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THE THIRD PART
OF
KING HENRY THE SIXTH
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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 I, 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 servants. | (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 | Cornwall 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."
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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 1 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 realm" (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 ("captivates") 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 (I. 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 Cornelius) 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 Plee, 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 Plee had a hand here in the early play I believe. See Plee 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 Plee'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 "anointed 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 "anointed 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
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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 troopes" (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. Feele 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 Feele'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). Feele'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. Feele 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 Caesar too?" omitted here, is impannelled into *Julius Caesar*, 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 *1 Henry VI.* (1. 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 "renowmed" (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. ii. 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. 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.

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," i Henry VI. II. iii. 23.

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.

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.
THE THIRD PART OF

(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 personae . . . 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"

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 approoved 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. 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 bigbound 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
thronges . . . was beset. And again True Tragedy, v. iv. 18: "With my Sword press in the thickest thronges. 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-
eced 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. 23); prime of youth (ii. i. 24); 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.**

1. 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.

1. iv. 33. *vile-esteemed.* Sonnet cxxi.: “Tis better to be vile than vile-esteemed.”


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. vii. 45. *inharsed in.* Sonnet lxxxvi.: “thoughts in my brain inhearre.”

V. iii. 192. *natural graces that extinguish art.* Lucrece, 313: “the smoke of it... Extinguishing.”


Sonnet xxxvii.: “decrepit father” (and in Venus and Adonis).


**Part II.**

1. 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).

1. 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.
THE THIRD PART OF


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.

1. i. 47. falcon's bells. Lucrece, 511: "as fowl hear falcon's bells" (causing terror). In Q.

1. iv. 28. quenchless fury. Lucrece, 1554: "quenchless fire." In Q.

(Common earlier? Marlowe.)

1. 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. i. i. 188). In Tamburlaine, "thrice-noble," "thrice-renowned" and "thrice-worthy" (Part II.) also occur.
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. 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. (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 lanciers of Germany The strength and sinews of the imperial seat."

II. v. 11, 12, 13. pitheless . . . 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. 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 statue 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.


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.
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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 TAMBOURLAINE.

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. (23, 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. 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.
III. i. 38. \textit{Her tears will pierce into a marble heart.} 
\textit{Tamburlaine, Part I. i. ii. (12, b): \textit{"Shall want my heart to be with gladness pierced."}}
Not in Q.

III. iii. 229. \textit{my mourning weeds are laid aside.} 
\textit{Tamburlaine, Part II. i. i. (43, a): \textit{"wear a woeful mourning weed."}} \textit{In Q.}

ACT IV.

iv. vi. 75. \textit{Make much of him, my lords.} 
\textit{Tamburlaine, Part I. i. ii. (12, b): \textit{"Make much of them, gentle Theridamas."}} \textit{In Q.}

ACT V.

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

v. iv. 66. \textit{Here pitch our battle; hence we will not budge.} 
\textit{Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. i. (54, a): \textit{"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. \textit{the thorny wood (and iii. ii. 174).} 
\textit{Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. i. (25, b): \textit{"As bristle-pointed as a thorny wood"}} (pine wood). In Q.

v. vi. 43. \textit{And orphans . . . Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast born.} 
\textit{Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. iii. (28, b): \textit{"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 \textit{Tamburlaine}. These occur to my memory:—

\textit{"The fainting army of that foolish king."} \textit{Tamburlaine, Part I. ii. iii. (15, b).}

\textit{"faintheart fugitives."} \textit{Tamburlaine, Part II. v. i. (67, b).}

\textit{"that coward faintheart runaway."} \textit{Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. ii. (56, a).}

\textit{"thickest throngs."} \textit{Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. ii. (56, a). See Table of Continued Expressions.}

\textit{"Come let us go and banquet."} \textit{Tamburlaine, Part II. i. ii. (45, a).}

Not a satisfactory example, but nearly of the \textit{"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 \textit{Henry VI.} ii. i. 162, where whole towns are made to fly—\textit{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 Caesar 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 Bombie*, 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 millstones” (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 mocat, 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."
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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. 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. ii. 3.
   win the day. 1 Henry VI. i. vi. 17; 3 Henry VI. iv. iv. 15. And Richard III.
   in procession sing . . . praise and Solemn 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).
THE THIRD PART OF

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. ii. 30. And Lucrece (in good sense).

run a tilt. 1 Henry VI. iii. ii. 51; Contention; 2 Henry VI. i. iii. 54.

twist 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. 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. 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. vi. 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. vii. 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.
        dins 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. 2 Henry VI. i. i. 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 iv. 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 heads. 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. 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).

coil-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. 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. 138.

deathsman. 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. v. 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,
Edward, Earl of March, afterwards
King Edward the Fourth,
Edmund, Earl of Rutland,
George, afterwards Duke of Clarence,
Richard, afterwards Duke of Gloucester,
Duke of Norfolk,
Marquess of Montague,
Earl of Warwick,
Earl of Pembroke,
Lord Hastings,
Lord Stafford,
Sir John Mortimer,
Sir Hugh Mortimer, on King Henry's side.

each Man.

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

Soldiers, Attendants, Messengers, Watchmen, etc.
THE THIRD PART OF
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

ACT I


War. I wonder how the king escaped our hands.

York. While we pursued the horsemen of the north, He sily stole away and left his men: Whereat the great Lord of Northumberland, Whose war-like ears could never brook retreat, Cheer'd up the drooping army; and himself, Lord Clifford, and Lord Stafford, all abreast, Charged our main battle's front, and breaking in
Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.

_Edwa._ Lord Stafford's father, Duke of Buckingham,
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.

_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?

_Norf._ Such hope have all the line of John of Gaunt!

_Rich._ Thus do I hope to shake King Henry's head.

_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,

9. _Were . . . slain_] 8. _Brake in and were by the hands of common soldiers 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. _battales Q._
16. _[Throwing down . . . head.]_ Theobald.
17. _Richard . . . sons]omitted Q._
18. _But is_]
19-26. _Such hope . . . the fearful king, And this . . . York_]

"ten thousand horse:
The main battle of harquebuzes 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 battall." It is in Grafton's Chronicle.

9. _sword 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. _baviere._
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.  
Norf. We’ll all assist you; he that flies shall die.  
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,  
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,  
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,  
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 . . . state 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 depose. . . . 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 “throneroyale,” or “siege royal.” It is in Locrine, “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 xlv. 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” (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  
on 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, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Enter, and the rest.

K. Hen. My lords, look where the sturdy rebel sits,
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
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.

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.

source with Shakespeare. See Othello,
iii. iii. 261-3 (in this edition, notes); and As You Like It, iii. iii. 89. Compare Lucrece, 510, 511:
"Harmless Lucretia, marking what he tells
With trembling Lucretia, marking what he tells"
The bell was attached above the foot.
So in Greene's Tillities 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] lording[s in Q; see note at Part II. i. i. 143. Shakespeare discards 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. 49:—

"therein did wayt
A sturdy villein, stryding stiffe
and bold."

Greene was fond of the word. Compare 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 Shakespeare; 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).

65. 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,
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;
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
In following this usurping Henry.

Clif. Whom should he follow but his natural king?


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

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


67-69. K. Hen. Ah, know you...quickly fly.] 62-64. King. O know you...quicklie flie Q. 70-74. Far be...my thoughts of Henry’s heart.] 65-69. Far be it from the thoughtes of Henryes heart...my throne Q. 75. And...feel] omitted Q. 76. I am...thine] 70, 71. I am thy soueraigne. York. Thou art deceived] I am thine Q. 77, 78. For shame...earldom was] 72, 73. For shame...’Twas mine inheritance as the kingdom is Q. 79-83. Thy father...that’s Richard, Duke of York] 74-78. Thy father...that is Richard Duke of Yorke [F r reads that’s (omitting and)] Q. S4, 85. And...and thou sit...It must...content thyself] So, St. 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.


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’re 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 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, 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.

War. Poor Clifford! how I scorn his worthless threats. York. Will you 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. 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.

K. Hen. The lord protector lost it, and not I:

When I was crown’d I was but nine months old.


91. colours spread] So in 1 Henry VI. iii. iii. 31: “There goes the Talbot with his colours spread.” And below, ii. 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.
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.
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?
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 J 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 seekesst thou to depose me?
Are we not both Plantagenets by birth, And from two brothers lineallie dissent? Suppose by right and equitie thou be king, Think'st 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 beying then about the age of 1x Moneths with sounds of trumpets openly ... King of England & of France, the last daye of August, 1422," by his uncles and the other Lordes of the counsayle (Grafton, i. 549).
For his coronation at Paris (at nine months old), see Richard III. ii. iii. 16, 17.
118. lineallie dissent) 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 Locrine.
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.
ii. (Dyce, 22, a):—
"Let him bring millions infinite of men,
Unpeopling Western Africa and Greece."
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."
1429. 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.
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.
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
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.
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 art deceived: 'tis not thy southern power,

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 & valiounness 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:  
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.
What mutter you, or what conspire you, lords?

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:  
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.

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 soldierrAnd 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'is. K. Hen. I am content ... decease] 166-169. Confirmre ... thou  
livest. King. Conuey the soldierr here, and then I will. War. Captaine  
conduiit 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 Aeneid: "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. 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'is!] 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.
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,
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.
Exe. They seek revenge and therefore will not yield.
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;

Exit ... despitde. Exit. Q. 189. Turn ...] omitted Q. 190-195. They seek ... yield ... thine heirs for ever] 180-186. They seek ... yield my lord ... thine heires, conditionallie Q.

185. die in bands] in confinement. Marlowe has it in Edward II.: "Weap-
onless 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 condesended and agreed, by the three estates, for so much as King Henry had beene taken as King, by the space of xxxviiiij, yeres and more that he should enjoy the name and tytle of king and have possession of the realme, during his life naturally; And if he eiether died or resigned, or forfeited the same, for infringing any point of this concorde, then the sayde Crowne and authoritie 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 agre-
ment, 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 sworn by the two parties; but also were en-
acted in the high court of Parliament.
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

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!

[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.

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.


. . . upon the Saturday next ensuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sound of a trumpet, solemnly pro-
claimed heyre appurant to the crowne of Englands, 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 sweare by the faith and truth that I owe to almightie God, that I will never consent, procure, or stirre, directlie, or indirectlie, in privie or aperit . . . anie thing that may sound to the aabridgement 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 expres-
sion occurring in 1 Henry VI. i. i. 53, and 2 Henry VI. iv. viii. 46, but not where the crown is called in question.


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,
   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 given our rights unto the house of Yorke. Art thou a king and wilt be first to yeeld? Q.

the present one adding "her anger." She does not really come at all. "The Duke of Yorke well knowynge 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 denied to come, but also assembled together a great armie, inteyndyng 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 Shepheard's Calender. 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. 1. i. 43.
To entail him and his heirs unto the crown,
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;
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;
But thou pretend'st thy life before thine honour:

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 Captayne 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 Neuel, Bastard sonne to Thomas Lorde Faulconbridge the valyaunt captayne, a man of no lesse courage than audacitie, ... Thys Bastarde was before thys time appointed by the Erle of Warwike to be Viceadmyrall of the Sea, and had in charge so to kepe the passage between Douer and Calice, that none which either fauored 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."

240. [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 crueler Than are the ryseing narrowe seas." The expression occurs in "English Policy" (in Hakluyt), 1436. See also J. Aske, Elizabetha Triumphans (Nichols' Prog. ii. 574), 1588.

241. 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 Dolanreys Primrose (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.  

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;
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.

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.

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.

265. 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:
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?

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. Reneged maie shee be on that
accursed Duke. Come cosen of Exeter, state thou here, For Clifford and those
Northren Lords be gone I feare towards Wakefield, to disturb the Duke Q.
273. And I . . . them all] omitted Q.

SCENE II.

of Yorke. Yorke. How nove sonnes what at a jarre amongst your selves? Q.

Golding’s Ovid (x. 44): “Too tyre on Titius growing hart the greedy Grype
forbeares” (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” (? Henry VI. iv.
i. 120). Spenserian language:—
“ He them with speaches meet
Does faire entreat; no courting
nicete,
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 (1. i. 120 above). See again, iii.
ii. 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 expre-
sion 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 obvi-
ously verse. The careless printing
of that copy is to be borne in
mind.
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.
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.
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;
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
The crowne boy, why Henries yet alive, And I have sworn that he shall
would break an hundred othes to raigne one yeare Q. 18-20. No . . . speak]
13-15. And if it please your grace to give me leave, I'll shew your grace the
waie to saue your oath, And dispossesse King Henrie from the crowne Q. 21.
Thou . . . impossible]16. I prethie Dicke let me heare thy devise Q. 22, 23.
is none but doth usurpe 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 re-
lease him from his oath. See extract below from Holinshed at 1. iv. 100-
102.
18. your grace] Note the omission from the finished play of a redundancy
of titles: "your grace," "noble
father," crowed in Quarto.
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
knowen and understood, your judg-
ments may be voyde and your cogita-
cions 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, 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. 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, 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 resolue your selfe, And once more claime the crowne Q. For lines 33, 34 here, rose . . . dyed . . . in . . . blood, see below at ii. i. 81-85. 35. Richard . . . die[23, 24. I, saist thou so hole? why then it shall be so. I am resolude to win the crowne, or die Q. 36, 37. Brother . . . enterprise] 30-33. And Richard thou to London strait shalt post, And bid Richard Nevill Earl of Warwick To leave the citty and with his men of warre, To meet me at Saint Albons ten dates hence Q. 38, 39. Thou, Richard . . . intent] 27-29. Thou cosen Montague, shalt to Norfolke straight, and bid the Duke to muster uppe his soldiers, And come to me to Wakefield presentlies 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 "circuilet" is Spenser's word in Mother Hubberds Tale; "Circulet of Golde" and "golden Circulet" 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 Locrine. 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) beying in the Marches of Wales, associate with his speciall friends, the Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwick, 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
THE THIRD PART 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?

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.

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:

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 Wakefeld, To besiege you in your castell 

here Q. 53-51. Ay, with ... leave] 42, 43. Enter sir John and sir Hugh 

Shrew, i. i. 250. And Promos and Cassandra, Part i. 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 com-

pany in 1598. See again, iii. i. 1 

(note).

