THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE
GENERAL EDITOR: W. J. CRAIG

THE FIRST PART

OF

KING HENRY THE SIXTH
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INTRODUCTION

There is only one text for Part I. of *Henry VI.*, that of the first Folio, 1623. In this respect it stands on a different footing from Parts II. and III., and for this reason chiefly, it is best to consider it here as a play by itself and not as a portion of the trilogy: since Parts II. and III. are founded upon earlier plays whose texts we fortunately possess.

But it must be borne in mind that, structurally speaking, no such separation is legitimate. Of this we will become aware at the beginning of Part II., where the sequence of events from Part I. is clearly maintained, and purposely, if somewhat carelessly, adhered to by the same hand or hands.

Whether Part I. is, as we have it from the Folio, founded upon an older play is one of the first questions that occurs; whether in its remodelled state, supposing it to have been so founded, it is by Shakespeare, or how much of it is by Shakespeare is another question of long-standing difficulty. What other authorship is traceable and whose and where?—all those are admittedly amongst the most troublesome that a student can be confronted with; and their difficulty increases as we consider Parts II. and III.

Before entering into these discussions, let us string together our facts, touching on the appearance of Part I.

In Henslowe's Diary (folio 7, p. 13, Bullen's reprint) the following entry occurs: "Ne (New) . . . Rd. at harey the vj. the 3 of Marche 1591 . . . iijl 1xvjs 8d." Between that date and the 22nd of April, 1592 (the following month) there are six (or seven) more entries of its appearance, and its popularity was greater than such favourites as even *Jeronymo* or the *Jew of Malta.* Its entries continue regularly down to 31st January, 1593 (the following year). *Titus Andronicus* is the only other
Shakespearian drama (for a different company) within this period; and later than "haryy."

Is this Part I. of Henry VI.? There is only one piece of external evidence to assist us. It is from Nashe's Pierce Peni-
lesse, which was published in the same year (Grosart's ed. ii. 88). After proving that plays "borrowed out of our English chronicles" are "a rare exercise of virtue," he says: "How would it have ioied brave Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyen two hundred yeare in his Toomb, he should triumph againe on the stage, and haue his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least (at seuerall times) who, in the Tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding." This refers to Act iv. Scenes v., vi., vii. either in the Folio play or its forecast. Talbot is "the terror of the French" in i. iv. 42.

It is hard to say how far "New" is to be regarded as a legitimate claim. I do not know that it can be stated that "ne" does not imply that this is the first appearance of the play in question in any shape, a natural assumption. But the meaning may also be taken that it is an old play so much altered as to rest on a new base of popularity. This latter view requires further proof, the former being the natural interpretation. "Further proof" is here found internally.

One other point should be mentioned here, and that is that the fact of the appearance of Part I. in the first Folio at all is direct proof that the play was regarded at that date (1623), as justly attributable to Shakespeare by the editors Heminge and Condell, the best authorities on the subject: authority, I think, of greater weight than Meres's negative evidence, to be mentioned presently.

It is perhaps a slight evidence in favour of the Henslowe Diary play being the same as the Folio play, that it was known always in the Diary as Henry VI. The subsequent parts in their earliest forms had distinct titles, and were not known as Henry VI. until they reached the final stage. We have no record of the acting of those earlier forms.

Shakespeare himself laid claim, apparently, to the whole three parts; in the epilogue to King Henry V. "Our bending author hath pursued the story," he says:—
And of it left his son imperial lord.
   Henry the Sixth, in infant bands crown'd King
Of France and England, did this King succeed;
   Whose state so many had the managing,
That they lost France and made his England bleed:
   Which oft our stage hath shown; and, for their sake
In your fair minds let this acceptance take.

These words seem intended to refer to the three parts, and to
their popularity on the stage. But some critics see nothing
here beyond a reference to this popularity.

That Shakespeare was at this date (1590-1591) known as
a historical or heroical writer may be inferred from the lines in
Spenser's Colin Clout's Come Home Again (1591), which un-
doubtedly refer to him—from the quibbling on the name:—

   And there, though last not least is Action,
       A gentler shepheard may no where be found:
   Whose Muse, full of high thoughts invention
       Doth like himselfe Heroically sound.

Shakespeare had written nothing at this date to which these
words could apply so well as to Henry VI. The dispute about
the date of Spenser's poem need be only referred to as a need-
less one, arising out of one interpolation.

This is the earliest reference to Shakespeare in Ingleby's
Centurie of Praye.

In view of the extreme interest of this quotation it may be
excusable to enforce the sense of "heroically sound" from
Spenser himself:—

   Yet gold al is not that doth golden seeme
        Ne all good knights that shake well speare and shield.
   (Faerie Queene, ii. viii. 14.)

   And shivering speare in bloody field first shooke.
   (Faerie Queene, iii. i. 7.)

And from Spenser's constant follower, Peele:—

   Now, brave John Baliol . . .
   And King of Scots shine with thy golden head;
   (And) shake thy spears, in honour of his name
   Under whose royalty thou wear'st the same.
   (Edward I. 386, a, Routledge.)

Thus long, I say, sat Sydney and beheld
The shivers fly of many a shaken spear. (Polyhymnia, 1590.)
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And from Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. i. p. 25, b:—

Five hundred thousand footmen threatening shot,
Shaking their swords, their spears, their iron bills.

There is one evidence against Shakespeare’s authorship
from an external source, that must be mentioned. It is of no
positive decisiveness. It is that of Francis Meres (Wits
Treasury, 1598) whose enumeration of the plays at that date
does not include Henry VI. “For tragedy his Richard the 2,
Richard the 3, Henry the 4, King John, Titus Andronicus and
his Romeo and Juliet.” Meres may have regarded Henry the
VI. as joint compositions; he may have forgotten them for
the moment; but what is most probable is that as he was laying
stress on Shakespeare’s most deserving work, he purposely
passed these plays by. It was an unfortunate omission for
future critics.

Meres affects a “pedantic parallelism of numbers” (as
Brinsley Nicholson called it) in order to bring about his juxta-
position of English against classical and foreign names that
somewhat detracts from his worth as an accurate critic.

Greene’s well known virulent attack on Shakespeare in 1592,
properly belongs to Part III.; or to the whole group. Its con-
sideration must be deferred for the present with the remark
that it betrays Greene’s extreme irritation, apparently at Shake-
speare’s having made use of work of his and of others, in some
fashion with such success for the stage. We have no evidence
that Part I. is a revision except internal evidence—but we
shall show presently that there is in it much that recalls
Greene’s known work.

We are left now to the consideration of the play itself, with
the foregoing evidence that it is in some degree or other
Shakespeare’s. All critics, all readers, will probably agree or
have agreed that it is one of the least poetical and also one of
the dullest of all the plays in the Folio. It is redeemed by few
passages of merit—its verse is unmusical, its situations are
usually poorly developed—and were it not for the essential
interest of the subject-matter, to any English reader it would
be unreadable. But even there it is blameworthy, since the
history it contains is jumbled and falsified in perplexing and
unnecessary ways.
Nevertheless there is an easy story-telling method about
the writing that is freer from bombast and pedantry than the
usual efforts of the date—it is devoid of brutality and horrors
for the most part, such as disfigure that revolting play Titus
Andronicus, which is regarded, or was regarded, as Shakespeare's
first play and the only one preceding that under notice. Titus
bears ample evidence, however, of authorship other than Shake-
peare's, and is now given by some competent critics a later
date, and even removed entirely from his name.

We are at liberty to place Part I., in so far as it is Shake-
peare's, as his earliest work with a date of about 1589-90. There
is thus a certain space of time in hand for the develop-
ment of power and experience before the production of Parts
II. and III. (1591-2) which are both, especially the last-named,
of a higher class in all respects.

Are we to believe then, or try to believe, that the play
before us is of that date? Or that our version is built (by
Shakespeare) on a lost and earlier play? I incline to the
former opinion. I believe that a close examination of the
language itself makes that date imperative in so many cases
that we are bound to grant it; and the converse is even more
the case; that any later date, even for parts of it in any con-
siderable extent, would be revealed by the same study of the
language were it existent. There are no such staggering dif-
ficulties with regard to this date, in the text, as confront one, for
example, when accepting the 1590-1591 date for Love's Labour's
Lost. No painful necessity for viewing whole speeches, and
several topical allusions, as belonging to a period two to three
years later—painful only to the student chronologically, for no
doubt they would shine forth in bright relief from the surround-
ing level of hardly mitigated dulness.

I see no reason, therefore, to look for an imaginary earlier
completed play. I am aware that I am in conflict here with
the views of some critics of importance, but other views than
my own will be dealt with later.

There is one confusing result arrived at after a prolonged
examination. Although we find Greene's methods of expres-
sion in so many places, the general style is not that of Greene,
it is much toned down and tamer. Still less does the poetry
recall Marlowe; it is devoid of his special grandeur, or inflation,
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or rant, whichever one chooses to call it—it is seldom worthy of him, and anything of Marlowe in this play is more easily regarded as due to his influence, often apparent in Shakespeare's early work, or to imitation of him, most natural in an aspiring dramatist who aimed at such successes as the author of Tam-burlaine had recently achieved.

Assuredly, however, Greene had a hand in the composition. And if his many excrescences of style were toned down by his co-operators as the work proceeded, I believe that Peele and Shakespeare formed the syndicate. Since these views arose from adjusting the parallels amongst the authors concerned, I will proceed at once to lay them out in order. One observation I will venture on here (and I propose to prove it later, here or elsewhere); it is this: Spenser's influence on the plays of this date has not received sufficient attention. Marlowe and Peele made use of him wholesale, and Shakespeare shows his familiarity with him very often. Oddly enough Greene seems to have had less admiration for the greatest of all poets since the days of Chaucer. Perhaps "Palin worthie of great praise" who envied Spenser's "rustick quill" (Colin Clout's Come Home Again, 392) was Greene. Even where Spenser's style appears in Greene, it comes possibly at second hand, sometimes through Marlowe—or Peele it may be.

Such collaboration as appears to have taken place was quite usual. The hands of Greene and Peele will be found at work together both in Selimus and Locrine, while Marlowe may have assisted in the former. The latter is either imitated or was himself at work in Richard III., and he certainly gave help in the Contention on which the second part of Henry VI. is built. Peele again helped largely in Titus Andronicus, in company with Greene, as Mr. Robertson has shown, and as could be still further demonstrated. To Marlowe's short career it is not easy to add more work, but excellent critics like Mr. Charles Crawford find him in evidence in several plays other than those known to be his. Any work by Marlowe intended to catch popularity would at this date, however, be attributed to him. His name was one to conjure with. As Greene died in September, 1592, and Marlowe in the June of the following year (tragedies both unsurpassed in any of their plays), we have absolute dates and data in limitation of our inquiry. Peele survived
them both, but was dead in 1598. He wrote several plays that are lost besides those we have, and no doubt had a share in much anonymous or otherwise attributed work. He was the author of one of the earliest of the historical plays derived from the chroniclers, *Edward the First*, wherein however he departs widely from history.

To Peele may be credited also a foretaste of a more agreeable and good-natured kind of humour than belongs to any other of the dramatists of the time, saving Shakespeare himself. Marlowe and Greene had none—or so little and of so poor a quality that it is little better than none—especially Greene. The latter also tried his hand at chronicle-playwriting—in *James the Fourth of Scotland*. But his authorities are unknown. Both of these may have preceded *Henry VI*. Peele's play almost certainly did.

Marlowe's play of this kind, *Edward the Second*, is of later date, probably his last piece of work. For more about Peele and Marlowe, see Introductions to Parts II. and III. respectively.

These remarks pave the way to the consideration and allotment of their shares, and show inherent probability that such joint work would have taken place. We can imagine very easily that Shakespeare was invited to lend a hand to Greene and Peele, and equally easily the idea presents itself that in smoothing away much of Greene's turgidity and iteration as the work progressed the toes of the older dramatist were often trodden upon, that the feeling of rancour increased with the success of "harey VI." and that at length it culminated and found expression in the famous death-bed attack on Shakespeare.

In an excellent criticism of an edition of Greene's works by Mr. Greg in *The Modern Language Review* (April, 1906)—the edition by J. Churton Collins—a review to which my friend, Mr. Francis Woollett, directed my attention—I find some valuable remarks about Greene's play dates. From a passage in the preface to *Perimedes* (dated 1588), says Mr. Greg, it is evident Greene had been scoffed at on the stage for some failure connected therewith. This failure may be assigned to *Alphonsus* as being apparently the earliest by Greene we have, following immediately upon Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (1587). By con-
necting a passage referring to the lost Delphrygus, in Greene's Groatsworth, with another reference to the same lost play (or the King of Fairies) by Nashe in his Introduction to Menaphon (1589), Mr. Greg finds Greene began writing for the stage when this (or these) were the popular pieces, obsolete in 1589, so that 1587 is the latest date assignable for his earliest effort. The argument is perhaps strained, perhaps elusive, but it is legitimate. "Orlando must be after Alphonsus." Mr. Greg seems to accept a date of 1590 (from Collins) for Peele's Old Wives' Tale, and he deems it certain that it followed Orlando because there are two passages in common and because the character Sacrapant is in both, which Greene took from Ariosto. Mr. Greg disagrees with Collins about the authorship of Selimus, which play the former rightly continues to ascribe (mainly) to Greene—his arguments here are sound and useful—Greene, under the influence, no doubt, of Marlowe. It is a lamentable thing for Greene's play-writing repute, but it is nevertheless probably true, that George-a-Greene is to be removed from his authorship, or at the very least very strongly doubted as his. James the Fourth is placed last in date. Internal evidence shows it to date 1590-1591, as I have shown elsewhere. Needless to say none of the above information is due to Churton Collins. The date of 1590 for Peele's Old Wives' Tale is unacceptable. It must be earlier. The argument from common passages, and the name Sacrapant, will work the other way. And it is very doubtful if we have any dramatic work by Greene as early as, or at any rate earlier, than 1586.

Greene.

Since Greene is most prominently met with in Part I., I will adduce his parallels first. More could be found by more careful reading, I have no doubt, and those I do adduce by no means exhaust my collection, as my notes will show.

Act 1.

