page title: The Second Part | Containing the Tragedie of | Richard Duke of Yorke, and the | *good King Henrie the* | Sixt. | The date of this edition is not in the original, but was proved by Capell (see Preface, Cambridge Shakespeare, vol. v. pp. ix.-x.) to be 1619. The variations in this edition from Q 1 are few and unimportant. They relate almost entirely to spelling, or to single words, and are carefully and beautifully listed in Mr. Furnival's preface, together with the correspondent terms in the first Folio.¹

As to the date of this play, it is opportune to quote here from Miss Lee, "On the order of Shakespeare's historical plays," in a postscript to her main paper (*New Shaks. Soc. Trans.* 1875-1876, pp. 310, 311). She finds that "*Henry VI.* Parts II. and III. and *Richard III.* form a distinct and separate group." She finds in all of them a singular resemblance to the writings of Marlowe, in their inhumanity and blood-thirstiness as much as in their versification and style—not necessarily his actual writing, but (in *Richard III.* especially) echoes of his voice. And she believed that Parts II. and III. were written as early as 1590-1591, and *Richard III.* not later than 1592-1593. She gives, I think, no decision as to date of *Henry VI.* I find the echoes of Marlowe in *Richard III.* far away and dim, "like a cannon in a vault." With reference to the comparative merits of the two old plays, Grant White says: "In construction, in characterisation, in rhythm, in poetic imagery and dramatic diction, *The True Tragedy* is very much superior to *The Contention*. . . . It contains much less rubbish and many more jewels. So, as we have seen, when Shakespeare came to write Parts II. and III., he adopted or altered for the former 1,479 of its 3,057 lines (less than one-half) from *The Contention*, while for the latter he adopted or altered 1,931 of its 2,877 lines (more than two-thirds) from *The True Tragedy*." Malone put these figures in another form: "The total number of lines in Parts II. and III. is 6,043: of these, as I conceive,

¹[On the connection of this undated quarto with other quartos (of plays by or attributed to Shakespeare) of various dates (1600, 1608, 1619), and the suspicion that all were really printed in 1619, see A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, etc. Methuen, 1909. R. H. C.]

1,771 lines were written by some author who preceded Shakespeare; 2,373 were formed by him on the foundation laid by his predecessors; and 1,899 lines were entirely his own composition" (p. 430, *op. cit.*). I leave these for the present with the remark that as to how many were entirely his own composition "no man can lay down the law." But we ought to be secure over our totals for any given edition. How much constitutes a new line is also a matter of opinion. For example, in the present play, there is a Quarto line (at III. ii. 84): "Her looks are all repleat with maiestie"; at IV. vi. 71 there is another line: "Thy lookes are all repleat with maiestie." In the first case the line is rewritten: "Her looks do argue her replete with modesty"; in the second it appears as: "His looks are full of peaceful majesty." One has to ponder a while when making totals. There are many such cases.

I shall now leave the opinions of others and summarise my examination of the text, or texts, before us; and proceed at once to look for evidence of those other coadjutors, Peele, Marlowe and Greene, merely premising that there is much less of any writer (other than Shakespeare) in Part III., as well as in its foundation play, than was the case in Part II. and its early form. In *The True Tragedy* I see a little of Marlowe, less of Greene, more of Peele and much more of Shakespeare. And in the final play there is yet more of Shakespeare and yet less of the others. Whatever may have been the original plan, the committee seems to have dissolved and left him in possession, with Peele to advise.

A RUNNING COMMENTARY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO PLAYS.

Act I. Scene i. Recalls Peele in several places, but is wholly by Shakespeare. Forty lines are added to Q, the most important additions being to the Queen's part. There are continuous slight and unimportant alterations. The Peele resemblances at "main battle" (I. i. 8), at "unpeople this my realin" (I. i. 126), and at "ground gape, and swallow" (I. i. 161) are common to both plays. The changes are mostly in order to obtain metrical verse. Note "get thee gone" (258), said to King Henry, which is placed for "therefore be still"

(Q). The latter occurs, to King Henry, at II. ii. 122 (in both), hence the alteration, due to careful work.

Act I. Scene ii. About fifteen lines are added to Q. Richard's character begins to develop in the most important addition (I. ii. 26-34). Two lines in this speech are captured from Q below (at II. i. 81), lines which have already done duty in *2 Henry VI.* II. ii. 64-66. The next noteworthy addition, about Kentishmen (I. ii. 42-43), is also traceable to *2 Henry VI.* IV. vii. 60-61. In both those passages the germ is in *First Contention* at the place. There is no suggestion of another hand. The little hall-mark of antiquity, "come let's go," I. ii. 54 Q, occurs again at V. iii. 19 Q. It suggests Marlowe perhaps.

Act I. Scene iii. Practically identical in the two copies. The last line in Q corrects the last in Folio.

Act I. Scene iv. About fifteen lines are added to Q, mainly in York's first speech, where the Spenserian "thrice-happy" (Peele's) is omitted from the final play. The two great speeches of Margaret and York are very slightly altered, both undoubtedly Shakespeare's. Margaret recalls again *The First Contention* (III. i. 116-118) in the passage about "shook hands with death" in I. iv. 101-102. York's reply to Margaret is a portion of Margaret's character, Shakespeare's especial work. It contains the thrice-famous line, "Oh tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide" (I. iv. 137). A Kyd word ("captures") occurs in both texts (115); and a Marlowe word ("obdurate") also appears (142) (as it did before in *2 Henry VI.*) but not in old texts. There is an interesting connection between *Richard III.* I. ii. 155-165 and this scene (157-162) coupled with Rutland's death in the last scene. The passage in *Richard III.* is not in the Quartos of that play. Note in this scene Margaret's blood-thirstiness to poor York. It recalls the fact that Margaret was the first to demand Gloucester's murder in *2 Henry VI.* III. i.

Act I. is all Shakespeare's in both plays. See notes for continuous parallels from his undoubted work.

Act II. Scene i. Note the opening line, almost identical with that of Act I., an oversight when the first speech was rewritten and expanded from two lines to seven. This scene is lengthened by some thirty lines from the early form. A line,

"Hercules must yield to odds" (53), has been transferred to the Messenger's speech from Warwick's own words at his death (v. ii. 33), in Q. And the "mole-hill" line in the same speech (Q, II. i. 33) may be regarded as transplanted to II. v. 14 in the final play. For "Piteous spectacle," a phrase of Spenser's, which occurs in the Messenger's speech (Q, II. i. 43), "saddest spectacle" appears in the final play (II. v. 73). Line 71 ("The flower of Europe") is found in *The First Contention* but was omitted in *2 Henry VI*. There are echoes of Marlowe ("racking clouds," 27), and of Peele ("latest gasp," 108, "soul's prison," 74). All in both texts. Richard's character shows further development in both plays (79-88). Warwick, always all Shakespeare's, is scarcely altered. Versification and harmony are conscientiously looked after. In the matter of numbering the troops before Towton (177-181), Q is nearer the truth. At 128-132 the passage of the "lazy thresher" and the "night owl's flight," is worthy of Shakespeare at any time.

Several times what Peele uses he really takes from Marlowe, as his "soul's prison" above.

Act II. Scene ii. Practically identical in the two plays, but numerous verbal changes of the slightest nature give polish. Note alterations to relieve an over-used word, as "lord" to "liege" (9, 33). One of many so-called proofs of Greene's work is explained away (47, 48, note), like the "well I wot" at line 134. Another very stale word, "princely" (58), is expelled. Grammar is often corrected (l. 70) but by no means always. Several "continuity passages" occur in this scene. And constant evidence is given in the notes of Shakespeare's hand. Line 97 is found in Greene's *Alphonsus*. It is not in Q. The transition verb "refrain" (110) recalls Peele. For the unmetrical confusion of Q, see an instance at 109-112. A word of Peele's, also from Marlowe, is "base-born" (143) in an altered line. It is also in Part II. (I. iii. 82) but in neither case in the Quartos. "Stigmatic" (136) also reappears from Part II., where it is found in the old plays each time and seems to be Shakespeare's own. One change, "encompass'd" (3) from "impaled," shows the careful handling. It occurs later in both plays at III. iii. 189, and in this play at III. ii. 171. That is to say twice apiece, not too often. Scansion is set

right by inserting a few words, "Ah, what a shame were this" (39), which would appear to have fallen out of Q.

Act II. Scene iii. A short scene not much lengthened, but considerable transposition and alteration occurs. "Malignant star" is omitted; it has been used in *1 Henry VI*. "Fainting troops" (Marlowe) is omitted, and is paralleled by the omission of "fainting looks" (or rather conversion) in last scene (138). "Thickest throngs" (Marlowe and Kyd's *Cornelia*) is omitted, and each expression has carried away a line with it. At the beginning "spite of spite" replaces Shakespeare's older "force perforce" (or Kyd's). But these three lines (4, 5, 6) are repeated in Q (at v. ii. 24-27) where "spite of spites" is found. Note the parallel "clamor" (v. ii. 44) to "clangor" here (18). An interesting omission is "to remunerate," which becomes "rewards" (52). It is often used by Peele, but never by Shakespeare in a sure place. And he seems to have disliked it, judging from *Love's Labour's Lost*, although it was the Chronicle word (Hall) on this occasion. There are one or two very poor lines not found in Q, as that which replaces 47, but "dire mishaps" is in *Comedy of Errors*; and "highly promise to remunerate" (52) is paralleled by "highly hold in hate" in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Evidence of Shakespeare runs throughout. Nevertheless Peele had a hand here in the early play I believe. See Peele parallels (at 23, 47, 55, 191).

Act II. Scene iv. In Q this bloody little scene has a few Marlowesque lines, which were deservedly expelled: they might have been anyone's; but they are a bad imitation of Marlowe (see notes). We have had many Golding parallels. Marlowe's "slicing sword" is from Golding. It is very interesting to meet here two lines (12-13) from *2 Henry VI*. v. ii. 13. They are in *First Contention*, but not in present Q. The "thirsty sword" here (Q) is in Peele's *Edward I*.

Act II. Scene v. This scene is doubled in length. There is little omission of what Q contains, but several trivial lines are altered out of shape. Henry's great soliloquy of fifty-four lines is merely opened in Q's twelve lines. It is a device to give the feeling of time elapsing while the battle rages, which the soldier (father and son) episodes serve to make more real. It is also a foil speech of Henry against Richard's soliloquy later on (III. ii.). Needless to say it is entirely by Shakespeare.

It is noticeable that the "mastless ship" line (omitted by Shakespeare) is borrowed into Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, several lines of which echo this play. We have Spenser's "piteous spectacle" here (73) altered to "saddest spectacle" before (II. i. 67). Some of the changes are very quaint, as "son so rude," to "son so rued" (109). Several lines of Q are shifted about confusingly in the final play, like "lions and poor lambs" (74-75). See also the transposition of "too soon, too late" (92, 93), recalling a note from *Lucrece* which happens very often in *Henry VI*. The father's speech is entirely new (excepting last line 122) and contains a thought from Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*. But I see nothing of the "base-minded three" in either version here.

Act II. Scene vi. Very lightly altered and hardly extended. Some of Peele's expressions appear, as "effuse of blood" (28), "unstanched thirst" (83), and the "people swarm" (at 8), occurring also below IV. ii. 2 (see note at 8). And see at "buzz" (95). A group of adjectives ending in -less appears (23-25). Repetitions are effaced, as at "I know hee's dead" (79). Another quaint misprint (?) occurs in Q, "busie to offend" (95). "Lopped" is used in its proper connection (47), not as at II. iv. 5 in Q. Golding's Ovid is several times recalled. The constant identity of Warwick's speeches in the two texts is very noticeable, even to such poetic expressions as at 62, a line readapted for *Richard III.*, as frequently happens. The closing word "possession" is similarly pronounced in *King John*. At II. vi. 33 the words in Q, "That now towards *Barwicke* doth poste amaine," are omitted; they have been used in scene v. 128 in the final play.

Act III. Scene i. Some natural touches are happily added to the deer-stalking scene. The alteration of "bow and arrow" to "cross-bow" is instructive. The introduction of Shakespeare's favourite words of "balm" and "anoointed king" (17) is also characteristic. Line 21 is changed for the worse. This is a poor scene in Q, relieved only by the deer shooting, and the faint attempt to arouse sympathy for Henry. The additional matter (70-96) with the "anoointed king" again (76) is on the same mediocre level. That addition, with the developed shooting business, doubled the length. Again *Lucrece* is recalled more than once. The deer shooting is illustrated by

Love's Labour's Lost, IV. i. and IV. ii. Margaret's troubles are rehearsed in a pathetic way by her wronged and wretched husband. Shakespeare is thinking of her in *Richard III.* in a passive manner. Henry's simile of the feather (85) is additional, and a redeeming passage. History knows no such Margaret of Anjou as Shakespeare draws, but he took his hint from the Chroniclers and formed her on the "models of antique tragedy."

Act III. Scene ii. An important scene, containing the well-sustained dialogue between Edward and Lady Grey, and also Gloucester's great soliloquy. We have had an example of dialogue in alternate lines already in *1 Henry VI.* (IV. v. 35-42). The scene is lengthened by about sixty lines in the rewriting, mainly in Gloucester's speech, to which forty lines are additional. The alteration of Catiline to Machiavel, at its close, is noticeable, and used by the advocates of Marlowe's authorship. There is not a line of the least consequence in *True Tragedy* (Q) that is omitted in *3 Henry VI.* in this scene. Some interesting points occur: the old "godsforbot" (25) is deleted. Note *The Spanish Tragedy* passage at 33-35, and the standard phrase of "in Christendom" (83). Also the manipulation of the following line (84), which is repeated later on (IV. vi. 71) and caused a little trouble. "Ghostly father" (107) recalls Peele. So does "lade" (139). Several of the old expressions, "basilisk" (187), "play the orator" (188), "impaled with crown" (171), do duty again. Gloucester's proverb lore begins to display itself (50).

Act III. Scene iii. This interesting scene is an adroit amalgamation of two totally distinct events. See note at 234-242. Two different "assemblies" before the French king, in both of which Margaret was chiefly concerned, are welded into one. See notes at line 1 and at line 234. The structure is the same in both plays. The development and improvement are continuous on the old lines. The scene is lengthened by a full hundred lines, chiefly to Margaret's credit. She has sixteen in Q, seventy-two in the final play—from a nonentity she has become a striking central figure. Warwick is almost unaltered. He gets about five lines added to his seventy-five (192-194, 208-210), and two or three slightly rewritten. The word "thrust" (190) is expelled (see note), from a harsh usage.

At the beginning those very poor lines are dropped, containing a premature promise of the French king's, and containing also "repossess," so frequently used in this play but not elsewhere. The addition to Warwick's speech (209) is also important to the future history, foretelling Clarence's falseness. A suggestion in defence of the untrue statement (81-82) of John of Gaunt's having "subdued the greater part of Spain" is made. There is nothing in this scene suggestive of any other hand. Shakespeare came to it with improved experience, correcting the faults, amending corrupted verse, and above all designedly devoting attention to Margaret. Although the scene has a narrative interest and considerable dramatic life, there is little to be said of its poetic composition. Lewis's remarks at the end as well as at the beginning, are furbished up a bit. But it is all very unworthy of Shakespeare, more so than any previous scene.

Act IV. Scene i. A needful but very dull scene, with faulty recapitulations from the last. Edward's unlucky marriage and Clarence's fickleness grow prominent. The lines are sensibly rewritten and fulfil their purpose, devoid of mannerism, harshness, or any particular weakness. In the Quarto the rhythm is destroyed by simple carelessness of printing sometimes (36-38), or by actual misprinting of words perhaps (20-23), or by such corruption in the text (at 146) that the lines are omitted as hopeless. Another omitted phrase, "stragling troops" (131), recalls Greene, but it was quasi-technical of soldier adventurers as in *Richard III.* v. iii. 327. At 73 Gloucester's personal characteristic is noted on. Edward's queen is accorded more respect and attention here than in Q.

Act IV. Scene ii. This short scene closes with Warwick's speech to enable the Watchmen's scene (iii.) to be interjected, which has no place in Q. In order to close scene ii. Warwick's speech is added to and rounded off with the classical illustrations, not in Q, but quite in keeping according to the vogue. The Watchmen's scene has a special interest (see below). Note "The common people swarm" (2), as above (II. vi. 8). The addition made to Warwick's speech may be due to Peele. Sometimes Holinshed's example might have suggested the classical interpolations.

Act IV. Scene iii. The Watchmen episode, suggested per-

haps by *The Spanish Tragedy* (III. iii. 16-45) adds twenty-two lines, and a neat bit of stage work. Warwick's speech is resumed at "This is his tent" (25), where the insertion was made, and he is allotted a few more lines, but his former ones remain unchanged. This scene shows Edward Clarence's disloyalty, and he notes upon it (41) as important. It is slurred over in Q. A speech of Clarence's in Q is wholly omitted, containing an intended dispatch to France, which is in accordance with a passage in III. iii. 235-236 (not in Q) and see IV. vi. 60, 61. For connection of *Spanish Tragedy* with *Henry VI.*, see introduction to Part II. Peele may have suggested this insertion.

Act IV. Scene iv. This scene follows the Huntsman's, with Edward's escape (scene v. here) in Q, and is doubled in length. It is very thin stuff indeed in Q, but the dialogue is on the same lines, and the development by Shakespeare is closely on its foundation. There are several well-marked Shakespearianisms in the result. The original might be Peele's, but it is featureless.

Act IV. Scene v. Precedes the last in Q. They are almost identical, but Gloucester's speech is rewritten. The last two lines, implying that the Bishop is present, are additional. Shakespeare has here again (in both versions) displayed much adroitness in weaving Edward's two flights into one effective whole. See note at line 71, and at IV. vi. 78-79.

Act IV. Scene vi. Follows scene vii. in Q, where it is allowed only twenty-two lines. In Q it opens with "Thus from," and the preceding short scene there (our vii.) opens "Thus far from," favourite starting words with Greene and Marlowe, but found also in *Richard III.* and in this play (V. iii. 1). Peele's favourite "princely" (also Marlowe's) is twice deleted, as is also "replete with" (2, 71, 72). The prophecy about Henry of Richmond is hardly changed, and Henry's piety is seriously enforced in Q in a manner of which Greene was incapable. No sign of Marlowe appears. A slighter earlier sketch by Shakespeare is what it points to. Henry's request for his wife and child, and the news of Edward's escape and flight (to Warwick) are additional, as is all the poetry contained. The developed scene is entirely Shakespeare's. Peele might have sketched the first state, which is little more than an

argument. Note lines 78-79, "Edward is escaped . . . And fled . . . to Burgundy," welding into one his two flights.

Act IV. Scene vii. Precedes vi. in Q. Edward's speeches are all increased, extending the scene by nearly thirty lines. No new matter occurs, so that the old scene is an epitome of the new. It contains a favourite expression of Shakespeare's, "But soft!" (at 10). Another proverb for Richard (Gloucester) is carried through (25-26). "Stand upon terms" and "stand upon points" are both in Q; the last only is preserved. Both are used by Greene, but are not peculiar to him, and little in it can be his. The stereotyped expressions, "well I wot" (82), "salve for any sore" (88), are additional to Q, and both old and frequent. The "follow me"-ended line (39) appears again, see IV. i. 123. Shakespeare's "good old man" (31) is not in Q. Gloucester is given an additional proverbial touch (11-12). The "good old man" recalls Sidney's King Basilius in *Arcadia*.

Act IV. Scene viii. Follows vi. in Q. With the reappearance of Warwick and King Henry some touches of poetry also appear in the finished play. This scene of sixty-four lines represents twenty-eight in Q, which is all a speech of Warwick's, saving ten lines. Warwick's speech practically remains untouched, but a pretty couplet (20, 21) is added to him. King Henry does all the additional work. He is allotted twenty-two lines but has no voice in the correspondent position in Q. "Hector . . . Troy's true hope" (25) appears for the second time in this play. Only once in Q. "Dian" for Diana (21) is often later in Shakespeare. It is in Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1509. Henry's speeches are thoroughly characteristic. The term "shame-faced" (modest) applied to him (52) is from Grafton (or Hall). The proverb "make hay while the sun shines" (60-61) appears here in transmogrified form, and is transposed from Q at the end of v. iii.

The writing in this Act in Q is at a very low level of dulness. But it is coherent narrative, it follows the chronicles in its modified scheme fairly well, the lines are usually evenly turned, and there is no offensive bombast or iteration. Characterisation is hardly attempted.

Act v. Scene i. Follows Q very closely. Most of the striking expressions are common to both, and it is evident

Shakespeare had a free hand at the first scene of the Act. The additional forty lines, or thereabout, are chiefly Edward's and Clarence's, in his defiant announcement of oath-breaking. One interesting line (at 80), "Et tu Brute, wilt thou stab Cæsar too?" omitted here, is impanelled into *Julius Cæsar*, III. i. 77. Gloucester is allowed an extra speech or two, including proverbs (49). A curious misprint, "spotful" (98), occurs in Q, amongst others. But the printing of the play has improved. "Atlas" (36), applied to Edward, is not again in Shakespeare. Peele used it similarly. But there is no trace of Peele or anyone except Shakespeare in this scene in either play. There are parallels from *Lucrece* as usual: "weakling" (37), "ruinate" (83); and a few echoes of Golding's Ovid. The most interesting thing about this scene is its return to the Quarto—because the latter was more carefully done here.

Act v. Scene ii. The death of Warwick. Edward is again brought into prominence to open the scene. He does not appear in Q. Warwick's speech is lengthened by a few lines on his eyes, but suggested by Henry the Fifth's eyes in *Henry VI.* (I. i. 12-14), from Spenser's old dragon. The tag at the end in the style of Seneca is transposed from lower down (at 45), in Q. The "bug that feared us all" (2) is also Spenserian and not in Q. The fine metaphor of the cedar and the eagle is paralleled in Marlowe's latest play, *Edward II.* Warwick's second speech stood in need of change, since four lines have all been used already elsewhere. See II. i. 53 (not duplicated in Q), and II. iii. 3-5 (duplicated in Q). I read "cannon in a vault" (44) as this text is that of the Folio; moreover, I like it better than "clamor," probably suggested by "clangor" (II. iii. 17-18). This finely wrought living scene needed little alteration. "Pangs of death" is varied to "latest gasp" here, having been used in the clangor passage. But the latter occurred at York's death (II. i. 108). "Congealed blood" (37), not in Q here, was in both texts earlier (I. iii. 52); four lines here in Q, after (33), "Why, then I would not fly," appear to have been trespassing. They have been expelled, and one is used above at II. i. 53; for the others see above at II. iii. 3-5.

Act v. Scene iii. A brief scene, altered in wording slightly,

and given a speech from Clarence of four lines. The substance and the thoughts expressed are identical. Some reminders of Peele, "I mean" (7) and "easeful" (6), are left unchanged. "Bigboned," an interesting word (found in *Selimus* and *Soliman and Perseda*), is turned out. Compare "burly boned" in *2 Henry VI.* IV. x. 60. It is probably earliest here, and Shakespeare's or Peele's, and more likely still a common vocable.

Act v. Scene iv. Greatly developed and improved from Q, but on exactly the same lines of structure. Margaret's opening speech of eleven by no means bad lines, becomes a splendid utterance of thirty-eight lines, the metaphor of the "ship with its tackling and masts" destroyed, the "pilot" and the "dangerous gulfs or quicksands," remaining as the motive. The Prince's reply (in Q) is poor stuff, judiciously rewritten, line for line. The remainder is almost identical with two rather sickly utterances of thanks from Queen and Prince. The Prince's speech is the most un-Shakespearian one in Q, but it is of the stock order of heroics. It has, however, "for to," "thickest throngs," and a bragging tone recalling Greene or Peele infected by Marlowe. "Thickest throngs" has been omitted twice already, at *2 Henry VI.* (end of *Contention*) and at II. iii. 16. Margaret's character here required modelling, according to Shakespeare's view, for she is not the Margaret of history who was completely disheartened by Barnet field. Her only hope was to save her son after that. In both these plays she is of undaunted spirit. Another "well I wot" is here (71) added. Note the "owl" parallel from Golding's Ovid, but probably elsewhere (56-57). The close of the scene is but little changed, but Margaret's speech (69-71) is all out of order in Q, as though it were a memorandum of something to be attended to—a *précis* mislaid.

Act v. Scene v. Opens in Q with an elaborate stage-instruction, as was commonly the case in *Contention*, after Peele's manner. But not so in *The True Tragedy*, our Q. The scene is reduced from 122 lines to 90 but about 15 are new, of which Margaret gets ten, including two startling ones (7-8) about "sweet Jerusalem," and another (53), "They that stabbed Cæsar". Several of the continued phrases (see Table) occur in this scene, as "twit one with" (40), "fill the world

with" (44), "Marry, and shall" (42). Gloucester is placed on his footing as a proverb-monger in the term "currish Aesop" (26). He gives the "woman wear the breeches" one (23-24) which was in *2 Henry VI.* I. iii. 144. "Charm one's tongue" (31) was there likewise. Shakespeare's work in both plays.

Act v. Scene vi. Very little altered from Q. Henry is attended to, the *Roscius* speech (7-10) is new, but his main utterance, his death-speech, is unchanged. The *Icarus* illustration (18-20) was used before of Talbot and his son in Part I., at his death. A line, "spark of life" (66), is almost verbatim in *The Spanish Tragedy*. Several hints seem to have been taken from Golding's Ovid. Another passage (61-62), "Aspiring blood of Lancaster . . . mounted" has been advanced in favour of Marlowe's hand, from passages in *Edward II.* If they prove anything, I believe it cuts the other way, and that Marlowe was struck by them in the earlier play, *The True Tragedy* (Q). Dyce advanced this. In the same speech of Gloucester's, another line, "Down, down . . . say I sent thee" (67), has been brought forward in support of Greene's authorship from its resemblance to a passage in his *Alphonsus*. But the likeness is vague, and the sentiment is frequent, and to be found where Shakespeare knew it, in *The Faerie Queene*. No such hints, even were they well founded, could undermine Shakespeare's claim from the writing itself.

Act v. Scene vii. Hardly varies in a word from Q. "Fruit" (32) replaces "child," while "tree" replaces "fruit" in previous line; and the old "renowned" (5) is altered to "renowned". One or two lines are thrown into metre. Compare the last lines with those of Part II. "Waft" (41) is characteristic of Parts II. and III.

I have endeavoured in the above running comments to bring the noteworthy differences and agreements in the two texts into some vividness. It seemed to be feasible here, although the previous play would not easily admit of it. The differences are of three sorts, correction, characterisation and poetisation (if such a barbarous word may be used).

No kind word has been said yet in favour of the Q text. But it is of value in its own readings a few times.

Q Reading.

I. i. 11. Is either slaine or wounded *dangerouslie*.

I. i. 261. When I return with victorie *from* the field.

I. iii. 51-52. till thy blood, Congealed with *his*. (Overlooked, *Cambridge*.)

II. i. 113. And very well-appointed as I thought.

II. i. 130-131. like the night-Owles lazie flight, Or like an *idle* thresher.

II. i. 182. Why via, to London will we march *amaine*.

II. ii. 133. *Rich*. Whoever got thee . . .

(II. vi. 8. The common people swarm like summer flies.

III. iii. 124. his love was an *externall* plant.

v. i. 81. [*takes his red rose out of his hat*.]

(v. ii. 44. Which sounded like a clamour in a vault.

v. iv. 75. You see, I drinke the water of mine eies.

Ff Reading.

Is either slaine or wounded *dangerous*.

When I return with victorie *to* the field (corrected Ff 2, 3, 4).

till thy blood, Congealed with *this*.

Omitted Ff.

like the Night-Owles lazie flight, Or like a *lazie* thresher.

Why via, to London will we march.

War. Whoever got thee . . .

Omitted [But not necessary]. . . .)

his love was an *externall* plant.

Omitted.

Which sounded like a cannon in a vault [I prefer cannon]. . . .)

Ye see I drink the water of my eye.

Other Q readings are accepted, or were accepted by different editors, but I have confined myself to those in the Cambridge Shakespeare (1895). I may have overlooked some, one or two I reject in favour of the Folio. And I am not sure "shrimp" (III. ii. 156) ought not to be accepted. Compare "writhled shrimp," 1 *Henry VI*. II. iii. 23.

TIME-ANALYSIS.

The following is Mr. P. A. Daniel's summary of his time-analysis of 3 *Henry VI*. (*New Shaks. Soc.* 1879): "Time of this play 20 days represented on the stage ; with intervals : suggesting a period in all of say two months. Day 1, Act I. scene i. Interval ; Day 2, Act I. scenes ii.-iv. Interval ; Day 3, Act II. scene i. Interval ; Day 4, Act II. scenes ii.-vi. Interval ; Day 5, Act III. scene i. Interval ; Day 6, Act III. scene ii. Interval ; Day 7, Act III. scene iii. Interval ; Day 8, Act IV. scene i. Interval ; Day 9, Act IV. scenes ii. and iii. Interval ; Day 10, Act IV. scene iv. Interval ; Day 11, Act IV. scene v. Interval ; Day 12, Act IV. scene vi. Interval ; Day 13, Act IV. scene vii. Interval ; Day 14, Act IV. scene viii. Interval ; Day 15, Act IV. scene viii.

(l. 53 to end. Bishop's Palace scene) Interval ; Day 16, Act v. scene i. Interval ; Day 17, Act v. scenes ii. and iii. Interval ; Day 18, Act v. scenes iv. and v. Interval ; Day 19, Act v. scene vi. ; Day 20, Act v. scene vii. The historic period here dramatised commences on the day of the battle of St. Albans, 23rd May, 1455, and ends on the day on which Henry VI.'s body was exposed in St. Paul's, 22nd May, 1471. Queen Margaret, however, was not ransomed and sent to France till 1475.

And the connection of this play with its successor *Richard III.* must always be borne in mind. Mr. Daniel says : "The connection of this (*Richard III.*) with the preceding play, in point of time is singularly elastic ; not a single day intervenes, yet years must be supposed to have elapsed. The murder of Henry VI. is but two days old—his unburied corpse bleeds afresh in the presence of the murderer. . . . Edward's eldest son is now a promising youth. . . . Time has stood still with the chief *dramatis personæ* . . . they step forward in the new scene much as when in the last play the curtain fell."

With regard to character development in this part, enough has been said above, and in my notes. The chief new feature is of course Gloucester, one of whose traits, his proverbial lore, is noticed above in this Introduction. For an excellent study of him see Mr. Thomson's edition of *Richard III.* in this series. Grafton gives a very full description in Hardyng's *Continuation* of this terrible scourge, who might be regarded as an anticipation of the English view of Machiavel in Elizabeth's time, with whom Shakespeare makes him compare himself.

PARALLELS FROM EARLIER OR CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

PEELE.

Those from Greene are not numerous or important enough to be made special reference to. Nor is there as much evidence of Peele's assistance as I expected. He may be referred to at "main battle" (I. i. 8), "unpeople" (I. i. 126), "ground gape and swallow" (I. i. 161), "soul's palace . . . prison" (II. i. 74), "hard as steel" (II. i. 201, and at II. i. 199), "refrain" (II. ii. 110), "By him that made us . . . dine to-night"

(II. ii. 126), "Spring-time" (II. iii. 47), "drunken with blood" (II. iii. 23), "remunerate" (II. iii. 50-52), II. iv. 1-4, "effuse of blood" (II. vi. 28), "world goes hard" (II. vi. 77), "unstaunched thirst" (II. vi. 83), "ghostly father" (III. ii. 107), "golden time" (III. ii. 127), "lade" (III. ii. 139), III. ii. 16, "thrust (Q) from" (III. iii. 190), "With sleight and manhood" (IV. ii. 20), "Atlas" (V. i. 36), "deck" (V. i. 43-44), "Coal-black" (V. i. 54), V. iii. 1-10, "rids way" (V. iii. 21), "holding anchor" (V. iv. 4). See, too, note (to Q passage) at "thirsty sword . . . lop" (II. iv. 1-4).

There are more probably, but this list does not contain enough solidity to build upon. The passages referred to are often found in positions where there is no sign of Peele's style. Sometimes, however, there is. Sometimes, on the other hand, the references are by no means valuable—only I had no better. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* has a few of the above.

KYD.

I have, in Introduction to Part II., given an assemblage of expressions from *The Spanish Tragedy* that are met with in Parts I., II. and III., as well as in *Contention* and *True Tragedie*. The examination there made suggests that Kyd's great play preceded all these plays excepting *The First Contention* and possibly *1 Henry VI.* But from other evidence I believe it did precede *1 Henry VI.* And further it suggested that *The Contention* is an earlier play than *1 Henry VI.*, which from other evidence is probably the case.

When we came to *2 Henry VI.*, *True Tragedy* and *3 Henry VI.*, all these betrayed familiarity with *The Spanish Tragedy*; this deduction gives a useful standing-ground. I am inclined to think some space of time (certainly not less than a year) elapsed between the composition of *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*. To return to Kyd. His next work in order was probably *Cornelia*, not, I believe, an acted play, and not perhaps of much note—probably a failure and also only a translation. But *Soliman and Perseda* is an excellent play and admittedly Kyd's. It was entered in the Stationers' Register, 22nd November, 1592 (Boas), and no doubt printed very soon afterwards, and possibly an undated edition existing

may be of that issue. Professor Boas thinks it may have been earlier than *Cornelia*, and written about 1588, or possibly a few years later. In this choice of vagueness the latter is the more worthy of acceptance. There seems to be no argument for placing it earlier than the close of 1592. But Professor Boas's edition of Kyd must be no more than referred to here.

Let us see how it stands with regard to this later play of Kyd's and our quintet. *Soliman and Perseda*, with the excellent Basilisco and Piston, the former referred to by Shakespeare in *King John*, was a very popular play.

I. iv. 136. *As opposite . . . as the south to the Septentrion.* *Soliman and Perseda*, III. iv. 5: "From East to West, from South to Septentrion." In Q.

I. iv. 179. *Off with his head, and set it on Yorke Gates.* *Soliman and Perseda*, v. iv. 112: "Off with his head and suffer him not to speake." In Q. And in the earlier *Contention*, Q, at 2 *Henry VI.* iv. i. 103. Also in *Selimus*, by Greene, etc., later.

II. i. 25. *Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns?* *Soliman and Perseda*, II. i. 244: "Dasell mine eyes, or ist Lucinas chaine." In Q.

II. i. 91-92. *Nay if thou be that princely eagle's bird, Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun.* *Soliman and Perseda*, III. i. 85: "As ayre bred Eagles, if they once perceiue That any of their broode but close their sight When they should gase against the glorious Sunne, They straight way sease upon him." In Q.

II. i. 200. *But sound the trumpets, and about our task.* *Soliman and Perseda*, II. i. 211: "Why then, lets make us ready, and about it." Not in Q. Probably early and frequent? In *Tamburlaine*.

II. ii. 66. *Spoken like a toward prince (keen for battle).* *Soliman and Perseda*, I. iv. 35-36: "Tis wondrous that so yong a toward warriour Should bide the shock of such approved knights." In Q. In *Tamburlaine*.

II. v. 5 (in Q). *How like a mastlesse ship upon the seas.* *Soliman and Perseda*, I. ii. 2: "But shall I, like a mastlesse ship at sea, Goe every way."

III. i. 314 (in Q). *troops of armed men (and 1 Henry VI. II. ii. 24).* *Cornelia*: "huge troops of Arméd men" (II. 173).

III. ii. 83. *He is the bluntest wooer in Christendom.* *Soliman and Perseda*, I. iii. 211: "the braginst knave in Christendom." In Q.

V. i. 37. *weakling (to a person).* *Soliman and Perseda*, II. i. 80: "the weakling coward." In Q.

V. iii. 3 (in Q). *the bigboond traytor Warwick.* *Soliman and Perseda*, I. ii. 59: "The sudden Frenchman, and the bigbon'd Dane". In *Selimus*, and in *Titus Andronicus*.

V. iii. 11 (in *Contention*, Q). *I saw him in the thickest throng Charging his lance.* II. iii. 14 (in *True Tragedy*, Q): *Thy noble father in the thickest*

throngs . . . was beset. And again *True Tragedy*, v. iv. 18: *With my Sword presse in the thickest throngs.* *Cornelia*, v. i. 183-5: "Bellona . . . in the thickest throng Cuts . . ." In Marlowe. In Q (*Contention* and *True Tragedy*).

v. iv. 78. *His realm a slaughter-house, his subjects slain.* And in *2 Henry VI.* iii. i. 212 (and iv. iii. 5, literally, by the butcher). *Soliman and Perseda*, v. iii. 43: "To leade a Lambe into the slaughter-house." This example is not, perhaps, of any weight. In Q (*Contention*).

v. vi. 33. *Bloody-minded.* Also in *2 Henry VI.* iv. i. 36, and Quartos at both. "Bloody minded cruell men" (*Cornelia*, iv. ii. 203). *Well-proportioned* in *2 Henry VI.* iii. ii. 175 (and Q) is also in *Soliman and Perseda*, iii. i. 19.

Several of the above parallels are undeniably cogent ; and as they go back to the Quartos in all cases—often to *First Contention*—there can be no question where the priority of use lies. Kyd (if Kyd wrote all *Soliman and Perseda*, which is an assumption) picked them out of these earlier works. But to those who would like to give Kyd a finger in the original pieces, these are useful weapons. I have given my reasons for not making that assumption. It would be difficult to prove or disprove. Hardly any mannerisms can be sworn to as Kyd's. But on the other side it is to be admitted in his claim that Kyd had a very nice sense of humour. When this group is added to *The Spanish Tragedy* group in Part II. (Introduction), there is a better array of evidence for Kyd than for either Greene or Marlowe—of this sort. But of other sorts—often more weighty, from metre, from style, from pronounced mannerisms—there is none for Kyd. I conclude then that Kyd in *Soliman and Perseda* (or some one else) used those expressions at second-hand. And it is very noticeable that not one of the best instances, hardly one of any sort, appears for the first time in *3 Henry VI.*, but is there taken from Q. So that as regards the dates of writing we may be right in placing *Soliman and Perseda* (as well as *Cornelia*) after *The True Tragedy*, but prior to *3 Henry VI.* The logic is fair. If the writer of *Soliman and Perseda* was sufficiently attracted by Q to borrow from it, he would assuredly have used more of *3 Henry VI.* if his Q borrowings came from there.

This places *3 Henry VI.* not earlier than the end of 1592.

The above line of reasoning is further established in Part II. (Introduction), where we have seen that *The Contention* pre-

ceded *The Spanish Tragedy*, although the latter preceded *2 Henry VI.* Some order like the following may be set down tentatively for convenience:—

- 1588 (1) *First Contention; Spanish Tragedy.* 1589-1590
(2) *1 Henry VI.* 1590-1 (3) *True Tragedy.* 1591-2 (4)
2 Henry VI. 1592 *Soliman and Perseda;* (5) *3 Henry VI.*

SPENSER.

Parallels from Spenser are not very striking—not enough to rank as loans—but sufficient to show how Shakespeare was imbued with his writings. Reference will be necessary only to the passages where information is to be found. These are some:—

ACT I.

Entreat fair (i. i. 271); *sturdy* (i. i. 50); *lukewarm blood* (i. ii. 34); *blood, Congealed* (i. iii. 51); *purple (blood)* (i. iv. 12).

ACT II.

Morning . . . like a younker prancing to his love (ii. i. 21-24); *prime of youth* (ii. i. 23); *younker* (ii. i. 24); *piteous spectacle* (ii. i. 67, Q); *saddest . . . that* (ii. i. 67); *the same* (ii. i. 67); *coats of steel* (ii. i. 160); *once again* (ii. i. 183); *sunshine day* (ii. i. 187); *hap . . . hope* (ii. iii. 8-9); *piteous spectacle* (ii. v. 73).

ACTS IV. AND V.

Coverture (iv. ii. 13); *night's black mantle* (iv. ii. 22); *single from* (at v. iv. 49 Q); *go . . . sent thee to Hell* (v. vi. 67); *ramping lion* (v. ii. 13).

Of these, *entreat him fair*, *lukewarm blood*, *younker prancing to his love*, *prime of youth*, *night's black mantle*, are not in Q. Enough possibly remains to show that Shakespeare's acquaintance with the *Faerie Queene* preceded both plays.

GOLDING.

Another early love of Shakespeare's figures many times in these notes. Reference may be made to "Tire on flesh" (eagle) (i. i. 269), "hearten" (ii. ii. 79), "day nor night" (ii. v. 4), "breast to breast" (ii. v. 11), "cut the sea" (ii. vi. 89), "pass and repass" (seas) (iv. vii. 5), "owl by day . . . mocked" (v. iv. 56), "currish" (v. v. 26), "owl shriek'd . . . dogs howled" (v. vi. 44-46).

POEMS, AND PARTS I., II. AND III.

Of parallels between the three Parts and Shakespeare's undoubted work, it is the duty of my notes to speak. A culling was made for reference in the Introduction to Part I.

which is more in dispute (as Shakespeare's) than the others. But it would be absurd to make such an attempt for the later parts—they are full of Shakespeare. Nevertheless it is possible to make an exception in favour of the Poems. They are also very early in his work, they are undoubted, and it is a fact that there are a number of interesting expressions confined to the Poems and these plays. The later Parts are more important, on account of the correlation between these passages in their early state, as well as in the finished plays. Any information as to the earlier, or parallel history of these expressions must be sought for in the notes. But I only select those worth selecting, and I feel assured, I regret to say, I have omitted not a few. Unless mentioned, no other use in Shakespeare occurs.

PART I.

i. ii. 77. *sun's parching heat*. *Lucrece*, 1145: "That knows not parching heat nor freezing cold"; see again in 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 79. Not in Q.

i. iv. 33. *vile-esteemed*. *Sonnet cxxi.*: "'Tis better to be vile than vile-esteemed."

i. iv. 74. *Martial men*. *Lucrece*, 200: "A martial man to be soft fancy's slave."

iii. i. 43. *lordly* (twice again, and twice in 2 *Henry VI.*). *Lucrece*, 1731: "his lordly crew."

iv. ii. 32. *Unconquered*. And 2 *Henry VI.* iv. x. 65. *Lucrece*, 408.

iv. iii. 21. *hemmed about with*. *Venus and Adonis*, 1022: "hemmed with thieves"; and 229.

iv. vi. 12. *bold-faced victory*. *Venus and Adonis*, 6: "bold-faced suitor."

iv. vii. 45. *inhcarsed in*. *Sonnet lxxxvi.*: "thoughts in my brain inhearse."

v. iii. 192. *natural graces that extinguish art*. *Lucrece*, 313: "the smoke of it . . . Extinguishing."

v. iv. 7. *decrepit miser* ("decrepit father," *Love's Labour's Lost*). *Sonnet xxxvii.*: "decrepit father" (and in *Venus and Adonis*).

v. iv. 89. *gloomy shade* ("gloomy woods" in *Titus Andronicus*). *Lucrece*, 803: "gloomy place."

PART II.

i. ii. 3. *Knit his brows* (also in 2 *Henry VI.* and 3 *Henry VI.*). *Lucrece*, 709: "With heavy eye, knit brows." In Q (*True Tragedy*).

i. i. 95. *Blotting . . . from books* (of memory) and *Richard II.* *Lucrece*, 948: "blot old books and alter their contents." Not in Q.

iii. ii. 141. *chafe . . . lips*. *Venus and Adonis*, 477: "chafes her lips." Not in Q.

- III. ii. 165. *Aidance*. *Venus and Adonis*, 330: "aidance." Not in Q.
 III. ii. 175. *well-proportioned beard*. *Venus and Adonis*, 290: "well-proportioned steed." In Q.
 III. ii. 198. *vengeful sword* (and "vengeful waggon," *Titus Andronicus*). *Sonnet xcix*: "A vengeful canker." In Q.
 III. ii. 217, and 3 *Henry VI.* v. v. 67. *deathsmen* (and *King Lear*). *Lucrece*, 1001: "deathsmen to so base a slave." In *Contention*.

PART III.

- I. i. 47. *falcon's bells*. *Lucrece*, 511: "as fowl hear falcon's bells" (causing terror). In Q.
 I. iv. 28. *quenchless fury*. *Lucrece*, 1554: "quenchless fire." In Q. (Common earlier? Marlowe.)
 I. iv. 34. *at the noontide prick*. *Lucrece*, 781: "Ere he arrive his weary noontide prick." In Q.
 II. ii. 15. *mortal sting*. *Lucrece*, 364: "mortal sting." In Q.
 II. ii. 41. *steel thy melting heart*. *Venus and Adonis*, 376: "heart . . . being steeled." In Q ("thoughts").
 III. i. 37. *make battery . . . breast*. *Venus and Adonis*, 426: "make no battery . . . (in) heart." Not in Q. See *Antony and Cleopatra*, iv. xiv. 39.
 III. i. 38. *tears pierce . . . marble heart*. II. ii. 50. *much rain wears the marble*. *Lucrece*, 560: "Tears harden lust, though marble wears with raining." Not in Q.
 V. i. 37. *weakling* (epithet of contempt). *Lucrece*, 584: "thyself art mighty . . . myself a weakling." In Q.
 V. vi. 85. *sort . . . a day*. *Lucrece*, 899: "when wilt thou sort an hour." In Q.
 III. i. 141. *brinish* (and *Titus Andronicus*. *Lucrece*, 1213, and *Lover's Complaint*, 284).

The above are of interest, but the results they afford are very mixed. They help to establish one point; that the Greene terms used in the trilogy were discarded (in most cases) later by Shakespeare. These poems are later than the quintet.

MARLOWE—*TAMBURLAINE* AND *HENRY VI.*

I have reserved for final consideration the evidences of Marlowe's hand that appear in these plays from *Tamburlaine*, Parts I. and II. 1586-1587. In some points of view it is a satisfactory study, since the dates are indisputable, and Marlowe's play occupies a well-defined position and relationship. It was earlier work than any of the *Henry VI.* group, and earlier than *The Spanish Tragedy* by Kyd, with which it has practically nothing in common. It was earlier, I imagine, than any of

Peele's plays except *The Arraignment of Paris*. And its effect upon the English stage cannot be better illustrated than by noting the change in Peele's style, for he seized on *Tamburlaine* (as did also Greene) with rapture; and not unlikely its appearance instigated Kyd to make his great attempt at rivalry. *Tamburlaine* was well worthy of its success and the stir it caused; especially Part I. One never can read it without a fresh sense of joy and amazement, joy at its untrammelled vigour and beauties, amazement at its superiority over all preceding and contemporary dramas. One of the first thoughts that occurs is, can the author of this play, or these plays, be supposed to have written *The Contention* or *1 Henry VI.* after he had written *Tamburlaine*? It seems to me there is only one reply. *Tamburlaine* may not be dramatically great, but it is greatness itself in dignity, in poetry, and in sustained power. It seldom flags and it is continually magnificent. It is for that reason I see so little of Marlowe's own self in those two plays. They are far beneath it, continually flagging, and wherever they can claim any grandeur (even in *2 Henry VI.*) or excellence in poetry, it is of a wholly different kind—more human and true and real perhaps—more dramatically correct (as representing people not personifications of qualities or passions) but generally meaner in thought and in poetic diction.

Greene set himself to rival Marlowe at his own price, with his own weapons of bounce and bombast. Peele did so in a less degree (*Alcazar*), and by no means so slavishly (*Old Wives Tale*, *Edward I.*). Just as they did so, so did Shakespeare adopt a more true mode, in depicting human beings as they are. And as Shakespeare was right, and Greene and Marlowe faulty in this essential principle, so did the latter take up a new mantle in his later work; and although a "trick of the old rage" appears in *Edward the Second* several times, he has improved many faults of bombast and unreality out of all recognition. The measure also in that play has much greater freedom and fluency. But as its date with regard to the *Henry VI.* cycle is open to argument, and can hardly be determined even relatively (it is usually set down as 1590-1591), it is better to consider *Tamburlaine* alone; and it will be seen that such consideration helps to conclusions.

A similar chastening and purification may even be observed in Greene's style, if we set his *James the Fourth* against his earlier *Orlando Furioso* and *Alphonsus of Arragon*. And his latest prose has the same tendency. Probably these are signs of a general reactionary movement in the forefront of which we may set Shakespeare himself.

When reading *Tamburlaine* carefully for this study with word lists of my own compilation, of Spenser (up to 1591), of Peele, of Greene, and with the *Henry VI.* group beside me, two continual facts enforced themselves. One was the constant evidence of Marlowe's use of Spenser, particularly *Faerie Queene* (I, II. and III.); and the other was the number of times Peele's later use of many thoughts and words derived itself from *Tamburlaine*. To adapt Margaret's position in *3 Henry VI.* III. i., Marlowe is between Spenser and Peele:—

Ay, but she 's come to beg ; Warwick to give ;
She on his left side craving aid for Henry,
He on his right side asking a wife for Edward.

The almond-tree on Selinus' Mount, and the herd of *Cymbrian* bulls may be mentioned as aids from Spenser in a prominent way. In my notes will often be found parallels from Peele side by side with their source in Marlowe ("prison of my soul," Part III. II. i. 74, occurs to my memory first). But Peele used Marlowe continually, and it may be suggested at once that he used him in helping at *Henry VI.* sometimes, in order to relieve Shakespeare from doing too much of the plume-plucking which the following lists disclose. Shakespeare accepts Marlowe's terms, but not his silly-stately style. Neither did Peele finally. Shakespeare does not accept his early dummy and mumming figureheads of men and women. Both of them seem to have had a different military dictionary from Marlowe.

In *Tamburlaine*, Part II., there is in some ways a falling off. That high bombastic flight at Xenocrate's death (III. ii.) against the gods, is more extravagant: and the scene of his death where he has his sons and his friends around him (v. iii.) in lengthened conversation, is worse in its unreality than anything in either play—or in any play. And *Tamburlaine* himself is more abominable, but did anyone ever pen a better line de-

scriptive of the "thunder of ordnance" in battle than "The crack, the echo, and the soldiers cry Make deaf the air"? There is another departure Shakespeare was prompt to make. He hardly ever gives us studies of the geography and of the zoology and *personnel* of hell—the dogs, the curs, the hags of Tartarus—the rivers Phlegethon, Styx, and Cocytus—Lerna and Avernus, etc. Kyd followed the others in believing these to be necessary adjuncts of tragic writing. I mentioned that there is little evidence or none of community between *Tamburlaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy*. But that does not at all apply to Kyd's later plays *Cornelia* and *Soliman and Perseda*, which show many signs of *Tamburlaine*. The absence of *Tamburlaine* from Kyd's tragedy is unexpected; Kyd was not addicted to self-restraint of that sort. Possibly they were simultaneous, or else Kyd had no acquaintance with it.

With these preliminary remarks (for the insufficiency and inadequateness of which I must express my apologies) I will quote my selected parallels:—

1 HENRY VI. AND TAMBURLAINE.

ACT I.

1. i. 3. *Comets . . . Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky.* *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. i. (32, b): "Flora in her morning's pride Shaking her silver tresses in the air."

1. i. 149. *"I'll hale the Dauphin headlong from his throne.* *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. iii. (65, a): "Haling him headlong to the lowest hell."

1. ii. 47. *Bastard of Orleans, thrice-welcome to us.* *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. i. (36, b): "O sight thrice-welcome to my joyful soul, To see the king." See Introduction to Part I. on this figure. "Thrice-valiant" is in *First Contention* (at Part II. 1. i. 188). In *Tamburlaine*, "thrice-noble," "thrice-renowned" and "thrice-worthy" (Part II.) also occur.

1. ii. 136. *With Henry's death the English circle ends.* *Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. vi. (18, a): "The loathsome circle of my dated life."

1. vi. 12. *Why ring not out the bells . . . Command the citizens make bonfires.* *Tamburlaine*, Part I. III. iii. (25, b): "Now will the Christian Miscreants be glad, Ringing with joy their superstitious bells, And making bonfires."

ACT II.

II. i. 12. *Having all day caroused and banqueted.* *Tamburlaine*, Part II. 1. i. (end): "Come banquet and carouse with us a while." *Tamburlaine*, Part II. Act I. (end): "Come, let us banquet and carouse the whiles"; and elsewhere. And in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. iv. iv. 5: "Let us freely banquet and carouse Full bowls of wine."

II. i. 43. *Since first I follow'd arms. Tamburlaine, Part II. i. iii. (47, a): "But, while my brothers follow arms, my lord, Let me accompany my gracious mother."*

II. i. 80. *I have loaden me with many spoils. Tamburlaine, Part I. i. i. (8, a): "milk-white steeds of mine all loaden with the heads of killed men." Note "of mine" here, as "arm of mine" (Tamburlaine, Part II. iv. iii. (65, a)); "breast of mine" (Tamburlaine, Part II. v. i. (69, a)), frequent in these three plays, but not so, later, in Shakespeare. Archaic.*

II. ii. 48, 49. *a world of men Could not prevail with all their oratory. Tamburlaine, Part II. i. i. (44, a): "He brings a world of people to the field."*

II. iii. 62. *These (soldiers) are his substance, sinews, arms and strength. Tamburlaine, Part II. i. i. (45, a): "stout lancers of Germany The strength and sinews of the imperial seat."*

II. v. 11, 12, 13. *pithless . . . sapless . . . strengthless. Tamburlaine, Part II. ii. iii. (51, a): "breathless . . . senseless . . . quenchless." And II. iv. (same page): "endless . . . ceaseless." Grouping these adjectives (often new) became a vogue.*

II. v. 47-49. *He used his lavish tongue And did upbraid me with . . . obloquy. Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. ii. (27, a): "You must devise some torment . . . To make these captives rein their lavish tongues." Earlier in Golding.*

ACT III.

III. i. 171. *I girt thee with. Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. v. (58, a): "to girt Natolia's walls with siege."*

III. iii. 7. *We'll pull his plumes and take away his train. Tamburlaine, Part I. i. i. (7, b): "Tamburlaine That . . . as I hear, doth mean to pull my plumes."*

III. iv. 38. *The law of arms is such That whoso draws a sword. Tamburlaine, Part I. ii. iv. (16, a): "Thou breakst the law of arms, unless thou kneel." Probably earlier.*

ACT IV.

IV. i. 97. *Vile and ignominious terms. Tamburlaine, Part II. v. i. (69, a): "vile and ignominious servitude." "Ignominious" occurs also Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. iii. and 2 Henry VI. iii. i. 179. A new word then.*

IV. i. 175. *I promise you, the king Prettily, methought, did play the orator (and in Parts II. and III.). Tamburlaine, Part I. i. ii. (11, a): "look you I should play the orator," and "Our swords shall play the orators for us." See Table of Continued Expressions.*

IV. iii. 21. *Hemm'd about with grim destruction. Tamburlaine, Part I. ii. iv. (16, a): "Till I may see thee hemm'd with armed men."*

IV. vii. 3. *Smeard with captivity. Tamburlaine, Part I. v. i. (34, b): "Smeared with blots of basest drudgery."*

IV. vii. 36. *Did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood. Tamburlaine, Part II. iv. i. (61, a): "to flesh our taintless swords."*

IV. vii. 72, 73. *Here is a silly stately style indeed! The Turk that two-*

and-fifty Kingdoms hath. *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. i. (53, a): "Bajazeth, by the aid of God . . . Emperor of Natolia . . . and all the hundred and thirty kingdoms . . . Emperor of Turkey."

ACT V.

v. ii. 13. *And means to give you battle presently.* *Tamburlaine*, Part II. v. iii. (71, a): "Death with armies of Cimmerian spirits Gives battle 'gainst the heart of Tamburlaine."

v. iii. 11. *familiar spirits . . . Out of the powerful regions under earth.* *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. iii. (65, a): "O thou that sway'st the region under earth . . . a king as absolute as Jove."

v. iii. 155. *Free from oppression or the stroke of war.* *Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. v. (16, b): "Since he is yielded to the stroke of war."

v. iv. 5. *timeless death* (and in Parts I. and II.). *Tamburlaine*, Part II. (end): "Let earth and heaven his timeless death deplore." Not in either Quarto of later Parts. See Table of Continued Expressions. Earlier in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* (1578): "to see Andrugio tymeles dye" (Part I. II. i.).

v. iv. 87. *May never glorious sun reflex his beams Upon the country.* *Tamburlaine*, Part I. III. ii. (20, a): "For neither rain can fall upon the earth, Nor sun reflex his virtuous beams thereon."

v. iv. 120. *boiling choler chokes The hollow passage of my poison'd voice.* *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. ii. (55, a): "sorrow stops the passage of my speech."

v. v. 28. *How shall we then dispense with that contract?* *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. i. (31, a): "I fear the custom . . . Will never be dispens'd with till our deaths."

2 HENRY VI. AND TAMBURLAINE.

ACT I.

i. i. 16. *The fairest queen that ever king received.* *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. v. (59, a): "The worthiest knight that ever brandished sword." (See Introduction, Part I. Spenser.) In Q.

i. i. 78, 79. *lodge in open field In Winter's cold and Summer's . . . heat.* *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. ii. (55, a): "sleep upon the ground . . . Sustain the scorching heat and freezing cold." Not in Q.

i. i. 98. *Blotting your names from books of memory.* *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. i. (53, b): "all the world should blot his dignities Out of the book of base-born infamies." Not in Q.

i. iii. 82. *base-born callat.* *Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. ii. (14, b): "base-born Tartars." (Often in both Parts.) Not in Q.

i. iv. 14. *To this gear.* *Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. ii. (14, a): "let us to this gear." Not in Q.

i. iv. 16. *Well said* (well done). *Tamburlaine*, Part II. v. i. (69, b): "Well said" (well done). Not in Q.

ACT II.

II. i. 161, 162. *you have done more miracles than I; You made . . . whole towns to fly.* *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. ii. (55, a): "to undermine a

town, And make whole cities caper in the air." (Surely Shakespeare is mocking at Marlowe here; like the silly-stately style of the Turks.) Not in Q.

ACT III.

III. i. 49. *As next the king he was successive heir.* Tamburlaine, Part II. III. i. (53, a): "son and successive heir to . . . Bajazeth." Not in Q.

III. i. 362, 363. *his thighs with darts Were almost like a sharp-quilled porpentine.* Tamburlaine, Part II. i. iii. (46, b): "hair . . . soft as down, (which should be like the quills of porpentine)." Not in Q. The verb "to caper" (new) occurs in both passages, but not in Q.

III. ii. 44. *Did chase away the first-conceived sound.* Tamburlaine, Part I. III. ii. (20, b): "As it hath chang'd my first-conceived disdain." Not in Q.

III. ii. 80. *Erect his statuē and worship it.* Tamburlaine, Part II. II. (end) (53, b): "And here will I set up her statue [Q]. And march about it." Not in Q.

III. ii. 340. *That I may dew it with my mournful tears.* Tamburlaine, Part II. iv. ii. (63, b): "this earth, dew'd with thy brinish tears, Affords no herbs." ("Brinish" is only in 3 Henry VI. and Titus Andronicus.) Not in Q.

III. iii. 19. *O thou eternal Mover of the heavens!* Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. ii. (26, b): "The chiefest god, first mover of that sphere." Not in Q.

ACT IV.

IV. i. 48. *Jove sometimes went disguised, and why not I?* Tamburlaine, Part I. i. ii. (12, a): "Jove sometime masked in a shepherd's weed." Adopted into 2 Henry VI. from Q. It probably dropt out of F by some accident.

IV. ii. 121. *Rebellious hinds, the filth and scum of Kent.* Tamburlaine, Part I. III. iii. (22, a): "cruel pirates of Argier . . . the scum of Africa." And iv. iii. (28, a). And Tamburlaine, Part II. iv. i. (62, a). Not in Q.

IV. ii. 163. *Fellow kings, I tell you that.* . . . Tamburlaine, Part II. i. iii. (48, a): "loving friends and fellow kings." And iv. iii. (65, a). Not in Q.

IV. ii. 180. *And you that be the king's friends follow me.* Tamburlaine, Part II. i. iii. (47, a): "If thou will love the wars and follow me." See Table of Continued Expressions. Not in Q.

IV. iv. 10. *God forbid so many simple souls Should perish by the sword.* Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. ii. (28, a): "Not one should scape, but perish by our swords." Not in Q.

IV. vii. 114. *if . . . God should be so obdurate as yourselves* (and 3 Henry VI. i. iv. 92). Tamburlaine, Part I. v. i. (31, a): "Might have entreated your obdurate breasts." Not in Q.

IV. x. 53-54. *As for words . . . Let this my sword report.* Tamburlaine, Part I. i. i. (8, a): "Go, stout Theridamas, thy words are swords." (But earlier examples in note to passage.) Not in Q.

IV. x. 84. *Leaving thy trunk for crows to feed upon. Tamburlaine, Part II. II. iii. (51, b): "We will both watch and ward shall keep his trunk Amidst these plains for fowls to prey upon." Not in Q.*

3 HENRY VI. AND TAMBURLAINE.

ACT I.

I. i. 91. *with colours spread March'd through the city to the palace gates. Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. i. (25, a): "Hath spread his colours to our high disgrace." Tamburlaine, Part II. I. iii. (48, a): "Under my colours March ten thousand Greeks." In Q.*

I. i. 126. *first shall war unpeople this my realm. Tamburlaine, Part I. III. iii. (22, a): "Let him bring millions infinite of men, Unpeopling Western Africa and Greece"; and Tamburlaine, Part II. I. i. (48, a): "To aid thee . . . Is Barbary unpeopled for thy sake." In Q. Also in Peele and Spenser. Of no weight probably.*

I. iii. 29-31. *To wear a crown Within whose circuit is Elysium . . . bliss and joy. Tamburlaine, Part I. II. v. (17, a): "the pleasure they enjoy in heaven Cannot compare with kingly joys on earth, To wear a crown . . ."; and scene vii. (18, b): "that perfect bliss, The sweet fruition of an earthly crown." Not in Q. Compare the argument here about breaking oaths with that in Tamburlaine, Part II. II. i. (49, 50).*

ACT II.

II. i. 27. *racking clouds. Tamburlaine, Part II. IV. iii. (65, a): "racking clouds." In Q ("a Racking cloud").*

II. i. 74, 75. *my soul's palace has become a prison: Ah, would she break from hence! Tamburlaine, Part II. IV. ii. (63, b): "a passage for my troubled soul, Which beats against this prison to get out." In Q.*

II. i. 91. *princely eagle. Tamburlaine, Part II. IV. iii. (66, b): "princely eagles." In Q.*

II. i. 160. *Shall we go throw away our coats of steel. Tamburlaine, Part I. IV. ii. (27, a): "My sword struck fire from his coat of steel." In Q.*

II. i. 200. *But sound the trumpets, and about our task. Tamburlaine, Part II. III. iii. (56, b): "come, let's about it." Not in Q.*

II. i. 201. *as hard as steel. Tamburlaine, Part II. I. iii. (46, b): "hard as iron or steel." Not in Q.*

II. ii. 66. *I'll draw it (sword). . . And . . . use it to the death . . . spoken like a toward prince. Tamburlaine, Part II. IV. i. (61, a): "My other toward brother here, For person like to prove a second Mars." In Q. Promising. Specially refers here to pugnacity.*

II. ii. 75. *Ay, good my lord, and leave us to our fortune. Tamburlaine, Part II. III. iv. (57, a): "Come, good my lord, and let us haste from hence." (Note "from hence" several times in Henry VI.) In Q.*

II. v. 106. *Shed seas of tears. Tamburlaine, Part II. III. ii. (55, a): "wept a sea of tears." Not in Q.*

II. vi. 35. *Command an argosy to stem the waves. Tamburlaine, Part II. I. i. (43, b): "Beating in heaps against their argosies." Not in Q.*

ACT III.

III. i. 38. *Her tears will pierce into a marble heart. Tamburlaine, Part I. i. ii. (12, b): "Shall want my heart to be with gladness pierced." Not in Q.*

III. iii. 229. *my mourning weeds are laid aside. Tamburlaine, Part II. i. i. (43, a): "wear a woful mourning weed." In Q.*

ACT IV.

IV. vi. 75. *Make much of him, my lords. Tamburlaine, Part I. i. ii. (12, b): "Make much of them, gentle Theridamas." In Q.*

ACT V.

V. iii. 1. *Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course. Tamburlaine, Part I. ii. i. (13, a): "Thus far are we toward Theridamas." Not in Q.*

V. iv. 66. *Here pitch our battle; hence we will not budge. Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. i. (54, a): "Our battle then, in martial manner pitched . . . shall bear The figure of the semi-circled moon." Marshalling an army into battle array. Not in Q.*

V. iv. 67. *the thorny wood (and III. ii. 174). Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. i. (25, b): "As bristle-pointed as a thorny wood" (pine wood). In Q.*

V. vi. 43. *And orphans . . . Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast born. Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. iii. (28, b): "Tamburlaine shall rue the day, the hour, That ever . . ." Not in Q.*

There are a few Marlovian expressions, very few, in the Quartos not found in the final plays, which occur in *Tamburlaine*. These occur to my memory:—

"The fainting army of that foolish king." *Tamburlaine, Part I. ii. iii. (15, b).*

"faintheart fugitives." *Tamburlaine, Part II. v. i. (67, b).*

"that coward faintheart runaway." *Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. ii. (56, a).*

"thickest throngs." *Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. ii. (56, a). See Table of Continued Expressions.*

"Come let us go and banquet." *Tamburlaine, Part II. i. ii. (45, a).* Not a satisfactory example, but nearly of the "Come let's go" of the Quarto. See Table of Continued Expressions.

No doubt there are some of these Quarto parallels overlooked, but probably none of much significance. Let us see what information the above lists yield. I find them full of meaning. But it is interesting to note a few special points amongst these illustrations. For example, is there not a mocking intention at *2 Henry VI. II. i. 162*, where whole towns are made to fly?—a mocking of Marlowe's absurdity of

making "whole cities caper in the air"?—though of course the reference is to the French towns. And when Cade calls his fellow-rebels "fellow-kings" (*2 Henry VI.* IV. ii. 163), an expression twice in *Tamburlaine*, has not Shakespeare again "a kindly gird"? And in the reference to the kingdoms of the Turk in *1 Henry VI.* IV. vii. 72, does not the expression "Here is a silly-stately style indeed" sum up in a few admirably chosen words his judgment upon Marlovian rhodomontade in *Tamburlaine*? Sometimes, again, a simile is borrowed, found steeped in nonsense and transformed into a happy figure, as in the "porpentine" in *2 Henry VI.* III. i. 363. It is ridiculous to blame a timid lad with hair as soft as down for not having it like the quills of a porcupine, as a ferocious young son of Mars should have. But the use in Shakespeare (wholly transfigured) forms a very vivid and not too extravagant picture.

For I believe Shakespeare helped himself to all these passages from *Tamburlaine*. As soon as a play was a success, the language seems to have become known by rote and common property amongst the dramatists, stored in the cask of memory, to be turned on tap at will. Not every one, however, had Shakespeare's memory, or his skill in adapting its stores. There is no other way out of the dilemma. These scraps of Marlowe continually occur where it is obvious Marlowe had no hand whatever, and they are often used with a different sense and in a context that is purely Shakespearian.

Possibly these turns of language have led the critics sometimes to attribute the authorship to Marlowe in places. But it is a wholly fallacious reasoning. There was no reproach in such usage. All of them did it. But as no one succeeded as Shakespeare did, it seems more noticeable in him. To Greene, a dramatic failure, this lent a weapon of abuse. In Greene's jaundiced and green-eyed orb of jealousy, these are the feathers Shakespeare beautified himself with, and the plumes he purloined. There were others, but these sufficed for his attack.

In Part I. the parallels tell their own tale. Several of them ("timeless death," "play the orator") were thought so well of that Shakespeare drove them through the whole trilogy, as my Table of Continued Expressions will exhibit. But with few

exceptions they become moribund, or nearly so, they faint, in Shakespeare's later work, after the famous attack in 1592—after Greene's death.

In the second Part an interesting discovery discloses itself. Not a single one of my selected expressions common to *Tamburlaine* and *2 Henry VI.* is found in *The First Contention* (Q). This is quite parallel to the evidence derived already from Spenser's and Kyd's (*Spanish Tragedy*) parallels, and points to the early date of *The Contention* (first part). Not that I believe it to have preceded Marlowe's great play—that puts it out of Shakespeare's reach and period altogether, and I maintain he had a considerable hand in it—but Shakespeare had not learnt or studied that play as he must have done before he finished *1 Henry VI.* It puts *The Contention* into its proper place of first in the series and preceding *1 Henry VI.* and its own legitimate offspring *2 Henry VI.* by some considerable term—one or two years for the former—during which time Shakespeare set to work in earnest at self-improvement in dramatic writing and devoured all he could lay hands upon.

Probably his share in *The Contention* (first part) is the very earliest effort we have by Shakespeare.

The expressions quoted from Part III. are of no special significance, excepting that a few of them are unmistakable echoes. They are more often than not in *The True Tragedy* (Q), as must needs be the case, these plays (*3 Henry VI.* and *True Tragedy*) being more closely identical. The writing of the third Part agreed in point of time with that of its predecessor much more nearly than did *2 Henry VI.* with its foundation play, which two are separated by a considerable interval.

I have already given reasons for not going further into Marlowe's parallelisms. There are several in my notes, down to the very end. Even in the last scene of *3 Henry VI.* occurs a line ("And made our footstool of security") that closely resembles one in *The Massacre at Paris*. The passage reads to me like a thought developed into Shakespeare's use, although the dates if anything point the other way. The parallels from *Edward II.* have been noticed in Introduction to Part II.; and I am not particular as to which way the pendulum of originality swings, but I may quote Dyce. He says: "Mr. Collier, who regards it [*Edward II.*] (and no doubt, rightly) as

one of our author's latest pieces, has not attempted to fix its date." But that should be 1592 or 1593. See also the passage from the *Jew of Malta* (Act III.), "These arms . . . shall be thy sepulchre," quoted in *3 Henry VI.* II. v. 114.

There is one argument to be adduced here in this connection. When Marlowe saw Shakespeare helping himself to phrases from *Tamburlaine*, would he not feel fully entitled to cull a few from Shakespeare in return, if they suited him, for his *Edward II.*, on the principle of give and take which was generally adopted? And I think he did, for he has other expressions in *Edward II.*, such as "undaunted spirit," from *1 Henry VI.*, undoubtedly earlier. This is a view that favours the lateness of *Edward II.*, and it can be broadened considerably. Some of the well-known Marlovian lines in *2 Henry VI.* are in the *First Contention*, the Q of that play; it is not reasonable to suppose *Edward II.* can have preceded that Quarto, therefore the assumption would be that Marlowe wrote those parts of *The Contention* from which he drew expressions in *Edward II.* But it would be easy to furnish a little collection of *1 Henry VI.* expressions in *Edward II.*, which are most likely borrowed in the latter from Shakespeare—Marlowe not having had, I think, anything to do with *1 Henry VI.* And for that matter his share in *The Contention* is doubtful, certainly unimportant.

The whole series of *Henry VI.* may have been evolved as follows. Greene, Peele and Marlowe selected, or were allotted, the *Henry VI.* period to dramatise. They divided it roughly (as Cæsar did all Gaul) into three parts. Greene was in command of the wars of France and the death of that brave Talbot, the terror of the French, together with the exploits of Joan the Pucelle and the loss of the towns, and his part would have some such title.

Peele was chief of *The First Part of the Contention*, and with the others completed it. In doing so he received much help from the rising dramatist, Shakespeare.

Marlowe had charge of *The True Tragedy*. Shakespeare's success in the assistance he gave Peele, but especially in the completion of *1 Henry VI.*, acquired for him a yet larger share in this play.

Meanwhile Greene had failed in his share. Either he

found it uncongenial, or his platform was rejected, or his failure in other dramas at this juncture rendered him unacceptable, and he withdrew. Shakespeare having given satisfaction in his aid to *The First Contention* was entrusted with the sketch in an altogether chaotic and unfinished state, for completion. And his work was so well approved and of such high promise, that it justified the expansion into the full-sized play of *Henry VI.* And as a natural sequence, owing to its immediate and triumphant success, the others were handed over to him for expansion into Parts II. and III. All the time he was on friendly terms with the others, except perhaps Greene, getting "wrinkles" and "tips" from his seniors, especially Peele, from time to time if required. Such collaboration would always occur amongst fellow-workers, leaving an impression of unity. Perhaps I may quote the words here of a well-known living actor and playwright as to the methods employed:—

"How was it you collaborated with them? I would tell them that such and such a situation was not effective, and must be brought about in a different way. The balancing of the parts was not equal, and there was insufficient comedy, and although I never wrote a word of the play I would occasionally take hold of a certain speech and say that it would not 'speak' well, and would have no effect. I would suggest the addition of words, or say that the speech 'worked in this way' would be effective, that is to say, it would get, what we actors always want, a round of applause."—*The Daily Telegraph*, 18th March, 1908.

This is "parvis componere magna," but the positions and the practice at the final production of a play must be ever alike.

Enough has been said upon the development of the leading characters, Margaret and Henry, in various connections in my notes and Introduction. But there is one curious point in connection with Gloucester (the earlier Richard, son of York, afterwards King Richard III.) that I have never seen noticed, and for which I have no explanation to offer. For some reason or other Gloucester's characteristic talent, or affectation, or mannerism is that of proverb-making. It is no compliment to the lovers of old said saws. Grafton (*Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 548) says: "He had a sharpe and preg-

naunt witt, subtill, and to dessimule and fayne verie mete"; but I find no allusion to this trait in him. It was no new stage attraction and continued in favour. Lyly set the fashion in *Mother Bombe*, where Silena "raked together all the odd blind phrases that help them that know not how to discourse." Later Shakespeare and Ben Jonson respectively give us Touchstone and Downright (who are leading characters), and are supposed to beautify and enhance the value of their representations by the same device. It was becoming the vogue and it remained so for a couple of centuries—sometimes courtly—sometimes scholarly—but continually attractive and required by the audiences. The Prince says of Gloucester—

"Let Aesop fable in a winter's night,
His currish riddles sort not with this place" (v. v. 25-26).