49. The queen with all the northern 

carls] Hall (or Grafton) is closely 

followed: 'The Duke by small jour-

neys came to his Castell of Sandall 

besyde Wakefielde on Christmass 

eue, and there began to assemble his 

tenantes and friends. The Queene 

beysing thereof asserterneyed, 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 Clifford, 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, even before his 

Castell, he haungy with him not fully 

five thousand persons, determined in- 

centinent to issue out, and to fight 

with his enemies, and although Sir 

Dauy Hall, his olde seruaunt and chiefe 

Counsaylor, advised him to keepe his 

Castell and to defend the same ... 

dauy, dauy, hast thou loved me so 

long, and nowe wouldest haue me dis-

honoured ... lyke a birde inclosd in a 

cage ... wouldest thou that I for 

dread of a scoldyng woman, whose 

weapon is onely her tongue and her 

nayles should enclose my selfe ... my 

mind is rather to die with honor, than 

to liue with shame. ... Therefore 

auance 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:
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.

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.

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?

[Alarum. Exeunt.

Mortimer. Yorke. A Gods name, let them come, Cosen Montague post you hence:
and boies stait 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 happe... means... us Q. 65-67. She...
need, we'll... men? Ay, with... for a need] 47-50. She... neede my
Lorde, weeke... souliders uncle? I father... hundred for a need Q. 68.
A... we fear] 50. A... you feare Q. 69, 70. I hear... straight] 55.
Lets march 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, maue brave battles... Normandie... and why should
I now doubt Of the like succes? 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, 3)).

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.

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 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;


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 imperialisl Rome,
To be according to their barbarous laws
Bloudily torn with greedy lions paws"

(Sylvesteir's Du Bartas, The Sixt 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 suggested 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—meaning "And pent up in thy study," etc. See Richard III. iv. 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.
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.

**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
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
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!
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,
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 ... turns 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 ... hie ... 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 me? Q. 39-45. Thy father ... Ah, let me ... no cause] 37-44. Thy father ... Oh, let me ... no cause Q.

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

Clif. No cause!  
    Thy father slew my father; therefore, die.  

Rut. Di faciant laudis summa sit ista tuae!  

Clif. Plantagenet! I come, Plantagenet!  
And this thy son's blood cleaving to my blade  
Shall rust upon my weapon, till thy blood,  
Congeal'd with his, do make me wipe off both.  

SCENE IV.—Another part of the field.  


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 thy castell,  
save thy life, The goatle is lost thou house of Lancaster, Thrise happie chance is  
it for thee and thine, That heaven abridgde my daies and calls me hence Q.  

47. therefore, die] Rutland's brutal murder is thus told by Hall: "While  
this bataile was in fighting, a priest called sir Robert Aspall, chappeleyn  
and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland, it sonne to the aboue named  
duke of Yorke, scace of ye age of xii  
yeres, a faire gentlemé, and a mayden-  
like person, perceiving ye flight was  
more saucgard . . . 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 kneeled on his knees imploiring  
mercy, and desiring grace, both with  
holding up his handes and making  
dolorous countinance, for his speche  
was gone for feare. Saue him sayde  
his Chappelain, for he is a princes  
sonne, and per duasenture 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 word, stacke the [strake  
in Grafton] erle to ye hart with his  
dagger, and bad his Chappelain bere  
the erles mother & brother worde what  
he had done, and sayde. In this acte  
the lord Clyfford was accompted a  
tyraunt, and no gentleman, 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. 1589).  

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

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

52. Congeal'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.

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!”
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!”
And cried “A crown, or else a glorious tomb!
A sceptre, or an earthly sepulchre!”

With this, we charged again: but, out, alas!


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

“For anon the woole . . . Persisted sharpe and eager still, until that as he stood
Fast byghting on a Bullocks necke, she turned him into stone.”

4. Thrice 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 “hunger-starved men” (i 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 sterned hownd
Upoon them, very eagerlie he downe his greedy gut
Theyr bowwells . . . put.”

New Eng. Diet. 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 slaughter’d 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, to. Three times . . . And thrice] See note to 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 358 for a parallel from Spenser. Another is at Faerie Queene, ii. i. 46: “Thrishe he her reard, and thrishe she sunk againe.” The Quarto extends the figure: “And twice so oft,” a non-crescendo touch, judiciously altered.

12. purple falchion] falchion, a curved sword; “purple” is used of blood again, n. 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 bodged again: as I have seen a swan
With bootless labour swim against the tide,
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;
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.

Clif. Ay, to such mercy as his ruthless arm

[...]

19. bodged] 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'er-matched" 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, xii, 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.


29. I am your butt] Compare Henry V. i. ii. 156. 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 Phaethon hath tumbled from his car,
And made an evening at the noontide prick.

York. My ashes, as the phœnix, may bring forth
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;
So doves 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;
And, if thou canst for blushing, view this face,

(Sylvester's Du Bartas, Fift Day of the First Week, p. 104, 1591). The expression has already occurred in 1 Henry VI. iv. vii. 93 (note). See also Henry VIII. v. v. 41; and that most strange poem The Phœnix and the Turtle. "Bird," meaning young bird, chicken, formerly common, is still used provincially.

41. So doves do peck] See below, 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 Lucrece, Arg. 24. "Invectively" is in As You Like It. See Harvey's Letters to Spenser, 1581.


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.

*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.
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.

[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'rematch'd.

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

*Q. Mar.* Brave warriors, Clifford and Northumberland,
Come, make him stand upon this molehill here,
That raught at mountains with outstretched arms,
Yet parted but the shadow with his hand.
What! was it you that would be England's king?
Was't you that revel'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,
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
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.
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.
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.


71. revelld'] 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 vil-laine" has occurred already in First Contention, v. ii. 59; but not in Part II. Grafton in Continuation of Henryng (468), 1543, says of Richard: "he was lytle of stature, euill featuured 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 mercy, 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.  

[Plucks 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?  
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?  
O! 'tis a fault 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 . . . holy oath,  
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. 1. 47) continues:  
"Yet this cruel Clifford, and deadly  
bloud supper not content with this  
homicide, or child killyng, came to  
place wher the dead corps of the  
duke of Yorke lay, and caused his head  
to be stryken of, and set on it a  
croune 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  
merserable end chanced to the duke of  
York, as a due punishment for breaking  
his oth of allegiance unto his Sour-

eign lord King Henrie: but others  
held him discharged thereof, because  
he obtained a dispensation from the  
pope, by such suggestion as his pro-
curators made unto him, whereby the  
same oth was adiudged void, as that  
which was received vnaduisdellie, to  
the prejudice of himselfe, and disheri-
itting of all his posteritie." . . . "A  
purchase of Gods curssse with the popes  
believing" (margin).  

101, 102. As I bethink . . . 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  
Duke Humphrey then would looke  
to be our King."  
See note at 2 Henry VI. iii. 1. 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 pheno-
menon.  
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, 1. 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.

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!
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.

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,

Unless the adage must be verified,
That beggars mounted run their horse to death.

Thats . . . death. Queen. Yet stay: and lets . . . makes Q. 118. Shewolf . . . poisons . . . their woes . . . with use . . . blush:] 96-103. She wolfe . . . poison'd . . . his woes . . . by use . . . blush Q. 119-120. To . . . derived, Were . . . both the . . . needs not, nor . . . knows . . . small] 104-114.
To tell thee of whence thou art, from whom derive, Were . . . 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 be dead." And again later. "Dead-doing" is nearer. "Do" means make, or cause to be. See note at ii. 1. 103 below.
113. ill-beseeming] undecorous. See 1 Henry VI. iv. i. 31; and later in 2 Henry IV. and Romeo and Juliet. Unhyphened 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 "be seem," and compounds of it.
114. trull] See 1 Henry VI. ii. i. 28. "Strumpet" usually, here rather a ramp or female bravo.
115. captivates] subdues, captures. See Love's Labour's Lost, iii. i. 126, and Venus and Adonis, 281. This verb is several times in Locrine. 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.
127. beggars . . . death] A proverb found in a variety of shapes. "Set a beggar on horse backe they saie, and hee will never 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;  
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,  
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?  
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 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 virtue ... abominable ... woman's hide? ... woman's 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,  
rrough ... will. ... So thou ... wish ... windes blowes up a storme of  
tears, And ... begs vengeance as it falls, On ... French woman Q.

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

"Asperius nihil est humilii, 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] seemly 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 Groatsworth 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 Acolatus his Afterwritte, 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. (Dyte, 31, a); and the same expression occurs in Sylvester's Du Bartas (ed. 1621, p. 37): "One single sigh from thy obdurate breast" (1591). Marlowe's use is the earliest, applied to persons, in New Eng. Dict. "Indurate" was older.
For raging wind blows up incessant showers,
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
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.
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,
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
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,
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.

Q. Mar. And here’s to right our gentle-hearted king.

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

[Dies.

Richard III. i. 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. 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.
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 Conten-
tion, 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 'scape'd,
Or whether he be 'scape'd 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;
Or had he 'scape'd, 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.


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 Glis 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 stooide righte nowe uppon this shore . . . is become"
(viii. 1067). And Grafton, Richard the Second (rept. i. 416): “They sente foorth their Currous, 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,  
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.  
See how the morning opes her golden gates,
And takes her farewell of the glorious sun;  
How well resembles it the prime of youth,  
Trimn'd like a younker prancing to his love.

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

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:  
Now are they but one lamp, one light, one sun.  
In this the heaven figures some event.

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 “disdainetull younkers” in The Shepheard’s Calendar, February (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. 49:—

“His wonder far exceeded reasons reach,  
That he began to doubt his dazeled sight.”

Peele has it twice in Arraignment of Paris. See also Locrine, i. i. This line is copied in Solime and Perseda, ii. i. 244: “Dazzell mine eyes, or ist Lucinas chaine?”

26. 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, nearer to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford East, on Candlemasse day in the morning, 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 enemies, and they shortly discomfited: for which cause, men imagined that he gau 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 “inviolate” (Q). See again King John, v. ii. 7, Richard III. iii. i. 27. Peele (543, b) uses “keep it inviolate” (of an oath). Marlowe has “truce 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, 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.

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 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, 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;


34. cites] urges, incites. See Part II. i. ii. 281.

36. meeds] merits. Johnson incautiously suggested "deeds."

40. target] target, shield.

40. shining] This word occurs three times in ten lines in Q. One is eliminated here by "blazing" (36). But "over-shine," instead of "over-peer" (of Q), somewhat defeats the amelioration, but Shakespeare had a great liking for forming verbs with the prefix "over." In this sense not again in Shakespeare.


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.

THE THIRD PART OF

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 scourges, many foul taunts, 
They took his head, and on the gates of York 
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 pursue 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 crownd ... despite Q. 66-67. Laugh’d ... blood Of ... slain :) 35-39. Who then with teares began to waile his fall. The ruthlesse Queene perceiuing he did weep, Gave him a handkercher to wipe his eies, Dipt in the bloude of ... slaine: Q. 64-67. And after ... I view’d) 394-44. who weeping tooke it up; Then through his brest they thrust their bloody swordes, Who like a lambe fell at the butcher’s feete. 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 overcomes 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 Euphuics (Arber, p. 91), 1579: “Soft droppes 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.


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 “unrelent’g eys” 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
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

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 have 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,
i. 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 ob-
solte. Compare Hawes’ Pastime of
Pleasure (rept. p. 48):—
"Vlyayne courage . . .
That is boystrous and rude of
governance."
And Spenser, Faerie Queene, 1. viii. 10:
"His boystrous club" ("his dreadful
club" a few lines earlier).
71. The flower . . . chivalry] Com-
pare Grafton, Edward the Thirde (i.
332): "Edward . . . accompted the
Flower of all Chyvalrye, 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 1
Henry IV. i. iii. 99; and below, ii. v.
56. In single combat. Earlier in New

Eng. Dict. It occurs in The Conten-
tion, iv. x. 50. See Spanish Tragedy,
1. 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 him-
self, and indeed was something of an
adept at pathos (see David and Beth-
sabe), 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;
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:
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.

Ediv. His name that valiant duke hath left with thee;
His dukedom and his chair with me is left.

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 ... heart Q. 81-88. Nor can ... Richard ... I’ll venge ... renounced ... it] 52-55. I cannot inoie till this white rose be side, Even in the hart blond of the house of Lancaster. Richard ... and Ie revenge ... my selfe in seeking of revenge Q. 89, 90. His ... thee; His ... left] 56, 57. His ... thee, His chaire and Dukedom 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 against 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 young 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 Assemblie 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,
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. 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.

104. drown’d . . . in tears] A very favourite expression. I find it about fifteen times in Shakespear’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 Queene still came forwarde with her Northern people, enteyning to subuerue and defaict all conclusions and agreeements, enacted and assenteed 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 left 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;
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,
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;
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,


and set forward toward Saint Albons,
hauyng the Kyng in their company,
as the head and chefetayn of the warre,
and so not mynding to differre the
time any further, ypon shrouetuesday early
in the morning, set upon their enemies.
Fortune that day so favored the Quene, that her partes preuyed,
& the duke and the erle were discomfited and fled . . . after the victorie
obtayned, and the kynge broughte to the Quene . . . Happy was the Quene
in her two battayls but unfortunate
was the kynge 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 &
vanchished." See this passage con-
tinued at "dub him presently," below,
11. ii. 59.

113. And . . . thought] Introduced from Q by Steevens. For "well ap-
pointed," see 1 Henry VI. iv. ii. 21;
and Golding's Ovid: "a traine Of well
appointed men of warre new leived"
(vii. 1121, 1122).

118. dash] frustrate. Compare
Grafton's Continuation 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 Groat'sworth of
Wit (Grosart, xii. 122); in The Trouble-
some Raigne of King John, and in
Peele's Tale of Troy. See Grafton's
Continuation of Hardyng, 461 (1543):
"but ye duke, to make a short tale,
would by no meanes deliuer theim."

121. Our battles join'd] See above, 1.
ii. 15.

130. night-owl] Again in Twelfth
Night and Richard II. Shakespeare
has later a pleasant friendly tone to-
wards the owl, very much truer in
perception than his contemporaries.
Golding's "wicked wretch Nycty-
minee" 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,
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,
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
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.

War. Nor now my scandal, Richard, dost thou hear;

133-141. I cheer'd...our cause...heart to fight, And we...fight again
140. I cheered...the cause...harts to fight, Nor we...fight again Q.
142, 143. Where is...And when...England? Q. 109-111. Thankes gentle Warwike, How farre hence is the Duke with his power? And when...England? Q.
144-147. Some six...the soldiers; And for...to this needful war] 112-115. Some five...his power, But as for...gainst this needfull warre Q.
148-150. 'Twas odds...his praises...his scandal of retire] 116-118. Twas odds...thy praises...thy scandall of retire Q.
151-156. Nor now...this strong...prayer] 119-124. Nor now...that this right...prayer Q.

quin, the night owl, catches the dove in Lucrce.