1. i. 23. planets of mishap. "Borne underneath the Planet of mishap" (Alphonsus, Grosart, xiii. 391).
1. i. 67. cause him once more yield the ghost. Without to. Twice again in Henry VIII. Uncommon in Elizabethan writers. "Whose fathers he causd murthered in these warres" (George-a-Greene). Greene wrote a sketch of this scene, but it is mainly by Shakespeare, rewritten.
i. ii. 34. skirmish. Often used by Greene. The same applies to massacre above, i. i. 135. Uncommon words at this time and seldom in Shakespeare. "The skirmish furiously begun, continuing for the space of three hours with great massacre and bloodshed" (Euphues His Censure, Grosart, vi. 254). For massacre, see note ii. ii. 18. But Greene has not the verb "skirmish." It is frequent in Berner's Froissart.

i. ii. 48. your cheer appal'd. Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Occurs several times in Greene as distinct from appal. "Neither let our presence appale your senses" (Myrrour of Modestie, iii. 18).

i. ii. 72. at first dash. Only here with Shakespeare but a favourite with Greene—"shal Fancie give me the foyle at the first dash?" (Mamillia, ii. 73). And repeated in Aleida, ix. 59. Earlier in Promos and Cassandra by Whetstone.

i. ii. 95. buckle with. Twice again in this play, and in 3 Henry VI. i. iv. 50. Greene has it: "hasted forward to buckle with Acestes" (Orpharion, xii. 53): "he marvelled how Scilla durst buckle with his great Fortune" (Tritameron, Part ii. iii. 131); "buckle with the foe" (Alphonsus, xiii. 393). Shakespeare would know this from Grafton (1543).

i. ii. 148. immortalized. Not again in Shakespeare. Earlier in this sense in Greene: "immortalize whom thou wilt with thy toys" (Menaphon, vi. 110). He found it in Spenser.

i. iii. 13. warrantize. Occurs in this sense again only in Sonnet 150. A rare word. Greene has "Pawning his colours for thy warrantize" (Orlando Furioso, xiii. 155).

i. iii. 38. not budge a foot. Greene has "Bouge not a foote to aid Prince Rodomant" (Orlando Furioso, xiii. 155). "I'll not budge an inch" is in Taming of the Shrew. The first three scenes were chiefly written by Greene. But Nashe lent aid in Scene ii.?

i. iv. 74. martial men. Again in Lucrece 200. "nominate himselfe to be a Marshall man" (Greene, Blacke Bookes Messenger, xi. 6). Nashe used this earlier.

This scene is by Shakespeare. Nashe seems again to have assisted. Scene v. with its assemblage of natural history metaphors is most near Greene.

i. vi. 22. Rhodope's or Memphis'. "They which came to Memphis thought they had seene nothing unlesse they had viewed the Pyramides built by Rhodope" (Mamillia, Grosart, ii. 270). And again, p. 280. And in The Debate between Follie and Love, iv. 219: "What made Rhodope builde the Pyramides . . . but Follie?" And in Planetomachia, v. 104, and elsewhere. Characteristic of Greene.

This scene recalls Marlowe a little. Compare the last lines to clear the stage with Tamburlaine, Part I. end of Act III.; and Tamburlaine, Part II. end of 1. i.; end of 1. iii. and end of 11. iii. The classical references may be his. But see under Marlowe. The metre and verse is nearer Marlowe than Shakespeare's earliest stage.
Act II.

ii. i. 4. Court of guard. Compare the position here with that in Greene’s Orlando Furioso, xiii. 134, 135. The term is often in Greene, as Menaphon, vi. 120; Orpharion, xii. 58, etc.

ii. i. 14. to quittance their deceit. An uncommon verb, not again in Shakespeare. Greene has “to quittance all my ils” (Orlando Furioso, xiii. 140); and “to quittance all thy wrongs” (p. 186) in the same play. And again in Philomela and elsewhere.

ii. i. 77. platform (plan). Not again in Shakespeare, but very common in Greene.

ii. ii. 27. dusky vapours. “No duskie vapour did bright Pheebus shroude” (Never too Late, viii. 68).

ii. iii. 10. give their censure. Again in 2 Henry VI. and Richard III. A favourite with Greene: “to give a censure of painting” (Tritameron of Love, iii. 78); and often.

ii. iii. 41. Captivate (captive). A rare word outside Greene. It occurs below, v. iii. 107 again: “the mindes of the souldiers captivate by their Captaines bounty” (Euphues His Censure, vi. 283). And elsewhere.

Up to this Greene has had a share, at least, in the composition of Act ii.; although his work has been retouched in ii. and iii. See Shakespeare’s part below. Scenes iv. and v. I would allot wholly to Shakespeare.

Act III.

iii. i. 8. Presumptuous. Outside these three plays, in each of which it occurs, Shakespeare uses presumptuous only once in All’s Well That Ends Well. Greene is very fond of it as suitable to his favourite air of bravado, which shows itself in this scene. Greene has it in James the Fourth and twice in Alphonsus. Compare “Presumptuous Viceroy darst thou check thy Lord” (A Looking Glasse for London, xiv. 12). Marlowe and Spenser both use it, and it was far earlier.


iii. i. 15. pestiferous. Only again in All’s Well That Ends Well, iv. iii. 340. Greene has it several times: “prohibit him from his pestiferous purpose” (Mamillia, ii. 118, and again 186). Dissentious (l. 15) is also a favourite with Greene.

iii. i. 48. to patronage his theft. This verb occurs again below, iii. iv. 32; and is not known elsewhere except as a word of Greene’s: “patronage learning and souldiers” (Euphues to Philautus, vi. 151 (1587)); “patronage such affections” (ibid. p. 239). Greene has the verb in his epistles to three others of his prose tracts.

iii. i. 43. lordly sir. “Then lordly sir, whose conquest is as great” (Frier Bacon, xiii. 54). Shakespeare never uses this word outside these plays (i. and ii.) excepting once in Lucrece. Probably then, as now, it had an unpleasant sneer in it. Greene and Peele have it often.

iii. i. 64. have a fling at. Not elsewhere in Shakespeare and no
earlier example in New Eng. Dict. that is parallel. It is a favourite with Greene: "they must have one fling at women? dispraysing their nature" (Mamillia, ii. 76, 77); "did meane to have a fling at her" (De- fence of Conny-Catching, xi. 37). And in Never too Late, viii. 190, and again, viii. 218. And in Selimus (by Greene and Peele), xiv. 290. Earlier in Whetstone.

iii. i. 113. repulse. An uncommon word in the sense of serious rebuff. Greene affords an example: "When the Turke doth heare of this repulse, We shall be sure to die" (Alphonsus, xiii. 381).

iii. i. 99. inkhorn mate. The adjective is not elsewhere in Shake- speare, nor is the word anywhere used by him with a sneer. And mate, as a term of contempt, disappears early from his work. Mate is fre- quent in Greene. See Greene, xiii. 124, 138, 342, 366, 396, etc. One of his most usual words. For inkhorn; "an inkhorne desire to be elo- quent" (Menaphon, vi. 82).

iii. i. 171. girt. Again in 2 Henry VI. i. i. 165. "And girt faire England with a wall of brasse" (Frier Bacon, xiii. 77); "Go girt thy loines" (A Looking Glasse for London, xiv. 51). (See note at passage here.) Earlier in Marlowe.

iii. i. 190. feign'd . . . forged. Commonly set together by Greene: "fained faith & forged flatterie" (Mamillia, ii. 183); "to forge a fayned tale" (Alphonsus, xiii. 341). And the first line of the Prologue to Selimus. In Spenser's Colin Clout.

iii. i. 192. fester'd members rot. "the festring Pistuloe hath by long continuance made the sound flesh rotten" (Mamillia, ii. 125).

This scene is quite beyond Greene in dignity and continuity of pur- pose. But he certainly bore a hand in its construction.

iii. ii. 55. twit with cowardice. Only in Two Gentlemen of Verona outside these plays. "She twits thee with Vesta" (Tullies Love, vii. 167); "twit him with the lawes that nature lowes" (A Looking Glasse for London, xiv. 12). But sec under Peele.

iii. ii. 119. enshrines. This term is found figuratively used both in Locrine and Selimus, which proves nothing. New Eng. Dict. has no earlier example than the present.

Scene ii. is probably wholly Shakespeare's. I see no reason to look for another's work, if there be any it would be safest to suggest Peele.

iii. iii. 3. corrosive. Occurs again only in 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 403 where it is a noun. Not an uncommon word in figurative use with various spellings, and often used by Greene as in Mamillia: "the cora- sive of despair," ii. p. 152, etc., etc. Earlier in Grafton.

iii. iii. 6, 7. peacock . . . pull his plumes. Greene is particularly fond of the peacock and his plumes as a metaphor in his prose tracts. For pull his plumes (not again in Shakespeare) compare Greene: "Pull all your plumes and sore dishonour you" (George-a-Greene (Dyce edn. 26r, b, Routledge)); "a tawny hiew pulleth downe my plumes" (Metamorphoses, Grosart, ix. 22); "Solon pulde downe his plumes" (Farewell to Follie, ix. 260). Marlowe uses this also.

iii. iii. 11. foil. Occurs again meaning defeat, miscarriage (Schmidt)
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only at v. iii. 23 below. Often in Greene, but it is also earlier. The
same words apply also to "sugared words" in line 18, only paralleled in
2 Henry VI. and Richard III.

iii. ii. 12. secret policies (dodges, tricks). The only plural use in
Shakespeare. A favourite word with the writer of the Conny-Catching
tracts: "sundry policies" (Second Part of Conny-Catching, x. 77); "now
Ile file to secret policie" (George-a-Greene, xiv. 146).

iii. iii. 61. progeny, meaning descent, is an old use but not met with
in Shakespeare. Greene used it frequently (see note): "my progeny
from such a peevish Parent" (Planetomachia, v. 49, etc.).

iii. iii. 79. roaring cannon-shot. The earliest example of cannon-
shot in New Eng. Diet., and not again in Shakespeare. Greene has the
whole expression: "the roaring cannon-shot spit forth the venome
of their fired panch" (Alphonsus, xiii. 397).

iii. iii. 91. prejudice the foe. The verb is not used by Shakespeare.
"What daies and nightes they spende in watching either to preuent or
prejudice the enemie" (Farewell to Follie, ix. 247). And in Never too
Late, viii. 53.

iii. iv. is so poor a scene and contains such wretched lines that one
hesitates to ascribe it to any one. It contains Greene's verb patronage
(l. 32), and his excrecent of (l. 29). miscreant (l. 44) is also a pet word
with him. So that perhaps he would claim it in addition to Scene iii.
which has many marks of him.

Act iv.

iv. i. is entirely by Shakespeare. Evidences of him, and of no
one else, appear in every speech. So also of Scenes ii., iii., iv. and v.
Shakespeare is the author. Scenes vi. and vii., though recalling Greene
in several places, and possibly written over an effort of his, are Shake-
peare's down to the entrance of the Herald (vii. 50); the latter forty-five
lines seem mongrel. "The proudest of you all" (v. vii. 88) is a favourite
with Greene, and would have seemed strong evidence had I not met it
in Hall's Chronicle. See note at passage, and at 3 Henry VI. i. i. 46.

Act v.

v. i. 23. Wanton dalliance with a paramour. Probably by Greene.

v. i. 28. install'd. Very common in Greene. Shakespeare has it
only in Henry VIII. and 1 and 3 Henry VI.

v. i. 33. co-equal with the crown. The word is not again in Shake-
peare. "Make me in termes coequall with the gods" (Greene, Orlando
Furioso, xiii. 128). See under Marlowe for an earlier use.

In this scene we have fallen to a very low level of poetry. In Scene
ii. there is no room or substance for an opinion, but Shakespeare seems
almost to disappear from this onwards. Note here also how few
Spenserian parallels occur; Act v. shows hardly any. This accords
with Shakespeare's work as compared with Greene's.

v. iii. 6. lordly monarch of the north. "Asmenoth, guider of the
north" (Frier Bacon, xiii. 62); "Astmeroth, ruler of the North" (ibid. p.
81). For "lordly," see iii. i. 43 above.
v. iii. 28. buckle with. A phrase of Greene's. See i. ii. 95. But earlier in Grafton's Chronicle.

v. iii. 56. Swan . . . cygnets. "The Cignets dare not resist the call of the old Swan" (Greene, Mamillia, ii. 167).

v. iii. 79, 80. She's beautiful . . . to be woo'd; she's a woman to be won. Greene's words. He has them five times (at least): Planetomachia (1585), v. 56; ibid. v. 110; Perymedes, vii. 68; Orpharion, xii. 31 and ibid. xii. 78.

There are a number of Greene's epithets hereabouts hardly worth single mention. Collective they weigh; such as paramour, counterfeited, gorgeous, princely, daunted (xiii. 140, 360, 371), banning (vi. 106). Princely occurs five times. One duty of Shakespeare as a "dresser," was to remove iteration.

v. iii. 84. cooling card. Not again in Shakespeare. "there is not a greater cooling carde to a rash wit than want" (Greene, Mamillia, ii. 6); and again in the same piece later, twice. It is a constant phrase with Greene in his prose tracts. But earlier in Gabriel Harvey (1573) and Lyly's Euphues. Greene made it a sort of hall-mark of his work.

v. iii. 89. wooden (expressionless, senseless). Compare i. i. 19. Greene has "fayre without wit, and that is to marry a wooden picture with a golden creast" (Orpharion, xii. 17).

v. iii. 107. Captivate. See ii. iii. 41. A word of Greene's, but not of Shakespeare's in this use.

This scene was probably written in the rough state by Greene and polished and smoothed and finished by Shakespeare. The close of it is Shakespeare's. The evidence of Greene is undeniable. But there is a perspicuity, an absence of violent hyperbole, and an easy continuity of diction in good English that is rarely met with in Greene. But the amalgamated result is very deadly dull stuff. Greene's James the Fourth is probably later than 1 Henry VI. In it he seems to have remodelled his style to some extent.

v. iv. 56. Spare for no faggots. "Spare for no cost" (Orlando Furioso, xiii. 164).

v. iv. is Shakespeare's. But Marlowe's influence is apparent in several places. The close of the scene is so lamentably weak and washed out, that all one can say is that whoever wrote it he was most weary of his task. We have to remember it stands to Shakespeare's name in the Folio. At the end of Act v., in several places, Peele may have helped. But Shakespeare wrote the last two scenes (iv. and v.) and seems to have made Margaret his own property, and resolved to do more with her. There is ample evidence of him in these two scenes, as my notes will prove.

Peele.

I will now exhibit what claim Peele has to a share in 1 Henry VI. We shall see much more of him in Part II. Several of the correspondences brought forward in this list.
may be reminiscences the other way, since Peele was writing for some years later, undoubtedly, than the date of this play. None less the communities of expression must be noticed. Although of interest they hardly can be regarded as establishing his claim. I am claiming, however, for Peele, the authorship of Jack Straw, which will be dealt with in reference to Jack Cade’s rebellion in Part II. (Introduction).

I. i. 34. *His thread of life had not so soon decay’d.* "When thread of life is almost fret in twain" (Jack Straw (Hazlitt’s Dodsley, v. 409)).

I. i. 139. *all France...Durst not presume.* 1. i. 156. *Make all Europe quake.* “Search me all England and find four such captains” (Jack Straw (Hazlitt’s Dodsley, v. 386)).

I. ii. 77. *parching heat.* “Felt foeman’s rage and summer’s parching heat” (An Eclogue gratulatory (1589), Dyce’s ed. (Routledge 562, b)). See again at Part II. 1. i. 79, where summer’s parching heat occurs. Parching in this sense is characteristically Peele’s.

I. vi. 1. *Advance our colours.* “In whose defence my colours I advance” (Descensus Astrææ, 542, b (1591 ?)). But it is in Hall and Grafton.