Gloucester has just used a common proverb. He doesn't begin in his earlier period, but once he is made Duke of Gloucester the humour develops. He gives "a nine days' wonder" at III. ii. 112, and a little earlier (50) "much rain wears the marble" appears. In IV. i. 83 he hears little, says not much, and thinks the more. At IV. vii. 25 he has a fox proverb I have not traced, and in the first scene of Act V., "strike while the iron is hot," is his, immediately after a card saying. Later, V. vi. 11-12, an often-quoted distich on the thief, the bush and suspicion of an "officer," is his.

Was this a stage tradition? Has it anything to do with Burbage's acting the part of Richard III.? It is a sort of speciality that might be allotted to a favourite actor with a predilection that way. Burbage was a favourite as early as 1588, and Richard III. was one of his great parts. Halliwell conjectured that Henry calls Gloucester (or Richard III.) Roscius at V. vi. 10, because he took the part.

However it arose the characteristic is continued, and it is to be noted the adages used are such as were familiar and older than Shakespeare's time. In *Richard III.*, Gloucester gives "Jack became a gentleman" (I. iii. 72); "eyes drop mill-stones" (I. iii. 354); he boasts of his trick at I. iii. 337 and III. i. 82-83: "ill weeds grow apace" (III. i. 103); the maid's part, "say nay and take it" (III. vii. 51); "so wise, so young, never lives long" (III. i. 79). After his elevation to the throne

he is more dignified. Besides these he is several times credited with proverbs by other speakers in both plays.

Lastly, there is the old *True Tragedie of Richard the Third* (reprinted in Shaks. Library, Hazlitt) which probably preceded *Richard III.*, and is a poor production, but appears to have been remembered by Shakespeare. In it Richard goes at proverbs at once, as "to find a knot in a rush" (67); "a bone to gnaw upon" (67); "ill jesting with edge tools" and "strike while iron is hot" and "if my neighbour's house be on fire let me seek to save my own" (68). And more of them later, pp. 76, 86, 116, etc.

I think the point is interesting. Is there any other chief character in Shakespeare deliberately made a proverb-monger?—one in a dignified position, I mean. Dr. Johnson suggested that Gloucester was called Aesop in the quoted lines "on account of his crookedness," but I think he misinterpreted the passage, and there is a further point in the gibe.

I have just found a character—Nicholas Proverbs in Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (see Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. vii.)—which may have brought the device in question into special favour at the time the character of Richard was in hand. The play can be shown to bear a sufficiently early date by a quotation from R. Harvey's *Plaine Percevall* (1589), a quotation showing its popularity on the stage and therefore the inherent likelihood of its yielding a suggestion. The passage is on p. 16 of the reprint in *The Marprelate Controversy* (J. Petheram, 1847): "yet I will nicke name no bodie: I am none of these traft mockado mak-a-dooes: for 'Qui mochat, moccabitur' quoth the servingman of Abingdon." This tract is of date 1589. On page 301 of the play, Nicholas Proverbs, the servingman, says: "it seems to me that you, Master Philip, mock me: do you not know, qui mocat moccabitur? mock age, and see how it will prosper." This date for this play, full of interesting references and matter, is very useful. No doubt it has been noted but I have not seen it. The earliest reference in Henslowe (to a continuation of the play, "the 2 pte of the 2 angrey wemen of abengton") dates 1598: 1599 is the date of the earliest known edition. Compare a passage in it (p. 275) with 3 *Henry VI.* v. v. 25: "Well, mistress, well; I have read Aesop's fables, And know your moral meaning well enough."

REAPPEARING PASSAGES.

Continuity of authorship evidence: or expressions characteristic of these five plays but not in Shakespeare's later work. Found here in two or more of the plays, two not including a pair of either *First Contention* and *2 Henry VI.*, or *True Tragedy* and *3 Henry VI.*, since in these cases they form a single reference. The references to *The Contention* and *True Tragedy* are to the parts of the final plays where these passages appear in collation. Uncommon, or otherwise unknown, expressions (at this date) alone are selected.

- thread of life.* 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 34; 2 *Henry VI.* iv. ii. 31.
fight it out. 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 99, i. ii. 128, iii. ii. 66; *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* i. i. 117, i. iv. 10 (varied from *True Tragedy*). And in *Titus Andronicus*, v. iii. 102, "fought Rome's quarrel out".
Undaunted spirit. 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 127, iii. ii. 99, v. v. 70.
eyes . . . more dazzled . . . as piercing as . . . the mid-day sun. 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 12-14; 3 *Henry VI.* v. ii. 17.
to buckle with. 1 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 95, iv. iv. 5, v. iii. 28; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 50.
replete with. 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 12, i. vi. 15, v. v. 17; 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 20; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 84; *True Tragedy* (at 3 *Henry VI.* iv. vi. 70). And *Love's Labour's Lost*.
proud insulting. 1 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 138; *True Tragedy* (twice); 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 168, ii. ii. 84.
parching heat. 1 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 77; 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 79.
heart-blood. 1 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 83; *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 66; 3 *Henry VI.* i. i. 223; *True Tragedy* (at 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 79-80). And *Richard II.* (three times).
last gasp, latter gasp, latest gasp. 1 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 126, ii. v. 38; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 108, v. ii. 41. *Last gasp* is in *Cymbeline*, i. v. 53.
gather head. 1 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 100; *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* iv. v. 10. And *Titus Andronicus*.
When I am dead and gone. 1 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 93; *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 37. "Dead and gone," ballad-scrap, *Hamlet*.
hungry-(hunger)-starved. 1 *Henry VI.* i. v. 16; 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 5.
bells . . . and bonfires. 1 *Henry VI.* i. vi. 11-12; *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* v. i. 3.
win the day. 1 *Henry VI.* i. vi. 17; 3 *Henry VI.* iv. iv. 15. And *Richard III.*
in procession sing . . . praise and Solemne processions sung In laud. 1 *Henry VI.* i. vi. 20; *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* iv. ix. 23-24).
for every drop of blood . . . five lives, more lives than drops of blood. 1 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 8; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* i. i. 97. And *Troilus and Cressida*.
troops of armed men. 1 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 24; *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 314).

perceive (my) mind. 1 *Henry VI.* II. ii. 59; 2 *Henry VI.* III. i. 374.

realm of France. 1 *Henry VI.* II. ii. 36, IV. i. 147, IV. vii. 71, 82, V. iv. 112; 2 *Henry VI.* I. iii. 160; *Contention* (at I. iii. 160 and 211). And twice in *Henry V.*

fill the world with. 1 *Henry VI.* II. ii. 43, V. iv. 35; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* V. v. 44.

give censure. 1 *Henry VI.* II. iii. 10; 2 *Henry VI.* I. iii. 120. And *Richard III.*

White rose dyed in bloody red . . . in lukewarm blood. 1 *Henry VI.* II. iv. 61; 3 *Henry VI.* I. ii. 33-34. (Compare 2 *Henry VI.* II. ii. 65-66, and *Contention.*)

Shallow judgment (or spirit of judgment). 1 *Henry VI.* II. iv. 16; 3 *Henry VI.* IV. i. 62.

red rose and the white A thousand souls to death and red rose and the white . . . a thousand lives must wither. 1 *Henry VI.* II. iv. 126-127; 3 *Henry VI.* II. v. 97-102.

book of memory. 1 *Henry VI.* II. iv. 101; 2 *Henry VI.* I. i. 100.

Out of hand. 1 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 102; 3 *Henry VI.* IV. vii. 63. And in 2 *Henry IV.* and *Titus Andronicus.*

blood-drinking (or consuming) sighs, hate. 1 *Henry VI.* II. iv. 108 (b. d. h.); 2 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 61 (b. c. s.), III. ii. 63 (b. d. s.) (In *Titus Andronicus* "blood-drinking pit" occurs, literal meaning); *blood-sucking sighs.* 3 *Henry VI.* IV. iv. 22.

choked with ambition. 1 *Henry VI.* II. iv. 112, II. v. 123; 2 *Henry VI.* III. i. 143.

lavish tongue. 1 *Henry VI.* II. v. 47; *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* IV. i. 64). [*Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* I. i. 24) "lavish of my tongue".]

I girt thee with the sword. 1 *Henry VI.* III. i. 171; *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* I. i. 65.

lordly (to people, contemptuously). 1 *Henry VI.* III. i. 43, III. iii. 62, V. iii. 6; 2 *Henry VI.* I. i. 11; *Contention*; II. i. 30. And *Lucrece* (in good sense).

run a tilt. 1 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 51; *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* I. iii. 54.

twit one with cowardice . . . perjury. 1 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 55; *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* III. i. 178, varied in transition); 3 *Henry VI.* V. v. 40. And (with falsehood) *Two Gentlemen of Verona.*

late-betrayed, late-deceased. 1 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 82, 132; the latter in *Titus Andronicus.* And *late-disturbed, late-embarked* occur 1 *Henry IV.*, *Venus and Adonis.*

care is . . . corrosive, parting be a . . . corrosive. 1 *Henry VI.* III. iii. 3; 2 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 403.

with sugared words. 1 *Henry VI.* III. iii. 16; 2 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 45. And *Richard III.*

with colours spread. 1 *Henry VI.* III. iii. 31; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* I. i. 91.

slaughter-man. 1 *Henry VI.* III. iii. 75; 3 *Henry VI.* I. iv. 169. And *Titus Andronicus*, *Henry V.* and *Cymbeline.*

dearest blood. 1 Henry VI. III. iv. 40; 3 Henry VI. v. i. 69; (*dearest heart-blood*), 3 Henry VI. i. i. 223.

broach blood. 1 Henry VI. III. iv. 40; 2 Henry VI. iv. x. 40; 3 Henry VI. II. iii. 15-16.

take exceptions at, or to. 1 Henry VI. iv. i. 105; 3 Henry VI. III. ii. 46. And *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (twice).

presumptuous (of persons). 1 Henry VI. III. i. 8, iv. i. 125; 2 Henry VI. i. ii. 42; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. i. i. 157.

play the orator. 1 Henry VI. iv. i. 175; 3 Henry VI. i. ii. 2 (and *True Tragedy*), II. ii. 43 (and *True Tragedy*), III. ii. 188. And in *Richard III.*

timeless death. 1 Henry VI. v. iv. 5; 2 Henry VI. III. ii. 187; 3 Henry VI. v. vi. 42. And *Richard III.*

God and Saint George. 1 Henry VI. iv. ii. 55; 3 Henry VI. II. i. 204; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. iv. ii. 29. And *Richard III.*

malignant stars. 1 Henry VI. iv. v. 6; *True Tragedy* (at 3 Henry VI. II. iii. 6).

well I wot. 1 Henry VI. iv. vi. 32; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. II. ii. 134, iv. vii. 83, v. iv. 71 (first reference only, for *True Tragedy*). And *Titus Andronicus*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

effusion of blood . . . effuse of blood. 1 Henry VI. v. i. 9; *True Tragedy* (effuse); 3 Henry VI. II. vi. 28.

mickle age. 1 Henry VI. iv. vi. 35; 2 Henry VI. v. i. 174.

Marry, and shall. 2 Henry VI. i. ii. 88; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. v. v. 42. And in 1 Henry IV. and *Richard III.*

Thou Icarus . . . my Icarus . . . my poor boy Icarus. 1 Henry VI. iv. vi. 55, iv. vii. 16; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. v. vi. 21.

the woman wears the breeches (varied). 2 Henry VI. i. iii. 145; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. v. v. 23.

from ashes . . . rear'd a phoenix . . . ashes . . . bring forth . . . phoenix. 1 Henry VI. iv. vii. 93; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. i. iv. 35. And *Henry VIII.*

stand on a . . . point. 2 Henry VI. i. i. 216; *True Tragedy* (at 3 Henry VI. iv. viii. 27, "upon"); 3 Henry VI. iv. vii. 58. And *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

sumptuous. 1 Henry VI. v. i. 20; 2 Henry VI. i. iii. 133, iv. vii. 100. And 1 Henry IV. "Sumptuously" is in *Titus Andronicus*. And *Henry VIII.*

at my depart. *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. i. i. 2; 3 Henry VI. iv. i. 92. And *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

installed in or into (a state), or shortly *installed.* 1 Henry VI. II. v. 89, iv. i. 17, v. i. 28; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. III. i. 46. And *Henry VIII.*

dims mine eyes . . . dimmed eyes (with tears) . . . *eyes dimmed.* 2 Henry VI. i. i. 54; *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. III. i. 218; 3 Henry VI. v. ii. 16 ("and eyes wax dim," 1 Henry VI.).

force perforce. *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. i. i. 256; *True Tragedy* (at 3 Henry VI. II. iii. 5). And *King John*.

knit one's brows. 1 Henry VI. i. ii. 3; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. II. ii. 20. And in *Lucrece*.

fallen at jars, live at jar, at a jar. *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 251; 2 *Henry VI.* iv. viii. 41; *True Tragedy* (at 3 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 4).

come let's go. *Contention* (end of ii. ii., 2 *Henry VI.*); (end of ii. iv.); (iii. i. 330); (end of iv. i.); *True Tragedy*, at end of i. ii. 3 *Henry VI.*, and at v. iii. 20.

number Ave Maries . . . his beads. 2 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 55; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 162.

base-born . . . callat. 2 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 82; 3 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 143, 145; *base-born* (again) 2 *Henry VI.* iv. viii. 47. Not in Q.

sorrows tears . . . griped . . . heart, sorrow gripes . . . soul. *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 15); 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 171 ("anger" in *True Tragedy*).

coal-black. *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* v. i. 68-71); 2 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 112; 3 *Henry VI.* v. i. 54. And in *Richard II.* and in *Titus Andronicus* (3 times).

thrust from the crown . . . thrust from his home. 2 *Henry VI.* iv. i. 94; *True Tragedy* (at iii. iii. 190).

big-swoln venom . . . of heart, execution of big-swoln heart. *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 135); 3 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 111. Used in *Titus Andronicus* of a swollen sea, literally.

take my death. 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 88; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 35.

downright blow. *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 90; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* i. i. 12.

Now or never. 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 331; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* iv. iii. 24.

hand to hand. *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* iv. x. 50); 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 73, ii. v. 56; *True Tragedy* (at v. iv. 46). And in 1 *Henry IV.*

pangs of death (actual death). *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* iii. iii. 24; 3 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 17; *True Tragedy* (at v. ii. 41). And *King John* and *Twelfth Night*.

steel thy thoughts. 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 331; *True Tragedy* (at 3 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 41) ("steel the heart" occurs often and later).

you that love me . . . are the friends of . . . follow me. 2 *Henry VI.* iv. ii. 180; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* iv. i. 123, iv. vii. 39. And *Richard III.*

shook hands with death. *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 252); *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 102.

bloody-minded. *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* iv. i. 36; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* ii. vi. 33.

curs . . . grin. 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 18; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 56.

golden circuit . . . crown within whose circuit. 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 352; 3 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 30.

Done to death. 2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 244; *Contention*; 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 103; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* iii. iii. 103. And in *Much Ado About Nothing*.

Kent . . . civile place; Kent . . . civillest place . . . people valiant, liberal, active, wealthy; Kentishmen . . . witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit. *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* iv. vii. 60-63; 3 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 41-43.

Oft have I heard that. . . . 2 Henry VI. iv. iv. 1; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. ii. i. 149. And *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Richard III.*, *Titus Andronicus* (*Oft have you heard*).

charm your tongue. 2 Henry VI. iv. i. 64; 3 Henry VI. v. v. 31. And *Taming of the Shrew* and *Othello*.

lizards' stings. *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 325; 3 Henry VI. ii. ii. 138.

deathsmen. *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 217; 3 Henry VI. v. v. 67. And *King Lear* and *Lucrece*.

Off with his head. *Contention* (at 2 Henry VI. iv. i. 139); *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. i. iv. 179; *True Tragedy*, i. iv. 107, ii. vi. 85, and several times in *Richard III.*

the lyingest knave . . . the bluntest wooer in Christendom. *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. ii. i. 124, 125; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. iii. ii. 83. And in *Taming of the Shrew* (twice).

foul stigmatic, foul misshapen stigmatic. *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. i. 215; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. ii. ii. 136.

seek out . . . single out . . . Some other chase, For I myself will hunt this deer . . . wolf . . . to death. *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. v. ii. 14, 15; 3 Henry VI. ii. iv. 11, 12.

sound drums and trumpets. *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. v. iii. 32; 3 Henry VI. i. i. 118; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. v. vii. 45. And in *Richard III.*

stand . . . stay . . . not to expostulate . . . let's go . . . make speed. *Contention* (at 2 Henry VI. v. ii. 72); *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. ii. v. 135. And in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

thickest throng. *Contention* (at 2 Henry VI. v. iii. 11); *True Tragedy* (at ii. iii. 16); at v. iv. 49 in plural in *True Tragedy*. Always of fighters.

slaughter-house. 2 Henry VI. iii. i. 212; *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. iv. iii. 5; 3 Henry VI. v. iv. 78. And in *Lucrece*, *King John*, and *Richard III.*

THE THIRD PART OF
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

KING HENRY THE SIXTH.

EDWARD, *Prince of Wales, his Son.*

LEWIS THE ELEVENTH, *King of France.*

DUKE OF SOMERSET,

DUKE OF EXETER,

EARL OF OXFORD,

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

EARL OF WESTMORELAND,

LORD CLIFFORD,

} *on King Henry's side.*

RICHARD PLANTAGENET, *Duke of York.*

EDWARD, *Earl of March, afterwards*

King Edward the Fourth,

EDMUND, *Earl of Rutland,*

GEORGE, *afterwards Duke of Clarence,*

RICHARD, *afterwards Duke of Gloucester,*

} *his Sons.*

DUKE OF NORFOLK,

MARQUESS OF MONTAGUE,

EARL OF WARWICK,

EARL OF PEMBROKE,

LORD HASTINGS,

LORD STAFFORD,

} *of the Duke of York's Party.*

SIR JOHN MORTIMER,

SIR HUGH MORTIMER,

} *uncles to the Duke of York.*

HENRY, *Earl of Richmond, a Youth.*

LORD RIVERS, *brother to Lady Grey.*

SIR WILLIAM STANLEY.

SIR JOHN MONTGOMERY.

SIR JOHN SOMERVILLE.

Tutor to Rutland.

Mayor of York.

Lieutenant of the Tower.

A Nobleman.

Two Keepers.

A Huntsman.

A Son that has killed his father.

A Father that has killed his son.

QUEEN MARGARET.

LADY GREY, *afterwards Queen to Edward the Fourth.*

BONA, *Sister to the French Queen.*

Soldiers, Attendants, Messengers, Watchmen, etc.

SCENE: *During part of the Third Act, in France; during the rest of the Play, in England.*

THE THIRD PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH

ACT I

SCENE I.—*London. The Parliament House.*

Alarum. Enter the DUKE OF YORK, EDWARD, RICHARD, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Soldiers.

War. I wonder how the king escaped our hands.

York. While we pursued the horsemen of the north,

He slyly stole away and left his men :

Whereat the great Lord of Northumberland,

Whose war-like ears could never brook retreat,

5

Cheer'd up the drooping army ; and himself,

Lord Clifford, and Lord Stafford, all abreast,

Charged our main battle's front, and breaking in

Alarum. Enter the Duke of York . . .] Alarum. Enter Plantagenet . . . Fl. and Soldiers] and Souldiers, with white Roses in their hats Q. [Other differences occur in Folio and Quarto stage-direction.] 1-5. War. I wonder . . . retreat] 1-5. War. I wonder . . . retreat Q. 6. Cheer'd . . . himself] omitted Q. 7. Lord Clifford . . . Stafford . . . abreast] 6. Lord Stafford . . . Clifford . . . abreast Q. 8. Charged . . . in] 7. Charge . . . front, and therewith him Q.

1. *I wonder . . .]* See first line of Act ii.

5. *brook*] put up with. Characteristic of these three plays, where it occurs about a dozen times; elsewhere almost confined to Shakespeare's early work. Frequent in Greene's plays.

5. *retreat*] Used here with reference to the bugle call or sounding of retreat. See note at "sound retreat" (2 *Henry VI.* iv. viii. 4), which expression occurs again in *1 Henry IV.* and in *Henry V.* Hence the appropriate use of "warlike ears," "retreat" signifying the sound-

ing. Peele gives us the old spelling (as in Q) in *The Honour of the Garter* (589, b, Dyce, 1874):—

"And by and by a loud *retraite* he rung.

The train retired."

See Grafton, i. 518, quoted at "Ascribes the glory to God" (*Henry VI.* iii. iv. 10-12).

8. *main battle*] Again in *Richard III.* v. iii. 299. This is the earliest example in *New Eng. Dict.* It is earlier in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, iv. i. :—

Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.

Edw. Lord Stafford's father, Duke of Buckingham, 10
Is either slain or wounded dangerous ;
I cleft his beaver with a downright blow :
That this is true, father, behold his blood.

Mont. And, brother, here's the Earl of Wiltshire's blood,
Whom I encounter'd as the battles join'd. 15

Rich. Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.
[*Throwing down the Duke of Somerset's head.*]

York. Richard hath best deserved of all my sons.
But is your grace dead, my Lord of Somerset ?

Norw. Such hope have all the line of John of Gaunt !

Rich. Thus do I hope to shake King Henry's head. 20

War. And so do I. Victorious Prince of York,
Before I see thee seated in that throne
Which now the house of Lancaster usurps,
I vow by heaven these eyes shall never close.
This is the palace of the fearful king, 25

9. *Were . . . slain*] 8. *Brake in and were by the hands of common souldiers slain Q.* 10-13. *Lord Stafford's . . . downright blow : That this is true, father . . . blood*] 9-12. *Lord Staffords . . . downe right blow : Father that this is . . . bloud Q.* 15. *battles*] 14. *battailes Q.* 16. [*Throwing down . . . head.*] *Theobald.* 17. *Richard . . . sons*] omitted *Q.* 18. *But is*] 16. *York. What is Q.* 19-26. *Such hope . . . the fearful king, And this . . . York*] 17-24. *Such hope . . . that fearefull King, And that . . . Yorke Q.*

"ten thousand horse :

The main battle of harquebuze on foot,

And twenty thousand horsemen in their troops."

The main body of the army. "Main battle" had an earlier sense of important or great fight as compared with skirmishing. So in Greene's *Penelope's Web* (Grosart, v. 165) : "invasion either by skirmish, Camizado, or maine battell." It is in Grafton's Chronicle.

9. *swords of common soldiers*] See note at 2 *Henry VI.* v. ii. 58. The statement here is an inadvertency (Malone). See below, line 55 and i. iii. 5.

11. *dangerous*] So Folio. The *Q* gives *dangerouslie*, adopted by Theobald, unnecessarily. Shakespeare uses adjectives adverbially very often.

12. *beaver*] helmet, as in 1 *Henry IV.* iv. i. 104, and *Richard III.* v. iii. 50. Elsewhere in Shakespeare it is the visor of the helmet, as in *Faerie Queene*, ii. v. 6, etc. Fr. *bavière*.

12. *downright blow*] Only again in 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 92, where see note. The expression is in Holland's *Plinie* (1601) : "let drive and lay at them either with full down-right or cross-blows" (bk. xv. ch. iii. p. 431, c).

15. *as the battles join'd*] See below, ii. i. 121, the only other example in Shakespeare of this old expression for beginning the fight. "To join," in the sense of entering on any serious business, is a common northern provincialism. Joined ploughing or reaping, joined at the turf, joined to fight, joined to rain, are usual. Compare Grafton, i. 30 : "At the length they ioyned battaile and met together nere a Ryuer called Stoorre" ; and again p. 238. See Genesis xiv. 8. And see Grosart's Greene, xiii. 318, *James the Fourth* ("as the Kings are joyning battaile," stage-direction). But taking "battles" to mean troops simplifies the expression. See Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, i. iii. 60 :—

"When both the armies were in battell ioynd."

And this the regal seat : possess it, York ;
For this is thine and not King Henry's heirs'.

York. Assist me then, sweet Warwick, and I will ;

For hither we have broken in by force.

Norfolk. We'll all assist you ; he that flies shall die. 30

York. Thanks, gentle Norfolk. Stay by me, my lords ;

And, soldiers, stay and lodge by me this night.

[*They go up.*]

War. And when the King comes, offer him no violence,

Unless he seek to thrust you out perforce.

York. The queen this day here holds her parliament, 35

But little thinks we shall be of her council :

By words or blows here let us win our right.

Rich. Arm'd as we are, let's stay within this house.

War. The bloody parliament shall this be call'd,

Unless Plantagenet, Duke of York, be king, 40

And bashful Henry deposed, whose cowardice

Hath made us by-words to our enemies.

York. Then leave me not, my lords ; be resolute ;

I mean to take possession of my right.

War. Neither the king, nor he that loves him best, 45

The proudest he that holds up Lancaster,

Dares stir a wing if Warwick shake his bells.

27-29. *For this . . . hither we have . . . force*] 25-27. *For this . . . hither are we . . . force* Q. 30. *you ; he*] 28. *thee, and he* Q. 31, 32. *Thanks . . . stay*] 29, 30. *Thanks . . . staie you here and lodge this night* Q. 33, 34. *And when . . . thrust you . . . perforce*] 31, 32. *And when . . . put us out by force* Q. 35-37. *York. The queen . . . right*] omitted Q. 38. *as we are*] 33. *as we be* Q. 39-42. *The bloody . . . Henry deposed . . . enemies*] 34-37. *The bloudie . . . Henrie be deposde . . . enemies* Q. 43-49. *Then leave . . . be resolute ; I mean . . . nor he that . . . proudest he . . .*

26. *regal seat*] This is the expression of Holinshed, not of Hall or Grafton. The latter uses "throne roiale," or "siege royal." It is in *Loocrine*, "True Honour in her *regale seat*" (495, b, ed. Tyrrell).

32. *lodge*] lie, sleep. See 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 80; and below, iv. iii. 13.

41. *And . . . cowardice*] "Henry" must be allowed three syllables here with the accent on the last, and "cowardice" with two final unaccented syllables—for scansion.

42. *by-words*] objects of reproach and derision, as in Deuteronomy xxviii. 37, and Psalms xliv. 14.

46. *The proudest he*] Occurs again in *Taming of Shrew*, iii. ii. 236, and

Henry VIII. v. iii. 130. See note at "the proudest of you all" (1 *Henry VI.* iv. vii. 84). Peele used it earlier in *Edward I.* :—

"Follow pursue! spare not the proudest he

That havocks England's sacred royalty"

(Dyce, 406, a, 1874). And Greene, *James the Fourth* (Grosart, xiii. 233):—

"her virtues may compare

With the proudest she that waits upon your Queen."

Halliwell thinks "bird" of the Quarto carries out the metaphor better. So it does, but it is far tamer.

47. *if Warwick shake his bells*] A metaphor from falconry; a favourite

I'll plant Plantagenet, root him up who dares.
Resolve thee, Richard: claim the English crown.

Flourish. Enter King HENRY, CLIFFORD, NORTHUMBER-
LAND, WESTMORELAND, EXETER, and the rest.

K. Hen. My lords, look where the sturdy rebel sits, 50
Even in the chair of state! belike he means,
Back'd by the power of Warwick, that false peer,
To aspire unto the crown and reign as king.
Earl of Northumberland, he slew thy father,
And thine, Lord Clifford; and you both have vow'd 55
revenge

On him, his sons, his favourites, and his friends.

North. If I be not, heavens be revenged on me!

Clif. The hope thereof makes Clifford mourn in steel.

West. What! shall we suffer this? let's pluck him down:

My heart for anger burns: I cannot brook it. 60

K. Hen. Be patient, gentle Earl of Westmoreland.

Clif. Patience is for poltroons, such as he:

He durst not sit there had your father liv'd.

My gracious lord, here in the parliament

Let us assail the family of York. 65

root him up . . . crown] 38-44. Then leave . . . for now I meane . . . nor him
that . . . proudest burd . . . root him out . . . crowne Q. 49. *Flourish.*
F 1; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4; Q. Enter . . . and the rest.] Ff; Enter [some-
what varied] . . . with red Roses in their hats Q. 50. My lords, look] 45.
Looke Lordings Q. 50-56. where the sturdy . . . thine, Lord Clifford . . .
friends] 45-51. where the sturdy . . . thine Clifford . . . friends Q. 57. If
I be] 52. And if I be Q. 57-60. heavens be . . . pluck him . . . burns: I
cannot brook it] 52-55. heavens be . . . Pull him . . . breakes, I cannot speake Q.
61-66. *K. Hen. Be patient . . . be it so*] 56-61. *King. Be patient . . . be it so* Q.

source with Shakespeare. See *Othello*,
III. iii. 261-3 (in this edition, notes);
and *As You Like It*, III. iii. 89. Com-
pare *Lucrece*, 510, 511:—

"Harmless Lucretia, marking what
he tells

With trembling fear, as fowl hear
falcon's bells."

The bell was attached above the foot.
So in Greene's *Tullies Love* (Grosart,
vii. 116): "Lentulus, willing to make
flight at the foule, and yet not to have
a bel at his heele, answered thus."

50. *lords*] *lordings* in Q; see note at
Part II. i. i. 143. Shakespeare dis-
cards this word, later, entirely.

50. *sturdy*] Only again in *Venus*
and *Adonis*, 152, of trees; strong, stout.
Here it has the bad sense of Spenser's
Faerie Queene, II. vii. 40:—

"therein did wayt

A sturdie villain, stryding stiffe
and bold."

Greene was fond of the word. Com-
pare this speech with the King's in
2 Henry VI. v. i. 161-174. Backbone
is being put into his construction; but
uselessly, line 72.

51. *belike*] as it seems, probably.
No one so fond of this word as Shake-
speare; it occurs half-a-dozen times
in this play. For the original form,
"by like," see note at "safeguard,"
below, II. ii. 18.

58. *mourn in steel*] Compare "why
mourn we not in blood" (*1 Henry VI.*
I. i. 17).

62. *poltroon*] lazy coward. Only
here in Shakespeare. Capell inserts
"and" (F 2) before "such."

North. Well hast thou spoken, cousin : be it so.

K. Hen. Ah, know you not the city favours them,
And they have troops of soldiers at their beck ?

Exe. But when the duke is slain they'll quickly fly.

K. Hen. Far be the thought of this from Henry's heart, 70
To make a shambles of the parliament-house !

Cousin of Exeter, frowns, words and threats,

Shall be the war that Henry means to use.

Thou factious Duke of York, descend my throne,

And kneel for grace and mercy at my feet ; 75

I am thy sovereign.

York. I am thine.

Exe. For shame, come down : he made thee Duke of York.

York. It was my inheritance, as the earldom was.

Exe. Thy father was a traitor to the crown.

War. Exeter, thou art a traitor to the crown 80

In following this usurping Henry.

Clif. Whom should he follow but his natural king ?

War. True, Clifford : and that's Richard, Duke of York.

K. Hen. And shall I stand, and thou sit in my throne ?

York. It must and shall be so : content thyself. 85

War. Be Duke of Lancaster : let him be king.

67-69. *K. Hen.* Ah, know you . . . quickly fly] 62-64. *King.* O know you . . . quicklie flie Q. 70-74. Far be . . . from Henry's heart . . . frowns, words . . . the war . . . my throne] 65-69. Far be it from the thoughtes of Henries heart . . . words, frowns, . . . the warres . . . my throne Q. 75. And . . . feet] omitted Q. 76. I am . . . thine] 70, 71. I am thy soueraigne. *York.* Thou art deceiv'd : I am thine Q. 77, 78. For shame . . . earldom was] 72, 73. For shame . . . 'Twas mine inheritance as the kingdome is Q. 79-83. Thy father . . . that's Richard, Duke of York] 74-78. Thy father . . . that is Richard Duke of Yorke [F 1 reads that's (omitting and)] Q. 84, 85. And . . . and thou sit . . . It must . . . content thyself] 80, 81. And . . . while thou sittest . . . Content thyselfe it must . . . so Q. 86-88. Be . . .

68. at their beck] Again in Sonnet 58; *Taming of Shrew*, Ind. ii. 36; and *Hamlet*, III. i. 127.

69. *Exeter*] Folios give this speech erroneously to Westmoreland. Corrected by Theobald.

71. *shambles*] Again in *Othello*, IV. ii. 66. The number of butcher metaphors in these plays has been noted in Part II., at "slaughter-house" (III. i. 212).

74. *factious*] rebellious. Often in these plays; see Part I. IV. i. 113, 190; and Part II. II. i. 39 (note).

74. *descend*] climb down, as of a hill, or a flight of steps; the throne includes the steps to the dais.

76. *sovereign.* I am thine] Theobald, followed by Malone and Steevens, inserted "Thou'rt deceived," from Q.

78. *It was my inheritance*] If the reading of the Folio is to be altered to that of the Quarto, harmony would demand the whole "'Twas mine inheritance." The alteration of "kingdom" to "earldom" here "only exhibits the same meaning more obscurely" (Malone).

78. *earldom*] the earldom of March, by which, through his mother, he claimed the throne.

82. *natural*] rightful.

- West.* He is both king and Duke of Lancaster;
And that the Lord of Westmoreland shall maintain.
- War.* And Warwick shall disprove it. You forget
That we are those which chased you from the field 90
And slew your fathers, and with colours spread
March'd through the city to the palace gates.
- North.* Yes, Warwick, I remember it to my grief;
And, by his soul, thou and thy house shall rue it.
- West.* Plantagenet, of thee and these thy sons, 95
Thy kinsmen and thy friends, I'll have more lives
Than drops of blood were in my father's veins.
- Clif.* Urge it no more; lest that, instead of words,
I send thee, Warwick, such a messenger
As shall revenge his death before I stir. 100
- War.* Poor Clifford! how I scorn his worthless threats.
- York.* Will you we show our title to the crown?
If not, our swords shall plead it in the field.
- K. Hen.* What title hast thou, traitor, to the crown?
Thy father was, as thou art, Duke of York. 105
Thy grandfather, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March.
I am the son of Henry the Fifth,
Who made the Dauphin and the French to stoop,
And seized upon their towns and provinces.
- War.* Talk not of France, sith thou hast lost it all. 110
- K. Hen.* The lord protector lost it, and not I:
When I was crown'd I was but nine months old.

He is . . . the Lord . . . maintain] 82-84. *Be . . . Why? he is . . . the Earle . . . mainetaine* Q. 89-92. *And Warwick . . . those which chased . . . fathers . . . palace gates*] 85-88. *And Warwike . . . those that chaste . . . father . . . pallas gates* Q. 93, 94. *Yes . . . rue it*] 89, 90. *No . . . rew it* Q. 95-97. *Plantagenet . . . these thy . . . Than . . . veins*] 91-93. *Plantagenet . . . of thy . . . Then . . . vaines* Q. 98-100. *Urge it . . . that, instead of words . . . stir*] 93-95. *Urge it . . . in revenge thereof . . . stirre* Q. 101-106. *Poor Clifford . . . his worthless . . . Will you . . . If not . . . Earl of March*] 96-101. *Poore Clifford . . . thy worthles . . . Wil ye . . . or else . . . earle of March* Q. 107-109. *I am . . . Who made . . . stoop . . . provinces*] 102-104. *I am . . . who tamde the French, And made the Dolphin stoope . . . prouinces* Q. 110-114. *Talk . . . sith . . . usurper's head*] 105-109. *Talk . . . since . . . Vsurper's head* Q.

91. *colours spread*] So in 1 Henry VI. iii. 31: "There goes the Talbot with his colours spread." And below, ll. 251, 252. And *Tamburlaine*, Part I. iv. i. (Dyce, 25, a):—

"The rogue of Volga . . .

Hath spread his colours to our high disgrace. . . ."

96, 97. *more lives Than drops of blood . . . veins*] Compare 1 Henry

VI. ii. ii. 8; and *Troilus and Cressida*, iv. i. 69:—

"For every false drop in her bawdy veins

A Grecian's life hath sunk."

107. *I am the son*] Johnson says Henry the Fifth's military reputation was the sole support of his son. The name dispersed the followers of Cade.

112. *When I was crown'd*] Henry

Rich. You are old enough now, and yet, methinks, you lose.

Father, tear the crown from the usurper's head.

Edw. Sweet father, do so; set it on your head. 115

Mont. Good brother, as thou lovest and honourest arms,

Let's fight it out and not stand cavilling thus.

Rich. Sound drums and trumpets, and the king will fly.

York. Sons, peace!

K. Hen. Peace thou! and give King Henry leave to speak. 120

War. Plantagenet shall speak first: hear him, lords;

And be you silent and attentive too,

For he that interrupts him shall not live.

K. Hen. Think'st thou that I will leave my kingly throne,
Wherein my grandsire and my father sat? 125

No: first shall war unpeople this my realm;

Ay, and their colours, often borne in France,

And now in England to our heart's great sorrow,

Shall be my winding-sheet. Why faint you, lords?

115. *Sweet . . . head*] 110. *Do so sweet father, set . . . head Q.* 116-119. *Good brother . . . Sons, peace*] 111-114. *Good brother . . . Peace sonnes Q.* 120. *K. Hen. Peace thou! . . . speak*] 115. *Northum. Peace thou . . . speake Q.* 121-123. *War. Plantagenet shall . . . not live*] omitted Q. 124. *Think'st thou . . . throne*] 116-120. *King. Ah Plantagenet, why seekest thou to depose me? Are we not both Plantagenets by birth, And from two brothers lineallie discent? Suppose by right and equitie thou be king, Thinkst thou . . . seate Q.* 125-130. *Wherein my grandsire . . . father . . . their colours . . . title's good . . . his*] 121-126. *Wherein my father . . . grandsire . . . our colours . . . titles better far than his Q.*

was crowned at Westminster, November 6, 1429. See 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 22-24 for the period (1437) when he assumed the responsibility of government. The reference here is to the proclamation of "Prince Henry beyng then about the age of ix Moneths with sounde of Trumpets openly . . . King of England & of Fraunce, the last daye of August, 1422," by his uncles and "the other Lordes of the counsaile" (Grafton, i. 549). For his coronation at Paris (at nine months old), see *Richard III.* ii. iii. 16, 17.

118. *lineallie discent*] in Q. See note below at iii. iii. 87.

118. *Sound drums and trumpets*] See again Part II. v. iii. 32, and note. And below, v. vii. 45; and in *Richard III.* Several times in *Lochrine*.

120. *give . . . leave to speak*] See *Henry VIII.* iv. ii. 32. And below, i. ii. 1 (Quarto). This speech is given to Northumberland in Q. But it may properly belong to Henry. Like

all weak characters, he is petulantly authoritative at times.

126. *unpeople this my realm*] So Peele in *David and Bethsabe* (472, b, Dyce, 1874): "Unpeople Rabbah and the streets thereof." See *Antony and Cleopatra*, i. v. 78. The King, in this whole scene, shows how his vacillations have been carefully attended to. And Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part I. iii. (Dyce, 22, a):—

"Let him bring millions infinite of men,
Unpeopling Western Africa and Greece."

129. *winding-sheet*] grave-clothes. Not again in Shakespeare, except below, ii. v. 114. Nashe (?) uses it in *An Almond for a Parrot* (ed. M'Kerrow, iii. 362), 1590: "hee will wrappe all your cleargie once agayne in Lazarus winding sheete."

129. *Why faint you*] "why funk you" would be the synonym. Shakespeare dropped this use later. He has

- My title's good, and better far than his. 130
War. Prove it, Henry, and thou shalt be king.
K. Hen. Henry the Fourth by conquest got the crown.
York. 'Twas by rebellion against his king.
K. Hen. [*Aside.*] I know not what to say: my title's weak.
 Tell me, may not a king adopt an heir? 135
York. What then?
K. Hen. An if he may, then am I lawful king;
 For Richard, in the view of many lords,
 Resign'd the crown to Henry the Fourth,
 Whose heir my father was, and I am his. 140
York. He rose against him, being his sovereign,
 And made him to resign his crown perforce.
War. Suppose, my lords, he did it unconstrain'd,
 Think you 'twere prejudicial to his crown?
Exe. No; for he could not so resign his crown 145
 But that the next heir should succeed and reign.
K. Hen. Art thou against us, Duke of Exeter?
Exe. His is the right, and therefore pardon me.
York. Why whisper you, my lords, and answer not?
Exe. My conscience tells me he is lawful king. 150
K. Hen. [*Aside.*] All will revolt from me, and turn to him.
North. Plantagenet, for all the claim thou lay'st,
 Think not that Henry shall be so deposed.
War. Deposed he shall be in despite of all.
North. Thou are deceived: 'tis not thy southern power, 155

131-135. Prove it . . . Henry the Fourth . . . against his king . . . an heir? 127-131. Proue it . . . Why Henrie the fourth . . . gainst his soueraigne . . . an heire? Q. 136. York. What then? 132. War. What then? Q. 137. An if he may] omitted Q. 137-140. then am I . . . For Richard . . . am his] 133-136. Then am I . . . For Richard The second . . . am his Q. 141, 142. He rose . . . his crown perforce] 137, 138. I tell thee he rose . . . the crown perforce Q. 143, 144. Suppose, my lords . . . 'twere . . . his crown? 139, 140. Suppose my Lord . . . that were . . . the Crowne? Q. 145, 146. No . . . his crown . . . should . . . reign] 141, 142. No . . . the Crowne . . . must . . . raigne Q. 147, 148. Art thou . . . me] 143, 144. Art thou . . . Q. 149, 150. York. Why whisper . . . Exe. My conscience . . .] omitted Q. 151-154. All will . . . that Henry . . . so deposed . . . of all] 145-148. All will . . . King Henry . . . thus depose? . . . of thee Q. 155-158. Thou art . . . power . . . Kent, Which . . . of me] 149-152. Tush Warwike, Thou art . . . powers of Essex, Suffolke, Norffolke, and of Kent that . . . of me Q.

it in his poems, in *Richard II.*, *Richard III.*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *King John*. This sense is noted on in Part III. (*True Tragedy*) at "fainting troops" (last scene); an expression of Marlowe's also. Compare Grafton's

Continuation of Hardyng, i. 543 (p. 576): "many of Cornyshe men faynted . . . and for feare fled. . . . But this Michael Joseph was a man of suche stoute courage & valiauntness that he never fainted or once gave back."

Of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, nor of Kent,
Which makes thee thus presumptuous and proud,
Can set the duke up in despite of me.

Clif. King Henry, be thy title right or wrong,
Lord Clifford vows to fight in thy defence : 160
May that ground gape and swallow me alive,
Where I shall kneel to him that slew my father!

K. Hen. O Clifford! how thy words revive my heart.

York. Henry of Lancaster, resign thy crown.
What mutter you, or what conspire you, lords? 165

War. Do right unto this princely Duke of York,
Or I will fill the house with armed men,
And o'er the chair of state, where now he sits,
Write up his title with usurping blood.

*[He stamps with his foot, and the Soldiers
show themselves.]*

K. Hen. My Lord of Warwick, hear me but one word : 170
Let me for this my life-time reign as king.

York. Confirm the crown to me and to mine heirs,
And thou shalt reign in quiet while thou liv'st.

K. Hen. I am content : Richard Plantagenet,
Enjoy the kingdom after my decease. 175

159-162. *Clif. King Henry . . . shall kneel . . . father*] 153-156. *Cliff. King Henrie . . . do kneale . . . father Q.* 163-169. *O Clifford . . . my heart . . . And o'er the chair . . . usurping blood*] 157-163. *O Clifford . . . my soule . . . [Enter souldiers] And over the chaire . . . thy usurping bloud Q.* 170, 171. *K. Hen. My Lord . . . king*] 164, 165. *King. O Warwike, heare me speake. Let me but raigne in quiet whilst I live Q.* 172-175. *Confirm . . . thou liv'st. K. Hen. I am content . . . decease*] 166-169. *Confirme . . . thou livest. King. Conuey the souldiers hence, and then I will. War. Captaine conduct them into Tuthill fieldes Q.*

161. *ground gape and swallow me*] Compare *Richard III.* i. ii. 65: "earth, gape open wide and eat him quick."

Both from Peele perhaps:—

"Gape earth and swallow me, and
let my soul

Sink down to hell."

(*Edward I.* 408, a.) As it comes off in *Edward I.*, it would be impressive. Steevens quotes from Phaer's translation of the fourth Æneid: "But rather would I wish the ground to gape for me below." I have not verified it. See in Kyd, *Cornelia*: "O earth, why op'st thou not?" (bad news) (v. 39).

162. *slew my father*] See above, line 9, and line 55.

166. *Do right*] give justice, a very frequent phrase of Shakespeare's.

166. *princely Duke of York*] the title King Henry gives him in Part I. iii. i. 173: "And rise created *princely Duke of York*." For the repetition of "princely" in these plays, see note at Part I. v. iii. 176.

167. *armed men*] See again *I Henry VI.* ii. ii. 24.

168. *chair of state*] See above, i. i. 51.

169. *Tuthill fieldes*] See note at "Saint George's field," Part II. v. i. 46.

172, 173. *Confirm the crown . . . thou liv'st*] See extract at iv. ix. 28-30 (Part II.) for the opening of York's claim, and his support by Warwick.

Clif. What wrong is this unto the prince your son!

War. What good is this to England and himself!

West. Base, fearful, and despairing Henry!

Clif. How hast thou injured both thyself and us!

West. I cannot stay to hear these articles.

180

North. Nor I.

Clif. Come, cousin, let us tell the queen these news.

West. Farewell, faint-hearted and degenerate king,

In whose cold blood no spark of honour bides.

North. Be thou a prey unto the house of York,

185

And die in bands for this unmanly deed!

Clif. In dreadful war may'st thou be overcome,

Or live in peace abandon'd and despised!

[*Exeunt North., Clif., and West.*]

War. Turn this way, Henry, and regard them not.

Exc. They seek revenge and therefore will not yield.

190

K. Hen. Ah! Exeter.

War.

Why should you sigh, my lord?

K. Hen. Not for myself, Lord Warwick, but my son,

Whom I unnaturally shall disinherit.

But be it as it may; I here entail

The crown to thee and to thine heirs for ever;

195

176, 177. *What wrong . . . to England . . . himself!* 170, 171. *What wrong . . . for England and himselfe?* Q. 178-182. *West. Base . . . Henry!* *Clif. How . . . injured . . . us! . . . articles. North. Nor I. Clif. Come . . . news* 172-175. *Northum. Base . . . Henry. Clif. How . . . wronged . . . vs?* . . . *Articles. [Exit.] Clif. Nor I. Come cosen lets go tell the Queene* Q. 183, 184. *West. Farewell . . . bides*] omitted Q. 185-188. *Be thou . . . unmanly deed . . . despised*] 176-179. *Be thou . . . unkingly deede. Exit. . . despise. Exit. Q.* 189. *Turn . . . not!* omitted Q. 190-195. *They seek . . . yield . . . thine heirs for ever*] 180-186. *They seeke . . . yield my lord . . . thine heires, conditionallie* Q.

186. *die in bands*] in confinement. Marlowe has it in *Edward II.*: "Weaponless must I fall, and *die in bands?*" (beginning of Act iii.) (Dyce, 202, a). A later play than *The True Tragedie*.

192-201. *Not for myself . . . This oath . . .*] Grafton says: "After long arguments made . . . among the Peeres, Prelates, and commons of the realme; upon the vigile of all Saintes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so much as King Henry had beene taken as King, by the space of xxxviij. yeres and more that he should enjoy the name and tytle of king and haue possession of the realme, during his life naturall; And if he eyther died or resigned, or forfeited the same, for

infringing any point of this concorde, then the sayde Crowne and auctoritie royall should immediately dissende to the Duke of Yorke, if he then lyued, or else to the next heyre of his line or linage, and that the Duke from thenceforth should be Protector and Regent of the land. Provided alway, that if the King did closely or apertly studie or go about to breake or alter this agreement, or to compass or imagine the death or destruction of the sayde Duke or hys bloud, then he to forfeit the crowne, and the Duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not only written, sealed and sworne by the two parties; but also were enacted in the high court of Parliament

Conditionally that here thou take an oath
To cease this civil war, and, whilst I live,
To honour me as thy king and sovereign;
And neither by treason nor hostility

To seek to put me down and reign thyself. 200

York. This oath I willingly take and will perform.

War. Long live King Henry! Plantagenet, embrace him.

K. Hen. And long live thou and these thy forward sons!

York. Now York and Lancaster are reconciled.

Exe. Accursed be he that seeks to make them foes! 205

[*Sennet. Here they come down.*]

York. Farewell, my gracious lord: I'll to my castle.

War. And I'll keep London with my soldiers.

Norf. And I to Norfolk with my followers.

Mont. And I unto the sea from whence I came.

[*Exeunt York and his Sons, Warwick, Norfolk, Montague, Soldiers and Attendants.*]

K. Hen. And I with grief and sorrow, to the court. 210

Enter Queen MARGARET and the PRINCE OF WALES.

Exe. Here comes the queen, whose looks bewray her anger:

I'll steal away.

K. Hen. Exeter, so will I.

196-198. *that here . . . an oath . . . this civil war . . . sovereign*] 187, 188. *That here . . . thine oath . . . these ciuill Broiles . . . Soueraigne Q.* 199, 200. *And . . . thyself*] omitted Q. 201-205. *This oath . . . and these thy . . . foes*] 189-193. *That oath . . . and all thy . . . foes, Sound trumpet Q.* 206. *Farewell . . . castle*] 194, 195. *My Lord Ile take my leaue, for Ile to Wakefield To my Castell. Exit Yorke and his sonnes Q.* 207-209. *And I'll . . . And I to . . . And I unto . . . came*] 196-198. *And Ile . . . Exit. And Ile to . . . Exit. And I to . . . came. Exit. Enter the Queene and the Prince Q.* 210. *K. Hen. And I . . . court*] omitted Q. 211, 212. *Here . . . so will I*] 199, 200. *My Lord here comes the Queen, Ile steale away. King. And so will I Q.*

. . . upon the Saturday next ensuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sound of a trumpet, solemnly proclaimed heyre apparaunt to the crowne of Englande, and Protectour of the realme" (i. 669, 1461, 39th Yere). Amongst the many other articles "not given by Hall or Grafton, is York's oath, given by Holinshed" (1808 ed., iii. 266): "I Richard Duke of Yorke promise and swear by the faith and truth that I owe to almightie God, that I will neuer consent, procure, or stirre, directlie, or indirectlie, in priuie or apert . . . anie thing that may sound to the abridgement of the naturall life of King

Henrie the Sixt, or to the hurt or diminishing of his raignes or dignitie roiall, by violence or anie other waie, against his freedome or libertie. . . ."

197. *civil war*] Very properly replaces "civil broils" of Q, an expression occurring in *1 Henry VI.* i. i. 53, and *2 Henry VI.* iv. viii. 46, but not where the crown is called in question.

205. *Sennet*] Only appears as a stage-direction in Shakespeare. A special sounding of the trumpets.

206. *my castle*] "to Wakefield to my castle." Q is useful.

211. *the queen . . . her anger*] Both texts bring in the queen dramatically,

Q. Mar. Nay, go not from me ; I will follow thee.

K. Hen. Be patient, gentle queen, and I will stay.

Q. Mar. Who can be patient in such extremes? 215

Ah ! wretched man ; would I had died a maid,

And never seen thee, never borne thee son,

Seeing thou hast proved so unnatural a father.

Hath he deserved to lose his birthright thus?

Hadst thou but loved him half so well as I, 220

Or felt that pain which I did for him once,

Or nourish'd him as I did with my blood,

Thou would'st have left thy dearest heart-blood there,

Rather than have made that savage duke thine heir,

And disinherited thine only son. 225

Prince. Father, you cannot disinherit me.

If you be king, why should not I succeed ?

K. Hen. Pardon me, Margaret ; pardon me, sweet son :

The Earl of Warwick and the duke enforced me.

Q. Mar. Enforced thee ! art thou king, and wilt be forced ? 230

I shame to hear thee speak. Ah ! timorous wretch ;

Thou hast undone thyself, thy son, and me ;

And given unto the house of York such head

As thou shalt reign but by their sufferance.

213, 214. *Nay . . . Be patient . . . and I will stay*] 201, 202. *Naie staie, or else I follow thee. King. Be . . . then Ile staie* *Q.* 215, 216. *Q. Mar. Who can . . . man*] 203. *Queene. What patience can there ? ah timorous man* *Q.* 216-229. *would I had died a maid . . . enforced me*] omitted *Q.* 230-234. *Enforced thee . . . sufferance*] 204-206. *Thou hast . . . and me* (l. 232) *And giuen our rights unto the house of Yorke. Art thou a king and wilt be forst to yeeld ?* *Q.*

the present one adding "her anger." She does not really come at all. "The Duke of Yorke well knowing that the Queene would spurne and impugne the conclusions agreed and taken in this Parliament, caused her and her sonne to be sent for by the King: but she being a manly woman, vsyng to rule and not to be ruled, and thereto counsayled by the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, not only denyed to come, but also assembled together a great armie, intendyng to take the King by fine force, out of the Lordes handes, and to set them to a newe schoole" (Grafton, i. 670).

211. *bewray*] betray, as below, iii. iii. 97, in the sense of expose to view, discover. Occurs again in *King Lear*, *Coriolanus*, and *Titus Andronicus*.

215. *Q. Mar. Who can . . .*] The development of the Queen's character

and dramatic importance, from the Quarto, is to be noticed. At her first entry her first speech is nearly trebled, with the addition of several poetic touches. Moreover, the lines which have been knocked out of verse and misprinted are rearranged into proper metre. The Queen boasts a good deal more, being a manly woman, in the developed speech, as at line 254; we see at once what Shakespeare's view is, and what he does, given a free hand.

223. *heart-blood*] An old expression, revived by Spenser in *Shepherd's Calendar*. Shakespeare has it in each of these three plays, and three times in *Richard II.* Also figuratively in *Troilus and Cressida*. It is not in *Q.*

233. *given . . . such head*] A term in horsemanship, liberty of motion (Schmidt). See again *Taming of Shrew*, ii. ii. 249, and *2 Henry IV.* i. i. 43.

To entail him and his heirs unto the crown, 235
 What is it but to make thy sepulchre,
 And creep into it far before thy time?
 Warwick is chancellor and the lord of Calais;
 Stern Faulconbridge commands the narrow seas;
 The duke is made protector of the realm; 240
 And yet shalt thou be safe? such safety finds
 The trembling lamb environed with wolves.
 Had I been there, which am a silly woman,
 The soldiers should have toss'd me on their pikes
 Before I would have granted to that act; 245
 But thou prefer'st thy life before thine honour:

235-238. *To entail him . . . Calais*] omitted Q. 239-241. *Stern Faulconbridge . . . safe?* 209 ($\frac{1}{2}$ line)-212 ($\frac{1}{2}$ line). *The Duke is made . . . land: Sterne . . . seas. And thinkst thou then To sleepe secure?* Q. 241, 242. *such safety . . . wolves*] omitted Q. 243-246. *Had I . . . honour*] 207-209 ($\frac{1}{2}$). *Had I beene there, the souldiers should have tost Me on their lances points, before I would have Granted to their wils* Q. 246, 247. *But thou . . . thou dost*] omitted Q.

238. *Warwick . . . Calais*] These appointments are not mentioned by the Queen in Q. At the parliament held at Westminster after the first battle of St. Albans (1455-6), Grafton tells that "the Erle of Salisbury (Warwick's father) was appointed to be Chauncelor, & had the great Seale to him delivered: and the Erle of Warwike was elected to the office of the Capteyne of Calice" (i. 654).

239. *Stern Faulconbridge . . . narrow seas*] This appointment is mentioned later after the battle of Tewkesbury in "the X Yere" of *Edward the Fourth* (Grafton, ii. 43): "One Thomas Neucl, Bastard sonne to Thomas Lorde Fauconbridge the valyaunt capitayne, a man of no lesse courage than audacitie. . . . Thys Bastarde was before thys time appoynted by the Erle of Warwike to be Viceadmyrall of the Sea, and had in charge so to keepe the passage between Douer and Calice, that none which either faured King Edward or his friends should escape." Stone says: "This appointment must have been made in 1470 after Warwick had broken with Edward IV." After Warwick's death he turned robber and pirate, and was taken and beheaded at Southampton. Marlowe copies this line in *Edward II.*: "The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas." See note at iv. viii. 3 below.

239. *narrow seas*] from Q. See again below, iv. viii. 3, and *Merchant of Venice*, ii. viii. 28 and iii. i. 4. The expression occurs in Golding's *Ovid*, bk. xiv. line 819:—

"The Lady crueller
 Than are the rysing narrowe seas."
 The expression occurs in "English Policy" (in Hakluyt), 1436. See also J. Aske, *Elizabetha Triumphans* (Nichols' *Prog.* ii. 574), 1588.

240. *duke is made protector*] For the Duke's third protectorship, see above, ll. 192-201, extract.

242. *lamb . . . wolves*] This favourite metaphor occurs about eight times in these plays. In the two later plays it is usually absent (as here) from the Quarto.

243. *silly woman*] "mere woman." Occurs again in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Not in Q. In *Faerie Queene*, i. i. 30, and in Peele's *David and Bethsabe*.

244. *toss'd me on their pikes*] Compare J. Rainoldes *Dolarneys Primerose* (Grosart, p. 106), 1606: "to manage armes, To toss a pike, and how to wield a lance." "Granted to that act" is a peculiar construction (consented to) not in Shakespeare elsewhere. It is in Q. In the "Irving Shakespeare" a quotation from Hall (254), "Graunted to their petitions," is given.

And seeing thou dost, I here divorce myself
 Both from thy table, Henry, and thy bed,
 Until that act of parliament be repeal'd
 Whereby my son is disinherited. 250
 The northern lords that have forsworn thy colours
 Will follow mine, if once they see them spread;
 And spread they shall be, to thy foul disgrace,
 And utter ruin of the house of York.
 Thus do I leave thee. Come, son, let's away; 255
 Our army is ready; come, we'll after them.

K. Hen. Stay, gentle Margaret, and hear me speak.

Q. Mar. Thou hast spoke too much already: get thee gone.

K. Hen. Gentle son Edward, thou wilt stay with me?

Q. Mar. Ay, to be murder'd by his enemies. 260

Prince. When I return with victory from the field

I'll see your grace: till then I'll follow her.

Q. Mar. Come, son, away; we may not linger thus.

[*Exeunt Queen Margaret and the Prince.*]

K. Hen. Poor queen! how love to me and to her son

Hath made her break out into terms of rage. 265

Revenged may she be on that hateful duke,

Whose haughty spirit, winged with desire,

Will cost my crown, and like an empty eagle

247-250. *I here . . . disinherited*] 212-214. *I heere diuorce me Henry From thy bed, untill that Act . . . recalde, wherein thou yeeledest to the house of Yorke Q.* 251-253. *The northern . . . foul disgrace*] 215-217. *The Northern . . . spread they shall vnto thy deepe disgrace Q.* 254-256. *And utter . . . Come, son . . . after them*] 218. *Come sonne, lets awate, and leaue him heere alone Q.* 257-262. *Stay, gentle . . . get thee gone . . . thou wilt . . . follow her*] 219-224. *Staie gentle . . . therefore be still . . . wilt thou . . . Exit. follow her. Exit. Q.* 263. *Come . . . thus*] omitted Q. 264-272. *Poor queen . . . messenger*] 225-230. *Poore Quene, her loue to me and to the prince Her*

248. *table . . . bed*] "bed and board" in *As You Like It* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

250. *Whereby . . . disinherited*] Malone points out the "remarkable variation" from Q after "Until that act of parliament be repeal'd." Here the Queen is a truer woman, and sets her divorce from his bed *a mensa et thoro* down to the wrong to her son.

258. *get thee gone*] shows "her anger," and is more "manly" perhaps than "therefore be still"; "hateful" (266) is, on the other hand, a softer word for Henry to use than "accursed." But the Quarto words are required below, II. ii. 122.

261. *from the field*] "to the field"

in the first Folio, but corrected in the later ones, so that it was a mere printer's error.

264. *love to me*] One would have expected an alteration. This was the last motive operating in the finished queen. But Henry's simplicity is sustained.

268. *cost my crown*] Several early commentators made a difficulty here, suggesting "coast," "cote," "truss," "souse," because "me" is omitted by a most natural and Shakespearian touch. See Steevens' (1793) edition, x. 226, 227.

268, 269. *eagle Tire on the flesh*] Compare *Venus and Adonis*, 56: "an empty eagle . . . tires with her beak on feathers, flesh and bone." Compare

Tire on the flesh of me and of my son !

The loss of those three lords torments my heart : 270

I'll write unto them and entreat them fair.

Come, cousin ; you shall be the messenger.

Exe. And I, I hope, shall reconcile them all. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.—*Sandal Castle.*

Enter EDWARD, RICHARD, and MONTAGUE.

Rich. Brother, though I be youngest, give me leave.

Edw. No, I can better play the orator.

Mont. But I have reasons strong and forcible.

Enter the DUKE OF YORK.

York. Why, how now, sons and brother ! at a strife ?

What is your quarrel ? how began it first ? 5

Edw. No quarrel, but a slight contention.

York. About what ?

Rich. About that which concerns your grace and us ;

The crown of England, father, which is yours.

sonne, Makes hir in furie thus forget hir selfe. Reuenged maie shee be on that accursed Duke. Come cosen of Exeter, staie thou here, For Clifford and those Northren Lords be gone I feare towards Wakefield, to disturbe the Duke Q. 273. And I . . . them all] omitted Q.

SCENE II.

1-3. *Rich.* Brother . . . *Edw.* No . . . orator . . . forcible] 1-3. *Edw.* Brother, and cosen Montague, giue mee leaue to speake. *Rich.* Nay, . . . Orator . . . forceable Q. 4-5. *Enter York.* *York.* Why . . . first ?] 4. *Enter the Duke of Yorke.* *Yorke.* How nowe sonnes what at a jarre amongst your selues ? Q. 6-9. *Edw.* No quarrel . . . yours] 5-7. (prose) *Rich.* No father, but a sweete

Golding's Ovid (x. 44) : "Too tyre on Titius growing hart the greedy Grype forbearres" (when Orpheus played). Craig quotes from Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, Sonnet 14, where this same gripe tires on Prometheus. Also in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I.

271. *entreat them fair]* be courteous to them. Occurs again *Richard III.* and *Troilus and Cressida*. Compare "Speak him fair" (*2 Henry VI.* iv. i. 120). Spenserian language :—

"He them with speaches meet
Does faire entreat ; no courting
nicetee,
But simple, trew and eke unfained
sweet"

(*Faerie Queene*, i. x. 7).

SCENE II.

1. *give me leave]* Shortened from the

full "give me leave to speak" in Q, which has already occurred in both texts (i. i. 120 above). See again, iii. iii. 22 below.

2. *play the orator]* See note, *1 Henry VI.* iv. i. 175. The expression occurs there, and twice later in the present play. Also in *Richard III.* Gabriel Harvey has "his constant zeale to play the Diuels Oratour" (*Pierces Super-erogation* (Grosart, ii. 75), 1593). "Devil's orator" is a favourite expression of Harvey's.

4. *at a strife]* "at a jar" in Quarto here is paralleled in Part II. i. i. 251 : "the peers be fall'n at jars." The lines 6 to 9 omitting "About what ?" are printed as prose in Q, but are obviously verse. The careless printing of that copy is to be borne in mind.

- York.* Mine, boy? not till King Henry be dead. 10
Rich. Your right depends not on his life or death.
Edw. Now you are heir, therefore enjoy it now :
 By giving the house of Lancaster leave to breathe,
 It will outrun you, father, in the end.
York. I took an oath that he should quietly reign. 15
Edw. But for a kingdom any oath may be broken :
 I would break a thousand oaths to reign one year.
Rich. No ; God forbid your grace should be forsworn.
York. I shall be, if I claim by open war.
Rich. I'll prove the contrary, if you'll hear me speak. 20
York. Thou canst not, son ; it is impossible.
Rich. An oath is of no moment, being not took
 Before a true and lawful magistrate
 That hath authority over him that swears :
 Henry had none, but did usurp the place ; 25
 Then, seeing 'twas he that made you to depose,
 Your oath, my lord, is vain and frivolous.
 Therefore, to arms ! And, father, do but think
 How sweet a thing it is to wear a crown,

contention, about that which concerns your selfe and vs, The crowne of England father Q. 10-15. *York.* Mine, boy? . . . quietly reign] 8-10. *York.* The crowne boy, why Henries yet alive, And I have sworne that he shall raigne in quiet till His death Q. 16, 17. But . . . one year] 11, 12. But I would breake an hundred othes to raigne one yeare Q. 18-20. No . . . speak] 13-15. And if it please your grace to giue me leaue, I'll shew your grace the waie to saue your oath, And dispossesse King Henrie from the crowne Q. 21. Thou . . . impossible] 16. I prethee Dicke let me heare thy deuise Q. 22, 23. An oath . . . took . . . magistrate] 17, 18. Then thus my Lord. An oath . . . sworne before a lawfull magistrate Q. 24, 25. That . . . place] 19. Henry is none but doth vsurpe your right Q. 26-34. Then, seeing . . . Henry's heart] 20-22. And yet your grace stands bound to him by oath. Then noble

14. *outrun you*] escape from you. Compare 2 *Henry VI.* v. iii. 73 : "Can we outrun the heavens?" See note.

17. *break . . . oaths to reign*] Halliwell quotes from Cicero here, in his edition of *True Tragedie* (Q 1) : "Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia Violandum est." York obtained a dispensation from the Pope to release him from his oath. See extract below from Holinshed at i. iv. 100-102.

18. *your grace*] Note the omission from the finished play of a redundancy of titles : "your grace," "noble father," crowded in Quartos.

27. *frivolous*] Occurs again in Part I. iv. i. 112; and in *Taming of Shrew*,

v. i. 28. Hall has the word in York's speech to the lords of parliament above : "without these two poyntes knownen and understood, your iudgements may be voyde and your cogitations *frivolous*" (p. 245, ed. 1548).

29. *to wear a crown*] Compare with *Tamburlaine*, Part I. ii. v. (17, a) :—

"A god is not so glorious as a king,
 I think the pleasures they enjoy
 in heaven

Cannot compare with kingly joys
 in earth :

To wear a crown enchased with
 pearl and gold . . .

To ask and have."

And a little later in the same play (18, b) :—

Within whose circuit is Elysium, 30

And all that poets feign of bliss and joy.

Why do we linger thus? I cannot rest

Until the white rose that I wear be dyed

Even in the lukewarm blood of Henry's heart.

York. Richard, enough: I will be king, or die. 35

Brother, thou shalt to London presently,

And whet on Warwick to this enterprise.

Thou, Richard, shalt to the Duke of Norfolk,

And tell him privily of our intent.

You, Edward, shall unto my Lord Cobham, 40

With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise:

In them I trust; for they are soldiers,

Witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit.

While you are thus employ'd, what resteth more,

father resolve your selfe, And once more claime the crowne Q. For lines 33, 34 here, *rose . . . dyed . . . in . . . blood*, see below at II. i. 81-88. 35. *Richard . . . die* 23, 24. *I, saist thou so boie? why then it shall be so. I am resolute to win the crowne, or die* Q. 36, 37. *Brother . . . enterprise* 30-33. *And Richard thou to London strait shalt post, And bid Richard Neuill Earle of Warwike To leave the cittie and with his men of warre, To meet me at Saint Albons ten daies hence* Q. 38, 39. *Thou, Richard . . . intent* 27-29. *Thou cosen Montague, shalt to Norffolke straight, and bid the Duke to muster uppe his souldiers, And come to me to Wakefield presentlie* Q. 40, 41. *You . . . Lord . . . rise* 25, 26. *Edward, thou shalt to Edmund Brooke Lord . . . rise* Q. 42-47. *In them . . . Lancaster* omitted Q.

"the ripest fruit of all

That perfect bliss and sole felicity,
The sweet fruition of an earthly
crown."

30. *circuit* ["circlet" or "circulet" is Spenser's word in *Mother Hubberds Tale*; "Circulet of Golde" and "golden Circlet" both occur (ll. 640-643). See "golden *circuit* on my head" (2 *Henry VI.* III. i. 352 and see note). "Round" and "rigol" are other Shakespearian words for the diadem. "Circuit" is not in the old versions of these plays.

34. *lukewarm blood* "lukewarm water" occurs in *Timon of Athens*. "Lukewarm blood" is an expression of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, I. ix. 36, and *Visions of Bellay*, Sonnet 6, 1591. It is also in *Lochrine*. But the sarcastic touch here is Shakespeare's. The speech here has been magically transformed.

37. *whet on*] See *King John*, III. iv. 181, and 2 *Henry VI.* II. i. 34. Not the common use, as in "whet your wits," "whet your malice" (Spenser).

40. *my Lord Cobham*] A "special friend" of York's. Grafton associates him with him at the first battle of St. Albans: "So he (Duke of York) beyng in the Marches of Wales, associate with his speciall friendes, the Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwike, the Lorde Cobham and other, assembled an army, and . . . marched toward London" (i. 653). See line 56.

41-43. *Kentishmen will willingly rise . . . full of spirit*] See note at 2 *Henry VI.* IV. vii. 60, 61. When York wished "to cause his great commotion," time of Jack Cade, "the overture of this matter was put forth in Kent," "because the Kentishmen be impatient in wronges, disdeyning of to much oppression, and ever desirous of newe change, and newe fangle-nesse" (Grafton, i. 640). For the "wise and very good policy" by which the Kentishmen only, in all England, preserved their ancient liberties an. 1067, see Grafton, i. 155-6.

44. *what resteth more*] See below, IV. ii. 13; V. vii. 42, and *Taming of*

But that I seek occasion how to rise,
And yet the king not privy to my drift,
Nor any of the house of Lancaster ? 45

Enter a Messenger.

But, stay : what news ? why com'st thou in such post ?
Mess. The queen with all the northern earls and lords
Intend here to besiege you in your castle. 50
She is hard by with twenty thousand men,
And therefore fortify your hold, my lord.

York. Ay, with my sword. What ! think'st thou that we fear
them ?

Edward and Richard, you shall stay with me ;
My brother Montague shall post to London : 55
Let noble Warwick, Cobham, and the rest,
Whom we have left protectors of the king,
With powerful policy strengthen themselves,
And trust not simple Henry nor his oaths.

47. *Enter . . .] Enter Gabriel Ff.* 48. *Enter . . . But . . . post ?]* 36.
Now, what newes ? Enter . . . Q. 49-52. *The queen . . . my lord]* 37-41.
*My lord, the Queene with thirtie thousand men, Accompanied with the Earles
of Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmerland, and others of the House of
Lancaster, are marching towards Wakefield, To besiege you in your castell
heere Q.* 53-61. *Ay, with . . . leave]* 42, 43. *Enter sir John and sir Hugh*

Shrew, i. i. 250. And *Promos and Cassandra*, Part 1. iv. ii. : "It resteth nowe (unlesse I wronge her much) I keepe my vowe."

46. *privy to my drift]* So "privy to the plot" (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iii. i. 12). "Drift," meaning intention, purpose, is common in Shakespeare.

47. *Enter a Messenger]* "Enter Gabriel" in *Folio*. Perhaps Gabriel Spencer, an actor in Henslowe's company in 1598. See again, iii. i. 1 (note).

49. *The queen with all the northern earls]* Hall (or Grafton) is closely followed : "The Duke by small iourneys came to his Castell of Sandall besyde Wakefelde on Christmasse eue, and there began to assemble his tenantes and friendes. The Queene beyng thereof asserterneynd, determined to couple with him while his power was small and his ayde not come : And so, hauyng in her companie, the Prince her sonne, the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, the Erle of Deuonshire,

the Lorde Clifforde, the Lorde Rosse, and in effect all the Lordes of the Northpart, with xvij thousand men, or, as some write, xxij thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield and bad base to the Duke, euen before his Castell, he hauyng with him not fully five thousand persons, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies, and although Sir Dauy Hall, his olde seruauant and chiefe Counsaylor, aduised him to keepe his Castell and to defend the same . . . a Dauy, Dauy, hast thou loved me so long, and nowe wouldest haue me dishonoured . . . lyke a birde inclosed in a cage . . . wouldest thou that I for dread of a scoldyng woman, whose weapon is onely her tongue and her nayles should enclose myselfe . . . my mind is rather to die with honor, than to liue with shame. . . . Therefore auauunce my Banner, in the name of God and saint George, for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone" (*Grafton*, i. 670).

Mon. Brother, I go ; I'll win them, fear it not : 60
And thus most humbly I do take my leave. [Exit.

Enter Sir JOHN and Sir HUGH MORTIMER.

York. Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, mine uncles,
You are come to Sandal in a happy hour ;
The army of the queen mean to besiege us.

Sir John. She shall not need, we'll meet her in the field. 65

York. What ! with five thousand men ?

Rich. Ay, with five hundred, father, for a need.

A woman's general ; what should we fear ?

[*A march afar off.*

Edw. I hear their drums : let's set our men in order,
And issue forth and bid them battle straight. 70

York. Five men to twenty ! though the odds be great,
I doubt not, uncle, of our victory.

Many a battle have I won in France,

Whenas the enemy hath been ten to one :

Why should I not now have the like success ? 75

[*Alarum. Exeunt.*

Mortimer. Yorke. A Gods name, let them come, Cosen Montague post you hence : and boies staie you with me (prose) Q. 62-64. Sir John . . . You are come . . . mean . . . us] 44-46. (continued from 43 to York verse) Sir John . . . Your welcome . . . an happie . . . meanes . . . us Q. 65-67. She . . . need, we'll . . . men ? Ay, with . . . for a need] 47-50. She . . . neede my Lorde, weele . . . souldiers uncle ? I father . . . hundred for a need Q. 68. A . . . we feare] 50. A . . . you feare Q. 69, 70. I hear . . . straight] 55. Lets maytch awaie, I heare their drums. Exit Q. 71, 72. Five men . . . victory] omitted Q. 73-75. Many a battle . . . France . . . Why . . . success] 51-54. Indeed, manie brave battles . . . Normandie . . . and why should I now doubt Of the like successe ? I am resolv'd. Come lets goe Q.