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 vouchsafht
In hast, post hast, to send
Me doune from heaven"
(Gascoign, Princeely 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 citie of Utrecht in Almayn; where they were of Phillippe duke of Burgoyne well recyeued and festeed, and so there thei remayned, till their brother Edwarde 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..."
THE THIRD PART OF

For thou shalt know this strong right hand of mine
Can pluck the diadem from saint 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.

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?
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.

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 mope proud birds,
Have wrought the easy-melting king like wax.
He spake 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.
now . . . frustrate . . . beside May . . . I think . . . strong] 142-145. But

156. famed . . . prayer] See Part II.
1. iii. 54-59 (and notes) for King Henry's
disposition.
160. coats of steel] See "stealed coat," I 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

165. 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 I Henry
VI. i. ii. 138. Compare "haught insul-
ting 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
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,
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.

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!—
Must Edward fall, which peril heaven forfend!

in this repetition, see again at 1. iv. 9 above, and note. A favourite method
with Spenser.

183. foaming steeds] Spenser pre-
ceded this with “foamy steed,”
Faerie Queene, 1. xi. 23. He has
“foaming tar” earlier, but “foamy”
often. The latter is once in Shakes-
peare, Twelfth Night.

187. sunshine day] Occurs again in
Richard II, iv. i. 221. In Spenser's Shep-
heard'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 Shakes-
ppearian 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; 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.

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?

Mess. The Duke of Norfolk sends you word by me, The Queen is coming with a puissant host;


193, 196. throne . . . throws] Capell reads "king . . . casts" here from Q. 196. throws not up his cap for joy] From Grafton's Continuation of Hard- yng, 512 (1543): "One Nashfeelede, and other belonging to the protectoure, with some prentices and ladders . . . began . . . to crye 'Kyng Richard, 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, 11. i. 13. "Stay we no longer prating here" is a line in Peele's Jack Straw (Hazzlitt's Dodson, 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. "Ile about it straight" occurs in Solliman 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 I 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 "marchr amain" on London is set aside by this news. That it was
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

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, Northun... and Yong  
Prince, with Drumm and Trumpettes V 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 enemie ... impaled ... please your eie my lord? Q. 5-8. Ay, as ... cheer ... wreck: To see ... soul. Withhold ... vow] 5-7. 
Even 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  
chef Key, and common spectacle to the whole Realme, thinking there to  
assure them selvs of the East and West parte of the kingdome [Norfolk  
and Wales], as King Henry and his faction nestede and strengthened him  
and his alies in the North regions and boreal plage: meaning to hauie  
a buckelar against a sword, and a southerne byl to counteruaile 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 iiiij assembl  
est 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 doing 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 deceued: for out of the  
dead stocke sprang ... Kyng Edward  
the iiiij” (Hall, 252).

3. impaled with ... crown] in Q is altered here. It occurs below, ii.  
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 remite that faulte other  
would abuse his lenitee and trespass
And harmful pity must be laid aside.
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?
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:
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 Beare . . . his young . . . his face. Whose scapes . . . in rescue . . . brows Q. 21-32. He, but a duke . . . yield consent . . . unloving . . . with those . . .

more highly." An earlier use than any quoted.
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 tayle and it must turne agayn" (Heywood (ed. Sharman), p. 111, 1546). It is in A. Munday's English Rомayne 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 striken that will not roar 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 safeguard 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, 1356, and Caxton, Somes of Aymon, 1489, with Shakespeare next. But Shakespeare read the following: "The protectoure . . . came in agayn . . . with a sovre angry countenaunce, knittynge the brows, frownynge, 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.  
Reasonable 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,  
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,  
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  
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  
That things ill got had ever bad success?

used with fearful ... climb'd ... defence?] 20-31. He but a Duke ... give  
consent ... unnaturall ... with those same wings Which they have sometime  
ville in fearfull ... climes ... defence? Q. 33-42. For shame, my liege  
... precedent ... birthright by ... away? Ah, ... this! Look ... for-  
tune, steel ... heart To hold ... with him] 32-41. For shame, my Lord ...  
president ... birth right through ... away? 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 never yet heare tell, That things cuill ... euers was  
... hell? Q.

33. precedent] "president" in F1 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 fearfull 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 argu-  
ments." 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!
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!

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.

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.

Clif. Why, that is spoken like a toward prince.

ed. p. 131). And in Grafton's Continuation of Hardye, 518: "the thynge euell gotten is never well kepe." 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 chyldle 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.

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,
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.

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!"

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 "Northen horsemen," Hall writes: "But what soever man purposeth, God disposeth; for all these deuises were shortly transmuted into another forme, because t两会 report was brought, 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 Wiltshire... and that the erle of Warwycke... had mete with the sayd erle of Marche at Chipping Norton... and that they with both their powers were cominge toward 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. 26; iii. 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. I would... absent] See note at ii. i. 77: "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. 1. 133. See note at "sweet my child," Love's Labour's Lost, i. ii. 65, and "good my knave," ibid. iii. 1. 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 hide the mortal fortune of the field?

Q. Mar. Go, rate thy minions, proud insulting boy! Becomes it thee to be thus bold in terms 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, 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!

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.

Vusheath your sword, sweet father crie Saint George. Clif. Pitch we our battell heere, for hence wee will not move. 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 ... yealde thy crowne, And kneele for mercie at thy soueraigne 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?] 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?] 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 ... satisfiye Q.

follow." And in Spenser's Ruines of Rome, st. 22.

84. proud insulting] See above, ii. 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," 1. i. 46. This line occurs in Greene's A1phonsus (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 Groatworth 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), 1599.
King Henry the Sixth

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.

Break off the parley; for scarce I can refrain
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;
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 . . .
. . . Upon that Clifford . . . child-killer] 104-109. No, . . . manhood War-
rike, 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 . . . villatine . . . sunne set [Sun-
. . . My liege . . . cured . . . his tongue] 114-122. Haue done . . . 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 tongue 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. Diet. 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 1. 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."
THE THIRD PART OF

K. Hen. I prithee, give no limits to my tongue:
I am a king, and privileged to speak.

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.

Edzw. 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.

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,
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. 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 sweare 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 laus," below, l. 147. At the birth of Prince Edward, Hall says (rept. p. 230): "which was christened & named Edward . . . whose mother susteyned not a little slander and obloquye of the common people, saiyng that the kyng was not able to get a chyld, and that this was not his sonne, with many slanderous wordes, to the quenes dishonor, which here nede not to be ref ered." 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,
As if a channel should be call'd the sea,
Sham'st thou not, knowing whence thou art extraugeth,
To let thy tongue detect thy base-born heart?

Edw. A wisps of straw were worth a thousand crowns,
To make this shameless callat know herself.
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 deriude, to parlie
thus with Englands lawfull heares? Q. ... 144, 145. A wispe ... 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 Luc-
rece, 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 pro-
duce fainting. One would suggest Lodge's "faintful."
141. channel] gutter, kennel, drain.
142. extrautght] derived (the Quarto word). A participle for extracted, like
distraught for distracted. Spenser has "from whos race ... she was lineallie
extract" (Faerie Queene, iii. ix. 38).
"Exraught" occurs twice in the Trou-
blesome Raigne of King John, where
Shakespeare read it, probably earlier than this play: "I beg some instance
whence I am extrautght" (Shakes-
peare'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 Quarto. 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 wispe of straw] the badge of
a scold. See Naeres for ample illus-
trations, 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 stag" by
Naeres. Steevens gives an early re-
ference from Drant's Horace, Seventh
Satire, 1567:—
"So perlyte and exacte a souldse
that women mighte gave place
Whose tatlyne tongues had won
a wispe."
The only early one I can add is from
Gabriel Harvey's Pierces Superero-
gation (Grosart, ii. 219), 1593: "She
hath already put-on her wispen gar-
land"—Harvey's tu quoque to Nashe
in Pierce Pennesse. 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 com-
pany 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 me-
memorial of cuckold." Schmidt adds
the reference to Troilus and Cressida,
i. i. 115: "Menelaus horn," the proto-
type of cuckold.
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,
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,
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,
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;
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;
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 ... bridall daie, Then ... bred a showre ... Which washt ... seditions ... mon'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 harvest brought ... We set ... edge have ... know thou we will neuer cease to strike, Till ... blowes 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 Fera (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 case denyes now dowting 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.


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.

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?

Enter Warwick Q. 1-5. Forspent . . . Have . . . spite of spite . . . awhile.

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 forspent and wore with yeere," (xii. 499, 491). And Spenser of the other construction: "Is not enough thy euil life forespent?"

(Faerie Queen, 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. 238. "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 secke 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. 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, 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!"

Did to him pace sad battale 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 context. Kyd sets "hapless" and "hopeless" in apposition in Spanish Tragedy and Cornelia.


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, saying: syr I praye God have 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 swardre, saiynge let him flie that wil, for sureley I will tary with him that wil tary with me, and kissed the crosse of his sword" (p. 253).

16. thickest thronges] In Quarto. See note above, ii. i. 13, at "thickest troop." And below, v. vi. 49.

16. steelly] "steely harted" occurs in Golding's Ovid, xiv. 831. Elsewhere Shakespeare has it in All's Well that Ends Well.


18. clangor] The earliest example in New Eng. Diet. 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, Locrine, and Kyd's Spanish Tragedy.
So, underneath the belly of their steeds,
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,
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,
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,
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
words 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,
commit me to my valiant sonne, And still he cride Warwike revenge my death,
And with those words he tumbled off his horse, And so the noble Salsbury gave
up the ghost Q. 23, 24. Then let . . . our blood . . . not fly] 26, 27. Then
Heaven I make a vow, Neuer to passe from forth this bloody field Till I am fullenenged for his death Q. 33, 34. O Warwike . . . to thine] 31, 32. Lord
Warwike, . . . knees . . . in that vow now joine my soule to thee Q. 35, 36.
And, ere . . . to Thee] omitted Q. 37-41. Thou . . . plucker . . . kings,
Beseeching Thee . . . soul!] 33-35. Thou . . . puller . . . kings, vouchsafe a
gentle victorie to vs, Or let us die before we loose the daie Q.
Beseaching 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,
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:
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,
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.
Forslow no longer; make we hence amain. [Exeunt.

40. brazen gates] difficult of entry.
See note at "brazen caves," Part II. n. 89. Peele has:—
"Lords, these are they will enter
brazen gates
And tear down lime and mortar
with their nails." (Edward II. (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, perceiving the courage of his trusty friend the erle of Warwycke, made proclamation that all men, which were afrayde to fighte, should incontinent departe, and to all men that tarried the battell, he promised great rewards with this addicion, that if any
souldiour, which voluntarie would abide, and in, or before the conflict flye, or turne his backe, that he that could kill him should have a great remuneracion and double wages" (p. 253). Here is the famous "remuneration" of Love's Labour's Lost, the "Latin for three farthings." "And hye 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).


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.
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;
And so, have at thee!

George. Then let us haste to cheere the souldiers harts, And call . . . to vs,
And hicie promise to remunerate Their trustie service in these dangerous warres Q.

Scene iv.

Excursions. Enter . . . ] Ff; Alarmes, and then enter Richard at one
for Yorke & young Rutlands death, This thirsty sword that longs to drinke
thy bloud, Shall lop thy limmes, and slit 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 deaths . . . 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
Ferice. 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. 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
erelong
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 Mar-
lowe) is from Golding's Ovid, v. 132.
See 1 Henry VI. iii. 1. 116 for "mur-
der" expression.

1. singled] chosen, selected. Com-
pare Love's Labour's Lost, 11. i. 28:
"We single you As our best-moving
fair solicitor." And see Titus And-
roniens, 11. i. 117. Elsewhere in 3
Henry VI., with "forth," 11. i. 12
above, and in Titus Androniens, 11. iii.
69. And with "out" immediately be-
low, line 12, and in Venus and Adonis.
Compare Greene, Aleida (ix. 73):
"Meribates and my daughter had
singled themselves" (separated them-
selves from the rest). Spenser has
"he had her singled from the crew"
(Faerie Queene, iii. iv. 45). Greene
has it (oddly used) again in Euphues
to Philius. See below, v. iv. 49, note.
4. brazen wall] See note at "brazen
caves," 2 Henry VI. iii. 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 embark in mighty brazen
wall,
He has them now four years be-
seiged."

ii. 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
Fors'ld by the tide to combat with the wind;
Now sways it that way, like the self-same sea

12, 13. Nay . . . death] omitted Q.

SCENE V.

Alarum. Enter . . . ] Ff; Alarumes still, and then enter Henry Solus Q. 1-13. This battle . . . fell war] 1-6. Oh gracios God of heaven looke downe on vs, And set some endes to these incessant grieves, How like a mastlesse ship upon 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. 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 (i. 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), r567:—
"The day was spent, and now was come the time which nether 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 i. iv. 18-20—a sort of forecast of this noble passage. Compare here Soliman
Fore'd to retire by fury of the wind:
Sometime the flood prevails, and then the wind;
Now one the better, then another best;
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!
For Margaret my queen, and Clifford too,

...ing this way, now to that side drive, And none doth know to whom the date
will fall Q. 14-15. Here ... victory I] 7, 8. O would my death might stae
these ciult (cruell, Q 2) jars! Would I had neuer reined, nor were 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 mastelles ship at sea Goe every
way and not the way I would?”

ii. tugging to be victors] Hall
describes this, in words suggesting the
tides (line 5) and also the father
gainst son below: “This deadly
battale and bloudy conflict [Towton]
continued x hours in doubtfull
victorie. The one parte some tyme
flowyng, and some tyme ebbyng, but
in conclusion Kyng Edward so
coragiously comforted his men . . .
that the other parte was overcame . . .
This conflict was in maner vnnaturall,
for in it the sonne fought against the
father, the brother against the brother,
and the nephew against the uncle, and
the tenaunt against his lorde” (p.
236). This battle decided the fate of
the house of Lancaster. Rastell says:
“In this field and chase were slain
30,000 men.”

ii. breast to breast] Not in Shake-
peare 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.
117:—

“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 Flower;
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
Own undon.”

13. equal poise] weight in the
balance. See Measure for Measure,
u. 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 Whetham-
sted): “Some write that the duke was
taken alive, and in derision caused to
stand upon a molehill; on whose head
they put a garland in stead 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 aspir-
ing Stukely, that would rather be the
king of a mouhill, than the second
in Ireland” (Pierces Supererogation
(Grosart, ii. 146), 1589). ‘See above,
1. 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?
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,
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:
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;
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.