II. i. 43. *follow’d arms.* “And rightly may you follow arms, To rid you from these civil harms” (Jack Straw (Hazlitt’s Dodsley, v. 382)). In the note here Peele’s love for trochaic endings is commented upon. But they were too usual at this date to be any one’s distinction. Probably earlier in Marlowe.

II. iii. 23. *strike such terror.* “Strike a terror to the rebels’ heart” (Jack Straw (Hazlitt’s Dodsley, v. 407)).

II. iv. 101. *Note you in my book of memory,* “enrol his name in books of memory” (twice) (The Praise of Chastity). The uses are not parallel.

II. v. 80. *-ed (laboured) of past tense or participle, sounded for metre’s sake where usually not sounded.* See note here. An early and favourite trick of Peele’s.

II. v. 8, 9. *These eyes...wax dim.* “Then first gan Cupids eyesight waxen dim” (Arraignment, 369, a).

III. i. 171. *Girt thee with...sword.* “And girt me with my sword” (Descensus Astrææ, 542, b).

III. v. 13. *numb.* See note at line.

III. ii. 31. *shine it like a comet.* “Making thy forehead, like a comet, shine” (David and Bethsabe, 467, b).

III. iii. 74, 75. *fight’st...join’st.* These uncouth monosyllables, only here and in Part II., can be paralleled from Peele’s earliest work. Many others occur in 1 Henry VI., as contriv’dst, serv’st, for’st, com’st, hear’st. Fail’st is in Part III. 11. i. 190.

IV. iii. 25. *cornets.* Peele has this new military term in Battle of Alcazar, 1. ii. 423, b.

IV. iii. 43. *great commanders.* “The great commander of such lordly peers” (A Tale of Troy, 558, a (1589 ?)).
iv. iv. 37. the noble-minded Talbot. "Noble-minded Nowell" (Poly-
hymnia, 570, a (1590)).
iv. v. 2. stratagems of war. "Train'd up in feats and stratagems of
war" (David and Bethsabe, 477, b).
v. iii. 182. unsotted heart. "His saint is sure of his unsotted
heart" (A Sonnet, 573, b).
v. v. 6, 7. hulk . . . driven by breath of her renown. "sails filled with
the breath of men, That through the world admire his manliness" (Ed-
ward the First (beginning), 1588?).
v. v. 17. full replete with. "Whose thankful hearts I find as full
replete With signs of joy" (Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 412)).
"Replete with" is frequent in Hawes, 1509.

In Shakespeare's later plays and poems echoes of Peele occur not
unfrequently. For more about Peele in this play, with reference to
military terms, see under Kyd in Introduction to Part II. As a struc-
tural whole Peele has nothing to do with 1 Henry VI. Sometimes he
may have lent a hand, more often his language was recalled.

MARLOWE.

For parallels from Marlowe's Tamburlaine (both parts) see
Introduction to Part III. A few references to his Edward II.
occur in the notes; as at withered vine, II. v. II; take exceptions
at, IV. i. 105; Like captives bound to a triumphant car, I. i. 22.
But Edward II. was probably a later play, certainly it is
open to question that it was earlier. Tamburlaine is Mar-
lowe's only work that undoubtedly preceded all Henry VI.
There is plenty of evidence that it was familiar to, and made
use of by the writer of 1 Henry VI.

NASHE.

An unexpected group of Nashe reminders may not be
omitted. They occur almost in a cluster in i. ii. But Act i.
Scene. ii "makes the senses rough" with a vengeance. I am
inclined to regard them as later echoes from the play, and as
Nashe is usually original, he may have been harking back on
work of his own. However, his reference (already quoted) to
this play shows he held it in high esteem and remembered it.

I. ii. 1. Mars his true moving . . . to this day is not known. "You
are as ignorant in the true movings of my Muse as the Astronomers are
in the true movings of Mars, which to this day they could never attaine
too" (Have with you to Saffron Walden (Grosart's Nashe, iii. 28,1596)).
I. ii. II. they must . . . have their provenders tied to their mouths.
"Except the Cammell have his provender Hung at his mouth he will
not travell on" (Summer's Last Will, vi. 137 (1594)).
I. ii. 9-12. They want their porridge . . . look like drowned mice. "engins . . . to pumpe over mutton and porridge into France ? this colde weather our souldiors I can tell you, have need of it, and, poore field mise, they have almost got the colicke and stone with eating of provant" (Four letters confuted, v. 285 (1592)).

I. ii. 9. They want their . . . fat bull-beees. Nashe Preface to Sidney’s Astrophel and Stella (Arber’s Eng. Garner, i. 500), 1591 has: “they bear out their sails as proudly, as if they were ballasted with bull beef” (but proverbial, and earlier in Gascoigne).

I. ii. 15. Mad-braine fondnesse” occurs in Nashe’s Christ’s Tears, iv. 257 (1594).

I. ii. 33. none but Samsons and Goliasses. “A big board lustie fellow, and a Goliash, or Behemoth, in comparison of hym” (Have with you to Saffron Walden, iii. 125).

I. ii. 59. unfallible. In Nashe’s Pierce Penilesse, ii. 126 (1592); and elsewhere.

I. ii. 140. Mahomet inspired with a dove. “Socrates Genius was one of this stampe, and the Dove wherewith the Turks hold Mahomet their Prophet to bee inspired” (The Terrors of the Night, iii. 228 (1594)). Nashe tells the fable again in Lenten Stuffle, v. 258.

I. iv. 109. Make a quagmire of your mingled brains. “The plaine appeared like a quagmire, overspread as it was with trampled dead bodies . . . dead murthered men . . . brains” (The Unfortunate Traveller, v. 45 (1594)).

I. v. 5. I’ll have a bout with thee. “Every man’s spirit at the table had two bowts with the Apostle before hee left” (Pasquils Returne, i. 119 (1589)). See under Greene. Probably a commonplace.

A consideration of great help in forming an opinion as to which was Shakespeare’s unaided work lies in those turns of thought and language in this play which become a part of his style in his mature work. But it is more than that: it appears to me that in his later work, in all his work after these plays, he turned his back rigorously on all Greene’s diction and expressions, shunning them as he would the plague, in consequence of Greene’s venomous attack upon him on his death-bed. If this be correct, and it seems to me to be so, the appearance of Shakespearian passages in these plays is of much more importance as a touchstone of his work than otherwise it would be. I am not oblivious of the fact that Pandosto (by Greene), is the foundation of A Winter’s Tale some twenty years later when these early troubles were long obliterated.

Such an analysis as is above suggested would run into wearisome use of space, and repetition also from my notes. But I will cull a number of prominent passages, simply locating
their position for reference to the notes for evidence; or to the
lines themselves.

Act I.

Revolting. I. i. 4.
lend . . . eyes to weep. I. i. 87.
bedew hearse (tears). I. i. 104.
Here there and everywhere. I. i. 124.
mad-brained. I. ii. 15.
hungry prey. I. ii. 28.
hair-brained. I. ii. 37.
Excellent Pucelle. I. ii. 110.

redoubted Burgundy. II. i. 8.
followed arms. II. i. 43.
fiend of hell. II. i. 46.
improvident. II. i. 58.
I’ll be so bold to. II. i. 78.
loaden. II. i. 80.
hereafter ages. II. ii. 10.
I muse. II. ii. 19.
new-come. II. ii. 20.
oration. II. ii. 49.
over-ruled and overveiled. II. ii.
50; II. ii. 2.
strong-knit. II. iii. 20.
sort (some other time). II. iii. 26.
shrimp. II. iii. 22.
for the nonce. II. iii. 56.

saucy priest. III. i. 45.
touched near. III. i. 58.
viperous. III. i. 72.
giddy. III. i. 83.
hollow. III. i. 136.
sack a city. III. ii. 10.
darnel. III. ii. 44.
greybeard. III. ii. 50.
Foul fiend. III. ii. 52.
despite. III. ii. 52, and hag, ibid.

Act II.
cates. III. iii. 78.
deeper mouth. III. iv. 12.
tongue-tied. III. iv. 25.
true-born. III. iv. 27.
I love no colours. III. iv. 34.
consuming canker. III. iv. 69-71.
bears him on ... privilege. III.
iv. 86.
maintain my words. III. iv. 88.
choked with ambition. III. iv. 112.
lamps . . . wasting oil. III. v. 8.
sequestration. III. v. 25.
arbitrator. III. v. 28.
parting soul. III. v. 115.
pilgrimage. III. v. 116.

Act III.

Belike. III. ii. 62.
Hecaté. III. ii. 64.
muleters. III. ii. 68.
late-betrayed. III. ii. 82.
out of hand. III. ii. 102.
Whither away. III. ii. 105.
heavens have glory. III. ii. 117.
take some order. III. ii. 126.
fertile France. III. iii. 44.
reclaimed. III. iv. 5.

Act IV.

pretend. IV. i. 6.
dastard. IV. i. 19.
ill beseeming. IV. i. 31.

Knights of the garter. IV. i. 34.
haughty. IV. i. 35.
Be packing. IV. i. 46.
churlish. iv. i. 53.
prevented. iv. i. 71.
carping. iv. i. 90.
tender years. iv. i. 149.
I promise you. iv. i. 174.
Tush. iv. i. 178.
'Tis much. iv. i. 192.
ta'en the sacrament To. iv. ii.
28, 29.
sandy hour. iv. ii. 36.
in blood. iv. ii. 48.
rascal. iv. ii. 49.
moody. iv. ii. 50.
stand aloof. iv. ii. 52.
dear deer. iv. ii. 54.
this seven years. iv. iii. 37.
Long of. iv. iii. 46.
vulture . . . feeds in bosom. iv.
iii. 47.
neglection. iv. iii. 49.
scarce cold. iv. iii. 50.

what remedy. v. iii. 132.
unapt. v. iii. 134.
mine own attorney. v. iii. 166.
peevish. v. iii. 186.
natural graces . . . art. v. iii.
192.
semblance. v. iii. 193.
kills thy heart. v. iv. 2.
argues . . . kind of life. v. iv.
15.

ever-living man of memory. iv.
iii. 51.
gloss. iv. iv. 6.
Set him on. iv. iv. 8.
bought and sold. iv. iv. 13.
world of. iv. iv. 25.
To tutor thee. iv. v. 2.
unavoided. iv. v. 8.
bold-faced. iv. vi. 12.
maidenshood. iv. vi. 17.
son of chivalry. iv. vi. 29.
short'ning . . . life one day. iv. vi.
37.
guardant. iv. vii. 9.
Dizzy-eyed. iv. vii. 11.
Thou antic death. iv. vii. 18.
Anon. iv. vii. 19.
found a bloody day. iv. vii. 34.
flesh his sword. iv. vii. 36.
afeard. iv. vii. 93.
in this vein. iv. vii. 95.

A selection like the above might be easily varied or enlarged, and is bound to be unequal in conviction. I think, however, it will give the proper impression to any one familiar with "the tongue that Shakespeare spake." Having indicated sufficiently Shakespeare's work in the play, and Shakespeare's work on Greene's work or in company with Greene, or in the dressing of the latter for the stage—Green having perhaps thrown up the task on account of the uncongenial limitations of historical facts—I propose to make a still further examination of the
language in the play. Perhaps—nay, most probably—we have here Shakespeare's earliest dramatic effort excepting only his share in _The First Part of the Contention_. Whose writings, others than dramatists, display their influence upon his earliest utterances? There are only a few to mention here—but they are important since these few remained his favourites. Golding, in Ovid's _Metamorphoses_; Puttenham in _The Arte of English Poesie_; and Spenser's earliest work call for notice. Needless to say, the Chroniclers precede these in consideration so far as bulk and needful sources go, but they stand on a different and obvious footing, and will be referred to later. In my Introduction to _Love's Labour's Lost_, I have shown Puttenham's presence there. There is less here. In i. vi. 24-27 the passage seems to be almost an insertion. The metaphor is boldly seized upon. Puttenham's passage is (Arber reprint, pp. 31, 32): "In what price the noble poemes of Homer were holden with Alexander the Great, in so much as every night they were layd under his pillow, and by day were carried in the rich iewell cofer of Darius lately before vanquished by him in battaile." Plutarch and Pliny mention the coffer, but the wording in the text is Puttenham's.

At p. 112 Puttenham gives some verse of his own: her Maiestie

    environs her people round,
    Retaining them by oth and liegeance.
    Within the pale of true obeysance:
    Holding imparked as it were,
    Her people like to heards of deere.

This simile is that at iv. ii. 45, 46. There is more of Puttenham in the late parts.

A more interesting and important writer is Golding. Spenser and Peele, Marlowe and Shakespeare were all familiar with, and made use of, his Ovid. In _The Return from Parnassus_, "Will Kemp" says: "Few of the University pen plays well: they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Jupiter."

A good many illustrations from "Master Arthur Golding" will be found in my notes, but many are merely earlier authority for newish or unfamiliar words. I will only refer to "more glorious star . . . Than Julius Caesar," i. i. 55, 56; "public
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weal," I. i. 177; "overpeer," I. iv. 11; "sun with one eye," I. iv. 84; "high-minded," I. v. 12; "lavish tongue," II. v. 47; "saucy," III. i. 45; "entertalk," III. i. 63; "sucking babe," III. i. 197; "do execution on," III. ii. 35; "take scorn," IV. iv. 35; "Unavoided," IV. v. 8; "lither," IV. vii. 21; "admonish me of," v. iii, 3-4; "talks at random," V. iii. 85; "collop of my flesh," v. iv. 18. Shakespeare's early love for Golding is, I think, proved. It is very prominent in some later plays (as Midsummer Night's Dream).

Spenser's Shepheard's Calender was published in 1579-1580. As early as 1580 Spenser was known to be at work at his Faerie Queene, of which the first three books appeared in print in 1590. But they were known to many in manuscript for years before. Marlowe, for example, uses the stanza about the almond on the top of Selinis in 1586-7, in Tamburlaine. And Spenser himself tells us that his Mother Hubberd's Tale had been "long sithens composed," although not printed until 1591, and further that he was "moved to set it forth by others which liked the same." It will be interesting to see if Shakespeare fixed much of this matter on his memory. The notes to be referred to are selected as follows:—

**Act i.**

1. i. 11-13. Compare with Faerie Queene, i. xi. 14-18: "His blazing eyes, like two bright shining shields, Did burne with wrath and sparkling living fyre. As two broad Beacons ... warning give that enemies conspyre. ... So flamed his eyne with rage and rancorous yre. ... Then with his waving wings displayed wyde."

1. i. 64. burst his lead and rise from death. Compare with Shepheard's Calender. June: "Nowe dead he is and lyeth wrapt in lead." And idem. October: "all the worthies liggen wrapt in leade."

1. i. 104. laments ... bedew King Henry's hearse. Compare Faerie Queene, i. xii. 16: "they did lament ... And all the while salt teares beadeawd the hearers cheaks."