70. *bid them battle*] Compare "bid base" in extract at line 49. Offer battle. Occurs thrice later in this play, III. iii. 235 ; v. i. 63 and 77. Marlowe uses the old phrase similarly : "What should we do but *bid them battle straight*" (*Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. ii. (14, a)).

74. *Whenas*] when. A very common word at this date ; when divided up as it sometimes is, in old and new editions,

it becomes unintelligible to modern readers.

75. *Come lets goe*] in Q here ; has been noted upon already. It occurs four times in *Contention*, but is always omitted in *2 Henry VI*. It belongs to the dismissal of the actors and seems to be a form of stage-direction to be filled up, as it continually is. "Come, my lords, let's go," etc. See note in *2 Henry VI*. IV. i. 141.

SCENE III.—*Field of battle between Sandal Castle and Wakefield.*

Alarums. Enter RUTLAND, and his Tutor.

Rut. Ah, whither shall I fly to 'scape their hands?
Ah, tutor, look, where bloody Clifford comes!

Enter CLIFFORD and Soldiers.

Clif. Chaplain, away! thy priesthood saves thy life.

As for the brat of this accursed duke,

Whose father slew my father, he shall die.

5

Tut. And I, my lord, will bear him company.

Clif. Soldiers, away with him!

Tut. Ah, Clifford, murder not this innocent child,

Lest thou be hated both of God and man!

[Exit, dragged off by Soldiers.]

Clif. How now! is he dead already? or is it fear

10

That makes him close his eyes? I'll open them.

Rut. So looks the pent-up lion o'er the wretch

That trembles under his devouring paws;

SCENE III. *Alarums*] *Alarums* Q (omitted Ff except at close of last scene).
Enter . . .] Ff; and then *Enter the yong Earle of Rutland and his Tutor* Q.
1. *Rut.* Ah, whither . . .] 1, 2. *Tutor.* Oh flie my Lord, lets leave the Castell,
And flie to Wakefield straight Q. 2. Ah, tutor . . . comes!] 3. *Enter Clif-*
ford. *Rut.* O Tutor . . . comes Q. 3-5. *Clif.* Chaplain . . . die] 4-6. *Clif.*
Chaplain . . . that accursed . . . die Q. 6. *Tut.* And . . . company]
omitted Q. 7. *Soldiers* . . . him] 9, 10. *Soldiers, awaie and drag him hence*
perforce: Awaie with the villaine. Exit the Chaplain Q. 8, 9. Ah, Clifford
. . . God and man!] 7, 8. Oh Clifford spare this tender Lord, least Heaven
revenge it on thy head: Oh saue his life Q. 10, 11. How now! is he dead
. . . them] 11, 12. How now, what dead . . . them Q. 12. So . . . wretch]
13. So . . . lambe Q. 13. That . . . paws] omitted Q.

5. *father slew my father*] See above,
1. i. 9, and note.

12. *pent-up lion*] The idea is of the
lion and the captive:—

"For spectacle unto imperiall Rome,
To be according to their barbarous
laws

Bloudily torn with greedy lions
paws"

(Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, The Sixth Day
of the First Week). The "properties
of the lion" in Hall, quoted below,
are more gentle. The change from
lamb (Q) is very effective. There is
hardly another alteration. Rutland's

quotation from Ovid may easily have
been dropped in Q. I do not believe
"pent-up" means desperate except in
the sense that he is a captive lion and
fiercer than in a natural state. "Pent up"
is in *King Lear* of "guilt." But here
The Contention Quarto may have sug-
gested it (See at 2 *Henry VI.* 11. iv.
24): "And in thy pent up studie rue
my shame"—a passage by Shakespeare,
who loved such transpositions—mean-
ing "And pent up in thy study," etc.
See *Richard III.* 11. iii. 36: "The
son of Clarence have I pent up
close."

And so he walks, insulting o'er his prey,
 And so he comes to rend his limbs asunder. 15
 Ah! gentle Clifford, kill me with thy sword,
 And not with such a cruel threatening look.
 Sweet Clifford, hear me speak before I die :
 I am too mean a subject for thy wrath ;
 Be thou revenged on men, and let me live. 20

Clif. In vain thou speak'st, poor boy ; my father's blood
 Hath stopp'd the passage where thy words should enter.

Rut. Then let my father's blood open it again :

He is a man, and, Clifford, cope with him.

Clif. Had I thy brethren here, their lives and thine 25
 Were not revenge sufficient for me ;
 No, if I digg'd up thy forefathers' graves,
 And hung their rotten coffins up in chains,
 It could not slake mine ire, nor ease my heart.
 The sight of any of the house of York 30
 Is as a fury to torment my soul ;
 And till I root out their accursed line,
 And leave not one alive, I live in hell.
 Therefore— [Lifting his hand.]

Rut. O, let me pray before I take my death ! 35

To thee I pray ; sweet Clifford, pity me !

Clif. Such pity as my rapier's point affords.

Rut. I never did thee harm : why wilt thou slay me ?

Clif. Thy father hath.

Rut. But 'twas ere I was born.

Thou hast one son ; for his sake pity me, 40
 Lest in revenge thereof, sith God is just,
 He be as miserably slain as I.
 Ah, let me live in prison all my days ;

14, 15. *And . . . o'er . . . comes . . . asunder*] 14, 15. *And . . . ouer . . . turnes againe . . . in sunder* Q. 16, 17. *Ah! gentle Clifford . . . look*] 16, 17. *Oh Clifford . . . looke* Q. 18. *Sweet . . . die*] omitted Q. 19-24. *I am too . . . open it . . . cope with him*] 18-23. *I am too . . . ope it . . . cope with him* Q. 25-34. *Had I . . . No, if I . . . hung . . . their accursed . . . alive . . . hell. Therefore . . .*] 24-32. *Had I . . . Or should I dig . . . hang . . . that curssed . . . on earth . . . Ile . . . hell therefore* Q. 34. [Lifting his hand] Johnson; omitted Q, Ff. 35-38. *O, let me . . . Such . . . harm : why wilt thou slay me ?*] 33-36. *Oh let me . . . I such . . . hurt, wherefore wilt thou kill mee ?* Q. 39-45. *Thy father . . . Ah, let me . . . no cause*] 37-44. *Thy father . . . Oh, let me . . . no cause* Q.

35. *before I take my death*] See 2 Henry VI. ii. iii. 88. "Nowhere else in Shakespeare.

37. *rapier*] See note on "Spanish rapier," *Love's Labour's Lost*, i. ii. 167 (in this edition).

And when I give occasion of offence,
Then let me die, for now thou hast no cause. 45

Clif. No cause!

Thy father slew my father; therefore, die. [*Stabs him.*

Rut. Di faciant laudis summa sit ista turæ! [*Dies.*

Clif. Plantagenet! I come, Plantagenet!

And this thy son's blood cleaving to my blade 50

Shall rust upon my weapon, till thy blood,

Congea'd with his, do make me wipe off both. [*Exit.*

SCENE IV.—*Another part of the field.*

Alarum. Enter RICHARD, Duke of York.

York. The army of the queen hath got the field:

My uncles both are slain in rescuing me;

46-52. *No cause . . . this . . . wipe off both*] *No cause . . .* (Rutland's latin verse omitted) . . . *his . . . wipe off both Q.* [*Stabs him, Dies, omitted Q, Ff.*]

SCENE IV.

1-5. *The army . . . hunger-starved wolves*] 1-4. *Ah Yorke, post to thy castell, save thy life, The goale is lost thou house of Lancaster, Thrise happie chance is it for thee and thine, That heauen abridgde my daies and cals me hence Q.*

47. *therefore, die*] Rutland's brutal murder is thus told by Hall: "While this battaile was in fightyng, a prieste called sir Robert Aspoll, chappelain and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland, ii sonne to the aboue named duke of Yorke, scace of ye age of xii yerres, a faire gētemā, and a mayden-like person, perceiuyng y^e flight was more sauegard . . . conveyed therle out of ye felde . . . but . . . he was by the sayd lord Clifford espied, folowed and taken. . . . The yong gentelman dismaied, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees imploryng mercy, and desiryng grace, both with holding up his handes and making dolorous countenance, for his speeche was gone for feare. Saue him sayde his Chappellein, for he is a princes sonne, and peradventure may do you good hereafter. With that worde, the Lord Clifford marked him and sayde: by Gods blode, thy father slew myne, and so wil I do the and all thy kyn, and with that woord, stacke the [strake in Grafton] erle to ye hart with his

dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother & brother worde what he had done, and sayde. In this acte the lord Clyfford was accompted a tyraunt, and no gentelman, for the properties of the Lyon, which is a furious and vnreasonable beast, is to be cruell to them that withstande him, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate them selues before him" (p. 251, ed. 1809).

48. *Di . . . turæ*] "This line is in Ovid's *Epistle from Phyllis to Demophon*. I find the same quotation in Nashe's *Hare with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriell Harvey's Hunt is up*, etc." (Steevens, i. 596).

51, 52. *thy blood, Congea'd*] See again v. ii. 37. Spenser uses the same expression: "His cruell wounds with cruddy bloud congeald" (*Faerie Queene*, i. v. 29).

52. *Congea'd with his*] Undoubtedly the Quartos are correct here. The Cambridge editors have the collation "*this*" his Anon. conj." Confirmation strong; but "Anon." wasn't far to seek.

And all my followers to the eager foe
 Turn back and fly, like ships before the wind,
 Or lambs pursued by hunger-starved wolves. 5
 My sons, God knows what hath bechanced them :
 But this I know, they have demean'd themselves
 Like men born to renown by life or death.
 Three times did Richard make a lane to me,
 And thrice cried "Courage, father! fight it out!" 10
 And full as oft came Edward to my side,
 With purple falchion, painted to the hilt
 In blood of those that had encounter'd him :
 And when the hardiest warriors did retire,
 Richard cried "Charge! and give no foot of ground!" 15
 And cried "A crown, or else a glorious tomb!
 A sceptre, or an earthly sepulchre!"
 With this, we charged again : but, out, alas!

6-8. *My sons . . . them : But this . . . death*] 5-7. *But God knowes what chance hath betide my sonnes : But this . . . death* Q. 9-10. *Three times . . . it out*] 8-9. *Three times this daie came Richard to my sight, And cried courage* Father : *Victorie or death* Q. 11-13. *And full . . . side, With . . . those that . . . him*] 10-12. *And twice so oft came Edward to my view, With . . . whom he had slaughtered* Q. 14-21. *And when . . . waves*] omitted Q.

3. *eager foe*] Compare Golding's Ovid (xi. 462, 463):—

"For anon the wolfe . . .

Persisted sharpe and eager still,
 untill that as he stood

Fast byghting on a Bullocks
 necke, she turned him intoo
 stone."

4. *Thrise happie*] of Q. See Introduction to Part I. upon this. See also "thrice famed," 2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 157 (note); a Spenserian expression.

5. *hunger-starved*] See note on "hungry-starved men" (1 *Henry VI.* i. v. 16). Not met with again in Shakespeare. Frequent with writers of this date, especially Nashe. It is in Golding's Ovid (xiv. 241-243):—

"And lying lyke a Lyon feerce or
hunger sternerd hownd

Uppon them, very eagerlie he
 downe his greedy gut

Theyr bowwells . . . put."

New Eng. Dict. has earlier examples of the verb "to hunger starve," and the part. adj. "hunger-starven." Not in Q.

6. *bechanced*] See *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, i. i. 61, and *Merchant of Venice*, i. i. 38.

9. *make a lane*] Compare *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*. "Make lanes of slaughtered bodies through thine hoast" (Shakespeare Library, Hazlitt ed. p. 246, 1591). And Sylvester, *Du Bartas* (p. 18, ed. 1621), First Day of First Week :—

"Whose two-hand sword . . .

Slyces through whole Troops at
 once,

And heaws broad Lanes before it
 and behinde" (1591).

9, 10. *Three times . . . And thrise*] See note to 2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 358 for a parallel from Spenser. Another is at *Faerie Queene*, ii. i. 46: "Thrise he her reard, and thrise she sunck againe." The Quarto extends the figure: "And twice so oft," a non-crecendo touch, judiciously altered.

12. *purple falchion*] falchion, a curved sword; "purple" is used of blood again, ii. v. 99 and v. vi. 64. Also in *Romeo and Juliet*, *Lucrece*, *Venus and Adonis*, *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* A favourite term with Spenser (*Faerie Queene*, i. ii. 17). Upton quotes from Chaucer, in Todd's Spenser. Used by Peele and Greene also, but perhaps one of Spenser's many revivals.

We boded again : as I have seen a swan
 With bootless labour swim against the tide, 20
 And spend her strength with over-matching waves.

[*A short alarum within.*

Ah, hark ! the fatal followers do pursue ;
 And I am faint and cannot fly their fury ;
 And were I strong I would not shun their fury :
 The sands are number'd that make up my life ; 25
 Here must I stay, and here my life must end.

*Enter Queen MARGARET, CLIFFORD, NORTHUMBERLAND, the
 young PRINCE, and Soldiers.*

Come, bloody Clifford, rough Northumberland,
 I dare your quenchless fury to more rage :
 I am your butt, and I abide your shot.

North. Yield to our mercy, proud Plantagenet. 30

Clif. Ay, to such mercy as his ruthless arm

22-26. *Ah, hark ! . . . Here must I . . . end*] 13-15. *Oh harke, I heare the drums ! No waie to flie : No waie to saue my life ? And heere I . . . end Q.*
 27. *Enter . . .*] 16. *Enter the Queene, Clifford, Northumberland, and souldiers Q.*
 27-30. *Come . . . rage : I am your . . . shot . . . mercy . . . Plantagenet*] 16-19. *Came . . . bloud, This is the But and this abides your shot . . . mercies . . . Plantagenet Q.*
 31-34. *Ay . . . ruthless . . . show'd . . . prick*] 20-23. *I . . . ruthfull . . . lent . . . pricke Q.*

19. *boded*] Johnson would read "budge," Collier suggested "botch." In support of the latter Nashe spells the tailor's word (which is hardly used without "up," or without an accusative), "botch," "bodge" in his Dedication prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon* (Grosart, vi. 16): "to *bodge* vp a blank verse with ifs and ands" (1589). But in spite of this no doubt the word should be "budge," meaning "flinch," or "give way" (Schmidt), often used by Shakespeare. See *Coriolanus*, i. vi. 44 and *1 Henry IV.* ii. iv. 388.

19. *as I have seen*] Compare Golding's Ovid, ix. 58: "So have I seene two myghtie Bulles," etc. Spenser uses "Like as," "As when" to introduce his numerous similitudes. Golding has also: "So have I seene a brooke ere this," etc., iii. 721. See "Oft have I seen" (*2 Henry VI.* iii. ii. 161).

20. *bootless*] One of the oldest words in -less.

21. *over-matching*] "o'ermatched" occurs *1 Henry VI.* iv. iv. 11 and below in this scene, line 64; but not again in Shakespeare. Marlowe has "over

matching foes" in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. Compare Golding's Ovid, viii. 257: "over matching still eche quill with one of larger sort." A different sense. See also Grosart's Greene, xiii. 10, 81.

25. *sands . . . life*] The hour-glass is a favourite metaphor with Shakespeare. Compare *Pericles*, v. ii. 1; *Cymbeline*, iii. ii. 74; *Merchant of Venice*, i. i. 25; *1 Henry VI.* iv. ii. 36; *Henry V.* Prologue.

28. *quenchless*] Again in *Lucrece*, 1554. See Introduction on adjectives with suffix -less. Spenser has "Phlegeton with quenchless flames" in *Virgils Gnat* (Globe ed. 511, a). Peele uses it in *A Tale of Troy* (557, b, Dyce, 1874). Marlowe has it also in *Edward II.* and in *Massacre at Paris* (later).

29. *I am your butt*] Compare *Henry V.* i. ii. 186. And Sylvester's *Du Bartas*. Second Day of First Week:—

"And chiefly Phœbus, to whose arrows bright

Our Globy Grandame serues for
 But and White"

(p. 28, ed. 1621) 1591.

31. *ruthless*] "ruthfull" in Q. Gold-

With downright payment show'd unto my father.

Now Phaëthon hath tumbled from his car,

And made an evening at the noontide prick.

York. My ashes, as the phoenix, may bring forth 35

A bird that will revenge upon you all ;

And in that hope I throw mine eyes to heaven,

Scorning whate'er you can afflict me with.

Why come you not? what! multitudes, and fear?

Clif. So cowards fight when they can fly no further ; 40

So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons ;

So desperate thieves, all hopeless of their lives,

Breathe out invectives 'gainst the officers.

York. O Clifford, but bethink thee once again,

And in thy thought o'errun my former time ; 45

And, if thou canst for blushing, view this face,

35-39. *My ashes, as . . . revenge upon . . . throw . . . come you not? . . . fear?* 24-28. *My ashes like . . . revenge it on . . . cast . . . staie you Lords? . . . feare? Q.* 40-43. *So cowards . . . further . . . falcon's . . . officers]* 29-32. *So cowards . . . longer . . . Ravens . . . officers Q.* 44, 45. *O Clifford, but . . . thought . . . time]* 33, 34. *Oh Clifford, yet . . . minde . . . time. Q.* 46. *And . . . face]* omitted Q.

ing and Spenser (*Shepheard's Calender*, August) both use "ruthful." In *Richard III.* iv. iii. 5, "ruthless" of the earliest Quartos is altered to "ruthful" of the Folios (a rarer word) by some editors. "Ruthless" though commoner is later. Peele uses it. "Ruthful" occurs below (see note), II. v. 95.

33. *Phaëthon]* "Phœbus' fairest childe," as Spenser names him, who tried to drive his father's chariot, is mentioned again below, II. vi. 12; in *Romeo and Juliet*, III. ii. 2. Such trite classical illustrations belong to Shakespeare's early work. The tale is nowhere better told than in the second book of Golding's *Ovid*. The passage here is unmercifully lugged in. It is in the Quarto in the same predicament. Both are Shakespeare's work.

34. *noontide prick]* Compare *Lucrèce*, 781: "Ere her arrive his weary noontide prick." See also *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 119. "Prick" is a mark or point.

35, 36. *phoenix . . . bird]:—*

"Th' immortal Phoenix . . . out of her ashes springs

A Worm, an Egg then, then a bird with wings

Just like the first"

(*Sylvester's Du Bartas*, Fift Day of the First Week, p. 104, 1591). The expression has already occurred in *Henry VI.* iv. vii. 93 (note). See also *Henry VIII.* v. v. 41; and that most strange poem *The Phoenix and the Turtle*. "Bird," meaning young bird, chicken, formerly common, is still used provincially.

41. *So doves do peck]* See below, II. ii. 18. And *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. xiii. 197: "In that mood the dove will peck the estridge" (goshawk). The parallels from other undoubted Shakespearean plays adduced in this scene, which is practically identical with Q, set the reader on firm ground at once. Both are by Shakespeare.

41. *falcon's . . . talons]* The reading "ravens" in Q seems almost an error. The alteration was necessary.

43. *invectives]* Only again in *Lucrèce*, Arg. 24. "Invectively" is in *As You Like It*. See Harvey's *Letters to Spenser*, 1581.

45. *o'errun]* survey, review, run over. Instanted in *New Eng. Dict.* back to the year 1000. Not again in Shakespeare.

46. *for]* on account of. Common in Shakespeare.

And bite thy tongue, that slanders him with cowardice
Whose frown hath made thee faint and fly ere this.

Clif. I will not bandy with thee word for word,

But buckle with thee blows, twice two for one. 50

Q. Mar. Hold, valiant Clifford! for a thousand causes

I would prolong awhile the traitor's life.

Wrath makes him deaf: speak thou, Northumberland.

North. Hold, Clifford! do not honour him so much

To prick thy finger, though to wound his heart. 55

What valour were it, when a cur doth grin,

For one to thrust his hand between his teeth,

When he might spurn him with his foot away?

It is war's prize to take all vantages,

And ten to one is no impeach of valour. 60

[*They lay hands on York, who struggles.*]

Clif. Ay, ay, so strives the woodcock with the gin.

North. So doth the cony struggle in the net.

York. So triumph thieves upon their conquer'd booty;

So true men yield, with robbers so o'ermatch'd.

North. What would your grace have done unto him now? 65

Q. Mar. Brave warriors, Clifford and Northumberland,

Come, make him stand upon this molehill here,

That raught at mountains with outstretched arms,

47, 48. And . . . slanders . . . Whose . . . fly ere this] 36, 37. And . . . slanderst . . . whose verie looke hath made thee quake ere this Q. 49-53. I will not . . . prolong . . . life . . . deaf . . . Northumberland] 37-41. I will not . . . prolong the traitors life a while . . . death (deafe Qq 2, 3) . . . Northumberland Q. 54-60. Hold, Clifford! . . . valour . . . It is war's . . . vantages . . . of valour] 42-48. Hold Clifford . . . valure . . . Tis warres . . . advantages . . . in warres; Fight and take him Q. 61, 62. Ay, ay . . . cony . . . net] 49, 50. I, I . . . cunnie with the net Q. 63-65. So triumph . . . with . . . overmatch'd . . . would . . . unto him now? 51-53. So triumphs . . . by robbers overmatcht . . . will . . . with him? Q. 66-69. Brave warriors . . . arms, Yet . . . hand] 54-57. Brave warriors . . . That aime . . . arme, And . . . hand Q.

48. faint] See above, i. i. 129.

49. bandy . . . word for word] Again in *Taming of Shrew*, v. ii. 172. Shakespeare is very partial to this metaphor from tennis. Compare Marlowe's *Edward II.* (Dyce, 185, a): "I'll bandy with the barons and the earls"; where the meaning is exchange blows but no more words.

50. buckle with thee] grapple or couple with in combat. See note to *1 Henry VI.* i. ii. 95.

53. deaf] misprinted "death," Q.

60. impeach] accusation, reproach, as in *Comedy of Errors*, v. 269. Elsewhere "impeachment."

61. woodcock . . . gin] See *Twelfth Night*, II. v. 92.

67, 68. molehill . . . mountains] An old antithesis, or proverb. Again in Shakespeare in *Coriolanus*. *New Eng. Dict.* gives an example from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, 1570. See Pecham's *True Discourse* (Hakluyt ed. 1811, iii. 223), 1583: "They will take upon them to make *Mountains seeme Molchilles* and flies elephants." Greene, Nashe and Harvey all use it, the latter in 1573.

68. raught] reached.

Yet parted but the shadow with his hand.
 What! was it you that would be England's king? 70
 Was't you that revell'd in our parliament,
 And made a preachment of your high descent?
 Where are your mess of sons to back you now?
 The wanton Edward, and the lusty George?
 And where's that valiant crook-back prodigy, 75
 Dicky your boy, that with his grumbling voice
 Was wont to cheer his dad in mutinies?
 Or, with the rest, where is your darling Rutland?
 Look! York: I stain'd this napkin with the blood
 That valiant Clifford with his rapier's point 80
 Made issue from the bosom of the boy;
 And if thine eyes can water for his death,
 I give thee this to dry thy cheeks withal.
 Alas! poor York, but that I hate thee deadly,
 I should lament thy miserable state. 85
 I prithee grieve, to make me merry, York.
 What, hath thy fiery heart so parch'd thine entrails
 That not a tear can fall for Rutland's death?
 Why art thou patient, man? thou should'st be mad;
 And I, to make thee mad, do mock thee thus. 90
 Stamp, rave, and fret, that I may sing and dance.
 Thou would'st be fee'd, I see, to make me sport:
 York cannot speak unless he wear a crown.

70. *What! . . . king?* omitted Q. 71-77. *Was't you . . . And where's . . . crook-back . . . mutinies?* 58-64. *Was it you . . . Or where is . . . Crookback? . . . mutinies?* Q. 78-85. *Or, with . . . stain'd . . . with the . . . the boy . . . deadly . . . state* 65-72. *Or amongst . . . dipt . . . in the . . . thy boy . . . much . . . state?* Q. 86-88. *I prithee . . . Rutland's death?* 73-76. *I prithee . . . Yorke? Stamp . . . dance* (l. 91 transposed) . . . *Rutland's death?* Q. 89-90. *Why art thou . . . thee thus* omitted Q. 91. *Stamp . . . dance* 74. *Stamp . . . dance* Q. 92-95. *Thou would'st . . . Hold you . . . it on* 77-80. *Thou wouldst . . . So: hold . . . it on* Q.

71. *revell'd* rioted.

72. *preachment* sermon. Not again in Shakespeare; Marlowe has it twice in *Edward II.*, but it was an old word, illustrated in *New Eng. Dict.* back to 1330 and 1400.

73. *mess* set of four. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. iii. 204, in this edition, and note.

75. *crook-back* "crookbackt villain" has occurred already in *First Contention*, v. ii. 59; but not in Part II. Grafton in *Continuation of*

Hardyng (468), 1543, says of Richard: "he was lytle of stature, euill featured of lymms, *croke backed*, the left shulder much higher then the right, harde fauoured of . . . warlike visage."

91. *Stamp . . . dance* The transposition of this line from its position after "make me merry, York" (86) in the Quarto in consequence of the addition of the two new lines, "Why art thou . . . mock thee thus" (89, 90) has been a disputed point. Malone replaced it.

A crown for York! and, lords, bow low to him:
Hold you his hands whilst I do set it on.

95

[*Puts a paper crown on his head.*]

Ay, marry, sir, now looks he like a king!

Ay, this is he that took King Henry's chair:

And this is he was his adopted heir.

But how is it that great Plantagenet

Is crown'd so soon, and broke his solemn oath?

100

As I bethink me, you should not be king

Till our King Henry had shook hands with death.

And will you pale your head in Henry's glory,

And rob his temples of the diadem,

Now in his life, against your holy oath?

105

O! 'tis a fault too too unpardonable.

Off with the crown; and, with the crown, his head;

And, whilst we breathe, take time to do him dead.

95. *Puts . . .*] omitted Q, Ff. 96-100. *Ay, marry, sir, now . . . king!*
Ay, this . . . solemn oath?] 81-85. *I now . . . King? This . . . holie oath,*
Q. 101-108. *As I bethinke . . . pale your head in . . . do him dead?* 86-93.
As I bethinke . . . Till our Henry . . . impale your head with . . . doe him
dead Q.

95. *paper crown*] The passage quoted from Hall at the death of Rutland above (Scene iii. l. 47) continues: "Yet this cruell Clifford, and deadly blood supper not content with this homicyde, or chyld killyng, came to ye place where the dead corps of the duke of Yorke lay, and caused his head to be stryken of, and set on it a *crowne of paper*, & so fixed it on a pole, & presented it to the Quene, not lyeng farre from the felde . . . but many laughed then that sore lamented after" (p. 251, ed. 1809). This paper crown is referred to again in *Richard III.* i. iii. 175.

100-102. *broke his . . . oath . . . death*] Holinshed writes here (iii. 269, ed. 1808): "Manie deemed that this miserable end chanced to the duke of York, as a due punishment for breaking his oth of allegiance unto his Soueraigne lord King Henrie: but others held him discharged thereof, because he obtained a dispensation from the pope, by such suggestion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the same oth was adiudged void, as that which was receiued vnaduisedly, to the preiudice of himselfe, and disheriting of all his posteritie." . . . "A purchase of Gods curse with the popes blessing" (margin).

101, 102. *As I bethinke . . . with death*] Margaret quotes here Suffolk's words to her in *Contention*, about the murder of the good Duke Humphrey (iii. i. 116-118):—

"And so thinke I, Madame . . .

If our King Henry had shooke hands with death,

Duke Humphrey then would looke to be our King."

See note at 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 265. Peele comes near it with "shook hands with sin," in *David and Bethsabe*. Seems to have escaped Schmidt. Shakespeare quoting his own words from *The Contention* into the finished 3 *Henry III.* is an interesting phenomenon.

103. *pale*] enclose in the pale or circle of a crown. The same as "impale" below, iii. ii. 171, and iii. iii. 189. Compare *Antony and Cleopatra*, ii. vii. 74. Elsewhere "pales in."

106. *too too*] A very common mode of intensification at this time and earlier.

108. *do him dead*] Not again in Shakespeare. "Done to death" and "do him to dye" are frequent in Spenser, and the latter is in Chaucer. Spenser has "doe her dye" (*Faerie Queene*, i. viii. 45). Compare "dead-

Clif. That is my office, for my father's sake.

Q. Mar. Nay, stay; let's hear the orisons he makes. 110

York. She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France,

Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth!

How ill-beseeming is it in thy sex

To triumph like an Amazonian trull,

Upon their woes whom fortune captivates! 115

But that thy face is, vizard-like, unchanging,

Made impudent with use of evil deeds,

I would assay, proud queen, to make thee blush:

To tell thee whence thou cam'st, of whom derived,

Were shame enough to shame thee, wert thou not shameless. 120

Thy father bears the type of King of Naples,

Of both the Sicils and Jerusalem,

Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman.

Hath that poor monarch taught thee to insult?

It needs not, nor it boots thee not, proud queen, 125

Unless the adage must be verified,

That beggars mounted run their horse to death.

109, 110. *That is . . . sake Q. Mar. Nay, stay; let's . . . makes*] 94, 95. *Thats . . . death. Queen. Yet stay: and lets . . . makes Q.* 111-118. *She-wolf . . . poisons . . . their woes . . . with use . . . blush:]* 96-103. *She wolfe . . . poison'd . . . his woes . . . by use . . . blush Q.* 119-129. *To . . . derived, Were . . . both the . . . needs not, nor . . . knows . . . small]* 104-114. *To tell thee of whence thou art, from whom deriude, Twere . . . both the . . . needs not, or . . . that oft makes . . . wots . . . small Q.*

doing hand" (*Faerie Queene*, II. iii. 8). At III. x. 32 is found: "But soone he shall be found, and shortly doen be dead." And again later. "Dead-doing" is nearer. "Do" means make, or cause to be. See note at II. i. 103 below.

110. *orisons*] prayers. Five times in Shakespeare.

112. *poisons . . . adder's tooth*] See again 2 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 76, *Richard II.* III. ii. 20, and *Richard III.* I. ii. 19.

113. *ill-beseeming*] undecorous. See 1 *Henry VI.* IV. i. 31; and later in 2 *Henry IV.* and *Romeo and Juliet*. Unhyphenated in Quartos and 1 *Henry VI.* See note at the latter reference. See, too, *Cymbeline*, V. v. 409. And "well-beseeming" in 1 *Henry IV.* I. iii. 267, and in *Titus Andronicus*. Shakespeare affected the word "beseem," and compounds of it.

114. *trull*] See 1 *Henry VI.* II. ii. 28. "Strumpet" usually, here rather a ramp or female bravo.

115. *captivates*] subdues, captures. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. 126, and *Venus and Adonis*, 281. This verb is several times in *Lochrine*. See Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, II. i. 131:—

"Thus hath he tane my body by his force,

And now by sleight would *captivate* my soule."

116. *vizard-like*] as expressionally fixed as a mask.

121. *type*] badge. Compare *Richard III.* IV. iv. 244. The crown. But perhaps used for title.

127. *beggars . . . death*] A proverb found in a variety of shapes. "Set a beggar on horse backe they saie, and hee will neuer alight" (Greene, *Carde of Fancie* (Grosart, IV. 102), 1587), and repeated in Greene's *Orpharion*, a

'Tis beauty that doth oft make women proud ;
 But, God he knows, thy share thereof is small :
 'Tis virtue that doth make them most admired ; 130
 The contrary doth make thee wonder'd at :
 'Tis government that makes them seem divine ;
 The want thereof makes thee abominable.
 Thou art as opposite to every good
 As the Antipodes are unto us, 135
 Or as the south to the Septentrion.
 O tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide !
 How could'st thou drain the life-blood of the child,
 To bid the father wipe his eyes withal,
 And yet be seen to bear a woman's face? 140
 Women are soft, mild, pitiful, and flexible ;
 Thou stern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorseless.
 Bidd'st thou me rage? why, now thou hast thy wish :
 Would'st thou have me weep? why, now thou hast thy will.

130-140. 'Tis virtue that doth . . . 'Tis government . . . abominable . . . woman's hide! . . . woman's face?] 115-125. *Tis government that makes . . . Tis vertue . . . abominable . . . womans hide? . . . womans face? Q.* 141-149. *Women are soft, mild . . . Thou . . . rough . . . wish : . . . now thou . . . will . . . wind . . . showers, And . . . cries . . . death, 'Gainst . . . Frenchwoman]* 126-134. *Women are milde . . . Thou indurate, sterne, rough . . . will . . . So thou . . . wish . . . windes blowes up a storme of teares, And . . . begs vengeance as it falls, On . . . French woman Q.*

rehash of the former (xii. 36). The proverb is in Cyril Tourneur's *Revenge's Tragedy*, Lord Cromwell, Jonson's *Staple of News*, Camden's *Remaines*, Motteux's *Don Quixote*, etc. Peacham has that old verse:—

“Asperius nihil est humili, cum
 surgit in altum,
 There's nothing more perverse and
 proud than She,
 Who is to Wealth advanced from
 Beggary”

(*Worth of a Penny*, 1641 (Arber's *English Garner*, vi. 260)). That old verse is from Claudian.

131. *The contrary doth]* Compare here *1 Henry VI.* v. v. 62-64.

132. *government]* seemingly manners and discipline.

136. *Septentrion]* North. Not again in Shakespeare. This line is recalled in *Soliman and Perseda*, iii. iv. 5: “From East to West, from South to Septentrion.”

137. *O tiger's heart . . .]* The famous line made use of by Greene in his at-

tack upon Shakespeare in the *Groats-worth of Wit* (Grosart, xii. 144). See Introduction. Nashe has a familiar expression: “An apes hart with a lions case” (*Terrors of the Night* (Grosart, iii. 231), 1593), in which he probably recalled Spenser's *Mother Hubberd's Tale*. Malone quotes from *Acolastus his Afterwitte*, 1600: “O woolvish hart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide,” an obvious recollection of this. See Introduction to Part II.

142. *obdurate]* See *2 Henry VI.* iv. vii. 114, in this ed. Always so accented in Shakespeare. It does not occur in *First Contention*, and here the *True Tragedie* (Q) has “indurate.” Marlowe has “Might have entreated your obdurate breasts” in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. i. (Dyce, 31, a); and the same expression occurs in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (ed. 1621, p. 37): “One single sigh from thy obdurate brest” (1591). Marlowe's use is the earliest, applied to persons, in *New Eng. Dict.* “Indurate” was older.

For raging wind blows up incessant showers, 145
 And when the rage allays, the rain begins.
 These tears are my sweet Rutland's obsequies,
 And every drop cries vengeance for his death,
 'Gainst thee, fell Clifford, and thee, false Frenchwoman.

North. Beshrew me, but his passions move me so 150
 That hardly can I check my eyes from tears.

York. That face of his the hungry cannibals
 Would not have touch'd, would not have stain'd with blood;
 But you are more inhuman, more inexorable,
 O, ten times more than tigers of Hyrcania. 155
 See, ruthless queen, a hapless father's tears:
 This cloth thou dipp'dst in blood of my sweet boy,
 And I with tears do wash the blood away.
 Keep thou the napkin, and go boast of this;
 And if thou tell'st the heavy story right, 160

150, 151. *Beshrew . . . so That . . . tears*] 135, 136. *Beshrew . . . passions move me so, As . . . mine eies . . . teares Q.* 152-155. *That face . . . Would not . . . Hyrcania*] 137-140. *That face . . . Could not . . . Arcadia Q.* 156-166. *See, ruthless . . . And I . . . do wash . . . of this . . . tell'st . . .*

145. *incessant*] See Part I. v. iv. 154 (note). Spenser has it similarly:—
 "What hart so stoney hard but
 that would weepe
 And poure forthe fountaines of
incessant teares?"

(*Daphnida*, st. 36, 1591). The Quarto has "a storme of teares."

152. *cannibals*] Again in *Othello*, i. iii. 143. See note in this edition.

153. *Would . . . blood*] The second folio reads "Would not have stayn'd the roses just with blood" after "toucht," dividing the lines differently. This variation has caused many conjectural readings, all departing from the original texts.

154. *inexorable*] Again in *Romeo and Juliet*, and (as a modern reading of "inexorable") in *Merchant of Venice*. The word is in Puttenham: "An *inexorable* and unfaithful mistress" (Arber, p. 226).

155. *tigers of Hyrcania*] "the Hyrcan tiger" occurs in *Macbeth*, iii. iv. 101, and "the Hyrcanian beast" in *Hamlet*, ii. ii. 472. Also in *Selinus* (Grosart's Greene, xiv. 239):—
 "But thou wast borne in desert
 Caucasus,
 And the *Hircanian tygres* gaue
 thee sucke."

Earlier than these is Sylvester's *Du Bartas*: "African Panthers, *Hyrcan Tigres* fierce, Cleonian Lions, and Pannonian Bears" (The Sixth Day of the First Week, p. 123, 1591). And earlier in Timothie Kendall, *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577: "A Tiger of the Hyrcan stocke" (rept. p. 20). Eden pointed out the confusion between Hyrcania and Herecynia. The Caspian Sea was known as Hyrcanum. See Richard Eden's *Of the North-east Frostie Seas*, 1555 (Hakluyt Soc. 1852). Chiefly from Paulus Jovius. The Quarto reading is an odd misprint.

156. *ruthless queen*] Marlowe has "our *ruthless* governor" (*Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. i., ed. Dyce, 32, a).

157. *dipp'dst*] Compare "meantest," 2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 222, and "suckedst," 1 *Henry VI.* v. iv. 28. See Introduction on this inflection, due to prevalence of "thou" and "thee".

160. *tell'st the heavy story right*] Compare Machin's *Dumb Knight*:—

"When the sad nurse, to still the
 wrangling babe,
 Shall sing the careful story of my
 death,
 Give me a sigh"

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, x. 155). See

Upon my soul, the hearers will shed tears;
 Yea, even my foes will shed fast-falling tears,
 And say "Alas! it was a piteous deed."
 There, take the crown, and with the crown my curse,
 And in thy need such comfort come to thee 165
 As now I reap at thy too cruel hand!

Hard-hearted Clifford, take me from the world;
 My soul to heaven, my blood upon your heads!

North. Had he been slaughter-man to all my kin,
 I should not for my life but weep with him, 170
 To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul.

Q. Mar. What, weeping-ripe, my Lord Northumberland?
 Think but upon the wrong he did us all,
 And that will quickly dry thy melting tears.

Clif. Here's for my oath; here's for my father's death. 175
 [Stabbing him.]

Q. Mar. And here's to right our gentle-hearted king.
 [Stabbing him.]

York. Open thy gate of mercy, gracious God!
 My soul flies through these wounds to seek out Thee.
 [Dies.]

right . . . Yea . . . There, take . . . too cruel hand!] 141-151. See *ruthlesse* . . . And loe . . . I wash . . . of that . . . tell . . . well . . . I (Ay) . . . Here, take . . . two cruell hands Q. 167, 168. Hard-hearted . . . heads] 152, 153. Hard-hearted . . . heads Q. 169-171. Had . . . soul] 154-156. Had he bin . . . of all . . . I could not chuse but weep . . . How . . . his hart Q. 172-180. What, weeping-ripe . . . thy melting . . . Here's . . . here's . . . And here's . . . gentle-hearted king . . . gate of . . . flies . . . Thee . . . town of York] 157-165. What weeping ripe . . . your melting . . . Tears . . . tears . . . And tears . . . gentle hearted kind . . . gates of . . . flies forth to meet with thee . . . town of York. Exeunt Omnes Q. [Stabbing . . . Stabbing . . . Dies] omitted Q, Ff.

Richard III. 1. ii. 155-166 on these lines, and note in this edition. The standers-by, at the story, "wet their cheeks like trees bedash'd with rain."

169. *slaughter-man*] See Part I. iii. iii. 75 (note). In Q. It occurs in *A Manifest Detection of the . . . use of Dice-play* (Percy reprint, p. 8), 1532 (?): "Go to; say on; lo! how gentle lambs are led to the slaughter-man's fold."

171. *inly*] inward. Occurs again *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. vii. 18. Elsewhere an adverb. But the distinction is not a sound one.

171. *sorrow gripes his soul*] Recalls a line in *The First Part of Contention*,

omitted in 2 *Henry VI.* See note, Part II. II. iii. 21.

172. *weeping-ripe*] Occurs again in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 274. See note in this edition. Earlier in Sidney's *Arcadia*. Shakespeare has also "sinking-ripe" and "reeling-ripe."

176. *king*] kind in Q is one of many printer's errors in old texts.

179. *Off with his head*] Occurred earlier in *Contention* at the murder of Suffolk (2 *Henry VI.* iv. i. 103). It is in *Richard III.* several times. See above, I. iv. 107, and below, II. vi. 85. And in *Soliman and Perseda*, v. iv. 112: "Off with his head and suffer him

Q. Mar. Off with his head, and set it on York gates :

So York may overlook the town of York.

180

[*Flourish. Exeunt.*

not to speake." Earliest in *Contention*, and due to Shakespeare. Greene has the phrase in *Selimus*.

179, 180. *Off with his head . . . York*] "After this victory by ye Quene and her parte obteyned, she caused the erle of Salisbury, with all the other prisoners, to bee sent to Pomfret and

there to be behedded, and sent all their heddes, and the dukes head of Yorke, to be set upon poles, ouer the gate of the citie of Yorke in despite of them and their lignage" (Hall, p. 251, ed. 1809). See II. i. 65. And see extract at II. v. 125 for more about York's head.

ACT II

SCENE I.—*A Plain near Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire.*

A March. Enter EDWARD, RICHARD, and their power.

Edw. I wonder how our princely father 'scaped,
 Or whether he be 'scaped away or no
 From Clifford's and Northumberland's pursuit.
 Had he been ta'en we should have heard the news;
 Had he been slain we should have heard the news; 5
 Or had he 'scaped, methinks we should have heard
 The happy tidings of his good escape.
 How fares my brother? why is he so sad?
Rich. I cannot joy until I be resolv'd
 Where our right valiant father is become. 10

A March] Ff; omitted Q. *Enter . . .*] Ff; *Enter Edward and Richard, with drum and Souldiers Q.* 1-7. *I wonder how . . . good escape*] omitted Q. 8. *How . . . sad?*] 1, 2. *Edw. After this dangerous fight and haplesse warre How doth my noble brother Richard fare?* Q. 9, 10. *Rich. I cannot . . . is become*] 3, 4. *Rich. I cannot . . . is become Q.*

1. *I wonder . . .*] When Shakespeare wrote a new opening for the older one, in this scene, as he frequently does in these two plays, he perhaps forgot the almost identical first line of the first Act—which was in Q.

4-6. *Had he . . . Had he . . . Or had he*] The repetition of the initial words in poetical lines was carried to great excess at this time and earlier. In this play see Act ii., Scene v., where (as here) it is part of the finished play, not the Quarto version. For examples see Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* (1509), p. 102, reprint, where fourteen lines have same beginnings. Gascoigne's *Steel Glas* is loaded with the trick. Spenser abounds in iterations and repetitions, but in a more measured manner, and with due regard to eloquence.

10. *is become*] where he is, or is to be found; where he has got to. A frequent form in early writers, that Schmidt seems puzzled about. Golding has: "to have a knowledge where She is become" (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, v. 646); and—

"Tell where . . . the wench . . .
 That stodee righte nowe uppon this
 shore . . . is become"
 (viii. 1067). And Grafton, *Richard the Second* (rept. i. 416): "They sente forth their Curroues, to knowe where they were become." And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i. x. 16: "The deare Charissa, where is she become." And earlier in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 529, 1543.

I saw him in the battle range about,
 And watch'd him how he singled Clifford forth.
 Methought he bore him in the thickest troop
 As doth a lion in a herd of neat;
 Or as a bear, encompass'd round with dogs, 15
 Who having pinch'd a few and made them cry,
 The rest stand all aloof and bark at him.
 So fared our father with his enemies;
 So fled his enemies my war-like father:
 Methinks 'tis prize enough to be his son. 20
 See how the morning opes her golden gates,

11-14. *I saw him . . . As doth . . . in a . . . neat*] 5, 6. *How often did I see him beare himselfe, As doth . . . midst . . . neat* Q. 15-18. *Or as a . . . enemies*] omitted Q. 19, 20. *So fled . . . my war-like . . . prize . . . son*] 7, 8. *So fled . . . our valiant . . . pride . . . sonne. Three sonnes appeare in the aire* Q. 21-25. *See how . . . glorious sun; How . . . love. Edw. Dazzle . . . suns?*] 9-11. *Edw. Loe how . . . glorious sun, Dasell . . . suns?* Q.

12. *singled . . . forth*] Not in Q. See note at "singled," below, II. iv. i.

13. *thickest troop*] Not in Q, nor again in Shakespeare. But at II. iii. 16 in Quarto we have "in the thickest thronges" omitted from the present play. *Quid pro quo*. See also *Contention* at the end, where it is also omitted. And again in this play at v. iv. 49. It occurs in Kyd's *Cornelia*, and in Marlowe. Kyd has:—

"Don Balthazar amidst the *thickest troopes*

To winne renowne did wondrous feats of armes"

(*Spanish Tragedy*, I. iii. 61). The passage in Marlowe, in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. ii. (Dyce, 56, a):—

"run desperate through the thickest thronges,

Dreadless of blows;"

and in iv. i. (61, a):—

"he himself amidst the *thickest troops*,

Beats down our foes."

14. *lion in an herd*] So Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, vi. xi. 49:—

"Like as a lion mongst an heard of dere . . .

So did he fly amongst them here and there."

"A heirde of Neate" occurs in Golding's Ovid, II. 1051. Neat are oxen.

16. *pinch'd*] bitten. See note at the substantive, I *Henry VI.* IV. ii. 49. Spenser uses this verb. Golding has:—

"First Slo did *pinch* him by the haunch, and next came Kildeere in,

And Hylbred fastned on his shoulder, bote him through the skinne"

(iii. 280, 281); and again:—

"The Grewnd pursuing at an inch Doth cote him, neuer losing ground: and likely still to *pinch*"

(vii. 1018).

20. *prize*] "pride" of Quartos is preferable. But compare "prize" (privilege) above, I. iv. 59.

21-24. *the morning . . . prancing to his love*] A variously put metaphor. See Psalm xix. 4, 5, and *Faerie Queene*, I. v. 2, where the "golden orientall gate" occurs:—

"And Phoebus, fresh as bryde-groome to his mate,
 Came dauncing forth."

And Peele, *David and Bethsabe* (473, a), where Dyce gives the reference to Spenser, as Jortin does on *Faerie Queene* to the Psalm, a reference given much earlier by Sylvester (1621 ed. p. 85) in a marginal note to the lines in Fourth Day of the First Week of *Du Bartas* (1591):—

"Thou seem'st (O Titan) like a Bride-groome brave,
 Who from his chamber early issuing out
 In rich array," etc.

And takes her farewell of the glorious sun ;
How well resembles it the prime of youth,
Trim'd like a younker prancing to his love.

Edw. Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns? 25

Rich. Three glorious suns, each one a perfect sun ;
Not separated with the racking clouds,
But sever'd in a pale clear-shining sky.
See, see ! they join, embrace, and seem to kiss,
As if they vow'd some league inviolable : 30
Now are they but one lamp, one light, one sun.
In this the heaven figures some event.

23, 24. *How well . . . love*] omitted Q. 26-32. *Three . . . suns, each . . . sun ; Not . . . with the . . . clouds, But . . . inviolable : Now . . . figures some event*] 12-18. *Three . . . suns, not . . . by a . . . cloud, but . . . inviolate : Now . . . heavens doth figure some event* Q.

Warton's note to *Faerie Queene* picks the figure to pieces in the most approved and dry-as-dustiest way.

22. *takes her farewell*] "Aurora takes for a time her farewell of the sun, when she dismisses him to his diurnal course" (Johnson).

23. *the prime of youth*] Compare "In prime of youthful years" (*Faerie Queene*, i. ii. 35).

24. *younker*] Again in *Henry IV.* iii. iii. 92. Spenser (or rather E. K.'s gloss) has the word "disdainefull younkers" in *The Shepheard's Calender*, Februarie (1579).

25. *Dazzle mine eyes*] are my eyes dazed or dimmed. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, v. 87: "Atys lay with dim and dazeling eyes." And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, ii. xi. 40:—

"His wonder far exceeded reasons reach,

That he began to doubt his dazeled sight."

Peele has it twice in *Arraignment of Paris*. See also *Lochrine*, i. i. This line is copied in *Soliman and Perseda*, ii. i. 244: "*Dasell mine eyes, or ist Lucinas chaine?*"

25. *three suns*] The chroniclers place this portent before Mortimer's Cross. After the death of his father, "the Duke of Yorke called Erle of Marche . . . met with his enemies in a fayre plaine, neere to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford East, on Candlemasse day in the mornynge, at which tyme the Sunne (as some write) appered to the Erle of Marche like *three Sunnes*, and sodainely ioyned all together in

one, and that upon the sight thereof, he tooke such courage, that he fiercely set on his enemyes, and them shortly discomfited: for which cause, men imagined that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnesse for his Cognisance or Badge" (Grafton, i. 672). Boswell Stone says: "According to Chron. Rich. II.—Henry VI. (Camden Society), the *three suns* were seen about 10 A.M., on 2nd February, 1461; and the battle of Mortimer's Cross was fought on the following day." History is not adhered to in this scene: there is no room for the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and Edward was at Gloucester when he heard of his father's death. There is much confusion of events.

27. *racking clouds*] clouds packing and scudding before the wind. Compare Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. iii. (Dyce, 65, a): "draw My chariot swifter than the *racking clouds*." Steevens quotes from *The Raigne of King Edward III.* (1569):—

"like inconstant clouds

That, rack'd upon the carriage of the winds,
Encrease," etc.

The noun is commoner and occurs in the Sonnets and elsewhere, but the verb only here.

30. *inviolable*] Better sense and worse metre than "inviolat" (Q). See again *King John*, v. ii. 7, *Richard III.* ii. i. 27. Peele (543, b) uses "keep it *inviolat*" (of an oath). Marlowe has "true *inviolable*" (*Tamburlaine*, Part II. i. 1).

32. *figures*] reveals, discloses. Com-

Edw. 'Tis wondrous strange, the like yet never heard of.

I think it cites us, brother, to the field,
That we, the sons of brave Plantagenet, 35
Each one already blazing by our meeds,
Should notwithstanding join our lights together,
And over-shine the earth, as this the world.
Whate'er it bodes, henceforward will I bear
Upon my target three fair-shining suns. 40

Rich. Nay, bear three daughters: by your leave I speak it,
You love the breeder better than the male.

Enter a Messenger.

But what art thou, whose heavy looks foretell
Some dreadful story hanging on thy tongue?

Mess. Ah, one that was a woeful looker-on 45
Whenas the noble Duke of York was slain,
Your princely father and my loving lord!

Edw. O, speak no more, for I have heard too much.

Rich. Say how he died, for I will hear it all.

Mess. Environed he was with many foes, 50
And stood against them, as the hope of Troy
Against the Greeks that would have enter'd Troy.
But Hercules himself must yield to odds;

33. 'Tis . . . heard of] omitted Q. 34-36. I think it . . . Plantagenet,
Each . . . blazing . . . meeds] 18-20. *Edw.* I think it . . . Plantagenet,
Alreadie, each one shining by his meed Q. 37-40. Should . . . will I bear
. . . suns] 21-23. May ioine in one and over peere the world, As this the earth,
and therefore hence forward Ile beare . . . suns Q. 41, 42. *Rich.* Nay . . .
male] omitted Q. 42. Enter . . .] omitted Q; Enter one blowing ff. 43,
44. But . . . tongue? 24 (*Edw.*) But what art thou? that lookest so heavilie? Q.
45, 46. *Mess.* Ah, one . . . slain] 25, 26. *Mes.* Oh one . . . slaine Q. 47.
Your . . . lord] omitted Q. 48. O, speak . . . have . . . much] 27. O speake
. . . can heare no more Q. 49. Say . . . for . . . all] 28. Tell on thy tale, for
. . . all Q. 50-59. Environed . . . Who crown'd . . . despite] 29-34. When

pare 2 *Henry IV.* iii. i. 81, and
Richard III. i. ii. 194.

34. cites] urges, incites. See Part
II. iii. ii. 281.

36. meeds] merits. Johnson in-
cautiously suggested "deeds."

40. target] targe, shield.

40. shining] This word occurs three
times in ten lines in Q. One is elimi-
nated here by "blazing" (36). But
"over-shine," instead of "over-peer"
(of Q), somewhat defeats the amelior-
ation, but Shakespeare had a great
liking for forming verbs with the prefix
"over." In this sense not again in
Shakespeare.

40, 41. suns . . . daughters] See *Love's*
Labour's Lost, v. ii. 168-171 (in this
edition, note).

50. Environed . . .] See above, i. i.
242: "The trembling lamb environed
with wolves." "Environed about"
was more usual.

51. the hope of Troy] Hector, as at
iv. viii. 25 below. See note at *1 Henry*
VI. ii. iii. 19. Hector and Hercules
were Shakespeare's favourite heroes.
These lines are not in the Quarto.

53. Hercules . . . odds] An old Latin
proverb in Aulus Gellius: "Ne Her-
cules quidem contra duos." Lodge
quotes it in *Euphues Golden Legacie*

And many strokes, though with a little axe,
 Hew down and fell the hardest-timber'd oak. 55
 By many hands your father was subdu'd;
 But only slaughter'd by the ireful arm
 Of unrelenting Clifford and the queen,
 Who crown'd the gracious duke in high despite;
 Laugh'd in his face; and, when with grief he wept, 60
 The ruthless queen gave him to dry his cheeks
 A napkin steeped in the harmless blood
 Of sweet young Rutland, by rough Clifford slain:
 And after many scorns, many foul taunts,
 They took his head, and on the gates of York 65
 They set the same; and there it doth remain,
 The saddest spectacle that e'er I view'd.

as the noble Duke was put to flight, And then pursu'd by Clifford and the Queene, And manie souldiers moe, who all at once Let drive at him and forst the Duke to yield: And then they set him on a molehill there, And crown'd . . . despite Q. 60-63. Laugh'd . . . blood Of . . . slain:] 35-39½. Who then with teares began to waile his fall. The ruthlesse Queene perceiuing he did weepe, Gaue him a handkercher to wipe his eies, Dipt in the bloude of . . . slaine: Q. 64-67. And after . . . I view'd] 39½-44. who weeping tooke it vp, Then through his brest they thrust their bloudy swordes, Who like a lambe fell at the butcher's fete. Then on the gates of Yorke they set his head, And there it doth remaine the piteous spectacle That ere mine eies beheld Q.

(Hazlitt, Shakespeare's Library, p. 96), 1590. And Greene, *Art of Conny Catching* (Grosart, x. 60), 1591: "But might overcome right, and therefore Ne Hercules contra duos." See also Greene's *George a Greene* (Dyce, 1874, p. 259). This line is in Q at v. ii. 33. See note.

54, 55. many strokes . . . fell the . . . oak] An old proverb. See Lyly's *Euphues* (Arber, p. 91), 1579: "Soft dropps of raine perce the hardest marble, many strokes overthrow the tallest oke." And in Whitney's *Emblems*, To the Reader (ed. Greene, p. 13), 1586: "Manie droppes perce the stone, & with manie blowes the oke is overthrowen." It is in *The Spanish Tragedy*, taken from Watson. See note at iii. ii. 50 below.

55. hardest - timber'd] Compare "clean - timbered," *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 629, and see note in this edition.

57. ireful] See note to *1 Henry VI.* iv. vi. 16. And its Introduction. Only in Shakespeare's early work.

58. unrelenting] See *1 Henry VI.* v. iv. 59. Also in *Titus Andronicus*.

Sylvester has "unrelenting eyes" in *Du Bartas*, Seventh Day of the First Week, p. 152, 1591. Earlier in Peele?

59. Who crown'd] For the line in Q: "And then they set him on a molehill here," see below, ii. v. 14: "Here, on this molehill will I set me down." The molehill is removed farther from i. iv. 67.

65. head . . . York] See at i. iv. 179, 180.

66. They set the same] A note in the Irving Shakespeare (by Mr. F. A. Marshall) points out the use of this circumlocution several times in Marlowe; in Greene's *Alphonsus* (twenty-one times); and (earliest) in Peele's *Sir Clyomon* (four times). It is extremely common in Shakespeare's earliest work (see Schmidt), and was a sign of the time, not an evidence of authorship. It occurs nine times in this trilogy and *Richard III.* See next note for Spenser's use.

67. The saddest . . . that e're] A Spenserian line. See Introduction to Part I. "Piteous spectacle" of Q is a favourite expression with Spenser. He has it in *Faerie Queene*, i. ix. 37; ii.

Edw. Sweet Duke of York ! our prop to lean upon,
 Now thou art gone, we have no staff, no stay.
 O Clifford, boisterous Clifford ! thou hast slain 70
 The flower of Europe for his chivalry ;
 And treacherously hast thou vanquish'd him,
 For hand to hand he would have vanquish'd thee.
 Now my soul's palace is become a prison :
 Ah, would she break from hence, that this my body 75

68, 69. *Sweet . . . gone . . . stay*] 45, 46. *Sweet . . . gone there is no hope for us Q.* 70-73. *O Clifford . . . vanquish'd thee*] omitted Q. 74-78. *Now . . . prison . . . more joy*] 47-49. *Now . . . prison. Oh would she breake from compasse of my breast, For never shall I haue more ioie Q.*

xii. 45 ; iv. iii. 21, etc. And in *Astro- phel*, st. 34 (1586-7):—

"And when that piteous spectacle they vewed

The same with bitter teares they all bedewed."

See below, II. v. 73.

68, 69. *Sweet . . . stay*] Compare *Tamburlaine*, Part I. i. i. (Dyce, 8, a):—

"The hope of Persia and the very legs

Whereon our state doth lean as on a staff."

Furnival (Introduction to Facsimile) points out that these two lines are found in Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*, III. iii. (Dyce, 243, b) ; (reading Guise for York, and the last half line slightly altered). Of the two I believe Marlowe is the later.

70. *boisterous*] The strong sense of "savage," appropriate here, is obsolete. Compare Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* (rept. p. 48):—

"Vylayne courage . . .

That is *boystrous* and rude of governance."

And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. viii. 10 : "His *boystrous* club" ("his dreadful club" a few lines earlier).

71. *The flower . . . chivalry*] Compare Grafton, *Edward the Thirde* (i. 332) : "Edward . . . accompted the *Flower of all Chynalrye*, throughout all the worlde, and also some writers name him the black prince." And in Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, p. 116 (1509), rept. But it is more interesting to find it in *Contention*, IV. x., and omitted from Part II.

73. *hand to hand*] Occurs again I *Henry IV.* I. iii. 99 ; and below, II. v. 56. In single combat. Earlier in *New*

Eng. Dict. It occurs in *The Contention*, IV. x. 50. See *Spanish Tragedy*, I. iii. 63 :—

"I saw him, *hand to hand*,
 In single fight with their Lord Generall."

Frequent in Berners' Froissart.

73, 74, 77, 78. *vanquish'd him . . . vanquish'd thee . . . joy again . . . more joy*] Here we have some very limp iteration introduced that is not in the Quarto—showing the futility of hard and fast theories. The latter lines of this speech are much in Peele's manner. He probably considered himself, and indeed was something of an adept at pathos (see *David and Bethsabe*), and may have been allotted a finishing touch or two.

74. *soul's palace . . . prison*] Peele has this metaphor twice: *Edward I.* Sc. xxv. (411, a, Dyce, 1874):—

"First, in this painful prison of my soul,

A world of dreadful sins holp there to fight";

and in *Battle of Alcazar*, Act v. (439, a):—

"Whose weapons have made pas- sage for my soul

That breaks from out the prison of my brest."

This is directly from *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. ii. (63, b):—

"draw your sword,

Making a passage for this troubled soul

Which beats against this prison to get out."

But earlier in Lyly's *Campaspe* (1584), I. ii. : "the bodie is the prison of the soule . . . to make my bodie immortal, I put it to prison."

Might in the ground be closed up in rest !
 For never henceforth shall I joy again,
 Never, O never, shall I see more joy !

Rich. I cannot weep, for all my body's moisture
 Scarce serves to quench my furnace-burning heart ; 80
 Nor can my tongue unload my heart's great burthen ;
 For self-same wind that I should speak withal
 Is kindling coals that fires all my breast,
 And burns me up with flames that tears would quench.
 To weep is to make less the depth of grief : 85
 Tears then for babes ; blows and revenge for me !
 Richard, I bear thy name ; I'll venge thy death,
 Or die renowned by attempting it.

Edw. His name that valiant duke hath left with thee ;
 His dukedom and his chair with me is left. 90

Rich. Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,
 Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun :
 For chair and dukedom, throne and kingdom say ;
 Either that is thine, or else thou wert not his.

79, 80. *I cannot . . . body's . . . heart*] 50, 51. *I cannot . . . breasts . . . hart* Q. 81-88. *Nor can . . . Richard . . . I'll venge . . . renowned . . . it*] 52-55. *I cannot ioie till this white rose be dide, Euen in the hart bloud of the house of Lancaster. Richard . . . and Ile reuenge . . . my selfe in seeking of reuenge* Q. 89, 90. *His . . . thee ; His . . . left*] 56, 57. *His . . . thee, His chaire and Dukedome that remains for me* Q. 91-94. *Nay, if thou . . . say ; Either . . . not his*] 58-61. *Nay, if thou . . . saie : For either . . . not his ?* Q.

76. *closed up in rest*] Shakespeare never uses "close up" (verb), except of the eyes, elsewhere.

79-87. *I cannot weep . . . venge thy death*] Neatly put in *Locrine*, III. i. 60, 61:—

"He loves not most that doth lament the most,

But he that seeks to venge the injury."

The two omitted lines here are found almost repeated in *Contention* and thence to *2 Henry VI.* II. ii. 64-66. See my note. More continuity evidence.

91. *princely eagle*] Marlowe calls it "princely fowl . . . of Jove" (*Tamburlaine*, Part II. i. i. (Dyce, 45, a)) ; and at IV. iii. (66, b), "drawn with *princely eagles*."

91. *bird*] young of any fowl. See above, I. iv. 36, and *1 Henry IV.* v. i. 60, and *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 154. Golding speaks of a nest of "eight byrdes" in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xii. 15. And in iv. 524 "bird" means child ("this harlots burd").

91, 92. *eagle's bird . . . gazing 'gainst the sun*] A very old fancy, arising no doubt from the eagle's powerful sight. Marshall says Aristotle (lib. 20) is cited as an authority. Pliny says (xxix. 6, p. 367, Holland's trans.) : "that Ægle (which I said heretofore, to prove and trie her yong birds, useth to force them for to look directly upon the sunne) . . . Haliartos, i. the sea-Ægle or Orfray" (margin). He refers in this passage to bk. x. ch. 3. Halliwell says "Chaucer alludes to this in the *Assemblee of Foules*" (his quotation is insufficient). He also quotes from Spenser's *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*, st. 20. An early instance (1591) is in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, p. 112, The Fifth Day of the First Week:—

"this Damsell . . .

Two tender Eaglets in a nest espies,

Which 'gainst the sun sate trying of their eyes."

March. Enter WARWICK, MARQUESS OF MONTAGUE, and their army.

War. How now, fair lords ! What fare ? what news abroad ? 95

Rich. Great Lord of Warwick, if we should recount

Our baleful news, and at each word's deliverance

Stab poniards in our flesh till all were told,

The words would add more anguish than the wounds.

O valiant lord, the Duke of York is slain !

100

Edw. O Warwick ! Warwick ! that Plantagenet

Which held thee dearly as his soul's redemption,

Is by the stern Lord Clifford done to death.

War. Ten days ago I drown'd these news in tears,

And now, to add more measure to your woes,

105

I come to tell you things sith then befallen.

After the bloody fray at Wakefield fought,

Where your brave father breath'd his latest gasp,

Tidings, as swiftly as the posts could run,

Were brought me of your loss and his depart.

110

I, then in London, keeper of the king,

95. *Enter . . . Montague . . .] Enter the Earle of Warwike, Montague, with drum, ancient, and souldiers Q (March omitted); Enter . . . Montacute . . . Ff. 95-100. How now . . . Great . . . recount Our baleful news . . . O valiant . . . slain !] 62-67. How now . . . Ah Warwike ? should we report the balefull Newes . . . Ah valiant . . . slaine Q. 101-103. O Warwick ! . . . dearly as . . . death] 68-70. Ah Warwike . . . deere : I, euen as . . . death Q. 104-110. Ten days . . . sith then . . . depart] 71-77. Ten daies . . . those newes . . . since then . . . Was brought . . . departure Q. 111-119. I, then in . . . intercept . . . oath and your succession] 78-86. I then in . . . entercept . . . your late . . . heires and your succession Q.*

95. *What fare]* Not again in Shakespeare.

97, 98. *word's . . . Stab poniards]* Compare *Hamlet*, III. ii. 414, and *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. i. 255 : "she speaks poniards and every word stabs."

103. *done to death]* See 2 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 244, and below, III. iii. 103. Occurs again in *Much Ado About Nothing*. And in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I. iv. iv. (1578) : "Is my Audrugio done to death." Slain. See I. iv. 108.

104. *drown'd . . . in tears]* A very favourite expression. I find it about fifteen times in Shakespeare's plays. It is six times in the dubious *Titus Andronicus*, however.

108. *his latest gasp]* See again v. ii. 41 below. "Last gasp" and "latter

gasp" also occur in the same sense. See note at 1 *Henry VI.* I. ii. 127. Peele has "the issue of thy damned ghost, Which with thy latest gasp they'll take and tear," in *David and Bethsabe*, sc. x. (479, a).

III. *et seq. I, then in London . . .]* Hall describes these events (252, rept.) : "The Quene still came forward with her Northern people, entending to subuerter and defaict all conclusions and agrementes, enacted and assented to in the last Parliament. And so after her long iorney she came to the town of Sainct Albons; whereof ye duke of Northfolke, ye erle of Warwycke, and other, whom ye duke of Yorke had lefte to gouerne the kyng in his absence, being advertised, by the assent of ye kyng, gathered together a great hoste,

Muster'd my soldiers, gather'd flocks of friends,
 And very well appointed, as I thought,
 March'd toward Saint Alban's to intercept the queen,
 Bearing the king in my behalf along ; 115
 For by my scouts I was advertised
 That she was coming with a full intent
 To dash our late decree in parliament,
 Touching King Henry's oath and your succession.
 Short tale to make, we at Saint Alban's met, 120
 Our battles join'd, and both sides fiercely fought :
 But whether 'twas the coldness of the king,
 Who look'd full gently on his war-like queen,
 That robb'd my soldiers of their heated spleen ;
 Or whether 'twas report of her success ; 125
 Or more than common fear of Clifford's rigour,
 Who thunders to his captives blood and death,
 I cannot judge : but, to conclude with truth,
 Their weapons like to lightning came and went ;
 Our soldiers', like the night-owl's lazy flight, 130

120-132. *Short tale . . . Who look'd . . . her success . . . captives . . . I cannot judge . . . like to lightning . . . struck their friends*] 88-99. *Short-tale . . . He lookt . . . his successe . . . captaines . . . I cannot tell . . . smote their friends* Q.

and set forward toward Saint Albons, hauyng the Kyng in their company, as the head and chesefayn of the warre, and so not mynding to differre the time any further, vpon shrouetuesday early in the morning, set vpon their enemies. Fortune that day so fauored the Quene, that her parte preuayled, & the duke and the erle were discomfited and fled . . . after the victorie obtayned, and the kyng broughte to the Quene. . . . Happy was the Quene in her two battayls but unfortunate was the kyng in all his enterprises, for where his person was present, ther victory fled ever from him to the other parte, and he commonly was subdued & vanquished." See this passage continued at "dub him presently," below, II. ii. 59.

113. *And . . . thought*] Introduced from Q by Steevens. For "well appointed," see *1 Henry VI.* iv. ii. 21; and Golding's Ovid : "a traine Of well appointed men of warre new levied" (vii. 1121, 1122).

118. *dash*] frustrate. Compare Grafton's *Continuacion of Hardyng*,

540: "thynkyng that by this means al his purpose was dashed" (1543).

120. *Short tale to make*] Again in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 146. This expression is in Gascoigne's *Steel Glas* (Arber, p. 50), 1576; and in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I. III. i. (1578). Later it is in Greene's *Groatworth of Wit* (Grosart, xii. 122); in *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*, and in Peele's *Tale of Troy*. See Grafton's *Continuacion of Hardyng*, 461 (1543): "but ye duke, to make a short tale, would by no meanes deliuer them."

121. *Our battles join'd*] See above, I. i. 15.

130. *night-owl*] Again in *Twelfth Night* and *Richard II.* Shakespeare has later a pleasant friendly tone towards the owl, very much truer in perception than his contemporaries. Golding's "wicked wretch Nyctiminee" passage (ii. 742-752) perhaps told on the poor bird heavily. With Spenser and Peele he is the "deathful owl," the "ghastly owl," the "tragic owl." Golding calls him elsewhere "filthy fowl" from Ovid. But Tar-

Or like an idle thresher with a flail,
 Fell gently down, as if they struck their friends.
 I cheer'd them up with justice of our cause,
 With promise of high pay and great rewards :
 But all in vain ; they had no heart to fight, 135
 And we in them no hope to win the day ;
 So that we fled : the king unto the queen ;
 Lord George your brother, Norfolk and myself,
 In haste, post-haste, are come to join with you ;
 For in the marches here we heard you were, 140
 Making another head to fight again.

Edw. Where is the Duke of Norfolk, gentle Warwick ?
 And when came George from Burgundy to England ?

War. Some six miles off the duke is with the soldiers ;
 And for your brother, he was lately sent 145
 From your kind aunt, Duchess of Burgundy,
 With aid of soldiers to this needful war.

Rich. 'Twas odds, belike, when valiant Warwick fled :
 Oft have I heard his praises in pursuit,
 But ne'er till now his scandal of retire. 150

War. Nor now my scandal, Richard, dost thou hear ;

133-141. *I cheer'd . . . our cause . . . heart to fight, And we . . . fight again*]
 100-108. *I cheer'd . . . the cause . . . harts to fight, Nor we . . . fight againe Q.*
 142, 143. *Where is . . . And when . . . England ?* 109-111. *Thankes gentle*
Warwike, How farre hence is the Duke with his power ? And when . . . Eng-
land ? Q. 144-147. *Some six . . . the soldiers ; And for . . . to this need-*
ful war] 112-115. *Some fieu . . . his power, But as for . . . gainst this needfull*
warre Q. 148-150. *'Twas odds . . . his praises . . . his scandal of retire*] 116-
 118. *Twas ods . . . thy praises . . . thy scandall of retire Q.* 151-156. *Nor now*
. . . this strong . . . prayer] 119-124. *Nor now . . . that this right . . . praier Q.*

quin, the night owl, catches the dove
 in *Lucrece*.

131. *an idle*] Corrects the "a lazy"
 of the Folios. Inserted by Capell.

139. *haste, post-haste*] Written on
 dispatches, and hence common in
 poetry :—

"he hath vouchsaft
 In *hast, post hast*, to send
 Me doune from heaven"

(*Gascoign, Princely Pleasures* (Nichols'
Progresses, i. 510), 1575). See *Othello*,
 i. ii. 37.

141. *Making another head*] Compare
Coriolanus, iii. i. 1, and *1 Henry IV.*
 iv. i. 80. And see "gathered head,"
1 Henry VI. i. iv. 100 (note). It is a
 technical expression in Machiavel's
Arte of Warre (trans. Whitehouse,
 1560), Tudor reprint, p. 84.

144. *the soldiers*] Theobald inserted
 the better expression of the Quartos,
 "his power."

143-146. *George from Burgundy*
. . . kind aunt] Hall accounts for
 George's absence: "The Duches of
 Yorke . . . sent her two yonger sonnes,
 George and Richard, ouer the sea,
 to the cite of Utrecht in Almayn ; where
 they were of Philippe duke of Burgoyne
 well receyued and fested, and so there
 thei remayned, till their brother Ed-
 warde had obteyned the Realme"
 (253).

149. *Oft have I heard*] See note at
 "Oft have I seen . . ." in *2 Henry VI.*
 iii. ii. 161. Occurs again in *Love's*
Labour's Lost, *Richard III.*, and *Titus*
Andronicus, "Oft have you heard . . ."

For thou shalt know this strong right hand of mine
 Can pluck the diadem from faint Henry's head,
 And wring the awful sceptre from his fist,
 Were he as famous and as bold in war
 As he is famed for mildness, peace, and prayer.

155

Rich. I know it well, Lord Warwick; blame me not:

'Tis love I bear thy glories makes me speak.
 But in this troublous time what's to be done?

Shall we go throw away our coats of steel,
 And wrap our bodies in black mourning gowns,
 Numbering our Ave-Maries with our beads?

160

Or shall we on the helmets of our foes
 Tell our devotion with revengeful arms?

If for the last, say ay, and to it, lords.

165

War. Why, therefore Warwick came to seek you out,

And therefore comes my brother Montague.

Attend me, lords. The proud insulting queen,
 With Clifford and the haught Northumberland,
 And of their feather many moe proud birds,
 Have wrought the easy-melting king like wax.

170

He swore consent to your succession,

His oath enrolled in the parliament;

And now to London all the crew are gone,

157-165. *I know it . . . 'Tis . . . makes . . . wrap . . . ay, and to it, lords]*
 125-133. *I know it . . . Twas . . . made . . . clad . . . I, and to it Lords Q.*
 166-173. *Why . . . seek you . . . moe . . . swore . . . parliament]* 134-141.
Why . . . find you . . . mo . . . sware . . . Parliament Q. 174-177. *And*
now . . . frustrate . . . beside May . . . I think . . . strong] 142-145. *But*

156. *famed . . . prayer]* See Part II.
 i. iii. 54-59 (and notes) for King Henry's
 disposition.

160. *coats of steel]* See "steeled
 coat," *1 Henry VI.* i. i. 81. Spenser
 has the expression here in *Faerie*
Queene, i. xi. 9:—

"And over all with brasen scales
 was armd,

Like plated *cote of Steele*."