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 field, Swearing they had best successse when I was thence, Would God that I were dead so all were well, Or would my crowne suffice, I were content To yeld 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. swear] 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. ewes] yeas. "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 my hoore heris with sorewe to helle" (Wyclif, Genesis xiii. 38 (1388)).
40. quiet grave] "And lays the soul to sleepe in quiet grave" (Spenser, Faerie Queene, i. ix. xi. 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 "siclie sheepe," "siclie doves" and "siclie
Than doth a rich embroider’d canopy
To kings that fear their subjects’ treachery?
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,
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.
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 soldier with a dead man in his armes Q. 55-58. Son. Ill blows . . . man, whom . . . fight, May . . . And I . . . now] 14-17. Souled. Ill blows . . . 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, Shepherds Calendar, November (Globe, 481, a):—
“So well she couth the shepherds entertaine
With cakes and cracknels, and such country chere:
Ne would she scorn the simple Shepheards swaine;
For she would call him often heame (home)
And give him curds and clouted Creame”

(1579).
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 seemingly 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 Virgil’s Gnat: “Oh! the great happiness which sheheards 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 (Hazzlitt’s Dodsls, vi. 528): “It is an ill wind bloweth no man to profit.” And in Heywood’s Proverbs (ed. Sharman, p. 158). 1536.
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.  
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,  
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!  
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!  
While lions war and battle for their dens,  
Poor harmless lambs abide their enmity.  
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,  
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, hearing 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 thinkes 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 Oid: "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,
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,
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 that common grief!
O, that my death would stay these ruthless deeds!
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, (ironious Q 3) Q. 91-93. This deadly ... O boy ... soon ... late] 31-33. This deadly ... Poore boy ... late ... hercainde ... some Q. 94, 95. Woe ... ruthless deeds] 34. Wo ... grieffe (compare line 7 (Q) ending aisti jarrs, for 95) Q. 96. O, pity. ... pity] 35, 36. Whils Lyons ware and battlete for their dens, Poore lambs do feele the rigor of their wrathes Q. 97, 98. The red ... houses] 37, 38. The red ... houses Q.

90. Erroneous] The earliest example in New Enl. Diet. meaning criminal (astray from right). Not a common word at this time and only once elsewhere in Shakespeare (Richard III. 1. iv. 200) meaning misled. It is interesting to see the form in Q, “ironious,” and later “ironious.” “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, I. 180; and Richard III. 111. i. 99: “Too late he died that might have kept that title” (Stevens). I think it matters very little, although there is a dissertation on the question amongst editors in Stevens. 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. 1. 252). A very common form. “On top of.”

95. ruthless] See note at “ruthless,” above, i. iv. 31. The latter is in this play five times. Compare “pitiful” and “pittyless,” 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:
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
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 rude a father's death?
Fath. Was ever father so bemoan'd his son?
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;

these two speeches of Henry's are re-
presented by one; the more conspicuous ideas are common to both versions, but amplified in the final text.

104. Take on with me] chafe, rave, fret furiously. See Merry Wives of Windsor, iii. v. 40 (in this edition, note). Compare Nashe, Pierce Penilesse (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] See Introduction to Part I.; similar line-beginnings occur in Locrine, iv. ii. "Was never" is commoner in Spenser.
110. sou son rude] "Son so rude" in Q is a very odd change; it is like that of "buzz," below, for "busie." Probably from bad caligraphy.
114. winding-sheet] See above, i. i. 129. Only there besides in Shakespeare. Compare this line with Marlowe's The Jew of Malta, iii. i (Dyce, 161, a, Routledge, 1859): "What sight is this! my Lodo- vico 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.
I'll bear thee hence; and let them fight that will,
For I have murder'd where I should not kill. 120

[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,
And Warwick rages like a chafed bull.
Away! for death doth hold us in pursuit.

125, overgone with care] Compare Sidney's Arcadia, Book v. (iii. 53, ed. 1739): "Phianax 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.

125. Fly, father, fly] Hall says of this long contest: "the great rier of Wharfe [from the "dead carcass"] broke, and all the water comyng from Townton 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 perceived 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 solemnnitie 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 behedded 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 irrecuperable 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, requiryng of him and his counsail, ayde, succor, reliefe and comfort" (p. 256).

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,
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,
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;
And, now I fall, thy tough commixture melts,


SCENE VI.

A loud . . . ] Ff; Enter Clifford wounded with an arrow in his necke 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 more extensive alterations in and additions to the Quarto than have occurred yet. "Expostulate," meaning dilate, discuss, is an obsolete word. 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 1. 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?
O Phoebus, hadst thou never given consent
That Phaethon 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,
Giving no ground unto the house of York,
They never then had sprung like summer flies;
I and ten thousand in this luckless realm

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, I. 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 Astrea (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 unpoeetically. There are reasons for its omission. The line, "The common people by numbers swarmed 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. fiery steeds] Golding has (of Phoebus): "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, careless 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.
For what doth cherish weeds but gentle air?
And what makes robbers bold but too much lenity?
Bootless are plaints, and careless are my wounds;
No way to fly, nor strength to hold out flight:
The foe is merciless, and will not pity;
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.

[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,


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."


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 (misproud). 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 i. 32.

32. **frowns of war** Not in Q. Compare Richard III. i. i. 9: "Grim-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front."

33. **Some troops pursue . . .** "Edward, that he might use well the victory, after he had a little refreshed his soldiers 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 Quarto 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,
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;
And wheresoe'er he is, he's surely dead.

[Clifford groans and dies.

Edw. Whose soul is that which takes her heavy leave?


Edw. See who it is: and, now the battle's ended,
If friend or foe let him be gently us'd.

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,
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 Barwine 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 groans 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 us'd 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.

41. Clifford groans and dies] Hall describes Clifford's death: "After this proclamation [Scene ii. iii. 50-52, note] ended, the lord Fawconbridge... with the forward... intended to have environed and enclosed the lord Clyfford and his company, but they being there of advertised, departed in great haste toward Kyng Henrie's army, but they met with some that they loked not for, and were attrapp'd or they were ware. For the lord Cliforde, either for heat or Payne, putting off his gorget, sodainly with an arrow (as some say without an hedde) was striken into the throte and incontinent rendered his spirit... not far from Towton. This ende had he, which slew the yong erle of Rutland, kneeling on his knees" (p. 255).
43. departing] parting, separating. See Cymbeline, 1. 1. 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 Locrine. Peele uses it.
Instead whereof let this supply the room:
Measure for measure must be answered.

_Edwa_. 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.
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,
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.

_Edwa_. Clifford, repent in bootless penitence.

_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.

_Edwa_. Thou pitied'st Rutland; I will pity thee.

_Geo_. Where's Captain Margaret, to fence you now?

56-59. Bring ... sung ... ill-boding ... speak] 50-52. Bring ... sung
50 but bloud and death, Now his cuill 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 avoid such bitter
storms as he In his house of death did give unto 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] Various written at this time as skritch owl, shriek 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 owl" (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 V_, 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 "evill-bod-
ing."
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 clam-
our 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,
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,
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.

77-84. Nay, then ... hours' ... despite ... him, This ... chop ... unstaunched ... satisfy' 70-77. Nay, then I know he's dead. This hard, when Clifford cannot foord his friend an oath. By this I know he's dead, and by my solew, Would this right hand buy but an howres ... content' ... him, I'd cut ... instaunched ... 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 enough'' (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 "I'd 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 loathsome flesh."

And Lyly's Endymion, ii. ii. 70: "teare the flesh with my teeth ... so eger is my unstaunched stomacke." "Instaunched" 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 dale of June, was at Westminster with all solemnnitie 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] cleeve the sea. Compare Spenser, Faerie Queene, ii. viii. 5: "to cut his airy ways." Golding has, however, "Cut over the Ionian
THE THIRD PART OF

[ACT II.

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.
First will I see the coronation;
And then to Brittany I'll cross the sea,
To effect this marriage, so it please my lord.

Edu. Even as thou wilt, sweet Warwick, let it be;
For in thy shoulder do I build my seat,
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.

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 . . . Il.e see the coronation done, And afterward Ile crosse
the seas to France, To effect . . . if it . . . Lord Q. 99. Even as . . . sweet
. . . be) 92. Even . . . 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 Duke of Clarence, and girt 
thee with the sword. Our younger brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, War-
rike, as my selfe shal . . . best Q. 106-110. Let me be . . . Tut, . . . foolish

sea" (xv. 56). And a few lines previ-
ously "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.
100. in thy shoulder) on thy back.
Shoulder is often "back" in Shake-
spere.
103, 104. Richard . . . of Gloucester;
And George, of Clarenear) After his
coronation, Hall says: "In the whiche 
yere, he called his high Court of Parlia-
ment. . . . 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 Iphon Nevell, brother
to Richard erle of Warwike, he first 
made Lorde Mountacute and afterwards 
created hym Marques Mountacute."
(p. 258).
107. Gloucester's dukedom . . . omin-
ous] 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 divers 
. . . as Hugh Spenser, Thomas of 
Woodstocke . . . and this duke Hum-
frey . . . So that this name of Gloucester 
is taken for an vnhapie and vnfortunate 
style, as the proverbe 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 observa-
tion," without which conversation would
Richard, be Duke of Gloucester. Now to London, To see these honours in possession.
ACT III

SCENE I.—A forest in the north of England.

Enter two Keepers, with cross-bows in their hands.

First Keep. 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 Keep. I’ll stay above the hill, so both may shoot.

First Keep. 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 In this self place where now we mean to stand.

Second Keep. Here comes a man; let’s stay till he be past.

Enter two Keepers.] The Folio reading, “Enter Sinklo, and Humphrey,” probably refers to two actors. Sinklo is mentioned in the stage-directions of the Taming of the Shrew (Ind. i. 86). Malone suggested Humphrey Jeaaffes as the other. A similar variation has taken place already at 1. 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, xlvi. 1, and notes at the passages. Shakespeare 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.


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;
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 Caesar now,
No humble suitors press to speak for right,
No, not a man comes for redress of thee;
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 ... alone, 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 marrie sir, here is ... his skin is ... fee. Sirra, stand close, for as I thinke, This is the king, King Edward hath defosde 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): "Kynge Henry ... whether he wete past all feare, or was not well stablisshed in his perfyte mynde ... in a disguised apparel boldely 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 Sinclio are two strange names.

14. wishfull] Longing, Spenser uses the word somewhat differently, meaning "much-needed," very desirable:
"Therefore to dye must needs be joyeuous.
And wishfull thing this sad life to foregoe"
(Daphnaida, st. 65). Not in Q, nor elsewhere in Shakespeare.

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 Shakespeare: 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) "duers keepers [shall] kill store of Buckes, and rescue no other fees to their selues but the horns" (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 Shakespeare "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
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,
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 morn;

24-27. Let me... little more] omitted Q. 28, 29. My... son... France... And... Warwick] 13, 14. My... some poor soules...
France, and... Warwick Q. 30-34. Is thither... Edward. If... true... but lost; For Warwick... And Lewis... words] 15-19. To intreat a marriage with the lady 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, 1. 1. 310). 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 beying French Kyng, living at Tours, and with greate honour was there receued and interteined; of whom, for Kyng Edward his master, he demanded to haue in marriage the lady Bona, daughter to Lewes duke of Savoy and sister to the lady Carlot, then French Queene, beying then in the Frenche court. This marriage semeth politiuely devised... Kyng Edward therefor thought it necessary to haue affinitie in France... trusting by this marriage, queene Margaret... should haue no aide, succor, nor any comfort of ye French Kyng... wherefore Quene Carlot much desirous to advancement her bloode... to so greate a prince as Kyng Edward was, obtained both the good will of the kyng her husband, & also of her syster, so that the matrmony thereon 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 leigned 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,
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;
He smiles, and says his Edward is install'd;
That she, poor wretch, for grief can speak no more:
While Warwick tells his title, smooths the wrong,
Inferreth arguments of mighty strength,
And in conclusion wins the king from her,
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?

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.


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 Neroes" (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 promises . . . 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."
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.

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, 
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.

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;

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. 644-67. my crown . . . it is that . . . 
Enjoy . . . Well, if . . . contented] 32-35. My crown . . . that kings doe 
seldone times enjoy . . . And if thou . . . content Q. 68, 69. To go . . .
For, as . . . the king . . . deposed] 36, 37. To go with us unto the officer, for
as . . . our quondam king . . . deposes 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 Corinelia, 
iv. 1. 246-248—
"He onely lives most happily 
That, free and farre from maiesie, 
Can live 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 am-
biguity.
76. anointed king] See above, I. 17, 
ote. This Biblical expression is again 
additional to Q.
84-89. I blow this feather . . . light-
ness 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,
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
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,
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;
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 . . .] Fi; Enter King Edward, Clarence, and Gloster, Montague, Hastings, and the Lady Gray Q. 1, 2. Brother . . . slain] 1-3. Brothers of Clarence, and of Gloster, This ladies husband heere Sir Richard Gray, At the bataille 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 prouerbe to be true that saith: that mariage is destine. 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 stony stratford, came for his recreacion to the manner of Grafton, where the duches of Bedford soiorned, then wyfe to Sir Richard Wuduile, lord Ryuers, on whom then was attendyng a daughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Greye, wydow of sry Ihon Grey knight, slaine at the last battell of saincte Albons, by the power of Kyng Edward. This wydow hauyng a suite to ye kyng” (continued at “too good to be your concubine,” l. 93, below). The death of Ihon Grey,
His lands then seiz'd on by the conqueror: His 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.

Glow. 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.

Glow. [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 Glow.] He knows the game: how true he keeps the wind!

Glow. [Aside to Clar.] Silence!

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.


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 Albs 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. repassess] Only in 3 Henry VI. See note at iii. iii. 2-16 below.
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 vantages.


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.

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.


23. Fight closer] Must be taken de-void of the literal sense of "close," i.e., near. Fight, or resist better. Compare "close fighting" (in serious conflict) (Romro and Juliet, 1. i. 118).

23. catch a clap] 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. 61, 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 Clymon

(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 forbod.

28. whip me then] Compare Othello, 1. 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.

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),
1582: "The Marble stone in time by watterie drops is pierced deepe." And
T. Watson, Passionate Centuries, xvi. (Arber, p. 83), 1582: "In time the
Marble weares with weakest sheuers." Kyd, when he appropriated Watson's
lines in The Spanish Tragedy (Hazzlitt'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.

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. r-3).

36-59. These lines are another ex-
ample of the method of alternate dia-
logue in lines (στιγμωθία) already
noted upon in 1 Henry VI. iv. v. 35-42,
a practice in the classic drama. Kyd's
Corinellia 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.
Glou. [Aside to Clar.] The match is made; she seals it with a curtsey.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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
My humble service, such as subjects owes and the lawes commands Q. 64-69.
No . . . with the] 48, 49. K. Edw. No. . . . I meant no such love, 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
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 fruits 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 Glo.} 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;
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:
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.