1. i. 124. Here, there, and everywhere enrag'd he flew. Compare Faerie Queene, iii. i. 66: "Wherewith enrag'd she fiercely at them flew. ... Here, there, and everywhere, about her swayd Her wrathful steel."  

1. ii. 16. in fretting spend his gall. Compare Faerie Queene, i. ii. 6: "did his stout heart eat And wast his inward gall with deepe despight." And ibid. iii. x. 18: "he chawd the cud of inward griefe And did consume his gall with anguish sore."

1. ii. 35. lean raw-boned rascals. Compare Faerie Queene, i. viii. 41: "His rawbone armes." And "His raw-bone cheekes," ibid. i. ix. 35. The word seems to be due to Spenser.
i. ii. 148. and be immortalized. Compare Faerie Queene, ii. viii. 13: "Whose living handes immortalizd his name."

i. iii. 14. dunghill grooms. Compare Faerie Queene, iii. x. 15: "his liefest pelle. . . . The dearest to his doughhill minde." And see Faerie Queene, ii. xii. 87.

i. iii. 22. Faint-hearted Woodville. Compare Faerie Queene, i. ix. 52: "Fie, fie faint hearted knight! What meanest thou?"

i. iii. 63. One that still motions war and never peace. Compare Spenser, Mother Hubberd's Tale (l. 124): "Now surely brother (said the Foxe anon) Ye have this matter motioned in season." This very unusual verb (to propose) does not occur in Shakespeare again nor, I think, in Spenser.

i. iv. 43. scarecrow that affrights our children. See note at i. i. 79.

i. vi. 6. Adonis' garden. Compare Spenser, Faerie Queene, iii. vi.

29-42.

Act II.

ii. i. 79. The cry of Talbot serves me for a sword. Compare Spenser, Shepheards Calender, June, Glosse: "the Frenchmen used to say of that valiant captain, the very scourge of Fraunce, the Lorde Thalbot . . . great armies were defaciet and put to flyght at the onely hearing of hys name. In somuch that the French women to affray theyr children would tell them that the Talbot commeth."

ii. ii. 2. night . . . whose pitchy mantle. Compare Faerie Queene, i. v. 20: "Where griesly Night . . . in a foule blacke pitchy mantle clad."

ii. ii. 18. our bloody massacre. Compare Faerie Queene, iii. xi. 29: "the huge massacres which he wrought."

ii. iii. 15-17. scourge of France . . . mothers still their babes. See last extract from Shepheards Calender.

ii. iv. 92. stand'st not thou attainted (disgraced). Compare Faerie Queene, i. vii. 34: "Phoebus golden face it did attaint."

ii. iv. 127. to death and deadly night. Compare Faerie Queene, ii. iii. 34: "withhold this deadly howre."

Act III.

iii. ii. 64. I speak not to that railing Hecatē. Compare Faerie Queene, i. i. 43: "And threatned unto him the dreaded name Of Hecatē: whereat he gan to quake." (Also in Golding.)

iii. ii. 127. some expert officers. Faerie Queene, i. ix. 4: "In warlike feates th' expertest man alive."

iii. iii. 18. sugar'd words. Compare Faerie Queene, iii. vi. 25: "Sugred words and gentle blashment." But this is far older.

iii. iii. 29. sound of drum. Compare Faerie Queene, i. ix. 41: "at sound of morning droome."

iii. iii. 34. lag behind. Compare Faerie Queene, i. i. 6: "Behind her farre away a Dwarf did lag."

iii. iv. 33. The envious barking of your saucy tongue. Shepheardes Calender, lines to his Book: "And if that envy bark at thee, As sure it will, for succoure flee, Under the shadow of his wing."
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Act IV.

IV. i. 189. *This shouldering of each other in the court.* Compare Faerie Queen, ii. vii. 47 (describing the Court of Ambition): “some thought to raise themselves to high degree By riches and unrighteous reward: Some by close shouldring: some by flatterie.”

IV. i. 185. *rancorous spite.* Faerie Queen, ii. vii. 22: “rancorous Despight.”

IV. ii. 15. *owl of death.* Compare Faerie Queen, i. v. 49: “The messenger of death, the ghastly owle.” Golding calls the bird “the deathfull owle.”

IV. vii. 88. *proud commanding spirit,* and i. ii. 138 “proud insulting ship” (see note). Compare Faerie Queen, i. viii. 12: “proud presumptuous gate” (gait). And i. ix. 12: “proud avenging boy” (Cupid). And i. xii. 14: “proud luxurious pompe,” etc.

IV. vii. 60. *the great Alcides.* Compare Faerie Queen, i. vii. 17: “great Alcides.”

Act V. shows few Spenserian parallels. But there is a certain number of phrases and idioms exhibited particularly in these plays apart from the rest of Shakespeare’s work, which are best considered and illustrated with Spenser’s help. I think I have shown that his writings had an influence on the writing of this play that cannot be ignored. I propose to prove that further.

Well I Wot.

I take the expression “Well I Wot” to start with. It occurs in this play (IV. vi. 32) and three times in Part III. Elsewhere Shakespeare uses it in Richard II., Midsummer Night’s Dream, and three times in Titus Andronicus. This expression has naturally been cited as evidence of Greene’s work, since he was very fond of the tag. But it is only in his plays, I think, that is to say in his late work, and nowhere in his earlier prose. “Well I wot” is an old phrase, probably northern. It occurs many times in The Towneley Mysteries (circa 1460). In the first hundred pages (Surtees Soc. 1836) it is on pp. 4, 31, 62, 74, 82. At p. 62 “Full well I wot” (of Greene and Titus) is the form. In Grafton’s Chronicle I find it in Richard II.’s deposition speech, and since Shakespeare has it in that play (v. vi. 18), that reference would suffice to put Greene out of court. But it is also in Peele’s writings, four times in A Farewell to the General (1589), in Polyhymnia, and twice in Jack Straw; and Peele as well as Shakespeare (and
Greene) all picked it up from Spenser, who re-introduced it to popularity. It will be found in Faerie Queene, I. x. 65; "For well I wote, thou springst from ancient race," II. Introduction, st. i. ("Right well I wote"), II. ix. 6; III. iv. 57; Colin Clout's Come Home Again (three times); Mother Hubberd's Tale; "For well I wot (compar'd to all the rest Of each degree) that Beggers life is best" (I 590, "long sithens composed"). Spenser has it frequently elsewhere. Spenser naturally shows much familiarity with northern dialect. See his Shepheard's Calender throughout.

On the relationship of these plays, in date of appearance, to Spenser's Faerie Queene, see further in my Introduction to Part II.

I. TRANSPOSITIONS SUCH AS "GO WE," ETC.

The subjunctive of the present followed by we, expressing an invitation (Schmidt). This structure is found in many of Shakespeare's plays, but it is very much commoner in the early ones. Schmidt gives about a dozen references to the three Parts of Henry VI. alone, in the present play at II. i. 13: "Embrace we then the opportunity"; at III. ii. 102: "But gather we our forces out of hand"; and at III. iii. 68: "Call we to mind, and mark but this for proof." I have not noted if Greene affects it, but I give it from Selinus (Greene and Peele), "But go we, Lords, and solace in our campe" (Grosart, xiv. 209). Shakespeare very wisely dropt this ineffectual method which easily becomes silly. It is an archaism, and without claiming its re-introduction for Spenser, it may be shown that he used it freely. "Go, we" appears to be the parental form. It is in Towneley Mysteries (p. 68): "Go we to land now merely"; and at p. 221: "Go we to it, and be we strong" and "Set we the tre on the mortase"; and p. 315: "Go we now, we two." And in Mankind (Early English Dramatists) "Go we hence" occurs several times. It is not uncommon with Spenser: "Turne we our steeds," Faerie Queene, III. viii. 18; "Sit we downe here under the hill," Shepheard's Calender, September (Globe ed. 473, b). In (Peele's) Jack Straw, of which more will be said in Introduction (Part II.), "Stay we no longer prating here" occurs (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 383). See 3 Henry VI. ii. i. 199. No doubt the verb and its pronoun are readily transposed for ac-
centuation's sake in the metre—take such a line as "Now come we to the final text" and the alteration upsets the rhythm entirely—but this does not cover the whole case. Marlowe uses this inversion frequently in Tamburlaine, but not in forcible connections.

II. Transpositions such as

"Hung be the heavens with black" (I. i. 1); "Rescued is Orleans from the English" (I. vi. 2); and "For by my mother I derived am" (II. v. 74). See notes at I. vi. 2 and at II. v. 74. The two vary slightly but may be considered as one.

This inversion occurs several times in Peele's Arraignment of Paris as I have noted (1584):—

Done be the pleasure of the powers above (Prologue).
Fair Lady Venus, let me pardon'd be (in. ii. 363, a).
And heaven and earth shall both confounded be (III. ii. 363, b).
The man must quited be by heaven's laws (IV. p. 366, b).
Her name that governs there Eliza is (v. i. 369, a).
Bequeathed is unto thy worthiness (v. p. 370, b).

And search will reveal more examples in Peele's earliest work, as in Sir Clyomon, "But cover'd will I keep my shield" (521, b), and "They forced me through battering blows" (522, a), and frequently in that production.

In Marlowe I find:—

Discomfited is all the Christian host (Tamburlaine, Part II. ii. iii. 1).
So honour, heaven, (till heaven dissolved be) (v. iii. (71, a), ibid.).

Later, "Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight" at the end of Doctor Faustus occurs. Marlowe, however, was not attracted by the construction. Mr. Woollett supplied me with only two from him: "Erected is a castle passing strong" (Faustus, vii. 38), and "Broken is the league" (Jew of Malta, III. v. (164, b)) both too late to be of service here. In Tamburlaine, Part I. (II. i. 1): "Thus far are we towards Theridamas" is a weak example. There may be better. But no such prevalence as is in Peele.

Mr. Woollett drew my attention to the attraction this inversion had for Spenser, who has it a number of times in his Ruines of Time; Teares of the Muses; Virgil's Gnat; Muiopotmos and other poems. None of these, however, precede Peele, so they are not historically effective. He also supplied me
with a goodly list from Greene's *Alphonsus*. But the prevalence in Peele militates against this being an evidence of Spenser's influence in Greene. Not so with Spenser's influence in Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, where I have already mentioned the obvious evidence of his admiration for *The Shepheards Calender* (1579). These examples are of more interest, such as:

Then if by mee thou list advised bee (June).
For he nould warned be (May).
Here wander may thy flocke early or late (June).
Ystabled hath his steedes in lowlye laye (November).

No doubt search would yield more. And it occurs often in the first books of *Faerie Queene*. Spenser appears again to have popularised and revived an archaism, for I imagine it to be common in early writers, especially in the Miracle plays. It is closely paralleled by the last noted transposition, "Go we . . . . " Compare *The Towneley Mysteries* again; "Crownyd was with thorn" (232); "borne was of a madyn fre" (270); "in heaven lowsyd shall be" (285); "that now rehersyd is" (297); "Dampnyd be we in helle fulle depe" (305). It is very common. Mr. Woollett tells me he noted it in Gower. The only note I have met with upon this grammatical construction, in *Abbott* (425), cites *1 Henry VI*. i. vi. 26: "Then the rich jewelld coffer of Darius transported shall be at high festivals," of which he says, "it is rare to find such transpositions" so that a note is needful. A reference to the York, Chester, Coventry and Digby mysteries showed me at once that this inversion is found in and characterises all of them. It seems to or was deemed to lend a sort of solemn stiffness to the style. "When I perhaps compounded am with clay" is a good instance in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*

**III. Lines Constructed with "never" and a Comparative.**

"A stouter champion never handled sword" (III. iv. 19). And see III. ii. 134, 135. With this may be classed the formation with "ever" and the superlative, as in *2 Henry VI*. i. i. 15, 16: "The happiest gift that ever marquess gave, The fairest queen that ever king received"; and see also *3 Henry VI*. ii. i. 67. And a very similar method is also prevalent in these plays and other earliest Shakespearian ones: "Was ever son so rued a father's death? Was ever father," etc. (*3 Henry VI*. i. 30)
VI. II. v. 109-111). See also Taming of the Shrew, II. i. 37 and 327. Often the second is varied to "As true a card as ever won the set, As sure a dog as ever fought at head" (Titus Andronicus, v. i. 100, 102). These are all Spenserian favourites. They are affected by Peele, but I do not think by Greene in any frequency. How common they may be in ante-Spenserian poetry I cannot say, but Todd has a note in Faerie Queene (I. iii. 9) to "Did never mortall eye behold such heavenly grace." "This construction is common in old poetry"—with one quotation from a Scotch ballad. This is the most interesting of the group, and I presume Todd is correct. I find in Stephen Hawes, Pastime of Pleasure (reprint, p. 94), 1509: "Was never man yet surely at the bayte With Sapyence, but that he did repent." Spenser often recalls Hawes, as in "lady gent"; "pale and wan"; "flowering age," etc., etc. Now for Spenser:—

Was never pype of reede did better sounde

(Shepheards Calender, December (485, b), Globe ed.).

Was never Prince so faithful and so faire
Was never Prince so mecke and debonaire (Faerie Queene, i. ii. 23).

Did never mortall eye behold such heavenly grace

(Faerie Queene, i. iii. 4).

Was never wight that heard that shrilling sound, But, etc.

(Faerie Queene, i. viii. 4).

Was never hart so ravisht with delight (Faerie Queene, i. ix. 14).

Was never wretched man in such a wofull case (Faerie Queene, iii. x. 14).

Was never so great waste in any place (Faerie Queene, iii. iii. 34).

Saw never living eie more heavy sight (Faerie Queene, iii. v. 30).

The next structure is more distinctly Spenser's own:—

A fairer wight saw never summers day (Ruines of Time, 496, a).
A fairer wight did never Sunne behold (Faerie Queene, iii. v. 5).
A gentler shepheard may no where be found

(Colin Clout's Come Home Again, l. 445).

A fairer star saw never living eie (Astrophel (560, a), 1586-7).

So is this:—

The mournfulst verse that ever man heard tell . . .
Of gentlest race that ever shepheard bore . . .
The dolefulst biere that ever man did see . . .
The gentlest shepheardesse that lives this day.

These lines are from Astrophel (1586-7) on Sir Philip Sidney:—

The justest man and trewest in his daies (Faerie Queene, ii. x. 42).
No one follows Spenser in this respect, taking these as a whole, so closely as Shakespeare. Peele has symptoms of it, but they do not stand close examination, except in poems of a later date than *Henry VI.*, a reference to which I am avoiding carefully. In *Lovely London* (1585), 538, a, occurs:—

London give thanks to Him that sits on high
(Had never town less cause for to complain).

For a further note on this (with reference to Peele and Spenser), see Part II. II. i. 15, 16. It is a pleasant thing to feel that “our pleasant Willy,” whether Spenser referred to him or not in *Teares of the Muses*, took a continually happy means of recalling Spenser in this and in so many other ways. In *Locrime*, IV. ii. (partly by Peele) “Was ever land . . . Was ever grove so graceless as this grove . . . ,” etc., recalls 3 *Henry VI.* II. v. 109-111.