It is in the description of that old
 Dragon often referred to. Kyd uses
 the term in *Cornelia*, v. i. 5: "Whose
coates of Steele base Death hath stolne
 into."

162. *Numbering . . . Ave-Maries*
 . . . *beads]* We have had this line in
 Part II. i. iii. 55. Compare Spenser's
Faerie Queene, i. i. 35:—

"He tolde of Saintes and Popes,
 and evermore

He strowde an Ave-Marie after
 and before."

163, 164. *on the helmets . . . Tell*
our devotion] Compare "write upon
 thy burgonet," Part II. v. i. 200,
 201.

168. *proud insulting]* See *1 Henry*
VI. i. ii. 138. Compare "haught in-
 sulting man," *Richard II.* iv. i. 254.
 "Haught" is also in *Richard III.*

169. *haught]* See last note. Earlier
 than "haughty," often (spelt "hault") in
 Golding's Ovid, especially in expression
 "hault of mind." Hawes has "haute
 courage," *Pastime of Pleasure* (rept.
 132), 1509.

170. *feather . . . birds]* See below,
 "birds of selfsame feather," *III.* iii. 161,
 and "I am not of that feather," *Timon*
of Athens, i. i. 100.

To frustrate both his oath and what beside 175
 May make against the house of Lancaster.
 Their power, I think, is thirty thousand strong :
 Now, if the help of Norfolk and myself,
 With all the friends that thou, brave Earl of March,
 Amongst the loving Welshmen canst procure, 180
 Will but amount to five-and-twenty thousand,
 Why, Via ! to London will we march amain,
 And once again bestride our foaming steeds,
 And once again cry—Charge upon our foes !
 But never once again turn back and fly. 185

Rich. Ay, now methinks I hear great Warwick speak.

Ne'er may he live to see a sunshine day,
 That cries—Retire, if Warwick bid him stay.

Edw. Lord Warwick, on thy shoulder will I lean ;
 And when thou fail'st,—as God forbid the hour !— 190
 Must Edward fall, which peril heaven forfend !

now . . . frustrate his oath or what besides May . . . I gesse them fifty thousand strong Q. 178-181. *Now . . . myself, With . . . March, Amongst . . . procure, Will . . . thousand]* 146-149. *Now . . . myselfe, Can but amount to 48 thousand, With . . . March, Among . . . procure Q.* 182-185. *Why, Via ! . . . upon our foes ! . . . and fly]* 150-153. *Why via . . . upon the foe . . . and flie Q.* 186-188. *Ay, now . . . if Warwick . . . stay]* 154-156. *I, now . . . when Warwike . . . stay Q.* 189-191. *Lord . . . fail'st,—as God . . . Must . . . forfend !]* 157-159. *Lord . . . faints, must . . . forefend Q.*

177-181. *thirty thousand . . . five-and-twenty thousand]* Note the wrongly altered numbers from Quarto. Holinshed gives King Edward's force at 48,660 before the battle of Towton. He quotes Wheathamsted that Henry's exceeded them by 20,000. The Quarto is nearer.

182. *Via]* See *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. 140, and v. ii. 112, and note (in this edition). Shakespeare has it again in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Merchant of Venice*, and *Henry V.* Whether *The True Tragedie*, or *Love's Labour's Lost* claim historical precedence for the use of the term is a question. Probably the former.

182. *to London]* See below, line 207, note.

182. *march amain]* "amain" is introduced from Q (Theobald) ; omitted in Ff. The expression "march amain" occurs again below, iv. viii. 4, iv. viii. 64, and *Titus Andronicus*, iv. iv. 65.

183-185. *once again . . . And once again . . . once again]* For the emphasis

in this repetition, see again at i. iv. 9 above, and note. A favourite method with Spenser.

183. *foaming steeds]* Spenser preceded this with "froth-fomy steed," *Facrie Queene*, i. xi. 23. He has "foaming tar" earlier, but "foamy" oftener. The latter is once in Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*.

187. *live to see . . . day]* Compare *Spanish Tragedy*, iii. vi. 5 :—

"But shall I never live to see the day

That I may come."

187. *sunshine day]* Occurs again in *Richard II.* iv. i. 221. In Spenser's *Shepherd's Calender*, January (Globe ed. 446, a) : "All in a sunneshine day."

190. *fail'st]* Steevens reads "fall'st." He had better have taken "faint'st" of Q. See note at "join'st," *1 Henry VI.* iii. iii. 75.

191. *heaven forfend]* See *1 Henry VI.* v. iv. 65. Again in *Othello* and *Winter's Tale*. A thoroughly Shakespearian ejaculation.

War. No longer Earl of March, but Duke of York :

The next degree is England's royal throne ;
For King of England shalt thou be proclaim'd
In every borough as we pass along ;

195

And he that throws not up his cap for joy
Shall for the fault make forfeit of his head.

King Edward, valiant Richard, Montague,
Stay we no longer, dreaming of renown,
But sound the trumpets, and about our task.

200

Rich. Then, Clifford, were thy heart as hard as steel,
As thou hast shown it flinty by thy deeds,

I come to pierce it, or to give thee mine.

Edw. Then strike up, drums ! God and Saint George for us !

Enter a Messenger.

War. How now ! what news ?

205

Mess. The Duke of Norfolk sends you word by me,
The Queen is coming with a puissant host ;

192-200. *No longer . . . throne ; For . . . throws not . . . the fault . . . renown, But . . . task*] 160-168. *No longer . . . king : And . . . casts not . . . the offence . . . renowne, But forward to effect these resolutions Q.* 201-204. *Then . . . for us*] omitted Q. 205-209. *Enter . . . War. How . . . news ?* *Mess. The . . . counsel. War. Why . . . warriors, let's away*] 169-172. *Enter . . . Mes. The . . . puissant power . . . counsell. War. Why . . . Lordes. Lets march away. Exeunt Omnes Q.*

193, 196. *throne . . . throws*] Capell reads "king . . . casts" here from Q. 196. *throws not up his cap for joy*] From Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, 512 (1543): "One Nashfeelde, and other belongyng to the protectoure, with some prentices and laddes . . . began . . . to crye 'Kyng Richarde, Kyng Rychard,' and there threwe up their cappes in token of ioye."

199. *Stay we*] See Introduction to Part I. on this form; and note at "Embrace we" in that play, II. i. 13. "*Stay we* no longer prating here" is a line in Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 383). The following line in Q contains "resolutions," Shakespeare never uses this plural. It is noticeable how scene-endings often fail in these plays, or have a different ring. Signs of Peele appear here.

200. *about our task*] I have no good parallel in Shakespeare for this expression, without a verb, and with an object after the almost verbal "about." "Set" or "go" is omitted. "He about

it straight" occurs in *Soliman and Perseda*, IV. ii. 82. And elsewhere in the same play. Compare Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. iii. (Dyce, 56, b): "Come, let's about it."

201-203. *heart . . . pierce it*] See below, III. i. 38.

201. *as hard as steel*] Compare Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (453, a): "Dig, brother dig, for she is *hard as steel*." And in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. iii. (46, b): "As black as jet and hard as iron or steel."

202. *flinty*] See above, I. iv. 142. Used earlier in Latimer, *New Eng. Dict.*, and for the word see Part I. II. i. 27. Often in Shakespeare both literally and as a metaphor.

204. *God and Saint George*] See *1 Henry VI.* IV. ii. 55; and below in this play, IV. ii. 29. So Hall (p. 250 rept.): "in the name of *God and Saint George . . . I will fight . . .*"

207. *The Queen is coming*] The "march amain" on London is set aside by this news. That it was

And craves your company for speedy counsel.

War. Why then it sorts; brave warriors, let's away.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.—*Before York.*

Flourish. Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, the PRINCE OF WALES, CLIFFORD, and NORTHUMBERLAND, with drum and trumpets.

Q. Mar. Welcome, my lord, to this brave town of York.

Yonder's the head of that arch-enemy

That sought to be encompass'd with your crown:

Doth not the object cheer your heart, my lord?

K. Hen. Ay, as the rocks cheer them that fear their wreck: 5

To see this sight, it irks my very soul.

Withhold revenge, dear God! 'tis not my fault,

Nor wittingly have I infringed my vow.

Clif. My gracious liege, this too much lenity

Enter . . .] Enter the King, the Queene, Clifford, Northum. . . . and Yong Prince, with Drumm and Trumpettes F 1; Enter the King and Queene, Prince Edward, and the Northerne Earles, with drum and Souldiers Q. 1-4. Welcome . . . arch-enemy . . . encompass'd . . . cheer your heart, my lord?] 1-4. Welcome . . . ambitious enemy . . . impaled . . . please your eye my lord? Q. 5-8. Ay, as . . . cheer . . . wreck: To see . . . soul. Withhold . . . vow] 5-7. Euen as . . . wracke. Withhold . . . vow Q. 9-20. My gracious liege . . . their den . . . forest bear . . . her young . . . her face. Who 'scapes . . . in

historically correct, see Hall (253): "The erles of Marche and Warwycke, hauing perfite knowledge that the kyng and queene with their adherentes were departed from Saint Albons, determined first to ryde to London as the chefe Key, and common spectacle to the whole Realme, thinking there to assure them selfs of the East and West parte of the kingdome [Norfolk and Wales], as King Henry and his faction nsteded and strengthened him and his alies in the North regions and boreal plage: meaning to haue a buckelar against a sword, and a southerne byl to counteruayle a Northern bassard" ["bastard," Grafton]. From this point, history goes wholly astray in the dramatic sequence. Mr. Boswell Stone eases the position by "We may suppose."

207. *puissant host*] "By reason whereof he [King Edward the iii] assembled together a *puissant army*" (Hall, p. 252). And on p. 251.

209. *it sorts*] it is fitting, it fits. See *Troilus and Cressida*, I. i. 109.

SCENE II.

1. *Welcome . . . York*] "While these things were in doying in the South part, King Henry beyng in the North country, thinking because he had slayn the duke of Yorke . . . that he had brought all thyng to purpose . . . assembled a great army. . . . But he was sore deceiued: for out of the dead stocke sprang . . . Kyng Edward the iiij" (Hall, 252).

3. *impaled with . . . crown*] in Q is altered here. It occurs below, III. ii. 171 and III. iii. 189. And in Q at last reference.

9. *liege*] Note the change from the wearisome "lord," so often repeated. The same has occurred in Part II. (III. i.).

9. *lenity*] Compare Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng* (p. 571), 1543: "yf he should remitte that faulte other would abuse his *lenitee* and trespass

And harmful pity must be laid aside. 10
 To whom do lions cast their gentle looks?
 Not to the beast that would usurp their den.
 Whose hand is that the forest bear doth lick?
 Not his that spoils her young before her face.
 Who 'scapes the lurking serpent's mortal sting? 15
 Not he that sets his foot upon her back.
 The smallest worm will turn being trodden on,
 And doves will peck in safeguard of their brood.
 Ambitious York did level at thy crown;
 Thou smiling while he knit his angry brows: 20
 He, but a duke, would have his son a king,
 And raise his issue like a loving sire;

safeguard . . . brows] 8-19. *My gracious lord . . . his den . . . savage Bear*
. . . his young . . . his face. Whose scapes . . . in rescue . . . browes Q.
 21-32. *He, but a duke . . . yield consent . . . unloving . . . with those . . .*

more highly." An earlier use than any quoted.

13. *forest bear*] untamed; more than usually savage and wild bear. Compare "mountain lioness," *Titus Andronicus*, iv. ii. 138. And see below, v. vii. 10-12: "two brave bears . . . That made the forest tremble." Marlowe speaks of "The forest deer" in *Edward II.* (212, b).

15. *Who . . . lurking serpent's mortal sting*] Compare *Lucrece*, 362-364:—

"Who sees the lurking serpent steps aside;

But she . . .

Lies at the mercy of his mortal sting."

Spenser has "an Adder lurking in the weeds" (*Faerie Queene*, II. v. 34).

17. *The smallest worm will turn being trodden on*] "Tread a worme on the taylor and it must turne agayn" (Heywood (ed. Sharman), p. 111, 1546). It is in A. Munday's *English Romayne Life*, 1590 (Harl. Miscell. ii. 200). The whole passage might have been suggested by this one in Hall (270), spoken by Warwick: "what worme is touched, and will not once turne againe? what beast is stricken that will not rore sound? What innocent child is hurte that will not crye? If the poore and unreasonable beasts: If the sely babes," etc.

18. *doves will peck*] See above, I. iv.

41. Compare for the sentiment the swan and her downy cygnets, v. iii. 56 in Part I.

18. *in safeguard of*] Compare *Richard III.* v. iii. 259: "in safeguard of your wives." And see *Measure for Measure*, v. i. 424 (in this edition, note). Golding has "by like in you Sir snudge, Consistes the savegard of us all" (iii. 821, 822).

19. *level at thy crown*] Compare "level at my life," *2 Henry VI.* iii. i. 160. It is said there of "dogged York" (not in the *First Contention*).

20. *knit his angry brows*] "knit his brows" occurs again in *2 Henry VI.* i. ii. 3 and iii. i. 15; and see below, iii. ii. 82; and *Lucrece*, "knit brow," 709. One of the many expressions in these plays showing continuity and identity of authorship between them and known work of Shakespeare's. In Q. Note always too the identity of all these important and thoroughly Shakespearian speeches with those in Q. And the utter futility of distinguishing writers. *New English Dictionary* gives the expression from Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1386, and Caxton, *Sonnes of Aymon*, 1489, with Shakespeare next. But Shakespeare read the following: "The protectoure . . . came in agayn . . . with a sowre angry countenance, knittyng the browes, frownyng, and frettyng, and gnawynge on his lyppes" (*Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 493, 1543).

Thou, being a king, bless'd with a goodly son,
 Didst yield consent to disinherit him,
 Which argued thee a most unloving father. 25
 Unreasonable creatures feed their young;
 And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,
 Yet, in protection of their tender ones,
 Who hath not seen them, even with those wings
 Which sometime they have used with fearful flight, 30
 Make war with him that climb'd unto their nest,
 Offering their own lives in their young's defence?
 For shame, my liege, make them your precedent!
 Were it not pity that this goodly boy
 Should lose his birthright by his father's fault, 35
 And long hereafter say unto his child,
 "What my great-grandfather and grandsire got
 My careless father fondly gave away"?
 Ah, what a shame were this! Look on the boy;
 And let his manly face, which promiseth 40
 Successful fortune, steel thy melting heart
 To hold thine own and leave thine own with him.

K. Hen. Full well hath Clifford play'd the orator,
 Inferring arguments of mighty force.
 But, Clifford, tell me, didst thou never hear 45
 That things ill got had ever bad success?

used with fearful . . . climb'd . . . defence ?] 20-31. *He but a Duke . . . give consent . . . vnnaturall . . . with those same wings Which they haue sometime vsde in fearefull . . . climes . . . defence ?* Q. 33-42. *For shame, my liege . . . precedent . . . birthright by . . . away ? Ah, . . . this ! Look . . . fortune, steel . . . heart To hold . . . with him*] 32-41. *For shame, my Lord . . . president . . . birth right through . . . awaie ? Looke . . . fortune to vs all, Steele . . . thoughtes to keepe . . . with him* Q. 43-48. *Full well . . . But, . . . hear That things ill . . . always was . . . hell ?*] 42-47. *Full well . . . But tell me, didst thou neuer yet heare tell, That things euill . . . euer was . . . hell ?* Q.

33. *precedent*] "president" in Ff and Q, the common spelling of the time.

41. *steel thy . . . heart*] This expression is in *Henry V.* iv. i. 306, and *Venus and Adonis*, 375, 376. And "steel thy fearful thoughts" occurs in *2 Henry VI.* iii. i. 331. See also Sonnet 112, and *Richard II.* v. ii. 34. Note the improved metre from Quarto in 39-42, by insertion of "Ah what a shame were this." But it is more likely these are dropped words of a printer from a bad manuscript.

43. *play'd the orator*] See note *1 Henry VI.* iv. i. 175; and above in

this play, i. ii. 2 (and notes). Another continuity-phrase.

44. *Inferring*] alleging, adducing. See below, iii. i. 49. "Inferreth arguments." Elsewhere several times in *Richard III.* only. An uncommon use outside Shakespeare. Greene often uses "infer"—"infer comparison" is in *Mamillia* twice (draw comparisons).

46. *things ill got . . .*] An old saw. Compare Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale* (Globe ed. 523, b): "Ill might it prosper that ill gotten was." Heywood has (1546): "Soone gotten, soone spent, ill gotten, ill spent" (Sharman's

And happy always was it for that son
 Whose father for his hoarding went to hell?
 I'll leave my son my virtuous deeds behind;
 And would my father had left me no more! 50

For all the rest is held at such a rate
 As brings a thousand-fold more care to keep
 Than in possession any jot of pleasure.
 Ah, cousin York, would thy best friends did know
 How it doth grieve me that thy head is here! 55

Q. Mar. My lord, cheer up your spirits: our foes are nigh,
 And this soft courage makes your followers faint.
 You promis'd knighthood to our forward son:
 Unsheathe your sword, and dub him presently.
 Edward, kneel down. 60

K. Hen. Edward Plantagenet, arise a knight;
 And learn this lesson, draw thy sword in right.

Prince. My gracious father, by your kingly leave,
 I'll draw it as apparent to the crown,
 And in that quarrel use it to the death. 65

Clif. Why, that is spoken like a toward prince.

49-53. *I'll leave . . . thousand-fold more . . . Than . . . pleasure*] 48-52. *I leave . . . asks a thousand times more . . . Then maie the present profit counteruaile Q.* 54, 55. *Ah, . . . is here!*] 53, 54. *Ah . . . stands there Q.* 56-60. *My lord . . . kneel down*] 55-58. *My lord, this harmefull pittie makes your followers faint. You promise knighthood to your princelie sonne, Vnsheath your sword and straight doe dub him knight. Kneele downe Edward Q.* 61-66. *Edward . . . lesson, draw . . . Clif. Why . . . prince*] 59-64. *Edward . . . lesson boy, draw . . . Northum. Why . . . prince Q.*

ed. p. 131). And in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, 518: "the thyng euell gotten is neuer well kepte." Halliwell gives Latin parallels from Erasmus and Juvenal.

47, 48. *happy . . . was . . . that son Whose father . . . to hell*] An old adage, but "for his hoarding" is Shakespeare's insertion, and the application is his own. The original is in Latimer's *Seven Sermons* (Arber, p. 97), 1549: "Happy is the chylde whose father goeth to the Deuyll." It is also in T. Lupton's *All for Money* (Halliwell rept. p. 156), 1578. It is in Harrington's *Epigrams*, Ray's *Proverbs*, etc. Halliwell and Staunton have wrongly made this an evidence of Greene's work. Greene never came where this work grew. Greene has a very silly comment on it in *The Royall Exchange* (Grosart, vii. 235), quoted by Halliwell. Tom Brown (*Works*, ed.

1708, iii. 74) refers to a song of the proverb, about a fop newly come to his estate.

57. *soft courage*] replaces "harmful pity" of Quarto; a better phrase, but it has been used above at line 10.

57. *faint*] See above, i. i. 129.

59. *dub him presently*] This occurred after Mortimer's Cross and the second battle of Saint Albans which followed close, and is thus told in sequence from Hall, quoted at ii. i. 111: "When quene Margaret had thus well sped, first she caused the kyng to dubbe prince Edward his sonne, knyght, with xxx. other persons, which in the morning fought on the queene's side, against his parte" (p. 252).

66. *toward*] willing, courageous. See *Soliman and Perseda* (Boas' Kyd), i. iv. 35, 36: "Tis wondrous that so yong a toward warriour Should bide the shock of such approved knights." And

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Royal commanders, be in readiness :

For with a band of thirty thousand men
Comes Warwick, backing of the Duke of York ;
And in the towns, as they do march along, 70
Proclaims him king, and many fly to him.
Darraign your battle, for they are at hand.

Clif. I would your highness would depart the field :

The queen hath best success when you are absent.

Q. Mar. Ay, good my lord, and leave us to our fortune. 75

K. Hen. Why, that's my fortune too : therefore I'll stay.

North. Be it with resolution then to fight.

Prince. My royal father, cheer these noble lords,
And hearten those that fight in your defence.

Unsheathe your sword, good father : cry, "Saint
George!" 80

67-72. Royal . . . thirty . . . towns . . . along . . . fly to him. Darraign . . . battle . . . are at hand] 65-70. Royall . . . fiftie . . . townes whereas they passe along . . . flies to him. Prepare . . . battels . . . be at hand Q. 73-75. I would . . . Ay, good my . . . fortune] 71-73. I would . . . Do good my . . . fortunes Q. 76, 77. Why . . . fortune . . . stay. North. Be . . . fight] 74, 75. Why . . . fortune, therefore Ile stay still. Clif. Be . . . fight Q. 78-80. My . . . George] 76-78. Good father cheere these noble Lords,

Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. 1 (Dyce, 61, a): "my other toward brother here For person like to prove a second Mars."

66-69. *Enter a Messenger . . . Warwick, backing of the Duke of York*] Immediately after the knighthood of Henry's son, and the settling of riots in London between the Commons and the Queen's "Northren horsemen," Hall writes: "But what soeuer man purposeth, God disposeth ; for all these deuises were shortly transmuted into another forme, because trew report was broght, not onely to the citie, but also to the quene, that the erle of Marche [Duke of York] had vanquished the erles of Pembroke and Wiltshyre . . . and that the erle of Warwycke . . . had mete with the sayd erle of Marche at Chippyng Norton . . . and that they with both their powers were cominge towarde London. These trew tales turned the quenes purpose . . . in so muche that she . . . with her husband and sonne, departed from Saint Albon's into the North Countrey" (pp. 252-255). This is undoubtedly the hint on which Shakespeare spoke:

the places where, differ, but the manner how, is the same.

72. *Darraign*] An old expression occurring in Chaucer several times, and in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, i. vii. 11 ; ii. ii. 26 ; iii. i. 20. And often in Hall and Grafton. Another form of "derrain," set in order, range. Not in Qq (which use "prepare") and nowhere else in Shakespeare. See note at "hap" and "hope," ii. iii. 8, below.

73, 74. *I would . . . absent*] See note at ii. i. 111: "where his person was present, there victory fled."

75. *good my lord*] Shakespeare's favourite transposition. We have had "good my lords" already in Part I. iv. i. 133. See note at "sweet my child," *Love's Labour's Lost*, i. ii. 65, and "good my knave," *ibid.* iii. i. 144. The expression here is in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iii. iv. (Dyce, 57, a): "Come, good my lord, and let us haste from hence."

79. *hearten*] omitted (with the line) in Q, and only again in *Lucrece*, 295: "*heartens* up his servile powers." Compare Golding's Ovid, viii. 290: "So *heartens* he his little son to

March. Enter EDWARD, GEORGE, RICHARD, WARWICK,
NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, and Soldiers.

Edw. Now, perjur'd Henry, wilt thou kneel for grace,
And set thy diadem upon my head ;
Or bide the mortal fortune of the field ?

Q. Mar. Go, rate thy minions, proud insulting boy !
Becomes it thee to be thus bold in terms 85
Before thy sovereign and thy lawful king ?

Edw. I am his king, and he should bow his knee ;
I was adopted heir by his consent :
Since when, his oath is broke ; for, as I hear,
You, that are king, though he do wear the crown, 90
Have caused him, by new act of Parliament,
To blot out me, and put his own son in.

Clif. And reason too :
Who should succeed the father but the son ?

Rich. Are you there, butcher ? O ! I cannot speak ! 95

Clif. Ay, crook-back ; here I stand to answer thee,
Or any he the proudest of thy sort.

Rich. 'Twas you that kill'd young Rutland, was it not ?

Clif. Ay, and old York, and yet not satisfied.

Vnsheath your sword, sweet father crie Saint George. Clif. Pitch we our battell heere, for hence wee will not moue. Enter the house of Yorke Q. 81.
March. Enter Edward, George . . .] March. Enter Edward . . . Clarence . . . Ff. 81-83. *Now . . . kneel for . . . the field ?]* 79, 80. *Now . . . yeaude thy crowne, And kneele for mercie at thy soueraignes feete ? Q.* 84-86. *Go, rate . . . bold in terms Before . . . king ?]* 81-83. *Go rate . . . malapert, Before thy king and lawfull soueraigne ? Q.* 87, 88. *I am . . . bow his . . . consent]* 84, 85. *I am . . . bend his . . . consent Q.* 89-92. *Since when, . . . I hear . . . blot out me, . . . own son in]* 86-90. *George. Since when he hath broke his oath. For as we heare . . . own son in Q.* 93, 94. *And reason too . . . son ?]* 91. *And reason George . . . son ? Q.* 95. *Are . . . speak !]* 92. *Are you their butcher ? Qq 1, 2 (there Q 3).* 96, 97. *Ay . . . Or any . . . sort]* 93. *I . . . or any of your sort]* Q. 98, 99. *'Twas you . . . York, and . . . satisfied]* 94, 95. *'Twas you . . . Yorke too, and . . . satisfide Q.*

follow." And in Spenser's *Ruines of Rome*, st. 22.

84. *proud insulting]* See above, 11. i. 168 (note).

89. *Since when]* A new speech in Q, given to "George," begins here. In the first Folio this is altered to Clarence. Ff 2, 3, 4 set it right.

97. *Or any he the proudest of thy sort]* See note at *1 Henry VI.* iv. vii. 84 ; and above, at "The proudest he," i. i. 46. This line occurs in Greene's

Alphonsus (Grosart, xiii. 396): "Or any he, the proudest of you all." It may very well have amazed Greene to see it here. But that implies that *3 Henry VI.* precedes the *Groatsworth of Wit.* 97. *sort]* set, kind. Usually in a bad sense in Shakespeare. Hawes used it :—

"So fayre and good a sorte
Of goodly knyghtes"
(*Pastime of Pleasure*) (Chiswick rept. p. 129), 1509.

Rich. For God's sake, lords, give signal to the fight. 100

War. What say'st thou, Henry, wilt thou yield the crown?

Q. Mar. Why, how now, long-tongued Warwick! dare you speak?

When you and I met at Saint Alban's last,
Your legs did better service than your hands.

War. Then 'twas my turn to fly, and now 'tis thine. 105

Clif. You said so much before, and yet you fled.

War. 'Twas not your valour, Clifford, drove me thence.

North. No, nor your manhood that durst make you stay.

Rich. Northumberland, I hold thee reverently.

Break off the parley; for scarce I can refrain 110

The execution of my big-swoln heart

Upon that Clifford, that cruel child-killer.

Clif. I slew thy father: call'st thou him a child?

Rich. Ay, like a dastard and a treacherous coward,

As thou didst kill our tender brother Rutland; 115

But ere sun set I'll make thee curse the deed.

K. Hen. Have done with words, my lords, and hear me speak.

Q. Mar. Defy them then, or else hold close thy lips.

100, 101. *For God's . . . signal . . . the crown?* 96, 97. *For Gods . . . synald* (signall Q 3) . . . *thy crowne?* Q. 102-104. *Why . . . long-tongued . . . hands?* 98-100. *What, long tongde . . . hand* Q. 105-107. *Then 'twas . . . fly, and . . . Clifford . . . thence?* 101-103. *I, then twas . . . flee, but . . . Clifford, that . . . thence* Q. 108-112. *No, . . . manhood . . . make . . . I hold . . . Upon that Clifford . . . child-killer?* 104-109. *No, . . . manhood* *War-wike, that could make . . . Northumberland, Northumberland, wee holde . . . against that Clifford there, . . . child killer* Q. 113-116. *I slew . . . dastard . . . sun set . . . deed?* 110-113. *Why I kild . . . villaine . . . sunne set* [Sun-set F 2, Sun set Ff 3, 4] . . . *deed* Q. 117-125. *Have done . . . my lords . . . My liege . . . cured . . . his tongue?* 114-122. *Have doone . . . great lordes . . . My Lord cru'd (cur'd Q 3) . . . hangs vpon his tongue* Q.

102. *long-tongued*] Again in *Titus Andronicus*, iv. ii. 150. Shakespeare was fond of the word *tongued*. He uses it with close-, honey-, lewd-, maiden-, poisonous-, shrill-, trumpet-, and wasp-. He uses -mouthed similarly (Spenser has "fire-mouthed"), but the *tongued* compound is his own probably. He is the monarch of compounds, and Schmidt his chief exponent.

109-112. *Northumberland . . . child-killer*] The unmetrical confusion in Q is again noticeable.

110. *refrain*] Nowhere else used transitively by Shakespeare. Compare Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (468, b): "If thou unkindly shouldst *refrain* her bed." *New Eng. Dict.* gives the passage in text as earliest of "refrain" in sense of "give up (something)."

111. *big-swoln*] Occurs again (of the face of the sea) in *Titus Andronicus*, iii. i. 224. Compare "high-swoln," *Richard III.* ii. ii. 117. Another proof of Shakespeare's continued authorship, for this line occurs in *The First Part of Contention*: "The *big swolne* venome of thy hatefull heart" (i. i. 86), in a speech of the Cardinal's which has no counterpart in *2 Henry VI*. The word here is in Q.

112. *child-killer*] See Hall's words, quoted at i. iv. 95.

116. *sun set*] of Q, is certainly to be preferred to "sunset." So I read in *King John*, iii. i. 110, but not in *Romeo and Juliet*, iii. v. 128, nor in Sonnet 73. Ff 3, 4 have "sun set."

- K. Hen.* I prithee, give no limits to my tongue :
I am a king, and privileged to speak. 120
- Clif.* My liege, the wound that bred this meeting here
Cannot be cured by words ; therefore be still.
- Rich.* Then, executioner, unsheathe thy sword.
By Him that made us all, I am resolv'd
That Clifford's manhood lies upon his tongue. 125
- Edw.* Say, Henry, shall I have my right or no ?
A thousand men have broke their fasts to-day,
That ne'er shall dine unless thou yield the crown.
- War.* If thou deny, their blood upon thy head ;
For York in justice puts his armour on. 130
- Prince.* If that be right which Warwick says is right,
There is no wrong, but every thing is right.
- Rich.* Whoever got thee, there thy mother stands ;
For well I wot thou hast thy mother's tongue.
- Q. Mar.* But thou art neither like thy sire nor dam, 135
But like a foul misshapen stigmatic,
Mark'd by the destinies to be avoided,

126-132. *Say, Henry . . . fasts . . . blood upon . . . If that . . . which . . . every thing is right*] 123-129. *What saist thou, Henry . . . fast . . . bloods be on . . . If all . . . that . . . all things must be right* Q. 133-138. *Whoever . . . dreadful stings*] 130-135. *Whatsoever . . . fainting lookes* Q.

119. *I prithee*] A permanent favourite with Shakespeare. Over twenty times in the plays.

119. *give no limits to my tongue*] So in *Richard III.* III. vii. 194: "for reverence to some alive, I gave a sparing limit to my tongue."

122. *therefore be still*] See note at "Get thee gone," I. i. 258, above, where the words here are eliminated from Q. No doubt due to the careful supervision we have continual evidence of.

124. *By Him that . . .*] So in Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 406):—

"By Him that died for me, I will not dine,

Till I have seen thee hanged or made away."

In the text the pathos is absurd: can a line be lost? See note at Part II. I. i.

111. And Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, II. ii. 89: "I swear to both, by Him that made us all."

128. *ne'er shall dine unless*] See last note from *Jack Straw*. And in *Rich-*

ard III. III. iv. 79: "I swear I will not dine until I see the same"; where it is taken verbatim from Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 495, 1543.

133. *Whoever got thee*] See "Mene-laüs," below, I. 147. At the birth of Prince Edward, Hall says (rept. p. 230): "which was christened & named Edward . . . whose mother susteyned not a little slaunder and obloquye of the common people, sayng that the kyng was not able to get a chyld, and that this was not his sonne, with many slaunderous woords, to the quenes dishonor, which here neded not to be rehersed." This speech is erroneously (as the answer shows) given to Warwick in the *Folios*.

134. *well I wot*] See *1 Henry VI.* IV. vi. 32 (note), and Introduction, p. xxviii.

136. *foul . . . stigmatic*] These words, "foul stigmatic," have occurred already in Part II. v. i. 215, applied by young Clifford to Richard. See note. Drayton remembered to use it in his Epistle from Q. Margaret.

As venom toads, or lizards' dreadful stings.

Rich. Iron of Naples hid with English gilt,
Whose father bears the title of a king, 140
As if a channel should be call'd the sea,
Sham'st thou not, knowing whence thou art extraught,
To let thy tongue detect thy base-born heart?

Edw. A wisp of straw were worth a thousand crowns,
To make this shameless callat know herself. 145
Helen of Greece was fairer far than thou,
Although thy husband may be Menelaus;

139-143. *Iron . . . whose . . . Sham'st . . . knowing . . . heart ?*] 136-140. *Iron . . . Thy . . . Shames . . . knowing from whence thou art deride, to parlie thus with Englands lawfull heires ? Q.* 144, 145. *A wisp . . . this shameless . . . herself*] 141, 142. *A wispe . . . that shamelesse . . . her selfe Q.* 146-149. *Helen . . . by thee*] omitted Q.

138. *venom*] Used adjectively again in *Richard III.* i. iii. 291; and *Lucrece*, 850.

138. *lizards' dreadful stings*] Altered from "fainting looks" of Q. "Lizards stings" occurs in *2 Henry VI.* iii. ii. 325. "Fainting looks," looks that produce fainting. One would suggest Lodge's "fainful."

141. *channel*] gutter, kennel, drain.

142. *extraught*] derived (the Quarto word). A participle for extracted, like distraught for distracted. Spenser has "from whose race . . . she was lineallie extract" (*Faerie Queene*, iii. ix. 38). "Extraught" occurs twice in the *Troublesome Raigne of King John*, where Shakespeare read it, probably earlier than this play: "I beg some instance whence I am extraught" (Shakespeare's Library, Hazlitt, p. 234). And on p. 236. Earlier examples are in *New Eng. Dict.*

143. *detect*] betray, expose. The oldest sense, and Shakespeare's usual one. This line completely differs from Quarto. See next note.

143. *base-born*] A word of Peele's, but earlier in Churchyard. See note in Part II. i. iii. 82 to "base-born callat." In neither case is this word in the Quartos. Spenser has "base-born men" in *Ruines of Time and Teares of the Muses*. It is several times in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I.

144. *A wisp of straw*] the badge of a scold. See Nares for ample illustrations, culled mostly from the com-

mentators on this passage, as found in Steevens (1793). It was part of the ceremony of "Skimmington," not quite forgotten in the north of Ireland but confounded with "riding the stang" by Nares. Steevens gives an early reference from Drant's *Horace*, Seventh Satire, 1567:—

"So perfyte and exacte a scouldie
that women mighte geve place
Whose tatylynge tongues had won
a wispe."

The only early one I can add is from Gabriel Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation* (Grosart, ii. 219), 1593: "She hath already put-on her wispen garland"—Harvey's *tu quoque* to Nashe in *Pierce Penilisse*. See, too, Ben Jonson, *The Vision of Delight*, 1607.

145. *callat*] See Part II. i. iii. 82, and note at "base-born callat." It is hard to reject the idea that the repetition here (from Part II.) is smoothed away by parting the company of these terms, though only by a line or two. "Callat" is an old word, often in Skelton and Golding (Irish, *cailleach*). A violent scold, or horrid old woman.

147. *Menelaus*] Steevens quotes from *Troilus and Cressida* (v. i. 60), where Thersites, speaking of Menelaus, calls him "the goodly transformation of Jupiter there, his brother, the bull,—the primitive statue and oblique memorial of cuckolds." Schmidt adds the reference to *Troilus and Cressida*, i. i. 115: "*Menelaus horn*," the prototype of cuckolds.

And ne'er was Agamemnon's brother wrong'd
 By that false woman as this king by thee.
 His father revell'd in the heart of France, 150
 And tam'd the king, and made the Dauphin stoop;
 And had he match'd according to his state,
 He might have kept that glory to this day;
 But when he took a beggar to his bed,
 And graced thy poor sire with his bridal day, 155
 Even then that sunshine brew'd a shower for him,
 That wash'd his father's fortunes forth of France,
 And heap'd sedition on his crown at home.
 For what hath broach'd this tumult but thy pride?
 Hadst thou been meek our title still had slept, 160
 And we, in pity of the gentle king,
 Had slipp'd our claim until another age.

Geo. But when we saw our sunshine made thy spring,
 And that thy summer bred us no increase,
 We set the axe to thy usurping root; 165
 And though the edge hath something hit ourselves,
 Yet know thou, since we have begun to strike,
 We'll never leave till we have hewn thee down,
 Or bathed thy growing with our heated bloods.

Edw. And in this resolution I defy thee; 170
 Not willing any longer conference,
 Since thou deniest the gentle king to speak.

150-162. *His father . . . the king . . . brew'd a shower . . . That wash'd . . . sedition . . . broach'd this tumult . . . still had . . . another age* 143-155. *Thy husband's father . . . the French . . . till this daie . . . bridal daie, Then . . . bred a showre . . . Which washt . . . seditions . . . mou'd . . . these tumults . . . yet had . . . an other age Q.* 163-169. *But . . . sunshine . . . spring, And thy summer bred . . . We set . . . edge hath . . . know thou . . . till we . . . bloods* 156-162. *But . . . summer brought the gaine, And . . . the haruest brought . . . We set . . . edge haue . . . know thou we will neuer cease to strike, Till . . . blouds Q.* 170-177. *And in . . . Stay, Edward . . . No . . . we'll . . . These . . . this day. Exeunt* 163-170. *And in . . . staie Edward staie. Hence . . . Ile . . . Thy . . . to daie. Exeunt Omnes Q.*

156, 157. *Even then . . . France*] I venture to call attention to these perfect and perfectly Shakespearian lines, found also in the Quarto.

159. *broach'd*] Better than "moved" of Q. Started, set going. Shakespeare has "broached a business" in *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Henry VIII.* and in *Titus Andronicus*.

162. *slipp'd*] left unnoticed. Compare *Macbeth*, II. iii. 52: "I have almost *slipp'd* the hour." No other

parallel in Shakespeare? Compare Peele, *Anglorum Ferie* (595, b): "To *slip* remembrance of those careful days" (skip, pass by). But this piece is later, 1595.

172. *deniest*] forbiddest. Several times in Shakespeare, to deny a person to do something. Compare Golding's Ovid: "Delay breeds losses. The cace *denyes* now dowing vor too stond" (forbids us to stand in doubt), xi. 432.

Sound trumpets! let our bloody colours wave!

And either victory, or else a grave.

Q. Mar. Stay, Edward.

175

Edw. No, wrangling woman, we'll no longer stay:

These words will cost ten thousand lives this day.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*A field of battle between Towton and Saxton,
in Yorkshire.*

Alarums. Excursions. Enter WARWICK.

War. Forspent with toil, as runners with a race,

I lay me down a little while to breathe;

For strokes received, and many blows repaid,

Have robb'd my strong-knit sinews of their strength,

And spite of spite needs must I rest awhile.

5

Enter EDWARD, running.

Edw. Smile, gentle heaven! or strike, ungentle death!

For this world frowns, and Edward's sun is clouded.

War. How now, my lord! what hap? what hope of good?

SCENE III. *A field . . .*] Malone, Cambridge. *Alarums . . .*] Ff; *Alarumes.* Enter Warwick Q. 1-5. *Forspent . . . Have . . . spite of spite . . . awhile.* Enter . . .] 1-5. *Sore spent . . . the race . . . Hath robb'd . . . force perforce . . . my selfe.* Enter Edward Q. 6, 7. *Smile . . . heaven . . . death! . . . clouded]* 6-9. *Smile . . . heavens . . . death, That we maie die vlesse we gaine the daie: What fatall starre malignant frownes from heauen Vpon the harmlesse line of Yorkes true house?* Enter George Q. 8. *War. How now . . . good?*] 14. *War. How now . . . good?* Q.

1. *Forspent*] exhausted. Compare 2 *Henry IV.* i. i. 37. Thoroughly spent. Nothing to do with "forespent," meaning foregone, or previously expended. The reading of the Quartos, "sore spent" is instructive. It accounts for the Folio "Fore-spent." Golding gives an example of the sense here: "now Am I *forespent* and worne with yeeres," (xii. 490, 491). And Spenser of the other construction: "Is not enough thy euill life *forespent*?" (*Faerie Queene*, i. ix. 43).

4. *strong - knit*] Compare "well-knit" in *Love's Labour's Lost*, i. ii. 70 (note in this edition). But the three lines (3, 4, 5) occur again in Q at v. ii. 25-28 (omitted in 3 *Henry VI.*) where "spite of spite" is the reading.

5. *spite of spite*] come what may;

no matter what worse happens. Occurs again in *King John*, v. iv. 5. For the "force perforce" which this replaces (in Quarto), and which also occurs in *King John*, iii. i. 142, see 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 258. "Force perforce" occurs in *The Spanish Tragedy*. See Introduction, Part II.

7. *For . . . clouded*] replaced by three different lines in Q. "Malignant star" has occurred in Part I. iv. v. 6. "Suns" refers to Edward's badge. Shakespeare rejoiced in this allusion. See below, ii. vi. 8 (note).

8, 9. *hap . . . hope*] Compare Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I. iii. ii. (1578): "I nowe will seeke to turne to *happe his hope*." And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i. vii. 11: "Who haplesse, and eke hopelesse, all in vaine

Enter GEORGE.

Geo. Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair,
Our ranks are broke, and ruin follows us. 10
What counsel give you? whither shall we fly?
Edw. Bootless is flight, they follow us with wings;
And weak we are, and cannot shun pursuit.

Enter RICHARD.

Rich. Ah, Warwick, why hast thou withdrawn thyself?
Thy brother's blood the thirsty earth hath drunk, 15
Broach'd with the steely point of Clifford's lance;
And in the very pangs of death he cried,
Like to a dismal clangor heard from far,
"Warwick, revenge! brother, revenge my death!"

9-11. *Our hap . . . fly*] 10-13. *Come brother, come, lets to the field againe, For yet theres hope inough to win the daie: Then let vs backe to cheere our fainting Troupes, lest they retire now we haue left the field* Q. 12, 13. *Bootless . . . pursuit*] omitted Q. 14-22. *Ah, Warwick, . . . thyself? Thy . . . The noble . . . ghost*] 15-25. *Ah Warwike . . . thy selfe? Thy noble father in the thickest*

Did to him pace sad battaile to dar-
rayne." In Q lines 8 and 9 are replaced
by a different speech. Line 8 is there,
however (as l. 14), in a different con-
text. Kyd sets "hapless" and "hope-
less" in apposition in *Spanish Tragedy*
and *Cornelia*.

15. *blood . . . earth . . . drunk*] See
below, line 23; *Richard III.* i. ii. 63,
65. Compare *Genesis* iv. 11. See
Marlowe's *Edward II.* quoted at v. vi.
61 below.

15-24. *Thy brother's blood . . .
I will not fly*] These passages are
from Hall's account of the conflict
at Ferrybridge preceding the fight at
Towton (March 28-9, 1461). Hall
says: "the lorde Clifforde determined
with his light horsemen, to make an
assaye to such as kept the passage of
Ferrybridge. . . . The lord Fitzwalter
. . . was slayne, and with hym the
Bastard of Salisbury, brother to the
Erle of Warwycke, a valeaunt yong
gentelman, and of great audacitie.
When the erle of Warwycke was en-
formed of this feate, he like a man
desperate, mounted on his Hackeney,
and came blowyng to Kyng Edward,
saiyng: syr I praye God haue mercy
of their soules, which in the beginning
of your enterprise hath lost their lifes
. . . and with that lighted doune and

slew his horse with his swourde, saiying
let him fle that wil, for sureley I will
tary with him that wil tary with me,
and kissed the crosse of his sword"
(p. 253).

15, 16. *blood . . . Broach'd*] Again
in *1 Henry VI.* iii. iv. 40 (note) and *2
Henry VI.* iv. x. 40, but not elsewhere.
For "thrise valiant" in Q here, see
Introduction, Part I. It occurs in
Titus Andronicus. Evidences of Peele
appear here in Q.

16. *thickest thronges*] in Quarto.
See note above, ii. i. 13, at "thickest
troop." And below, v. iv. 49.

16. *steely*] "steely harted" occurs
in Golding's Ovid, xiv. 831. Else-
where Shakespeare has it in *All's
Well that Ends Well*.

17. *pangs of death*] Occurs in Pals-
grave's *L'Esclaircissement*, 1530. A
favourite with Shakespeare and in six
plays at least. See *2 Henry VI.* iii.
iii. 24. But only three times of actual
death specified.

18. *clangor*] The earliest example
in *New Eng. Dict.* Ben Jonson has
it in his *Sad Shepherd*. See v. ii.
44.

19. *revenge . . . revenge*] This line
recalls the ghost exclamations in those
stilted plays: Peele's *Alcazar, Loocrine*,
and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*.

So, underneath the belly of their steeds, 20
That stain'd their fetlocks in his smoking blood,
The noble gentleman gave up the ghost.

War. Then let the earth be drunken with our blood ;
I'll kill my horse because I will not fly.
Why stand we like soft-hearted women here, 25
Wailing our losses, whiles the foe doth rage ;
And look upon, as if the tragedy
Were play'd in jest by counterfeiting actors?
Here on my knee I vow to God above,
I'll never pause again, never stand still, 30
Till either death hath closed these eyes of mine,
Or fortune given me measure of revenge.

Edw. O Warwick, I do bend my knee with thine ;
And in this vow do chain my soul to thine !
And, ere my knee rise from the earth's cold face, 35
I throw my hands, mine eyes, my heart to Thee,
Thou setter up and plucker down of kings,

thronges, Cride still for Warwike his thrise valiant son, Vntill with thousand swords he was beset, And manie wounds made in his aged brest, And as he tottering sate upon his steede, He waft his hand to me and cride aloud : Richard, commend me to my valiant sonne, And still he cride Warwike reuenge my death, And with those words he tumbled off his horse, And so the noble Salsbury gaue up the ghost Q. 23, 24. Then let . . . our blood . . . not fly] 26, 27. Then let . . . his blood . . . not flie Q. 25-28. Why stand we . . . actors ?] omitted Q. 29-32. Here on my knee . . . reuenge] 28-30. And here to God of Heauen I make a vow, Neuer to passe from forth this bloody field Till I am full reuenged for his death Q. 33, 34. O Warwick . . . to thine] 31, 32. Lord Warwike, . . . knees . . . in that vow now ioine my soule to thee Q. 35, 36. And, ere . . . to Thee] omitted Q. 37-41. Thou . . . plucker . . . kings, Beseeking Thee . . . soul !] 33-35. Thou . . . puller . . . kings, vouchsafe a gentle victorie to vs, Or let us die before we loose the daie Q.

20. *tottering*] in Q (see Critical Notes above), swaying, swinging uncertainly. Compare *King John*, v. v. 7. And Golding's Ovid (Iphis hanged himself): "And wretchedly did totter on the poste with strangled throte" (xiv. 853).

23. *earth . . . drunken with our blood*] Spenser has "blades . . . dronke with blood" (*Faerie Queene*, i. vi. 38); and Peele, "sword . . . drunken with the blood of Israel" (*David and Bethsabe*, 472, b). And see *Faerie Queene*, iii. vii. 47. See the passage quoted from Sylvester, below, ii. v. 12.

27. *look upon*] "look on," be spectators. Compare *Winter's Tale*, v. iii. 100, *Richard II.* iv. i. 237, and *Troilus and Cressida*, v. vi. 10.

31. *death . . . closed these eyes of mine*] Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*,

v. ii. 804 (in this edition): "the sudden hand of death close up mine eye."

31. *eyes of mine*] See note at "arms of mine," Part II. i. i. 118, and below, ii. v. 114. Frequent in Shakespeare. Always recalls "the revolt of mine" in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, i. iii. 111. See "right hand of mine," above, ii. i. 152.

37. *Thou setter up . . . kings*] The line addressed here to the Deity is apparently addressed to Warwick in Q. See Psalm lxxv. 7 and Daniel ii. 21. See below, iii. iii. 157, where the phrase is unmistakably applied to Warwick. Compare also Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 524: "I purpose not to spurne agaynste the prycke, nor labour to set up that God pulleth down."

Beseeching Thee, if with Thy will it stands
 That to my foes this body must be prey,
 Yet that Thy brazen gates of heaven may ope, 40
 And give sweet passage to my sinful soul!
 Now, lords, take leave until we meet again,
 Where'er it be, in heaven or in earth.

Rich. Brother, give me thy hand; and, gentle Warwick,
 Let me embrace thee in my weary arms: 45
 I, that did never weep, now melt with woe
 That winter should cut off our spring-time so.

War. Away, away! Once more, sweet lords, farewell.

Geo. Yet let us all together to our troops,
 And give them leave to fly that will not stay, 50
 And call them pillars that will stand to us;
 And if we thrive promise them such rewards
 As victors wear at the Olympian games.
 This may plant courage in their quailing breasts;
 For yet is hope of life and victory. 55
 Forslow no longer; make we hence amain. [*Exeunt.*]

42, 43. *Now, lords . . . in earth*] 42-44. (*Rich.*) *Brothers, giue me your hands, and let vs part And take our leaues untill we . . . in earth Q.* 44-47. *Rich. Brother . . . spring-time so*] 40, 41. *Rich. Come, come, awaie, and stand not to debate, For yet is hope of fortune good enough, and 45-47. Now I that never melt, now melt in wo To see these dire mishaps continue so. Warlike farewel Q.* 48. *War. Away . . . farewell*] 48. *War. Awaie . . . farewell. Exeunt Omnes Q.* 49-56. *Geo. Yet let . . . And call . . . to us; And . . . amain*] 36-39.

40. *brazen gates*] difficult of entry. See note at "brazen caves," Part II. III. ii. 89. Peele has:—

"Lords, these are they will enter
brazen gates
 And tear down lime and mortar
 with their nails"
 (*Edward I.* (378, a)). Compare Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, III. vii. 9: "broken through the *brazen gates* of hell" (difficult of exit).

47. *spring-time*] Peele uses this similarly. "Flowering in pleasant *spring-time* of his youth" (*David and Bethsabe* (474, b)).

50-52. *fly that will not stay . . . that will stand . . . rewards*] Hall continues from note at 15-23 above: "The lusty Kyng Edward, perceiuyng the courage of his trusty friend the erle of Warwycke, made proclamation that all men, whiche were afraide to fighte, shoulde incontinent departe, and to all men that tarried the battell, he promised great rewardes with this addicion, that if any

souldiour, which voluntarilie would abide, and in, or before the conflict flye, or turne his backe, that he that could kill him should haue a great remuneration and double wages" (p. 253). Here is the famous "remuneration" of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the "Latin for three farthings." "And hiely promise to remunerate" are the words in Q. The verb is only in *Titus Andronicus*. Shakespeare seems to have objected to the word. On the other hand, it is a favourite with Peele. It is in *Edward I.*, *Battle of Alcazar*, and *Locrine* (in which Peele had a hand).

53. *Olympian games*] "Olympian wrestling" is in *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. v. 194. See note in Todd's *Spenser*, to *Faerie Queene*, III. vii. 41.

56. *Forslow*] Not again in Shakespeare. Delay. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, ii. 529: "shall feare of chiding make me to *forslow*?" It is in *Spenser*, Peele and Marlowe.

56. *make we hence amain*] Peele has

SCENE IV.—*Another part of the field.**Excursions. Enter RICHARD and CLIFFORD.**Rich.* Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone.

Suppose this arm is for the Duke of York,
 And this for Rutland; both bound to revenge,
 Wert thou environ'd with a brazen wall.

Clif. Now, Richard, I am with thee here alone. 5

This is the hand that stabb'd thy father York,
 And this the hand that slew thy brother Rutland;
 And here's the heart that triumphs in their death
 And cheers these hands that slew thy sire and brother,
 To execute the like upon thyself; 10
 And so, have at thee!

George. Then let us haste to cheere the souldiers harts, And call . . . to vs,
 And hiely promise to remunerate Their trustie service in these dangerous warres Q.

SCENE IV.

Excursions. Enter . . .] Ff; Alarmes, and then enter Richard at one dore and Clifford at the other Q. 1-4. Rich. Now . . . brazen wall] 1-6. Rich. A Clifford a Clifford. Clif. A Richard a Richard. Rich. Now Clifford, for Yorke & young Rutlands death, This thirsty sword that longs to drinke thy bloud, Shall lop thy limmes, and slise thy cursed hart, For to revenge the murders thou hast made Q. 5-11. Now, Richard . . . their death . . . have at thee!] 7-13. Now, Richard . . . their deatnes . . . have at thee Q. They fight . . .] Ff; Alarmes. They fight, and then enters Warwicke and rescues Richard and then exeunt omnes Q.

"made hence amain" in *Anglorum Feriæ*. Peele is recalled in this scene both in Q and independently in the finished part. For, "make we" see note at "embrace we," Part I. 11. i. 13 and Introduction.

SCENE IV.

1-4. Now, Clifford . . . brazen wall] The wretched speech here in Q may be credited to Peele. Compare:—

"this thirsty sword
 Aims at thy head and shall I hope
 ere long

Gage and divide thy bowels and
 thy bulk"

(*Edward I. Sc. v.* (388, a)). And "I must lop his long shanks" (403, a). The "slicing sword" (used by Marlowe) is from Golding's Ovid, v. 132. See 1 *Henry VI.* 111. i. 116 for "murder" expression.

1. *singled*] chosen, selected. Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, 11. i. 28: "We single you As our best-moving fair solicitor." And see *Titus And-*

ronicus, 11. i. 117. Elsewhere in 3 *Henry VI.*, with "forth," 11. i. 12 above, and in *Titus Andronicus*, 11. iii. 69. And with "out" immediately below, line 12, and in *Venus and Adonis*. Compare Greene, *Alcida* (ix. 73): "Meribates and my daughter had singled themselves" (separated themselves from the rest). Spenser has "he had her singled from the crew" (*Faerie Queene*, 111. iv. 45). Greene has it (oddly used) again in *Euphues to Philautus*. See below, v. iv. 49, note.

4. *brazen wall*] See note at "brazen caves," 2 *Henry VI.* 111. ii. 89; and "brazen gates," above, 11. iii. 40. Impregnable. Only in these two plays. Often in the Bible, and in romance, as in *Faerie Queene*, 1. vii. 44:—

"fast embard in mighty brazen wall,

He has them now four years be-
 seigd."

11. *have at thee*] See 2 *Henry VI.* 11. iii. 92.

They fight. WARWICK comes. CLIFFORD flies.

Rich. Nay, Warwick, single out some other chase ;
For I myself will hunt this wolf to death.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V.—*Another part of the field.*

Alarum. Enter King HENRY alone.

K. Hen. This battle fares like to the morning's war,
When dying clouds contend with growing light,
What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,
Can neither call it perfect day nor night.
Now sways it this way, like a mighty sea
Forc'd by the tide to combat with the wind ;
Now sways it that way, like the self-same sea

5

12, 13. *Nay . . . death*] omitted Q.

SCENE V.

Alarum. Enter . . .] Ff; Alarunes still, and then enter Henry Solus Q. 1-13. This battle . . . fell war] 1-6. Oh gracious God of heaven looke downe on vs, And set some endes to these incessant griefes, How like a mastlesse ship vpon the seas, This wofull battaile doth continue still, Now lean-

12, 13. *Nay . . . death*] This couplet is in 2 *Henry VI.* v. ii. 14, 15 :—

“Hold, Warwick! seek thee out
some other chase,
For I myself must hunt this deer
to death.”

There it occurs in the old play, but not here. An overlooked repetition.

12. *single out*] See above, 11. iv. 1 (note). See below, in Q, at v. iv. 46 : “single Edward from his strongest guard.”

12. *chase*] that which is hunted. See note in 2 *Henry VI.* v. ii. 14. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from Gower and Turberville. The word was adopted at sea later.

SCENE V.

1. *King Henry alone*] “When at the last King Henry espied the forces of his foes increase . . . he with a few horsemen removing a little out of that place, expected the event of the fight, but beholde, suddenly his souldiers gave the backe, which when he sawe he fledd also” (*Polydore Vergil*, Camden Soc. p. 111).

1-54. *This battle . . . waits on him*] This great utterance is developed

from thirteen lines in the Quarto, all the ideas of which (except the mastless ship) are legitimately worked in, with very many more. It is an eloquent sermon upon a fruitful text. Ships, as a metaphor, dropped out, perhaps because they are elsewhere in this play (1. iv. 4, v. iv. 10). In the latter passage the mastless ship comes first.

3, 4. *What time . . . day nor night*] Compare Golding's Ovid (iv. 495, 496), 1567 :—

“The day was spent, and now was
come the time which neyther
nyght

Nor day, but middle bound of both
a man may terme of right.”

Hall says the battle began at about nine in the morning on 29th March, and lasted ten hours. The pursuit continued all night.

3. *blowing of his nails*] See note at *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 902 (in this edition). The Spenser quotation referred to there postdates this. The operation arises either from idleness or cold fingers or both combined.

5-9. *mighty sea . . . wind*] See 1. iv. 18-20—a sort of forecast of this noble passage. Compare here *Soliman*

Forc'd to retire by fury of the wind :
 Sometime the flood prevails, and then the wind ;
 Now one the better, then another best ; 10
 Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast,
 Yet neither conqueror nor conquered :
 So is the equal poise of this fell war.
 Here on this molehill will I sit me down.
 To whom God will, there be the victory ! 15
 For Margaret my queen, and Clifford too,

ing this way, now to that side drive, And none doth know to whom the daie will fall Q. 14-15. Here . . . victory !] 7, 8. *O would my death might staie these chüill (cruell, Q 2) jars ! Would I had neuer raind, nor nere bin king ! Q. 16-21. For Margaret . . . happy life]* 9-13. *Margret and Clifford, chide me*

and *Perseda*, i. ii. 2: "But shall I like a mastlesse ship at sea Goe every way and not the way I would?"

11. *tugging to be victors]* Hall describes this, in words suggesting the tides (line 5) and also the father against son below: "This deadly battayle and bloody conflict [Towton] continued x hours in doubtfull victorie. The one parte some tyme flowyng, and some tyme ebbing, but in conclusion Kyng Edward so coragiously comforted his men . . . that the other parte was ouercome. . . . This conflict was in maner vnnaturall, for in it the sonne fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the vnclé, and the tenant against his lorde" (p. 256). This battle decided the fate of the house of Lancaster. Rastell says: "In this field and chase were slain 30,000 men."

11. *breast to breast]* Not in Shakespeare again. Golding has "*breast to breast to run*" (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vi. 304).

12. *neither conqueror nor conquered]* Joshua Sylvester (a most sensibly-sound poet) seems to remember this part of 3 *Henry VI.* in a passage in *The Sixth Day of the First Week, of Du Bartas*. The date should be 1591, but the lines are a 1605 insertion. I quote from the Folio of 1621, p. 17:—

"Or, like our own (late) York and Lancaster,
 Ambitious broachers of that Viper war,
 Which did the womb of their own Dam devour,

And spoil'd the freshest of fair England's Flowr;
 When (White and Red) Rose against Rose, they stood,
 Brother 'gainst Brother, to the knees in blood:
 While Wakefield, Barnet and S. Alban's streets
 Were drunke with deer blood of Plantagenets:
 Where, either Conquer'd, and yet neither won;
 Sith, by them both, was but their Owne undon."

13. *equal poise]* weight in the balance. See *Measure for Measure*, ii. iv. 68: "*equal poise* of sin and charity." King Henry had ten hours for his soliloquy. See note at lines 3, 4.

14. *on this molehill]* The old saying, "king of a molehill," probably suggested this word. The same allusion is in the account of the death of the Duke of York in Holinshed (from Whethamsted): "Some write that the duke was taken aliue, and in derision caused to stand upon a molehill; on whose head they put a garland in steed of a crowne . . . of sedges or bulrushes." "I had rather be a king of a molehill than subject to a mountain," was a saying of Sir Thos. Stucley, quoted in Simpson's *School of Shakespeare*, i. p. 32, from Westcote's *View of Devonshire* (1563). Gabriel Harvey has "discover not the humour of aspiring Stukely, that would rather be the king of a moulhill, than the second in Ireland" (*Pierces Supererogation* (Grosart, ii. 146), 1589). See above, i. v. 67.

Have chid me from the battle ; swearing both
 They prosper best of all when I am thence.
 Would I were dead ! if God's good will were so ;
 For what is in this world but grief and woe ? 20
 O God ! methinks it were a happy life,
 To be no better than a homely swain ;
 To sit upon a hill, as I do now,
 To carve out dials quaintly, point by point,
 Thereby to see the minutes how they run, 25
 How many make the hour full complete ;
 How many hours bring about the day ;
 How many days will finish up the year ;
 How many years a mortal man may live.
 When this is known, then to divide the times : 30
 So many hours must I tend my flock ;
 So many hours must I take my rest ;
 So many hours must I contemplate ;
 So many hours must I sport myself ;
 So many days my ewes have been with young ; 35
 So many weeks ere the poor fools will ean ;
 So many years ere I shall shear the fleece :
 So minutes, hours, days, months, and years,
 Pass'd over to the end they were created,
 Would bring white hairs unto a quiet grave. 40
 Ah ! what a life were this ; how sweet ! how lovely !
 Gives not the hawthorn-bush a sweeter shade
 To shepherds looking on their silly sheep,

*from the felde, Swearing they had best successe when I was thence, Would God
 that I were dead so all were well, Or would my crowne suffice, I were content
 To yeeld it them and live a private life Q. 22-54. To be no better . . . waits
 on him] omitted Q.*

18. *They prosper best . . . thence]*
 See above, II. ii. 73, 74 (note).

22. *swain]* shepherd, or shepherd's
 "hand." See below at "curds."

24. *To carve out dials]* Was there
 a shepherd's device of cutting sun-dials
 on grassy plots, with an erection of a
 slate or board as a device for a
 gnomon? Hence, too, the need to sit
 on the top of the little hill.

36. *poor fools]* simple creatures.
 Compare "poor dappled fools" (*As
 You Like It*, II. i. 22).

36. *ean]* yeon. "Eaning time" is
 in *Merchant of Venice* and *Pericles*.

38. *days, months]* Rowe read "days,
 weeks, months" for the metre. The

line has enough breathings in it to
 suffice, taken slowly.

40. *white hairs . . . grave]* "Ye
 schulen lede forth myn hoore heris
 with sorewe to helle" (Wyclif,
 Genesis xlii. 38 (1388)).

40. *quiet grave]* "And layes the
 soule to sleepe in quiet grave"
 (Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. ix. xl. 7).

43. *silly sheep]* silly "fits well a
 sheep." *Two Gentlemen of Verona*,
 I. i. 81, *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. 53.
 Used of any helpless or irresponsible
 creature, such as woman, or the lark
 in the sparrowhawk's clutches
 (Chaucer). Golding has "sielie
 sheep," "sielie doves" and "sielie

Than doth a rich embroider'd canopy
 To kings that fear their subjects' treachery? 45
 O yes! it doth; a thousand-fold it doth.
 And to conclude, the shepherd's homely curds,
 His cold thin drink out of his leather bottle,
 His wonted sleep under a fresh tree's shade,
 All which secure and sweetly he enjoys, 50
 Is far beyond a prince's delicates,
 His viands sparkling in a golden cup,
 His body couched in a curious bed,
 When care, mistrust, and treason waits on him.

Alarum. Enter a Son that has killed his Father, with the dead body.

Son. Ill blows the wind that profits nobody. 55
 This man, whom hand to hand I slew in fight,

55. *Alarum*] Ff; omitted Q. *Enter . . .*] Capell; *Enter a Sonne, that hath kill'd his Father, at one doore: and a Father that hath kill'd his Sonne at another doore* Ff; *Enter a souldier with a dead man in his armes* Q. 55-58. *Son. Ill blows . . . man, whom . . . fight, May . . . And I . . . now*] 14-17. *Sould. Ill blowes . . . man that I have slaine in fight to daie, Maie . . . of some . . . And I will search to find them if I can* Q.

hare" in the first Book of his Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

47. *And to conclude*] See 2 *Henry VI.* iv. i. 101.

47. *curds*] See *Winter's Tale*, iv. iv. 161. And Spenser, *Shepherd's Calender*, November (Globe, 481, a):—

"So well she couth the shepherds entertayne

With cakes and cracknells, and such country chere:

Ne would she scorne the simple Shepherds swaine;

For she would cal him often heame (home)

And giue him *curds* and clouted Creame"

(1579).

51. *delicates*] luxuries. Examples in *New Eng. Dict.* date back to 1450.

53. *curious*] elaborate, exquisite.

54. *waits on him*] The close of this great soliloquy reminds us that it has nothing to do with furthering the action of the play. Soliloquies in Shakespeare are naturally vehicles for unfolding or developing the plot. Here, this one is merely a stop-gap (like a song) to allow a seemly space

to represent the passage of time (ten hours) in the battle; which the two following episodes, also merely illustrative, bring home to us realistically. With this speech, founded on the text of all pastoral efforts, shepherd's content, compare Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*: "sweete home where mean estate . . ." (Globe, p. 521, b); and particularly his *Virgils Gnat*: "Oh! the great happiness which shepherds have" (505, b). Cf. *seq.* p. 505. See below, iii. i. 66 (note).

55. *Enter a Son . . .*] See extract from Hall above, at line 11.

55. *Ill blows . . .*] An old proverb, taken in two senses:—

"an yll wynd that blowth no man good

The blowes of whych blast is she" (Heywood, *Marriage of Wit and Science* (Song against Idleness), 1540). Merely a statement of a fact. Compare *A Knack to know a Knave* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 528): "It is an ill wind bloweth no man to profit." And in Heywood's *Proverbs* (ed. Sharman, p. 158), 1546.

56. *hand to hand*] See above, ii. i. 73.

May be possessed with some store of crowns ;
 And I, that haply take them from him now,
 May yet ere night yield both my life and them
 To some man else, as this dead man doth me. 60
 Who's this? O God! it is my father's face,
 Whom in this conflict I unwares have kill'd.
 O heavy times! begetting such events.
 From London by the king was I press'd forth ;
 My father, being the Earl of Warwick's man, 65
 Came on the part of York, press'd by his master ;
 And I, who at his hands received my life,
 Have by my hands of life bereaved him.
 Pardon me, God, I knew not what I did !
 And pardon, father, for I knew not thee ! 70
 My tears shall wipe away these bloody marks ;
 And no more words till they have flow'd their fill.

K. Hen. O piteous spectacle! O bloody times!
 Whiles lions war and battle for their dens,
 Poor harmless lambs abide their enmity. 75
 Weep, wretched man, I'll aid thee tear for tear ;
 And let our hearts and eyes, like civil war,
 Be blind with tears, and break o'ercharg'd with grief.

Enter a Father who has killed his Son, with the body in his arms.

Fath. Thou that so stoutly hast resisted me,
 Give me thy gold, if thou hast any gold, 80
 For I have bought it with an hundred blows.
 But let me see: is this our foeman's face?
 Ah, no, no, no; it is mine only son !

59, 60. *May yet . . . doth me*] omitted Q. 61-63. *Who's this . . . events*] 18, 19. *But stay, Me thinks it is my fathers face, Oh I tis he whom I have slaine in fight* Q. 64-68. *From . . . him*] 20-22. *From London was I prest out by the King, My father he came on the part of Yorke, And in this conflict I have slaine my father :* Q. 69, 70. *Pardon me . . . not thee*] 23, 24. *Oh pardon . . . thee not* Q. 71-78. *My tears . . . with grief*] omitted Q. (but see at 96 below). 79. *Enter . . .*] Capell; *Enter Father, bearing of his Sonne, Ff; Enter another souldier with a dead man* Q. 79-83. *Fath. Thou that . . . only son*] 25-28. 2 *Soul. Lie there thou that foughtst with me so stoutly, Now let me see what store of gold thou haste, But staie, me thinks this is no famous face : Oh no it is my sonne that I have slaine in fight* Q.

62. *unwares*] Only here in Shakespeare. In Golding's Ovid: "*Unwares hereat gan secret sparkes within his breast to glow*" (iv. 828). And often in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, as i. vi. 30, and twice in iii. vi. 27.

73. *piteous spectacle*] A Spenserian

phrase. See note at "saddest spectacle," ii. i. 67 above. Spenser has "pitiful spectacle" (*Faerie Queene*, ii. i. 40) also.

74. *battle*] The only example of the verb in Shakespeare. Greene had used it. See note in *1 Henry VI.* i. iii. 13.

Ah, boy, if any life be left in thee,
 Throw up thine eye, see, see what showers arise, 85
 Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,
 Upon thy wounds, that kill mine eye and heart!
 O, pity, God, this miserable age!
 What stratagems, how fell, how butcherly,
 Erroneous, mutinous, and unnatural, 90
 This deadly quarrel daily doth beget!
 O boy, thy father gave thee life too soon,
 And hath bereft thee of thy life too late!

K. Hen. Woe above woe! grief more than common grief!
 O, that my death would stay these ruthless deeds! 95
 O, pity, pity; gentle heaven, pity!
 The red rose and the white are on his face,
 The fatal colours of our striving houses:

84-87. *Ah, boy . . . and heart*] omitted Q. 88-90. *O, pity . . . unnatural*] 29, 30. *O monstrous times begetting such events* (cf. line 62 above) *How cruel bloody, and ironious, (ironous Q 3) Q.* 91-93. *This deadly . . . O boy . . . soon . . . late*] 31-33. *This deadly . . . Poore boy . . . late . . . bereaude . . . sone Q.* 94, 95. *Woe . . . ruthless deeds*] 34. *Wo . . . griepe* (compare line 7 (Q) ending *ciuill jars*, for 95) Q. 96. *O, pity. . . pity*] 35, 36. *Whilst Lyons warre and bataille for their dens, Poore lambs do feeble the rigor of their wraths Q.* 97, 98. *The red . . . houses*] 37, 38. *The red . . . houses Q.*

90. *Erroneous*] The earliest example in *New Eng. Diet.* meaning criminal (astray from right). Not a common word at this time and only once elsewhere in Shakespeare (*Richard III.* i. iv. 200) meaning misled. It is interesting to see the form in Q, "ironious," and later "ironous." "Ironous" was in use, meaning ironical, earlier. But it is not the word intended. Folio 1 gives it "erroneous."

92, 93. *too soon . . . too late*] These words are transposed, very likely by mere accident, in Q; "too late" means too recently, perhaps, as in *Lucrece*, l. 1801; and *Richard III.* iii. i. 99: "Too late he died that might have kept that title" (Steevens). I think it matters very little, although there is a dissertation on the question amongst editors in Steevens. It is a sort of playing on the words in both passages, the sense being, both his life and death were misfortunes. Does not the *Lucrece* passage—

"I did give that life
 Which she too early (=too soon)
 and too late hath spilled,"
 bear out this simple explanation which

suits both texts? The coincidence of passages in this play with identical ones in *Lucrece* is often before us. Rolfe has a tedious note. Halliwell gets an amazing literal meaning: "Thy father begot thee at too late a period of his life . . . not old enough to fight him." The industrious Halliwell applies this to the Quarto. I suppose in this text the son is getting too old to fight!

94. *Woe above woe*] The Bible furnishes most of the variant phrases of "woe," but this seems unique. "Above" has the common use of "upon," as in "loss upon loss" (*Merchant of Venice*, iii. i. 96), and "jest upon jest" (*Much Ado About Nothing*, ii. i. 252). A very common form. "On top of."

95. *ruthful*] See note at "ruthless," above, i. iv. 31. The latter is in this play five times. Compare "pitiful" and "pitiless." Demanding pity on account of cruelty; and cruel because devoid of pity.

97-102. *red rose and white . . . thousand lives*] Compare *1 Henry VI.* ii. iv. 126, where this "brawl" begins in the Temple Garden. In the Quartos

The one his purple blood right well resembles ;
 The other his pale cheeks, methinks, presenteth : 100
 Wither one rose, and let the other flourish !
 If you contend, a thousand lives must wither.

Son. How will my mother for a father's death

Take on with me and ne'er be satisfied !

Fath. How will my wife for slaughter of my son 105

Shed seas of tears and ne'er be satisfied !

K. Hen. How will the country for these woeful chances

Misthink the king and not be satisfied !

Son. Was ever son so rued a father's death ?

Fath. Was ever father so bemoan'd his son ? 110

K. Hen. Was ever king so grieved for subjects' woe ?

Much is your sorrow ; mine ten times so much.

Son. I'll bear thee hence, where I may weep my fill.

[*Exit with the body.*]

Fath. These arms of mine shall be thy winding-sheet ;

99, 100. *The one . . . presenteth*] omitted Q. 101, 102. *Wither . . . If you . . . wither*] 39, 40. *Wither . . . For if you strue, ten thousand lives must perish* Q. 103-106. *Son. How . . . a father's . . . satisfied ! How . . . son Shed . . . satisfied !*] 41-44. 1. *Sould. How . . . my fathers . . . satisfide ?* 2. *Sol. How . . . son, Take on with me and nere be satisfide ?* Q. 107, 108. *How . . . satisfied*] 45, 46. *How will the people now misdeeme their Kings, Oh would my death their mindes could satisfie* Q. 109. *Son. Was . . . rued . . . death ?*] 47. 1. *Sould. Was . . . rude his fathers bloud to spil ?* Q. 110. *Fath. Was . . . so . . . son*] 48. 2. *Soul. Was . . . so unnaturall his son to kill ?* Q. 111, 112. *Was . . . much*] 50. *Was ever King thus greued and vexed still ?* Q. 113. *Son. I'll . . . fill*] 51, 52. 1. *Sould. Ile beare thee hence from this accursed place, For wo is me to see my fathers face. Exit with his father* Q. 114-120. *These arms . . . valiant sons*] omitted Q.

these two speeches of Henry's are represented by one; the more conspicuous ideas are common to both versions, but amplified in the final text.

99. *purple blood*] See "purple falchion," i. iv. 12, above (note).

104. *Take on with me*] chafe, rave, fret furiously. See *Merry Wives of Windsor*, iii. v. 40 (in this edition, note). Compare Nashe, *Pierce Peni-lesse* (Grosart, ii. 55), 1592: "Some will take on like a mad man, if they see a pigge come to the table." The provincial meaning is applied to any violent mood, but especially loud lamentation.