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.

---

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.


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 favoured her suyte, but muche more phantasied her person, for she was a woman more of formal countenance then of excellent beautye, but yet of such beautie and favor, that with her sober demeanour, louelie loking, and compete mynye smylyng (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.

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.

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 shrift.

K. Edw. Brothers, you muse what chat we two have had.

Glou. The widow likes it not, for she looks very sad.

K. Edw. You'd think it strange if I should marry her.

Clar. To whom, my lord? Why, Clarence, to myself.

that ye would therunto condiscend,
she might so fortune of his peramour and conccbyne to be changed to his wyfe and lawfull bedfellow; whiche
demandaue she so wisely, and with so
courteous speache answered and repugned,
affirmynge that as she was for his honor
farre vnable to be his spouse and bedfellow: so for her awne poore honestie,
she was too good to be either hys conccbyne, or soueraigne lady: that where
he was a littell before heated with the
darte of Cupido, he was nowe set all on
a boate burnyng fire . . . & without
any further deliberacion, he determyned
with him selie 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, priuile in a morninge 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 finall after many a meteyng
and much avowyng . . . 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 1. 1.

104. other some] another lot or set.
See again Measure for Measure, III. ii.
94, and Midsummer Night's Dream, I.
ii. 226. It occurs twice at least in
Golding's Ovid (books iv. and viii.).
Not uncommon in early poetry.

105. my queen] Johnson says of this
dialogue, closing here, that it is "very
lively and spritely; the reciprocalism is
quicker than is common in Shake-
speare."

107. ghostly father] Occurs again in
Measure for Measure and Romeo and
Juliet. "I'll have no ghostly fathers
out of France." (Peel. Edw. I. (410,
a)).

107, 108. shrift . . . shriver] Com-
pare this passage with I Henry VI. 1.
i. 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.
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:
    And go we, brothers, to the man that took him,
To question of his apprehension.
Widow, go you along. Lords, use her honourably.

[Execut all but Gloucester.

Glou. Ay, Edward will use women honourably.
    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 wonderers 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. Awake with him and send him to the Tower, And let us go question with the man about His apprehension. Lords along, and use this Ladel honourable. Exeunt Omnes. Manet Gloster 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.
124-195. 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,
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,
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,
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'erweenes too much,
Unless my hand and strength could equal them.
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.

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 some, and all they lookt for issue Of their loines Q. 132, 133. ere I can place . . . purpose l]
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 myself 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 lade). "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 soul'diers 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,
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,
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
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 compass twenty crownes Q. 153-159. Why ... forswore me ... soft lases ... with some bribe, To shrink mine ... shrub; To make an ... my body; To shape ... size] 117-123. Why ... did score me ... affairs ... in the flesh And plaste an ... my backe, Where ... my bodie, To drie mine ... shrimpfe. 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 ... below'd? Q. 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. 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 welphes are more misshapen then 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 hath newly liettred ... 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 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, 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, 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. 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. I can add colours to the chameleon, Change shapes with Proteus for advantages,

170. mis-shaped] Not again in Shakespeare. Several times in Faerie Queene, Book i. (viii. 16; viii. 40) ("misshaped parts").
170, 171. this head . . . impaled] See note at "pale your head" (1. iv. 103 above). Compare Peele, Edward I. Sc. xxiv. 410, b:—
"And see aloft Luellen's head, Emplaced 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, 3). Very often in Greene. And elsewhere in Peele, and in Locrine and Marlowe.
174. 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 Basilisk."
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.

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, He pull it downe. Exit Q.

SCENE III.

Flourish. Enter . . .] Fl; 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, Faerie 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. 140): "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 Atassed by corruption, Machaelsisme, apostatisme, hipocrisie and treachere" (Have with you, etc. (Grosart, iii. 205)). And worse in other places in Nashe. In Marlowe he is introduced as the prologue speaker in Æneid 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 Will's Trenchmouir 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.

I. 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 sent his wyfe and hys sonne into Fraunce, to Kyng Rene her father, trusting by his aede to assemble a greate army (257). . . She remained with Duke Reyner her father, till she take her infortunate Iorney into England again (261). . . (Edward's marriage takes place). . . When this mariage was once blown abroad, forren kyngs and prynces maruyeld . . noble men detested . . common people grudged. . . The French Kyng and his Queene were not a little discontent to haue their sister . . apparently 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
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,
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,
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 cas'd, if France can yield relief.

Q. Mar. Those gracious words revive my drooping thoughts,
And give my tongue-tied sorrows leave to speak.

hym a new wyfe, & that all he had done...in his ambassade...was
both frustrate and vayn, he was...sore chafed...and thought it neces-
sarye that King Edward should be de-
posed from his crowne" (265). The
dramatic scene here between Margaret,
Lewis, Warwick, Oxford is imaginary.
But Margaret "did obteyn and im-
petrate of the yong Frenche Kynge
[Lewis] that all fautors and louners of
her husbande and the Lancastreall
bande, might...haue resorte into
any parte...of Fraunce, prohibiting
all other of the contrary faccion" (257).

2-16. Sit down...sit thee] There
is only one bidding to sit down in Q,
after which Lewis utters three prepos-
terously 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 Shake-
speare.

7. 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,  
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,  
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,  
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.  
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?  
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 hyphened 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" (Siccevens' 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,  
I come, in kindness and unseign'd 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  
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,  
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,  
Before you answer Warwick. His demand  
Springs not from Edward's well-meaned honest love,

For he 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 reeleast."

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-mean't" 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?
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;
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.

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,
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... Henryes 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. lineallie descents] Compare with omitted line above at 1. i. 118 (Q), where the words are "lineallie descnt," 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?
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,
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.
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?

worth] 43-49. Oxford, how haps that . . . had lost . . . that . . . pedigree
(pedigree Q 3) . . . worth Q. 95-97. Why, . . . speak . . . liege, Whom .
. . . six years, And not . . . blush?] 50-52. Why . . . deny thy king, Whom .
. . . eight yeeres, And bewray . . . treasons . . . blush? Q. 98-108. Can
Oxford . . . pedigree? . . . by whose . . . elder . . . When nature . . . to the door
whom mine elder . . . when age did call him to the door . . . 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 1. i. 110 and the previous
lines.
96. thirty and six years] "thirty and eight yeeres" in Q. Boswell Stone
reconciles this discrepancy as follows:
Warwick was attained 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 per-
haps a mere misprint—but the reduced
time here may refer to the period ex-
clusive 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 which Parlia-
ment, the erle of Oxford fature striken in
age and the Lord Aubrey Vere, his
sonne and heire, whether it were for
malyce of their enemies, or thei wer
suspected or had offended, thei both and
diers of their counsellors, wer at-
tained and put to execution, whiche
caused lhon erle of Oxford ever after
to rebell" (p. 258).
103. done to death] See note at 1. 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 Gold-
ing'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,
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.

War. Thercon 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
Unto our sister Bona.

War. Such it seems
As may be seem 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,
The leaves and fruit maintain'd with beauty's sun,

him not! K. Lew. Now, Warwick] 64-67. Queene . . . vouchsafe to forbeare a
while Till I doe take a word with Warwike. Now Warwicke Q [Queen's speech
omitted]. 113-115. tell me . . . for I . . . were not lawful chosen] 67-69.
cuen upon thy honor tell me true: Is Edward lawfull king or no? For I . . .
is not lawfull heire Q. 116-118. Thercon . . . my . . . honour. K. Lew. But
is . . . eye? . . . was unfortunate] 70-72. Thercon . . . mine honour and my
credit. Lew. But . . . .[. . . is unfortunate Q. 119-121. Then further . .
Bona] 73. What is his love 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 solemnity, he was conveyed to Westmynster, 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 crowne of
England was declared by ii maner of

ways: the fyrste as sonne and hayre
to Duke Richard his father, right
enhtor to the same: the second by
authoritie of Parliament and forfeiture
committed by Kyng Henry. Wherupon
it was agayne demanded of the com-
mons, if they would admitte, and take
the sayd erle as their prince & sou-
raigne lord, which al with one voice
cried yea, yea" (p. 252).
124. eternal] Here Qq correct the
Folio, which reads "externall." War-
burton 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.

[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
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.

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,
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.

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.


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; For both of you are birds of self-same feather.  

[Post blowing a horn within.]

K. Lev. 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; 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.

K. Lev. Warwick, what are thy news? and yours, fair queen? Q. Mar. Mine, such as fill my heart with unhoped joys.

War. Mine, full of sorrow and heart's discontent.

K. Lev. What! has your king married the Lady Grey? And now, to soothe your forgery and his,

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 ... ) Pf (after false love); Sound for a post within Q (after France). 162. Warwick ... thee] 95. Here comes some post Warwick 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 Warwick frets at his ... And marke ... nettled Q. 171. Warwick ... queen] 103. Now Margaret and Warwick, what are your news? Q. 172, 173. Mine ... heart ... joys ... discontent] 104, 105. Mine ... heart full of ioie ... discontent Q. 174-178. What? has ...
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?
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,

to soothe . . . in this manner?] 106-108. What hath . . . to excuse himself send us a post of papers How dares he presume to use us thus? Q. 179, 180.
King Lewis . . . And most . . . And thrust King Henry from his native home Q. 191-194. And am I . . . return to Henry] 120. And most engraveful doth he use me thus? Q. 195-198. My . . . pass, And . . . his wrong to . . . state] 121-124. My grations 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 Pontefret. 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. 1. 94:--

By shameful murder,"
where I have quoted an example from Peele's David and Bethsabe.
THE THIRD PART OF

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,
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,
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,
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?

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.


196. servitor] See 1 Henry VI. ii. i. 5. The word occurs in Hall in this connection. Warwick "obtained li-ensure 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 (l) and fayre lady, named Elizabeth which afterward was wyfe to . . . Henry the VII. and mother to Kyng Henry the VIII." (p. 255). So far from Warwick at once declaring against King Edward, he "determined himself, couertly dissimulyng, to suffer all such wronges . . . til he might spye a time conuenient . . . he sayled into England, and with reverence, 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 collocation is likely to be older.
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

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.

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.

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 galli
ard 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 forlornes Paramours" (Faerie Queene,
1. i. 9). The willow and poplar were
hardly discriminated. Peele has,
"Gnome entereth with a wreath of
poplar on her head" (Arraignment of
Paris, iii. i. 42 (360, a), 1584). Else-
where in Peele's play it is "willow." See,
too, Lodge's Euphues Golden Legacie
(Shakespeare Library, rept. p. 133),
1390: "apparelled all in tawnie, to
signifie that he was forsaken: on his
head he 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
Bathsabe (173, b); and in Locrine
(near the end).

234-243. Oxford, with five thousand men ... eldest daughter ... holy
wedlock] Here we are to skip every-
thing for several years until Warwick
proclaims open war and roll the doings
then backwards to this juncture. In
the ix. year (1470), Hall, 281: "War-
wick and the Duke of Clarence ... came
to the kynge (Lewis') presence ...
at Ambo eye, and ... was with all
kynde of curtesie and humanitie re-
ceived ... when Margaret, which so-
iorne with Duke Reyner her father ...
harde tell that the erle of Warwike and
the Duke ... wer come to the Frenche
Court ... hopynge of newe conforte
with all diligence came to Amboye,
with her onely son Prince Edward.
And with her came Jasper erle of Pem-
broke, 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 founda-
cion of the newe amitie, Edward ... 
wedded Anne second daughter to therle
of Warwike ... After this marriage
the duke and therles took a solemne
ote that they shoulde never leave 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:
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,
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 say 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 . . . bands Q. 244-248. Yes, I agree . . . be thing] 151-153. Withall my heart, that match I like full wel, Love her sonne Edward, she is faire and yong, And give thy hand to Warwike for thy love Q. 249, 250. Yes, I accept . . . my hand] omitted Q. 251-253. Why say we . . . thou, Lord . . . them over . . . mischance, For . . . dame of France] 154-159. It is enough, and now we will prepare, To leue soldiеры

were restored . . . When the league was concluded, the Frenche kyng lent them shippes, monie, and men, and . . . appoynted the Bastard of Burgoyn, Admíralle of Fraunce with a greate nauie, to defende them . . . that thei might the suer saile into England . . . Kyng Reyner also did help his daughter, to his small power” (250-1). 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 bide him batelle.” 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 defyance 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.
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

I long till Edward fall by war's mischance,
For mocking marriage with a dame of France.

[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?
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.

[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 Facie 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 every stale" (Manillia (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 vowes 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?
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?

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 Warwick . . . perceiv'd 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 convenient, the erle began to complain to the duke of the ingratitude and doublenesse of Kyng Edward, salyng 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 bynge his awne brother . . . This you knowe well enough, that the heire of the Lorde Scales he hath maried to his wives brother, the heire also of the lorde Bonuile and Haryngton, he hath geuen to his wives sonne, and theire of the lorde Hungerford, he hath granted to the lorde Hastynge: thre marriages more meter for his two 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, 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:

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 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 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?

**SC. I.**

**KING HENRY THE SIXTH**

11-13. As well ... in judgment ... at our abuse] 3-5. My Lord, we think as Warwike and Lewes, That are so slacke in judgement ... at this suddaine marriage Q. 14-16. Suppose ... They are ... I ... Warwike's ... will] 6-8. Suppose they doe, they are ... and I am your ... Warwike's And will be obaied Q. 17. 18. And ... match ... 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 forsend 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 love and England's Queen? Speake freely Clarence, Gloster, Montague and Hastings Q. 29-31. Then this ... Bona] 20, 21. My Lord then is this my opinion, That Warwike being dishonoured in his embassage, Doth seek revenge to quite his injuries Q. 32, 33. And Warwike ... marriage] 23, 24. And Lewis in regard of his sisters wrongs, Doth joine with Warwike to supplant your state Q. 34, 35. What ... Lewis ... invention ... devise] 25, 26. Suppose that Lewis ... kynne, then for such neve foundlynges. But by swete sainete George, I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester would ioyne 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. Quernos and Folios are unanimously against the interpolation. 18. hasty marriage ...] "sudden marriages," Q. Compare Greene (Manillia (Grosart, ii. 53, 54), 1583): "How oftestimes they which sued to marrye in haste, did finde sufficient time to repent them at leisure?"
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?
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:
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.
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.
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.

means . . . best devise Q. 36-38. Yet . . . such . . . marriage] But yet . . .
this Alliance . . . marriage Q. 39, 40. Why . . . itself?] 31, 32. Let Eng-
land 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 . .
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 deserve at your hands, to have the Daughter of the Lord Bon-
field, and left your Brothers go seke elsewhere, but in Your madness you bury
brotherhood Q. 59, 60. Alas . . . malcontent . . . thee] Alass, . . . mal-

38. home-bred] Occurs again, Richard II. i. iii. 187.
40. England is safe, if true . . . it-
self] 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 overcame my adversaries by land
and by sea,
I do feare no man, all men fearyth
me,
I had no peere, ye to my selfe 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. 65

K. Edw. Leave me, or tarry, Edward will be king, And not be tied unto his brother's will. 70

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; 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. 75

K. Edw. My love, forbear to fawn upon their frowns: 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; Which if they do, yet will I keep thee safe, And they shall feel the vengeance of my wrath. 80

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 leave to make my Choise as I think good, And to ... intent ... meane ... you Q. 65, 66. Leave ... Edward ... not be ... will] 48, 49. Leave ... I am full resolved, Edward will not be tied to ... wils Q. 67-70. My lords ... queen, Do me ... all confess ... of descent] 50-53. My lords doe me ... Confesse, before it pleased his highnesse to advance, My state ... Queene, That I ... in my birth Q. 71-74. And meane ... with sorrow] omitted Q. 75-82. My love ... my wrath] 54-56. Forbeare my love to ... frowns, For thee they must obey, naie shall obaie And if they looke for favour 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 judgement of a man at armed." 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 ... behalf] 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, 1. ii. 125. It occurs in Locrine (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?