In *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. v. (Dyce 59, a), Marlowe has: “For if I should, as Hector did Achilles (The worthiest knight that ever brandish’d sword), Challenge in combat any of you all.”

**IV. THRICE-HAPPY, -VALIANT, ETC.**

There is an adjectival compound that appears very frequently in Shakespeare, adjectives beginning with thrice. He adopts it especially in the early history plays, but he never gave it up, and it has remained in circulation ever since. I have found no notes on this, and I may be forgiven for stating here that this sort of research is entirely my own effort, and therefore liable to copious criticism and perhaps disapprobation or negation. The present note is a regular puzzle to me in its results. Spenser comes certainly a little way towards helping us. He has “thrice-happy” several times in his early work (to which I am confined):—

Thrise happy man! said then the father grave (*Faerie Queene*, 1. x. 51).
Thrise happy man the knight himsef did hold (*Faerie Queene*, 1. xii. 40).
Thrise happy man! (said then the Briton knight) (*Faerie Queene*, ii. ix. 5).
Thrise happy she, whom he to praise did chose (*Astrophel*, l. 36).

He has it also in *Ruines of Time*, and in *Colin Clout’s Come Home Again*. I have not noted the phrase in Greene. But it is in Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy*. Peele, however, abounds in it (and *Locrime*, of later date, gives “Thrice-happy” and “thrice-hap-
less," IV. i.). So far as I have tracked it out this very useful and popular mode of expression is due to Spenser's "thrice-happy" expanded (as follows) by Peele, and accepted by Marlowe, Shakespeare and every one else. It is interesting to see how speedily Gabriel Harvey adopted it. Of course there is no literary achievement of note in this compound. It is simply an adaptation from Homeric Greek and other writers of classical times. But as a test of dates and authorship goes, it may prove to be of value. The very suddenness of its appearance in our writers, like an epidemic, is itself a phenomenon.

Spenser had submitted his Faerie Queene, or the beginning of it, to Harvey, for judgment before 1580. We may therefore take that date as a starting-point.

Peele has "thrice-reverend" thrice in his Arraignment of Paris, 1584, his earliest dated work, in which The Shepheard's Calender is obviously recalled: "And you thrice-reverend powers" (365, a); "And thus, thrice-reverend, have I told my tale" (366, a): "Thrice-reverend gods" (367, b).

From that on Peele used it freely. In Edward I. he has "thrice-valiant" (380, b) and "thrice-renowned" (402, b). In The Battle of Alcazar "thrice-noble," "thrice-happy," "thrice-valiant" and "thrice-puissant" (423, a) appear. And later in his signed writings he uses "thrice-honourable," "thrice-haughty," "thrice-worthy," and "thrice-wretched." The last (The Tale of Troy, 558, a) is, I think, the only use he has, not as an epithet of personal address. Lodge has "thrice-renowned" in Wounds of Civil War.

It is noteworthy that the figure does not appear in Sir Clyomon which must be Peele's, and also must be his earliest effort. But as if to emphasise this bit of evidence he has at the end "twice-welcome to thy knight" (533, b).

Gabriel Harvey plunges into "thrise-sweet" (Grosart, ii. 5); "thrise-affectionate" (ii. 10); "thrise-curteous" (ii. 5); "thrise-lavish" (ii. 10); "thrise-grace-full" (i. 244); "thrise-happie"; "thrise-learned"; "thrise-secret"; "thrise-profound." But all these are later and date about 1592.

As it is impossible to put some of Peele's usages after 1 Henry VI., we must give him the credit of developing the expression from Spenser's earliest "thrise-happy," according to the evidence at my disposal.
Henry VI. (Part I.) yields "thrice-victorious" (IV. vii. 67) and "thrice-welcome" (I. ii. 47). Part II. has "thrice-famed" and "thrice-noble." Love's Labour's Lost has "thrice-worthy." The words in Part II. are noted on where they occur in III. i. 266 and III. ii. 157.

Although thrice-happy is not in Shakespeare, it is in the True Tragedie (Q i of 3 Henry VI.), at the beginning of i. iv.: "Thrice-happie chance it is for thee and thine," but omitted in four excerpted lines from the finished play. And in the same play at II. ii. 15 "thrise valeaunt son" occurs, which is omitted from 3 Henry VI. also, although in Titus Andronicus. Moreover, from The First Part of Contention, I. i. 188, "thrice valiant" is deliberately omitted; "Warwick my thrice valiant son," reading "Warwick, my son" in the final play.

It is well to mention here how the case stands with a few other prominent plays of this date. Kyd has "thrice happy" in each of the three plays The Spanish Tragedie, Cornelia and Soliman and Perseda, the first of these being the only one that precedes 1 Henry VI. probably. It is one of Kyd's frequent echoes from Spenser. In Soliman and Perseda occurs another: "welcome, thrise renowned Englishman" (I. iii. 12, ed. Boas).

A more interesting state of affairs is found in Edward III., a play of great and acknowledged merit. Using Dent's reprint (edited by G. C. Moore-Smith), I find "thrice-gracious" (p. 23); "thrice-dread" (p. 24); "Thrice-noble" (p. 34); "thrice-valiant" (p. 37); and "thrice-loving" (p. 40, and again). These occur, all I think, in the first two acts, the best part of the play, the parts which are attributed to Shakespeare. Or to Shakespeare and Peele as I believe. It is a significant clue. The play was entered in Stationers' Register, 1st Dec., 1595.

With Marlowe's use of these terms in Tamburlaine I will deal in 3 Henry VI. (Introduction). Marlowe had Spenser's "thrice-happy," and Peele's "thrice-reverend" to go upon. But he is found at once developing it as Peele does. Marlowe has "thrice-noble," "thrice-renowned," "thrice-welcome" in Tamburlaine, Part I.; and "thrice-worthy" in Tamburlaine, Part II. Peele went only a little way therefore in front. Later he may be looked on as following Marlowe as he often does.

Following the lead of thrice-happy, the compound seems to be always favourable. Peele has however "thrice-wretched
lady” (558, a); and Lodge has “Romans thrice accursed” in Wounds of Civil War.

V. Nouns formed into Adjectives with Suffixes

-LESS, -FUL, AND -Y OR -ISH.

At the time this play was written our language was in a more than usually pronounced condition of flux and reformation. All capable writers took what licence they pleased with words. Whether their efforts were to be lasting or ephemeral depended partly on the effort itself, but more largely on the fame and impress of the writer, both contingencies being in the lap of posterity. No writer had such a mastery over these manipulations of word-meaning and word-shaping as Shakespeare. No one seized more boldly on a term for a momentary need, whether new or newly applied, whether adopted or rejected when needless, than Shakespeare. Hence every play has its own series of terms not met with elsewhere, often merely “nonce-words,” but frequently crystallised into our language. Some of these coinages may be dealt with in groups and lead to interesting generalisations with respect to Shakespeare’s earliest work—words whose appearance in literature I have long been taking note of. Roughly speaking, the beginning of the sixteenth century may be taken as a standpoint. Stephen Hawes’ work The Pastime of Pleasure, 1509, a very popular allegory with subsequent writers, is a useful guide or landmark, but no great series of changes took place perhaps till the middle of the century. I propose to deal rapidly with a few of these as evidenced in these plays. And first with adjectives formed from nouns by the suffix -less. Schmidt deserts us here and New Eng. Dict. has merely a general paragraph, which informs us that the practice was ancient, but the power seems to have been very slightly used and then laid by. Arthur Golding in his translation of Ovid’s Metamorphoses (1565-1567) made free use of these expressions. He gives helpless, heedless, headless, wiveless, knotless, hurtless, luckless, pleasureless, tongueless, lightless, careless. Most of these are new.

Next in order of date who indulged in this direction, is Spenser. His early work yields hurtless, knightless, senseless, dreadless, hapless, heartless and hopeless, breathless, causeless,
favourless, helpless (merciless), heedless, lustless, careless, grace-
less, hostess, woundless, trustless, rueless (unpitied), quench-
less, witless (ante 1590). Spenser has a tendency to group
them (Faerie Queene, II. vi. 41, etc.), and so have Kyd,
Shakespeare, Peele.

Next in sequence may be taken Peele. Not repeating the
common words already mentioned he gives (down to 1593)
endless, bloodless, ruthless, successless, quenchless, mirthless,
trothless, breathless, soul-less, glory-less, numberless, dateless,
waveless, kindless, spotless, sapless, stringless, cloudless.

Peele made obviously an effort in this direction. He strings
them together in several places, metrically, and is responsible
for some useful words.

Marlowe does his own share at the same time, or a little
later (Peele's earliest work precedes Marlowe's). Marlowe
stretches the sense of -less into "not able to be" more than the
others perhaps. See Ward's Doctor Faustus, who is the only
commentator I have found on this subject. Marlowe has timeless,
topless, quenchless, expressless, resistless, remediless, removeless,
ruthless, attemptless, fleshless, forceless, resistless, lustless.

We now come to Henry VI. and Shakespeare. It may be
mentioned that at an immediately later date Sylvester in his
Du Bartas carried on the coinage assiduously.

Shakespeare fell into line with his predecessors in his early
work in this respect. In fact he kept this string to his bow
always ready for use, but the Spenserian influence waned with
time. In 1 Henry VI. he gives us (those in italics are pe-
culiar to the play): sapless, pithless, crestless, strengthless, reason-
less, timeless, heedless. In 2 Henry VI. crimeless. In 3
Henry VI. luckless, quenchless. In Taming of the Shrew,
shapeless and combless. In Two Gentlemen of Verona, conceit-
less. In Richard II. stringless. In Sonnets, makeless. In
Lover's Complaint, phraseless, termless. But one conclusion
appears undoubted, that he dropped the trick except at im-
pulsive moments, and discontinued it as a practice after his
earliest work, especially 1 Henry VI. He never became en-
slaved. These forms often occur in groups, as in 3 Henry VI.
II. v. It is so with all who adopt them; two, or more at a
time. See Lodge, Wounds of Civil War (Hazlitt's Dodsley,
v. 116, 141, 196); and Peele, passim. See 1 Henry VI. II. v.
Compounds with Prefixes Ever, and Never, from Participial Adjectives.

A few of these, ever-during, ever-lasting, and ever-living are very early, going back to the first part of the fourteenth century as dealt with in *New Eng. Dict.* The next in date cited is "ever-increasing," 1570 (T. Norton, translation). Sidney seems then to have given an impetus in *Arcadia* (ante 1586); he has ever-flourishing in the first few pages.

About the same date Spenser took this mode under his wing. In the first Canto of *The Faerie Queene* he has ever-damned, ever-drouping, and ever-drizling in stanzas 38, 39, and 41. Ever-burning occurs also, twice, in the first book. And ever-dying is found in i. x. 9. While the old ever-living is used in i. x. 50.

This latter occurs in the present play, iv. iii. 51, and is followed immediately by ever-esteemed in *Love's Labour's Lost.* Later, Spenser has ever-running, ever-preserved, ever-fixed, ever-fired, ever-during, and ever-burning. Marlowe uses a few of Spenser's, including ever-drizzling. Kyd has ever-glooming in *The Spanish Tragedy.*

Spenser's *Faerie Queene* gave an impetus to this use.

Forms with "never" are not affected much by Shakespeare. None appear in *Henry VI.* But he has never-conquered and never-ending in *Lucrece*; never-dying and never-daunted (the latter was common) in *Henry IV.*; never-quenching in *Richard II.*; never-resting in Sonnet 5; and in his latest work never-suspected and never-withering occur in *Tempest* and *Cymbeline.*

Spenser used never-resting earlier in *Mother Hubberd's Tale,* but I have not noted these in his earliest work.

Peele and Kyd, or Peele followed by Kyd, have several. The former has never-ceasing and never-dying in *Alcazar* and the *Arraignment.* The latter gives never-dying and never-killing in *Spanish Tragedy; ne'er deceiving* in *Cornelia.*

Marlowe adopted these compounds in *Tamburlaine.* He has ever-howling, ever-green, ever-raging, ever-turning, ever-shining. He has also never-broken, never-fading, never-stayed, in adjectival use—all in first and second *Tamburlaine.*
Compounds with Over as a Prefix.

Shakespeare had a great partiality for these, made up with several grammatical parts of speech. *New Eng. Dict.* has given a number due to him in the first instance. Ben Jonson followed closely on his heels. But all writers used them and the subject is altogether too wide and diffuse to be slurred over here. I find many in Golding's *Ovid* for the first time. Sidney has a number of them in *Arcadia*. Spenser seems to use those older ones that came to his hand, oftenest. Peele coins several. So does Kyd. Perhaps about four apiece in their early and undoubted work. But no one approaches a piece in the present play, over-awe, over-daring, over-matched, over-mounting, over-tedious, over-veiled, may be mentioned.

Adjectives formed from Substantives with the Subject -ful.

These are more abundant, naturally, carrying with them a development and extension of an idea as they do instead of a negation of it, like words in -less. *New Eng. Dict.* gives a paragraph upon them which is of the same purport as that under -less. Many are old, but like the last a new vogue came in, culminating in Shakespeare's work. These words are on a higher grade and better class: they belong to riper works and do not as a group denote an affectation or a peculiarity so much as the last—except in the fact of coining and dallying with construction being itself rather a puerility. The extension here is of earlier date, I think, than the last. We have an excellent list in Schmidt for Shakespeare. I have made no list from Golding. Spenser, however, has spoilful, groanful, threatfull, stryfull, gladfull, wailfull, gastfull (this is in Golding), vauntfull, choicefull (besides the older guileful, doleful, direful, etc.). Several of Spenser's are coinages showing that he had taken it up deliberately.

I have not noted this to any characteristic extent in Peele or Marlowe. Greene seems to have had little tendency to original word-making in any direction whatever. Sylvester indeed goes at it at once, but Shakespeare had preceded him with strenuous efforts and examples. Sylvester has mastful (oak), fishfull (sea) early in his work.
Shakespeare has the following only once: disgraceful, distrustful in 1 Henry VI.; fraudulent, deathful, unhelpful in 2 Henry VI.; mirthful, caseful, wishful in 3 Henry VI. In Lucrece only are increaseful, faultful and mistful. Gleeful and mightful are only in Titus Andronicus. Dareful and fitful only in Macbeth. There are but few others peculiar and they demand no notice here. Again we see the influence of Spenser with his wonderful poetic vocabulary in the growing genius of Shakespeare; and predominating in Henry VI. Fretful in 2 Henry VI. is quoted in New Eng. Dict. But it may be earlier in Kyd. Cornelia, certainly, is earlier than New Eng. Dict. date ("1593").

With the Suffix -ish.

There is also an early formation, but belonging chiefly to proper or national names. It is more amply dealt with in New Eng. Dict. than the preceding ones from a historical view, but not illustrated except from modern times as an ordinary means of obtaining an adjective. It was apparently an idle arm, for the most part, until Golding, and subsequently Spenser, handled it, and polished it by use. The suffix has the sense of "somewhat" when applied to another adjective: "somewhat like a" when added to a noun.