106. *seas of tears*] "wept a sea of tears" is in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iii. ii.

108. *Misthink*] replaces "misdeem" of Q, which Shakespeare has not elsewhere. "Misthought" (misjudged)

is used in *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. ii. 176.

109-111. *Was ever . . . Was ever . . . Was ever*] See Introduction to Part I.; similar line-beginnings occur in *Lochrine*, iv. ii. "Was never" is commoner in Spenser.

109. *son so rued*] "Son so rude" in Q is a very odd change; it is like that of "buzz," below, for "busie." Probably from bad caligraphy.

114. *arms of mine*] See "eyes of mine," ii. iii. 31 above (note). See next note.

114. *winding-sheet*] See above, i. i. 129. Only there besides in Shakespeare. Compare this line with Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, iii. 1 (Dyce, 161, a, Routledge, 1859): "What sight is this! my Lodovico slain! These arms of mine shall be thy sepulchre." "Sepulchre" is used figuratively again, v. ii. 20.

My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre, 115
 For from my heart thine image ne'er shall go :
 My sighing breast shall be thy funeral bell ;
 And so obsequious will thy Father be,
 Son, for the loss of thee, having no more,
 As Priam was for all his valiant sons. 120
 I'll bear thee hence ; and let them fight that will,
 For I have murder'd where I should not kill.

[Exit with the body.

K. Hen. Sad-hearted men, much overgone with care,
 Here sits a king more woeful than you are.

*Alarums. Excursions. Enter Queen MARGARET, the PRINCE
 and EXETER.*

Prince. Fly, father, fly ! for all your friends are fled, 125
 And Warwick rages like a chafed bull.
 Away ! for death doth hold us in pursuit.

121, 122. I'll . . . kill] 53, 54. Ile . . . kill. Exit with his sonne Q.
 123, 124. Sad-hearted . . . you are] 55, 56. Weepe wretched man, Ile lay
 thee teare for teare, Here sits a king as woe begone as thee Q. 125. Alarums
 . . .] Ff. 57. Alarums and enter the Queene Q. 125-127. Prince. Fly . . .
 pursuit] 59, 60. Enter Prince Edward. Prince. Oh father flie, our men have
 left the field, Take horse sweet father, let us saue our selues Q.

123. overgone with care] Compare Sidney's *Arcadia*, Book v. (iii. 53, ed. 1739) : " Philanax nothing the milder for Pyrocles purging himself, but rather . . . being so overgon with rage that he forgot in this oration his precise method of oratory." "Overcome" in our use. Shakespeare made many compounds with "over" in various senses of the word. But here Sidney precedes him. Not in Q.

124. woeful] replaces "woe-begone" of Q, a word occurring once in Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV.* i. i. 71. "Ile lay thee teare for teare," in Q, meaning "Ile stake thee," etc., is Shakespearian language.

125. Fly, father, fly] Hall says of this long contest : "the great riuer of Wharfe [from the "dead carcassis"] broke, and all the water comyng from Towton was coloured with bloude. The chace continued all night, and the most parte of the next day, and euer ye Northren men, when they saw or perceiued any aduantage, returned again and fought with their enemies to the great losse of both partes. . . . After

this great victorie, Kyng Edward rode to Yorke, where he was with all solempnitie receyued : and first he caused the heddes of his father, the erle of Salisbury, and other his frendes to be taken from the gates and to be buried with their bodies. And there he caused the erle of Devonshyre and iii other to be beheaded and set their heddes in the same place. After that he sent out men on light horses, to espye in what parte King Henry lurked, which hearinge of the irrecoverable losse of his frendes, departed incontinent with his wife and sonne, to the towne of Barwycke, and leauynge the duke of Somerset there, came to the kynges courte of Scotland, requyryng of him and his counsaill, ayde, succor, relefe and comfort" (p. 256).

126. rages like a chafed bull] Compare *Taming of the Shrew*, i. ii. 203 : "Rage like an angry boar chafed with sweat." "The chafed boar" occurs in *Titus Andronicus*, iv. ii. 138. "The chafed (chauffed) Boar" occurs several times in Golding's Ovid.

- Q. Mar.* Mount you, my lord ; towards Berwick post amain.
 Edward and Richard, like a brace of greyhounds
 Having the fearful flying hare in sight, 130
 With fiery eyes sparkling for very wrath,
 And bloody steel grasp'd in their ireful hands,
 Are at our backs ; and therefore hence amain.
- Exe.* Away ! for vengeance comes along with them.
 Nay, stay not to expostulate ; make speed, 135
 Or else come after : I'll away before.
- K. Hen.* Nay, take me with thee, good sweet Exeter :
 Not that I fear to stay, but love to go
 Whither the queen intends. Forward ; away !
 [Exeunt.]

SCENE VI.—*Another part of the field.*

A loud alarum. Enter CLIFFORD, wounded.

- Clif.* Here burns my candle out ; ay, here it dies,
 Which, whiles it lasted, gave King Henry light.
 O Lancaster, I fear thy overthrow
 More than my body's parting with my soul.
 My love and fear glued many friends to thee ; 5
 And, now I fall, thy tough commixture melts,

128-133. *Q. Mar.* Mount you . . . hence amain] 56-58. *Queen.* Awake my lord to Barwicke presentlie, The daie is lost, our friends are murdered, No hope is left for vs, therefore awake Q. 134-136. Away ! for . . . them. Nay, stay . . . speed . . . before] 61-63. *Enter Exeter.* . . . Awake my lord for . . . him. Nay stand . . . hast . . . before : Q. 137-139. Nay . . . away !] 64. Nay staine good Exeter, for Ile along with thee Q.

SCENE VI.

A loud . . .] Ff; Enter Clifford wounded with an arrow in his necke Q. 1-7. Here . . . out ; ay . . . Which . . . O . . . thy . . . with my . . . I fall, thy . . . strengthening . . . York :] 1-9. Heere . . . out, That whilst . . . Ah . . . thine . . . from my . . . I die, that . . . strengthened . . . Yorke Q.

128. *towards . . . amain]* After the words "bloody-minded queen" (II. vi. 32) there occurs in Q "That now towards Barwike doth poste amaine."

129-132. *brace of greyhounds . . . bloody steel]* The images get too much on one another's necks here.

132. *ireful]* See above, II. i. 57.

135. *stay not to expostulate]* Compare this line with *First Contention*, v. ii. 64 (omitted in *2 Henry VI.*) : "Come stand not to expostulate, lets go." This scene furnishes 60 extensive altera-

tions in and additions to the Quarto than have occurred yet. "Expostulate," meaning dilate, discuss, is an obsolescence. Peele uses the word (not common) at the beginning of *David and Bethsabe*.

SCENE VI.

1. *with an arrow in his necke]* See Hall's account of Clifford's death, at I. 41 below.

6. *commixture]* See *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 296, where the word is used

Impairing Henry, strengthening misproud York :
 [The common people swarm like summer flies, . . .]
 And whither fly the gnats but to the sun ?
 And who shines now but Henry's enemies ? 10
 O Phæbus, hadst thou never given consent
 That Phaëthon should check thy fiery steeds,
 Thy burning car never had scorch'd the earth ;
 And, Henry, hadst thou sway'd as kings should do,
 Or as thy father and his father did, 15
 Giving no ground unto the house of York,
 They never then had sprung like summer flies ;
 I and ten thousand in this luckless realm

9. And . . . sun ?] 8, 9. *The common people swarme like summer flies, And . . . flies . . . sun ?* Q. 10-16. And who . . . enemies ? . . . sway'd . . . never had scorch'd . . . Or as . . . no ground . . . York] 10-16. And who . . . enemy ? . . . had neuer scorch't . . . liued . . . And as . . . no foot . . . Yorke Q. 17. They . . . flies] omitted Q. 18-30. I and . . . luckless realm . . . death . . . chair . . . too much lenity . . . nor strength . . . hold out . . . pity ; For . . . hath got . . . deadly . . . fathers' bosoms . . . breast] 17-29. I and . . . wofull land . . . deathes . . . throne . . . lenity . . . no strength . . . hold our pittie me, And . . . is got . . . bleeding . . . fathers, now come split my brest Q.

again. Spenser uses the word in *Colin Clouts Come Home againe*, l. 802, of the union of male and female. This would perhaps precede any example in *New Eng. Dict.* (1591), for the 1588 date of *Love's Labour's Lost* is impossible. Greene has the word in his *Farewell to Follie*, about the same date.

7. *misproud*] Peele uses this word, "this *misproud* malcontent," *Descensus Astræ* (542, b), 1593. But the word is very old though uncommon at this time. Wrongly proud, arrogant.

8. *The . . . flies*] Theobald, followed by most editors (including Cambridge), introduced here this Quarto line. The following line, "And who," etc., serves to introduce the metaphor however, albeit abruptly, but not unpoetically. There are reasons for its omission. The line, "The common people by numbers swarm to us," below, iv. ii. 2, is very nearly a repetition of it. And again, in Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (477, a): "To whom the people do by thousands swarm," preceded both. Shakespeare wearied of it. Shakespeare used "common people" in *2 Henry VI.* i. i. 158, not elsewhere, excepting in the two passages. Very possibly Shake-

spere intended to transpose 9 and 10, and forgot. Moreover, "summer flies" is much too near in 19 below. A strong argument in favour of the omission is that "sun" is equivalent here to York, being the badge, as in *Richard III.* i. i. 2. See above, ii. i. 40, and below, v. vi. 23.

12. *Phaëthon*] See above, i. iv. 33.
 12. *fiery steeds*] Golding has (of Phæbus): "His fierifoming Steedes full fed with juice of Ambrosie" (ii. 160). Shakespeare has "fiery steed" in *All's Well that Ends Well*, and *Richard II.* "Check" here means control, drive. Milton used the word similarly in *Il Penseroso* (*New Eng. Dict.*). Here it seems an unhappy term.

17. *summer flies*] See *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 408, and *Othello*, iv. ii. 66. See below, iv. ii. 2. This line is not in Q, giving a further argument against insertion of line at 8.

18. *luckless*] See again below, v. vi. 45 (but not elsewhere in Shakespeare), and note the assemblage of words with -less in these lines: merciless, bootless, cureless and luckless. "Luckless" is in Golding's Ovid, xiv. 603; Spenser, i. vi. 19; and Peele, *Arraignment of Paris*, Act iv.

Had left no mourning widows for our death,
 And thou this day hadst kept thy chair in peace. 20
 For what doth cherish weeds but gentle air?
 And what makes robbers bold but too much lenity?
 Bootless are complaints, and cureless are my wounds;
 No way to fly, nor strength to hold out flight:
 The foe is merciless, and will not pity; 25
 For at their hands I have deserved no pity.
 The air hath got into my deadly wounds,
 And much effuse of blood doth make me faint.
 Come, York and Richard, Warwick and the rest;
 I stabb'd your fathers' bosoms, split my breast. 30
[He faints.]

*Alarum and retreat. Enter EDWARD, GEORGE, RICHARD,
 MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Soldiers.*

Edw. Now breathe we, lords: good fortune bids us pause,
 And smooth the frowns of war with peaceful looks.
 Some troops pursue the bloody-minded queen,

31. *Alarum* . . .] Ff; 30. *Enter Edward, Richard and Warwike, and souldiers*
Q. 31, 32. *Now . . . looks*] 30, 31. *Thus farre our fortunes kepes an vpward*
Course, and we are grast with wreathes of victorie *Q.* 33-37. *Some troopes . . .*
queen, That . . . But think . . . with them?] 32-34. *Some troopes . . . Queene,*

19. *mourning widows for our death*] A good example of Shakespeare's trick of transposing words—widows mourning for our death (or deaths, as *Q* read preferably). There is an early instance in Hall's Chronicle, quoted above at i. iv. 80: "the dukes head of York." See note at "blind bitch's puppies" (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. v. 11, in this edition).

22. *lenity*] See *1 Henry VI.* v. iv. 125, and above, II. ii. 9. This asinine line is better in *Q*, omitting "too much."

23. *cureless*] Again in *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 142. Incurable. Compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Sixt Day of the First Week, p. 136): "a surgeon minding off-to-cut Som *cureless* limb." An early case of amputation under anæsthetics (1591).

28. *effuse of blood*] Nowhere else in Shakespeare. Compare the beginning of Peele's *Tale of Troy* (1589):—

"whose
 . . . bosom bleeds with great *effuse*
of blood
 That long war shed" (550, a, Dyce).

Again we have signs of Peele (mis-proud). Needless to say he was not capable of this speech. *New Eng. Dict.* has only this example and one later from Heywood (1631).

31. *breathe we*] See "Make we" above, II. iii. 55. Let us rest and refresh ourselves. See extract from *Polydore Vergil* at l. 32.

32. *frowns of war*] Not in *Q*. Compare *Richard III.* I. i. 9: "Grim-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front."

33. *Some troopes pursue . . .*] "Edward, that he might use well the victory, after he had a little refreshed his souldiers from so great travaile and payne, sent out certaine light horsemen to apprehend King Henry or the queene in the flight" (*Polydore Vergil*, Camden Soc. p. 111).

33. *bloody-minded*] Only in *2 Henry VI.* IV. i. 36. In the Quartos both here, and there. After this line occurs the "post amain to Berwick" (*Q*) transferred to II. v. 128.

That led calm Henry, though he were a king,
As doth a sail, fill'd with a fretting gust, 35
Command an argosy to stem the waves.
But think you, lords, that Clifford fled with them?

War. No, 'tis impossible he should escape ;
For, though before his face I speak the words,
Your brother Richard mark'd him for the grave ; 40
And wheresoe'er he is, he's surely dead.

[*Clifford groans and dies.*]

Edw. Whose soul is that which takes her heavy leave ?

Rich. A deadly groan, like life and death's departing.

Edw. See who it is : and, now the battle's ended,
If friend or foe let him be gently us'd. 45

Rich. Revoke that doom of mercy, for 'tis Clifford ;
Who not contented that he lopp'd the branch
In hewing Rutland when his leaves put forth,
But set his murdering knife unto the root
From whence that tender spray did sweetly spring, 50
I mean our princely father, Duke of York.

War. From off the gates of York fetch down the head,
Your father's head, which Clifford placed there ;

That now towards Barwike doth poste amaine, But thinke you that Clifford is fled awaie with them ? Q. 38-41. *No . . . he is, he's . . . dead* 35-38. *No . . . he be I warrant him dead. Clifford grones and then dies Q.* 42-45. *Whose soul is that . . . her . . . departing . . . If friend . . . gently us'd* 39-42. *Harke, what soule is this . . . his . . . departure . . . Friend . . . friendlie vsed Q.* 46-51. *Revoke . . . Clifford ; Who . . . our princely . . . York* 43-45. *Reverse . . . Clifford, Who kild our tender brother Rutland, And stabd our princely . . . York Q.* 52-55. *From . . . Instead whereof let this . . . answered* 46-49. *From . . . Instead of that, let his . . . answered Q.*

36. *argosy*] A merchant ship of the largest kind, especially Venetian. In Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. i. i.

40. *mark'd him for the grave*] See *Richard II.* iv. 236 and Part II. iv. ii. 131: "mark'd for the gallows."

41. *Clifford groans and dies*] Hall describes Clifford's death: "After this proclamacion [Scene II. iii. 50-52, note] ended, the lord Fawconbridge . . . with the forward . . . intended to haue environed and enclosed the lord Clyfford and his company, but they beyng thereof aduertised, departed in great haste toward Kyng Henrie's army, but they met with some that they loked not for, and were attrapped or they were ware. For the lord Clifforde, either for heat or payne, putting off his gorget, sodainly

with an arrowe (as some say without an hedde) was striken into the throte and incontinent rendered hys spirit . . . not farr from Towton. This ende had he, which slew the yong erle of Rutland, kneling on his knees" (p. 255). 43. *departing*] parting, separating. See *Cymbeline*, i. i. 108: "the loathness to depart would grow." So, in the *Marriage Service* [until 1662], "Till death us depart."

49-51. *root . . . spray . . . York*] Compare Part I. ii. v. 41: "Sweet stem from York's great stock."

51. *I mean*] See below, iv. vi. 51, and v. iii. 7. This poor sort of filling has been noted on in Part I. v. v. 20. It occurs several times in *Lochrine*. Peele uses it.

- Instead whereof let this supply the room :
 Measure for measure must be answered. 55
- Edw.* Bring forth that fatal screech-owl to our house,
 That nothing sung but death to us and ours :
 Now death shall stop his dismal threatening sound,
 And his ill-boding tongue no more shall speak.
- War.* I think his understanding is bereft. 60
 Speak, Clifford ; dost thou know who speaks to thee ?
 Dark cloudy death o'ershades his beams of life,
 And he nor sees nor hears us what we say.
- Rich.* O, would he did ! and so perhaps he doth :
 'Tis but his policy to counterfeit, 65
 Because he would avoid such bitter taunts
 Which in the time of death he gave our father.
- Geo.* If so thou think'st, vex him with eager words.
- Rich.* Clifford, ask mercy and obtain no grace.
- Edw.* Clifford, repent in bootless penitence. 70
- War.* Clifford, devise excuses for thy faults.
- Geo.* While we devise fell tortures for thy faults.
- Rich.* Thou didst love York, and I am son to York.
- Edw.* Thou pitied'st Rutland ; I will pity thee.
- Geo.* Where's Captain Margaret, to fence you now ? 75

56-59. *Bring . . . sung . . . ill-boding . . . speak*] 50-52. *Bring . . . sung to us but bloud and death, Now his euill boding . . . speake* Q. 60-63. *I think . . . Speak, Clifford . . . we say*] 53-56. *I think . . . Say Clifford . . . we saie* Q. 64-67. *O, would . . . 'Tis but . . . father*] 57-60. *Oh would . . . And tis his policie that in the time of death, He might auoid such bitter storms as he In his houre of death did giue vnto our father* Q. 68-73. *If . . . vex him . . . son to York*] 61-66. *Richard if thou thinkest so, vex him . . . fault . . . fault . . . pittiedst Yorke and I am sonne to Yorke* Q. 74-77. *Thou pitied'st : . . I will . . . not an oath ?*] 67-70. *Thou pittiedst . . . and I will . . . not an oth ?* Q.

56. *screech-owl*] Variouslly written at this time as skritch owl, shrieke owl, or, as here, in Golding's *Ovid*, xv. 887. "A signe of mischiefe unto men, the sluggish *skreching Owle*" (Golding, v. 682); "The messenger of death, the *ghastly owle*" (Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i. v. 30). Properly the screech-owl is the white owl : not the hooter or tawny.

59. *ill-boding*] Occurs again *1 Henry VI.* iv. v. 6 and see note. See "night-owl" above, ii. i. 130; a real bird. The owl here is rather a poet's or folklore imagination. Q has "euill-boding."

60. *bereft*] destroyed, annihilated. Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i. ii. 42 :—

"all my senses were bereaved quight."

62. *Dark . . . life*] Compare this poetic line with *Richard III.* i. iii. 268 :—

"my son . . .

Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy wrath

Hath in eternal darkness folded up."

68. *eager*] "full of asperity, bitter" (Schmidt). Compare "the bitter clamour of two *eager* tongues" (*Richard II.* i. i. 49). See above, i. iv. 4. An applied use of the literal sense, sour, as in *Sonnet 118*, and *Hamlet*, i. v. 69. 75. *to fence*] to protect. So Golding's *Ovid* : "As if they had bene plates of

War. They mock thee, Clifford: swear as thou wast wont.

Rich. What! not an oath? nay, then the world goes hard

When Clifford cannot spare his friends an oath.

I know by that he's dead; and, by my soul,

If this right hand would buy two hours' life, 80

That I in all despite might rail at him,

This hand should chop it off, and with the issuing blood

Stifle the villain whose unstaunched thirst

York and young Rutland could not satisfy.

War. Ay, but he's dead: off with the traitor's head, 85

And rear it in the place your father's stands.

And now to London with triumphant march,

There to be crowned England's royal king.

From whence shall Warwick cut the sea to France,

And ask the Lady Bona for thy queen. 90

77-84. *nay, then . . . hours' . . . despite . . . him, This . . . chop . . . unstaunched . . . satisfy*] 70-77. *Nay, then I know he's dead. 'Tis hard, when Clifford cannot foord his friend an oath. By this I know he's dead, and by my soule, Would this right hand buy but an howres . . . contempt . . . him, Ide cut . . . instanced . . . satisfy* Q. 85-90. *Ay, but he's . . . royal king . . . cut the sea . . . queen*] 78-83. *I, but he is dead . . . lawfull king . . . From thence . . . crosse the seas . . . Queene* Q.

mayle did fence him well inough" (iii. 76). And Peele's *Edward I.* sc. ii. (384, b):—

"not to guard her safe
Or fence her sacred person."

See again, iii. iii. 98. And *Timon of Athens*, iv. i. 3.

77. *the world goes hard*] Compare "the world goes well" (*Coriolanus*, iv. vi. 5). Compare Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (449, b): "Yet, father, here is a piece of cake for you, as hard as the world goes." Dyce quotes from the *Return from Parnassus* (1606), at the passage in Peele.

78. *Clifford . . . oath*] Probably an allusion to the swearing habits of the Northerns, taken as a whole. It is often referred to. See note to *Othello*, v. ii. 218 (in this edition).

79. *I know by that he's dead*] The removal of the repetition in Q is to be noted.

82. *This hand . . . blood*] Capell altered to "I'd chop it off," following the Quarto's "Ide cut it off," nearly. But Richard meant that with his left hand he'd chop off his right. He must not be denied this delicate attention, especially as it occurs below, v. i. 50, 51.

83. *unstaunched thirst*] unquenchable

thirst. Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, Chorus, sc. iv. (470, a):—

"Pursues with eager and unstaunched
thirst

The greedy longings of his loath-
some flesh."

And Lyly's *Endymion*, ii. ii. 70: "teare the flesh with my teeth . . . so eger is my unstaunched stomacke." "Instanced" in Q.

85, 86. *head . . . place your father's stands*] See extract at ii. v. 125.

87, 88. *triumphant march . . . crowned . . . king*] Hall says, after the "glorious victory" at Towton: "the commons of the Realme began to drawe to hym, and to take his parte . . . after the fashion and maner of a triumphant conqueror and victorious champion, with great pompe (he) returned to London . . . and the xxix daie of June, was at Westminster with all solempnitie crowned and anoynted Kyng" (p. 257).

89, 90. *Warwick . . . Lady Bona for thy queen*] See below at iii. i. 89, 90.

89. *cut the sea*] cleave the sea. Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, ii. viii. 5: "to cut his airy ways." Golding has, however, "Cut over the Ionian

So shalt thou sinew both these lands together;
 And, having France thy friend, thou shalt not dread
 The scatter'd foe that hopes to rise again;
 For though they cannot greatly sting to hurt,
 Yet look to have them buzz to offend thine ears. 95

First will I see the coronation;
 And then to Brittany I'll cross the sea,
 To effect this marriage, so it please my lord.

Edw. Even as thou wilt, sweet Warwick, let it be;
 For in thy shoulder do I build my seat, 100
 And never will I undertake the thing
 Wherein thy counsel and consent is wanting.
 Richard, I will create thee Duke of Gloucester;
 And George, of Clarence; Warwick, as ourself,
 Shall do and undo as him pleaseth best. 105

Rich. Let me be Duke of Clarence, George of Gloucester,
 For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous.

War. Tut, that's a foolish observation:

91-98. *So shalt . . . shalt not . . . For though . . . buzz to . . . will I . . . To effect . . . so it . . . lord*] 84-91. *So shalt . . . needst not . . . And though . . . busie to . . . He see the coronation done, And afterward He crosse the seas to France, To effect . . . if it . . . Lord Q.* 99. *Even as . . . sweet . . . be*] 92. *Euen . . . good . . . be Q.* 100-102. *For in . . . wanting*] omitted Q. 103-105. *Richard . . . ourself, Shall . . . best*] 93-95. *But first before we goe, George kneele downe. Wee here create thee Duke of Clarence, and girt thee with the sword. Our younger brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, Warwike, as my selfe shal . . . best Q.* 106-110. *Let me be . . . Tut, . . . foolish*

sea" (xv. 56). And a few lines previously "lucky cut" means sea voyage.

91. *sinew both . . . together*] Compare 2 *Henry IV.* iv. i. 172:—

"All members of our cause both here and hence,

That are insinewed to this action."
 Knit together strongly, as if with sinews. A portmanteau word.

95. *buzz*] See note to this verb at Part II. i. ii. 99. "Busie" (Q) is an odd misprint.

97. *Brittany*] France, in Q.

100. *in thy shoulder*] on thy back. Shoulder is often "back" in Shakespeare.

103, 104. *Richard . . . of Gloucester; And George, of Clarence*] After his coronation, Hall says: "In the whiche yere, he called his high Court of Parliament. . . . And afterward he created his two younger brethren Dukes, that is to saie: Lorde George, Duke of Clarence, Lorde Richard, Duke of Glou-

cester, and Lorde Ihon Nevell, brother to Richard erle of Warwike, he first made Lorde Mountacute and afterwards created hym Marques Mountacute" (p. 258).

107. *Gloucester's dukedom . . . ominous*] At the death of the good duke Humphrey in "the XXV Yere," Hall says: "It seemeth to many men, that that name and title of Gloucester hath been vnfortunate and vnluckie to diuerse . . . as Hugh Spenser, Thomas of Woodstocke . . . and this duke Humphrey . . . So that this name of Gloucester is taken for an vnhappye and vnfortunate style, as the prouerbe speaketh of Seianes horse, whose rider was euer vnhorsed and whose possessor was euer brought to miserie."

108. *observation*] remark. Nowhere else in Shakespeare, and the earliest in *New Eng. Dict.*, so that the stereotyped expression, "that's a foolish *observation*," without which conversation would

Richard, be Duke of Gloucester. Now to London,
To see these honours in possession.

110

[*Exeunt.*

. . . *possession*] 97-101. *Let me be . . . Tush . . . childish . . . possession.*
Exeunt Omnes Q.

be impossible, belongs to Shakespeare.
In Q it is "that's a childish *observa-*
tion."

110. *possession*] receives similar quadri-
syllabic weight in *King John*, II. i.
266.

ACT III

SCENE I.—*A forest in the north of England.*

Enter two Keepers, with cross-bows in their hands.

First Keeper. Under this thick-grown brake we'll shroud ourselves ;

For through this laund anon the deer will come ;
And in this covert will we make our stand,
Culling the principal of all the deer.

Second Keeper. I'll stay above the hill, so both may shoot. 5

First Keeper. That cannot be ; the noise of thy cross-bow
Will scare the herd, and so my shoot is lost.
Here stand we both, and aim we at the best :
And, for the time shall not seem tedious,
I'll tell thee what befell me on a day 10

In this self place where now we mean to stand.

Second Keeper. Here comes a man ; let's stay till he be past.

ACT III. SCENE I.] omitted Q, Ff. Enter . . .] Malone; Enter two keepers with bow and arrowes Q; Enter Sinklo, and Humphrey Ff. 1-12. First Keeper. (Sink. Ff) . . . Second Keeper. (Hum. Ff) . . . Here comes . . . let's . . . past] 1-3. Keeper. Come, lets take our stands vpon this hill, And by and by the deere will come this waie. But staie, here comes . . . lets listen him a while Q.

Enter two Keepers] The Folio reading, "Enter Sinklo, and Humfrey," probably refers to two actors. Sinklo is mentioned in the stage-directions of the *Taming of the Shrew* (Ind. i. 86). Malone suggested Humphrey Jeaffes as the other. A similar variation has taken place already at i. ii. 47. The best parallel I am aware of for this hunting scene in our early drama, is Shakespeare's own one in *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. i. and iv. ii. I must refer to the edition in this series, Introduction, xlv. 1, and notes at the passages. Shake-

speare evidently prefers the cross-bow (with its bolts) in spite of the noise, to the bow and arrow of his earlier days.

2. *laund]* A common early form of "lawn," occurring again in *Venus and Adonis*. "Lawn" is not in Shakespeare. "Laund" is common in Golding's Ovid.

3. *stand]* See *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. i. 10, and *Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. v. 247, and notes, in this edition. And *Cymbeline*, iii. iv. 111.

11. *self]* same. Often in Shakespeare.

Enter King HENRY, disguised, with a prayer-book.

K. Hen. From Scotland am I stol'n, even of pure love
To greet mine own land with my wishful sight.
No, Harry, Harry, 'tis no land of thine ; 15
Thy place is fill'd, thy sceptre wrung from thee,
Thy balm wash'd off wherewith thou wast anointed :
No bending knee will call thee Cæsar now,
No humble suitors press to speak for right,
No, not a man comes for redress of thee ; 20
For how can I help them, and not myself?

First Keep. Ay, here's a deer whose skin's a keeper's fee :
This is the quondam king ; let's seize upon him.

13. *Enter . . .]* Malone ; *Enter the king with a Prayer booke Ff ; Enter King Henry disguise Q.* 13-15. *From . . . love To . . . sight. No . . . 'tis . . . thine]* 4-6. *From . . . loue, And thus disguise to greet my native land. No, Henrie no, It is . . . thine Q.* 16, 17. *Thy place . . . anointed]* omitted Q. 18-21. *No bending . . . press . . . right, No, not . . . For how . . . myself?* 7-9. *No bending . . . sues to thee for right, For how canst thou helpe . . . thy selfe? Q.* 22, 23. *First Keep. Ay, here's . . . whose skin's . . . fee . . . upon him]* 10-12. *Keep. I marrye sir, here is . . . his skin is . . . fee. Sirra, stand close, for as I thinke, This is the king, King Edward hath deposde Q.*

13. *Enter . . . disguised]* The Folios have not "disguised," which Malone inserted from Q, where it occurs both as a stage-direction and in the text. Hall narrates (*Edward the III.*, Third Yere, 1463): "Kyng Henry . . . whether he wer past all feare, or was not well established in his perfyte mynde . . . in a disguised apparel boldly entered into Englande. He was no sooner entered, but he was known and taken of one Cantlowe and broughte toward the kyng, whom the erle of Warwycke met . . . and brought hym through London to the toure" (261). Cantlow and Sinclo are two strange names.

14. *wishful]* longing. Spenser uses the word somewhat differently, meaning "much-needed," very desirable:—

"Therefore to dye must needes be joyeous,

And *wishfull* thing this sad life to foregoe"

(*Daphnida*, st. 65). Not in Q, nor elsewhere in Shakespere.

17. *balm . . . anointed]* Again in *Richard II.* iii. ii. 55: "wash the balm off from an anointed king."

Anointed king, queen, majesty, deputy, head, etc., are all met with in Shakespere: the present is in many places. Not in Q.

21. *For how can I . . . myself]* This line is more poetical as well as grammatical in Q: "For how canst thou helpe them and not thy selfe?"

22. *skin . . . keeper's fee]* See Harrison's *Description of England*, ii. xix. (1587); quoted in a note to "my shoulders for the fellow of this walk" (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. v. 28, in this edition). The expression is not to be taken literally here, of course. The right shoulder was the keeper's fee, according to the *Boke of St. Albans*. Harrison includes the skin, etc. Nashe says (with a quibble) "diuers keepers [shall] kill store of Buckes, and reserue no other fees to their selues but the hornes" (explained by context) (*A Prognostication* (Grosart, ii. 155), 1591).

23. *quondam king]* late or former king. See iii. iii. 153 and *Henry V.* ii. i. 82. Here it is from Q. See also *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. 7. Greene addresses his famous attack on Shakespere "To those gentlemen his *Quondam* acquaintance."

- K. Hen.* Let me embrace thee, sour adversity,
 For wise men say it is the wisest course. 25
- Second Keep.* Why linger we? let us lay hands upon him.
- First Keep.* Forbear awhile; we'll hear a little more.
- K. Hen.* My queen and son are gone to France for aid;
 And, as I hear, the great commanding Warwick
 Is thither gone, to crave the French king's sister 30
 To wife for Edward. If this news be true,
 Poor queen and son, your labour is but lost;
 For Warwick is a subtle orator,
 And Lewis a prince soon won with moving words.
 By this account then Margaret may win him, 35
 For she's a woman to be pitied much:
 Her sighs will make a battery in his breast;
 Her tears will pierce into a marble heart;
 The tiger will be mild whiles she doth mourn;

24-27. *Let me . . . little more*] omitted Q. 28, 29. *My . . . son . . . France . . . And . . . Warwick*] 13, 14. *My . . . sonne poore soules . . . France, and . . . Warwike* Q. 30-34. *Is thither . . . Edward. If . . . true . . . but lost; For Warwick . . . And Lewis . . . words*] 15-19. *To intreat a mariage with the ladie Bona, If this be true . . . but spent in vaine, For Lewis is a . . . with words, And Warwick . . . orator* Q. 35-42. *By this account . . . Warwick, to give*] omitted Q.

24. *sour adversity*] Compare Costard's "welcome the sour cup of prosperity" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, i. i. 316). Some old joke lies hidden here. Shakespeare was probably adding to *Love's Labour's Lost* at this date. Note line 32. But the reading here is Dyce's conjecture. The Folio has the "sower Adversaries."

30, 31. *to crave the French king's sister To wife for Edward*] See II. 89, 90, last scene. And below, III. iii. 50. Hall writes on this subject of Edward's proposed match: "at length in the same yere (1463), he (Warwick) came to Kyng Lewes the XI. then beyng French Kyng, living at Tours, and with greate honour was there receiued and interteined; of whom, for Kyng Edward his master, he demaunded to haue in mariage the lady Bona, daughter to Lewes duke of Savoy and sister to the lady Carlot, then French Quene, beyng then in the Frenche court. This mariage semeth pollitiquely deuised . . . Kyng Edward therefore thought it necessary to haue affinitie in France . . . trusting by this

mariage, quene Margaret . . . should haue no aide, succor, nor any comfort of ye French Kyng . . . wherefore Quene Carlot much desirous to aduance her bloode . . . to so greate a prince as Kyng Edward was, obteyned both the good will of the kyng her husband, & also of her syster, so that the matrimony on that syde was clerely assented to" (253, 254). For the immediate continuation, see below, scene ii., line 2, at "This lady's husband."

37. *sighs . . . make a battery*] Compare *Venus and Adonis*, 425, 426:—

"Dismiss . . . your feigned tears . . ."

For where a heart is hard they
make no battery."

38. *tears . . . pierce . . . marble heart*] Compare "Much rain wears the marble" (III. ii. 50 below). And *Lucrece*, 560: "Tears . . . through marble wear with raining." "Pierce the heart" was a set expression, often in Shakespeare. Compare *Tamburlaine*, Part I. i. ii. (Dyce, 12, b): "my heart to be with gladness pierced."

And Nero will be tainted with remorse, 40
 To hear and see her plaints, her brinish tears.
 Ay, but she's come to beg; Warwick, to give;
 She on his left side craving aid for Henry,
 He on his right asking a wife for Edward.
 She weeps, and says her Henry is deposed; 45
 He smiles, and says his Edward is install'd;
 That she, poor wretch, for grief can speak no more:
 Whiles Warwick tells his title, smooths the wrong,
 Inferreth arguments of mighty strength,
 And in conclusion wins the king from her, 50
 With promise of his sister, and what else,
 To strengthen and support King Edward's place.
 O Margaret! thus 'twill be; and thou, poor soul,
 Art then forsaken, as thou went'st forlorn.

Second Keep. Say, what art thou that talk'st of kings and queens? 55

K. Hen. More than I seem, and less than I was born to:
 A man at least, for less I should not be;
 And men may talk of kings, and why not I?

Second Keep. Ay, but thou talk'st as if thou wert a king.

K. Hen. Why, so I am, in mind; and that's enough. 60

43-46. *She on . . . He on . . . she weeps . . . He smiles . . . install'd* 20-23. *He laughs . . . instalde, she weepes . . . He on his right hand . . . She on . . . Henry Q.* 47-54. *That she . . . went'st forlorn*] omitted Q. 55-58. *Say, what . . . and less . . . A man . . . be; And . . . not I?* 24-27. *What . . . for lesse I should not be. A man . . . and more I cannot be, And . . . not I? Q.* 59, 60. *Ay, but . . . mind . . . enough*] 28, 29. *I but . . . mind though not in shew Q.*

40. *tainted with remorse*] improperly touched with pity. See "tainted with such shame" (Part I. iv. v. 46), and "tainted with a thousand vices" (*ibid.* v. iv. 45). And "taint with love" (*ibid.* v. iii. 183) means impure love. Always the term has the sense of a blemish. Pity would be a blemish in such a conception as Nero's character. He is a type with Shakespeare. See "You bloody Neros" (*King John*, v. ii. 152, and above, Part I. i. iv. 95). The view of Margaret here is to be remembered. Shakespeare is not nearly done with her in this play.

41. *brinish tears*] salt tears. See "brinish bowels" (of the surge) (*Titus Andronicus*, iii. i. 97). And *Lucrece*, 1213; *Lover's Complaint*, 284. Shakespeare has not "briny." See Introduction to Part I., on adjectives. And

Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iii. v. (Dyce, 58, b): "Which washeth Cyprus with his brinish waves." Earlier in *Euphues*.

43-46. *She on his left . . . He on his right . . . She weeps . . . He smiles . . .*] Kyd has similar lines: "He spake . . . this other . . . He promise . . . this other . . . He wan my love, this other conquered me" (*Spanish Tragedie*, i. ii. 162-165 (Boas)).

49. *Inferreth arguments of mighty strength*] See "Inferring arguments of mighty force" (above, ii. ii. 44).

57. *less I should not be*] Kyd has a similar line in *The Spanish Tragedy*, i. iv. 40: "Yet this I did, and lesse I could not doe: I saw him honoured with due funerall."

60. *in mind*] Malone fancied an

Second Keep. But if thou be a king, where is thy crown?

K. Hen. My crown is in my heart, not on my head;

Not deck'd with diamonds and Indian stones,

Nor to be seen: my crown is call'd content;

A crown it is that seldom kings enjoy.

65

Second Keep. Well, if you be a king crown'd with content,

Your crown content and you must be contented

To go along with us; for, as we think,

You are the king King Edward hath deposed;

And we his subjects, sworn in all allegiance,

70

Will apprehend you as his enemy.

K. Hen. But did you never swear, and break an oath?

Second Keep. No, never such an oath; nor will not now.

K. Hen. Where did you dwell when I was king of England?

Second Keep. Here in this country, where we now remain. 75

K. Hen. I was anointed king at nine months old;

My father and my grandfather were kings,

And you were sworn true subjects unto me:

And tell me then, have you not broke your oaths?

First Keep. No;

80

For we were subjects but while you were king.

K. Hen. Why am I dead? do I not breathe a man?

Ah! simple men, you know not what you swear.

Look! as I blow this feather from my face,

61, 62. *But if . . . my head*] 30, 31. *And if . . . my head* Q. 63, 64. *Not deck'd . . . be seen*] omitted Q. 64-67. *my crown . . . it is that . . . enjoy . . . Well, if . . . contented*] 32-35. *My crowne . . . that kings doe seldome times enjoy . . . And if thou . . . content* Q. 68, 69. *To go . . . for, as . . . the king . . . deposed*] 36, 37. *To go with us vnto the officer, for as . . . our quondam king . . . deposde* Q. 70-96. *And we his subjects . . . King Edward is*] omitted Q.

allusion here to "My mind to me a kingdom is," an old ballad.

64. *my crown is call'd content*] Compare Henry's speech on shepherd's content ("methinks it were a happy life") at II. v. 20-54. Elsewhere in Shakespeare, *Henry VIII.* II. iii. 20; and *Othello*, III. iii. 172-4 may be recalled. And "crown and content" are denied association in *2 Henry IV.* III. i. 30-31. See Iden's speech in Part II. iv. x. 18: "This small inheritance . . . Contenteth me and worth a monarchy." Compare Kyd's *Cornelia*, IV. i. 246-248:—

"He onely lives most happily
That, free and farre from maiestie,
Can liue content."

And Lodge, *Wounds of Civil Warre*:—

"If there content be such a pleasant thing

Why leave I country life to live a king?"

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 187).

69. *You are . . . deposed*] This line recalls the famous one in *2 Henry VI.* I. iv. 33: "The duke yet lives that Henry shall depose," minus the ambiguity.

76. *anointed king*] See above, I. 17. note. This Biblical expression is again additional to Q.

84-89. *I blow this feather . . . lightness of you common men*] Shakespeare often has this figure: "I am a feather for each wind that blows" (*Winter's*

And as the air blows it to me again, 85

Obeying with my wind when I do blow,

And yielding to another when it blows,

Commanded always by the greater gust ;

Such is the lightness of you common men.

But do not break your oaths ; for of that sin 90

My mild entreaty shall not make you guilty.

Go where you will, the king shall be commanded ;

And be you kings : command, and I'll obey.

First Keep. We are true subjects to the king, King Edward.

K. Hen. So would you be again to Henry, 95

If he were seated as King Edward is.

First Keep. We charge you, in God's name, and the king's,

To go with us unto the officers.

K. Hen. In God's name, lead ; your king's name be obey'd :

And what God will, that let your king perform ; 100

And what he will, I humbly yield unto. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.—*London. The palace.*

*Enter King EDWARD, GLOUCESTER, CLARENCE, and
Lady GREY.*

K. Edw. Brother of Gloucester, at Saint Alban's field

This lady's husband, Sir Richard Grey, was slain,

97, 98. *We charge . . . go with . . . officers*] 38, 39. *And therefore we charge you in Gods name & the kings To go along with us unto the officers Q.* 99-101. *In God's name . . . yield unto*] 40, 41. *Gods name be fulfilled, your kings name be Obaide, and be you kings, command and Ile obey. Exeunt Omnes.*

SCENE II.

Enter . . .] Ff; *Enter King Edward, Clarence, and Gloster, Montague, Hastings, and the Lady Gray Q.* 1, 2. *Brother . . . slain*] 1-3. *Brothers of Clarence, and of Gloucester, This ladies husband heere Sir Richard Gray, At the battaile of saint Albones did lose his life Q.*

Tale, II. iii. 154). And "Was ever feather so lightly blown to and fro as this multitude?" (*2 Henry VI. iv. viii. 57).*

SCENE II.

2. *This lady's husband, Sir Richard Grey*] Hall continues (see extract at III. i. 30): "But now consider the old proverbe to be true that saith: that mariage is destinie. For during ye time that the erle of Warwicke was thus in Fraunce, concluding a mariage for Kyng Edward, the Kyng being

on hunting in the forest of Wychwood besyde stonny stratford, came for his recreation to the mannor of Grafton, where the duches of Bedford sojourned, then wyfe to Syr Richard Woduile, lord Ryuers, on whom then was attending a daughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Greye, wydow of syr Ihon Grey knight, slaine at the last battell of sainte Albons, by the power of Kyng Edward. This wydow hauyng a suite to ye kyng" (continued at "too good to be your concubine," I. 93, below). The death of Ihon Grey,

His lands then seiz'd on by the conqueror;
 Her suit is now to repossess those lands;
 Which we in justice cannot well deny,
 Because in quarrel of the house of York
 The worthy gentleman did lose his life.

Glou. Your highness shall do well to grant her suit;
 It were dishonour to deny it her.

K. Edw. It were no less; but yet I'll make a pause. 10

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] Yea; is it so?

I see the lady hath a thing to grant,
 Before the king will grant her humble suit.

Clar. [*Aside to Glou.*] He knows the game: how true he
 keeps the wind!

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] Silence! 15

K. Edw. Widow, we will consider of your suit;

And come some other time to know our mind.

L. Grey. Right gracious lord, I cannot brook delay:

May it please your highness to resolve me now,

And what your pleasure is shall satisfy me. 20

3, 4. *His lands . . . lands*] 4, 5. *His lands then were . . . lands* Q. 5-7. *Which we . . . Because in . . . The worthy . . . life*] 6-8. *And sith in . . . The noble . . . life, In honor we cannot deny her sute* Q. 8, 9. *Your . . . her*] 9. *Your . . . it then* Q (9 omitted). 10. *It . . . but . . . pause*] 10. *I, so I will, but . . . pause* Q. 11-13. *Glou. Yea . . . I see . . . a thing . . . suit*] 11-13. *Glo. I, is the winde in that doore? Clarence, I see . . . some thing . . . sute* Q. 14, 15. *He knows . . . the wind! Glou. Silence!*] 14. *He knowes . . . how well . . . the wind* Q. 16, 17. *Widow . . . And come . . . mind*] 15. *Widow come . . . mind* Q. 18-20. *L. Grey. Right . . . satisfy me*] 16, 17. *La. May it please your grace I . . . delaies, I beseech your highnesse to dispatch me now* Q.

knighted the same day, at Colney, is in Hall, p. 252. Malone pointed out the falsification of history in the words, "quarrel of the house of York." Grey fell on the side of King Henry, and his lands were seized, not by the conqueror (Queen Margaret) but by Edward after Towton. This is truly stated in *Richard III.* i. ii.: "You and your husband Gray were factious for the house of Lancaster," and "In Margaret's battle at Saint Albans slain." Malone may be right, but it is not easy to follow the chronicles. Henry made knights of thirty *foes*, in obedience to Margaret on that occasion. See above, ii. ii. 59. But also the dates are astray.

4. *repossess*] Only in 3 Henry VI. See note at iii. iii. 2-16 below.

11. *Yea; is it so?*] "is the winde in that doore?" (Q) is very properly omitted, being a confusion of metaphors. It is a very old expression, occurring in Heywood's *Proverbs* (ed. Sharman, p. 118), 1546; in Udall's *Erasmus* (Roberts' rept. p. 318), 1542; in Gascoigne, *The Supposes*, 1566, etc. And see 1 Henry IV. iii. iii. 102.

14. *game . . . wind*] The comparison is to a dog in pursuit of his prey. "Wind" is scent. See *Hamlet*, iii. ii. 362. King Edward bore this character. Polydore Vergil says: "for as much as the King was a man who would readily cast an eye upon young ladies, and love them inordinately" (Camden Soc. rept., *Three Books*, etc., p. 117).

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] Ay, widow? then I'll warrant you all your lands,

An if what pleases him shall pleasure you.

Fight closer, or, good faith, you'll catch a blow.

Clar. [*Aside to Glou.*] I fear her not, unless she chance to fall.

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] God forbid that! for he'll take van-
tages. 25

K. Edw. How many children hast thou, widow? tell me.

Clar. [*Aside to Glou.*] I think he means to beg a child of her.

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] Nay, whip me then; he'll rather give her two.

L. Grey. Three, my most gracious lord.

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] You shall have four, if you'll be ruled by him. 30

K. Edw. 'Twere pity they should lose their father's lands.

L. Grey. Be pitiful, dread lord, and grant it then.

K. Edw. Lords, give us leave; I'll try this widow's wit.

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] Ay, good leave have you; for you will have leave,

Till youth take leave and leave you to the crutch. 35

[*Glou. and Clar. retire.*]

21-23. *Ay, widow? . . . blow*] 33-36. *Naie then widow Ile warrant you all your Husbands lands, if you grant to do what he Commands. Fight close or in good faith, You catch a clap Q.* 24, 25. *I fear . . . she . . . fall . . . for . . . vantages*] 37, 38. *Naie I feare . . . she fall. Glo. Marie. godsforbot man, for . . . vantage then Q.* 26-30. *How many . . . of her . . . you'll be ruled by him*] 22-26. *Come hither widdow, how many children haste thou? . . . on her . . . and you wil be rulde by him Q.* 31, 32. *'Twere pity . . . dread . . . it then*] 27, 28. *Were it not pittie . . . then dread . . . it them Q.* 33-35. *Lords . . . I'll try . . . Glou. Ay . . . the crutch*] 18-21. *Lords . . . wee meane to trie . . . Cla. I, good . . . you. Glou. For you . . . your crouch Q.*

23. *Fight closer*] Must be taken devoid of the literal sense of "close," i.e., near. Fight, or resist better. Compare "close fighting" (in serious conflict) (*Romco and Juliet*, i. i. 118).

23. *catch a blow*] come to disgrace. "Catch a clap" (Q) came to be used expressly of women being "in trouble."

Hawes has it in a proper context:—

"My hearte was in a trap

By Venus caught, and wyth so
sore a clap"

(*Pastime of Pleasure*, rept. p. 64, 1500). Nashe has it more generally:—

"Martin, your mast(er) alas hath
caught a clap,

And is . . . like to fall"

(*Martins Months Minde*, Grosart, i. 197). Peele gives an example of the vulgar use (meant here) in *Sir Clyomon*

(516, a): "But I may say to you, my neighbour Hodge's maid had a clap,—well, let them laugh that win!"

25. *God forbid*] The old "Godsforbot" (Q) does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare. It was formerly very common, and is found in Golding's Ovid (xiii. 891). It is used by Nashe (*Have with you*, etc.), and by Nicholas Breton (several times) in Shakespeare's time. Generally with the sense of something wholly anathema—beyond God's forbid.

28. *whip me then*] Compare *Othello*, i. i. 49 and v. ii. 277. And *Pericles*, iv. ii. 91. When the whip was in its glory it gave rise to several expressions now forgotten.

33-35. *give us leave . . . good leave . . . take leave and leave you*] There

K. Edw. Now tell me, madam, do you love your children?

L. Grey. Ay, full as dearly as I love myself.

K. Edw. And would you not do much to do them good?

L. Grey. To do them good I would sustain some harm.

K. Edw. Then get your husband's lands, to do them good. 40

L. Grey. Therefore I came unto your majesty.

K. Edw. I 'll tell you how these lands are to be got.

L. Grey. So shall you bind me to your highness' service.

K. Edw. What service wilt thou do me, if I give them?

L. Grey. What you command, that rests in me to do. 45

K. Edw. But you will take exceptions to my boon.

L. Grey. No, gracious lord, except I cannot do it.

K. Edw. Ay, but thou canst do what I mean to ask.

L. Grey. Why, then I will do what your grace commands.

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] He plies her hard: and much rain wears the marble. 50

Clar. [*Aside to Glou.*] As red as fire! nay, then her wax must melt.

L. Grey. Why stops my lord? shall I not hear my task?

K. Edw. An easy task; 'tis but to love a king.

L. Grey. That's soon perform'd, because I am a subject.

K. Edw. Why then, thy husband's lands I freely give thee. 55

L. Grey. I take my leave with many thousand thanks.

36-41. *Now tell me . . . your majesty*] omitted Q. 42-45. *I 'll tell you . . . give them? . . . to do*] 29-32. *He tell thee . . . grant it then?* *La. Even what your highnesse shall command* Q. 46-51. *But you will . . . wax must melt*] omitted Q. 52-57. *Why stops my lord . . . a curtsey*] 39-44. *Why stops my lord . . . Know my taske? . . . cursie* Q.

is a passage in *The Spanish Tragedy* very strongly resembling this. It is broken in two by the arrival of Jonson's additions:—

"By your leave, Sir.

Hier. Good leave have you: nay, I pray you goe.

For ile leave you if you can leave me so" (iii. xi. 1-3).

36-59.] These lines are another example of the method of alternate dialogue in lines (συναυθία) already noted upon in *1 Henry VI.* iv. v. 35-42, a practice in the classic drama. Kyd's *Cornelia* is largely framed on this plan, which is frequent in Shakespeare's early work.

46. *take exceptions*] disapprove. See *1 Henry VI.* iv. i. 105 (note); and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, i. iii. 81.

50. *He plies her hard*] urges her

hard. See *Merchant of Venice*, iii. ii. 279. And see note at "well said" (*2 Henry VI.* i. iv. 13) for an example from Peele.

50. *much rain wears the marble*] See above, ii. i. 54, 55 (note). Compare T. Howell, *Devises* (Grosart, ii. 217), 1581: "The Marble stone in time by waterie drops is pierced deepe." And T. Watson, *Passionate Centurie*, xlv. (Arber, p. 83), 1582: "In time the Marble weares with weakest sheures." Kyd, when he appropriated Watson's lines in *The Spanish Tragedy* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 36) turned marble to flint. The old form is "Constant dropping wears a stone." Gloucester's proverb-loving speech is displayed here. See Introduction, and below, iii. ii. 113, iv. vii. 25, etc.

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] The match is made; she seals it with a curtsy.

K. Edw. But stay thee; 'tis the fruits of love I mean.

L. Grey. The fruits of love I mean, my loving liege.

K. Edw. Ay, but, I fear me, in another sense. 60

What love think'st thou I sue so much to get?

L. Grey. My love till death, my humble thanks, my prayers:

That love which virtue begs and virtue grants.

K. Edw. No, by my troth, I did not mean such love.

L. Grey. Why, then you mean not as I thought you did. 65

K. Edw. But now you partly may perceive my mind.

L. Grey. My mind will never grant what I perceive

Your highness aims at, if I aim aright.

K. Edw. To tell thee plain, I aim to lie with thee.

L. Grey. To tell you plain, I had rather lie in prison. 70

K. Edw. Why, then thou shalt not have thy husband's lands.

L. Grey. Why, then mine honesty shall be my dower;

For by that loss I will not purchase them.

K. Edw. Therein thou wrong'st thy children mightily.

L. Grey. Herein your highness wrongs both them and me. 75

But, mighty lord, this merry inclination

Accords not with the sadness of my suit:

Please you dismiss me, either with ay or no.

K. Edw. Ay, if thou wilt say ay to my request;

No, if thou dost say no to my demand. 80

L. Grey. Then, no, my lord. My suit is at an end.

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] The widow likes him not, she knits her brows.

58-60. *But stay . . . sense*] omitted Q. 61-63. *What love . . . virtue grants*] 45-47. *Staic widdow staie, what loue dost thou thinke . . . get?* *La.* *My humble seruice, such as subiects owes and the lawes commands* Q. 64-69. *No . . . with thee*] 48, 49. *K. Ed.* *No . . . I meant no such loue, But to tell thee troth, I . . . with thee* Q (65 to 68 omitted). 71-78. *Why, . . . shalt not have . . . Why, then . . . Therein . . . Accords not . . . Please you . . . ay or no*] 50-58. *Why . . . canst not get . . . Then . . . Herein . . . Agrees not . . . Please it your highnes to . . . I or no* Q. 79-82. *Ay . . . wilt say . . . dost say . . . knits her brows*] 59-62. *I . . . saie I . . . saie . . . bends the brow* Q.

58. *I mean*] See below, iv. vi. 51, and see Part I. v. v. 20.

59. *The fruits of love*] See Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*: "*Lorenzo*. I thus, and thus: these are the fruits of love. (They stab him)" (ii. iv. 55). And in Part II. of Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* (ii. ii.):—

"Come, we agree to let you prove
Without a fee, the fruites of love"
(1578).

66. *perceive my mind*] grasp my meaning. See note at 1 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 59.

82. *knits her brows*] See note at "he knit his angry brows" (ii. ii. 20, above).

Clar. [*Aside to Glou.*] He is the bluntest wooer in Christendom.

K. Edw. [*Aside.*] Her looks do argue her replete with modesty ;

Her words do show her wit incomparable ; 85

All her perfections challenge sovereignty ;

One way or other, she is for a king ;

And she shall be my love, or else my queen.—

Say that King Edward take thee for his queen ?

L. Grey. 'Tis better said than done, my gracious lord : 90

I am a subject fit to jest withal,

But far unfit to be a sovereign.

K. Edw. Sweet widow, by my state I swear to thee

I speak no more than what my soul intends ;

And that is, to enjoy thee for my love. 95

L. Grey. And that is more than I will yield unto.

I know I am too mean to be your queen,

And yet too good to be your concubine.

83, 84. *He is . . . modesty*] 63, 64. *Why he is . . . looks are all repleat with maiestie* Q. 85, 86. *Her words . . . sovereignty*] omitted Q. 87-99. *One way . . . take thee . . . swear . . . I speak . . . soul . . . mean . . . my queen*] 65-77. *One waic . . . tooke thee . . . sweare I speake . . . bad . . . my Queene* Q.

Q has here "she bends the brow" with the same meaning, frowns. See below, v. ii. 22: "when Warwick bent his brow." And *1 Henry VI.* v. iii. 34. Also in *Lucrece*, 709, and *King John*.

83. *the bluntest wooer in Christendom*] A standard expression. See note at "the lyingest knave in Christendom" in *2 Henry VI.* ii. i. 126. A very old set phrase. Kyd (?) has "the braginst knave in Christendom" in *Soliman and Perseda*. And in Hall's Chronicle (p. 267), "the metest matrimony in Christendome" occurs. And Holinshed's *England*, iii. 292 (rept.): "The greatest prince in Christendom." Shakespeare drew it from the chroniclers.

84. *replete with*] See note "replete with wrathful fire" (*1 Henry VI.* i. i. 12). "Majesty" to "modesty" is a very suitable alteration. When the two texts are practically identical, as in this dialogue and its asides, the alterations are very instructive. Slight touches of improvement by the author or a reperusal for a fresh performance, or some other reason—such as to expunge Greeneries! The line here in Q occurs

again below at iv. vi. 71 (Q). Hence the alteration here.

90. *better said than done*] where we say "easier said than done." Oliphant (New English) gives a reference to *Religious and Love Poems* (Early English Text Soc.), circa 1450: "*better saide thanne doon.*" I have not verified it.

98. *too good to be your concubine*] Hall continues (see above at "Sir Richard Gray," l. 2): "This wydow . . . founde such grace in the Kynges eyes, that he not only faoured her suyte, but muche more phantasied her person, for she was a woman more of formal countenance then of excellent beautie, but yet of such beautie and fauor, that with her sober demeanure, louely loking, and femynyne smylng (neither to wanton nor to humble) besyde her tongue so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to rauish the mynde of a meane person, when she allured and made subiect to her, ye hart of so great a Kyng. After that Kyng Eduard had well considered all the lineamentes . . . he determined . . .

K. Edw. You cavil, widow : I did mean, my queen.

L. Grey. 'Twill grieve your grace my sons should call you father. 100

K. Edw. No more than when my daughters call thee mother.

Thou art a widow, and thou hast some children ;

And, by God's mother, I, being but a bachelor,

Have other some : why, 'tis a happy thing

To be the father unto many sons. 105

Answer no more, for thou shalt be my queen.

Glou. [*Aside to Clar.*] The ghostly father now hath done his shrift.

Clar. [*Aside to Glou.*] When he was made a shriver, 'twas for shift.

K. Edw. Brothers, you muse what chat we two have had.

Glou. The widow likes it not, for she looks very sad. 110

K. Edw. You'd think it strange if I should marry her.

Clar. To whom, my lord ?

K. Edw. Why, Clarence, to myself.

100-106. 'Twill . . . my sons . . . father unto . . . Answer . . . queen] 78-84. Your grace would be loath my sonnes . . . father of manie children. Argue . . . Queene Q. 107-109. The ghostly . . . what chat . . . had] 85-88½. The ghostly . . . what talke the Widdow And I have had Q. 110. The . . . very sad] omitted Q. 111-114. You'd . . . marry her. Clar. To whom . . . That's a . . . lasts] 88½-93. you would . . . marrie her. Cla. Marrie her my Lord, to whom? . . . Why that's . . . lastes Q.

that yf she would therunto condescend, she might so fortune of his peramour and concubine to be chaunged to his wyfe and lawfull bedfellow ; whiche demaunde she so wisely, and with so couert speache answered and repugned, affirmynge that as she was for his honor farre vnable to be hys spouse and bedfellow : so for her awne poore honestie, she was too good to be either hys concubine, or soueraigne lady : that where he was a littell before heated with the darte of Cupido, he was now set all on a hote burnyng fire . . . & without any further deliberacion, he determyned with him selfe clerely to marye with her, after that askyng counsaill of them, which he knewe neither woulde nor once durst impugne his concluded purpose. But the duches of Yorke hys mother letted it as much as in her lay. . . . And so, priuilye in a mornyng he married her at Grafton, where he first phantasied her visage" (p. 264). Later in Hall (365) the story of this courtship is again told, and how "she made suyte to be restored to suche smal landes as

her husband had geuen her in ioynture. . . . And finally after many a metyng and much avowynge . . . the Kyng . . . so muche esteemed her constancy and chastitye, that . . . he determined in haste to marry her." For the historical falseness, see note above at l. 3.

104. other some] another lot or set. See again *Measure for Measure*, III. ii. 94, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I. i. 226. It occurs twice at least in Golding's Ovid (books iv. and viii.). Not uncommon in early poetry.

106. my queen] Johnson says of this dialogue, closing here, that it is "very lively and spritely; the reciprocation is quicker than is common in Shakespeare."

107. ghostly father] Occurs again in *Measure for Measure* and *Romeo and Juliet*. "I'll have no ghostly fathers out of France" (Peele, *Edward I.* (410, a)).

107, 108. shrift . . . shriver] Compare this passage with *1 Henry VI.* I. ii. 119.

Glou. That would be ten days' wonder at the least.

Clar. That's a day longer than a wonder lasts.

Glou. By so much is the wonder in extremes.

115

K. Edw. Well, jest on, brothers: I can tell you both
Her suit is granted for her husband's lands.

Enter a Nobleman.

Nob. My gracious lord, Henry your foe is taken,
And brought your prisoner to your palace gate.

K. Edw. See that he be convey'd unto the Tower: 120

And go we, brothers, to the man that took him,
To question of his apprehension.

Widow, go you along. Lords, use her honourably.

[Exeunt all but Gloucester.]

Glou. Ay, Edward will use women honourably.

Would he were wasted, marrow, bones, and all, 125

That from his loins no hopeful branch may spring,

To cross me from the golden time I look for!

115. *By . . . extremes]* 94. *And so much more are the wonderes in extreames Q.*
116, 117. *Well . . . you both . . . lands]* 95, 96. *Well . . . you . . . lands Q.*
118, 119. *Enter a Nobleman. Nob. My . . . Henry . . . your prisoner . . .*
gate] 97, 98. *Enter a Messenger. Mes. And it please your grace, Henry . . . as*
prisoner . . . gates Q. 120-123. *See that . . . honourably]* 99-102. *Awaie*
with him and send him to the Tower, And let us go question with the man about
His apprehension. Lords along, and use this Ladie honourable. Exeunt Omnes.
Manet Gloucester and speaks Q. 124-127. *Ay, Edward . . . no hopeful . . .*
cross me . . . look for] 103-106. *I, Edward . . . no issue might succeed To*
hinder me . . . looke for Q.

113, 114. *ten days' . . . wonder]* A wonder lasts nine days. Occurs again in *As You Like It*, III. ii. 185, and 2 *Henry VI.* II. iv. 69 (see note). See note at line 60 above.

118-120. *Henry . . . taken . . . Tower]* See above, III. i. 13 (note).

122. *apprehension]* seizure, arrest. Again in *King Lear*, III. v. 20.

124-125. *Ay, Edward . . . I'll pluck it down]* Compare with II. v. 1-72. Here we have another great soliloquy, but it is full of import with regard to the subsequent history, and of character display in him that speaks it. When Henry VI. made his oration we knew all about him amply already, but not so here. They are meant to be set in contrast, these two speeches. It is very important to compare this with Q. The version here is more than double of that in Q, but every line in the latter is used up in the present composition.

Amplification, addition and improvement take place, but only in such a way as an author would deal with his own work—which he approved of and improved. The two kings' characters, Henry VI. and Richard III., as Shakespeare conceived them, are sketched and contrasted in these two speeches.

126. *loins . . . branch]* "issue" of Q is preferable, and occurs in *Richard III.* I. iii. 232 and in *Cymbeline*, V. v. 330.

127. *golden time]* Again in *Twelfth Night*, V. i. 391. "Golden day" occurs in 1 *Henry VI.* I. vi. 31, and below, III. iii. 7. Peele has "My golden days, my younger careless years" (*Battle of Alcazar*, Act V. (439, a)); and he has

"that golden time . . .

The blooming time, the spring of
England's peace"
(*Polyhymnia*, 572, b).

And yet, between my soul's desire and me—
 The lustful Edward's title buried—
 Is Clarence, Henry, and his son young Edward, 130
 And all the unlook'd for issue of their bodies,
 To take their rooms, ere I can place myself—
 A cold premeditation for my purpose!
 Why then, I do but dream on sovereignty;
 Like one that stands upon a promontory, 135
 And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,
 Wishing his foot were equal with his eye;
 And chides the sea that sunders him from thence,
 Saying, he'll lade it dry to have his way:
 So do I wish the crown, being so far off, 140
 And so I chide the means that keeps me from it,
 And so I say, I'll cut the causes off,
 Flattering me with impossibilities.
 My eye's too quick, my heart o'erweens too much,
 Unless my hand and strength could equal them. 145
 Well, say there is no kingdom then for Richard;
 What other pleasure can the world afford?
 I'll make my heaven in a lady's lap,
 And deck my body in gay ornaments,
 And witch sweet ladies with my words and looks. 150

128-132. *And yet . . . their rooms*] 107-110. *For I am not yet lookt for in the world. First is there Edward, Clarence and Henry And his sonne, and all they lookt for issue Of their loines* Q. 132, 133. *ere I can place . . . purpose* I] 110, 111. *ere I can plant . . . purpose* Q. 134-146. *Why then, I do but dream . . . for Richard*] omitted Q. 147-150. *What other . . . I'll make . . . And deck . . . And witch . . . looks*] 112-115. *What other pleasure is there in the world beside? I will go clad my . . . And lull myselfe within a . . . And witch . . . looks* Q (2 lines transposed).

133. *A cold premeditation*] "Cold" has the sense of hopeless, comfortless, as in "coldest expectation" (2 *Henry IV.* v. ii. 31) and "where hope is coldest" (*All's Well that Ends Well*, II. i. 147). Properly set forth in Schmidt. "Cold comfort" and "cold news" differ very slightly in their sense of "cold," and are both frequent. Compare Peele, *A Tale of Troy* (556, a):—

"The Troyans' glory now gan waxen dim,
 And cold their hope."

Compare "Henry, my lords, is cold in great affairs" (2 *Henry VI.* III. i. 224).

139. *lade*] drain, empty of water. Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe*

(475, a): "Weep Israel, for David's soul dissolves, *Lading* the fountains of his drowned eyes." In use still provincially. Not again in Shakespeare. To load or carry out water with buckets, etc. (or ladle). "Load" and "lade" are doublets.

148. *in a lady's lap*] Compare *Selimus* (Greene and Peele):—

"For he that never saw a foe man's face,
 But alwaies slept upon a *Ladies lap*,
 Will scant endure to lead a souldiers life"

(Grosart, xiv. 227). "Entombed in *ladies lap*" occurs in Spenser (reference mislaid).

O miserable thought ! and more unlikely
 Than to accomplish twenty golden crowns.
 Why, love forswore me in my mother's womb ;
 And, for I should not deal in her soft laws,
 She did corrupt frail nature with some bribe, 155
 To shrink mine arm up like a wither'd shrub ;
 To make an envious mountain on my back,
 Where sits deformity to mock my body ;
 To shape my legs of an unequal size ;
 To disproportion me in every part, 160
 Like to a chaos, or an unlick'd bear-whelp
 That carries no impression like the dam.
 And am I then a man to be belov'd ?
 O monstrous fault ! to harbour such a thought.
 Then, since this earth affords no joy to me 165
 But to command, to check, to o'erbear such
 As are of better person than myself,

151, 152. *O miserable . . . crowns*] 125. *Easier for me to compasse twentie crownes* Q. 153-159. *Why . . . forswore me . . . soft laws . . . with some bribe, To shrink mine . . . shrub ; To make an . . . my body ; To shape . . . size*] 117-123. *Why . . . did scorne me . . . affaires . . . in the flesh And plaste an . . . my backe, Where . . . my bodie, To drie mine . . . shrimpe. To make . . . size* Q (two lines transposed). 160-162. *To disproportion . . . the dam*] omitted Q. 163, 164. *And am . . . thought*] 116 and 124. *Oh monstrous man . . . thought, And am . . . belov'd ?* 165-181. *Then, since this earth . . . bloody axe*] omitted Q.

153. *love forswore me in my mother's womb*] Malone found this line in *Wily Beguiled*, a play printed in Hazlitt's Dodsley from the earliest known edition of 1606. But Malone says it had been exhibited on the stage soon after 1590. A most unworthy implication over a trifling line. This play "of 1590" contains a whole passage from *The Merchant of Venice*, and was of course rewritten after that play. It is an empty little piece.

156. *To shrink mine arm . . . wither'd*] According to Grafton this was witchcraft in the views of Gloucester: "Then sayde the protectoure, ' . . . as Shores wyfe wyth her affynitee haue by theyr sorcerye and wychcrafte thys wasted my bodye,' and therewyht plucked up hys doublet cleane to hys elbowe on his lyfte arme, where he showed a weryshe wythered arme, and small as it was neuer other" (*Continuation of Hardyng*, 494). Shakespeare very properly rejected this fable, using the descriptive word only.

156. *shrub*] "shrimp" in Q may safely be regarded as another quaint misprint (from an evil manuscript probably).

161. *chaos*] Compare "Misshapen chaos" (*Romeo and Juliet*, i. i. 185). And Golding's Ovid:—

"all the worlde . . .

Which chaos hight, a huge rude heape."

161. *unlick'd bear-whelp*] An old belief. See Pliny (Holland's trans. 1601), x. 63: "she Beares . . . whose whelpes are more misshapen than the rest . . . when they are delivered of them, with their licking . . . by little and little bring them to some forme and fashion." And again, Book viii. ch. 36. See also Golding's Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xv. 416-419: "The Bearwhelp also which The Beare bath newly littred . . . like an euill favored lump of flesh alyue dooth lye. The dam by licking shapeth out his members orderly."

I'll make my heaven to dream upon the crown ;
 And, whiles I live, to account this world but hell,
 Until my mis-shaped trunk that bears this head 170
 Be round impaled with a glorious crown.
 And yet I know not how to get the crown,
 For many lives stand between me and home :
 And I, like one lost in a thorny wood,
 That rents the thorns and is rent with the thorns, 175
 Seeking a way and straying from the way ;
 Not knowing how to find the open air,
 But toiling desperately to find it out,
 Torment myself to catch the English crown :
 And from that torment I will free myself, 180
 Or hew my way out with a bloody axe.
 Why, I can smile, and murder whiles I smile,
 And cry "Content" to that which grieves my heart,
 And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
 And frame my face to all occasions. 185
 I'll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall ;
 I'll slay more gazers than the basilisk ;
 I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,
 Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could,
 And, like a Sinon, take another Troy. 190
 I can add colours to the chameleon,
 Change shapes with Proteus for advantages,

182, 183. *Why . . . whiles . . . And cry . . . my heart*] 126, 127. *Tut . . . when . . . I crie . . . me most* Q. 184-190. *And wet . . . another Troy*] omitted Q. 191-195. *I can . . . Change . . . for advantages, And set . . .*

170. *mis-shaped*] Not again in Shakespeare. Several times in *Faerie Queene*, Book i. (viii. 16; viii. 46) ("misshaped parts").

170, 171. *this head . . . impaled*] See note at "pale your head" (i. iv. 103 above). Compare Peele, *Edward I.* Sc. xxiv. 410, b:—

"And see aloft Luellen's head,
 Empaled with a crown of lead."

175. *rents*] rends. See again *Midsummer Night's Dream*, iii. ii. 215; *Lover's Complaint*, 55; *Titus Andronicus*, iii. i. 261, and in *Richard III.* Compare "girt," Part I. iii. i. 171, and Part II. i. i. 63 (and notes). Peele has "My heart doth *rent* to think" (*Edward I.* Sc. xxv. 412, a). Very often in Greene. And elsewhere in Peele, and in *Lochrine* and Marlowe.

184. *artificial*] feigned, false.

187. *basilisk*] Has occurred twice already in 2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 52 and iii. ii. 324. And note at the first passage. Also in *Richard III.*, *Cymbeline* and *Henry V.* Pliny tells this (viii. 21): "A wild beast called Catoblepes . . . there is not one that looketh upon his eyes, but hee dyeth presently. The like propertie hath the serpent called a *Basiliske*."

188. *play the orator*] See above, i. ii. 2; ii. ii. 43 and note.

190. *Sinon*] Again in *Titus Andronicus* and *Cymbeline*.

191. *chameleon*] Twice in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. See Holland's *Plinie* (1601), xxviii. viii. p. 315.

192. *Proteus*] Not again in Shakespeare. See Golding's *Ovid*, viii. 916-

And set the murderous Machiavel to school.

Can I do this, and cannot get a crown?

Tut! were it further off, I'll pluck it down.

195

[Exit.

SCENE III.—France. The King's palace.

Flourish. Enter LEWIS the French King, his sister BONA, his Admiral, called BOURBON; Prince EDWARD, Queen MARGARET, and the Earl of OXFORD. LEWIS sits, and riseth up again.

K. Lew. Fair Queen of England, worthy Margaret,

Tut . . . down] I can . . . And for a need change . . . Protheus, And set the aspiring Catalin . . . the crowne? Tush, were it ten times higher, Ile pull it doune. Exit Q.

SCENE III.

Flourish. Enter . . . Ff; Enter King Lewis and the Ladie Bona, and Queene Margaret, Prince Edward, and Oxford and others Q. 1-3. Fair Queen . . . doth sit] 1-6. Welcome Queene Margaret to the Court of France, It fits not Lewis

922. And Spenser, *Facrie Queene*, i. ii. 10; iii. viii. 30, 40, 41. Marlowe has "*Proteus*, god of shapes" (*Edward II.* 193, a).

193. *murderous Machiavel*] Again in *1 Henry VI.* v. iv. 74: "Alençon that notorious *Machiavel*," and in *Merry Wives of Windsor*: "Am I politic, am I subtle, am I a *Machiavel*?" (iii. i. 104). Nashe uses similar language in *Summer's Last Will* (Grosart, vi. 146): "The arte of *murther Machiavel* hath pend." He couples him with Aretine two or three times. He uses this language: "As though the Church of England were vpheld and Atlassed by corruption, Machauelisme, apostatisme, hipocrisie and treacherie" (*Have with you*, etc. (Grosart, iii. 205)). And worse in other places in Nashe. In Marlowe he is introduced as the prologue speaker in *Jew of Malta*, advocating poisoning, and counting "religion but a childish toy." Greene in *Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 205) gives him the rankest vituperation earlier. Nicholas Breton seems to have been very familiar with "The Prince." In *Wit's Trenchmour* he gives a good deal of his policy. These writers, except the last perhaps, and also Harvey who speaks of him before 1580 (Grosart's Harvey, i. 138), omit to mention to the credit of the "great statesman" that

if he did hold religion as a toy, it was because he set patriotism before it. Machiavel died in 1527. His greatest work, *Il Principe*, appeared in 1513. See note at *1 Henry VI.* v. iv. 74. The anachronism is saved in the Quarto's reading, Cataline. For "Cataline" compare *Edward II.* (Marlowe, Dyce, p. 210, a).