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.
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."

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."

K. Edw. I blame not her, she could say little less;


less" (Proverbs, ed. J. Sharman, p. 72, 1540); and at p. 95 (ibid.): "I say little but I think the more." And Jack Juggler (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 depart"; the words in Q. "At my depart." occurs again in Two Gentlemen of Verona, v. iv. 96, and 2 Henry VI, i. 1. 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. 57, 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.”

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, 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?

Post. Ay, gracious sovereign; they are so link’d in friendship, 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,


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
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
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\textsuperscript{3}, 88. All you ... me Q. Exit ... follows] Exit Clarence and Sumerset Q. 124-126. Glou. Not I ... crown] omitted Q. 127. Clarence ... Warwick] 89. Clarence and Sumerset 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, Ie march to meet proud Warwike ere he land. Those stragling troops 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 blood to Warwike, therefore tell me, if You favour him more then me or not: Speake truelie, for I had rather have 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. All 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 dierse letters sent to him, certified that the great armie of the Northren men, wer with all sped commyng towards London ... he sent to Wylliam lorde Herbert, whom, within two yeres before, he had created erle of Pembroke, that he should without delaye encountre with the Northren men. ... Wherupon he accompanied with ... aboue vi or vii thousande Welshemenne, well furnished, marched forward. ... And to assisite and fur-nishe hym with archers, was appoynted Humphray lorde Stafford of Southwike ... with hym he had eight hundred archers" (Hall, p. 273).

131. prepare] preparation. This is a trick of Lodge's. "Straggling 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, 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, 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? Glou. 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 despight... 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 Omnès 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 1. ii. 19, “open war,” and elsewhere in Shakespeare. 142. suspect] suspicion. Common in these plays, but not in Shakespeare’s better work.


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,
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,
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 earle and the duke sailed directly to Calais: where they were solemnpnely receiued and loyously intertained 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 earle of Warwicke, he married the lady Isabell, eldest daughter to the saied earle 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 army. . . . The earle of Warwicke had by his espayls perfyt 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 attempts of his enemies . . . 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, kylling them that kepe the watche, and or the Kynges were ware (for he thought of nothing lesse then of that chance that happened) at a place called Wolney, iiij myle from Warwycke, he was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castell of Warwycke. And to the extent that the Kynges frendes myghte not knowe where he was . . . caused him by secret journeys in the nyght to be couneyed to Myddelham Castell in Yorkshire, and there to be kepe under the custody of the Archbishop 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, Shepheard's Calender, July:—
"Where hast thou coverture?
The wastefull hylls unto his threate
Is a playne overture"
(Globe, 466, a).

15. towns] 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,
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.
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 cry King Henry with resolued minde, And breake we presentlie into his tent Q. 28, 29. Why, then ... George] 21, 22. Clar. Why then ... George Q.

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 Aeneid, 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 Thracce," see note at 2 Henry VI. i. i. 3.

20. sleight and manhood] Compare Peele's Tale of Troy, 20, 21 (55t, a, 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 over him her mantle black doth spred."
23. 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.

i. 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
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?
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.
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?

(30. 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. 1. i. 80, and above, i. i. 32. Com-
pare Peele, "Lodge with the common
soldiers in the field" (David and Beth-
sabe, ix. 109 (477, b)).
14. lodge in towns . . . While . . . field?] reversing the usual com-
plaint, as spoken by the First Sentinel,
1 Henry VI. 11. 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, attend-
ance. 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, Tam-
burlaine, 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.

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.

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 embassade,

23-25. War. This is... where... stand... my... honour now... me... ours] 23-26. War. This is... where his guard doth stand... my soldiery, now... me now... ours. All. A Warwick, a Warwick. Q. 26. First Watch. Who goes there?] 27. Alarmes, 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 1.27). 28. Som. What... omitted Q. 29-32. Richard... parted... alter’d] 28-31. Richard... parted last... altered now Q. 33-41. When you... embassade... degraid... come now... know not... Nor how...

24. [now or never] See 2 Henry VI. 111. 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 (111. iv. 78, 79, Boas’ ed.)—

“Now stands our fortune on a tickle point,
And now or never ends Lorenzo’s doubts.”

For the first line here, see 2 Henry VI. 1. 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 Pericles (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 Foure Letters (Grosart, i. 185), 1592; in Dekker, Ben Jonson, etc. The earliest example I have met is in G. Whetstone’s Promos and Cassandra, Part I. v. iv. 1578:—

“A Syr, in fayth the case is altered quight,
My mistress 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,
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,
Edward will always bear himself as king:
Though fortune's malice overthrew 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,
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

enemies

[p. 122]

32-38. When you ... embassage ... disgraste ... now am come
... knows not ... Nor how to use ... Nor how to shrowed ... enemies
Q (38 and 40, lines ending wife, welfare, omitted Q). 42, 43. Yea, brother
Well Warwick, let fortune do her worst. Edward in mind will beare himselfe
a King Q. 49, 50. Then, for ... crowne Q. 51, 52. And be ... request] omitted Q. 53-58. See that ... Now, for a
... York] 43-46. Go convaie him to our brother archbishop of Yorke, And when

45. complices] See Part II. v. i. 212. Also twice in Richard II.
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 towards Northampton, wher-upon ... they courently 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 Welschmen wer clene discomfited" (Hall, p. 273). Warwick was not pre-
sent in person. Another engagement
immediately afterwards resulted in "a
great slaufter of Welschmen" and
Pembroke was taken and beheaded at
Banbury. He had been desertyed by
Stafford, for which the king caused the
latter "found hyd in a village in Brent-
marche" to be "brought to Bridg-
water, and ther cut shorter by the
hedde," "This was the order, man-
ner and end of Banbury Field, fought
the morrow after St. James' day, in the
vii 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.

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 followes now all hitherto goes well, But we must dispatch some letters to France, To tell the Queen of our happy fortune And bid hir come with speed to joine 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 awaye, and haueing past these cares, Ile post to Yorke, and see how Edward fares. Exeunt Omnès Q.

SCENE IV.

SCENES IV. and v. transposed in Q. 1. Madam . . . change] 1, 2. Tel me good madam, 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 success King Edward had of late? Q. 4. What . . . Warwick] 5. What . . . Warwick Q. 5-12. Q. Eliz. No, but . . . our foe] 9-14. Queen. If that were all, my grieses 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? 4.

Continual grudge between the Northmen 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,
   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.

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;
   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?

Q. Eliz. I am informed that he comes towards London,
   To set the crown once more on Henry's head.

Queen. I, thesurs my grieve King Edward is surrisde, And led awaye, as prisnor vnto Yorke Q. 13-15. Riv. These news . . . the day) 15-18 and 6-8. Riv. The news is passing strange, I must confesse: Yet comfort your selfe, for Edward hath more friends, Then Lancaster at this time must perceive That some will set him in his thronce againe. (6-8 Riv.) Tush, feare not faire Queene, but cast those cares aside, King Edwards noble mind his honours doth display: And Warwike male loose, though then he got the day Q. 16-35. Q. Eliz. Till then . . . sure to die) 19-22. Queen. God grant they male, but gentle brother come, And let me leave upon thine arme a while, Untill I come vnto the sanctuarie (cf. l. 31) There to preserue the fruite 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" (Midsummer 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,—
I'll henceforthwith 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.

[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. Glo. 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 here. The Bishop of Yorke befriend him much, And lets him use his pleasure in the chase, Now I have pruialie 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 lokinge... to hear of his... prosperous return. Amongst other, Quene Elizabeth his wyfe, allmoste desperate of all comfort, took sentuary at Westmynster, and there in great penurie forsaken of all her frendes was delieverd of a fayre sonne called Edward [Edward the V. borne in sentuary], the godmother the lady Scope" (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 capitiitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop and to the other kepers, (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 kepers 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 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
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,
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.

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?

_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.

_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 provided to depart? Q._ 18-30. _Glou. Brother ... crown_ 14-23. _Glo._

1. I, the horse stands at the parke corner, Come, to Lynne, and so take shipping into Flanders. Edw. Come then; Hastings and Stanley, I will Requite your loves. Bishop farewell, sheeld thee from Warwikes frowne, And ... crown

21. _To Lynn_ The battle of Bosco 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 advised and admonished him to flye over 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 possible passed the washes 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 divers 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 Kynge Edwarde” (Hall, p. 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.

Glow. 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 do? Hunt. Marrie my Lorde, I think 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 Warwick and Clarence, with the Crowne, and then King Henry, and Oxford, and Summerset, and the yong Earle of Richmond Q. i,4. K. Hen. Master . . . joys] i, 2. King. Thus from the prison to this princely 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 Warwick, 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 appareled in a longe gonne of blew velvet, through the high streetes of London, to the cathedrall church of Saint Paul . . . Kyng Henry the VI thus readepted (by the means onely of the erle of Warwicke) his crowne 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 Westminister, in the whiche King Edward was declared a traitor to his countrie . . . & all his goodes were confiscate & adiudged forfayted: & like sentence was geen agaynst all his partakers. . . . Beside this, the erle of Warwicke . . . 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 al this to his coward stomach."

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?

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,
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.
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,
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.

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,

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 metaphorical 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-
For choosing me when Clarence is in place.

*Clar.* No, Warwick, thou art worthy of the way,
To whom the heavens in thy nativity
Adjudged an olive branch and laurel crown,
As likely to be blest in peace and war;
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:
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?

*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;
I mean, in bearing weight of government,
While he enjoys the honour and his case.
And, Clarence, now then it is more than needful
Forthwith that Edward be pronounced a traitor,
And all his lands and goods be confiscate.

*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

---

38-44. Warwick and Clarence ... Creator’s praise] 34-7. Clarence, and Warwick doe you kepe 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 stynge of his mischievous offences, which although they doe not pricke alwaye, yet most commonly 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 Ff 2, 3, 4.
60, 61. That Margaret ... with
THE THIRD PART OF

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

Of whom you seem to have so tender care?

Som. My liege, it is young Henry, Earl of Richmond.


[They all make way for young Henry; and all three join in a measure.]
Likely in time to bless a regal throne.
Make much of him, my lords, for this is he
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?
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.
War. My brother was too careless of his charge.
But let us hence, my sovereign, to provide
A salve for any sore that may bêtide.

[Exit 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,
And we shall have more wars before ’t be long.
As Henry’s late pressaging prophecy
Did glad my heart with hope of this young Richmond,
So doth my heart misgave me, in these conflicts

wound him in mine armes, And welding him into my private tent there laid him down” (i. iv. 35), affords an uncommon use.

75. Make much of him] Frequent later in Shakespeare. See Marlowe’s Tamburlaine, Part II. ii.: “Make much of them, gentle Theridamas” (Dyce, 12, b). And in Grafton’s Continuation of Hardying, p. 563: “Hadrian . . . taried here in England for a space, and was veray muche 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, Faerie Queene, III. ii. 36:—

“and though no reason may apply
Salve to your sore, yet loue can
higher stye.”

And again, Shepheard’s Calender, August (Globe ed. 471, a): “Ne can I find salve for my sore. Willie. Love is a curelesse sorrowe” (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 Promes and Cassandra, Part I. ii. 1: “marriage salves his sore” (amends his error), 1578.
94. So doth my heart misgave me]
THE THIRD PART OF

What may befall him to his harm and ours:
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.

Som. It shall be so; he shall to Brittany.
Come, therefore, let's about it speedily.

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,
And brought desired help from Burgundy:
What then remains, we being thus arrived
From Ravenspurgh haven before the gates of York,
has this expression: "shyppes may passe And repasse saufly" (Ovid's Metamorphoses, xiii. 908, 909). It is in Locrine.

Compare Merry Wives of Windsor, v. v. 226: "my heart misgives me."
97. we'll send him hence to Brittany] "When Jasper erle of Pembroke was credibly asserterayed that queene 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 haunen toune in Wales, where he getting convenient shyppes for to transport hym and his over the sea into Fraunce with his 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 "wained." Steevens made the change.
5. pass'd, and now repass'd] Golding

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 Edward upon hope of his frendes, would nedes repaire into England again, he caused priuily to be delievered to him fiftie M. Florence, of the crosse of Saincte Andrew, and further caused foure greate shyppes to be appoynted for him.... and xiiiij shyppes of the Esterlynges, well appointed.... to serue him truly. The Duke of Burgoyne as men reported, care not much on whose side the victorie fell, sauing for paiment of his money.... he was fренд to bothe partes and ech parte was frendly to hym."
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._ 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.

_Hast._ My liege, I'll knock once more to summon them.


Edward byng thus furnished . . .
dauynge with hym onely ii M. men of
warre beside mariners . . . sailed into
England and came on the cost of Yorke-
shire, to a place called Rauenspurr . . .
Kyng Edward byng a wise and cir-
cumspecte Prince, would not have been
so foolishe hardly, as to enter Eng-
lande with halfe a handfull of men of
warre . . . but that the Duke of Clare-
ence and he, were secretly agreed be-
fore, that the Marques Montaucute
had secretly procured his fauor, of
which priuie signs and cloked work-
ynges, open tokens and manifest do-
ynges, afterward appere . . . the towns
round about were permanent and stiffe
on the part of King Henry . . . for
fere of the Erle of Warwycke. Which
answere [to his 'light horsemen' who
felt the people's minds] when Kyenge
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 Yorke-
shire, and to the citie also command-
ing all men . . . to shuttle their gates
. . . Kyng Edward came peacably
nere to Yorke . . . when the citizens
. . . sendyng to hym two of the chiefest
Aldermen . . . admonished hym not to
come one foote nearer . . . Kyng Ed-
ward . . . determined to set forarde,
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 flatterynge speche he dis-
missed the messengers, and . . . he
and his . . . were almost at the gates
as soone as the Ambassadours . . .