Golding leads the way with snakish, sheepish, saltish, moorish, sluggish, raughtish (grunting), currish, an interesting list for his date.

Spenser has clownish, brackish, dampish, sluggish, currish, moorish, goatish. He evidently helped himself from Golding. But I am not postulating originality for any of these. And there is not much business doing in -ish evidently. Sir Philip Sidney used it sometimes—he has at any rate gluttonish, shepherdisch and lobbish in Arcadia.

Shakespeare has only a handful of these words, and I doubt if he adds any. I have no exhaustive list. Shrewish, elvish and dankish are confined to Comedy of Errors; brinish is earlier in Lyly's Euphues. Brainish (Hamlet) is no doubt new-minted. There is no need to pursue this inquiry since it is outside Henry VI.

The use of the pronoun there in Shakespeare is well dealt with by Schmidt, and by Abbott. There was a very subtle
discrimination usually between thou and you. As the word is now almost discontinued, in ordinary use, so also is the inflection -est to the verb in the past tense, second person. The language arising has a Biblical cast in modern ears, but in Shakespeare's time it had hardly acquired that distinction. But as Abbott (231) points out it was becoming archaic to use thou except in the higher poetic style and the solemn language of prayer. The termination in -est was felt to be ponderous, and too serious. These three plays exhibit a group of these "ponderous" examples, which are seldom found in the later ones. They are felt to be noteworthy on account of the somewhat terrific need of elision in pronouncing such a word as "suckedest" as a monosyllable. This occurs in 1 Henry VI. v. iv. 27:

the milk
Thy mother gave thee when thou suck'dest her breast.

And in Coriolanus, III. ii. 129; and in Titus Andronicus, II. iii. 144. Marlowe has an example in Edward II. (Dyce, 211, a): "that philosophy ... Thou suck'dst from Plato and from Aristotle."

Here are a few examples:

Sentest. Titus Andronicus, III. i. 236.
Meantest. 2 Henry VI. III. ii. 222 (Peele uses this).
Wentest. 3 Henry VI. III. i. 54.
Dippedst. 3 Henry VI. I. i. 157.
Calledst. 2 Henry VI. IV. iii. 31 (and twice elsewhere in Shakespeare).
Obeyedst. 3 Henry VI. III. iii. 96.
Strokest. Tempest, I. ii. 333 (purposely stilted).
Oughtest. 2 Henry VI. IV. VII. 54.
Soughtest. Antony and Cleopatra, V. ii. 335 (the "high Roman style.")

The latter two are Biblically familiar. No doubt there are more in Shakespeare, but they seem to be somewhat characteristic of these three plays, and therefore dwelt on a little.

Hardly more euphonious are the corresponding present tense monosyllables, noted already under Peele. Shakespeare probably desisted purposely from these in his later work as his ear grew more musically exacting. Serv'st, forc'st, com'st, hear'st, fight'st, join'st, and others all occur, monosyllabically, in 1 Henry VI. Peele used these freely. But so do modern poets. Shelley has speak'st, somewhere, three or four times in as many lines.
Adjectives from nouns formed with the suffix -y are very conspicuous in Spenser. Many of them are his own undoubted introductions. He had grassy, calmy, watery, hoary, misty, frothy, sappy, dewy, starry, foamy, rosy, finny, shiny, airy, fleecy, plummy, snowy, scaly, frothy, pearly, gloomy, briny, leamy, heedy, vetchy, bushy, weedy, cloudy, horsy, whelky, finny, slimy, snaky, ashly, muddy, balmy, cooly, in his early work. A very great list with numbers of interesting words. It must not be assumed that several of these, now very common, were so in his time, or ever in use at all. Golding is not noteworthy in this respect.

Shakespeare has many of the above. He has also slumbery, womby, vasty and paly in his later works. Mothy and pithy belong to Taming of a Shrew. But I only find him once indulging in a bout of such terms, and that is in a very appropriate place, Midsummer Night's Dream, wherein he is especially reminiscent of Spenser. He has there, only: wormy, sphery, starry, rushy, barky, batty, brisky, unheedy. He sets a friendly seal of approval on Spenser's trick.

In the foregoing efforts of research, I have read no predecessors, and they are altogether too comprehensive to attempt singlehanded with any finality. I trust my errors are not many and that my conclusions are sound as a rule. It seems to me that some such methods will prove more reliable in coming to a knowledge of the chronological position and sequence of literary compositions, and of their authors even, than any other internal test, not excepting metrical ones which often break down and seldom extend past the field of a single writer's own work, except in unsettled boundaries. Or even, if that be an unfair view, these tests of new compounds are importantly additional. Now that New Eng. Dict. has progressed so far and so splendidly there is always a final court of appeal. I have usually referred to it, but my collections are from my own reading, and my instances precede theirs occasionally.

**Note on the Chronicles.**

In the historical events of this play Shakespeare follows sometimes Hall, occasionally Grafton, and commonly Holin-
shed. I have made use of Grafton where possible, since his chronicle has been usually neglected; and in its earliest parts (Hall begins with Henry IV.), his pleasant writings afford many illustrations of Shakespeare's language. For the Henrys, Grafton (1567) may be taken as identical with Hall (1548) from whom he transcribed. But he also omitted, added, and in a much less degree altered, Hall a few times. Holinshed varies from both in Henry VI. Shakespeare made use of him of course. All this is fully dealt with in Boswell Stone's admirable summary of Shakespeare's Holinshed. But I am urged to say this much in extenuation of my use of Grafton, admittedly an inferior source to the others. I found evidences of his having been consulted; I found him lighter reading than the others with some room for original research; and I wished to do this for myself. The evidences will appear from time to time in my extracts. For example, the St. Alban's Scene (ii. 1) in 2 Henry VI. (from Sir Thomas More's Dialogue) is told by Grafton only. It is more likely Shakespeare found it there than in More (1530). As a rule Holinshed and Grafton both paraphrase Hall. As a rule Shakespeare used Holinshed. But there is evidence that he used Hardying, Fabian and Stowe in addition. For Fabian, see Part II. iv. iii. at the word "sallet." For Hardying see Boswell Stone, p. 262; and see the same authority for Stowe in two or three places. Grafton was made use of again, probably, where episodes from Hall and Jack Straw's rebellion (1381) are woven into Cade's.

There is one remark I wish to make with regard to the Chroniclers. They afford an excellent hunting ground (Grafton in particular perhaps) for Shakespearian expressions. Not illustrations of a historical nature or with any reference to the historical plays, necessarily, but of passages and turns of phrasing in Shakespeare's later work—where he drops them harmoniously in unexpected places from the store-house of his memory.

In addition to the above paragraph I find Polydore Vergil yielding two or three useful notes in Part III., as at ii. vi. 30, and ii. v. i. And also of Edward's love for the ladies at iii. ii. 14, 15.

Philip de Commines (Danett's translation was not available) comes in with advantage at v. ii. 31, and v. iii. 20, 21.
In Part II. iv. x. i et seq., where Iden finds Cade in his
garden, Holinshed is not followed. The account is from Graft-
ton or Hall.

It is not necessary to suppose that Shakespeare made a
continuous study of all, or indeed of any of these chroniclers,
excepting perhaps Holinshed. Probably at first he used
whichever came handiest at whatever friend's library he had
access to, and sometimes one writer, sometimes another. No
doubt he soon possessed a Grafton and a Holinshed of his own.
In speaking of Grafton I have omitted to distinguish Grafton's
Continuation of Hardyng (1543) which is earlier than Hall's
Chronicle. For the latter part of Henry VI. and for Richard
III., Shakespeare undoubtedly used this. He took many
expressions into his texts from it, as my notes will show.

With regard to Grafton's popularity, Gabriel Harvey bears
testimony. He refers to "Grafton's, Stowe's, or Holinshed's
Chronicle" in Pierces Supererogation (Grosart, ii. 196), 1592-3.
He had already, as early as 1580, mentioned Holinshed (i. 91),
the 1577 edition. The inter-relationship of these compilers is
very complicated and need not be touched upon. Stowe upon
Grafton (Survey) is painful reading.

Another consideration in favour of Grafton is that his
Continuation of Hardyng in 1543, is prior to all of Hall's work.
But it does not deal with our period except at the very con-
clusion.

It is necessary here to say a word with regard to the author-
ship of this work; belonging in part to Sir Thomas More, and
in part to Grafton. See Sir H. Ellis's Introduction to the 1809
edition. Boswell Stone quotes mostly, in Richard III., from
Holinshed, who ascribes to Sir Thomas More. Grafton's ver-
sion is varied considerably, chiefly compressed. Holinshed
says that "Edward the Fifth and Richard the Third unfinished"
were written about the year 1513. Grafton overlaps this at
each end, beginning with Edward the Fourth and continuing
to Henry VIII., "gathered out of the most credible writers."
The part that is common to both is for the most part identical.
Shakespeare need not necessarily therefore have used Holin-
shed. Some expressions such as "lay their heads together,"
are not in Holinshed, in this position at any rate. Holinshed
is Grafton amplified (i.e., More) for Edward V. (468 to 515
Grafton = 361 to 396 Holinshed); and Holinshed is Grafton in Richard III. to 525 in the latter after "Aesop's tale" where Holinshed says "Here endeth Sir Thomas Moore, and this that followeth is taken out of master Hall" (405). Stowe's Richard III. omits a line (II. iii. 11), "Woe to that land that's governed by a child," which is in Grafton (511) and in 1588 Holinshed's reprint (393), but has escaped the editors.

A few chronicle expressions appearing in these plays occur to my memory: break up (a prison, etc.), in Christendom, procurator, cutting short (one's head), conventicle, play a pageant, laid their heads together (consulted), subversion, triple crown (mitre), fleeced, at large, corsie, sallet. And many military or warfare phrases: such as bid them battle, buckle with. Most of these, and several more, are in Grafton, 1543, knitting the brows, came up, make a short tale, break off (conversation), pangs of death.

Mr. Francis Woollett called my attention to evidence of the "heterogeneous nature of the construction" of this play in two special cases, as well from a close study of several episodes. The episode of Talbot and the Countess of Auvergne has no meaning and probably belonged to the earlier draft—it reads like an adventure out of a Robin Hood ballad. The two cases referred to are the making Winchester a Cardinal in Act I., while in Act V. (i. 28) Exeter says: "What! is my Lord of Winchester install'd, And call'd unto a Cardinal's degree?" Again in Act I. (i. 61, 65) Paris is quite lost to the English, yet Henry is crowned there in Act IV. Scene i. And at I. i. 60 Orleans is quite lost, while this is contradicted by the third Messenger's speech a little lower down. Such historical confusion is most easily explained by hasty overwriting of early work by another.

It would be a thankless and unnecessary task to point out the depths of Henry VI., Part I. Enough has been said already both in this Introduction and my notes. It must be conceded that even this prosaic production is lightened up here and there by redeeming passages and even scenes. And that as a coherent narrative play with some attempt at depicting human nature as it really is in times of storm and stress, it rises above its predecessors on the English stage. Even Shakespeare had to begin. He began on another's failure and Greene's "nature
is subdued," by the worker, to the dyer's hand. The resultant hue is in places a very strange medley. The Greene shows through the Shakespearian varnish. When we come to study this retouching in the later parts, with the original canvas before us, we get some idea of the processes at work, but the parallel is not legitimate, since here there was perhaps no more than a few hasty sketches of unfinished scenes and positions, speeches to be made use of and probably unwelcome personal assistance from Greene. One feels the presence of Greene, but little by little, in my case at least, this presence became more and more shadowy, and finally it practically vanishes from the finished product. It is curious how a few impressions at the start lead one into a track that is difficult to ever wholly escape from. I have shown how some of the Greene language is really Spenser's. In the later parts certain recognised Marlovian phrases belong properly to the Chroniclers.

It is necessary to give a brief summary of the conclusions of the more important critics and commentators on the authorship of this play. After I had made a careful study of the three parts I studied the opinions of others, with many of which I was of course to some extent familiar. Theobald and Warburton both doubted the Shakespearian authorship of all three plays, although finding some of his "master strokes" in them. Johnson very properly said: "From mere inferiority nothing can be inferred; in the productions of wit there will be inequality," and after a few more solemn truisms, he opposed himself to Theobald and Warburton without any knowledge whatever of the writings of Shakespeare's contemporaries—the whole field of conflict and point at issue. Malone gave his decisive opinion that this play was not by Shakespeare, and further that it was not by the same author or authors as Parts II. and III. Drake would have excluded this play altogether.

The first champion of all these plays, and of the formation plays also (of Parts II. and III.) as Shakespeare's, was Knight. Knight's view has, I think, never been accepted by any one else. But he dealt with the whole subject at great length and with much critical ability, and by his means the questions at issue were removed from much of the early dogmatism they were tainted with. Since his time no one has ventured to deny Shakespeare's authorship, whose opinion carries weight; al-
though some, like Dyce (2nd ed.) thought that he merely slightly altered and improved an old drama in *Henry VI.* (Part I.).

For more lengthened opinions of these writers—as many more there be—I would refer to Grant White's excellent review of the position (vii. p. 403 *et seq.*, ed. 1881); Collier's "monstrous opinion" that Shakespeare wrote Part I., but had no hand in *The Contention* or *The True Tragedy*; and also Halliwell's elaborate suggestion of "an intermediate composition" amongst these original dramas which complicates matters and is as ingenious as it is unwarranted. Dyce followed Hallam in avowing a strong suspicion that those two old dramas were wholly by Marlowe! Perhaps the most extraordinary of all these imaginings.

Fleay, Furnivall, Ingleby, and Miss Lee have endeavoured to allot accurately the parts in this play that are Shakespeare's to him, and the other parts to Marlowe, or to Peele or Greene as the case may be. They do not agree among themselves except in a general way as to what Shakespeare wrote undoubtedly. Fleay would have Shakespeare's parts "of much later date, and inserted by him"—an unhappy guess. Dr. Ingleby is somewhat similar in his opinion. The very fact of there being no mention of Robert Greene in their views (nor in Furnivall's) puts them out of court in my opinion.

The German critics, Gervinus, Schlegel, Tieck and Ulrici, and Verplanck generally accept this play as Shakespeare's, or mainly Shakespeare's, without labouring much as to who else is concerned. Gervinus, however, removes a quantity of the play from Shakespeare, regarding that which is his as insertions in order to "unite this first part most closely with the second and third, while before it had been totally unconnected with them." He labours the point (as Malone did) that the chief chronicler used was Hall not Holinshed, the latter being "Shakespeare's historian." Gervinus simply rejects what he does not think good enough for Shakespeare—what is in contrast with his later mode and manner. He is very good reading, but wholly unconvincing. I find in a footnote that he seems to attribute *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* wholly to Greene. Gervinus differs from Schlegel, Tieck and Ulrici who regard the whole trilogy as undoubtedly Shakespeare's. Ward regards Part I. as having received "passages,
and even scenes" from Shakespeare's hand, as an adapter. Ward states positively, however, "that there is no evidence to identify Part I. of Henry VI. either with the Henry the VI. noted by Henslowe, or with the play alluded to by Nashe"—a dogmatic assertion which I can see no justification whatever for. Ward decides further that Parts II. and III. were elaborated by Shakespeare from those older plays which were written by some author unknown, which cannot be ascribed to authors of so distinct a style as Greene, or Marlowe, or Peele. He places Titus Andronicus in exactly the same position.