SCENE III.

1. Hall continues from the passage quoted at the end of ii. v. l. 125, "Fly, father, fly": "When Kyng Henry was somewhat settled in the realme of Scotland [whose King he bribed with the town of Berwick], he sente his wyfe and hys sonne into Fraunce, to Kyng Rene her father, trusting by his ayde . . . to assemble a greate army (257). . . . She remained with Duke Reyner her father, till she toke her unfortunate iorney into England again (261). . . . (Edward's marriage takes place). . . . When this marriage was once blown abroad, forren kyngs and prynces maruayld . . . noble men detested . . . common people grudged. . . . The French Kyng and his Quene were not a little discontent to haue their sister . . . apparantly mocked. . . . But when the erle of Warwycke had perfit knowledge by the letters of trusty friends, that Kyng Edward had gotten

Sit down with us: it ill befits thy state

And birth that thou should'st stand while Lewis doth sit.

Q. Mar. No, mighty King of France; now Margaret
Must strike her sail, and learn awhile to serve 5
Where kings command. I was, I must confess,
Great Albion's queen in former golden days;
But now mischance hath trod my title down,
And with dishonour laid me on the ground,
Where I must take like seat unto my fortune, 10
And to my humble seat conform myself.

K. Lew. Why, say, fair queen, whence springs this deep
despair?

Q. Mar. From such a cause as fills mine eyes with tears
And stops my tongue, while heart is drown'd in cares.

K. Lew. Whate'er it be, be thou still like thyself, 15
And sit thee by our side: [*seats her by him*] yield not
thy neck
To fortune's yoke, but let thy dauntless mind
Still ride in triumph over all mischance.
Be plain, Queen Margaret, and tell thy grief;
It shall be eas'd, if France can yield relief. 20

Q. Mar. Those gracious words revive my drooping thoughts,
And give my tongue-tied sorrows leave to speak.

to sit while thou dost stand. Sit by my side, and here I vow to thee, Thou shalt have aide to repossesse thy right, And beat proud Edward from vsurped seat. And place King Henry in his former rule Q (compare line 20). 4-20. *Q. Mar.* No . . . relief] omitted Q. 21, 22. *Those . . . speak*] 7-9. *I humblie thanke your royale maiestie. And pray the God of heaven to blesse thy state, Great King of France, that thus regards our wrongs* Q.

hym a new wyfe, & that all he had done . . . in his ambassade . . . was both frustrate and vayne, he was . . . sore chafed . . . and thought it necessarye that King Edward should be deposed from his crowne" (265). The dramatic scene here between Margaret, Lewis, Warwick, Oxford is imaginary. But Margaret "did obteyn and impetrate of the yong Frenche Kynge [Lewis] that all fautors and louers of her husbande and the Lancastreall bande, might . . . haue resorte into any parte . . . of Fraunce, prohibiting all other of the contrary faction" (257).

2-16. *Sit down . . . sit thee*] There is only one bidding to sit down in Q, after which Lewis utters three preposterously bad and ill-timed lines wholly

omitted here. "Beat proud Edward from usurped seat" is in the regular diction of Greene and Peele on such occasions. "Repossess" here (Q) occurs above, III. ii. 4, and three times later in this play, but not again in Shakespeare.

5. *strike her sail*] humble herself. See *2 Henry IV.* v. ii. 18. See below, v. i. 52 (note).

7. *golden days*] See note at "golden time," above, III. ii. 127.

17. *dauntless mind*] refers, not to her present condition, but to Margaret's famous character.

22. *give . . . leave to speak*] See note at I. ii. 1 above.

22. *tongue-tied*] See *1 Henry VI.* II. iv. 25, and note.

Now, therefore, be it known to noble Lewis,
 That Henry, sole possessor of my love,
 Is of a king become a banish'd man, 25
 And forced to live in Scotland a forlorn;
 While proud ambitious Edward Duke of York
 Usurps the regal title and the seat
 Of England's true-anointed lawful king.
 This is the cause that I, poor Margaret, 30
 With this my son, Prince Edward, Henry's heir,
 Am come to crave thy just and lawful aid;
 And if thou fail us, all our hope is done.
 Scotland hath will to help, but cannot help;
 Our people and our peers are both misled, 35
 Our treasure seiz'd, our soldiers put to flight,
 And, as thou seest, ourselves in heavy plight.

K. Lew. Renowned queen with patience calm the storm,
 While we bethink a means to break it off.

Q. Mar. The more we stay, the stronger grows our foe. 40

K. Lew. The more I stay, the more I'll succour thee.

Q. Mar. O! but impatience waiteth on true sorrow:
 And see where comes the breeder of my sorrow.

Enter WARWICK.

K. Lew. What's he approacheth boldly to our presence?

Q. Mar. Our Earl of Warwick, Edward's greatest friend. 45

K. Lew. Welcome, brave Warwick! What brings thee to
 France? [*He descends. She ariseth.*]

23-43. *Now, therefore . . . the breeder of my sorrow*] omitted *Q.* 44-46.
Enter . . . K. Lew. What's he . . . presence? . . . Our Earl . . . France?
 10-12. *Enter Lew. How now, who is this? . . . Our Earle . . . chiefest*
friend . . . France? Q. [*He . . .*] *Ff*; omitted *Q.*

26. *a forlorn*] *New Eng. Dict.* has one early example of this word, as a noun, from Dunbar. Several such Scotticisms appear in these plays.

27. *proud ambitious*] See below, v. v. 17.

29. *true-anointed*] For "anointed king" see iii. i. 17 and 76. Shakespeare has about fifteen such compounds, true- preceding a participle. Whether they are hyphenated or not appears to be a toss-up. They belong chiefly to his early work. Peele's "true-succeeding" is not in Shakespeare. See Part II., Introduction, on *Jack Straw*.

38, 39. *storm . . . break it off*] turn

it aside, an unhappy expression, as if the storm was to be cut short, like a conversation, by human means: especially as the Queen is about to calm it. Compare "break off the parley" above, ii. ii. 110. There is very poor writing in this scene. It is quite insipid, such as Kyd could have written; but although unworthy of Shakespeare it does not recall any other writer to me.

43. *Enter Warwick*] Ritson enumerates four considerable reasons for Warwick's displeasure with the King, all wholly independent of this "fabulous story of Warwick and the lady Bona" as told by "our common histories" (*Steevens' Shakespeare*, 1793).

Q. Mar. Ay, now begins a second storm to rise ;
For this is he that moves both wind and tide.

War. From worthy Edward, King of Albion,
My lord and sovereign, and thy vowed friend, 50
I come, in kindness and unfeigned love,
First to do greetings to thy royal person ;
And then to crave a league of amity ;
And lastly to confirm that amity
With nuptial knot, if thou vouchsafe to grant 55
That virtuous Lady Bona, thy fair sister,
To England's king in lawful marriage.

Q. Mar. [*Aside.*] If that go forward, Henry's hope is done.

War. [*To Bona*] And, gracious madam, in our king's behalf,
I am commanded, with your leave and favour, 60
Humbly to kiss your hand, and with my tongue
To tell the passion of my sovereign's heart ;
Where fame, late entering at his heedful ears,
Hath plac'd thy beauty's image and thy virtue.

Q. Mar. King Lewis and Lady Bona, hear me speak, 65
Before you answer Warwick. His demand
Springs not from Edward's well-meant honest love,

47, 48. *Ay, now . . . tide*] omitted *Q.* 49-57. *From worthy . . . Albion . . . lawful marriage*] 13-21. *From worthy . . . England . . . Lawfull marriage* *Q.* 58. *If that . . . Henry's . . . done*] 22. *And if this . . . all our . . . done* *Q.* 59-64. *And . . . your leave . . . passion . . . beauty's . . . virtue*] 23-28. *And . . . your love . . . passions . . . glorious . . . virtues* *Q.* 65, 66. *King Lewis . . . Warwick*] 29-31. *King Lewes . . . Warwike or his words, For hee it is hath done vs all these wrongs* *Q.* 66-77. *His demand . . . suppresseth wrongs*] omitted *Q.*

58. *go forward*] take place, come to pass. Occurs again in *As You Like It*, i. ii. 193; *Coriolanus*, iv. v. 228 and elsewhere. Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, ii. iii. 18:—

"And this it is: in case the match
goe forward

The tribute which you pay shall be
releast."

58. *If that . . . Henry's hope is done*] Compare line 33 above. "And if thou fail us, all our hope is done." To be regarded as an omission on Shakespeare's part, in avoiding a repetition, when developing and extending Margaret's speeches as he does, almost invariably. "Hope is done" does not sound Shakespearian somehow, but I should not like to accept this passage as evidence that the old play is not Shakespeare's. With the exception of

this line, Malone says, the former speech is by Shakespeare. He liked this line when he met it here, and having borrowed it there, he forgot to scratch it out here. Malone found himself in some very tight corners in pursuit of his theory.

60. *leave*] Surely a correction of a misprint (love) in *Q.*

64. *beauty's image*] Improves "glorious image" sensibly. Margaret's following speech, excepting the first few words, is additional. There is some power in it. The use of "danger" is Shakespearian. "Well-meant" is paralleled by "well-meaning" (*Richard II.* ii. i. 128). But there is no doubt at all of Shakespeare immediately below.

65. *Lady Bona*] See iii. i. 30, 31, and extract from Hall.

But from deceit bred by necessity ;
 For how can tyrants safely govern home,
 Unless abroad they purchase great alliance ? 70
 To prove him tyrant this reason may suffice,
 That Henry liveth still ; but were he dead,
 Yet here Prince Edward stands, King Henry's son.
 Look, therefore, Lewis, that by this league and marriage
 Thou draw not on thy danger and dishonour ; 75
 For though usurpers sway the rule awhile,
 Yet heavens are just, and time suppresseth wrongs.

War. Injurious Margaret !

Prince.

And why not queen ?

War. Because thy father Henry did usurp,

And thou no more art prince than she is queen. 80

Oxf. Then Warwick disannuls great John of Gaunt,

Which did subdue the greatest part of Spain ;

And, after John of Gaunt, Henry the Fourth,

Whose wisdom was a mirror to the wisest ;

And after that wise prince, Henry the Fifth, 85

Who by his prowess conquered all France :

From these our Henry lineally descends.

78-87. *Injurious . . . Gaunt, Henry . . . the wisest . . . that wise . . . Who by his . . . Henry . . . descends*] 32-42. *Injurious . . . Gaunt wise Henry . . . the world . . . this wise . . . Who with his . . . Henries lineallie descent Q.*

78. *Injurious*] detractory, insulting. See 2 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 51. Used again in address similarly in *Coriolanus* and *Cymbeline*.

81. *disannuls*] cancels. Occurs again *Comedy of Errors*, i. i. 145. A common word at this time.

81, 82. *John of Gaunt . . . subdue . . . Spain*] Boswell Stone says Warwick might well have exposed this misrepresentation. John of Gaunt claimed Castile in right of his wife Constance, daughter of Pedro. But he failed to dethrone the son of Pedro's bastard brother, and obtained only a few slight successes by his invasion. Mr. Daniel suggests that popular belief is concerned, since a play was bought by Henslowe entitled "The Conquest of Spayne by John a Gant." More to the point still, than either Stone's history or Daniel's suggestion, is a passage I find in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, i. vi. 48-52, ed. Boas):—

"a valiant Englishman,

Brave John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster,
 As by his Scutchin plainly may appeare.

He with a puisant armie came to Spaine,
 And tooke our King of Castile prisoner."

He is represented on the stage. Kyd's historical scenes are fanciful and inept, but this play of his has hardly been ever surpassed in popularity. We have had a passage (immediately succeeding this one) from it already in 2 *Henry VI.*: "From depth of under ground." No play was more, or nearly so much, quoted from.

87. *lineally descends*] Compare with omitted line above at i. i. 118 (Q), where the words are "lineallie descent," as here in Q. "Lineally" is not again in Shakespeare. It is in the *Lay of Clorinda*, on Sydney's death, appended to Spenser's *Astrophel*, "lineallie derived." "Discent" is "descended."

- War.* Oxford, how haps it, in this smooth discourse,
 You told not how Henry the Sixth hath lost
 All that which Henry the Fifth had gotten? 90
 Methinks these peers of France should smile at that.
 But for the rest, you tell a pedigree
 Of threescore and two years; a silly time
 To make prescription for a kingdom's worth.
- Oxf.* Why, Warwick, canst thou speak against thy liege, 95
 Whom thou obeyedst thirty and six years,
 And not bewray thy treason with a blush?
- War.* Can Oxford, that did ever fence the right,
 Now buckler falsehood with a pedigree?
 For shame! leave Henry, and call Edward king. 100
- Oxf.* Call him my king, by whose injurious doom
 My elder brother, the Lord Aubrey Vere,
 Was done to death? and more than so, my father,
 Even in the downfall of his mellow'd years,
 When nature brought him to the door of death? 105

88-94. *Oxford, how haps it . . . hath lost . . . that which . . . pedigree . . . worth*] 43-49. *Oxford, how haps that . . . had lost . . . that . . . pettegree* (*pedigree* Q 3) . . . *worth* Q. 95-97. *Why, . . . speak . . . liege, Whom . . . six years, And not . . . blush?*] 50-52. *Why . . . denie thy king, Whom . . . eight yeeres, And bewray . . . treasons . . . blush?* Q. 98-108. *Can Oxford . . . pedigree? . . . by whose . . . elder . . . When nature . . . to the door . . . house of York*] 53-63. *Can Oxford . . . pettegree?* (*pedigree* Q 3) . . . *by whom mine elder . . . when age did call him to the dore . . . whilst . . . house of Yorke* Q (lines wrongly divided for verse).

89, 90. *hath lost All that*] Warwick rubs this into poor Henry on suitable occasions. See I. i. 110 and the previous lines.

96. *thirty and six years*] "thirty and eight yeares" in Q. Boswell Stone reconciles this discrepancy as follows: Warwick was attainted by the Lancastrian parliament at Coventry, 1459, and his allegiance was merely formal after the attempt made on his life ten months previously (1458); with which however we have nothing to do in the play. The date in the Quarto is perhaps a mere misprint—but the reduced time here may refer to the period exclusive of the wars, while that in Q brings the date down to the time of the speaker.

98. *fence*] defend, guard. See II. vi. 75 above.

99. *buckler*] defend. See 2 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 216. Also in *Taming of the Shrew*, III. ii. 241.

101-105. *whose injurious doom . . .*

door of death] Hall tells in the first year of *Edward the IV.* (1461): "In the which yere he called his high Court of Parliament. . . . In the whiche Parliament, the erle of Oxford farre stricken in age and the Lord Aubrey Vere, his sonne and heire, whether it were for malyce of their ennemies, or thei wer suspected or had offended, thei both and diuers of their counsailors, wer attainted and put to execution, whiche caused Ihon erle of Oxford ever after to rebell" (p. 258).

103. *done to death*] See note at I. iv. 108 above; and at II. i. 103.

104. *mellow'd*] See again *Richard III.* III. vii. 168. Kyd applies the word similarly in *The Spanish Tragedy* (I. iii. 41, ed. Boas): "My yeeres were mellow, his but young and greene" (*ante* 1589).

105. *door of death*] Compare Golding's Ovid (vii. 225): "Now at deathes doore and spent with yeares" (1567).

No, Warwick, no ; while life upholds this arm,
This arm upholds the house of Lancaster.

War. And I the house of York.

K. Lew. Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, and Oxford,
Vouchsafe at our request to stand aside, 110
While I use further conference with Warwick.

[*They stand aloof.*]

Q. Mar. Heavens grant that Warwick's words bewitch him
not !

K. Lew. Now, Warwick, tell me, even upon thy conscience,
Is Edward your true king ? for I were loath
To link with him that were not lawful chosen. 115

War. Thereon I pawn my credit and mine honour.

K. Lew. But is he gracious in the people's eye ?

War. The more that Henry was unfortunate.

K. Lew. Then further, all dissembling set aside,
Tell me for truth the measure of his love 120
Unto our sister Bona.

War. Such it seems
As may beseem a monarch like himself.
Myself have often heard him say and swear
That this his love was an eternal plant,
Whereof the root was fixed in virtue's ground, 125
The leaves and fruit maintain'd with beauty's sun,

109-113. *Queen . . . Vouchsafe . . . with Warwick.* *Q. Mar.* *Heavens . . . him not !* *K. Lew.* *Now, Warwick* [64-67. *Queene . . . vouchsafe to forbear a while Till I doe talke a word with Warwike.* *Now Warwike* *Q* (*Queen's speech omitted*). 113-115. *tell me . . . for I . . . were not lawful chosen* [67-69. *euen vpon thy honor tell me true: Is Edward lawfull king or no ? For I . . . is not lawful heire* *Q.* 116-118. *Thereon . . . my . . . honour.* *K. Lew.* *But is . . . eye ? . . . was unfortunate* [70-72. *Thereon . . . mine honour and my credit.* *Lew.* *But . . . es ? . . . is unfortunate* *Q.* 119-121. *Then further . . . Bona* [73. *What is his loue to our sister Bona ?* *Q.* 121-128. *Such it . . . Whereof the root . . . fixed . . . quit his pain* [74-81. *Such it . . . The root whereof . . . fixt . . . quite his paine* *Q.*

106. *upholds*] supports, sustains.

115. *lawful chosen*] "lawful heir" in *Q.* The words here refer to one claim to the crown; those in the Quarto to the other. Hall tells these details at considerable length; a few words suffice on this point: "after Te Deum sung with great solemnitie, he was conueyed to Westmyenster, and there set in the hawle, with the sceptre royall in his hand, where, to all the people whiche there in a great number were assembled, his title and clayme to the croune of England was declared by ii maner of

wayes: the fyrste as sonne and heyre to Duke Richard his father, right enheritor to the same: the second by auctoritie of Parliament and forfeiture committed by Kyng Henry. Wherupon it was agayne demanded of the commons, if they would admitte, and take the sayd erle as their prince & soueraigne lord, which al with one voice cried yea, yea" (p. 252).

124. *eternal*] Here *Qq* correct the Folio, which reads "externall." Warburton made the change.

Exempt from envy, but not from disdain
Unless the Lady Bona quit his pain.

K. Lew. Now, sister, let us hear your firm resolve.

Bona. Your grant, or your denial, shall be mine. 130

[*To Warwick.*] Yet I confess that often ere this day,
When I have heard your king's desert recounted,
Mine ear hath tempted judgment to desire.

K. Lew. Then, Warwick, thus: our sister shall be Edward's;
And now forthwith shall articles be drawn 135

Touching the jointure that your king must make,
Which with her dowry shall be counterpoised.
Draw near, Queen Margaret, and be a witness
That Bona shall be wife to the English king.

Prince. To Edward, but not to the English king. 140

Q. Mar. Deceitful Warwick! it was thy device
By this alliance to make void my suit:
Before thy coming Lewis was Henry's friend.

K. Lew. And still is friend to him and Margaret:
But if your title to the crown be weak, 145

As may appear by Edward's good success,
Then 'tis but reason that I be releas'd
From giving aid which late I promised.

Yet shall you have all kindness at my hand
That your estate requires and mine can yield. 150

War. Henry now lives in Scotland at his ease,
Where having nothing, nothing can he lose.

And as for you yourself, our quondam queen,
You have a father able to maintain you,
And better 'twere you troubled him than France. 155

129-133. *Now, sister . . . Yet I . . . this day, When I . . . desert . . . ear hath . . . desire*] 82-86. *Then sister . . . But ere this daie I must confesse, When I . . . deserts . . . cares haue . . . desire* Q. 134-137. *Then, Warwick . . . counterpoised*] omitted Q. 138-140. *Draw near . . . not to the English king*] 87-89. *Then draw neere . . . not the English King* Q. 141-150. *Deceitful Warwick . . . mine can yield*] omitted Q. 151-155. *Henry now . . . main-*

127. *Exempt from envy, but not from disdain Unless*] Not anywhere explained satisfactorily, though several explanations are given. It is a complicated sentence with its many clauses. Perhaps Warwick harks back to the principal "his love." "Envy" means ill-feeling, hate, usually with Shakespeare. His love is secure from the feeling of dislike (to Bona), no matter what happens, so well rooted is it. But it is not safe from the attacks of disdain

(from others), unless the Lady Bona quit his pain. It is quite in Shakespeare's manner to depart from one antecedent, and substitute its neighbour, in the midst of a passage.

128. *quit his pain*] require his sorrow or trouble, satisfy him.

153. *quondam queen*] See above, III. i. 23, and note.

154. *You have a father . . .*] Johnson said "this seems ironical." Margaret's angry reply shows how it went home.

Q. Mar. Peace, impudent and shameless Warwick, peace,
 Proud setter up and puller down of kings!
 I will not hence, till, with my talk and tears,
 Both full of truth, I make King Lewis behold
 Thy sly conveyance and thy lord's false love; 160
 For both of you are birds of self-same feather.

[*Post blowing a horn within.*]

K. Lew. Warwick, this is some post to us or thee.

Enter a Post.

Post. My lord ambassador, these letters are for you,
 Sent from your brother, Marquess Montague:
 These from our king unto your majesty; 165
 And, madam, these for you; from whom I know not.

[*They read their letters.*]

Oxf. I like it well that our fair queen and mistress
 Smiles at her news, while Warwick frowns at his.

Prince. Nay, mark how Lewis stamps as he were nettled:

I hope all's for the best. 170

K. Lew. Warwick, what are thy news? and yours, fair queen?

Q. Mar. Mine, such as fill my heart with unhop'd joys.

War. Mine, full of sorrow and heart's discontent.

K. Lew. What! has your king married the Lady Grey?

And now, to soothe your forgery and his, 175

tain you, . . . you troubled . . . France] 90-94. Henry now . . . *maintaine*
your state . . . to trouble . . . France *Q.* 156-161. Peace . . . feather]
 omitted *Q.* 161. *Post blowing* . . .] *Ff* (after false love); Sound for a post
 within *Q* (after France). 162. Warwick . . . thee] 95. Here comes some post
 Warlike to thee or vs *Q.* 163-166. My lord . . . these letters are . . .
 Marquess . . . These . . . And . . . from . . . not] 96-99. My Lord . . . this
 letter is . . . Marquis This . . . And these to you Madam, from . . . not *Q.*
 167-170. I like . . . while . . . his . . . Nay, mark . . . nettled: I . . . best]
 100-102. I like . . . when Warlike frets at his . . . And marke . . . nettled *Q.*
 171. Warwick . . . queen] 103. Now Margaret and Warlike, what are your
 news? *Q.* 172, 173. Mine . . . heart . . . joys . . . discontent] 104, 105.
 Mine . . . heart full of ioie . . . discontent *Q.* 174-178. What! has . . .

157. *Proud* . . . kings] See II. iii. 37, above, and note. Malone makes this repetition an argument in his case. This speech of Margaret's is entirely additional to *Q.*

160. *conveyance*] jugglery, fraud, deceit. See I *Henry VI.* I. iii. 2. Spenser has the word in *Mother Hubberds Tale*. And it is in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (II. i. 47, ed. Boas): "thy conveyance in Andrea's loue For which thou wert adiudg'd to punishment."

161. *birds* . . . feather] See II. i. 170 above, and note.

169. *nettled*] Not again in Shakespeare, except metaphorically: "*Nettled and stung with pismires*" (I *Henry IV.* I. iii. 240). Compare Greene's *Pinner of Wakefield* (Grosart, xiv. 139): "so nettled with loue."

175. *soothe*] enter into the humour of it, act in agreement or conformity with. Often used by Shakespeare, in our sense of "to humour."

175. *forgery*] deceit. Spenser has "womanish fine forgery" (*Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 28). And compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, I. iii. 72 (ed. Boas),

Sends me a paper to persuade me patience?
Is this the alliance that he seeks with France?
Dare he presume to scorn us in this manner?

Q. Mar. I told your majesty as much before :

This proveth Edward's love and Warwick's honesty. 180

War. King Lewis, I here protest, in sight of heaven,
And by the hope I have of heavenly bliss,
That I am clear from this misdeed of Edward's ;
No more my king, for he dishonours me ;
But most himself, if he could see his shame. 185

Did I forget that by the house of York

My father came untimely to his death?

Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece?

Did I impale him with the regal crown?

Did I put Henry from his native right? 190

And am I guerdon'd at the last with shame?

Shame on himself! for my desert is honour :

And to repair my honour lost for him,

I here renounce him and return to Henry.

My noble queen, let former grudges pass, 195

to soothe . . . in this manner ?] 106-108. *What hath . . . to excuse himselfe sends vs a post of papers How dares he presume to use us thus ? Q.* 179, 180. *I told . . . before : This . . . honesty]* 109. *This . . . honesty* (179 omitted) *Q.* 181-190. *King Lewis . . . But most . . . Did I put . . . native right]* 110-119. *King Lewis . . . And most . . . And thrust King Henry from his native home Q.* 191-194. *And am I . . . return to Henry]* 120. *And most vngratefull doth he vse me thus ? Q.* 195-198. *My . . . pass, And . . . his wrong to . . . state]* 121-124. *My gracious Queene pardon what is past, And . . . the wrongs done to . . . state Q.*

ante 1589: "O wicked forgerie: O traiterous miscreant."

176. *persuade me patience]* advise me patience. An unusual construction for this verb. "To" or "into" is omitted.

186, 187. *Did I . . . death]* We have here Warwick's reasons, as Shakespeare viewed the subject, for his abandoning the king. Ritson's collection, alluded to above, are all different: see note at III. iii. 43; and extract from Hall, at the first line of this scene. Warwick's father (Earl of Salisbury in this play) was taken prisoner at the battle of Wakefield and executed by the Lancastrians at Pomfret. See Hall, p. 251; the passage is already quoted at the setting of York's head on a pole at York (I. iv. 179, 180). See Boswell Stone, p. 247, on this Warwick. See also Malone's note here, where he derives "another proof," to

his satisfaction, of the different authorships—plucking the flower guess from the nettle confusion.

188. *Did I . . . niece ?]* From Hall: "And further it erreth not from ye treuth that Kyng Edward did attempt a thyng once in the erles house which was much against the erles honestie (whether he woulde haue deflowred his daughter or his niece, ye certainty was not for both their honours openly known)."

189. *impale . . . crown]* See III. ii. 171 above (note).

190. *put Henry from]* "thrust King Henry from his native home" is the reading in Q. For this use of "thrust," see 2 *Henry VI.* IV. i. 94:—

"thrust from the crown

By shameful murder,"

where I have quoted an example from Peele's *David and Bethsabe*.

And henceforth I am thy true servitor.

I will revenge his wrong to Lady Bona,
And replant Henry in his former state.

Q. Mar. Warwick, these words have turn'd my hate to love;
And I forgive and quite forget old faults, 200
And joy that thou becom'st King Henry's friend.

War. So much his friend, ay, his unfeigned friend,
That if King Lewis vouchsafe to furnish us
With some few bands of chosen soldiers,
I'll undertake to land them on our coast, 205
And force the tyrant from his seat by war.
'Tis not his new-made bride shall succour him:
And as for Clarence, as my letters tell me,
He's very likely now to fall from him,
For matching more for wanton lust than honour, 210
Or than for strength and safety of our country.

Bona. Dear brother, how shall Bona be reveng'd
But by thy help to this distressed queen?

Q. Mar. Renowned prince, how shall poor Henry live,
Unless thou rescue him from foul despair? 215

Bona. My quarrel and this English queen's are one.

War. And mine, fair Lady Bona, joins with yours.

K. Lew. And mine with hers, and thine and Margaret's.
Therefore at last I firmly am resolv'd
You shall have aid. 220

199-201. Warwick . . . becom'st . . . friend] 125, 126. *Yes Warwick I doe quite forget thy former Faults, if now thou wilt become . . . friend Q.* 202-207. *So much . . . succour him:]* 127-132. *So much . . . succour him. Q.* 208-218. *And as for Clarence . . . and Margaret's]* omitted *Q.* 219-225. *Therefore . . . aid. Q. Mar. Let me . . . once. K. Lew. Then, England's . . . masquers . . . bride]* 133-137. *Then at the . . . aide: and English . . . Maskers . . . bride* (Queen's speech omitted) *Q.*

196. *servitor*] See *1 Henry VI.* 11. i. 5. The word occurs in Hall in this connection. Warwick "obtained license of the king, to depart to hys Castel of Warwycke . . . with diuers of the kyngs familiar *servitors* . . . as though none inward grudge . . . had been hidden . . . during which tyme, the quene was deliuered of a yonge (!) and fayre lady, named Elizabeth which afterward was wyfe to . . . Henry the VII. and mother to Kyng Henry the VIII." (p. 266). So far from Warwick at once declaring against King Edward, he "determined himself, couertly dissimulynge, to suffer

all such wronges . . . til he might spy a time conuenient . . . he sayled into England, and with reuerence, saluted the kyng as he was wont to do, and declared his Ambassade . . . as though he were ignorant of the new matrimony" (pp. 255-266).

200. *forgive and quite forget*] Compare *Winter's Tale*, III. iii. 125: "I have forgotten and forgiven all." These words occur in the famous speech in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, that begins: "It is not now as when Andrea lived . . . We have forgotten and forgiven that" (III. xiv. 111). But the colloquation is likely to be older.

Q. Mar. Let me give humble thanks for all at once.

K. Lew. Then, England's messenger, return in post,

And tell false Edward, thy supposed king,

That Lewis of France is sending over masquers

To revel it with him and his new bride.

225

Thou seest what's past; go fear thy king withal.

Bona. Tell him, in hope he'll prove a widower shortly,

I'll wear the willow garland for his sake.

Q. Mar. Tell him, my mourning weeds are laid aside,

And I am ready to put armour on.

230

War. Tell him from me that he hath done me wrong,

And therefore I'll uncrown him ere't be long.

There's thy reward: be gone.

[Exit Post.

K. Lew.

But, Warwick,

Thou and Oxford, with five thousand men,

226. *Thou . . . withal*] omitted *Q.* 227-233. *Tell him . . . he'll prove . . . are laid . . . be gone*] 138-144. *Tell him . . . heele be . . . be laide . . . begone* *Q.* 233-237. *But, Warwick . . . fresh supply*] omitted *Q.*

223-225. *tell false Edward . . . masquers To revel*] This is developed later into the tennis ball speech in *Henry V.* i. ii. 249 *et seq.* of the First Ambassador:—

"the prince our master . . . bids you be advised there's nought in France

That can be with a nimble galliard won,

You cannot revel into dukedoms there."

The passages here are repeated below, iv. i. 104, etc. From *Q* here.

226. *fear*] fright, scare.

228. *I'll wear the willow garland*] Compare *Othello*, iv. iii. 51: "Sing all a green willow shall be my garland"; and see my note in Arden edition on line 42. Spenser has "The willow worne of forlorne Paramours" (*Faerie Queene*, i. i. 9). The willow and poplar were hardly discriminated. Peele has, "Enone entereth with a wreath of poplar on her head" (*Arraignement of Paris*, iii. i. 42 (360, a), 1584). Elsewhere in Peele's play it is "willow." See, too, Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacie* (Shakespeare Library, rept. p. 133), 1390: "apparellled all in tawny, to signifie that he was forsaken: on his heade hee wore a garland of willow."

229. *mourning weeds*] Again below; and in *Titus Andronicus*, i. i. 70. The

expression is in Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (473, b); and in *Locrine* (near the end).

234-243. *Oxford, with five thousand men . . . eldest daughter . . . holy wedlock*] Here we are to skip everything for several years until Warwick proclaims open war and roll the doings then backwards to this juncture. In the ix. year (1470), Hall, 281: "Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence . . . came to the kyngs (Lewis') presence . . . at Amboyse, and . . . was with all kyndes of curtesie and humanitie receiued . . . when Margaret, which sojourned with Duke Reyner her father . . . harde tell that the erle of Warwicke and the Duke . . . wer come to the Frenche Court . . . hoppyng of neue comforte with all diligence came to Amboyse, with her onely son Prince Edward. And with her came Jasper erle of Pembroke, and Ihon erle of Oxenford, whiche after diuerse long imprisonmentes lately escaped . . . and came to this assembly . . . they determined to conclude a league . . . And first to begin withal, for the more sure foundation of the neue amitie, Edward . . . wedded Anne second daughter to therle of Warwicke . . . After this marriage the duke and therles took a solempne othe that they shoulde neuer leaue the warre, until . . . Henry or his sonne,

Shall cross the seas, and bid false Edward battle ; 235
 And, as occasion serves, this noble queen
 And prince shall follow with a fresh supply.
 Yet ere thou go, but answer me one doubt :
 What pledge have we of thy firm loyalty?

War. This shall assure my constant loyalty : 240
 That if our queen and this young prince agree,
 I'll join mine eldest daughter and my joy
 To him forthwith in holy wedlock bands.

Q. Mar. Yes, I agree, and thank you for your motion.
 Son Edward, she is fair and virtuous, 245
 Therefore delay not, give thy hand to Warwick ;
 And, with thy hand, thy faith irrevocable,
 That only Warwick's daughter shall be thine.

Prince. Yes, I accept her, for she well deserves it ;
 And here, to pledge my vow, I give my hand. 250
 [*He gives his hand to Warwick.*]

K. Lew. Why stay we now? These soldiers shall be levied,
 And thou, Lord Bourbon, our high admiral,
 Shall waft them over with our royal fleet.

238, 239. *Yet ere . . . loyalty*] 145, 146. *But now tell me Warwike, what assurance I shall have of thy true loyaltie* Q. 240-243. *This . . . That if . . . bands*] 147-150. *This . . . If that . . . bandes* Q. 244-248. *Yes, I agree . . . be thine*] 151-153. *Withall my heart, that match I like full wel, Loue her sonne Edward, shee is faire and yong, And giue thy hand to Warwike for thy loue Q.* 249, 250. *Yes, I accept . . . my hand*] omitted Q. 251-255. *Why stay we . . . thou, Lord . . . them over . . . mischance, For . . . dame of France*] 154-159. *It is enough, and now we will prepare, To leuie souldiers*

were restored . . . When the league was concluded, the Frenche kyng lent them shippes, monie, and men, and . . . appoynted the Bastard of Burgoyn, Admirall of Fraunce with a greате nauie, to defende them . . . that thei might the surer saile into England . . . Kyng Reyner also did help his daughter, to his small power" (280-1). A happier or more skilful feat than the welding together of these two historic assemblies into one dramatic whole, coupled with annihilation of much dreary and featureless historic time, could not possibly have been hit upon. See extract above at line 1.

235. *bid . . . battle*] See above, i. ii. 70, and note. It is in *Faerie Queene*: "Bad that same boaster . . . leave to him that lady . . . Or bidde him batteile." In a note to this, Upton quotes Lord Bacon's *Life of King*

Henry VII. p. 93: "Threatening to bid battle to the king" (a gem for the Baconites); and he further compares *Faerie Queene*, "bidding bold defyaunce to his foeman" (i. xi. 15). I find an earlier example in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* (Arber, p. 42), 1579: "bidde them battayle." But Shakespeare took it from Hall (p. 293) most likely. See extract below at the beginning of Act v.

242. *eldest daughter*] See "Clarence will have the younger," below, iv. i. 118.

250. *pledge . . . hand*] So in *Faerie Queene*, i. ix. 18: "And eke, as pledges firme, right hands together joynd."

252. *Lord Bourbon . . . admiral*] See last extract from Hall.

253. *waft them over*] See 2 *Henry VI.* iv. i. 114, 116; and below, v. vii. 41.

I long till Edward fall by war's mischance,
 For mocking marriage with a dame of France. 255
[Exeunt all but Warwick.]

War. I came from Edward as ambassador,
 But I return his sworn and mortal foe :
 Matter of marriage was the charge he gave me,
 But dreadful war shall answer his demand.
 Had he none else to make a stale but me ? 260
 Then none but I shall turn his jest to sorrow.
 I was the chief that raised him to the crown,
 And I'll be chief to bring him down again :
 Not that I pity Henry's misery,
 But seek revenge on Edward's mockery. 265
[Exit.]

for to go with you, And you Lord . . . them safelie to the English coast, And chase proud Edward from his slumbring trance, For . . . the name of France Q. 256-265. I came from . . . Edward's mockery] 160-169. I came from . . . Edwards mockerie Q.

260. *make a stale*] Not in Q. Compare "was there none else in Rome to make a stale But Saturnine" (*Titus Andronicus*, i. i. 304, 305); and "To make a stale of me amongst these mates" (*Taming of the Shrew*, i. i. 58). The phrase occurs in *Menechmus* by W. W. (*Six Old Plays*), v. 1: "He makes me a stale and a laughing stocke to all the world." A "stale" was a decoy, an arrangement which made a fool of one. It is very commonly used in Greene. Spenser has the word in *Facrie Queene*, ii. i. 4: "Still as he went he craftie *stales* did lay." A few examples from Greene explain the double sense, or transference of sense: "he had bin too sore canuased in the Nettes, to strike at euery *stale*" (*Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 17)); "Shall I

then Thersandro see the traine, and yet fall into the trappe? shall I spie the nettes and yet strike at the *stale*?" (*Carde of Fancie* (iv. 147)). And *James the Fourth* (xiii. 216): "the court is counted Venus net, Where gifts and vovs for *stales* are often set." The "stale" was some ludicrous object to attract the victim. Or (as in Ben Jonson) a stalking arrangement. See *Catiline*, iii. iv. :—

"dull stupid Lentulus,
 My *stale*, with whom I stalk."
 The expression is in *Euphues* (Arber, p. 96), 1579: "I was made thy *stale* and Philautus thy laughing stocke." Steevens has collected an array of parallels in his notes on this word in *Comedy of Errors* and *Taming of a Shrew*.

ACT IV

SCENE I.—*London. The palace.*

Enter GLOUCESTER, CLARENCE, SOMERSET, and MONTAGUE.

Glou. Now tell me, brother Clarence, what think you
Of this new marriage with the Lady Grey?

Hath not our brother made a worthy choice?

Clar. Alas! you know 'tis far from hence to France;
How could he stay till Warwick made return?

5

Som. My lords, forbear this talk; here comes the king.

Glou. And his well-chosen bride.

Clar. I mind to tell him plainly what I think.

Flourish. Enter King EDWARD, attended; Lady GREY, as
Queen; PEMBROKE, STAFFORD, HASTINGS, and others.

K. Edw. Now, brother of Clarence, how like you our choice,
That you stand pensive as half malcontent?

10

ACT IV. SCENE I.] omitted Ff, Q. *Enter . . .*] Ff (reading Richard for Gloucester); *Enter* King Edward, the Queene and Clarence, and Gloster, and Montague and Hastings, and Pembroke, with souldiers Q. 1-8. *Glou.* Now tell me . . . *Clar.* I mind . . . think] omitted Q. 8. *Flourish. Enter . . .*] *Flourish. Enter* King Edward, Lady Grey, Pembroke, Stafford, Hastings: foure stand on one side, and foure on the other. Ff (for Q, see above at l. 1). 9, 10. *K. Edw.* Now . . . malcontent] 1, 2. *Edw.* Brothers of Clarence, and of Glocester, What thinke you of our marriage with the ladie Gray? Q.

9. brother of Clarence, how . . . choice] Shakespeare has here transferred to King Edward the substance of Warwick's interview with Clarence, as told in Hall and Grafton—but not in Holinshed: "the erle of Warwicke . . . perceived by other, or had perfect knowledge of hymself, that the duke of Clarence bare not the best will to Kyng Edward his brother. . . . So at time and place conuenient, the erle began to complain to the duke of the ingratitude and doublenes of Kyng Edward, sayng that he had neither handled

him like a frende, nor kept promise with hym . . . the duke in a greate fury answered, why, my lorde, thynke you to haue hym kynd to you that is vnkynd, yea, and vnnatural to me beynge his awne brother. . . . This you knowe well enough, that the heire of the Lorde Scales he hath married to his wifes brother, the heire also of the lorde Bonuile and Haryngton, he hath geuen to his wifes sonne, and theire of the lorde Hungerford, he hath graunted to the lorde Hastynges: thre mariages more meter for his twoo brethren and

Clar. As well as Lewis of France, or the Earl of Warwick,
Which are so weak of courage and in judgment
That they 'll take no offence at our abuse.

K. Edw. Suppose they take offence without a cause,
They are but Lewis and Warwick : I am Edward, 15
Your king and Warwick's, and must have my will.

Glou. And shall have your will, because our king :
Yet hasty marriage seldom proveth well.

K. Edw. Yea, brother Richard, are you offended too ?

Glou. Not I : 20
No, God forbid that I should wish them severed
Whom God hath join'd together ; ay, and 'twere pity
To sunder them that yoke so well together.

K. Edw. Setting your scorns and your mislike aside,
Tell me some reason why the Lady Grey 25
Should not become my wife and England's queen.
And you too, Somerset and Montague,
Speak freely what you think.

Clar. Then this is mine opinion : that King Lewis
Becomes your enemy for mocking him 30
About the marriage of the Lady Bona.

Glou. And Warwick, doing what you gave in charge,
Is now dishonoured by this new marriage.

K. Edw. What if both Lewis and Warwick be appeas'd
By such invention as I can devise ? 35

11-13. *As well . . . in judgment . . . at our abuse*] 3-5. *My Lord, we thinke as Warwike and Lewes, That are so slacke in iudgement . . . at this suddaine marriage Q.* 14-16. *Suppose . . . They are . . . I . . . Warwick's . . . will*] 6-8. *Suppose they doe, they are . . . and I am your . . . Warwike's And will be obaied Q.* 17, 18. *And . . . your . . . well*] 9, 10. *And shall, because our king, but yet such Sudden marriages . . . well Q.* 19. *Yea . . . offended too ?*] 11. *Yea . . . against us too ? Q.* 20-23. *Not I . . . ay, and . . . together*] 12-14. *Not I my Lord, no God forfend that I should Once gaine saie your highnesse pleasure, I, & . . . together Q.* 24-28. *Setting . . . mislike aside, Tell . . . reason . . . Should . . . wife and . . . think*] 15-19. *Setting . . . dislikes aside, Shew . . . reasons . . . Maie not be my loue and England's Queene ? Speake freelic Clarence, Gloster, Montague and Hastings Q.* 29-31. *Then this . . . Bona*] 20, 21. *My Lord then this is my opinion, That Warwike being dishonoured in his embassage, Doth seeke revenge to quite his iniuries Q.* 32, 33. *And Warwick . . . marriage*] 23, 24. *And Lewes in regard of his sisters wrongs, Doth ioine with Warwike to supplant your state Q.* 34, 35. *What . . . Lewis . . . invention . . . devise*] 25, 26. *Suppose that Lewis . . .*

kynne, then for such newe foundlynges.
. . . But by swete sainte George, I
swear, if my brother of Gloucester
would ioine with me, we would . . .
make hym knowe, that we were all
three one mannes sonnes" (p. 271).

17. *And shall*] Rowe read "And you
shall," and is followed by some editors.

Quartos and Folios are unanimously
against the interpolation.

18. *hasty marriage . . .*] "sudden marriages," Q. Compare Greene (*Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 53, 54), 1583) : "How oftentimes they which sued to marrye in haste, did finde sufficient time to repent them at leasure ?"

- Mont.* Yet to have join'd with France in such alliance
Would more have strengthen'd this our commonwealth
'Gainst foreign storms than any home-bred marriage.
- Hast.* Why, knows not Montague that of itself
England is safe, if true within itself? 40
- Mont.* But the safer when 'tis back'd with France.
- Hast.* 'Tis better using France than trusting France.
Let us be back'd with God and with the seas
Which he hath given for fence impregnable,
And with their helps only defend ourselves : 45
In them and in ourselves our safety lies.
- Clar.* For this one speech Lord Hastings well deserves
To have the heir of the Lord Hungerford.
- K. Edw.* Ay, what of that? it was my will and grant ;
And for this once my will shall stand for law. 50
- Glou.* And yet methinks your grace hath not done well,
To give the heir and daughter of Lord Scales
Unto the brother of your loving bride :
She better would have fitted me or Clarence ;
But in your bride you bury brotherhood. 55
- Clar.* Or else you would not have bestow'd the heir
Of the Lord Bonville on your new wife's son,
And leave your brothers to go speed elsewhere.
- K. Edw.* Alas ! poor Clarence, is it for a wife
That thou art malcontent ? I will provide thee. 60

means . . . best devise Q. 36-38. *Yet . . . such . . . marriage] But yet . . . this Alliance . . . marriage Q.* 39, 40. *Why . . . itself?] 31, 32. Let England be true within it selfe We need not France nor any alliance with them Q.* 41-46. *But the . . . safety lies] omitted Q.* 47, 48. *For this . . . Lord . . . heir . . . Hungerford] 33, 34. For this . . . the Lord . . . daughter and heire . . . Hungerford Q.* 49, 50. *Ay, what . . . law] 35. And what then? It was our will it should be so? Q.* 51-58. *Glou. And yet . . . brotherhood. Clar. Or else . . . elsewhere] 36-40. Clar. I, and for such a thing too the Lord Scales Did well deserue at your hands, to haue the Daughter of the Lord Bonville, and left your Brothers go seeke elsewhere, but in Your madnes you burie brotherhood Q.* 59, 60. *Alas . . . malcontent . . . thee] Alasse, . . . mal-*

38. *home-bred] Occurs again, Richard II. i. iii. 187.*

40. *England is safe, if true . . . itself] An old sentiment. See again, King John, v. vii. 117. It is also in the old play on which King John is founded, date 1591:—*

“Let England live but true within
it selfe

And all the worlde can neuer wrong
her State ”

(Hazlitt's Shakespeare's Library, p. 320).
The following seems to be the same:—

“I ouercome my aduersaries by land
and by sea,

I do feare no man, all men fearyth
me,

I had no peere, yf to myselfe I
were trewe,

Because I am not so, diuers times
I do rew ”

(Andrew Borde, *Boke of Knowledge*,
1542. Spoken by “The Englyshman”).

41. *But the safer] Some Editors
follow F 2, reading “Yes, but.”*

Clar. In choosing for yourself you show'd your judgment,
Which being shallow, you shall give me leave
To play the broker in mine own behalf;
And to that end I shortly mind to leave you.

K. Edw. Leave me, or tarry, Edward will be king, 65
And not be tied unto his brother's will.

Q. Eliz. My lords, before it pleased his majesty
To raise my state to title of a queen,
Do me but right, and you must all confess
That I was not ignoble of descent; 70
And meaner than myself have had like fortune.
But as this title honours me and mine,
So your dislikes, to whom I would be pleasing,
Doth cloud my joys with danger and with sorrow.

K. Edw. My love, forbear to fawn upon their frowns: 75
What danger or what sorrow can befall thee,
So long as Edward is thy constant friend,
And their true sovereign, whom they must obey?
Nay, whom they shall obey, and love thee too,
Unless they seek for hatred at my hands; 80
Which if they do, yet will I keep thee safe,
And they shall feel the vengeance of my wrath.

Glou. I hear, yet say not much, but think the more. [*Aside.*]

content, Why man be of good cheere, I will provide thee one Q (male-content Q 3). 61-64. In choosing . . . And to . . . end . . . mind . . . you] 44-47. Naie you plaide the broker so ill for your selfe, That you shall giue me leaue to make my Choise as I thinke good, And to . . . intent . . . meane . . . you Q. 65, 66. Leave . . . Edward . . . not be . . . will] 48, 49. Leane . . . I am full resolu'd, Edward will not be tied to . . . wils Q. 67-70. My lords . . . queen, Do me . . . all confess . . . of deseent] 50-53. My lords doe me . . . Confesse, before it pleased his highnesse to aduance, My state . . . Queene, That I . . . in my birth Q. 71-74. And meaner . . . with sorrow] omitted Q. 75-82. My love . . . my wrath] 54-56. Forbeare my loue to . . . frownes, For thee they must obey, naie shall obaie And if they looke for fauour at my hands Q. 83. Glou. I hear . . . more] omitted Q.

61, 62. *judgment . . . shallow*] Compare "shallow spirit of judgment" (1 Henry VI. ii. iv. 16). And Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, iv. ii. 8, 9, (Boas):—

"Alas, the Christians are but very shallow

In giuing iudgement of a man at armes."

In view of the name of the famous Justice of a few years later, these collections are interesting. Needless to say, 1 Henry VI. preceded Kyd's play.

63. *play the broker . . . behalfe]* do

my own business, be factor or agent for myself. Similar to a favourite expression of Shakespeare's, "be my own attorney."

72. *me and mine]* myself and my people or family. See again *Tempest*, i. ii. 125. It occurs in *Lochrine* (i. i.): "In pitched field encountered me and mine." "Thee and thine" is in the same play (v. iv.) and several times in Shakespeare's early work.

83. *I hear, yet say . . . more]* An old and varied phrase. Heywood has: "I see much, but I say little and do

Enter a Post.

- K. Edw.* Now, messenger, what letters or what news
From France? 85
- Post.* My sovereign liege, no letters; and few words,
But such as I, without your special pardon,
Dare not relate.
- K. Edw.* Go to, we pardon thee: therefore, in brief,
Tell me their words as near as thou canst guess them. 90
What answer makes King Lewis unto our letters?
- Post.* At my depart these were his very words:
"Go tell false Edward, thy supposed king,
That Lewis of France is sending over masquers
To revel it with him and his new bride." 95
- K. Edw.* Is Lewis so brave? belike he thinks me Henry.
But what said Lady Bona to my marriage?
- Post.* These were her words, utter'd with mild disdain:
"Tell him, in hope he'll prove a widower shortly,
I'll wear the willow garland for his sake." 100
- K. Edw.* I blame not her, she could say little less;

84, 85. *Enter . . . Now . . . France?* 57, 58. *Mont.* My lord, heere is the messenger returned from France. *Enter a Messenger.* *Edw.* Now Sirra, what letters or what newes? Q. 86-88. *My . . . relate?* *Mes.* No letters my lord, and such newes as without your highnesse speciall pardon I dare not relate (prose 3 lines Q 3) Q. 89-91. *Go to . . . letters?* 61, 62. *We pardon thee, and as neere as thou canst Tell mee what said Lewis to our letters?* Q. 92-95. *Post.* At my depart . . . bride? 63-66. *Mes.* At my departure . . . bride Q. 96, 97. *Is Lewis . . . my marriage?* 67, 68. *Is Lewis . . . these wrongs?* Q. 98-100. *These . . . in hope . . . sake?* 69, 70. *Tel him, quoth she, in hope . . . sake Q.* 101-103. *I blame . . . place?* 71-73. *She had the wrong, indeed she could saie little lesse. But what . . . as I heare, she was then in place?* Q.

less" (*Proverbs*, ed. J. Sharman, p. 72, 1546); and at p. 98 (*ibid.*): "I say little but I think the more." And *Jack Fugger* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ii. 137), 1563: "I say nothing, but I think somewhat." And in *Carle of Carlile* (Percy Folio, ed. Furnival, iii. 288), circa 1500:—

"I said nought,

Noe said the carle, but more thou thought."

Swift put it (1738): "he says nothing but he pays it off with thinking." Earliest I have met is Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (Globe, p. 209): "He says little but he thinks the more." Gloucester's appearance (Richard's before) is usually the signal for some proverbial illustration. This speech is not in Q, where he is only allotted three remarks

against seven in this scene, here. Gloucester has need to be a worked out character, in view of future developments. He and Queen Margaret receive special attention. See Introduction upon Gloucester's use of proverbs. See above, III. ii. 113; III. ii. 50.

92. *At my depart?* "At my departure"; the words in Q. "At my depart" occurs again in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, v. iv. 96, and 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 2. See note at latter for examples from Greene. It occurs several times in the *Spanish Tragedy*, always as here, or with the personal pronoun varied.

96. *belike?* See above, i. i. 51, and II. i. 148. A favourite with Shakespeare all the time. Seven examples occur in this play.

She had the wrong. But what said Henry's queen?

For I have heard that she was there in place.

Post. "Tell him," quoth she, "my mourning weeds are done,
And I am ready to put armour on." 105

K. Edw. Belike she minds to play the Amazon.

But what said Warwick to these injuries?

Post. He, more incens'd against your majesty
Than all the rest, discharg'd me with these words:
"Tell him from me that he hath done me wrong, 110
And therefore I'll uncrown him ere't be long."

K. Edw. Ha! durst the traitor breathe out so proud words?

Well, I will arm me, being thus forewarn'd:

They shall have wars, and pay for their presumption.

But say, is Warwick friends with Margaret? 115

Post. Ay, gracious sovereign; they are so link'd in friend-
ship,

That young Prince Edward marries Warwick's daughter.

Clar. Belike the elder; Clarence will have the younger.

Now, brother king, farewell, and sit you fast,

104, 105. *Tell him . . . are done . . . on*] 74, 75. *Tell him . . . be Doone . . . on Q.* 106, 107. *Belike . . . minds . . . injuries*] 76, 77. *Then belike . . . meanes . . . iniuries Q.* 108-111. *He . . . Tell . . . that . . . long*] 78-80. *He more incensed then the rest my Lord, Tell him quoth he, that . . . long Q.* 112-115. *Ha! . . . so . . . Well . . . me, being . . . But say . . . Margaret?* 81-83. *Ha, . . . such . . . But . . . me to prevent the worst. But what . . . Margaret? Q.* 116, 117. *Ay . . . they are . . . daughter*] 84, 85. *I my good Lord, theare . . . daughter Q.* 118. *Belike . . . younger*] 86, 87½. *The elder, belike, Clarence shall . . . Yonger Q.* 119-122. *Now . . . yourself*] omitted Q.

103. *there in place*] there in person, there. "Hir armes in place again did come" (Golding's Ovid, i. 929). "Then was she fayre alone, when none was faire in place" (*Faerie Queene*, i. ii. 38).

"Ate, from lowest hell . . .

Behold I come in place"

(Peele, *Arraignement of Paris*, 351, a). "Here in place," and "there in place," meaning simply "present," both occur in *The Contention and True Tragedie*. See *Measure for Measure*, v. 504. See below, iv. vi. 31. It occurs also in *Taming of the Shrew* (both the old play and Shakespeare's). It is quite common, and hardly noteworthy, but Steevens says: "In place, a gallicism."

104. *done*] useless, no longer needed.

106. *play the Amazon*] See *1 Henry VI.* i. ii. 104. Margaret has already received this appropriate compellation in more vigorous terms (i. iv. 114).

113. *arm me . . . forewarn'd*] forewarned is forearmed, a translation of "praemonitus, praemunitus." Occurs in Greene's *Tritameron* (Grosart, iii. 119), 1587, and again in his *Penelopes Web* (v. 208). Not in Q. The saying occurs in *Arden of Feversham* also.

118. *elder; Clarence will . . . younger*] See above, iii. iii. 242; and extract from Hall, where the younger daughter (Anne) is allotted to Prince Edward (iv. ii. 12).

119. *sit you fast*] keep your position firmly, "sit tight," mind yourself. Compare Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, iii. i.: "Sit fast, Sebastian, and in this work God and good men labour for Portugal." Hence the name of one of the most troublesome garden weeds, *Ranunculus repens* (crowfoot or buttercup) in northern districts, "sit-

For I will hence to Warwick's other daughter; 120
 That, though I want a kingdom, yet in marriage
 I may not prove inferior to yourself.
 You that love me and Warwick follow me.

[*Exit Clarence, and Somerset follows.*]

Glou. [*Aside.*] Not I:

My thoughts aim at a further matter; I 125
 Stay not for the love of Edward, but the crown.

K. Edw. Clarence and Somerset both gone to Warwick!

Yet am I arm'd against the worst can happen,
 And haste is needful in this desperate case.
 Pembroke and Stafford, you in our behalf 130
 Go levy men, and make prepare for war;
 They are already, or quickly will be landed:
 Myself in person will straight follow you.

[*Exeunt Pembroke and Stafford.*]

But, ere I go, Hastings and Montague,

123. *You . . . me*] 87 $\frac{1}{2}$, 88. *All you . . . me* Q. *Exit . . . follows*] *Exit Clarence and Somerset* Q. 124-126. *Glou. Not I . . . crown*] omitted Q. 127. *Clarence . . . Warwick*] 89. *Clarence and Somerset fled to Warwike* Q. 128, 129. *Yet am I . . . case*] omitted Q. 130-133. *Pembroke . . . follow you*] 96-100. *Edw. Pembroke, go raise an armie presentlie, Pitch vp my tent, for in the field this night I meane to rest, and on the morrow morne, Ile march to meet proud Warwike ere he land. Those stragling troopes which he hath got in France* Q. 134-139. *But . . . friends*] 101-106. *But ere I goe Montague and Hastings, You of all the rest are nearest allied In bloud to Warwike, therefore tell me, if You fauour him more then me or not: Speake truelie, for I had rather haue you open Enemies than hollow friends* Q.

fast." See below, v. ii. 3: "Now, Montague, sit fast."

123. *You that love . . . follow me*] A stereotyped expression. See "You that be the king's friends, follow me" (2 *Henry VI.* iv. ii. 180, and note to passage). See *Richard III.* iii. iv. 81. And a similarly formed line below, iv. vii. 39. See also Lodge, *Wounds of Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 114):—

"Therefore they that love the Senate
 and Marius

Now follow him.

Sylla. And all that love Sylla
 come down to him."

And Kyd, *Cornelia*, iii. i. 113:—

"expert Souldiours

That lou'd our liberty and follow'd
 him."

130, 131. *Pembroke and Stafford . . . Go levy men*] "When Kyng Edward (to whom all the dooynges of the Erle of Warwike, and the Duke

his brother, were manifest and ouerte) was by diuerse letters sent to him, certified that the great armie of the Northren men, wer with all spede commyng towarde London . . . he sent to Wylliam lorde Herbert, whom, within twooyeres before, he had created erle of Pembroke, that he should without delaye encountre with the Northren men. . . . Wherupon he accompagnied with . . . aboue vi or vii thousande Welshemenne, well furnished, marched forward. . . . And to assiste and furnishe hym with archers, was appoynted Humpfray lorde Stafford of Southwike . . . with hym he had eight hundred archers" (Hall, p. 273).

131. *prepare*] preparation. This is a trick of Lodge's. "Stragglng troops" in Q here recalls Greene, who uses the adjective contemptuously very often. Compare "stragglers" (soldiers from France) in *Richard III.* v. iii. 327.

Resolve my doubt. You twain, of all the rest, 135
 Are near to Warwick by blood and by alliance :
 Tell me if you love Warwick more than me ?
 If it be so, then both depart to him ;
 I rather wish you foes than hollow friends :
 But if you mind to hold your true obedience, 140
 Give me assurance with some friendly vow,
 That I may never have you in suspect.

Mont. So God help Montague as he proves true !

Hast. And Hastings as he favours Edward's cause.

K. Edw. Now, brother Richard, will you stand by us ? 145

Glo. Ay, in despite of all that shall withstand you.

K. Edw. Why so ! then am I sure of victory.

Now therefore let us hence ; and lose no hour
 Till we meet Warwick with his foreign power. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.—*A plain in Warwickshire.*

Enter WARWICK and OXFORD with French Soldiers.

War. Trust me, my lord, all hitherto goes well ;
 The common people by numbers swarm to us.

Enter CLARENCE and SOMERSET.

But see where Somerset and Clarence comes !
 Speak suddenly, my lords, are we all friends ?

140-142. *But if . . . suspect*] omitted Q. 143, 144. *So God . . . cause*] 107, 108. *So God . . . cause* Q. 145, 146. *Now, brother . . . by us . . . despite . . . you*] 90-95. *What saie your brother . . . to us ?* *Glo.* *I my Lord in destight . . . you.* *For why hath Nature Made me halt downe right, but that I should be valiant and stand to it, for if I would I cannot runne awaie* Q. 147-149. *Why so . . . power*] 109. *It shall suffice, come then lets march awaie.* *Exeunt Omnes* Q (for two last lines of Scene see 96-100 Q).

SCENE II.

Enter . . .] Enter Warwick and Oxford in England, . . . souldiers Ff ;
Enter . . . with souldiers Q. 1-15. *Trust me, my lord . . . towns about*]
 1-15. *Trust me, my lords . . . town about* Q.

139. *hollow friends*] See above, 2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 66 ; and *Hamlet*, iii. ii. 218. "Better an open enemy than a false friend" was perhaps a proverb. "Open" in Q here (undisguised) has occurred at i. ii. 19, "open war," and elsewhere in Shakespeare.

142. *suspect*] suspicion. Common in these plays, but not in Shakespeare's better work.

SCENE II.

1. *Trust me*] A favourite ejaculation in Shakespeare. It occurs in Peele's *Jack Straw*.

2. *common people . . . swarm*] See note at ii. vi. 8. Compare Hall : "noysed and published to the common people" (p. 275).

Clar. Fear not that, my lord.

War. Then, gentle Clarence, welcome unto Warwick :

And welcome, Somerset : I hold it cowardice

To rest mistrustful where a noble heart

Hath pawn'd an open hand in sign of love ;

Else might I think, that Clarence, Edward's brother, 10

Were but a feigned friend to our proceedings :

But welcome, sweet Clarence ; my daughter shall be
thine.

And now what rests, but in night's coverture,

Thy brother being carelessly encamp'd,

His soldiers lurking in the town about, 15

And but attended by a simple guard,

We may surprise and take him at our pleasure ?

Our scouts have found the adventure very easy :

16-18. *And but . . . very easy*] 16-18. *And but . . . verie easie Q.*

12-24. *my daughter shall be thine . . . night's black mantle . . . seize himself*] See iv. i. 118, and note. The marriage (with the eldest) is thus told by Hall: "the erle and the duke sailed directly to Calais : where they were solemnely receiued and ioyously interteined of the Countesse and her two daughters. And after that the duke had sworne on the Sacrament to kepe his promise and pacte inuiolate made and concluded with the erle of Warwike, he married the lady Isabell, eldest daughter to the saied erle in our Lady Church at Caleis" (The VIII Yere, p. 272). The event following immediately here overpasses a few minor affairs, Shakespeare as usual seizing on the dramatic positions. Hall says: "The Kyng . . . marched toward Warwicke with a great armye. . . . The erle of Warwicke had by his espyalls perfytt knowledge. . . . The duke . . . came and encamped himselfe with the erles host . . . by the meanes of frendes a meane was found how to commune of peace . . . the king conceyuing a certayne hope of peace toke both lesse hede to himselfe, and also lesse feared the outward attemptes of his enemyes . . . Warwycke, lyke a wise and politique capitayne entending not to lose so great an auantage . . . but onely . . . trustyng to . . . this enterprise: in the dead of the nyght, with an elect company of men of warre, as

secretly as was possible set on the Kynges felde, kyllyng them that kepte the watche, and or the Kyng were ware (for he thought of nothing lesse then of that chance that happened) at a place called Wolney, iiii myle from Warwycke, he was taken prysoner, and brought to the Castell of Warwycke. And to the entent that the Kynges frendes myghte not knowe where he was . . . caused him by secret iourneys in the nyght to be conueyed to Myddelham Castell in Yorkeshire, and there to be kepte under the custody of the Archbishops of Yorke his brother" (The VIII Yere, p. 275).

13. *rests*] remains to be done. See above, i. ii. 44.

13. *coverture*] shade. Compare "the woodbine *coverture*" (*Much Ado About Nothing*, iii. i. 30). The word has been mixed up with "overture" in *Coriolanus*, i. ix. 46; and here also by Warburton. Compare Spenser, *Shepherd's Calender*, July:—

"Where hast thou *coverture* ?

The wastefull hylls unto his threate
Is a playne overture"

(Globe, 466, a).

15. *town*] Q and Ff. Nevertheless Theobald's alteration to "towns" seems to have been universally adopted. According to Hall, the "town" was "a place called Wolney, four miles from Warwick." But see below, iii. 13.

That as Ulysses and stout Diomed
 With sleight and manhood stole to Rhesus' tents, 20
 And brought from thence the Thracian fatal steeds,
 So we, well cover'd with the night's black mantle,
 At unawares may beat down Edward's guard,
 And seize himself; I say not, slaughter him,
 For I intend but only to surprise him. 25
 You that will follow me to this attempt,
 Applaud the name of Henry with your leader.

[*They all cry "Henry!"*]

Why, then, let's on our way in silent sort.
 For Warwick and his friends, God and Saint George!

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.—EDWARD'S camp near Warwick.

Enter three Watchmen, to guard the King's tent.

First Watch. Come on, my masters, each man take his stand:
 The king by this is set him down to sleep.

19-25. *That as Ulysses . . . surprise him*] omitted Q. 26, 27. *You that . . . leader*] 19-20. *Then crie King Henry with resolved mindes, And breake we presentlie into his tent Q.* 28, 29. *Why, then . . . George*] 21, 22. *Clar. Why then . . . George Q.*

SCENE III.

Enter three . . .] omitted Q. 1-22. *First Watch. Come on . . . night-foes?*] omitted Q.

19-21. *Ulysses . . . Thracian fatal steeds*] Rolfe tells the tale from the tenth book of Homer's *Iliad*. The oracle had declared that Troy could not be taken if the horses of Rhesus once drank of the Xanthus and grazed on the Trojan plains. The Greeks therefore sent Diomed and Ulysses [manhood and wit] to intercept the Thracian prince when he came to bring help to Priam; and they killed him on the night of his arrival and carried off the horses. It is referred to in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Golding, xiii. 122-124; 306-310). And in Virgil's *Æneid*, i. 469-473. Craig quotes from Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido*, i. i. 70-73, another reference to this tale. The wording in Golding and Nashe affords no illustration worth quoting. "For other jades of Thrace," see note at 2 *Henry VI.* iv. i. 3.

20. *sleight and manhood*] Compare Peele's *Tale of Troy*, 20, 21 (551, 2, Dyce):—

"All knights-at-arms, gay, gallant,
 brave and bold,
 Of wit and manhood."

22. *night's black mantle*] See 1 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 2, and note. From *Faerie Queene*, i. i. 39: "Whiles sad Night ouer him her mantle black doth spread."

28. *in silent sort*] in silent manner, silently. This was an orthodox use of "sort" before Shakespeare's time. Kyd, for example, hardly uses the word otherwise.

SCENE III.

1. *Enter three Watchmen . . .*] The episode of the Watchmen has no counterpart in Q. Shakespeare may have taken a hint for it from *The Spanish Tragedy*, iii. iii. 16-45 (ed. Boas). There is a remarkable similarity in the positions, and several expressions there are used by Shakespeare. Kyd has three Watchmen set in the King's own name, with a result in view of great importance to the working of the plot. There is a struggle with the watch, and the required event takes place, an important prisoner being captured in both cases.

1. *each man take his stand*] "Heere

Second Watch. What ! will he not to bed ?

First Watch. Why, no ; for he hath made a solemn vow

Never to lie and take his natural rest

5

Till Warwick or himself be quite suppress'd.

Second Watch. To-morrow then belike shall be the day,

If Warwick be so near as men report.

Third Watch. But say, I pray, what nobleman is that

That with the king here resteth in his tent ?

10

First Watch. 'Tis the Lord Hastings, the king's chiefest friend.

Third Watch. O ! is it so ? But why commands the king

That his chief followers lodge in towns about him,

While he himself keeps in the cold field ?

Second Watch. 'Tis the more honour, because more dangerous.

15

Third Watch. Ay, but give me worship and quietness ;

I like it better than a dangerous honour.

If Warwick knew in what estate he stands,

'Tis to be doubted he would waken him.

First Watch. Unless our halberds did shut up his passage. 20

Second Watch. Ay ; wherefore else guard we his royal tent,

But to defend his person from night-foes ?

therefore will I stay and take my stand " (*Spanish Tragedy*, III. iii. 16). This line opens the Watchmen's scene in Kyd's play, though not spoken by one of them.

13. *lodge*] lie, sleep. See 2 *Henry VI.* I. i. 80, and above, I. i. 32. Compare Peele, "*Lodge* with the common soldiers in the field" (*David and Bethsabe*, ix. 109 (477, b)).

13, 14. *lodge in towns . . . While . . . field ?*] reversing the usual complaint, as spoken by the First Sentinel, 1 *Henry VI.* II. i. 5-7 :—

" poor servitors,

When others sleep upon their quiet beds,

Constrained to watch in darkness, rain and cold."

15. *the more honour . . . dangerous*] An old sentiment. It is in Fuller's *Gnomologia*, 1732. And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Rule a Wife*, etc. (Act IV. i. 42) :—

" I remember'd your old Roman axiom,

The more the danger, still the more the honour."

And again in *Woman Pleased*, III. ii.

16. *worship*] ease and dignity, attendance. The Third Watchman's opinion coincides with Falstaff's and Steevens' remarks. Compare Caxton's *Reynard the Fox* (Arber, p. 12), 1481 : " And tho thought reynart in hym self how he myght best brynge the beere in charge and nede, and that he abode in worship." And see Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. IV. i. (61, a) :—

" Take you the honour I will take my ease,

My wisdom shall excuse my cowardice."

20. *halberds*] battle-axes on long poles. Again in *Richard III.* I. ii. 40 and *Comedy of Errors*. May be used here of the bearers of them, halberdiers, as in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, III. i. 30 : " Enter Alexandro with a noble man and *Halberts*," but I believe it simply refers to the weapons of the Watch. Kyd has " halberdiers " three times in his play.

Enter WARWICK, CLARENCE, OXFORD, SOMERSET, and Forces.

War. This is his tent ; and see where stand his guard.

Courage, my masters ! honour now or never !

But follow me, and Edward shall be ours.

25

First Watch. Who goes there ?

Second Watch. Stay, or thou diest.

[*Warwick and the rest cry all, " Warwick ! Warwick ! "*
and set upon the Guard ; who fly, crying, " Arm !
Arm ! " *Warwick and the rest following them.*

The drum playing and trumpet sounding, re-enter WARWICK, SOMERSET, and the rest bringing the KING out in his gown, sitting in a chair. GLOUCESTER and HASTINGS fly over the stage.

Som. What are they that fly there ?

War. Richard and Hastings : let them go ; here is

The duke.

30

K. Edw. The duke ! Why, Warwick, when we parted

Thou call'dst me king !

War. Ay, but the case is alter'd :

When you disgraced me in my embassy,

23-25. *War.* This is . . . where . . . stand . . . my . . . honour now . . . me . . . ours] 23-26. *War.* This is . . . where his guard doth stand . . . my souldiers, now . . . me now . . . ours. All. A Warwike, a Warwike. Q. 26. *First Watch.* Who goes there ?] 27. *Alarunes, and Gloster and Hastings flies. Oxf. who goes there ? Q.* 27. *Second Watch.* Stay . . . diest] omitted Q. *Warwick and . . . The drum . . . over the stage] Ff; omitted Q (except as at l. 27).* 28. *Som.* What . . .] omitted Q. 29-32. *Richard . . . parted . . . alter'd]* 28-31. *Richard . . . parted last . . . altered now Q.* 33-41. *When you . . . embassy . . . degraded . . . come now . . . know not . . . Nor how . . .*

24. *now or never]* See 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 331, and note. Occurs in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, in the Watchmen's scene: "*Now, Pedringano, or never play the man*" (l. 29). And a little below (iii. iv. 78, 79. Boas' ed.) :—

"Now stands our fortune on a tickle point,

And now or neuer ends Lorenzo's doubts."

For the first line here, see 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 216.

31. *parted]* Capell inserted "last" from Q, which Malone confidently says was "inadvertently omitted in the Folio." It is much better out of it.

32. *the case is alter'd]* A common saying, but not again in Shakespeare. It is in Greene's *Perimedes* (Grosart,

vii. 45), 1588, and *James the Fourth* by the same writer ; in Sir J. Harington's *Orlando Furioso* (iv. 18), 1591 ; in G. Harvey's *Four Letters* (Grosart, i. 185), 1592 ; in Dekker, Ben Jonson, etc. The earliest example I have met is in G. Whetston's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part i. v. iv. 1578 :—

"A Syr, in fayth the case is altered quight,

My mistris late that lived in wretched plight

Bids care adue."

33. *embassade]* embassy. Not again in Shakespeare. The word is that used by Hall, of this occurrence. See extract from his *Chronicle* at the beginning of iii. i., above. It is found a little later again in Hall (ii. 278).

Then I degraded you from being king,
 And come now to create you Duke of York. 35
 Alas! how should you govern any kingdom,
 That know not how to use ambassadors,
 Nor how to be contented with one wife,
 Nor how to use your brothers brotherly,
 Nor how to study for the people's welfare, 40
 Nor how to shroud yourself from enemies?

K. Edw. Yea, brother of Clarence, art thou here too?
 Nay, then I see that Edward needs must down.
 Yet, Warwick, in despite of all mischance,
 Of thee thyself and all thy complices, 45
 Edward will always bear himself as king:
 Though fortune's malice overthrow my state,
 My mind exceeds the compass of her wheel.

War. Then, for his mind, be Edward England's king!
[Takes off his crown.]

But Henry now shall wear the English crown, 50
 And be true king indeed, thou but the shadow.
 My Lord of Somerset, at my request,
 See that forthwith Duke Edward be convey'd
 Unto my brother, Archbishop of York.
 When I have fought with Pembroke and his fellows 55

enemies] 32-38. *When you . . . embassy . . . disgrace . . . now am come . . . knows not . . . Nor how to use . . . Nor how to shrowd . . . enemies* Q. (38 and 40, lines ending *wife, welfare*, omitted Q). 42, 43. *Yea, brother . . . down]* omitted Q. 44-48. *Yet, Warwick . . . her wheel]* 39-40. *Edw. Well Warlike, let fortune do her worst, Edward in mind will beare himselfe a King* Q. 49, 50. *Then, for . . . crown]* 41-42. *Then for . . . crowne* Q. 51, 52. *And be . . . request]* omitted Q. 53-58. *See that . . . Now, for a . . . York]* 43-46. *Go conuaie him to our brother archbishop of Yorke, And when*

45. *complices]* See Part II. v. i. 212. Also twice in *Richard II.*

54. *Unto my brother, Archbishop of York]* to Middleham Castle in Yorkshire. See Hall, quoted above, iv. ii. 12-24.