All the whole day was consumed in
doutful communicacion and ernest in-
terlocution. The citizens . . . fell to
this pact and convencion that if King
Edwarde would swere . . . to be faith-
full to all Kyng Henrys comman-
dements that then they would receyve him
into their citie. Kyng Edward . . .
a priest byng redy to say masse . . .
receiving the body of our blessed
Savior, solemnly swearyng etc. . . .
entered into the citie, and clerely for-
gethinge 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,
xii. 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 un-
lucky. See Reginald Scot, _Discovery
of Witchcraft_ (Nicholson's reprint, p. 164),
1584: "he that receiveth a mischance
will consider whether he met not a cat,
or a hare, when he first went out of his
doors in the morning; or stumbled
not at the threshold at his going out,"
etc. See Golding's _Ovid_, x. 520, 521.
And Grafton's _Continuation of Hard-
yng_, p. 496: "Certeyn it is also that in
ryding . . . the same morning . . . his
horsse stumbleth with hym twice or
thrise . . . an olde eiuill token."

13. abodements] forebodings, evil
omens. "Bodements" occurs in _Troilus
and Crissida_, v. iii. 80. The example
here is the earliest in _New Eng. Dict._
Craig quotes from Turbervile, _Ovid's
Heroical Epistles_, _Laodamia to Pro-
tesilaus_ (1567):—

"Let all abodements go. I pray
the windes
And calmed seas to favoyr 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, 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.

Glow. [Aside.] But when the fox hath once got in his nose, 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.

Glow. A wise stout captain, and soon persuaded!

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


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.

Glow. Brother, this is Sir John Montgomery,
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
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.

[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.

Vntil it please God . . rest Q. 48-50. Then . . well, for . . I came . .
duke Q (two lines transposed). 51-52. Nay, . . recover'd] 34, 35. Nay staie Sir John, and let us 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 sry William Parre . . . sry Thomas Montegomery, and divers other of his assured friends . . which caused hym at the first comming to make Proclamation in his owne name, Kyng Edward the iiiij boldly saying to hym, that they would serve no man but a kyng. . . . This Proclamacion cast a great shame 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. John 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. To keep them back that come to succour you, Why shall we fight, if you pretend no title?

Glow. 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.

Hast. Away with scrupulous wit! now arms must rule.

Glow. 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, And Henry but usurps the diadem.

Montg. Ay, now my sovereign speaketh like himself; And now will I be Edward's champion.


Sold. Edward the Fourth, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and lord of Ireland, etc.

Montg. And whoso' er gainsays King Edward's right, By this I challenge him to single fight. [Throws down his gauntlet.

All. Long live Edward the Fourth!


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 Demockey the Kynges champion, making a proclamation, that whosoever would saye that kyng Richarde was not lawfullye 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, 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. Come on, brave soldiers: doubt not of the day: And, that once gotten, doubt not of large pay.

[Exeunt.

SCENE VIII.—London. The palace.


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 wate. For this night weele harbour here in Yorke, And then as earlie as the morning sunne liftis up his beames aboue the horizon Weele march to London, to meete with Warwick: 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) 22-27 (follows than you are hurt by me, l. 76, scene vi. above, or l. 22, Q). Enter one with a letter to Warwick. War. What . . . Is past . . . doe . . . towards London . . . follow him Qq (Q 3 reads giddy headed).

gauntlet, & then all the hall cried kyng Richard. And so he did in thrte partes of the halle and then one brought hym a cup of wyne cotered, & 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 wol] See Part I. iv. vi. 32, and above, ii. ii. 134, and below, v. iv. 71. Here is another early example from A Treatise of Pysshyng wyth an Angle, 1496: “But well I wote that the redder worne 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.

ii. 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 Countries . . . 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.

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;
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
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,
Or modest Dian circled with her nympha,
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.

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 us to quench it out Q. 9-24. In Warwickshire ... Shalt stir ... Suffolk ... Kent, The ... thee: Thou ... shalt ... command’st ... beloved ... muster ... the loving ... Like ... nympha, Shall ... sovereign] 31-44. In Warwickshire ... Them ... shalt In Essex, Suffolk ... Kent, Stir up the ... thee. And thou ... in Leistershire, Buckingham and Northamptone shall finde ... to doe ... commands, And ... belowe, shall in thy countries muster ... his loving 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 kepeth with theem the narrow seas ... whiche rowers were named to be bannyshe 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).


25. Hector ... Troy’s true hope] We have had this already i. 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, 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 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;

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,

Nor forward of revenge, though they much err'd.

Then why should they love Edward more than me?


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 myued (but sore agaynst his stomacke) to take parte with these Lordes, and therefore stode in a doubt, whether he at this tyme 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 delays" (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 compasse of your writing . . . makes me post off the answer" (New Eng. Diet.).

43. water-flowing tears] "water-flowing pipes" occurs in Locrine, 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.

[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,
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,
Cold biting winter mars our hop’d for hay.

Glou. Away betimes, before his forces join,

Enter . . .] Enter Edward and his soldierys P[; 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 again conveye him to the Tower. Awaie
with hime, I will not heare him speake. And now towards Coventrie let
us bend our course To meet with Warwike and his confederates. Exeunt
Ommes Q.

49, 50. lion . . . lamb] Is Shakespeare poking fun at Henry VI. here?
—digging him a little in the ribs? “Well-minded Clarence” might be re-
garded also as cynical.
52. Seize on . . . Henry] Hall de-
scribes Henry’s capture: “When the
Duke of Somerset and other of Kyng
Henryes frendes, saw the world thus
sodaynly changed eyuer 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
captuittie” (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 sug-
gested by Hall: “Kyng Edward did
dayly encrease hys power (as a runnyng
ruber by goyng more and more aug-
menteth),” 293.
60, 61. sun shines . . . hay] A some-
what awkward development of the pro-
verb “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 bewaye” (Barclay,
Ship of Fools (Jamieson edn. ii. 46),
1509); “When the sunne shineth,
makke 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 “sus-
pect” 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.


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 . . . never moved fote, nor made resistance as he was commaund . . . the erle . . . in all haste sent for the duke of Clarence to ioyne with hym. But when he perceived that the duke lingered . . . he then began to suspect that the duke was of his bretherne corrupted . . . & therefore without delay marched toward Coventrie . . . In the meane season Kyng Edward . . . avanced his power toward Coventrie, & in a playne by the citie he pytched his feldse. And the next day . . . he valiantly bad the erle battayle: which mistrustynge that he should be deceaued 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 beene made arbiter . . . rode to the duke . . . from him he came to Kyng Ed- ward . . . in conclusion . . . both the bretheren louingly embraced & com- moned 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 excu- se him of the act he had done . . . (and) . . . to take some good ende now while he might with kyng Ed- ward. When the erle had hard paciently the dukes message, lord, howe he detested & accused 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 over- take 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?
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.

[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.

March. Flourish. Enter King Edward, Gloucester,
   and forces.

K. Edw. Go, trumpet, to the walls, and sound a parle.
Glow. 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?

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 Dunsmore 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 hours 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 ... have 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 Barias (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
“sportful” in Qq is a misprint. Edward was a great carouser.

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.

Glow. I thought, at least, he would have said the king; 
Or did he make the jest against his will? 

War. Is not a dukedom, sir, a goodly gift? 

Glow. 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. 

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: 
What is the body when the head is off?

Glow. Alas! that Warwick had no more forecast, 
But, whiles he thought to steal the single ten, 
The king was sily finger'd from the deck.


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 Polychymia, 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, 58). Nowhere else in Shakespeare. I have no earlier example. Both Sylvester (1591) and Spenser used words in -ling: the latter has "nursing," "worldling," the former "golding," "lambling," "starveling," "riverling." It is used as an adjective in Soliman and Perseda, II. 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. 122), 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).
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

You left poor Henry at the bishop’s palace,
And, ten to one, you’ll meet him in the Tower.

K. Edw. ’Tis even so: yet you are Warwick still.

Glo. 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,
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,
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!

[He and his forces enter the city.

Glo. The gates are open, let us enter too.

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 . . .

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. 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 maketh them to bere babylles, and to bere a low sayle” (Skelton, Speke Parrot (l. 422), circa 1515). And in Tusser, 500 Points (Eng. Dial. Soc. p. 211), 1580: “bears low sail, least stocke should quail.” 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 overflow: 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.

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:
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.

Enter Clarence, with drum and colours.

War. And lo, where George of Clarence sweeps along,
Of force enough to bid his brother battle;


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 Locrine, ii. iv. 13: "thou shalt buy thy rashness with thy death. And rue too late thy overbold attempts." The word "abey" (i.e. pay for) in Q here, occurs twice in Midsummer Night's Dream (iii. ii. 175, 335) in forms abey 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] Philip de Commines 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) revolted to the King with twelue 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.

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, 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

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,—

As I will meet thee if thou stir abroad,—
THE THIRD PART OF

[ACT V.

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:
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.
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,
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,
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 begin-
ing 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. Har-
vey, 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, Philemela
(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 Locrine, 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 Praeneste 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, 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. Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge, Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle.


1. Enter King Edward, bringing forth Warwick wounded] Q has only “enter Warwick wounded.” Hall writes here: “Kyng Edward byeing wery of so long a conflict . . . caused a great crewe of fresh men . . . to set on their enemies . . . the erle . . . knowing perfitly that there was all Kyng Edwardes power, comforted his men . . . desyring them with hardy stomackes, to bear out this last and finall brunt of the battale . . . his soulidiers byeing sore wounded . . . gave little regard to his worde, he byeing a man of a mynde inuincyble, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where he was . . . striken doune and slaine. The marquis Montacute, thynkyng to succor his brother, was likewise ouer thrown and slaine. After the erle was ded, his parte fled” (p. 296). . . . “Some authours write, that this battail 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 . . . comfortryng his men was now advised by the Marques his brother to relynquishe his horse, and try the extremitie by handie strokes” (295). Shakespeare has therefore excellent reason for these personal encounters.

2. bug that fear'd us all] From Spenser’s Faerie Queene, 11. xii. 25:— “For all that here on earth we dreadfull hold, Be but as bugs to fearen babes withall, Compared to the creatures in the seas entrall.” And again, 11. iii. 20: “ghastly bug does greatly them affaire.” 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 Ascham’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, 11. i. 91. One of the parallels adduced by Dyce to show that Marlowe had a share in the writing of the True Tragodie (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.  
These eyes, that now are dim’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;  
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  
Is nothing left but my body’s length.


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: “poor men like little shrubs . . . escaped many blasts, when high and tall Cedars were shaken with euerie tempest” (Grosart, vii. 42), 1588. See also Soliman and Perseda (Hazzlitt’s Dodsley, v. 304), 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. 360); Dryden, Rival Ladies, vii. 1 (1664), etc. Much varied but substantially identical. Nashe has it in Foure Letters Confused (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 furnished 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 Queen, i. iii. 5:—
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.  
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.  
Thou lov'st me not; for, brother, if thou didst,  
Thy tears would wash this cold congealed blood  
That gles 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 ... cheer up thy selfe and live, For yet theears hope enough to win the daie. Our warlike Queene with troopes is come from France, And at South-hampton landed all hir traine, And mightest thou live, then would we never fle Q.  
33-39. War. Why, then ... I am dead] 23-27. War. Why then I would not fly, nor hauie I now, But Hercules himselfe must yeld to odds, For manie wounds receiued, and manie moe repaid, Hath robd my strong knitt sinews of their strength, And spite of spites needs must I yeld 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, 86): "The Prince of Wales was landed in England when this battell above mentioned was fought, having in his company the Dukes of Excester and Somerset [our Chronicles report that the Duke of Somerset 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 duiers others of his kinsfolkes. ... His army was to the number of forty thousand, as I have been informed by duiers that were with him: and if the Earle of Warwicke would haue staled for him it is very like the victory should haue been theirs. But the Earle feared both the Duke of Somerset, whose father and brother he had slaine, and also Queen 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 himselfe must yeld 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. "Spit 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; 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 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!

[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[!]
34. Som. Thy brother Montague . . . And at the pangs of death I heard him cry And saie . . . have spoke . . . said, which . . . could not be distinguish’d 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, let’s take our horse, And cause retrait be sounded through the camp, That all our friends that yet remaine alive, Maie be awarn’d and save themselves by flight. That done, with them weele post unto the Queene, And once more trie our fortune in the field. Ex. Ambo. Q.

Enter . . . ] Enter Edward, Clarence, Gloster, with soldiery Q. 1, 2. Thus . . . victory]
45-48. Thus still our fortune giues vs victorie, And giets our temples with triumphant ioyes. The bigbound traytor Warwick hath breathde his last, And heauen this daie hath smilde vpyn 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 Shepheard’s Calender, March. Peele uses it later,

1-9. Thus far . . . fight with us] Shakespeare has altered the wording here, but the substance and even the figures of speech are identical. “Giets” 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,
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,
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:
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,

3-6. But, in . . . day, I spy . . . threatening cloud That . . . sun, Ere . . .
his . . . bed] 50-52. But in this cleer and brightsome daie, I see . . . cloud
appear That . . . sunne Before he gaine his . . . beams Q. 7-9. I mean
. . . with us] 53, 54. I mean those powers which the Queene hath got in Frace
Are landed, and meane once more to menace us Q. 10-13. Clar. A little gale
. . . a storm] omitted Q. 14-17. The queen . . . breathe . . .
Her . . . ours] 55-57. Oxford and Sumerset are fleed to hir, And tis likeliest she . . .
breath, Her . . . ours Q. 18, 19. We . . . Tewksbury] 58, 59. We . . .
towards Tewxburie 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 Me-
nechmus, v. 1. With "bigboned" com-
pare "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 Caesar, and Lucrece,
781. For the last passage see quo-
tation at "noontide prick," above,
1. iv. 34.


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.

to disperse that cloud] Compare
Kyd's Spanish Tragedy (iii. xiv. 97,
Boas): "Disperse those clouds and
melanchollie lookes."

14. thirty thousand] Commines said
forty thousand. See extract at line 31,
last scene.