The worst of these conflicting opinions is that they each carry with them a certain amount of conviction until the next is considered. There is no doubt Ward is emphatically right in saying that those plays cannot be lightly regarded as belonging to any of the three writers mentioned. This does not exclude a junta, but this discussion is out of place for the present. I will merely say that his argument that those plays cannot have been written by Shakespeare (expunging at once the other three authors) because of the changes made in the finished work (Parts II. and III.) seems lame and insufficient. We must regard Shakespeare as improving and developing at a most rapid rate. What would any of these three parts (admittedly by Shakespeare according to Ward) have turned out like if he handled them over again, a little, even a very little later?

I will now quote from Grant White, already referred to. His opinion is that: "The First Part of the Contention, The True Tragedy, and, probably, an early form of the first part of King Henry the VI., unknown to us, were written by Marlowe, Greene and Shakespeare (and perhaps Peele) together, not improbably as collaborators for the company known as the Earl of Pembroke's servants, soon after the arrival of Shakespeare in London; and that he, in taking passages, and sometimes whole scenes, from those plays for his King Henry the Sixth, did little more than to reclaim his own." Two remarks only will I hazard here, leaving the genesis of Parts II. and III. to unfold themselves at the proper time. One is why are we to add to our difficulties by supposing an earlier form of Part I.? The part we have before us is the early form itself bearing evidence of more hands than Shakespeare's. The other is a
warning not to accept this opinion, with regard to The True Tragedy at any rate, since practically, as we shall see, the whole of that play lies embedded in the third part; and whoever wrote the one rewrote it into the other—almost without a doubt—or so nearly so that any other influence or co-operation is of the slightest. This cannot at all be said of The Contention and Part II.

Mr. P. A. Daniel has summarised his time-analysis of this play as follows: "Time of this play eight days," with intervals. Day 1, Act I. to Scene vi., Interval; Day 2, Act II. to Scene v.; Day 3, Act III. Scene i., Interval; Day 4, Act III. Scene ii.; Day 5, Act III. Scene iii., Interval; Day 6, Act III. Scene iv., Act IV. Scene i., Interval; Day 7, Act IV. Scenes ii. to vii., and Act v. to Scene iii., Interval; Day 8, Act v. Scenes iv. and v.

Historic period, say from death of Henry V., 31st August, 1422, to the treaty of marriage between Henry VI. and Margaret, end of 1444.

A few notes on the text, as here given, and I have done. I had begun to efface "the apostrophes and so miss the accent," as Holofernes puts it, in such words as placed, faced, moved, instead of plac'd, fac'd mov'd; when I was glad to find the Cambridge Shakespeare (2nd edition) gave me authority to do so. The removal of the note of admiration from O, to the end of the clause, has also been adopted. A longing to obliterate hyphens by the host has been resisted. Neither in modern nor early editions has principle or uniformity been observed to fall in with. A few more commas have been silently dropped. And the following original (or suggested) readings have been adopted:—

entertalk, iii. i. 63. See note on making these one word.

him, as in Ff for 'em, iv. vii. 89.

girt, as in Ff 1, 2, 3, for gird. See note on this undoubted correction.

raging, wood, iv. vii. 35, and moody, mad, iv. ii. 50, dehyphened.

louted, iv. iii. 12, for the meaningless lowted. See note.

Adonis garden, as in Ff, for gardens. See note.

fully omitted (as in Ff), and passage rearranged to F 1, i. iv. 15.

halcyons days (as in Ff 1, 2) from halcyon, Ff 3, 4.

were (as in Ff) for was of Rowe, etc., i. iv. 50.

appaled (appal'd Ff), i. ii. 49, for appall'd. See note.

wrack, as in Ff, for wreck of commentators, i. i. 135. See note.

slew as in Ff for flew of commentators i. i. 124. See note.
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

wherein shipp'd, as in Ff 1, 2, 3, for where whipp'd of F 4 and mod. edd. v. i. 49.

regions, of Ff, for legions (of commentators), v. iii. 11.
nourish, of Ff, for marish (of commentators), i. i. 50.

The Introductions to the three Parts are so dependent upon one another, that none of them can be regarded as a separate whole.

I am very anxious here to say a word, which is also painfully difficult to me to say, on a subject always present in my thoughts and especially while at work at these editions of Shakespeare's plays. I refer to the death of our general editor, my old, long-tried and most highly valued friend William J. Craig. It is needless but very pleasurable to dwell upon his never-failing courtesy and tact—his unselfish and never withheld advice and assistance as well as his continued resourcefulness in matters Shakespearian, the chiefest labours of his love. All who knew him knew these things in him. In teaching me how to love Shakespeare thirty or more years ago he taught me how to love himself, and but for him my life perhaps would have been void of a prolonged joy. Whether we joined in a midnight foray on the Wicklow mountains, or on Dodsley's old plays, in those old Trinity days, he was always the most lovable and sociable of companions—and to the very end the ties between us never slackened—grappled with hoops of steel. Always broad-minded, and kind-hearted, always loyal, he leaves a gap amongst his mourning friends that they can only be thankful his presence once filled so full, while knowing it must now for ever remain empty save in the sweetness of memory and the knowledge of the beneficence of his influence.
THE FIRST PART OF
KING HENRY THE SIXTH
DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

King Henry the Sixth.
Duke of Gloucester, Uncle to the King, and Protector.
Duke of Bedford, Uncle to the King, and Regent of France.
Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, Great-uncle to the King.
Henry Beaufort, Great-uncle to the King, Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards Cardinal.
John Beaufort, Earl, afterwards Duke, of Somerset.
Earl of Warwick.
Earl of Salisbury.
Earl of Suffolk.
Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury.
John Talbot, his son.
Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
Sir John Fastolfe.
Sir William Lucy.
Sir William Glansdale.
Sir Thomas Gargrave.
Mayor of London.
Woodville, Lieutenant of the Tower.
Vernon, of the White-Rose or York Faction.
Basset, of the Red-Rose or Lancaster Faction.
A Lawyer. Mortimer's Keepers.
Charles, Dauphin, and afterwards King of France.
Reignier, Duke of Anjou, and titular King of Naples.
Duke of Burgundy.
Duke of Alençon.
Bastard of Orleans.
Governor of Paris.
Master-Gunner of Orleans, and his Son.
General of the French Forces in Bourdeaux.
A French Sergeant. A Porter.
An old Shepherd, Father to Joan la Pucelle.
Margaret, Daughter to Reignier, afterwards married to King Henry.
Countess of Auvergne.
Joan la Pucelle, commonly called Joan of Arc.
Lords, Warders of the Tower, Heralds, Officers, Soldiers, Messengers, and Attendants.
Fiends appearing to Joan la Pucelle.
Scene: Partly in England and partly in France.

1 First given imperfectly by Rowe; corrected by Cambridge Editors.
THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH

ACT I

SCENE I.—Westminster Abbey.

Dead March. Enter the Funeral of King Henry the Fifth, attended on by the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France; the Duke of Gloucester, Protector; the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Warwick, the Bishop of Winchester, Heralds, &c.

Bed. Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night! Comets, importing change of times and states,


1. Hung . . black] The stage was draped with black for a tragedy. Steevens quotes Sidney, Arcadia, bk. ii. (p. 229, vol. ii. ed. 1739): “There arose even with the sun, a vail of dark clouds before his face, which shortly, like ink poured into water, had blacked over all the face of heaven, preparing as it were a mournfull stage for a tragedy to be played on.” Malone refers to Marston’s Insatiate Countess (1613), iv. v. 4-7:—

“The stage of heaven is hung with solemn black,
A time best fitting to act tragedies.
The night’s great queen, that maiden governess,
Musters black clouds to hide her from the world.”

Compare too A Warning for Faire Women, 1599 (Simpson’s School of Shakespeare, ii. 244):—

“Look, Comedy, I mark’d it not till now,
The stage is hung with black, and I perceive
The auditors prepar’d for Tragedy.”

I do not believe there is any reference here to the word in Cotgrave; if it ever had general use it was at a later date. Cotgrave has “Volerie. A robberie, . . . also a place over a stage which we call the Heaven” (1611). Malone made the suggestion. For the structure of this line, see note at 1. vi. 2.

2. Comets] “These blazing starres the Greekes call Cometas, our Romanes Crinitas: dreadfull to be scene. . . . As for those named Acontias, they brandish and shake like a speare or dart . . . these be blazing starres that become all shaggie, compassed round with hairie fringe . . . A fearefull starre for the most part this Comet is, and not easily expiated” (Holland’s Plinie, bk. ii. ch. xxv.). New Eng. Dict. quotes Complaint of Scotland (vi. 1872),
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars
That have consented unto Henry's death!
King Henry the Fifth, too famous to live long!
England ne'er lost a king of so much worth.

Glo.  England ne'er had a king until his time.

Virtue he had, deserving to command:
His brandish'd sword did blind men with his beams;
His arms spread wider than a dragon's wings;
His sparkling eyes, replete with wrathful fire,
More dazzled and drove back his enemies
Than mid-day sun fierce bent against their faces.
What should I say! his deeds exceed all speech:

1549: "Ane stearre . . . callit ane comit; quhen it is sene, ther occurris haistyly efter it sum grit myselfe." Greene often refers to the superstition: "like the elevation of a Comet which foreshewes ever some fatall and finall ruine" (Penelopes Web [Grosart, v. 175]. 1587). And in Mamilla (Grosart, ii. 150). 1583: "his foes contrarwise conjecturing the worst, said that his pompous prodigality and rich attire were the two blazing starres and carefull comets which did alwaies prognosticate some such event." Common in later plays. And see Spenser's Faerie Queene, iii. i. 16, where Upton's note gives classical references. Camden tells of one in 1582. See line 55 below, note.


"Thine eyes already (now no longer eyes;
But new bright stars) do brandish
in the skies."

3. crystal] bright, clear. Often used in connection with the skies. Compare "the heaven crystalline" in the old Taming of a Shrew (Six Old Plays, p. 190). 1594. A similar expression occurs in Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Part I. v.: "Flora in her morning's pride, shaking her silver tresses in the air." The reader is at once reminded of Marlowe by these opening lines.


5. consented unto] agreed with, acted in concert. See Richard II. 1. ii. 25. Lat. Consentus (Steevens). Compare Golding's Ovid, bk. xi. lines 78, 79: "The Thracian women . . . As many fas consenting to this wicked act were ound."

10. brandish'd] See note at line 3. Spenser has "his brandisht blade" (Faerie Queene, ii. xi. 37).

11. dragon's wings] Compare Troilus and Cressida, v. viii. 17. "That old dragon" that the Redcross knight slays in Spenser's Faerie Queene was in Shakespeare's mind: "Then, with his waving wings displayed wide" (i. xi. 18);

"His blazing eyes . . .
Did burn with wrath and sparkled living fire,
As two broad Beacons . . .
. . . warning give that enemies conspyre" (st. xiv.).

12. replete with] full of. Compare The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke (Shaks. Library, Hazlitt, p. 85), 1592: "Thy lookes are all replete with Majestie"; and The Troublesome Raigne of King John (Shaks. Library, Hazlitt, p. 316), 1591: "My life replete with rage and tyranie." And see 2 Henry VI. i. i. 20, and 3 Henry VI. ii. ii. 84. The expression occurs only in Shakespeare's earliest work, especially in the historical plays. It is not uncommon earlier. See Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure, 1590 (passim).


15. What should I say! it is hopeless. Compare Golding's Ovid, bk. ii. 240, 245: "What should he doe? . . .
He wist not what was best to doe, his
He ne'er lift up his hand but conquered.

Exe. We mourn in black: why mourn we not in blood?
Henry is dead and never shall revive.
Upon a wooden coffin we attend,
And death's dishonourable victory
We with our stately presence glorify,
Like captives bound to a triumphant car.
What! shall we curse the planets of mishap
That plotted thus our glory's overthrow?
Or shall we think the subtle-witted French
Conjurers and sorcerers, that, afraid of him,
By magic verses have contriv'd his end?

Win. He was a king bless'd of the King of kings.
Unto the French the dreadful judgment-day
So dreadful will not be as was his sight.
The battles of the Lord of hosts he fought:
The church's prayers made him so prosperous.

Glou. The church! where is it? had not churchmen pray'd
His thread of life had not so soon decay'd:

wittes were ravish't so" (1567). And Grafton's Chronicle, 1569 (reprint 1809, i. 574), Henry the Sixth: "What should I say", the Captains on horsebacke came to the gate and the Traytors within slue the porters and watchemen and let in their friendes." Often in Hall and Grafton.


"And when I tract upon the tender grass,
Love, that makes warme the center of the earth,
Lift up his crest to kisse Remilia's foote."

And Peele, David and Bethsabe:
"Hath fought like one whose arms were lift by heaven" (468).

17. mourn . . . in blood] Compare "mourn in steel" (3 Henry VI. i. i. 58).

19. wooden] senseless, expressionless, unfeeling. The extended sense gives some colour to the line. See "that's a wooden thing" (v. iii. 89). Suffolk's contemptuous expression for the king. Compare Greene's Orpharion (Grosart, xii. 17), 1588-9: "or fayre without wit, and that is to marry a wooden picture with a golden creast, full of favour but flattering."


21. Conjurer] a magician; one who has to do with spirits. So in Part II. i. ii. 76, "Roger Bolingbroke the conjurer" is a nigrromancer in the Chronicles. And compare Comedy of Errors, Acts iv. and v. "A Ballad of the life and death of Doctor Faustus the Cunngerer" (Stationers' Register, 1589). Sacrapant in The Old Wives Tale (Peele) is a conjurer.

22. magic verses] Compare Faerie Queene, 1. ix. 48:—

"All his manly powres it did disperse,
As he were charmed with inchaunted rimes:
That oftentimes he quaked, and fainted oftentimes."


"And in the latter end
The fatall dames shall breake thy threade."

Without any direct reference to the Fates, compare (Peele's) Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 409): "When thread of life is almost fret in twain."
None do you like but an effeminate prince,
Whom, like a school-boy, you may over-awe.

**Win.** Gloucester, whate'er we like, thou art protector,
And lookest to command the prince and realm.
Thy wife is proud; she holdeth thee in awe,
More than God or religious churchmen may.

**Glow.** Name not religion, for thou lov'st the flesh,
And ne'er throughout the year to church thou go'st
Except it be to pray against thy foes.