55. *fought with Pembroke]* See above, iv. i. 130, 131, where Hall is quoted in this connection. The meeting between Pembroke's and Warwick's forces preceded the capture of King Edward in Hall's narration: "When these two Lordes [Pembroke and Stafford] were met at Cottisolde . . . they were ascertained by their explorators that thei [the Northren men] were passyng towarde Northampton, wherupon . . . they couertly espied them passe forward, and sodainely set on the

rerewarde: but the Northren men with such agilitie so quickly turned aboute, that in a moment of an houre, the Welshe men wer clene discomfited" (Hall, p. 273). Warwick was not present in person. Another engagement immediately afterwards resulted in "a great slaughter of Welshe men" and Pembroke was taken and beheaded at Banbury. He had been deserted by Stafford, for which the king caused the latter "found hyd in a village in Brentmarche" to be "brought to Bridgewater, and ther cut shorter by the hedde." "This was the order, manner and end of Banbury Field, fought the morrow after St. James' day, in the viii yere of King Edward . . . a con-

I'll follow you, and tell what answer

Lewis and the Lady Bona send to him.

Now, for a while farewell, good Duke of York.

K. Edw. What fates impose, that men must needs abide :

It boots not to resist both wind and tide. 60

[*They lead him out forcibly.*]

Oxf. What now remains, my lords, for us to do

But march to London with our soldiers ?

War. Ay, that's the first thing that we have to do ;

To free King Henry from imprisonment,

And see him seated in the regal throne. 65

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.—*London. The palace.*

Enter Queen ELIZABETH and RIVERS.

Riv. Madam, what makes you in this sudden change ?

Q. Eliz. Why, brother Rivers, are you yet to learn

What late misfortune is befall'n King Edward ?

Riv. What ! loss of some pitch'd battle against Warwick ?

Q. Eliz. No, but the loss of his own royal person. 5

I have fought with Pembroke & his followers, Ile come and tell thee what the ladie Bona saies, And so for a . . . Yorke. Exeunt some with Edward Q. 61, 62. Oxf. What . . . soldiers] 47-50. Cla. What follows now all hithertoo goes well, But we must dispatch some letters to France, To tell the Queene of our happy fortune And bid hir come with speed to ioine with vs Q. 63-65. Ay, that's . . . To free . . . in the . . . throne] 51-55. I thats . . . And free . . . in his regale throne, Come let us haste awaie, and hauing past these cares, Ile post to Yorke, and see how Edward fares. Exeunt Omnes Q.

SCENE IV.

SCENES IV. and V. transposed in Q. 1. Madam . . . change] 1, 2. Tel me good maddam, why is your grace So passionate of late ? Q. 2, 3. Why . . . are you . . . Edward] 3, 4. Why . . . heare you not the newes, Of that successe King Edward had of late ? Q. 4. What . . . Warwick] 5. What . . . Warwike Q. 5-12. Q. Eliz. No, but . . . our foe] 9-14. Queen. If that were all, my griefes were at an end : But greater troubles will I feare befall. Riv. What, is he taken prisoner by the foe, To the danger of his royall person then ?

tinual grudge between the Northrenmen and the Welshmen" (pp. 274, 275). This is the last of Pembroke and Stafford.

61, 62. *letters to France, To tell the Queen*] Omitted here, with the rest of Clarence's speech in Q. Clarence's remark about sending despatches to France, would be properly included, on account of lines 235, 236 in iii. iii. But these lines are made use of by Henry at iv. vi. 60, 61 (this odd identity of

line numbers in transferred passages has occurred several times).

SCENE IV.

4. *pitch'd battle*] Not again in Shakespeare. See "pitch our battle," below, v. iv. 66, and see note at "sharp stakes . . . pitched" (1 Henry VI. i. i. 118). The line here implies a knowledge of the reverses to Pembroke and Stafford dealt with above.

Riv. Then is my sovereign slain?

Q. Eliz. Ay, almost slain, for he is taken prisoner;
 Either betray'd by falsehood of his guard,
 Or by his foe surprised at unawares:
 And, as I further have to understand, 10
 Is new committed to the Bishop of York,
 Fell Warwick's brother, and by that our foe.

Riv. These news I must confess are full of grief;
 Yet, gracious madam, bear it as you may:
 Warwick may lose, that now hath won the day. 15

Q. Eliz. Till then fair hope must hinder life's decay:
 And I the rather wean me from despair
 For love of Edward's offspring in my womb:
 This is it that makes me bridle passion,
 And bear with mildness my misfortune's cross; 20
 Ay, ay, for this I draw in many a tear,
 And stop the rising of blood-sucking sighs,
 Lest with my sighs or tears I blast or drown
 King Edward's fruit, true heir to the English crown.

Riv. But, madam, where is Warwick then become? 25

Q. Eliz. I am informed that he comes towards London,
 To set the crown once more on Henry's head.

Queen. I, thears my grieve King Edward is surprisde, And led awaie, as prisnor vnto Yorke Q. 13-15. Riv. These news . . . the day] 15-18 and 6-8. Riv. The newes is passing strange, I must confesse: Yet comfort your selfe, for Edward hath more friends, Then Lancaster at this time must perceine That some will set him in his throne againe. (6-8 Riv.) Tush, feare not faire Queene, but cast those cares aside, King Edwards noble mind his honours doth display: And Warwike maie loose, though then he got the day Q. 16-35. Q. Eliz. Till then . . . sure to die] 19-22. Queen. God grant they maie, but gentle brother come, And let me leane vpon thine arme a while, Vntil I come vnto the sanctuarie (cf. l. 31) There to preserue the fruit within my wombe (cf. l. 18) K. Edwards seed true heire to Englands crowne (cf. l. 24) Exit. Q.

15. *won the day]* altered from "got the day" (not used by Shakespeare). See 1 *Henry VI.* i. vi. 17; and *Richard III.* v. iii. 145. Peele has "bear away the day" in *The Tale of Troy*, 293 (555, a).

19. *bridle]* restrain. See 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 200 and iv. vii. 112. Also in *Comedy of Errors*.

22. *blood-sucking sighs]* See note at "blood-drinking sighs" (2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 63), and "blood-consuming sighs" (2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 61). Compare "a spendthrift sigh" (*Hamlet*, iv. vii. 123); and "with sighs of love that cost the fresh blood dear" (*Mid-*

summer Night's Dream, iii. ii. 97). Craig writes it was formerly believed that each sigh took a drop of blood from the heart. I have not found confirmation of this pathetic pathology. Not in Burton. The idea is extant in folklore. A Yorkshire lady tells me she is familiar with the belief that "every sigh costs a drop of blood," and also that the belief holds good in Scotland in several places.

23. *blast]* blight, wither, destroy. See 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 89; and below, v. vii. 21.

25. *where is . . . become]* See note at this construction, ii. i. 10 above.

Guess thou the rest ; King Edward's friends must down :
 But to prevent the tyrant's violence,—
 For trust not him that hath once broken faith,— 30
 I'll hence forthwith unto the sanctuary,
 To save at least the heir of Edward's right :
 There shall I rest secure from force and fraud.
 Come, therefore ; let us fly while we may fly :
 If Warwick take us we are sure to die. 35

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V.—*A park near Middleham Castle in Yorkshire.*

Enter GLOUCESTER, Lord HASTINGS, Sir WILLIAM STANLEY,
and others.

Glou. Now, my Lord Hastings and Sir William Stanley,
 Leave off to wonder why I drew you hither,
 Into this chiefest thicket of the park.
 Thus stands the case. You know our king, my brother,

SCENES V. and IV. transposed in Q. 1.13. *Enter . . . Glou. Now . . . captivity* 1-9. *Enter* Gloster, Hastings, and Sir William Stanly. *Glou.* Lord Hastings and Sir William Stanly, Know that the cause I sent for you is this. I looke my brother with a slender traine, Should come a hunting in this forrest heere. The Bishop of Yorke befriends him much, And lets him vse his pleasure in the chase, Now I haue priuilie sent him word, How I am come with you to rescue him. And see where the huntsman and he doth come Q.

31. *I'll . . . unto the sanctuary*
 Much has happened, and a year elapsed before this takes place, since the king's capture: "innumerable people resorted to the erle of Warwycke [after Edward's escape and flight] to take his parte, but all kyng Edwardes trusty frendes went to diuers sentuaries, dayly loking . . . to hear of his . . . prosperous return. Emongst other, Quene Elizabeth his wyfe, allmoste desperate of all comfort, took sentuary at Westminster, and there in great penurie forsaken of all her frendes was deliuered of a fayre sonne called Edward [Edward the V. borne in sentuary], the god-mother the lady Scrope" (p. 285).

SCENE V.] This scene precedes the last in Q, which gives time for the queen's accouchement, and for the news of the king's capture to reach her. But the present arrangement enables this scene to fit in with the subsequent trend of events more homogeneously. For the placing of this scene, see excerpt from

Hall at iv. ii. 12-24 above. Immediately follows (p. 275) the account of the escape: "Kyng Edward beyng thus in captiuitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop and to the other keepers, (but whether he corrupted them with money or fayre promises) he had libertie diuers days to go on huntynge, and one day on a playne there met with hym syr William Stanley, syr Thomas of Borogh, and dyuers other of hys frendes with suche a great band of men, that neither his keepers woulde, nor once durst moue him to retorne to prison agayn." King Edward then "went streyghte to York, where he was with grete honor receyued . . . from Yorke to Lancaster, where he found the Lord Hastynge's hys chamberlayne, well accompanied. . . . He then . . . came safe to the cytye of London" (p. 276).

4. *Thus stands the case* See *Cymbeline*, i. v. 67; and in Greene's hobbling manner: "Especially as now the case doth stand" (*Alphonsus* (Grosart, xiii. 347)).

Is prisoner to the bishop here, at whose hands 5
 He hath good usage and great liberty,
 And often but attended with weak guard,
 Comes hunting this way to disport himself.
 I have advertis'd him by secret means
 That if about this hour he make this way, 10
 Under the colour of his usual game,
 He shall here find his friends with horse and men
 To set him free from his captivity.

Enter King EDWARD and a Huntsman with him.

Hunt. This way, my lord, for this way lies the game.

K. Edw. Nay, this way, man: see where the huntsmen stand. 15

Now, brother of Gloucester, Lord Hastings, and the rest,
 Stand you thus close, to steal the bishop's deer?

Glou. Brother, the time and case requireth haste.

Your horse stands ready at the park corner.

K. Edw. But whither shall we then? 20

Hast. To Lynn, my lord;

And ship from thence to Flanders.

Glou. Well guess'd, believe me; for that was my meaning.

K. Edw. Stanley, I will requite thy forwardness.

Glou. But wherefore stay we? 'tis no time to talk. 25

K. Edw. Huntsman, what say'st thou? wilt thou go along?

14-17. *Enter . . . Hunt. This way . . . deer*] 10-13. *Enter Edward and Huntsman. Hunts. This waie my Lord the deere is gone. Edw. No this waie huntsman, see where the Keepers stand. Now brother and the rest, What, are you prouided to depart? Q.*

18-30. *Glou. Brother . . . crowne*] 14-23. *Glo. I, I, the horse stands at the parke corner, Come, to Lynne, and so take shipping into Flanders. Edw. Come then; Hastings and Stanlie, I will Requite your loues. Bishop farewell, sheeld thee from Warwikes frowne, And . . . crowne*

21. *To Lynn*] The battle of Loscote field, ending in a victory for Edward, the flight of Warwick and Clarence to France and their favourable reception by the French king Lewis, the intriguing of the Duke of Burgundy, the triumphant landing of Warwick on his return and his Proclamation in the name of Henry the VI., all take up space and time, until King Edward is "much abashed at these tydings . . . his nere frendes aduised and admonished him to fye ouer the sea to the duke of Burgoyne . . . the erle of Warwyckes power was within a halfe dayes iorney [the king having 'departed' into Lyncolnshyr] . . . with all hast pos-

sible passed the wasshes and came to the toune of Lynne, where he found an English ship and ii Hulkes of Holland . . . wherupon, he . . . with his brother the duke of Gloucester, the Lord Scales, and diuers other his trusty frendes, entered into the ship, without bag or baggage . . . and smal store of money, sailed toward Holland." "This was in the yere . . . M.C.lxx. and in the ix yere of Kyngge Edward" (Hall, 283). Shakespeare has amalgamated Edward's two flights into one whole. He attaches Hastings to him throughout, for which there is no authority. See below, vi. 78-82.

Hunt. Better do so than tarry and be hang'd.

Glou. Come then, away; let's ha' no more ado.

K. Edw. Bishop, farewell: shield thee from Warwick's frown,
And pray that I may repossess the crown. 30

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE VI.—*London. The Tower.*

Flourish. Enter King HENRY, CLARENCE, WARWICK,
SOMERSET, young RICHMOND, OXFORD, MONTAGUE, and
Lieutenant of the Tower.

K. Hen. Master lieutenant, now that God and friends
Have shaken Edward from the regal seat,

(last line) *Now huntsman what will you doe? Hunts. Marrie my Lorde, I thinke
I had as good Goe with you, as tarrie heere to be hangde. Edw. Come then lets
awaie with speed. Exeunt Omnes Q.*

SCENE VI.

SCENES VI. and VII. transposed in Q. Enter . . . Ff (nearly); Cambridge;
Enter Warwike and Clarence, with the Crowne, and then King Henry, and Ox-
ford, and Summeret, and the yong Earle of Richmond Q. 1-4. *K. Hen.*
Master . . . joys 1, 2. *King.* Thus from the prison to this princelie seat, By
Gods great mercies am I brought Againe Q.

27. *Better . . . hang'd*] Marlowe may have remembered this line in *Edward II.* (Dyce, 211, b): "As good be gone, as stay and be benighted."

30. *repossess the crown*] repeated below, iv. vi. 99 and v. vii. 19. It seems to occur in Q only in the last passage.

SCENE VI.

1. *Enter King Henry, Clarence, Warwick . . .*] This scene is placed after Scene vii. (the return of Edward to Ravenspur) in Q, following immediately upon the Queen's taking sanctuary. In the present play, see back to the end of Scene iii. (Warwick's last words there) for the chain of events. In Hall the release of Henry follows immediately upon the account of the birth of Edward the V. in sanctuary, (p. 285), and is thus told: "the xxv. daye of the sayd moneth (October), the duke of Clarence accompanied with the Erles of Warwycke, Shrewsbury, and the lorde Stanley, and other . . . some onely to gaze at the waueryng world, resorted with a greate company to the towre of London, & from thence with great pompe brought Kyng Henry the VI appeared in a longe gowne of blew velvet, through the high streetes of London, to the cathedral church of Saint Paule . . . Kyng

Henry the VI thus redeapted (by the meanes onely of the erle of Warwycke) his croune and dignitie Royall in the yere of oure lorde 1471 . . . he called his high court of Parliament to begin ye xxvi day of Nouember at Westminster, in the whiche King Edward was declared a traitor to his countrey . . . & all his goodes were confiscate & adiudged forfayted: & like sentence was geuen agaynst all his partakers. . . . Beside this, the erle of Warwycke . . . was made Ruler, & Governor of the Realme, with whom . . . was associated, George duke of Clarence his sonne-in-law" (286). In this passage, King Henry is said to be "a man of no great wit, such as men comonly call an Innocent man, neither a foole, neither very wyse, whose study always was more to excell . . . in Godly liuynge, then in worldly regiment. . . . But his enemies ascribed all this to his coward stommach."

In the same parliament the crown of England and France was "entayled to King Henry the VI & the heyres males of his body lawfully begotten, & for default . . . to George, duke of Clarence, & to the heyres males of his bodye."

This scene of 100 lines replaces one

- And turn'd my captive state to liberty,
 My fear to hope, my sorrows unto joys,
 At our enlargement what are thy due fees? 5
- Lieu.* Subjects may challenge nothing of their sovereigns;
 But if an humble prayer may prevail,
 I then crave pardon of your majesty.
- K. Hen.* For what, lieutenant? for well using me?
 Nay, be thou sure I'll well requite thy kindness, 10
 For that it made my imprisonment a pleasure;
 Ay, such a pleasure as incaged birds
 Conceive, when after many moody thoughts
 At last by notes of household harmony
 They quite forget their loss of liberty. 15
 But, Warwick, after God, thou sett'st me free,
 And chiefly therefore I thank God and thee;
 He was the author, thou the instrument.
 Therefore, that I may conquer fortune's spite
 By living low, where fortune cannot hurt me, 20
 And that the people of this blessed land
 May not be punish'd with my thwarting stars,
 Warwick, although my head still wear the crown,
 I here resign my government to thee,
 For thou art fortunate in all thy deeds. 25
- War.* Your grace hath still been fam'd for virtuous,
 And now may seem as wise as virtuous,
 By spying and avoiding fortune's malice;
 For few men rightly temper with the stars:
 Yet in this one thing let me blame your grace, 30

5-37. *At our enlargement . . . Clarence only for protector*] omitted Q.

of 25 in Q, of which it is a legitimate development with one or two important additions, such as Henry's entreaty for his wife and son to be sent for, and the news (to Warwick) of Edward's escape and flight to Burgundy. These are not in Q. Also the deleting of repetition words close together (princely, pretty), as usual, may be noticed; and that tiresome "replete with" is finally dropped, "full of" being read (l. 70).

12. *incaged*] The word occurs, in metaphoric use, twice in Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis* and *Richard II.* Cage birds for singing are mentioned again in *Cymbeline*, III. iii. 43, and in *King Lear*, v. iii. 9. A love for the songs of birds is very marked in Shake-

spere. Note, also, the frequent mention of snares, limed twigs, and the fowler's art.

19. *fortune's spite*] Again in Sonnets 37 and 90. "*Fortune's spite* and malice" (Peele, *A Tale of Troy*, 55S, a). "*Fortune's malice*" occurs nine lines down. These Peele coincidences were collected when I thought he had a hand in this play, but that idea was a hasty one. See also iv. iv. 46 above, for "*fortune's malice*."

29. *temper with the stars*] A bold and thoroughly Shakespearian expression with a back reference to "thwarting stars," above (22). Warwick means few men adapt themselves to the spite and malice of Fortune.

For choosing me when Clarence is in place.

Clar. No, Warwick, thou art worthy of the sway,
To whom the heavens in thy nativity
Adjudged an olive branch and laurel crown,
As likely to be blest in peace and war ; 35
And therefore I yield thee my free consent.

War. And I choose Clarence only for protector.

K. Hen. Warwick and Clarence give me both your hands :
Now join your hands, and with your hands your hearts,
That no dissension hinder government : 40
I make you both protectors of this land,
While I myself will lead a private life,
And in devotion spend my latter days,
To sin's rebuke and my Creator's praise.

War. What answers Clarence to his sovereign's will ? 45

Clar. That he consents, if Warwick yield consent ;
For on thy fortune I repose myself.

War. Why then, though loath, yet must I be content.
We'll yoke together, like a double shadow
To Henry's body, and supply his place ; 50
I mean, in bearing weight of government,
While he enjoys the honour and his ease.
And, Clarence, now then it is more than needful
Forthwith that Edward be pronounced a traitor,
And all his lands and goods be confiscate. 55

Clar. What else ? and that succession be determin'd.

War. Ay, therein Clarence shall not want his part.

K. Hen. But, with the first of all your chief affairs,
Let me entreat, for I command no more,
That Margaret your queen and my son Edward 60

38-44. *Warwick and Clarence . . . Creator's praise*] 33-7. *Clarence, and Warwick doe you Keepe the crowne, and gouerne and protect My realme in peace, and I will spend the Remnant of my daies to sinnes . . . praise Q.* 45. *What . . . will ?*] 8. *what . . . will ? Q.* 46, 47. *That he . . . myself*] 9. *Clarence agrees to what King Henry likes Q.* 48-64. *Why then, though loath . . . with all speed*] omitted Q.

31. *in place*] See above, iv. i. 103.

43. *latter days*] last days. A frequent use in Shakespeare. Compare Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, 1543, p. 544, rept. : "his conscience pricked with the sharpe styng of his mischeuous offences, which although they dooe not pricke alwaye, yet most comenly they wil byte moste towarde he latter day."

49. *yoke together*] See above, iv. i. 23.

51. *I mean*] See below, v. iii. 7, and above, iii. ii. 58.

54, 55, 56. *traitor, confiscate, succession*] See Hall's words at the opening extract to this scene. The insertion of "be" before "confiscate," omitted in the first Folio, is due to Malone. "Confiscated" is in 1st 2, 3, 4.

60, 61. *That Margaret . . . with*

Be sent for, to return from France with speed :
 For, till I see them here, by doubtful fear
 My joy of liberty is half eclips'd.

Clar. It shall be done, my sovereign, with all speed.

K. Hen. My Lord of Somerset, what youth is that 65
 Of whom you seem to have so tender care?

Som. My liege, it is young Henry, Earl of Richmond.

K. Hen. Come hither, England's hope.

[*Lays his hand on his head.*

If secret powers

Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,
 This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss. 70
 His looks are full of peaceful majesty,
 His head by nature fram'd to wear a crown,
 His hand to wield a sceptre, and himself

65-67. *My Lord . . . youth . . . liege, it . . . Richmond*] 10-13. *My lord . . . prettie Boie is that you seeme to be so carefull of? Sum. And it please your grace, it . . . Richmond Q.* 68-76. *Come hither . . . Make much . . . Must help . . . by me*] 14-22. *Henry of Richmond, come hither pretie ladde. If heauenly powers doe aime aright To my diuining thoughts, thou pretie boy, Shalt proue this Countries blisse, Thy head is made to weare a princelie crowne, Thy lookes are all repleat with Maiestie, Make much . . . shall helpe . . . by me. Q.*

speed] These lines account for the omission of Clarence's (in Q) at iv. iii. 61 (see note).

63. *joy . . . eclips'd*] So Greene, *Orlando Furioso* (Grosart, xiii. 170):—

"That wanton maide, that hath eclips'd the joy
 Of royall France."

A little of his minor plumage.

67. *young Henry*] Afterwards Henry VII. This anecdote is from Hall (copied as usual into Grafton and Holinshed): "lord Henry, sonne to his [Pembroke's] brother Edmund erle of Richmond, hauyng not fully ten yeres of his age, was . . . brought vp, by the Lady Herbert, wyfe to Willyam erle of Pembroke, beheded at Banbury . . . sent from God, and of hym onely to be prouided for a Kyng, for to extinguish bothe the factions. . . . This Henry was borne of Margaret, the onely daughter and heire to Ihon the first Duke of Somerset. . . . Iasper erle of Pembroke toke this child beyng his nephew . . . to London, to Kyng Henry the sixte, whom, when the Kyng had a good space by himselfe, secretly beholden and marked, both his wit and his likely towardnes, he said to suche princes, as were then with hym: Lo

surely this is he, to whom both wee and our aduersaries leuyng the possession of all things, shall hereafter geue rome and place. So this holy man shewed before, the chaunce that should happen, that this erle Henry so ordeined by God, should in tyme become (as he did in deede) haue and enioy the kingdome, and the whole rule of the realme" (287).

69. *divining thoughts*] Compare "divining eyes" (Sonnet 106); and "true-divining heart" (*Titus Andronicus*, ii. iii. 214).

71. *His . . . majesty*] The line in Q here is identical (reading *Thy* for *His*) with the Q line at iii. ii. 84. The dropping of "repleat with" sufficed here, because "majesty" was changed to "modesty" there.

73. *wield a sceptre*] carry or bear the sceptre. A favourite use of the verb but not so common as "sway." Spenser has it in *Faerie Queene*, ii. xi. 2: "her that ought the *sceptre weeld*." Spenser has it of the crown in the previous Canto, ii. x. 32; and "weld the awful crown" (*Shepheard's Kalender*, October (Globe, 477, a), 1579); and in *Colin Clout*, 130. Greene seized on it. Kyd, in the *Spanish Tragedy*, "I tooke him up and

Likely in time to bless a regal throne.
 Make much of him, my lords, for this is he 75
 Must help you more than you are hurt by me.

Enter a Post.

War. What news, my friend?

Post. That Edward is escaped from your brother,
 And fled, as he hears since, to Burgundy.

War. Unsavoury news! but how made he escape? 80

Post. He was convey'd by Richard Duke of Gloucester
 And the Lord Hastings, who attended him
 In secret ambush on the forest side,
 And from the bishop's huntsmen rescued him;
 For hunting was his daily exercise. 85

War. My brother was too careless of his charge.

But let us hence, my sovereign, to provide

A salve for any sore that may bétide.

[Exeunt all but Somerset, Richmond, and Oxford.]

Som. My lord, I like not of this flight of Edward's;
 For doubtless Burgundy will yield him help, 90
 And we shall have more wars before 't be long.
 As Henry's late presaging prophecy
 Did glad my heart with hope of this young Richmond,
 So doth my heart misgive me, in these conflicts

77-102. *What news . . . about it speedily*] omitted Q.

wound him in mine armes, And welding him into my private tent there laid him down" (1. iv. 35), affords an uncommon use.

75. *Make much of him*] Frequent later in Shakespeare. See Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I. ii.: "*Make much of them, gentle Theridamas*" (Dyce, 12, b). And in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 563: "Hadrian . . . taried here in England for a space, and was veray much made of."

77. *Enter a Post*] In the corresponding situation, immediately after "hurt by me," in Q occurs, "Enter one with a letter to Warwike," and Scene viii. begins with Warwick's speech announcing Edward's return from instead of his departure, as here, to Burgundy.

78, 79. *Edward is escaped . . . Burgundy*] Here the dramatist ties the two flights together unmistakably. See iv. v. 21 (note).

82. *attended him*] waited for him. The commonest sense in Shakespeare.

88. *A salve for any sore . . .*] Compare Spenser, *Facrie Queene*, III. ii. 36:—

"and though no reason may apply

Salve to your sore, yet loue can higher styte."

And again, *Shepherd's Calender*, August (Globe ed. 471, a): "Ne can I find *salve* for my sore. *Willie*. Love is a curelesse sorowe" (1579). Todd quotes from Lydgate, and from Surrey's *Songs and Sonnets*. Greene uses the phrase *ad nauseam*. Not again in Shakespeare. Sidney has it in *Arcadia*, Book i. And see Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I. II. 1: "marriage salves his sore" (amends his error), 1578.

90. *Burgundy will yield him help*] See below, vii. 6.

94. *So doth my heart misgive me*]

What may befall him to his harm and ours : 95

Therefore, Lord Oxford, to prevent the worst,
Forthwith we'll send him hence to Brittany,
Till storms be past of civil enmity.

Oxf. Ay, for if Edward repossess the crown,
'Tis like that Richmond with the rest shall down. 100

Som. It shall be so ; he shall to Brittany.
Come, therefore, let's about it speedily. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VII.—*Before York.*

Flourish. Enter King EDWARD, GLOUCESTER, HASTINGS,
and Soldiers.

K. Edw. Now, brother Richard, Lord Hastings, and the rest,
Yet thus far fortune maketh us amends,
And says that once more I shall interchange
My waned state for Henry's regal crown.
Well have we pass'd, and now repass'd the seas, 5
And brought desired help from Burgundy :
What then remains, we being thus arrived
From Ravenspurgh haven before the gates of York,

SCENE VII. Enter . . .] Ff; Enter Edward and Richard, and Hastings with a troop of Hollanders Q. 1-7. Now, brother . . . remains] omitted Q. 7-10. we being thus . . . this] 1-3. Edw. Thus far from Belgia have we past the seas, And marcht from Raunspur hauen unto Yorke: But soft the gates are shut, I . . . this Q.

Compare *Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. v. 226 : "my heart misgives me."

97. we'll send him hence to Brittany] "When Iasper erle of Pembroke was credibly asserterneynd that quene Margarete had lost the battayle at Tewkesburye, and that there was no more . . . reliefe to be had for the parte of poore Kyng Henry. . . . The erle in good hast departed to Pembroke . . . thence to Tynbye a hauen toune in Wales, where he getting conuenient shyppes for to transport hym and hys ouer the sea into Fraunce with hys nephew lord Henry erle of Rychemounde, and a few of his familiers toke ship, and by fortunes leadyng, landed in Brytayne" (Hall, pp. 302, 303).

SCENE VII.

4. waned] Occurs again in *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. i. 21. Ff read "waned." Steevens made the change.

5. pass'd, and now repass'd] Golding

has this expression: "shyppes may passe And repasse saufly" (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xiii. 908, 909). It is in *Lochrine*.

6. help from Burgundy] The Quarto tells "with a troop of Hollanders," as below, viii. 2. Hall says (p. 290): "when the duke saw that Kyng Eduard upon hope of his frendes, would nedes repaire into England again, he caused priuily to be deliuered to him fiftie M. Florence, of the crosse of Sainte Andrew, and further caused foure greate shyppes to be appoynted for him . . . and xiiij shippes of the Easterlynges, well appointed . . . to serue him truly. . . . The Duke of Burgoyne as men reported, cared not much on whose side the victory fell, sauing for payment of his money . . . he was frend to bothe partes and eche parte was friendly to hym."

8. From Ravenspurgh . . . York] Hall continues in the tenth year: "Kyng

But that we enter, as into our dukedom ?

Glou. The gates made fast ! Brother, I like not this ; 10

For many men that stumble at the threshold

Are well foretold that danger lurks within.

K. Edw. Tush, man ! abodements must not now affright us :

By fair or foul means we must enter in,

For hither will our friends repair to us. 15

Hast. My liege, I 'll knock once more to summon them.

11-15. *For many men . . . repair to us*] omitted Q. 16. *Hast. My liege . . . them*] 4. *Rich. Sound up the drum and call them to the wals* Q.

Edward beyng thus furnished . . . hauyng with hym onely ii M. men of warre beside mariners . . . sailed into England and came on the cost of Yorkshire, to a place called Rauenspurrr . . . Kyng Edward beyng a wise and circumspecte Prince, would not haue been so foolishe hardy, as to enter Englande with halfe a handfull of men of warre . . . but that the Duke of Clarence and he, were secretly agreed before, and that the Marques Montacute had secretly procured his fauor, of which priuie signs and cloked workynges, open tokens and manifest doynges, afterward appered . . . the touns round about were permanent and stiffe on the part of King Henry . . . for fere of the Erle of Warwycke. Which annswer [to his 'light horsemen' who felt the people's minds] when Kyng Edward had perfectly digested . . . he caused it to be published that he onely claymed the Duchie of Yorke . . . this new imaginacion (although it were but fayned) sorted and tooke immediately. . . . The erle of Warwycke . . . wrote to the Marquess of Montacute his brother . . . geuyng him warnyng . . . and he wrote to all the townes of Yorkeshyre, and to the citie also commaundyng all men . . . to shutte their gates . . . Kyng Edward came peacably nere to York . . . when the citizens . . . sendyng to hym two of the chiefest Aldermen . . . admonished hym not to come one foote nearer . . . Kyng Edward . . . determined to set forwarde, neither with army nor with weapon : but with lowly wordes . . . to declare to ye citizens that he came to demaunde . . . onely the duchie of Yorke his olde inheritance. And so with fayre wordes and flatteryng speche he dismissed the messengers, and . . . he and his . . . were almost at the gates as soone as the Ambassadors . . .

All the whole day was consumed in doutful comunicacion and earnest interlocucion. The citizens . . . fell to this pact and conuencion that if King Edward would swere . . . to be faythfull to all Kyng Henrys commaundements that then they would receyve him into their citie. Kyng Edward . . . a priest beyng redy to say masse . . . receyuing the body of our blessed Savior, solemnly swearyng etc. . . . entered into the citie, and clerely forgettinge his othe, he first set a garri-son of soldiers in the town" (Hall, 290-292). "Stands upon . . . points" is in Greene's *Friar Bacon* (Grosart, xiii. 12).

9. *But soft*] in Q, omitted here, is very common in Shakespeare. It is found, as well as "soft you!" in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*. And in Peele and Kyd.

11. *stumble at the threshold*] very unlucky. See Reginald Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (Nicholson's reprint, p. 164), 1584: "he that receiveth a mischance wil consider whether he met not a cat, or a hare, when he first went out of his doores in the morning; or *stumbled not at the threshold* at his going out," etc. See Golding's *Ovid*, x. 520, 521. And Grafton's *Continuacion of Hardyng*, p. 496: "Certeyn it is also that in ryding . . . the same morning . . . his horsse stumbled with hym twice or thyrse . . . an olde euill token."

13. *abodements*] forebodings, evil omens. "Bodements" occurs in *Troilus and Cressida*, v. iii. So. The example here is the earliest in *New Eng. Dict.* Craig quotes from Turberville, *Ovid's Heroical Epistles, Laodamia to Protesilaus* (1567):—

"Let all *abodements* go. I pray the windes
And calmed seas to favour thy intent."

Enter, on the walls, the Mayor of York, and his brethren.

May. My lords, we were forewarned of your coming,
And shut the gates for safety of ourselves;
For now we owe allegiance unto Henry.

K. Edw. But, master mayor, if Henry be your king, 20
Yet Edward at the least is Duke of York.

May. True, my good lord; I know you for no less.

K. Edw. Why, and I challenge nothing but my dukedom,
As being well content with that alone.

Glou. [*Aside.*] But when the fox hath once got in his
nose, 25

He'll soon find means to make the body follow.

Hast. Why, master mayor, why stand you in a doubt?
Open the gates; we are King Henry's friends.

May. Ay, say you so? the gates shall then be open'd.
[*They descend.*]

Glou. A wise stout captain, and soon persuaded! 30

Hast. The good old man would fain that all were well,
So, 'twere not long of him; but being enter'd,
I doubt not, I, but we shall soon persuade
Both him and all his brothers unto reason.

Enter the Mayor and two Aldermen, below.

K. Edw. So, master mayor: these gates must not be shut 35

17-19. *Enter . . . May. My lords . . . Henry*] 5-8. *Enter the Lord Maire of Yorke upon the wals. Mair. My Lords we had notice of your coming, And thats the cause we stand upon our garde, And shut the gates for to preserue the towne. Henry now is Kyng, and we are sworne to him* Q. 20, 21. *But . . . mayor, if . . . king, Yet . . . least . . . York*] 9, 10. *Why my Lord Maire, if . . . King, Edward I am sure at least . . . Yorke* Q. 22-29. *True . . . know . . . nothing . . . dukedom . . . But . . . got . . . nose, He'll . . . follow . . . Open . . . Ay, say . . . open'd*] 9-17. *Truth my Lord, we know . . . lesse. Edw. I craue nothing . . . Dukedome. Rich. But . . . gotten . . . head Heele quicklie make the body follow. Hast. Why my Lord Maire, what stand you upon points? Open . . . Saie you so, then Ile open them presentlie. Exit Maire* Q. 30. *Glou. A wise . . . persuaded!*] 18. *Ri. By my faith, a wise . . . perswaded* Q. 31-34. *Hast. The good old . . . reason*] omitted Q. 35-39. *Enter . . . So, master . . . But . . . war . . . follow*

25, 26. *fox . . . nose . . . body follow*] There is a saying like this of a mouse in cheese. But I cannot get any nearer. "Give him an inch and he'll take an ell." This is in Q, and like the "threshold passage" above, illustrates Gloucester's addiction to proverbs, as noticed before.

27. *stand you in a doubt*] Q has "stand you upon points," which is transferred to Gloucester below, l. 58.

An uncommon expression. Nothing to do with the "tickle point" phrase in 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 216. A variant of terms, "stood in a doubt," occurs in Hall's Chronicle (295), quoted at "well-minded" below.

31. *good old man*] Words Shakespeare delighted in. They are often in Sidney's *Arcadia*, Book i.

32. *long of him*] See notes at 1 *Henry VI.* iv. iii. 33, 46.

But in the night or in the time of war.

What ! fear not, man, but yield me up the keys ;

[*Takes his keys.*]

For Edward will defend the town and thee,

And all those friends that deign to follow me.

March. Enter MONTGOMERY and forces.

Glou. Brother, this is Sir John Montgomery, 40

Our trusty friend, unless I be deceiv'd.

K. Edw. Welcome, Sir John ! but why come you in arms ?

Montg. To help King Edward in his time of storm,

As every loyal subject ought to do.

K. Edw. Thanks, good Montgomery ; but we now forget 45

Our title to the crown, and only claim

Our dukedom till God please to send the rest.

Montg. Then fare you well, for I will hence again :

I came to serve a king and not a duke.

Drummer, strike up, and let us march away. 50

[*The drum begins to march.*]

K. Edw. Nay, stay, Sir John, awhile ; and we'll debate

By what safe means the crown may be recover'd.

me] 19-22. *The Maire opens the dore, and brings the keies in his hand. Edw.* So my Lord . . . But in the time of warre, giue me the keies : What, feare not man for Edward will defend the towne and you, despight of all your foes *Q.* 40-45. *March. Enter . . . Glou. Brother . . . Our . . . but why . . . his . . . storm . . . good Montgomery]* 23-29. *Enter Sir Iohn Mountgommercy with drumme and souldiers. (Edw.) How now Richard, who is this ? Rich. Brother . . . A . . . Wherefore . . . this . . . stormes . . . braue Mountgommercy Q.* 45-47. *but we . . . claim Our . . . rest]* 30, 31. *But I onlie claime my . . . Vntil it please God . . . rest Q.* 48-50. *Then . . . well, for . . . I came . . . duke. Drummer . . . away]* 32, 33. *Sir Iohn (and throughout) Then . . . wel ? Drum . . . away, I came . . . duke Q (two lines transposed).* 51-52. *Nay, . . . recover'd]* 34, 35. *Nay staie Sir Iohn, and let vs first debate, With what security we maie doe this thing Q.*

39. *friends . . . follow me]* Similar to the line above, iv. i. 123.

40. *Sir John Montgomery]* After Edward had set his garrison of soldiers in York "he thought it necessarie . . . to make haste toward London . . . he left the right way toward Pomfret, where the Marques Montagew with his army lay . . . and came safely to Nottingham, where came to him syr William Parre . . . syr Thomas Montgomerie, and diuers other of his assured frendes . . . whych caused hym at the fyrst comming to make Proclamacion in hys

owne name, Kyng Edward the iij boldely saying to hym, that they would serue no man but a kynge. . . . This Proclamacion cast a great shanie and dolor to the hartes of the citizens of Yorke" (292). Shakespeare seems to be purposely forgetful of men's Christian names ; his authority here gives Thomas, not John. And at the beginning of iii. ii. Sir Richard Gray is Sir John Gray in Hall. And in Part II. ii. ii. 13, he has Sir John Stanley where Holinshed gives Sir Thomas.

Montg. What, talk you of debating! in few words,
 If you'll not here proclaim yourself our king,
 I'll leave you to your fortune, and be gone 55
 To keep them back that come to succour you.
 Why shall we fight, if you pretend no title?

Glou. Why, brother, wherefore stand you on nice points?

K. Edw. When we grow stronger, then we'll make our claim.
 Till then, 'tis wisdom to conceal our meaning. 60

Hast. Away with scrupulous wit! now arms must rule.

Glou. And fearless minds climb soonest unto crowns.

Brother, we will proclaim you out of hand;

The bruit thereof will bring you many friends.

K. Edw. Then be it as you will; for 'tis my right, 65
 And Henry but usurps the diadem.

Montg. Ay, now my sovereign speaketh like himself;
 And now will I be Edward's champion.

Hast. Sound, trumpet! Edward shall be here proclaim'd.
 Come, fellow-soldier, make thou proclamation. 70

[*Gives him a paper. Flourish.*]

Sold. Edward the Fourth, by the grace of God, King of
 England and France, and lord of Ireland, etc.

Montg. And whosoe'er gainsays King Edward's right,
 By this I challenge him to single fight.

[*Throws down his gauntlet.*]

All. Long live Edward the Fourth! 75

53-57. What, . . . proclaim . . . king, I'll . . . keep . . . shall we . . . if . . . title? 36-40. What stand you on debating, to be briefe, Except you presently proclaime . . . King, Ile hence againe, and keepe . . . should we fight when You . . . title? Q. 58. Why . . . points? 41, 42. Fie brother, fie, stand you upon tearmes? Resolue your selfe, and let us claime the crowne Q. 59-64. When we . . . many friends] omitted Q. 65, 66. Then be it . . . diadem] 43, 44. I am resolute once more to claime the crowne, And win it too, or else to loose my life Q. 67, 68. Montg. Ay, . . . champion] 45, 46. Sir Iohn. I . . . champion Q. 69-75. Hast. Sound . . . Fourth!] 47-52. (Mont.) Sound Trumpets, for Edward shall be proclaimd Edward the fourth . . . Ireland, and whosoever . . . fight, long . . . fourth. All. Long . . . fourth Q.

58. stand you on nice points] See note at line 27 above. "Stand upon terms" in Q occurs in *Henry V.* iii. vi. 78; and in *Pericles*, iv. ii. 37. It is in Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*, and Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, but not absolutely as here. Compare *The Spanish Tragedy*, iii. x. 20: "to stand on terms with us?" (argue, debate). It is in Greene's *Orlando* (Grosart, xiii. 127) exactly as in Q.

63. out of hand] See again 2 *Henry*

IV. iii. i. 107 and Part I. iii. ii. 102 (note). Elsewhere only in *Titus Andronicus*.

68-75. champion . . . Edward the Fourth] See Grafton, *Continuation of Hardyng* (518): "As the seconde course came into ye hall, sir Robert Democke the Kynges champion, making a proclamation, that whosoeuer would saye that kyng Richarde was not lawfullie Kyng, he would fight with hym at the utteraunce, and threwe downe his

K. Edw. Thanks, brave Montgomery, and thanks unto you all :
 If fortune serve me, I'll requite this kindness.
 Now, for this night, let's harbour here in York,
 And when the morning sun shall raise his car
 Above the border of this horizon, 80
 We'll forward towards Warwick and his mates ;
 For well I wot that Henry is no soldier.
 Ah, froward Clarence, how evil it beseems thee
 To flatter Henry, and forsake thy brother !
 Yet, as we may, we'll meet both thee and Warwick. 85
 Come on, brave soldiers : doubt not of the day :
 And, that once gotten, doubt not of large pay.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE VIII.—*London. The palace.*

Flourish. Enter King HENRY, WARWICK, MONTAGUE,
 CLARENCE, EXETER, and OXFORD.

War. What counsel, lords? Edward from Belgia,
 With hasty Germans and blunt Hollanders,

76-82. *Thanks . . . no soldier*] 53-58. *We thanke you all. Lord Maire leade on the waie. For this night wee le harbour here in Yorke, And then as earlie as the morning sunne listes up his beames aboue the horison Wee le march to London, to meete with Warwike: And pull false Henry from the Regall throne. Exeunt Omnes Q.* 83-87. *Ah, froward . . . pay*] omitted Q.

SCENE VIII.

Flourish] F 1; omitted Q, Ff 2, 3, 4. Enter King Henry . . .] Enter the King . . . Ff. 1-5. *War. What . . . Hath pass'd . . . doth . . . to London . . . flock to him*] 23-27 (follows *than you are hurt by me*, l. 76, scene vi. above, or l. 22, Q). Enter one with a letter to Warwike. *War. What . . . Is past . . . doe . . . towardes London . . . follow him* Q (Q 3 reads *giddy headed*).

gauntlet, & then all the hall cried kyng Richard. And so he did in thre partes of the halle and then one broughte hym a cup of wyne couered, & when he had dronke he caste oute the drinke, & departed with the cuppe. After that the herauldes cryed a largesse thryse in the halle." The occasion is not the same, but the formula is. See also Marlowe's *Edward II.* (Dyce, 218, b).

80. *horizon*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Pronounced as *orison*. Not in common use at this time, though old. In Q.

82. *well I wot*] See Part I. iv. vi. 32, and above, ii. ii. 134, and below, v. iv. 71. Here is another early example from

A Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an Angle, 1496: "But *well I wote* that the redde worme and the menow bee good bayte for hym [the carpe] at all tymes."

SCENE VIII.

1. *What counsel*] See note at "Enter a Post," above, iv. vi. 77, on the manipulation here in Q.

1. *Belgia*] Older than Belgium for the country of the Belgae. See again *Comedy of Errors*, iii. ii. 142, a passage which is recalled by another in Nashe's *An Almond for a Parrot*, 1589: "Behold the state of the low Countryes . . . suppose Martin to be the map of *Belgia dilacerata*" (McKerrow, iii. 354).

Hath pass'd in safety through the narrow seas,
 And with his troops doth march amain to London;
 And many giddy people flock to him.

5

K. Hen. Let's levy men, and beat him back again.

Clar. A little fire is quickly trodden out,
 Which, being suffer'd, rivers cannot quench.

War. In Warwickshire I have true-hearted friends,

Not mutinous in peace, yet bold in war;

10

Those will I muster up: and thou, son Clarence,

Shalt stir up in Suffolk, Norfolk and in Kent,

The knights and gentlemen to come with thee:

Thou, brother Montague, in Buckingham,

Northampton, and in Leicestershire, shalt find

15

Men well inclin'd to hear what thou command'st:

And thou, brave Oxford, wondrous well beloved

In Oxfordshire, shalt muster up thy friends.

My sovereign, with the loving citizens,

Like to his island girt in with the ocean,

20

Or modest Dian circled with her nymphs,

Shall rest in London till we come to him.

Fair lords, take leave, and stand not to reply.

Farewell, my sovereign.

K. Hen. Farewell, my Hector, and my Troy's true hope.

25

Clar. In sign of truth, I kiss your highness' hand.

6-8. *K. Hen.* Let's . . . again. *Clar.* A little . . . quench] 28-30. *Oxf.* *Tis best to looke to this betimes, For if this fire doe kindle any further, It will be hard for vs to quench it out Q.* 9-24. *In Warwickshire . . . Those . . . Shalt stir . . . Suffolk . . . Kent, The . . . thee: Thou . . . shalt . . . command'st . . . beloved . . . muster . . . the loving . . . Like . . . nymphs, Shall . . . sovereign]* 31-44. *In Warwickshire . . . Them . . . shalt In Essex, Suffolke . . . Kent, Stir up the . . . thee. And thou . . . in Leistershire, Buckingham and Northamptonshire shalt finde . . . to doe . . . commands, And . . . belou'd, shalt in thy countries muster . . . his louing citizens, Shall rest . . . soueraigne Q.* 25. *Farewell . . . hope]* 45. *Farewell . . . Hector, my . . . hope Q.* 26-31. *Clar.* *In sign of . . . happy farewell]* omitted *Q.*

3. *narrow seas]* See i. i. 239 (note). These events are in the extract at the beginning of last scene. Compare here Grafton, *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 601 (1543): "In the thirde yere of his reigne (Henry VIII) . . . the Scottes . . . had out certain shippes well manned and vitayled, and kepte with them the *narrowe seas* . . . whiche rousers were named to be bannyshed men."

4. *march amain to London]* See ii. i. 182.

9. *true-hearted]* Again in *Henry VIII.* and *King Lear*. Spenser has "vile hearted cowardice" in *Mother Hubberds Tale* (Globe, 522, a).

21. *Dian]* Shakespeare is very fond of *Dian* for *Diana*. I find it (of the moon) in Hawes' *Pastyme of Pleasure* (p. 76 rept.), 1509: "*Dyane* derlynge, pale as any leade."

21. *circled with]* See 2 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 10.

25. *Hector . . . Troy's true hope]* We have had this already ii. i. 51.

K. Hen. Well-minded Clarence, be thou fortunate !

Mont. Comfort, my lord ; and so I take my leave.

Oxf. And thus I seal my truth, and bid adieu.

K. Hen. Sweet Oxford, and my loving Montague, 30

And all at once, once more a happy farewell.

War. Farewell, sweet lords : let's meet at Coventry.

[*Exeunt all but King Henry and Exeter.*]

K. Hen. Here at the palace will I rest awhile.

Cousin of Exeter, what thinks your lordship ?

Methinks the power that Edward hath in field 35

Should not be able to encounter mine.

Exe. The doubt is that he will seduce the rest.

K. Hen. That's not my fear ; my meed hath got me fame :

I have not stopp'd mine ears to their demands,

Nor posted off their suits with slow delays ; 40

My pity hath been balm to heal their wounds,

My mildness hath allay'd their swelling griefs,

My mercy dried their water-flowing tears ;

I have not been desirous of their wealth,

Nor much oppress'd them with great subsidies, 45

Nor forward of revenge, though they much err'd.

Then why should they love Edward more than me ?

32. *War. Farewell . . . Coventry*] 46. 47. *War. Farewell . . . Coventrie.*
All. Agreed. Exeunt Omnes Q. 33-51. *Here at the . . . shouts are these ?*
 omitted Q.

27. *Well-minded*] This compound is paralleled by "high-minded" (*1 Henry VI.*); "bloody-minded" (*2 and 3 Henry VI.*); "noble-minded" (*1 Henry VI.* and *Titus Andronicus*). "Proud-minded" is in *Taming of Shrew*. "Tender-minded" in *King Lear*; and "motley minded" in *As You Like It*. But the use belongs to his younger work. "Well-minded" is in Hall's Chronicle (p. 295) at this historical time: "Montacute, whom the erle his brother well knewe not to be well mynded (but sore agaynst his stomacke) to take parte with these Lordes, and therefore stode in a doubt, whether he at this tyme might trust him or no." The Lords were Exeter, Somerset and Oxford; and the time Barnetfield.

38-50. *That's not . . . follow him*] Henry's characteristically effeminate speech, in the midst of these blood-thirsty wars, has no counterpart in Q. In the last two lines "foolish pity" is

driven to its last stronghold of absurdity.

40. *posted off*] Compare "posted over" (*2 Henry VI.* iii. i. 255); and "o'er-posting" (*2 Henry IV.* i. ii. 171). Hurried over. These words occur in *The True Tragedie of Richard Third* (but not in Shakespeare's play *Richard III.*): "But they that knew how innocent I was, did post him off with many long delayes" (Hazlitt's Shaks. Lib. p. 126). An example from Hakluyt ("they posted the matter off so often") is given in the Irving Shakespeare by Mr. Marshall. Compare Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacie* (Shaks. Lib. p. 129): "*posted off* to the will of time." Literally it occurs in A. Day, *English Secretary*, 1586: "The compass of your writing . . . makes me *post off* the answer" (*New Eng. Dict.*).

43. *water-flowing tears*] "water-flowing pipes" occurs in *Lochrine*, iv. iii., in a literal sense.

No, Exeter, these graces challenge grace :
 And when the lion fawns upon the lamb,
 The lamb will never cease to follow him.

50

[*Shout within, "A Lancaster! A Lancaster!"*]

Exe. Hark, hark, my lord! what shouts are these?

Enter King EDWARD, GLOUCESTER, and Soldiers.

K. Edw. Seize on the shame-faced Henry! bear him hence,
 And once again proclaim us King of England.

You are the fount that makes small brooks to flow :

Now stops thy spring ; my sea shall suck them dry, 55

And swell so much the higher by their ebb.

Hence with him to the Tower! let him not speak.

[*Exeunt some with King Henry.*]

And, lords, towards Coventry bend we our course,

Where peremptory Warwick now remains :

The sun shines hot ; and, if we use delay,

60

Cold biting winter mars our hop'd for hay.

Glou. Away betimes, before his forces join,

Enter . . .] Enter Edward and his souldiers Ft ; Enter Edward and his traine Q (new scene of five lines). 52-64. Seize on . . . Coventry] 1-5. Seaze on the shamefast Henry, And once againe conuaye him to the Tower. Awake with hime, I will not heare him speake. And now towards Countrie let vs bend our course To meet with Warwike and his confederates. Exeunt Omnes Q.

49, 50. *lion . . . lamb*] Is Shake-speare poking fun at Henry VI. here?—digging him a little in the ribs? "Well-minded Clarence" might be regarded also as cynical.

52. *Seize on . . . Henry*] Hall describes Henry's capture: "When the Duke of Somerset and other of Kyng Henryes frendes, saw the world thus sodaynly changed euery man fled and in haste shyfted for hym selfe, leuyng Kyng Henry alone, as an host that should be sacrificed, in the Bishops palace of London . . . in whiche place he was by Kyng Edward taken and agayne committed to prison and captiuitie" (p. 294).

52. *shame-faced*] modest, bashful, shy. See note, Part II. i. iii. 54: "In him raigned shamefestnesse" (Grafton, 628).

54-56. *small brooks . . . my sea shall . . . swell . . .]* May have been suggested by Hall: "Kyng Edward did

daily encrease hys power (as a runnyng riuier by goyng more and more augmenteth)," 293.

60, 61. *sun shines . . . hay*] A somewhat awkward development of the proverb "Make hay while the sun shines." "Who that in July whyle Phoebus is shynynge about his hay is not besy labourynge shall in the winter his negligence bewayle" (Barclay, *Ship of Fooles* (Jamieson edn. ii. 46), 1509); "When the sunne shineth, make hay" (Heywood (Sharman, p. 11), 1546). Not a very old said saw. But these lines are really from Q, modified. See below, at the end of Scene iii. in Act v. Malone has an ingenious "susppect" here, that "hay" should be "aye"; and the reading "hope for aye." To him replied Steevens with the true proverb, in a note which I had not read when I wrote the above. He gave it only from Ray.

And take the great-grown traitor unawares :
 Brave warriors, march amain towards Coventry.

[*Exeunt.*

63. *great-grown*] Compare "thick-grown brake," above, III. i. 1. Shakespeare has "rough-grown" in *Lucrece* and "long-grown" in *1 Henry IV*. And "high-grown" in *King Lear*; a play which affords a number of evidences of early work.
64. *Coventry*] See above, line 32, where Warwick announces he is collecting his army at Coventry.

ACT V

SCENE I.—*Coventry.*

Enter WARWICK, the Mayor of Coventry, two Messengers, and others upon the walls.

War. Where is the post that came from valiant Oxford?

How far hence is thy lord, mine honest fellow?

First Mess. By this at Dunsmore, marching hitherward.

1-3. *War.* Where is . . . mine . . . *First Mess.* By . . . Dunsmore . . . hitherward] 1-3. *Enter Warwick on the walls. War.* Where . . . my . . . *Oxf. post.* By . . . Daintrie marching hitherward Q.

Enter Warwick, the Mayor of Coventry . . .] The Coventry events are transposed from their sequence in Hall. They took place (as iv. viii. 58 implies) before Edward's capture of Henry, and while he was on his way to London. After the meeting with Montgomery, and the evading of Montague (see iv. vii. 8 and 41 extracts), Hall writes: "Warwycke was displeased, and grudged against his brother the Marques, for lettyng Kyng Edward passe . . . ye Marques . . . neuer moved fote, nor made resistance as he was commaunded . . . the erle . . . in all haste sent for the duke of Clarence to ioyn with hym. But when he perceiued that the duke lingered . . . he then began to suspect that the duke was of hys bretherne corrupted . . . & therefore without delay marched toward Couentrie. . . . In the meane season Kyng Edward . . . avauced his power toward Couentrie, & in a playne by the citie he pyched his felde. And the next day . . . he valiantly bad the erle battayle: which mistrustying that he should be deceaved by the duke of Clarence (as he was in dede) kept hym selfe close within the walles. And yet he had perfect worde ye duke of Clarence came . . . with a great army,

Kynge Edward being also thereof enformed, raysed hys campe, & made toward the duke . . . as though he would fight. When eche hoste was in sight of other, Rychard duke of Glocester, brother to them both, as though he had bene made arbiter . . . rode to the duke . . . from him he came to Kyng Edward . . . in conclusion . . . both the bretheren louingly embraced & commoned together . . . thys marchandyse was labored . . . by a damsell, when the duke was in the French court, to the erles utter confusion . . . Clarence sent diuers frendes (to the earl) to excuse him of the act he had done . . . (and) . . . to take some good ende now while he might with kyng Edward. When the erle had hard patiently the dukes message, lord, howe he detested & accursed him . . . he gaue aunswere . . . that he had leuer be always lyke hym selfe, then like a false & a periured duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leue war tyll either he had lost hys owne lyfe, or . . . put under his foes and enemies" (p. 294). Warwick then hurries toward London hoping to overtake and fight King Edward on the way, the latter having proceeded there at once. On his way he learns that

War. How far off is our brother Montague?

Where is the post that came from Montague? 5

Second Mess. By this at Daintry, with a puissant troop.

Enter Sir JOHN SOMERVILLE.

War. Say, Somerville, what says my loving son?

And, by thy guess, how nigh is Clarence now?

Som. At Southam I did leave him with his forces,

And do expect him here some two hours hence. 10

[*Drum heard.*]

War. Then Clarence is at hand; I hear his drum.

Som. It is not his, my lord; here Southam lies:

The drum your honour hears marcheth from Warwick.

War. Who should that be? belike, unlook'd-for friends.

Som. They are at hand, and you shall quickly know. 15

March. Flourish. Enter King EDWARD, GLOUCESTER, and forces.

K. Edw. Go, trumpet, to the walls, and sound a parle.

Glo. See how the surly Warwick mans the wall.

War. O unbid spite! is sportful Edward come?

Where slept our scouts, or how are they seduced,

That we could hear no news of his repair? 20

K. Edw. Now, Warwick, wilt thou ope the city gates,

Speak gentle words, and humbly bend thy knee,

Call Edward king, and at his hands beg mercy?

And he shall pardon thee these outrages.

4, 5. *How . . . our . . . from Montague?* 4, 5. *Where is our . . . from Montague?* Q. 6. *Second Mess. By . . . troop* 6. *Post. I left him at Donsmore with his troopes* Q. 7, 8. *Enter . . . War. Say . . . my . . . nigh . . . now?* 7, 8. *War. Say Summerfield where is my . . . farre . . . hence?* Q. 9-11. *Som. At . . . with . . . forces . . . here some two . . . hence. War. Then Clarence . . . drum* 9-11. *Summer. At Southham my Lord I left him . . . force . . . him two houres hence. War. Then Oxford . . . drum* Q. 12-15. *Som. It is not . . . quickly know* omitted Q. 16. *K. Edw. Go . . . parle* omitted Q. 17-20. *See how . . . his repair* 12-15. *Enter Edward and his power. Glo. See brother, where the . . . spotfull . . . haue no newes of their repaire* Q. 21-24. *Now . . . outrages* 16, 17. *Now Warwike wilt thou be sorrie for thy faults, And call Edward king and he will pardon thee* Q.

he is late and Henry is taken prisoner. He determines therefore to hazard all on one battle and "pitched his field" on an hill at Barnet, ten miles distant from both London and Saint Albans. For his allies, see note at "well-minded," above, line 27.

6. *Daintry*] *Daventry*. These two are transposed in Q.

18. *sportful*] Occurs in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Third Day), p. 52, ed. 1621: "Som sport-full jig." See Introduction, Part I. I think (as the lawyers say) "you may take it from me" that "spotful" in Qq is a misprint. Edward was a great carouser.

19. *Where slept our scouts*] Steevens parallels *King John*, iv. ii. 116.

- War.* Nay, rather, wilt thou draw thy forces hence, 25
 Confess who set thee up and pluck'd thee down,
 Call Warwick patron, and be penitent?
 And thou shalt still remain the Duke of York.
- Glou.* I thought, at least, he would have said the king;
 Or did he make the jest against his will? 30
- War.* Is not a dukedom, sir, a goodly gift?
- Glou.* Ay, by my faith, for a poor earl to give:
 I'll do thee service for so good a gift.
- War.* 'Twas I that gave the kingdom to thy brother.
- K. Edw.* Why then 'tis mine, if but by Warwick's gift. 35
- War.* Thou art no Atlas for so great a weight:
 And, weakling, Warwick takes his gift again;
 And Henry is my king, Warwick his subject.
- K. Edw.* But Warwick's king is Edward's prisoner;
 And, gallant Warwick, do but answer this: 40
 What is the body when the head is off?
- Glou.* Alas! that Warwick had no more forecast,
 But, whiles he thought to steal the single ten,
 The king was slyly finger'd from the deck.

25-28. *Nay . . . hence . . . pluck'd . . . York*] 18-21. *Naie . . . backe . . . puld . . . Yorke* Q. 29, 30. *I thought . . . will*] 22, 23. *I had thought . . . will* Q. 31-34. *Is not . . . thy brother*] 24. *War. Twas Warwike gaue the kingdome to thy brother* Q. 35-38. *Why then . . . Thou art . . . And Henry . . . subject*] 25-28. *Why then . . . I but thou art . . . Henry . . . subiect* Q. 39. *But . . . prisoner*] omitted Q. 40-46. *And, gallant . . . What is . . . forecast . . . whiles . . . slyly . . . in the Tower*] 29-35. *Edw. I prithe thee gallant . . . tell me this, what is . . . foresight . . . whilst . . . finelie . . . in the Bishops . . . Tower* Q.

33. *I'll do thee service*] Technical language of feudalism, used mockingly? It cannot be military here.

36. *Atlas*] Shakespeare has not this illustration elsewhere. Peele used it of England's ruler (Elizabeth) in *Polyhymnia*, 1590:—

"Britannia's *Atlas*, star of England's globe

That sways the massy sceptre of her land

And holds the royal reins of Albion."

37. *weakling*] "Thyself art mighty; for thine own sake leave me: Myself a *weakling*" (*Lucrece*, 584). Nowhere else in Shakespeare. I have no earlier example. Both Sylvester (1591) and Spenser used words in -ling: the latter has "nursling," "worldling"; the former "godling," "lambling," "starveling," "riverling." It is used as an

adjective in *Soliman and Perseda*, 11. i. 80: "the *weakling* coward."

43. *the single ten*] simple ten. The nearest card to a court or royal card. But there may be a reference here to a special game. Gloucester is so fond of proverbial allusions; or as Prince Edward calls them below, "his currish riddles" (v. v. 26).

44. *finger'd*] stolen. See again, *Hamlet*, v. ii. 15.

44. *deck*] pack of cards. Still in use in Ireland (especially in Galway). The earliest I have met is in *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 422), ante 1590: "I am one more (knave) than is in the *deck*." Peele is very fond of cards: "since the King hath put us among the discarding cards, and as it were, turned us with deuces and treys out of the *deck*" (*Edward I.* ed. Bullen, Sc. vii. 29-31).

You left poor Henry at the bishop's palace, 45
And, ten to one, you 'll meet him in the Tower.

K. Edw. 'Tis even so: yet you are Warwick still.

Glou. Come, Warwick, take the time; kneel down, kneel down.

Nay, when? strike now, or else the iron cools.

War. I had rather chop this hand off at a blow, 50

And with the other fling it at thy face,

Than bear so low a sail, to strike to thee.

K. Edw. Sail how thou canst, have wind and tide thy friend,

This hand, fast wound about thy coal-black hair,

Shall, whiles thy head is warm and new cut off, 55

Write in the dust this sentence with thy blood;

"Wind-changing Warwick now can change no more."

Enter OXFORD, with drum and colours.

War. O cheerful colours! see where Oxford comes!

Oxf. Oxford, Oxford, for Lancaster!

[He and his forces enter the city.]

Glou. The gates are open, let us enter too. 60

K. Edw. So other foes may set upon our backs.

47. 'Tis . . . still] 36. *Tis even so, and yet you are olde Warwike still Q.*
48-57. *Come, Warwick . . . change no more*] omitted *Q.* 58-60. *Enter . . .*
O cheerful . . . enter too] 37-40. *O cheereful . . . comes. Enter Oxford with*
drum and souldiers & al crie. Oxf. Oxford, Oxford, for Lancaster. Exit. Edw.
The gates are open, see they enter in, Lets follow them and bid them battaile in
the streetes Q. 61-65. *So other . . . same*] 41, 42. *Glo. No, so some other*
might set upon our backs, Weele staie till all be entered, and then follow them Q.

47. *you are Warwick still*] Nearly Warwick's own words at the end of extract from Hall above.

49. *strike . . . iron cools*] "strike while the iron is hot." It is in Heywood (ed. Sharman, p. 11), 1546.

50, 51. *hand . . . with the other fling it*] See above, II. vi. 81, 82.

52. *bear so low a sail*] Not in Shakespeare again, but a common old expression: "he makyth them to bere babyllles, and to bere a low sayle" (Skelton, *Speke Parrot* (l. 422), circa 1515). And in Tusser, *500 Points* (Eng. Dial. Soc. p. 211), 1580: "beare lowe saile, least stocke should quaille." To go modestly, humbly, or like a craven. The converse was also used, and is in North's *Plutarch*, 1579 (Tudor Trans. iii. 37).

52. *to strike to thee*] strike sail at thy appearance, see above, III. iii. 5. To strike sail was the same as to vail

bonnet, to lower the ensign or topsail in saluting. "Made the highest strike sail and vayle bonnet" (*Court and Times of James I.* ii. 38, Letter of Carleton, 1617).

53. *wind and tide thy friend*] Seems to have been a saying about Warwick; see above, III. iii. 48: "For this is he that moves both wind and tide." The expression "wind and tide" is also in *Comedy of Errors*, but in the applied use here it seems uncommon. It occurs in *The Proverbs of John Heywood* (Early Eng. Dramat. ed. Farmer, p. 36), 1546: "Let this wind overblow: a time I will spy To take wind and tide with me, and speed thereby."

54. *coal-black*] See "coal-black as jet" (2 *Henry VI.* II. i. 111, note, and v. i. 69, note). Often in Peele.

61. *backs*] rear (of army). See 2 *Henry IV.* I. iii. 79.

Stand we in good array ; for they, no doubt,
 Will issue out again and bid us battle :
 If not, the city being but of small defence,
 We'll quickly rouse the traitors in the same. 65
War. O, welcome, Oxford ! for we want thy help.

Enter MONTAGUE, with drum and colours.

Mont. Montague, Montague, for Lancaster !
 [He and his forces enter the city.
Glou. Thou and thy brother both shall buy this treason
 Even with the dearest blood your bodies bear.
K. Edw. The harder match'd, the greater victory : 70
 My mind presageth happy gain and conquest.

Enter SOMERSET, with drum and colours.

Som. Somerset, Somerset, for Lancaster !
 [He and his forces enter the city.
Glou. Two of thy name, both Dukes of Somerset,
 Have sold their lives unto the house of York ;
 And thou shalt be the third, if this sword hold. 75

Enter CLARENCE, with drum and colours.

War. And lo, where George of Clarence sweeps along,
 Of force enough to bid his brother battle ;

66. *War.* O, . . . help] omitted Q. 67. *Enter Montague . . .*] 47. *Enter Montague . . . and souldiers.* *Mont.* Montague . . . Lancaster. *Exit Q.* 68, 69. *Glou.* Thou . . . bear] 48, 49. *Edw.* Traitorous Montague, thou and thy . . . Shall deerly abie this rebellious act Q. 70, 71. *K. Edw.* The harder . . . conquest] omitted Q. 72. *Enter Somerset . . . Som.* Somerset . . .] 43. *Enter Summerset . . . and soldiers.* *Sum.* Summerset . . . Lancaster. *Exit. Q.* 73-75. *Two of . . . if this sword hold*] 44-46. *Two of . . . and my sword hold Q.* 76-80. *War.* And lo, . . . force . . . battle . . . Come, Clarence . . .

63. *bid us battle*] See extract from Hall at beginning of scene. And see III. iii. 235.

68, 69. *buy this treason . . . with*] exchange it for. Compare *Lochrine*, II. iv. 13: "thou shalt buy thy rashness with thy death. And rue too late thy overbold attempts." The word "abie" (i.e. pay for) in Q here, occurs twice in *Midsummer Night's Dream* (III. ii. 175, 335) in forms *aby* and *abie*, Qq, *abide*, Ff.

73. *Two of thy name*] "Edmund, slain at the battle of St. Alban's, 1455, and Henry, his son, beheaded after the battle of Hexham, 1463" (Ritson). 76. *sweeps along*] goes along

quickly. Golding speaks of "Apollo . . . sweeping through the ayre" (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xi. 218) in flight.

77. *Of force enough to . . . battle*] Phillip de Commynes says (Danett's trans. p. 89, 1596): "as they stood in order of battelle, the one in face of the other, suddenly the D. of Clarence the King's brother (who was reconciled to the King as before you have heard) reuolted to the King with twelve thousand men and better, which no lesse astonied the Earle than encouraged the King, whose force was not great."

77. *bid his brother battle*] See note at line 63 above.

With whom an upright zeal to right prevails
More than the nature of a brother's love !

Come, Clarence, come ; thou wilt, if Warwick call. 80

Clar. Father of Warwick, know you what this means ?

[*Taking his red rose out of his hat.*

Look here, I throw my infamy at thee :

I will not ruinate my father's house,

Who gave his blood to lime the stones together,

And set up Lancaster. Why, trow'st thou, Warwick, 85

That Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, unnatural,

To bend the fatal instruments of war

Against his brother and his lawful king ?

Perhaps thou wilt object my holy oath :

To keep that oath were more impiety 90

Than Jephthah's, when he sacrificed his daughter.

I am so sorry for my trespass made

That, to deserve well at my brother's hands,

I here proclaim myself thy mortal foe :

With resolution, wheresoe'er I meet thee,— 95

As I will meet thee if thou stir abroad,—

call] 50-55. *Enter Clarence . . . souldiers. War. And loe . . . power . . . battell. Cla. Clarence, Clarence, for Lancaster. Edw. Et tu Brute, wilt thou stab Cæsar too ? A parlie sirra to George of Clarence. Sound a Parlie, and Richard and Clarence whispers together, and then Clarence takes his red Rose out of his hat, and throwes it at Warwike. War. Com, Clarence, come, . . . call Q. 81-88. Clar. Father . . . means . . . I throw . . . Lancaster . . . lawful king ?] 56-62. *Cl. Father . . . means ? I throw mine . . . Lancaster, Thinkest thou That Clarence is so harsh unnaturall, To lift his sword against his brother's life Q. 89-97. Perhaps thou wilt . . . misleading me*] omitted Q.*

80. *Et tu Brute, wilt thou stab Cæsar too*] This line (Q) is made use of in *Julius Cæsar*, III. i. 77, although omitted here.

81. *Taking his red rose . . .*] Not in Ff, but inserted from Q by Theobald, and absolutely necessary. The Quarto follows Hall closely in the parley of Richard and Clarence.

83. *ruinate*] Only here and in *Titus Andronicus* in the plays. Also in *Lucrece*, 944; and Sonnet 10. It is in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 7, v. x. 26. And in his *Mother Hubberds Tale* (Globe, 522, b). Very often in Greene. Still used provincially in Ireland.

84. *to lime*] to cement. The verbal use readily suggested itself from the common verb "to lime" (from bird-lime).

87, 88. *To bend . . . Against*] to direct them against. Compare *Richard II.* III. ii. 116, and *Richard III.* I. ii. 95. Peele has

"That bends his force, puff'd up with
Amurath's aid,
Against your holds"
(*Battle of Alcazar*, Act I. ii. 18 (424, a, Dyce)).

91. *Jephthah*] See Judges xi. 30. Again in *Hamlet*. There were at least two Latin, or University plays on Jephthah considerably before this date; and two English ones later.

95, 96. *meet thee . . . meet thee*] Something near Peele's way of writing:—

"And haste they make to meet and
meet they do,
And do the thing for which they
meet in haste"

To plague thee for thy foul misleading me.
 And so, proud-hearted Warwick, I defy thee,
 And to my brother turn my blushing cheeks.
 Pardon me, Edward, I will make amends : 100
 And, Richard, do not frown upon my faults,
 For I will henceforth be no more unconstant.

K. Edw. Now, welcome more, and ten times more beloved,
 Than if thou never hadst deserved our hate.

Glou. Welcome, good Clarence ; this is brother-like. 105

War. O passing traitor, perjured and unjust !

K. Edw. What, Warwick, wilt thou leave the town, and fight ?
 Or shall we beat the stones about thine ears ?

War. Alas, I am not coop'd here for defence !

I will away towards Barnet presently, 110
 And bid thee battle, Edward, if thou darest.

K. Edw. Yes, Warwick, Edward dares, and leads the way.
 Lords to the field : Saint George and victory !

[*Exeunt. March. Warwick and his company follow.*]

98-102. *And so . . . Edward . . . And, Richard . . . For . . . unconstant*] 63-67. *And so . . . my brothers . . . Edward, for I have done amisse, And . . . upon me, For henceforth I will prove no more unconstant* Q. 103, 104. *Now . . . and . . . beloved . . . hate*] 68, 69. *Welcome Clarence, and . . . welcome, . . . hate* Q. 105, 106. *Welcome . . . brother-like . . . unjust*] 70, 71. *Welcome . . . brotherlie . . . uniuist* Q. 107, 108. *What, Warwick . . . ears ?*] 72-74. *Now Warlike . . . ears ?* Q. 109-111. *Alas, I . . . here . . . towards . . . darest*] 75-77. *Why I . . . vppe heere . . . to . . . darest* Q. 112, 113. *Yes . . . Edward dares . . . victory*] 78, 79. *Yes . . . he dares . . . victorie. Exeunt Omnes.* Q.

(*Polyhymnia*, 141 (571, a)). At a riper age, Shakespeare writes "'tis true, 'tis pity, And pity 'tis 'tis true. A foolish figure."

98. *proud-hearted*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. See note at "great-grown," iv. viii. 63, and at "well-minded," iv. viii. 27. There are many combinations, with "-hearted," mostly in the early plays and poems.

106. *passing*] surpassing. For this line, see extract from Hall at the beginning of the Act.

108. *about thine ears*] about thy head. Frequent in Shakespeare, as in *Henry V.* iii. vii. 91; *Romeo and Juliet*, iii. i. 84; and *Coriolanus*, iii. ii. 1, iv. vi. 99. Always with reference to combat, or damage done, and helped no doubt by the phrase "by the ears," from animal-fighting, especially bear-baiting.