20, 21. We, having now . . . Barnet
field, Will thither straight] Commines
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 Tewksbury.
Tewkesbury was pressed on, against
her will, by Somerset. She had taken
sanctuary "at Beauchief in Hamshire"
with Prince Edward "for the wealth
and conservacion of her one iuell the
Prince her sonne." She was completely
cowed and disheartened by Barnet field.
THE THIRD PART OF

[ACT V.

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 ...
... wai, And in ererie countie as we passe along Our strengthes shall be augmented.
Come lets goe, for if we slake 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 soulsiers Q. ... Great lords ... Say Warwick ... that] 1-5. Welcome to England my loving friends of Frace, 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 most overthrowe 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 passent chemin: Prov. Wine is the footman's caroche; 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 kneue that Kyng Edward followed her ... she was sore abashed and wonderfully amased and determined in her selfe to flye into Wales to Jaser erle of Pembroke. But the Duke of Somerset, willyng 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, encouraging their soulsiers promising to them (if they did shew them selfe valaunt) ... greate rewards ... 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.

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?
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?
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? 20
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:

14-23. And Montague . . . with wreck] 6-11. Yet warlike Lords raise you that sturdie post, That bearas the sails to bring vs unto rest, And Ned and I as willing Pilots should For once with carefull minds guide on the serene, 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.

mira! 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. 1. 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, 1. 1. 138.


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: “Ile fetch from Albia shelves of Margarites” (A looking glasse, etc. [Grosart, xiv. 11]). And “suffer shipwrack on a shels” (Selimus [xiv. 257]). And elsewhere.


27. ragged . . . rock] See Part II. iii. ii. 98 (note). See also Two Gentlemen of Verona, i. ii. 121. The Folios here read “raged.” 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
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,
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,
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,
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 fearfull man, let him depart before the battells joine, Least he in time of need intise another, And so withdraw the soulidiers 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 yeld, Or leave my bodie as witnesse of my thoughts Q. 50-54. Women . . . a courage . . . famous . . . and . . . glories] 22-27. Women . . . resolve . . . 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 Clymou (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"). "Thickestr 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.
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

SOM. And he that will not fight for such a hope,

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,

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.

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 turns 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 . . .
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 us
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 . . . Glou-
yonder . . . by . . . and to it, lords!] 35-37. See brothers, yonder . . .
by Gods assistance and your prowesse, 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 Metamor-
phoses: "The wicked wretch Nycty-
minee . . . The beast is now become a
bird . . . she dares not come in sight,
Nor shew her selfe abrode a daies . . .
and everie other birde Doth in the Ayre
and Ivie toddes with wondring at hir
girde" (ii. 742-752). And again: "They
flockt about him like as when a sort of
birds have 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, adi-oy-
ynge to the towne, he pytched his fele
agaynst the will and content of many
other Capitaynes which would that he
would haue drawn aside for a whyle ty-
ltherle of Pembroke with hys armye were
with hym associate" (Hall, p. 300).
The expression here means "arrange our
army for the conflict." Compare Mar-
lowe'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 White-
horne's translation of Machiavel's Art of
War (1560).
THE THIRD PART OF

Must by the roots be hewn up yet ere night.
I need not add more fuel to your fire,
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.
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.
You fight in justice: then in God's name, lords,
Be valiant, and give signal to the fight.


73-76. Lords . . . Henry, your sovereign] 38-41. Lords . . . gaine saie, for
as you see, I drinke . . . eics. Then no . . . Henry your King Q. 77-79.
Is prisoner . . . spent] 41¾-43½, is prisoner In the tower, his land and all our
friends Are quite distrest Q. 80-82. And yonder . . . fight] 43¾-46. and
yonder standes The Wolfe that makes all this, Then on Gods name Lords togither
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 quota-
tion here from it: "That were to add
more fewell to your fire Who burnt like
Ætnae 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 aunciente adage which saith that
the husbandman ought first to tast
of the new growe 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.

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?

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); Alarums to the battell, Yorke flies then the chambers be discharged. Then enter the King, Cla. Glo. & the rest, & make a great shout and crié, 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 ... I ... speak] 47-50. Lo here ... Awaie 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 (Cambden, p. 158): "Also the king found meanes to com by John Erle of Oxford, who not long after the discomfiture receaved at Barnet fled into Cornwall, and both tooke and kept Saint Mychaels Mount, and sent him to a castle beyond Sea caulyd Hames (Calais), where he was kept prisoner 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.


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,
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,
Which, traitor, thou would'st have me answer to.

Q. Mar. Ah, that thy father had been so resolv'd!

Glow. 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;
His currish riddles sort not with this place.

Glow. By heaven, brat, I'll plague ye for that word.

Q. Mar. Ay, thou wast born to be a plague to men.

Glow. For God's sake, take away this captive scold.

Prince. Nay, take away this scolding crook-back rather.


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 jamais!"
(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. currish] Golding has "The currish Helhounde Cerberus" (Ovid's Metamorphoses, vii. 524, 1567). Spenser uses the word in Mother Hubberd's 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; ye are all undutiful.
   Lascivious Edward, and thou perjured George,
   And thou misshapen Dick, I tell ye all
   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 railler here.

[Stabs him.]

Glou. Sprawl'st thou? take that, to end thy agony.

[Stabs him.]

Clar. And there's for twitting me with perjury.

[Stabs him.]

31-36. Peace ... charm ... malapert ... ye all ... as ye are] 70-75.
Peace ... tame ... malapert ... you all ... as you be Q. 37. And thou
... mine] omitted Q. 38. Take ... the likeness ... here] 76. take
... the likenes ... here Q (lightnes Q 2, thou likenesse 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 Fabian'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 sig-
ificant.
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, should have an
annuite of an C.l. during his lyfe, and
the Princes life to be saued. Sir
Richard Croftes, a wyse and valyant
knight, nothing mistrusting ... brought
further his prisoner prince Edward ...
Kyng Edward ... daemdauned of him,
how he durst so presumptuously enter into
to his Realme with banner displayed.
The prince ... answered sayinge, to
recover my fathers kingdome & en-
heritage. ... 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,
which were George duke of Clarence,
Rychard duke of Gloucester, Thomas
Marques Dorset, and William lord
Hastynes, sodaynly murthered & pite-
ously manquelled. ... His body was
homely enterred ... in Tewkesburye.
This was the last ciiule battayl ... in
kynge Edwards dayes, which was
gotten the iii daye of Maye ... M.cccc.lxxi. ... And on the Monday
next ensuyng was Edmond duke of
Somerset ... and xii other ... be-
headed in the market-place at Tewkes-
bury" (p. 301).
38. the likeness] So in Q q 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
sprailing in the streets Whom Aiax
ravished in Dianas Fane." And see
Nashe's description of "a wonderful
spectacle of blood shed" in The Un-
fortunate Traveller (Grosart, v. 45).
40. twitting me with] See Part I. iii.
i. 55 and Part II. iii. i. 178 and note in
Part I. Elsewhere only in Two Gentle-
men of Verona, iv. ii. 8: "She twits me
with my falsehood to my friend."
Q. Mar. O, kill me too!
Glo. Marry, and shall. [Offers to kill her.
K. Edw. Hold, Richard, hold! for we have done too much.
Glo. Why should she live, to fill the world with words?
Glo. 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?
Glo. 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:
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.
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 already ... swoon'd? make ... recovery Q. 46-48. Clarence ...
I'll hence ... ye come ... news] 83-85. Clarence ... I must ... you
come there, you shall hear more news 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).

42. Marry, and shall] See 2 Henr. VI. i. ii. 88, and note. Occurs in
Spanish Tragedy. Shakespeare has it again in 1 Henr. 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 Henr. 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 Henr. 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, 65
The thought of them would have stirr’d up remorse:
But if you ever chance to have a child,
Look in his youth to have him so cut off
As, deathsmen, you have rid this sweet young prince!

**Q. Mar.** Nay, never bear me hence, dispatch me here:
Here sheathe thy sword, I’ll pardon thee my death. 70

**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 useth to forswear thyself:
'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 thy soul, if thou ne’er put’st back.

**K. Edw.** Away, I say! I charge ye, bear her hence.

**Q. Mar.** So come to you and yours, as to this prince! [Exit. 80

**K. Edw.** Where’s Richard gone?

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63-67. You ... butchers ... would ... But ... chance ... child ... deathsmen ... rid ... prince] 94-98. You ... Devils ... would then have stop’d your rage, But ... hope ... sonne ... Traitors ... doone ... prince Q. 68-72. Away ... perforce ... death. What ... do it thou ... will not ... ease] 99-104. Awaie, and bear her hence. Queen. Nay here ... 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. Awaie 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 blossom 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.


Clar. To London, all in post; and, as I guess, 85
To make a bloody supper in the Tower.

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.

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 pate... now let us towards London, To see... how shee
doeth fare, For by this... vs. Exeunt Omnes Q.

SCENE VI.

Enter... Enter Henry the sixe and Richard, with... Ef; 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 Fal-
conbridge’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 Imperially Crowne, was now,
in the Tower of London, spoyled of his
life, and all worldly felicite, 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 in-
vasion murthered 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?

**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,
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.

**K. Hen.** I, Daedalus; 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.
Ah! kill me with thy weapon, not with words.

mind Q. 12. The thief . . . officer] omitted Q. 13-17. The bird . . . bush,
With . . . And I . . . sweet . . . my eye . . . and killed] 7-10. The bird
once limde doth feare the fatall bush, And I . . . poore . . . mine eie, where
drown'd] 11-14. Why . . . foole . . . birde, and yet for all that the poore Fowle
was drowned Q. 21-28. I, Daidalus; . . . boy . . . course; . . . thy dagger's
. . . history] 15-20. I Dedalus . . . sonne . . . course, Thy brother Edward,
the sunne that searde his wings, And thou the envious gulf 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. Roscius] The great Roman actor
died 62 B.C.), referred to again in Ham-
let, ii. ii. 430. "Roscius . . . 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 Eliza-
bethan 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 'Roscius
Richard' on that account," See Collier's
Memoirs of Alleyne (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. 1. 3485
(1615): "takes every bush to be a con-
stable."

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 breaks the worthless
twigs,
And sees not that wherewith the
bird was limde."

18. peevish] foolish.
i. iv. vi. 55 and iv. vii. 16; where
Talbot uses the same illustrations for
his boy. The quibbling here is de-
stroyed 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?

Glow. Think' st thou I am an executioner?

K. Hen. A persecutor, I am sure, thou art:
If murdering innocents be executing,
Why, then thou art an executioner.

Glow. Thy son I kill'd for his presumption.

K. Hen. Hadst thou been kill'd when first thou didst
presume,
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,
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;


27. dagger’s point] See extract from Hall above.


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 omenes 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, Nyticorax. 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,
They hatefull messengers of heavy
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;  
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 cam'st 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 euon 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-owl alwaies betokeneth some haueie 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. ii. 92-94; and the "boding screech-owl" in 2 Henry VI. ii. ii. 327.

46. Dogs howl'd[ Compare Golding's Ovid, xv. 895: "The doggs did howle, and every where appeered hastily sprights; And with an earthquake shaken was the towne." The screech-owl appears here likewise, at the murder of Julius Caesar. 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. Steevens 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 curs'd Owle the messenger ofyll  
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." 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 humoras." All Richard's characteristics are in Hall, p. 342-3: "Richard... was litle of stature, euill featured of limmes, croke backed, the left shulder muche higher than the righte, harde favoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and emonge commen persones a crabbet face. He was malicious, wrothfull, and enuous, and it is reported, his mother the duches had much a doe in her trauail, that she could not be deliered of hym uncut, and that he came into the worlde the fete forwarde, as menne bee borne outward [out of the world, confined?] and as the fame ranne, not untoother." For the "legs forward," see below, line 71. Pliny has a chapter (vii. 8) "of those that be called Agrippa." "To be borne with the feet forward is unnatural and unkind... as if a man should say, Born hardly and with much ado... Agrippina hath left in writing, That her sonne Nero also... enemie to all mankind, was borne with his feet forward" (Holland). See Nashe's Anatomic of Absurditie (Grosart, i. 53): "preposterously borne with their feete forward" (evidently referring to Pliny, 1589).
To signify thou cam'st to bite the world:
And, if the rest be true which I have heard,
Thou cam'st—

_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!
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 propheth... is heard... for... ordain'd 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 again. 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 Tragedy_, 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 Tragedy_ 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 _Alphonse_ (Grosart, xiii. 347):—

"Go packe thou hence unto the Stygian lake... And if he ask thee who did send thee downe,
Alphonse 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 Thyselfe thy message do to ger- man 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 _Ierouimo_ (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 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." 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; 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; 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, 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 eride . . . was indeed, which . . . dogge Q. 78-83. Then . . . my body . . . brother . . . call . . . alone] 67-72. Then since Heaven hath made my bodie . . . answered it. I had no father, I am like no father, I have no brothers, I am like no brothers, And . . . learned . . . alone Q. 84-88. Clarence . . keep'st . . . That Edward . . death] 74-78. Clarence . . keptist . . As Edward . . death Q. 89-93. King Henry . . the rest . . . throw . . . doom] 79-83. Henry and his some 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 Casandra, 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 For hardly 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,

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. 
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, 
Queen . . . Nurse, and Attendants F 1; 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 . . . gain 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 bear whom cruel 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.

Glow. [Aside.] 'Tll 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.

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.

Glow. 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,
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 they sent it for her ransom.

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. He ... and (if Q 3) ...

26-35. Clarence ... upon the lips

30. tree ... upon the lips ... fruit ... child ... and

32-36. ... brothers' loves] 26-36. Clarence ... upon the rosiate lips...

37-46. What ... Reignier ... Sicils ... triumphs, mirthful ... pleasure ... farewell sour ... lasting joy] 37-46. What ...

39. sent it] Can only mean the money. Identical in Q. The sum is stated at

50,000 crowns by the French histories.
With stately triumphs, mirthful comic shows,
Such as befits the pleasure of the court?
Sound drums and trumpets! farewell sour annoy!
For here, I hope, begins our lasting joy.

[Exeunt.]
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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,—
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 consumption
Devoutly to be wish'd. To die;—to sleep;—
To sleep! perchance to dream! ay, there's the rub;
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 "nolher."

58. slings and arrows] Walker, with an anonymous writer of 1752, would read "stings." "Slings and arrows" is found in Fletcher's Valentinian, 1. iii.

59. see] Various emendations have been suggested: Theobald, "sige"; also, "th' assay" or "a 'say"; Hamner, "assailg"; Warburton, "assail of"; Bailey, "the seat." It has been shown from Aristotle, Strabo, Aelian, 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 Aelian, 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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