109. *Alas*] Used in mockery ; not an uncommon sense. Compare G. Harvey, *Trimming of Thomas Nashe* (Grosart, iii. 48): "*Alas*, I could do anie thing with thee now"; and again (*ibid.* 63): "*Alas*, have thy writings such efficacie." And Greene, *Philomela* (Grosart, xi. 122): "such pleasant Lessons, *alas* it were amorous loue vowed in honour of Venus." I have noted it elsewhere in Shakespeare.

109. *coop'd*] confined. See *King John*, ii. i. 25. Compare *Loqrine*, ii. i. 92: "Penthesilea . . . *Coop'd* up the faint-heart Grecians in the camp." Lodge has it similarly in *Wounds of Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 179):—

"Here in Præneste am I *coop'd* up
 Amongst a troop of hunger-starved
 men."

Both later than 3 *Henry VI.*

SCENE II.—*A field of battle near Barnet.*

Alarums and excursions. Enter King EDWARD, bringing forth WARWICK wounded.

K. Edw. So lie thou there : die thou, and die our fear ;
 For Warwick was a bug that fear'd us all.
 Now, Montague, sit fast : I seek for thee,
 That Warwick's bones may keep thine company. [*Exit.*
War. Ah, who is nigh ? come to me, friend or foe, 5
 And tell me who is victor, York or Warwick ?
 Why ask I that ? my mangled body shows,
 My blood, my want of strength, my sick heart shows
 That I must yield my body to the earth,
 And, by my fall, the conquest to my foe. 10
 Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,
 Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,

SCENE II. *Alarums . . .*] Ff; *Alarums, and then enter Warwike wounded Q.*
 1-4. *K. Edw. So lie . . . company*] omitted Q. 5-14. *War. Ah, who is nigh ?*
. . . to my foe . . . spreading tree] 1-9. *War. Ah, who is nigh ? . . . to my foes*
. . . top branch . . . spreading tree (*rampant* for *ramping* Q 3) (line 8 omitted) Q.

1. *Enter King Edward, bringing forth Warwick wounded*] Q has only "enter Warwick wounded." Hall writes here: "Kyng Edward beyng wery of so long a conflict . . . caused a great crewe of fresh men . . . to set on their enemies . . . the erle . . . knowing perfittly that there was all Kyng Edwardes power, comforted his men . . . desyring them with hardy stomakes, to bear out this last and finall brunt of the battaile . . . his souldiers beyng sore wounded . . . gave little regard to his worde, he beyng a man of a mynde inuincible, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where he was . . . stricken doune and slaine. The marquis Montacute, thynknyng to succor his brother, was likewise ouer throwen and slain. After the erle was ded, his parte fled" (p. 296). . . . "Some aucthors write, that this battaill was fought so nere hande, that Kyng Edward was constrained to fight his awne person, and fought as sore as any man of his partie, and that the erle of Warwicke, whiche was wont euer to ride on horsebacke . . . comfortyng his men was now aduised by the Marques his brother to relynquishe

his horse, and try the extremitie by handie strokes" (296). Shakespeare has therefore excellent reason for these personal encounters.

2. *bug that fear'd us all*] From Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 25:—

"For all that here on earth we dread-
 full hold,

Be but as bugs to fearen babes
 withall,

Compared to the creatures in the
 seas entrall."

And again, II. iii. 20: "ghastly bug
 does greatly them affeare." See again
 in *The Taming of the Shrew*, I. ii. 113.
 Golding speaks of "The barking bug
 Anubis" in his Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,
 Book ix. 814. Craig quotes from As-
 cham's *Toxophilus*.

3. *sit fast*] See IV. i. 119 (note).

11, 12. *cedar . . . princely eagle*
 Compare Marlowe's *Edward II.* (Dyce,
 195, a): "A lofty cedar-tree fair flourishing,
 On whose top branches kingly
 eagles perch." "Princely eagle" has
 occurred already in this play, II. i. 9x.
 One of the parallels adduced by Dyce
 to show that Marlowe had a share in the
 writing of the *True Tragedie* (Q).

11-15. *cedar . . . low shrubs*] This

Under whose shade the ramping lion slept,
 Whose top branch overpeer'd Jove's spreading tree
 And kept low shrubs from winter's powerful wind. 15
 These eyes, that now are dimm'd with death's black veil,
 Have been as piercing as the mid-day sun
 To search the secret treasons of the world :
 The wrinkles in my brows, now fill'd with blood,
 Were liken'd oft to kingly sepulchres ; 20
 For who liv'd king but I could dig his grave ?
 And who durst smile when Warwick bent his brow ?
 Lo ! now my glory smear'd in dust and blood ;
 My parks, my walks, my manors that I had,
 Even now forsake me ; and of all my lands 25
 Is nothing left me but my body's length.

15-18. *And kept . . . the world*] omitted Q. 19-26. *The wrinkles . . . body's length*] 10-17. *The wrinkles . . . bodies length* Q.

additional metaphor is very dexterously woven into the first writing in Q. It is in *Titus Andronicus*, iv. iii. 45 : "we are but shrubs, no cedars we"; in a different usage Greene has it as here: "high Cedars are crushed with tempests, when low shrubs are not touched with the winde" (*Pandosto* (Grosart, iv. 249), 1588). And in *Perimedes* : "poore men like little shrubs . . . escaped many blastes, when high and tall Ceaders were shaken with euerie tempest" (Grosart, vii. 42), 1588. See also *Soliman and Perseda* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 364), 1592 : "But the shrub is safe when the cedar shaketh." Later it is one of the commonest figures. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Rollo*, ii. 3; *Lover's Progress*, i. i.; *Valentinian*, ii. vi. And Chapman's *Byrons Tragedie*, v. (Pearson, ii. 306); Dryden, *Rival Ladies*, vii. 1 (1664), etc. Much varied but substantially identical. Nashe has it in *Four Letters Confuted* (Grosart, ii. 236), 1593. Were we to assign this image of a necessity to Greene, and the preceding lines to Marlowe, we arrive at this result : Marlowe wrote the *True Tragedie* here, and Greene furbished it up for the first Folio! This, I think, is a new view, but it is as legitimate as some of the arguments (Malone's *e.g.*) one meets. I see nothing but Shakespeare in this noble speech, seizing on noble thoughts.

13. *the ramping lion*] Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i. iii. 5 :—

"It fortun'd, out of the thickest wood
 A ramping lyon rushed suddenly."

Peele has "a ramping lioness," and "ramping lion-like."

14. *Jove's . . . tree*] Marlowe has "Jove's huge tree" in *Edward II.* (near the end). Golding tells of the tree, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii. 802, 803 :—

"This tree (as all the rest of Okes)
 was sacred unto Jove

And sprouted of an Acorne, which
 was fet from Dodon grove."

See again *As You Like It*, iii. ii. 249. Greene says "The Oake is called Arbor Jovis for the strength" (Grosart, ix. 174).

16, 17. *These eyes . . . as piercing . . . mid-day sun*] See Part II. iii. i. 216 (note). Peele has "piercing eyes" in *David and Bethsabe* (466, a). Compare *I Henry VI.* i. i. 12-14 : "His sparkling eyes . . . More dazzled and drove back his enemies, Than midday sun." An interesting parallel, or unconscious continuation of an older thought, through the time of the whole three Parts. Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (end of Act iii.) : "torches . . . As brightly burning as the mid-daies sunne."

20. *sepulchres*] See ii. v. 115.

23. *glory smear'd in dust*] Compare "Triumphant death, smear'd with captivity" (*I Henry VI.* iv. vii. 3). Smirched, besmeared. See *Contention*, Part I. at v. ii. 46 : "Smeared . . . with . . . blood."

Why, what is pomp, rule, reign, but earth and dust?
And, live we how we can, yet die we must.

Enter OXFORD and SOMERSET.

Som. Ah, Warwick, Warwick! wert thou as we are,
We might recover all our loss again. 30
The queen from France hath brought a puissant power;
Even now we heard the news. Ah! could'st thou fly.

War. Why, then I would not fly. Ah! Montague,
If thou be there, sweet brother, take my hand,
And with thy lips keep in my soul a while. 35
Thou lov'st me not; for, brother, if thou didst,
Thy tears would wash this cold congealed blood
That glues my lips and will not let me speak.
Come quickly, Montague, or I am dead.

27, 28. *Why, what . . . we must*] 35, 36. *War. What is . . . we must* Q. 29-32. *Enter . . . Som. Ah, . . . fly*] 18-22. *Enter . . . Oxf. Ah . . . cheere vp thy selfe and liue, For yet thears hope enough to win the daie. Our warlike Queene with troopes is come from France, And at South-hampton landed all hir traine, And mightst thou liue, then would we neuer flie* Q. 33-39. *War. Why, then . . . I am dead*] 23-27. *War. Whie then I would not flie, nor haue I now, But Hercules himselfe must yeeld to ods, For manie wounds receiue'd, and manie moe repaid, Hath robd my strong knit sinews of their strength, And spite of spites needs must I yeeld to death* Q.

27, 28. *Why, what is pomp . . . we must*] These lines are put into Warwick's lips in his final speech (before "Sweet rest his soul") in Q.

31. *The queen from France*] This passage is neatly narrated by Commines (Danett, 89): "The Prince of Wales was landed in England when this battell above mentioned was fought, having in his company the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset (our Chronicles report that the Duke of Sommerset was at Barnet field with the Earle of Warwicke and repaired afterward to the Queene, and was taken in the second battle, and then beheaded), with diuers others of his kinsfolkes. . . . His army was to the number of forty thousand, as I have been informed by diuers that were with him: and if the Earle of Warwicke would haue staid for him it is very like the victory should haue been theirs. But the Earle feared both the Duke of Sommerset, whose father and brother he had slaine, and also Queene Margaret the Princes mother, wherefore he fought alone and would not tarie for them." This is much nearer the dramatic arrival than Hall's account.

33. *Why, then I would not fly*] In Q there is a strange medley here. We have first a missing line, "For Hercules himself must yield to odds," that has been already made use of at ii. i. 53 in this play. But stranger still remains. The three lines following in Q, have already appeared above at ii. iii. 3-5, and more exactly than in their appearance at that place in Q. "Spite of spite," for example, replaces there the Q "force perforce" (used in 2 Henry VI. i. i. 258). These puzzling confusions cannot possibly be explained except in the one way—identity of authorship and a natural carelessness in using his own matter when rewriting. Texts and memories now mixed. The words following here in Q show an unmeaning break-off. There was perhaps some erasure, or mark to show one was needed. I see Malone has not failed to see these repetitions. The Hercules line he is therefore compelled to withdraw from Shakespeare. It is Malone's position that nothing in Q can be by Shakespeare.

37. *congealed blood*] See above, i. iii. 52 (note).

Som. Ah, Warwick ! Montague hath breath'd his last ; 40
 And to the latest gasp cried out for Warwick,
 And said " Commend me to my valiant brother."
 And more he would have said ; and more he spoke,
 Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,
 That mought not be distinguish'd ; but at last 45
 I well might hear, deliver'd with a groan,
 " O, farewell, Warwick !"

War. Sweet rest his soul ! Fly, lords, and save yourselves ;
 For Warwick bids you all farewell, to meet in heaven.

[*Dies.*

Oxf. Away, away, to meet the queen's great power ! 50
 [*Here they bear away his body. Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*Another part of the field.*

Flourish. Enter King EDWARD in triumph ; with CLARENCE,
 GLOUCESTER, and the rest.

K. Edw. Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,
 And we are graced with wreaths of victory.

40-47. *Som.* Ah, . . . Montague . . . And to . . . And said . . . have said . . . spoke, Which . . . mought . . . Warwick !] 28-34. *Som.* Thy brother Montague . . . And at the pangs of death I heard him crie And saie . . . haue spoke . . . said, which . . . could not be distinguisht for the sound, And so the valiant Montague gaue vp the ghost Q. 48, 49. *War.* Sweet . . . heaven] 37, 38. *Sweet* . . . Heauen. He dies Q. (for 35, 36, Q, see above at 27, 28). 50. *Oxf.* Away . . . power] 39-44. *Oxf.* Come noble Summerset, lets take our horse, And cause retrait be sounded through the campe, That all our friends that yet remaine aliuie, Maie be awarn'd and saue themselves by flight. That done, with them weele post unto the Queene, And once more trie our fortune in the field. *Ex. Ambo. Q.*

SCENE III.

Enter . . .] Enter Edward, Clarence, Gloster, with souldiers Q. 1, 2. Thus . . . victory] 45-48. Thus still our fortune giues vs victorie, And girts our temples with triumphant ioies. The bigboond traytor Warwike hath breathde his last, And heauen this daie hath smilde vpon vs all Q.

41. latest gasp] See II. i. 108 (note).

43, 44. more he spoke . . . cannon in a vault] Compare the passage at the death of Warwick's brother, II. iii. 17, 18:—

"in the very pangs of death
 he cried
 Like to a dismal clangor heard
 from far,

"Warwick, revenge !"

Many editors read "clamour" here from Q, which is to be regretted.

45. mought] Old form of "might." It is in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, March. Peele uses it later,

SCENE III.

1-9. Thus far . . . fight with us] Shakespeare has altered the wording here, but the substance and even the figures of speech are identical. "Girts" is paralleled and noted on both in Part I. and Part II. (III. i. 171 and I. i. 63). "Bigboned" occurs in *Titus Andronicus*, IV. iii. 46. "Brightsome" is in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*; "Beames" (in Q) is apparently a mistake. The unpleasant "I mean," already noted on, is common to both. "Easeful" is twice in Peele, *David*

But, in the midst of this bright-shining day,
 I spy a black, suspicious, threatening cloud
 That will encounter with our glorious sun, 5
 Ere he attain his easeful western bed :
 I mean, my lords, those powers that the queen
 Hath raised in Gallia, have arrived our coast,
 And, as we hear, march on to fight with us.

Clar. A little gale will soon disperse that cloud, 10
 And blow it to the source from whence it came :
 Thy very beams will dry those vapours up,
 For every cloud engenders not a storm.

Glou. The queen is valued thirty thousand strong,
 And Somerset, with Oxford, fled to her : 15
 If she have time to breathe, be well assured
 Her faction will be full as strong as ours.

K. Edw. We are advertis'd by our loving friends
 That they do hold their course toward Tewksbury.
 We, having now the best at Barnet field, 20

3-6. *But, in . . . day, I spy . . . threatening cloud That . . . sun, Ere . . . his . . . bed*] 50-52. *But in this cleere and brightsome daie, I see . . . cloud appeare That . . . sunne Before he gaine his . . . beames Q.* 7-9. *I mean . . . with us*] 53, 54. *I mean those powers which the Queen hath got in Frâce Are landed, and meane once more to menace vs Q.* 10-13. *Clar. A little gale . . . a storm*] omitted Q. 14-17. *The queen . . . If she . . . breathe . . . Her . . . ours*] 55-57. *Oxford and Summerset are fled to hir, And tis likelie if she . . . breath, Her . . . ours Q.* 18, 19. *We . . . Tewksbury*] 58, 59. *We . . . towards Tewksburie Q.* 20. *We . . . field*] omitted Q.

and *Bethsabe* (464 and 466), though nowhere else in Shakespeare. But it was long in use. "Bigboned" is also in *Soliman and Perseda*, and in *Menechmus*, v. i. With "bigboned" compare "burly boned" (2 *Henry VI.* iv. x. 57). The second act of *Tamburlaine*, Part I. begins, "Thus far are we towards Theridamas."

6. *attain*] Used transitively again in *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Lucrece*, 781. For the last passage see quotation at "noontide prick," above, i. iv. 34.

7. *I mean*] See above, iv. vi. 51.

10. *A little gale*] Compare *Faerie Queene*, iii. iv. 10: "At last blow up some gentle gale of ease." See this use in *Taming of Shrew*, i. ii. 48, and *Tempest*, v. i. 314. Wind: now a high wind.

10. *disperse that cloud*] Compare *Kyd's Spanish Tragedy* (iii. xiv. 97, Boas): "*Disperce those clouds and melanchollie lookes.*"

14. *thirty thousand*] Commynes said forty thousand. See extract at line 31, last scene.

15. *Oxford*] See below, v. v. 2.

20, 21. *We, having now . . . Barnet field, Will thither straight*] Commynes continues exactly as here: "So soone as King Edward had obtained this victory, he marched incontinent against the Prince of Wales, where another cruell battell was fought (Tewkesbury): for the Princes forces was greater than the Kings, notwithstanding the lot of the victorie fell to the King" (p. 89. Danett). In Hall's account much time and change of scene is expended before Queen Margaret and Prince Edward meet the King at Tewkesbury. Tewkesbury was pressed on, against her will, by Somerset. She had taken sanctuary "at Beaulieu in Hamshire" with Prince Edward "for the wealth and conseruacion of her one iuell the Prince her sonne." She was completely cowed and disheartened by Barnet field.

Will thither straight, for willingness rids way ;
 And, as we march, our strength will be augmented
 In every county as we go along.
 Strike up the drum ! cry " Courage ! " and away.

[*Flourish. Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.—*Plains near Tewksbury.*

March. Enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD, SOMERSET, OXFORD, and Soldiers.

Q. Mar. Great lords, wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss,
 But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.
 What though the mast be now blown overboard,
 The cable broke, the holding-anchor lost,

21-24. *Will . . . for . . . way ; And . . . away*] 60-65. *Thither will we, for . . . waite, And in euerie countie as we passe along Our strengthes shall be augmented. Come lets goe, for if we slacke this faire Bright Summers daie, sharpe winter Showers will marre our hope for haie.* (See IV. viii. 60, 61.) *Ex. Omnes Q.*

SCENE IV.

Enter . . .] Enter the Queene, . . . Oxford and Summerset, with drum and souldiers Q. 1-13. *Great lords . . . Say Warwick . . . that*] 1-5. *Welcome to England my louing friends of Frãce, And welcome Summerset, and Oxford too. Once more haue we spread our sailes abroad, And though our tackling be almost consume And Warwike as our maine mast overthrowne Q.*

But of all this (Hall, pp. 297, 298) there is no word here. Her behaviour was not in accordance with Shakespeare's "manly woman," and he models her accordingly in her first speech—one of the finest of her many great utterances.

21. *rids way*] annihilates or destroys the journey; drives away the road. Peele uses the same phrase. "My game is quick and rids a length of ground" (*Arraignment of Paris*, Act iii. (1584)). Craig quotes from Cotgrave (1611): "Semelles, & du vin pas-sent chemin: Prov. Wine is the foot-man's caroché; a strong foot and a light head *rid way* apace." The French expression was proverbial.

22. *augmented*] After this word Q has three lines (containing "come lets goe") obviously misplaced. They are set back to the end of IV. viii. 60, 61 in the present text. For "come lets goe," see above at close of I. ii. And 2 *Henry VI.* at end of II. ii., iv., etc.

SCENE IV.

1. *Q. Mar.* *Great lords . . .]* "When the Queene was come to Tewkesbury,

and knewe that Kyng Edward followed her . . . she was sore abashed and wonderfully amased and determined in her selfe to flye into Wales to Jasper erle of Pembroke. But the Duke of Somerset, willing in no wyse to flye . . . determined there to tarye, to take such fortune as God should send. . . . When all these battayles were thus ordered and placyd, the Queene and her sonne prince Edward rode about the field, encouragyng their souldiers promising to them (if they did shew them selfe valyaunt) . . . greate rewardes . . . bootie . . . and renoune" (Hall, p. 300). From this last paragraph Shakespeare takes his cue. The development from Q here is a complete swamping of the old text.

4. *holding-anchor*] Compare Peele, *Honour of the Order of the Garter* :—

"great Machabee

Last anchor-hold and stay of Iacob's race"

(1593). I imagine Shakespeare meant the last anchor that held. For the ship splits. Schmidt says confidently "sheet anchor," which must be wrong. Ad-

And half our sailors swallow'd in the flood ; 5
 Yet lives our pilot still : is't meet that he
 Should leave the helm and like a fearful lad
 With tearful eyes add water to the sea,
 And give more strength to that which hath too much ;
 Whiles in his moan the ship splits on the rock, 10
 Which industry and courage might have saved ?
 Ah ! what a shame, ah ! what a fault were this.
 Say Warwick was our anchor ; what of that ?
 And Montague our topmast ; what of him ?
 Our slaughter'd friends the tackles ; what of these ? 15
 Why, is not Oxford here another anchor ?
 And Somerset another goodly mast ?
 The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings ?
 And, though unskilful, why not Ned and I
 For once allow'd the skilful pilot's charge ? 20
 We will not from the helm to sit and weep,
 But keep our course, though the rough wind say no,
 From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wreck.
 As good to chide the waves as speak them fair.
 And what is Edward but a ruthless sea ? 25
 What Clarence but a quicksand of deceit ?
 And Richard but a ragged fatal rock ?
 All these the enemies to our poor bark.
 Say you can swim ; alas ! 'tis but a while :
 Tread on the sand ; why, there you quickly sink : 30

14-23. *And Montague . . . with wreck*] 6-11. *Yet warlike Lords raise you that sturdie post, That beares the sailes to bring vs vnto rest, And Ned and I as willing Pilots should For once with carefull mindes guide on the sterne, To beare vs through that dangerous gulfe That heretofore hath swallowed vp our friends* Q. 25-38. *And what is . . . lament or fear*] omitted Q.

miral Smith has no such term in his Dictionary ; nor is there any recognition of the term (except as here) in *New English Dictionary* ; nor in Captain Smith's *Accidence for Young Seamen*. The hyphen (like many others) would be better erased.

8, 9. *tearful eyes . . . too much*] The Irving Shakespeare quotes *As You Like It*, ii. i. 46-49 : "weeping into the needless stream . . . giving thy sum of more To that which had too much." I have no other example (early) of "tearful." See also *Romeo and Juliet*, i. i. 138.

16. *Oxford* was not at Tewkesbury. See below, v. 2.

18. *The friends of France*] Margaret has "my loving friend of France" in her first line (Q).

23. *shelves*] shoaly places, sandbanks. Again in *Lucrece*, 335. Greene has it several times : "He fetch from Albia *shelues* of Margarites" (*A looking glasse*, etc. (Grosart, xiv. 11)). And "suffer shipwrack on a *shelve*" (*Selimus* (xiv. 257)). And elsewhere.

26. *quicksand of deceit*] The earliest example of this familiar use in *New Eng. Dict.*

27. *ragged . . . rock*] See Part II. iii. ii. 98 (note). See also *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, i. ii. 121. The Folios here read "ragged." Corrected by Rowe.

Bestride the rock ; the tide will wash you off,
 Or else you famish ; that's a threefold death.
 This speak I, lords, to let you understand,
 If case some one of you would fly from us.
 That there's no hoped-for mercy with the brothers 35
 More than with ruthless waves, with sands and rocks.
 Why, courage then ! what cannot be avoided
 'Twere childish weakness to lament or fear.

Prince. Methinks a woman of this valiant spirit
 Should, if a coward heard her speak these words, 40
 Infuse his breast with magnanimity,
 And make him, naked, foil a man at arms.
 I speak not this as doubting any here ;
 For did I but suspect a fearful man,
 He should have leave to go away betimes, 45
 Lest in our need he might infect another,
 And make him of like spirit to himself.
 If any such be here, as God forbid !
 Let him depart before we need his help.

Oxf. Women and children of so high a courage, 50
 And warriors faint ! why, 'twere perpetual shame.
 O brave young prince ! thy famous grandfather
 Doth live again in thee : long may'st thou live
 To bear his image and renew his glories !

39-42. *Methinks a woman . . . man at arms*] omitted Q. 43-49. *I speak . . . his help*] 12-21. *Prince.* And if there be, as God forbid there should, Amongst vs a timorous or fearefull man, let him depart before the battells ioine, Least he in time of need intise another, And so withdraw the souldiers harts from vs. I will not stand aloofe and bid you fight, But with my sword presse in the thickest thronges, And single Edward from his strongest guard, And hand to hand enforce him for to yeeld, Or leave my bodie as witnesse of my thoughts Q. 50-54. *Women . . . a courage . . . famous . . . and . . . glories*] 22-27. *Women . . . resolute . . . noble . . . And to renew his glories* Q (lines arranged variously in Quartos).

34. *If case*] Unhappily altered to "In case" by many editors, after F 4. It was a recognised use, and occurs a number of times in Peele's *Sir Clyomon* (probably his earliest effort), as at 498, a, and 529, a, in Dyce. It is also in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (II. i. 58): "*If case it lye in me to tell the truth.*"

41. *magnanimity*] Only here in Shakespeare. It occurs in the second and third books of *Faerie Queene*, and a couple of times in Peele.

42. *naked, foil a man at arms*] Compare 2 *Henry VI.* III. ii. 234.

45-49. *He should . . . Let him depart*] Craig compares the prince's words here with those of his grandfather,

Henry V., before Agincourt (*Henry V.* IV. iii. 35-37).

49. *Let him depart*] After the counterpart of these lines in Q the prince's bragging utterance in four lines (in Q) is very wisely omitted, whoever wrote it. For the verb "single," see II. iv. above, where Shakespeare twice uses it. But the lines are of the order of stock property in mock heroics of the time. More like Greene's than the rest (*cf.* "for to"). "Thickest throng" occurs in Kyd's *Cornelia*, v. i. 184, where Bellona runs up and down. See also in *Contention* at the end ; and above in this Q, at II. iii. 16.

54. *image*] likeness.

- Som.* And he that will not fight for such a hope, 55
 Go home to bed, and like the owl by day,
 If he arise, be mock'd and wonder'd at.
Q. Mar. Thanks, gentle Somerset: sweet Oxford, thanks.
Prince. And take his thanks that yet hath nothing else.

Enter a Messenger.

- Mess.* Prepare you, lords, for Edward is at hand, 60
 Ready to fight; therefore be resolute.
Oxf. I thought no less: it is his policy
 To haste thus fast, to find us unprovided.
Som. But he's deceived; we are in readiness.
Q. Mar. This cheers my heart to see your forwardness. 65
Oxf. Here pitch our battle; hence we will not budge.

*Flourish and march. Enter King EDWARD, CLARENCE,
 GLOUCESTER, and forces.*

- K. Edw.* Brave followers, yonder stands the thorny wood,
 Which, by the heavens' assistance and your strength,

55-57. *And he . . . wonder'd at*] 28-30. *And he that turnes and flies when such do fight, Let him to bed, and like the Owle by daie Be hist, and wondered at if he arise* Q. 58, 59. *Thanks . . . nothing else*] omitted Q. 60, 61. *Enter . . . Mess. Prepare . . . resolute*] 31, 32. *Enter . . . Mes. My Lords, Duke Edward with a mighty power, Is marching hitherwards to fight with you* Q. 62, 63. *I thought . . . unprovided*] 33, 34. *I thought it was his policie, to take vs unprovided, But here will we stand and fight it to the death* Q. 64-66. *But he's . . . not budge*] omitted Q (see Oxford's last line). 67. *Enter . . . Gloucester, and forces*] 35. *Enter . . . Glo. Hast. and Souldiers* Q. 67-72. *Brave . . . yonder . . . by . . . and to it, lords!*] 35-37. *See brothers, yonder . . . by Gods assistance and your prowess, Shall with our swords yer ere Qq 2, 3) night be cleane cut downe* Q.

56, 57. *owl by day . . . mock'd*] This is twice in Golding's Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: "The wicked wretch Nyctimenee . . . The beast is now become a bird . . . she dares not come in sight, Nor shewe hir selfe abroad a dayes . . . and everie other birde Doth in the Ayre and lvie toddes with wondring at hir girde" (ii. 742-752). And again: "They flockt about him like as when a sort of birds haue found An Owle a day tymes in a tod" (xi. 25, 26).

66. *Here pitch our battle*] This should historically be spoken by Somerset, who "fixed in a fayre parke, adioynynge to the towne, he pyched his felde agaynst the will and content of many other Capitaynes which would that he

would haue drawn aside for a whyle tyl therle of Pembroke with hys armye were with hym associate" (Hall, p. 300). The expression here means "arrange our army for the conflict." Compare Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iii. i. (54, a): "Our battle then, in martial manner pitched, . . . shall bear The figure of the semicircled moon."

67. *thorny wood*] See above, iii. ii. 174. *And Taming of the Shrew*, Ind. ii. 59. Marlowe uses it of troops: "As bristle-pointed as a thorny wood" (*Tamburlaine*, Part I. iv. i. (25, b). Probably a pine wood is intended. See the diagrams of ranks of pikes in Whitehorne's translation of Machiavel's *Art of War* (1560).

Must by the roots be hewn up yet ere night.

I need not add more fuel to your fire,

70

For well I wot ye blaze to burn them out :

Give signal to the fight, and to it, lords !

Q. Mar. Lords, knights and gentlemen, what I should say

My tears gainsay ; for every word I speak,

Ye see, I drink the water of mine eyes.

75

Therefore, no more but this : Henry, your sovereign,

Is prisoner to the foe ; his state usurp'd,

His realm a slaughter-house, his subjects slain,

His statutes cancell'd, and his treasure spent ;

And yonder is the wolf that makes this spoil.

80

You fight in justice : then in God's name, lords,

Be valiant, and give signal to the fight.

[*Alarum. Retreat. Excursions. Exeunt.*]

73-76. *Lords . . . Henry, your sovereign*] 38-41. *Lords . . . gaine saie, for as you see, I drinke . . . eies. Then no . . . Henry your King* *Q.* 77-79. *Is prisoner . . . spent*] 41½-43½. *is prisoner In the tower, his land and all our friendes Are quite distrest* *Q.* 80-82. *And yonder . . . fight*] 43½-46. *and yonder standes The Wolfe that makes all this, Then on Gods name Lords together cry Saint George. All. Saint George for Lancaster* *Q.*

70. *add . . . fuel to your fire*] A standard phrase. It occurs in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, III. x. 74, 75 (Boas). Indeed it may be regarded as a quotation here from it : "That were to *adde more fewell to your fire* Who burnt like Ætne for Andreas losse." See also Greene (and Peele), *Selimus* (l. 490) : "My lenity *adds fuel to his fire*."

75. *mine eyes*] Capell inserted this change from Folio reading, "my eye."

78. *slaughter-house*] See note in 2 *Henry VI.* III. i. 212. It is not in *Q* there, nor is it here. But at IV. iii. 5 it is in *Q* (*Contention*) used by a butcher. Kyd used it (but later) in *Soliman and Perseda*. It is in *Arden of Feversham*. Shakespeare uses it in *Lucrece*, *King John*, and *Richard III.*

79. *His statutes cancell'd, and his*

treasure spent] In his third year (Hall, p. 262) King Edward, "beyng clerely out of doubt . . . fyrst of all, folowyng the old auncient adage which saith that the husbandman ought first to tast of the new growē frute . . . distributed the possessions of suche as toke parte with Kyng Henry the vi. . . The lawes of the realme, in parte he reformed and in parte he newly augmented." But King Henry, in his second reign, proclaimed Edward traitor, "all his possessions were confiscate. . . More-over all thinges decreed, enacted and done by Kyng Edward were abrogated" (*Polydore Vergil*, p. 134, Camden Soc.). So that sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander, and Margaret had no unfair treatment.

SCENE V.—*Another part of the field.*

Flourish. Enter King EDWARD, CLARENCE, GLOUCESTER, and Soldiers; with Queen MARGARET, OXFORD, and SOMERSET, prisoners.

K. Edw. Now here a period of tumultuous broils.

Away with Oxford to Hames castle straight :

For Somerset, off with his guilty head.

Go, bear them hence ; I will not hear them speak.

Oxf. For my part, I'll not trouble thee with words. 5

Som. Nor I ; but stoop with patience to my fortune.

[Exeunt Oxford and Somerset, guarded.]

Q. Mar. So part we sadly in this troublous world,

To meet with joy in sweet Jerusalem.

K. Edw. Is proclamation made, that who finds Edward

Shall have a high reward, and he his life ? 10

Glou. It is : and lo ! where youthful Edward comes.

Enter Soldiers, with Prince EDWARD.

K. Edw. Bring forth the gallant : let us hear him speak.

What ! can so young a thorn begin to prick ?

SCENE V. *Flourish. Enter . . .* Ff (prisoners omitted) ; *Alarmer to the battell, Yorke flies then the chambers be discharged. Then enter the King, Cla. Glo. & the rest, & make a great shout and crie, for Yorke for Yorke, and then the Queene is taken, & the prince, & Oxf. & Sum. and then sound and enter all againe Q. 1-4. Now here . . . Go . . . I . . . speak* 47-50. *Lo here . . . Awake I . . . speake Q. 5, 6. For . . . words . . . fortune* 51, 52. *For . . . words. Exit Oxford. Nor . . . death. Exit Sum. 7, 8. So . . . Jerusalem omitted Q. 9-13. Is proclamation . . . to prick ?* omitted Q.

1. *tumultuous broils*] See Part I. i. iii. 70, and Part II. iii. ii. 239. Compare *Faerie Queene*, ii. vii. 21 :—

“By that wayes side there sate internall Payne.

And fast beside him sat tumultuous Strife.”

2. *Away with Oxford to Hames castle*] John, Earl of Oxford, escaped from Barnet but did not join Margaret (v. iii. 15). Polydore Vergil says (Camden, p. 158) : “Also the king found meanes to coom by John Erle of Oxford, who not long after the discomfytur receayved at Barnet fled into Cornwall, and both tooke and kept Saint Mychaels Mount, and sent him to a castle beyond Sea caulyd Hammes (Calais), where he was kept prysoner more than xii yeres after.”

7, 8. *So part we . . . Jerusalem*] This is an extraordinarily ineffective and unsuitable remark. Is it meant to portray her complete downfall ? She is more like herself below. These words are not in Q, and seem to belong to some other situation. Margaret's father was “King of Naples, Sicilia and Jerusalem” (Part II. i. i. 48), if that is any assistance. The next two speeches are also omitted in Q.

9. *Is proclamation made*] See below at “Take that,” l. 38.

13. *so young a thorn . . . prick*] An old saying : “Early sharp that will be thorn” (*Nice Wanton* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, ii. 161), 1560). “Young doth it prick, that will be a thorn” (*Jacob and Esau*, (Hazlitt's Dodsley, ii. 196, 234), 1568). *Lyly, Endymion*, iii. i. It is in John

Edward, what satisfaction canst thou make
For bearing arms, for stirring up my subjects, 15
And all the trouble thou hast turn'd me to?

Prince. Speak like a subject, proud ambitious York.
Suppose that I am now my father's mouth :
Resign thy chair, and where I stand kneel thou,
Whilst I propose the self-same words to thee, 20
Which, traitor, thou would'st have me answer to.

Q. Mar. Ah, that thy father had been so resolv'd!

Glou. That you might still have worn the petticoat,
And ne'er have stol'n the breech from Lancaster.

Prince. Let Æsop fable in a winter's night ; 25
His currish riddles sort not with this place.

Glou. By heaven, brat, I'll plague ye for that word.

Q. Mar. Ay, thou wast born to be a plague to men.

Glou. For God's sake, take away this captive scold.

Prince. Nay, take away this scolding crook-back rather. 30

14-16. Edward, what . . . me to?] 53, 54. Now Edward what . . . make for stirring up my subjects to rebellion? Q. 17-21. Speak . . . answer to] 55-59. Speak . . . answers to Q. 22-30. Ah, that . . . crook-back rather] 60-69. Oh that . . . kept your Peticoat . . . plague ye . . . Crookbacke rather Q.

Heywood (Sharman's ed. p. 159), 1549: "It pricketh betimes that will be a good thorne." Montaigne says (Florio): "They say in Dauphine—

' Si l'espine non picque quand nai,
A peine que picque jamai "'
(end of the first Book of Essays).

16. And . . . turn'd me to?] Malone says here: "This line was one of Shakespeare's additions to the original play." We have almost the same words in *The Tempest*: "To think o' the teen that I have turn'd you to" (i. ii. 64). Schmidt gives several other examples in Shakespeare ("to put to"). None so blind as Malone when he will not see.

17. *proud ambitious York*] See above, III. iii. 27. And see note at "proud insulting" (I. ii. 138, Part I.). Kyd often turns these or like words the other way. He has "ambitious proud" in *Spanish Tragedy*, and "tyrannous proud" in *Cornelia*. I make use of Mr. Crawford's admirable concordance here. "Proud insulting" is in *Soliman and Perseda* (from Shakespeare) at v. iii. 59, in Boas' arrangement.

18. *father's mouth*] So in *Coriolanus*, III. i. 271: "The noble tribunes are the people's mouths." Used as if meaning "representative."

23, 24. *petticoat . . . breech*] See 2

Henry VI. i. iii. 145 and note. "Breech" means "breeches." Nowhere else in Shakespeare, but there also applied to Margaret.

25. *Æsop*] Johnson (a most unlucky commentator) says: "The prince calls Richard, for his crookedness, *Æsop*; and the poet, following nature, makes Richard highly incensed at the reproach." This is all astray I feel convinced. "That word" that incensed the king was "currish." *Æsop* is introduced on his proper merits. Several commentators (Marshall, Rolfe) accept Johnson's far-fetched conjecture. However, they can have it as a second aid. *Æsop* is said to have been deformed. See Introduction for a parallel reference to *Æsop* from *Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (ante 1589).

26. *His currish riddles*] Gloucester's predilection for proverbial illustration is here enforced.

26. *currish*] Golding has "The *currish* Helhounds Cerberus" (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii. 524, 1567). Spenser uses the word in *Mother Hubberds Tale* (Globe, 523, b): "crueltie the signe of *currish* kind." Often in Greene.

30. *crook-back*] Twice before in this play (I. iv. 75; II. ii. 96), but only in

K. Edw. Peace, wilful boy, or I will charm your tongue.

Clar. Untutor'd lad, thou art too malapert.

Prince. I know my duty; you are all undutiful.

Lascivious Edward, and thou perjured George,

And thou misshapen Dick, I tell ye all

35

I am your better, traitors as ye are;

And thou usurp'st my father's right and mine.

K. Edw. Take that, the likeness of this railer here.

[*Stabs him.*

Glou. Sprawl'st thou? take that, to end thy agony.

[*Stabs him.*

Clar. And there's for twitting me with perjury.

40

[*Stabs him.*

31-36. *Peace . . . charm . . . malapert . . . ye all . . . as ye are*] 70-75.
Peace . . . tame . . . malepert . . . you all . . . as you be Q. 37. *And thou . . . mine*] omitted Q. 38. *Take . . . the likeness . . . here*] 76. *take . . . the lienes . . . here Q* (*lightnes Q 2, thou likeness Q 3*). 39, 40.
Sprawl'st . . . perjury] omitted Q.

this play. It has occurred already in *The Contention*, Act v., where, however, it is replaced by "stigmatic" in Part II. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes Fabyan's Chronicle, 1494.

31. *charm your tongue*] silence you. See *Othello*, v. ii. 183, and note, in this edition. See *2 Henry VI.* iv. i. 64. Qq have "tame," and the change is significant.

32. *Untutor'd*] See "untutor'd churl" (*2 Henry VI.* iii. ii. 213). Boorish.

32. *malapert*] saucy. Shakespeare uses it again in *Richard III.* i. iii. 255: "you are *malapert*." Greene has the word a few times. Golding uses "malepertness."

38. *Take that*] Hall describes this murder: "After the felde ended, Kyng Edward made a Proclamation that who so euer could bring prince Edward to him alyve or dead, shoulde have an annuite of an C.l. during his lyfe, and the Princes life to be saued. Sir Richard Croftes, a wyse and valyaunt knight, nothing mistrusting . . . brought furth his prisoner prince Edward . . . Kyng Edward . . . demaunded of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter in to his Realme with banner displayed. The prince . . . answered sayinge, to recouer my fathers kingdom & enheritage. . . . At which wordes Kyng Edward sayd nothyng, but with his hand thrust hym from hym (or as some say,

stroke hym with his gauntlet), whom incontinent, they that stode about, whiche were George duke of Clarence, Rychard duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorset, and William lord Hastynges, sodaynly murdered & piteously manquelled. . . . His body was homely enterred . . . in Tewkesburye. This was the last ciuile battayl . . . in kynge Edwards dayes, whiche was gotten the iii daye of Maye . . . M.cccc.lxxi. . . . And on the Monday next ensuyng was Edmond duke of Somerset . . . and xii other . . . beheaded in the market-place at Tewkesbury" (p. 301).

38. *the likeness*] So in Qq 1 and 2; and in Ff. Rowe changed to "thou" from Q 3. Not necessary.

39. *Sprawl'st*] Used only once again in a similar sense (death agony) in *Titus Andronicus*, v. i. 51: "First hang the child that he may see it sprawl." Compare Nashe and Marlowe, *Dido* (Grosart, vi. 30): "We saw Cassandra sprauling in the streetes Whom Aiax ravisht in Dianas Fane." And see Nashe's description of "a wonderful spectacle of blood shed" in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (Grosart, v. 45).

40. *twitting me with*] See Part I. iii. ii. 55 and Part II. iii. i. 178 and note in Part I. Elsewhere only in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. ii. 8: "She twits me with my falsehood to my friend."

Q. Mar. O, kill me too !

Glou. Marry, and shall.

[*Offers to kill her.*]

K. Edw. Hold, Richard, hold ! for we have done too much.

Glou. Why should she live, to fill the world with words ?

K. Edw. What ! doth she swoon ? use means for her recovery.

45

Glou. Clarence, excuse me to the king my brother ;

I'll hence to London on a serious matter :

Ere ye come there, be sure to hear some news.

Clar. What ? what ?

Glou. The Tower ! the Tower !

[*Exit.* 50

Q. Mar. O Ned, sweet Ned ! speak to thy mother, boy !

Canst thou not speak ? O traitors ! murderers !

They that stabb'd Cæsar shed no blood at all,

Did not offend, nor were not worthy blame,

If this foul deed were by to equal it :

55

He was a man ; this, in respect, a child ;

And men ne'er spend their fury on a child.

What's worse than murderer, that I may name it ?

No, no ; my heart will burst an if I speak ;

And I will speak, that so my heart may burst.

60

Butchers and villains ! bloody cannibals !

How sweet a plant have you untimely cropp'd :

41-45. O, kill . . . much . . . swoon ? use . . . recovery] 77-82. Oh kill . . . much alreadie . . . swound ? make . . . recouerie Q. 46-48. Clarence . . . I'll hence . . . ye come . . . news] 83-85. Clarence . . . I must . . . you come there, you shall heere more newes Q. 49, 50. What . . . Tower] 85, 86. About what, prethe tell me ? *Glo.* The Tower man, the Tower, Ile root them out. *Exit Gloster Q.* 51-53. O Ned . . . They . . . at all] 87-90. Ah Ned, speake . . . boy ? ah Thou canst not speake. Traytors, Tyrants bloudie Homicides, They . . . at all Q. 54, 55. Did not . . . equal it] omitted Q. 56-58. He was . . . murderer . . . name it] 91-93. For he was . . . tyrant . . . name, Q (may not name Q 3). 59-62. No, no . . . cropp'd] omitted Q.

42. Marry, and shall] See 2 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 88, and note. Occurs in *Spanish Tragedy*. Shakespeare has it again in 1 *Henry IV.* v. ii. 34 and in *Richard III.* iii. iv. 36. In Q here, but not in Part II.

44. fill the world with words] Compare Part I. ii. ii. 43: "Whose glory fills the world with loud report." And later in the same play, at v. iv. 35. A continuity of authorship expression (like that at l. 40) of which we have so many in these plays. In the iv. Prologue, l. 3 of *Henry V.*, this phrase is poetically varied: "Fills the wide vessel of the universe."

50. The . . . Tower] Theobald inserted "I'll root'em out" here from Q. But Shakespeare omitted it.

53. They that stabb'd Cæsar] This line was suggested by the line in Q, omitted at v. i. 80.

62. How sweet . . . cropp'd] Compare Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, ii. v. 47 (Boas): "Sweet lovely Rose, ill pluckt before thy time." That this is not a mere coincidence is rendered more probable by the appearance of the first three words in 1 *Henry IV.* i. iii. 175: "To put down Richard, that sweet lovely rose." The line may have passed into familiar use, like so many in the

You have no children, butchers ! if you had,
 The thought of them would have stirr'd up remorse :
 But if you ever chance to have a child, 65
 Look in his youth to have him so cut off

As, deathsmen, you have rid this sweet young prince !

K. Edw. Away with her ! go, bear her hence perforce.

Q. Mar. Nay, never bear me hence, dispatch me here :
 Here sheathe thy sword, I 'll pardon thee my death. 70
 What ! wilt thou not ? then, Clarence, do it thou.

Clar. By heaven, I will not do thee so much ease.

Q. Mar. Good Clarence, do ; sweet Clarence, do thou do it.

Clar. Didst thou not hear me swear I would not do it ?

Q. Mar. Ay, but thou usest to forswear thyself : 75
 'Twas sin before, but now 'tis charity.

What ! wilt thou not ? Where is that devil's butcher,
 Hard-favour'd Richard ? Richard, where art thou ?

Thou art not here : murder is thy alms-deed ;
 Petitioners for blood thou ne'er put'st back. 80

K. Edw. Away, I say ! I charge ye, bear her hence.

Q. Mar. So come to you and yours, as to this prince ! [*Exit.*]

K. Edw. Where's Richard gone ?

63-67. You . . . butchers . . . would . . . But . . . chance . . . child . . . deathsmen . . . rid . . . prince] 94-98. You . . . Devils . . . would then have stopt your rage, But . . . hope . . . sonne . . . Traitors . . . doone . . . prince Q. 68-72. Away . . . perforce . . . death. What . . . do it thou . . . will not . . . ease] 99-104. Awake, and beare her hence, Queen. Nay nere . . . death. Wilt . . . Clarence, doe thou doe it ? . . . would not . . . ease Q. 73-76. Good . . . do thou . . . Didst . . . do it . . . charity] 105-108. Good . . . kill me too. Cla. Didst . . . charity Q. 77-80. What . . . Where is that . . . Thou art . . . thy . . . thou . . . put'st back] 109-112. Whears the . . . He is . . . his . . . he nere put backe Q. 81, 82. Away . . . So . . . prince] 113, 114. Awake I saie and take her hence perforce. Queen. So . . . prince. Ex. Q. 83-85. Where's . . . post ; and . . . Tower] 115-117. Clarence, whithers Gloster gone ? Cla. Marrie my Lord to London, and . . . Tower Q.

former epoch-making play. For the sentiment, see again in *Richard II.* v. ii. 51. Probably as old as poetry. Boas notices the parallels here. See earlier in *Faerie Queene*, ii. i. 41 : "fiers fate did crop the blossome of his age."

63. You have no children, butchers] Similarly in *Macbeth*, iv. iii. 216, Macduff says : "He has no children. All my pretty ones ? Did you say all ?" Blackstone pointed out this parallel.

67. deathsmen] executioners. See 2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 217 ; *Lear*, iv. vi. 263 ; *Lucrece*, 1001. A favourite word of Greene's and not known before he used it. One of the *casus belli* perhaps.

67. rid] cut off, destroyed. See 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 233 ; *Richard II.* v. iv. 11. A word used with much latitude by Shakespeare. "Ridding a place" is in common use for clearing every rubbish, weeds, etc., away from it, in Ireland. Freeing from, getting rid of.

78. Hard-favour'd] Often in Shakespeare. Very ugly, repulsive. See 1 *Henry VI.* iv. vii. 23 : "hard-favour'd death." Peele uses it in the *Old Wives Tale* (quoted in Part I.). But it is part of Hall's description of Richard, quoted at v. v. 53.

79. alms-deed] act of charity. Not again in Shakespeare. In early use.

Clar. To London, all in post ; and, as I guess,
 To make a bloody supper in the Tower. 85
K. Edw. He's sudden if a thing comes in his head.
 Now march we hence : discharge the common sort
 With pay and thanks, and let's away to London
 And see our gentle queen how well she fares :
 By this, I hope, she hath a son for me. 90
 [Exeunt.]

SCENE VI.—London. The Tower.

Enter King HENRY and GLOUCESTER, with the Lieutenant, on the walls.

Glou. Good day, my lord. What ! at your book so hard ?
K. Hen. Ay, my good lord : my lord, I should say rather ;
 'Tis sin to flatter ; good was little better :
 Good Gloucester and good devil were alike,
 And both preposterous ; therefore, not good lord. 5
Glou. Sirrah, leave us to ourselves : we must confer.
 [Exit Lieutenant.]

K. Hen. So flies the reckless shepherd from the wolf ;
 So first the harmless sheep doth yield his fleece,

86-90. *He's . . . head . . . sort With pay . . . let's . . . And see . . . how . . . By this . . . me*] 118-122. *He is . . . comes . . . head. Well, discharge . . . souldiers with paie . . . now let us towards London, To see . . . how shee doth fare, For by this . . . vs. Exeunt Omnes Q.*

SCENE VI.

Enter . . .] Enter Henry the sixth and Richard, with . . . Ff.; Enter Gloster to King Henry in the Tower Q. 1-4. *Good day, my lord . . . alike*] 1-4. *Good day . . . Lord . . . all alike Q.* 5-9. *And both . . . butcher's knife*] omitted Q.

84. *all in post*] in post haste.

86. *sudden*] impulsive, prompt. Frequent in Shakespeare.

SCENE VI.

1, 2. *Gloucester . . . K. Hen.*] This scene, the murder of Henry, bears the historic date May 21 or May 22, 1471. That puts it at a fortnight later than Tewkesbury (May 4), in which interval King Edward quelled the bastard Falconbridge's rising of Kentishmen under the pretence of freeing Henry, but in reality to kill and spoil. When this was performed: "Poore Kyng Henry the sixte, a little before deprived of his realme and Imperiall Crowne, was now,

in the Tower of London, spoyled of his life, and all worldly felicitie, by Richard duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ran) which, to thintent that Kyng Edward his brother should be clere out of all secret suspicion of sodain inuasion murdered the said king with a dagger" (Hall, p. 303). Polydore Vergil says a sword. Halliwell quotes from Warkworth and other contemporaries, with the remark: "the account (in *True Tragedie*) of Henry's murder is not in all probability far from the truth." One writer asserted Henry died of pure displeasure and melancholy.

7-9. *shepherd . . . wolf . . . sheep . . . butcher's knife*] Poor Henry at

And next his throat unto the butcher's knife.

What scene of death hath Roscius now to act? 10

Glou. Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind;

The thief doth fear each bush an officer.

K. Hen. The bird that hath been limed in a bush,
With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush;

And I, the hapless male to one sweet bird, 15

Have now the fatal object in my eye

Where my poor young was limed, was caught, and killed.

Glou. Why, what a peevish fool was that of Crete,

That taught his son the office of a fowl!

And yet, for all his wings, the fool was drown'd. 20

K. Hen. I, Dædalus; my poor boy, Icarus;

Thy father, Minos, that denied our course;

The sun that sear'd the wings of my sweet boy,

Thy brother Edward, and thyself the sea

Whose envious gulf did swallow up his life. 25

Ah! kill me with thy weapon, not with words.

10, 11. *What . . . the guilty mind*] 5, 6. *What . . . Roscius . . . a guiltie mind* Q. 12. *The thief . . . officer*] omitted Q. 13-17. *The bird . . . bush, With . . . And I . . . sweet . . . my eye . . . and killed*] 7-10. *The birde once limde doth feare the fatall bush, And I . . . poore . . . mine cie, where . . . & kild* Q. 18-20. *Why . . . peevish fool . . . fowl . . . for all . . . drown'd*] 11-14. *Why . . . foole . . . birde, and yet for all that the poore Fowle was drownde* Q. 21-28. *I, Dædalus; . . . boy . . . course; . . . thy dagger's . . . history*] 15-20. *I Dedalus . . . sonne . . . course, Thy brother Edward, the sunne that searde his wings, And thou the enuious gulfte that swallowed him. Oh better can my brest abide thy daggers . . . historie* Q.

once pours out his Biblical similes; his book was likely enough the Book, as the Bible was usually called.

10. *Roscus*] The great Roman actor (died 62 B.C.), referred to again in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 410. "*Roscus . . . the best Histrien or buffon that was in his dayes to be found*" (Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (Arber, 48)). He usually played comedy. Burbage, the Elizabethan actor, was known as Roscius, and many allusions to the fact are to be found a little later. Halliwell says here: "It would, perhaps, he going out of the way to conjecture that Burbage played this part, and was called '*Roscus Richard*' on that account." See Collier's *Memoirs of Alleyn* (Shakespeare Soc. p. 13). Greene often refers to Roscius. And Nashe. See Introduction.

12. *The thief . . . bush an officer*] Compare Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (Grosart, v. 173), 1594: "A theefe they say mistakes euerie bush for a true man." "A true man" was an

honest man, and "they say" is the usual cognizance of a proverb, which, from the speaker, was to be expected. See again *Times Whistle*, Sat. 7, l. 3485 (1615): "takes every bush to be a constable."

13. *limed . . . bush*] See note at 2 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 87. Shakespeare loved birds in or out of a cage—as he loved flowers in or out of a garden. Compare Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy* (III. iv. 41, 42, Boas):—

"he breakes the worthles
twigs,

And sees not that wherewith the
bird was limde."

14. *misdoubteth*] suspecteth.

18. *peevish*] foolish.

18-21. *Crete . . . Icarus*] See Part I. iv. vi. 55 and iv. vii. 16; where Talbot uses the same illustrations for his boy. The quibbling here is destroyed in Q.

23. *sun*] Alluding to the cognizance of the Yorkist. See above, II. vi. 9 (note).

My breast can better brook thy dagger's point
Than can my ears that tragic history.
But wherefore dost thou come? is't for my life?

Glou. Think'st thou I am an executioner? 30

K. Hen. A persecutor, I am sure, thou art :

If murdering innocents be executing,

Why, then thou art an executioner.

Glou. Thy son I kill'd for his presumption.

K. Hen. Hadst thou been kill'd when first thou didst
presume, 35

Thou hadst not liv'd to kill a son of mine.

And thus I prophesy : that many a thousand,

Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear,

And many an old man's sigh, and many a widow's,

And many an orphan's water-standing eye, 40

Men for their sons', wives for their husbands',

And orphans for their parents' timeless death,

Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast born.

The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign ;

The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time ; 45

29. *But . . . life?* omitted Q. 30-34. *Think'st thou I . . . art : If . . . executing, Why, then thou . . . presumption*] 21-25. *Why doest thou thinke I . . . art, And if . . . executions, Then I know thou . . . presumption* Q. 35-37½. *Hadst thou been . . . prophesy : that many*] 26-29½. *Hadst thou bin . . . prophesie of thee. That manie Q.* 37½-39½. *a thousand . . . sigh*] omitted Q. 39½-41. *and many a widow's . . . orphan's . . . husbands'*] 29½-31. *a Widow for her husbands death, And . . . infants . . . cie, Widowes for their husbands, children for their fathers, Q.* 43. *Shall rue . . . borne*] 32. *Shall curse the time that euer thou wert borne* Q. 44-52. *The owl shriek'd . . . goodly tree*] 33-41. *The owle shrikt . . . goodly tree* Q. (reading tune for time : tempests : discord : undigest created for indigested and deformed).

27. *dagger's point*] See extract from Hall above.

40. *water-standing eye*] eye flooded with tears. "Standing water" is still in use. Compare "water-flowing tears" above, iv. viii. 43, when they begin to run over.

42. *timeless*] untimely. See Part I. v. iv. 5 (note). It occurs in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I. ii. i. (1578): "To see Andrugio tymeles dye."

43. *rue the hour*] "Tamburlaine shall rue the day, the hour Wherein" etc. (*Tamburlaine*, Part I. iv. 3 (28, b)). Quoted before at "ignominious" (Part I. iv. i. 97).

44. *The owl*] See *1 Henry VI.* iv. ii. 15; and "night-owl" above, ii. i. 130. Cf. Halliwell's quotation from Chaucer

(Shakespeare Library, p. 99, *The True Tragedie*):—

"The jilous swan, ayenst hys deth that singeth,

The owle eke, that of deth the bode bringeth."

See Vergil's *Æneid*, iv. 462.

45. *night-crow*] or night-raven, a bird of superstition incapable of exact identification, Nycticorax. In Spenser he is constantly night-raven (followed by Peele). In the description of Horror (*Faerie Queene*, ii. vii. 23):—

"And after him Owles and Night-ravens flew,

The hatefull messengers of heauy things,

Of death and dolor telling sad tidings."

Pliny (translated by Holland, xviii. 1)

Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempest shook down trees ;
 The raven rook'd her on the chimney's top,
 And chattering pies in dismal discords sung.
 Thy mother felt more than a mother's pain,
 And yet brought forth less than a mother's hope ; 50
 To wit, an indigested and deformed lump,
 Not like the fruit of such a goodly tree.
 Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born,

53-56. *Teeth hadst thou . . . Thou camest*] 42-45. *Teeth hadst thou . . . that I have heard, Thou camst into the world. He stabs him Q.*

says: "Are not some men . . . well and fitly compared to those cursed foules flying in the darke, which . . . bewray their spight and enuie euen to the night." And in the tenth Book, chap. xii. is devoted to "unluckie birds, and namely, the Crow, Raven and Scritch-owl." "The worst token of ill-luck that they give (Ravens), is when in their crying they seeme to swallow in their voice as though they were choked. . . . The Scritch-owle alwaies betokeneth some heauie newes . . . he is the verie monster of the night." But Pliny says he knew these things were not always true.

45. *aboding*] foreboding. "Abode-ment" has occurred above. Compare *Henry VIII.* i. i. 92-94; and the "*boding* screech owl" in 2 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 327.

46. *Dogs howl'd*] Compare Golding's Ovid, xv. 895: "The dogges did howle, and every where appeered gastly sprights; And with an earthquake shaken was the towne." The screech-owl appears here likewise, at the murder of *Julius Cæsar*. See note at 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 55. And see Part II. i. iv. 18, 19.

47. *rook'd*] Generally explained by the "north county word," "ruck," signifying to squat or settle down, to lurk in a place. Stevens quotes twice from Chaucer, from Stanyhurst's Vergil, from Warner's *Albion's England*, and from Golding's Ovid:—

"on the house did rucke

A cursed Owle the messenger of yll successe and lucke" (vi. 555, 556). But it does not seem satisfactory. We want here a noise, a note, or a croak, such as Pliny describes: "I would croak like a raven; I would bode, I would bode," says Thersites.

48. *chattering pies*] The magpie is

an unlucky bird in all the northern folklore. Compare the Nymphs that are turned into Pies, "the scolds of woods" that are "chattering still" at the end of the Fifth Book of Golding's Ovid.

51. *an indigested and*] So Folio 1. Capell altered to the Quarto reading, "undigest created." See Part II. v. i. 157: "indigested lump" (note). Compare Sonnet 114. "To wit" has been retained from Q by mistake.

53. *Teeth hadst thou . . . born*] Halliwell confirmed this from *Ross of Warwick*: "exiens cum dentibus et capillis ad humeros." All Richard's characteristics are in Hall, p. 342-3: "Richard . . . was litte of stature, euill featured of limmes, croke backed, the left shulder muche higher than the righte, harde fauoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and emonge commen persones a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrothfull, and enuious, and it is reported, his mother the duches had much a dooe in her trauaill, that she could not be deliuered of hym uncut, and that he came into the worlde the fete forwarde, as menne bee borne outward [out of the world, coffined?] and as the fame ranne, not untathed." For the "legs forward," see below, line 71. Pliny has a chapter (vii. 8) "of those that be called Agrippæ." "To be borne with the feet forward is unnatural and unkind . . . as if a man should say, Born hardly and with much adoe . . . Agrippina hath left in writing, That her sonne Nero also . . . enemy to all mankind, was borne with his feet forward" (Holland). See Nashe's *Anatomie of Absurditie* (Grosart, i. 53): "preposterously borne with their feete forward" (evidently referring to Pliny, 1589).

To signify thou camest to bite the world :
 And, if the rest be true which I have heard,
 'Thou camest—

55

Glou. I'll hear no more : die, prophet, in thy speech :

[*Stabs him.*]

For this, amongst the rest, was I ordain'd.

K. Hen. Ay, and for much more slaughter after this.

O ! God forgive my sins, and pardon thee. [*Dies.* 60

Glou. What ! will the aspiring blood of Lancaster

Sink in the ground ? I thought it would have mounted.

See how my sword weeps for the poor king's death !

O, may such purple tears be always shed

From those that wish the downfall of our house ! 65

If any spark of life be yet remaining,

Down, down to hell ; and say I sent thee thither,

[*Stabs him again.*]

57, 58. I'll hear . . . die, prophet . . . For . . . ordain'd] 46, 47. Die prophet . . . Ile heare . . . for . . . ordainde Q. 59, 60. Ay, and . . . pardon thee] 48, 49. I and . . . pardon thee. He dies Q. 61-65. What . . . in the . . . thought . . . O, may . . . shed . . . wish . . . house] 50-54. What ? . . . into the . . . had thought . . . Now maie . . . shed, For such as seeke . . . house Q. 66, 67. If . . . life . . . Down . . . thither] 55, 56. If . . . life remaine in thee, Stab him againe. Downe . . . thither Q.

61, 62. *aspiring blood of Lancaster* . . . mounted] Dyce, arguing that Marlowe had a large share in the compilation of the *Contention and True Tragedie*, produced parallels of these two lines from his *Edward the Second* (pp. 184, b, 212, b) : "Frownst thou thereat, aspiring Lancaster," and "highly scorning that the lowly earth Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air." As I believe the *True Tragedie* is earlier than *Edward II.*, these coincidences prove something else. For "earth drinking blood," see II. iii. 15, 23 (note). For "aspiring," see Part I. v. iv. 99.

66. *spark of life*] Another passage, in *The Spanish Tragedy* : "O speak if any sparke of life remaine" (II. v. 17, Boas).

67. *Down, down . . . I sent thee*] Collier advanced these lines as a proof that Greene wrote this play, on the likeness of them to a passage in *Alphonsus* (Grosart, xiii. 347) :—

"Go packe thou hence unto the Stygian lake . . .

And if he ask thee who did send thee downe,

Alphonsus say, who now must weare thy crowne."

The whole point of Greene's passage is that he makes Flaminius the bearer of a special message, to his father, in hell. The likeness is only vague. Similar passages may be produced from other writers. Lodge in *The Wounds of Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 146) :—

"Go, soldiers . . .

Hasten their death . . .

Go, take them hence, and when we meet in hell,

Then tell me, princes, if I did not well."

But especially see the origin in *Faerie Queene*, I. v. 13, when the faithful knight subdues his faithless foe :—

"And to him said : 'Goe now, proud Miscreant

Thyselſe thy message do to german beare . . .

Goe say, his foe thy shield with his doth beare'.

Therewith his heauie hand," etc.

This is Greene's source. Shakespeare probably thought of neither. Another parallel will be found in *Feronimo* (Boas' Kyd, p. 323).

I, that have neither pity, love nor fear.
 Indeed, 'tis true that Henry told me of;
 For I have often heard my mother say 70
 I came into the world with my legs forward.
 Had I not reason, think ye, to make haste,
 And seek their ruin that usurp'd our right?
 The midwife wonder'd, and the women cried
 "O! Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth." 75
 And so I was; which plainly signified
 That I should snarl and bite and play the dog.
 Then, since the heavens have shaped my body so,
 Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it.
 I have no brother, I am like no brother; 80
 And this word "love," which greybeards call divine,
 Be resident in men like one another
 And not in me: I am myself alone.
 Clarence, beware; thou keep'st me from the light;
 But I will sort a pitchy day for thee; 85
 For I will buzz abroad such prophecies
 That Edward shall be fearful of his life;
 And then, to purge his fear, I'll be thy death.
 King Henry and the prince his son are gone:
 Clarence, thy turn is next, and then the rest, 90
 Counting myself but bad till I be best.
 I'll throw thy body in another room,
 And triumph, Henry, in thy day of doom.

[Exit, with the body.]

68-73. I, that . . . 'tis true . . . say I came . . . Had I . . . ye . . . ruin . . . right?] 57-62. I that . . . twas true . . . saie That I came . . . And had I . . . you . . . ruines . . . rights? Q. 74-77. The . . . cried . . . was; which . . . dog] 63-66. The women wept and the midwife cride . . . was indeed, which . . . dogge Q. 78-83. Then . . . my body . . . brother . . . brother . . . call . . . alone] 67-72. Then since Heauen hath made my bodie . . . answe're it. I had no father, I am like no father, I have no brothers, I am like no brothers, And . . . tearme . . . alone Q. 84-88. Clarence . . . keep'st . . . That Edward . . . death] 74-78. Clarence . . . keptst . . . As Edward . . . death Q. 89-93. King Henry . . . the rest . . . throw . . . doom] 79-83. Henry and his sonne are gone, thou Clarence next, And by one and one I will dispatch the rest . . . drag . . . doome. Exit. Q.

71 and 75.] See extract at l. 53.

85. sort a pitchy day] arrange a black day. "Sort an hour" occurs in *Lucrece*, 899; not again with regard to time. For "pitchy," see Part I. ii. ii. 2.

86. buzz] See Part II. i. ii. 99 and above, ii. vi. 95.

91. bad till I be best] He is harping on the old saw "bad is the best." "Two evils here were, one must I chuse, though bad were very best" (*Whetstone, Promos and Cassandra*, Part II. iii. ii.). *Whetstone* has it again in *Censure of a Loyal Subject*. Common later.

SCENE VII.—*The same. The palace.*

Flourish. Enter King EDWARD, Queen ELIZABETH, CLARENCE, GLOUCESTER, HASTINGS, a Nurse with the young Prince, and Attendants.

K. Hen. Once more we sit in England's royal throne,
 Re-purchas'd with the blood of enemies.
 What valiant foemen, like to autumn's corn,
 Have we mow'd down in tops of all their pride!
 Three Dukes of Somerset, threefold renown'd 5
 For hardy and undoubted champions;
 Two Cliffords, as the father and the son;
 And two Northumberlands: two braver men
 Ne'er spurr'd their coursers at the trumpet's sound;
 With them, the two brave bears, Warwick and Montague, 10
 That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion,
 And made the forest tremble when they roar'd.
 Thus have we swept suspicion from our seat,
 And made our footstool of security.
 Come hither, Bess, and let me kiss my boy. 15
 Young Ned, for thee, thine uncles and myself
 Have in our armours watch'd the winter's night,
 Went all afoot in summer's scalding heat,

SCENE VII. *Flourish*] F 1; omitted Q, F 2, 3, 4. *Enter . . .* *Enter King, Queene . . . Nurse, and Attendants Ff; Enter . . .* (*Gloucester omitted*) *and others Q.* 1-20. *Once more . . . renown'd . . . brave bears . . . Went all afoot . . . gain*] 1-20. *Once more . . . renown'd . . . rough Beares . . . Marcht all a foote . . . gaine Q.*

3, 4. *foemen . . . mow'd down*] Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, v. v. 25:—

“the strawy Greeks, ripe for his edge,
 Fall down before him like the mower's swath.”

And *Henry V.* iii. iii. 13:—

“mowing like grass

Your fresh-fair virgins and your flowering infants.”

And *Sonnet* 60.

4. *tops of all their pride*] Lodge has this: “Unhappy Rome . . . Now to eclipse, in *top of all thy pride*” (*Wounds of Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 116)).

10, 11. *bears . . . in their chains*] Alluding to the “chained beare” at the stake, as in *Faerie Queene*, i. xii. 35:—

“Who seeming sorely chauffed at his band,
 As chained beare whom cruell dogs doe bait.”

Referred to in Part II. v. i. 143-150. See “forest-bear” above, ii. ii. 13. See note to “bear and ragged staff,” Part II. v. i. 203.

14. *And made . . . security*] Marlowe has this line in *The Massacre at Paris* (Dyce, 238, a):—

“But he doth lurk within his drowsy couch;
 And makes his footstool on security”

(first acted January, 1593, Dyce).

18. *scalding*] Not a happy term here, but “parching” had been used up. “Scalding sighs” in *Soliman and Perseda* is more natural.

That thou might'st repossess the crown in peace ;
And of our labours thou shalt reap the gain. 20

Glou. [*Aside.*] I'll blast his harvest, if your head were laid ;
For yet I am not look'd on in the world.

This shoulder was ordain'd so thick to heave ;
And heave it shall some weight, or break my back.

Work thou the way, and thou shalt execute. 25

K. Edw. Clarence and Gloucester, love my lovely queen ;

And kiss your princely nephew, brothers both.

Clar. The duty that I owe unto your majesty

I seal upon the lips of this sweet babe.

Q. Eliz. Thanks, noble Clarence ; worthy brother, thanks. 30

Glou. And, that I love the tree from whence thou sprang'st,

Witness the loving kiss I give the fruit.

[*Aside.*] To say the truth, so Judas kiss'd his master,

And cried "all hail !" when as he meant all harm.

K. Edw. Now am I seated as my soul delights, 35

Having my country's peace and brothers' loves.

Clar. What will your grace have done with Margaret ?

Reignier, her father, to the King of France

Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem,

And hither have they sent it for her ransom. 40

K. Edw. Away with her, and waft her hence to France.

And now what rests, but that we spend the time

21-25. I'll . . . if . . . thou shalt execute] 21-25. Ile . . . and (if Q 3) . . . thou shalt execute (that shalt Ff 1, 2) Q. 26-36. Clarence . . . upon the lips . . . tree . . . fruit . . . when as he meant . . . brothers' loves] 26-36. Clarence . . . upon the rosate lips . . . fruit . . . child . . . And so he cride . . . and meant . . . brothers loves Q. 37-46. What . . . Reignier . . . Sicils . . . triumphs, mirthful . . . pleasure . . . farewell sour . . . lasting joy] 37-46. What . . . Ranard . . . Cyssels . . . triumphs and mirthfull . . . pleasures . . . farewell to sower . . . lasting ioie. *Exeunt Omnes. Finis.* Q.

29. *upon the lips*] "upon the rosate lips," Q. "Roseal" was not a rare word, but "roseate" was later except as a painter's colour term. "Rosate," "rosett," and "oil rosat," are all in Holland's *Pliny*. And in Cunningham's *Revels Accounts* (Shakespeare Soc. p. 117). "Rosett . . . paynters percell" appears in 1577. Nashe calls women's breasts "Roscate buds" (*Christ's Teares* (Grosart, iv. 208), 1593).

33. *Judas kiss'd*] Lest this should cause a charge of irreverence here, it may be mentioned that this was a familiar proverb. Many earlier examples could be quoted, and later.

37. *have done with Margaret* ?]

"Queene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to London, where she remayned till kyng Reiner her father ransomed her with money, which summe (as the French writers asserme) he borrowed of Kyng Lewes . . . to repaye so great a dutie, he solde to the French King & his heires, the Kyngdomes of Naples and both the Siciles, with the county of Prouynce. . . After the ransome payed, she was conveyed in to Fraunce with small honor" (Hall, p. 301).

40. *sent it*] Can only mean the money. Identical in Q. The sum is stated at 50,000 crowns by the French histories.

41. *waft*] "to carry or send over the

With stately triumphs, mirthful comic shows,
 Such as befits the pleasure of the court?
 Sound drums and trumpets! farewell sour annoy! 45
 For here, I hope, begins our lasting joy.

[*Exeunt.*

sea" (Schmidt) occurs twice in this play, and in the last, but only once elsewhere in Shakespeare, in *King John*.

43. *triumphs*] public rejoicings. See *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, v. iv. 160, 161. And *1 Henry VI.* v. v. 31.

43. *mirthful*] Not again in Shake-

peare. "Mirthful glee" is in Kyd's *Cornelia*, iv. ii. 193.

45, 46. *Sound drums . . . joy*] Similarly in *Lochrine*, end of Act ii.: "Sound drums and trumpets, sound up cheerfully, Sith we return with joy and victory." See the last words of Part II. From these two *Lochrine* derived the example.

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Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
 The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
 Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
 And by opposing end them? To die,—to
 sleep,— 60

No more; and by a sleep to say we end
 The heart-ache, and the thousand natural shocks
 That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation
 Devoutly to be wish'd. To die;—to sleep;—
 To sleep! perchance to dream! ay, there's the
 rub; 65

For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
 When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,

60, 61. *To die,— . . . No*] Pope, *die to sleepe No Q, dye, to sleepe No F.*
 63. *to, too; Q, too? F.* 64, 65. *die;—to sleep;—To sleep!*] Capell,
die to sleepe, To sleepe, Q, F.

Hunter, who would place the soliloquy, with Q 1, in Act II. sc. ii., supposes it is suggested by the book which Hamlet is there represented as reading. Perhaps, the explanation lying in what immediately follows, it means, Is my present project of active resistance against wrong to be, or not to be? Hamlet anticipates his own death as a probable consequence.

57. *in the mind*] This is to be connected with "suffer," not with "nobler."

58. *slings and arrows*] Walker, with an anonymous writer of 1752, would read "stings." "Slings and arrows" is found in Fletcher's *Valentinian*, I. iii.

59. *sea*] Various emendations have been suggested: Theobald, "siege"; also, "th' assay" or "a 'say"; Hanmer, "assailing"; Warburton, "assail of"; Bailey, "the seat." It has been shown from Aristotle, Strabo, Ælian, and Nicolas of Damascus that the Kelts, Gauls, and Cimbri exhibited their intrepidity by armed

combats with the sea, which Shakespeare might have found in Abraham Fleming's translation of *Ælian*, 1576. But elsewhere Shakespeare has "sea of joys," "sea of glory," "sea of care." Here the central metaphor is that of a battle ("slings and arrows"); the "sea of troubles," billows of the war, merely develops the metaphor of battle, as in Scott, *Marmion*, VI. xxvi.:

"Then mark'd they, dashing
 broad and far,
 The broken billows of the war,
 And plum'd crests of chieftains
 brave,
 Floating like foam upon the
 wave."

63. *consummation*] Compare *Cymbeline*, IV. II. 280:

"Quiet consummation have:
 And renowned be thy grave!"

65. *rub*] impediment, as in *King Henry V.* II. II. 188.

67. *mortal coil*] trouble or turmoil of mortal life. In this sense *coil* occurs several times in Shakespeare,

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