**Bzd.** Cease, cease these jars and rest your minds in peace!
Let's to the altar: heralds, wait on us.
Instead of gold we'll offer up our arms,
Since arms avail not now that Henry's dead.
Posterity, await for wretched years,
When at their mothers' moist'ned eyes babes shall suck,
Our isle be made a nourish of salt tears,
And none but women left to wail the dead.

Henry the Fifth! thy ghost I invoke:
Prosper this realm, keep it from civil broils!
Combat with adverse planets in the heavens!
A far more glorious star thy soul will make

Than Julius Caesar or bright—

49. moist'ned] F 1; moist Ff. 2, 3, 4.

50. nourish] Ff, Cambridge; marish Pope, Craig; nourice Theobald.

56. or bright—] or bright Francis Drake Pope conj.; or bright Cassiopeta Theobald conj.; or bright Berenice Johnson conj. (Other suggestions are Orion Mitford, Great Alexander Bullock, Cepheus Keightley, Charlemagne Anon.)

36. school-boy . . . over-awe] Compare Marlowe, *Edward II.*:—

"Although your highness were a schoolboy still,
And must be awed and governed like a child" (Dyce, 203, a).

38. lookest] expectest.

50. nourish] nurse. A frequent word in use in the fatherland or country; as in Holland's *Plinie*, bk. iii. ch. v. p. 56 (1601): "that land [Italy] which is the nourse of all lands . . . the mother chosen by the powerfull grace of the gods." "To nourish" and "to nurse" had identical uses, which are extended here to the noun. Halliwell's Dictionary quotes "Nominale MS. Nutrix, norseshe." Steevens gives an example from Lydgate's *Tragedies of John Bochar*, bk. i. ch. xii.:—

"Athenes when it was in his fowles
Was called nourish of philosophers wise."

Spenser calls Night the "nourse of woe" (*Faerie Queene*, iii. iv. 55).

52. thy ghost I invoke] invoke or pray to. Compare *Richard III.* i. ii. 8: "Be it lawful that I invoke thy ghost." And *Locrine*, iv. i.: "by the gods whom thou dost invoke, By the dread ghost of thy deceased sire." And in Sonnet xxxviii. *New Eng. Dict.* has earlier examples.

55, 56. more glorious star . . . Than *Julius Caesar* See Golding's *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, The Epistle, lines 292, 293 (1567):—

"The turning to a blazing star of
Julius Caesar showes
That fame and immortalitie of
vertuous doing groves."

And again, bk. xv. lines 944-56:—

". . . . from the murthered corce of
Julius Caesar take
His soyle with speed . . . Venus
out of hand
Amid the Senate house of Rome
invisible did stand,
And from her Ceasars bodye tooke
his new expelled spryght."
Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My honourable lords, health to you all!

Sad tidings bring I to you out of France,
Of loss, of slaughter, and discomfiture:
Guillaume, Champaigne, Rheims, Orleans,
Paris, Guysors, Poictiers, all are quite lost.

Bed. What say'st thou, man, before dead Henry's corse?
Speak softly, or the loss of those great towns
Will make him burst his head and rise from death.

Glou. Is Paris lost? is Roan yielded up?
If Henry were recall'd to life again
These news would cause him once more yield the ghost.

Exe. How were they lost? what treachery was us'd?

Mess. No treachery, but want of men and money.

Amongst the soldiers this is muttered,

65. is Roan)] F 1; and is Roan Ff 2, 3, 4; Rouen Cambridge.

... She no sooner let it flye,
But that a goodly shyning starre it
up a loft did stye
And drew a greate way after it
bryght beames like burning heare."

The mention of hair shows that the comet is referred to again. Plutarch says "there was a great comet which seven nights together was seen very bright after Caesar's death." See note in Arden edition to Julius Caesar, ii. ii. 31. And see more in Holland's Plutie, bk. ii. ch. x xv.: "By that starre it was signified (as the common sort beleived) that the soule of Iulius Caesar was received among the divine powers of the immortal gods." That the above account in Golding of Caesar's constellation was familiar to Shakespeare is evident from the account of the "warnings of the Gods" before the murder (lines 879-95). They supply the "battles feyghting in the clowdes," "the rain of blood," the "gastly-spryghts" of Julius Caesar, ii. ii. 12-25.

50. or bright—M. Mason says, "Pope's conjecture is confirmed by this peculiar circumstance, that two blazing stars (the Fhiliun Sidus) are part of the arms of the Drake family." And Malone rightly affirms that this blank arose from the transcriber or compositor not being able to make out the name. The rhyme is the chief argument in favour of Drake, which is however very unacceptable of a then-living man.

64. lead] the lining or inner shell of the wooden coffin. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher's Knight of Malta, iv. ii.: "[They remove the coffin, lift Oriana out of it, and then put it back into the monument.]... Mir. Softly good friend; take her into your arms. Nor. Put in the crust again." The "crust" here is the lapping of lead mentioned in The Passionate Pilgrim, xxi. 391-95. See too Middleton's A Mad World, my Masters, ii. ii.: "let him trap me in gold, and I'll lap him in lead." Without a knowledge of this a passage in The Merchant of Venice, ii. vii. 49-51 loses its force. Marlowe gives: "Not lapt in lead but in a sheet of gold" (Tamburlaine, pt. ii., end of Act ii.). "Wratn in lead," meaning dead, occurs twice in Spenser's Shepheard's Calendar (June and October), 1579.

67. cause him ... yield] For "to" omitted after "cause," compare Greene, George-a-Greene (at the end): "Whose fathers he caus'd murthered in those warres."

70. this is muttered] Grafton has here (i. 562): "the Duke of Bedford openly rebuked the Lordes in generall, because that they in the time of warre, through their privie malice and inwarde grudge, had almost moved the people to warre and commocion, in which time all men should ... serve and dread their soveraigne Lorde King Henry, in performing his conquest in Fraunce, which was in maner brought to conclusion."
That here you maintain several factions;
And whilst a field should be dispatch'd and fought,
You are disputing of your generals.
One would have lingering wars with little cost;
Another would fly swift, but wanteth wings;
A third thinks, without expense at all,
By guileful fair words peace may be obtain'd.
Awake, awake, English nobility!
Let not sloth dim your honours new-begot:
Cropp'd are the flower-de-luces in your arms
Of England's coat, one half is cut away.

Exc. Were our tears wanting to this funeral
These tidings would call forth her flowing tides.

Bed. Me they concern. Regent I am of France.
Give me my steeled coat: I'll fight for France.
Away with these disgraceful wailing robes!
Wounds will I lend the French instead of eyes,
To weep their intermittent miseries.

76. A third thinks] F 1, Cambridge; A third man thinks Ff 2, 3, 4, Steevens, etc., Craig; a third thinks that Keightley conj.

71. maintain . . . factions] back up, uphold factions or parties. New Eng. Dict. quotes Hanmer, Chronicle of Ireland (ante 1604): "His three sonsnes . . . formerly went into Ireland to mainaine one of the factions." See note, ii. iv. 109 below, on factions.

72. field . . . dispatch'd] armed force, or order of battle made ready and sent promptly away.

74-76. One . . . Another . . . A third] Compare Faerie Queene, i. xii. 10.

60. flower-de-luces] The fleur de lis, or lily of France. A heraldic bearing and artistic ornament probably representing the Iris. "Iris, this herbe is called Floure-delyce" (R. Banckes? Herball, Sig. D, ii. 30, 1525). As a part of England's coat, Grafton says: "Thon Rastall sayth in his chronicle that it is not lyke to be true that the great Hall of Westminster that is now, was buylded by this king, but rather in the tyme of King Richard the Second. For sayth he, the Armes that are there both on the timber and on the stone worke, which is the three Lyons quartered with the flower de luce, and the white Hart for his badge, were the armes of King Richard. For there was never king of England that gave the flower de luce which was the armes of Fraunce before King Edward the thirde" (i. 176).

81. coat] coat of arms. "Your arms of England's coat" is equivalent to "your English coat of arms," spoken by a foreign messenger who already uses English nobility in a foreign manner. The punctuation should not be altered from the old edition.

83. her flowing tides] England's flowing tides (Malone). The prosaic alteration of Theobald's is gladly rejected. A similar quibble (tide, tied) is in Lyly's Endymion, iv. ii.

85. steeled coat] coat of mail. Not again in Shakespeare. An expression of Greene's in Alphonsus, King of Arragon (line 1553): "Buckle your helmes, clap on your steeled coates." Marlowe has "steeled crests" (Tamiburlaine, pt. ii. ii. 2); Lodge has "thy steeled crest" (Wounds of Civil War, Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 114). Compare "coats of steel," 3 Henry VI. ii. i. 160, and note.

87, 88. lend . . . eyes to weep] Compare Timon of Athens, v. i. 160.

88. intermissive] coming at intervals. New Eng. Dict. has an earlier example from Ferne's Blazon of Gentrie, 1586.
Enter to them another Messenger.

Mess. Lords, view these letters full of bad mischance.
France is revolted from the English quite,
Except some petty towns of no import:
The Dauphin Charles is crowned king in Rheims;
The Bastard of Orleans with him is join'd;
Reignier, Duke of Anjou, doth take his part;
The Duke of Alençon flieth to his side.

Exe. The Dauphin crowned king! all fly to him!
O! whither shall we fly from this reproach?

Glou. We will not fly, but to our enemies' throats.
Bed. Gloucester, why doubt'st thou of my forwardness?
An army have I mustered'd in my thoughts,
Wherewith already France is overrun.

Enter another Messenger.

Mess. My gracious lords, to add to your laments,
Wherewith you now bedew King Henry's hearse,
I must inform you of a dismal fight
Betwixt the stout Lord Talbot and the French.

Win. What! wherein Talbot overcame? is't so?

Mess. O, no! wherein Lord Talbot was o'er-thrown:
The circumstance I'll tell you more at large.
The tenth of August last this dreadful lord,
Retiring from the siege of Orleans,
THE FIRST PART OF

Having full scarce six thousand in his troop,
By three-and-twenty thousand of the French
Was round encompassed and set upon.
No leisure had he to enrank his men;
He wanted pikes to set before his archers;

112. full scarce] Fi; scarce full Rowe.

112. full] fully, in full, altogether.
Full is very often "placed emphatically" (Schmidt) before adjectives and adverbs by Shakespeare. The sense varies with the following word. Here it means "all told." See IV. i. 20.

Compare "full resolved" in Peele's Edward I.: "Edward is full resolved of thy faith" (387, b); an expression occurring in Titus Andronicus and Two Gentlemen of Verona. And see below, "full replete" (v. v. 17).

115. enr ank] place in ranks. Not found earlier.

116. He wanted pikes to set before his archers] The archers carried stakes, or the other footmen carried them for them, to set in the ground before the former to keep off the enemy's horse. A few passages from Grafton's Chronicle (1569) of these wars will illustrate this.

"The Duke of Bedford, not ignorant howe to order his men, made likewise an enternt battayle, and sufferd no man to be on horseback and set the archers (every one having a sharpe stake) both in the front of the battayle, and on the sides lyke wings, and behinde the battayle were the pages with the chariottes and cariages, and all the horses were tyed together either with the reins of their bridles or by the tayles" (i. 556, reprint, 1809). This was a "pitched field." The chronicler continues: "The French men at the first sight remembering howe often times in pitched fieldes they had bene overcome... began somewhat to feare...

The french horsemen that daye did little service: for the archers so galled their horses, that they desyred not muche to approch their presence." This battle (Patay) was fought the xxvij day of August, 1425, and was a great victory for the English. And again (p. 578): "Wherefore Sir John Fastolfe and his Companions set all their copiame in good order of Battayle, and pitched stakes before every Archer to breake the force of the horsemen. At their backes they set all their wagons and cariages... and in this maner they stood still, abiding the assault of their adversaries... This conflict (because the most part of the cariage was Herynge and Lenten stuffe) the Frenchmen call the unfortunate battaile of Herynges." The next passage deals with the events before us in the play. It was a surprise. "The lorde Talbote with five thousand men, was coming to Meum... The English men comming forwardly perceyued the [French] horsemen, and imagining to decyue their enemies, commanded the footmen to enuirone and enclose themselues about with their stakes, but the french horsemen came on so fiercely that the archers had no leisure to set themselues in aray. There was no remedie, but to fight at adventure. This battayle continued by the space of three long houres. And although the English men were overpressed with the number of their adversaries, yet they never fled back one foote, till their Captayne the Lorde Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so was taken... there were slayne about twelve hundred, and taken xi. Whereof the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales, the Lorde Hungerford and Sir Thomas Rampstone were the chief... From this battayle departed without any stroke striken, Syr John Fastolfe, the same yere for his valyantnesse elected into the order of the Garter: For which cause the Duke of Bedford in a great anger toke from hym the Image of Saint George, and his Garter: but afterward, by meane of friends, and apparaunte causes of good excuse by him alleged, he was restored to the order agayne, agaynst the minde of the Lorde Talbot" (page 582, Grafton). It will be seen that this lengthy note supplies much information.

Fastolfe "without any stroke striken," the three hours' fight, and Talbot wounded sore in the back, are all dealt with, as well as the stakes to break the force of the horsemen. See III. i. 103 for Fastolfe's cowardice again.

116. pikes] The exact signification
Instead whereof sharp stakes pluck’d out of hedges
They pitched in the ground confusedly,
To keep the horsemen off from breaking in.
More than three hours the fight continued;
Where valiant Talbot above human thought
Enacted wonders with his sword and lance.
Hundreds he sent to hell, and none durst stand him;
Here, there, and every where, enraged he slew:
The French exclaim’d the devil was in arms;
All the whole army stood agazed on him.
His soldiers, spying his undaunted spirit,
A Talbot! a Talbot! cried out amain,
And rush’d into the bowels of the battle.
Here had the conquest fully been seal’d up,

124. slew] See again for these words, iii. ii. 99 and v. v. 70. Marlowe uses this in Edward III. (Dyce, p. 184, b): "Th' undaunted spirit of Percy was appeas’d."
128. A Talbot! a Talbot] The name of the leader, coupled with St. George, was the usual battle-cry. So in Grafton: "And in lyke maner the Duke of Bedford encouraged his people, and forthwith they gave the onset upon their enemies, crying, Saint George, Bedford" (p. 557). And again (p. 561): "the Enlishmen came out ... by the gate of the towne, cryeng Saint George, Salisbury: and set on their enemies both before and behinde." And again (p. 575): "About sixe of the clock in the morning they issued out of the Castell, cryeng Saint George, Talbot."
130. seal’d up] brought to a determination, made perfect. Compare Greene, Frier Bacon and Frier Bungay (Grosart, xiii. 41): "Then go to bed and seal up your desires."
If Sir John Fastolfe had not play'd the coward.
He, being in the vaward, plac'd behind
With purpose to relieve and follow them,
Cowardly fled, not having struck one stroke.
Hence grew the general wrack and massacre:
Enclosed were they with their enemies.
A base Walloon, to win the Dauphin's grace,
Thrust Talbot with a spear into the back;
Whom all France, with their chief assembled strength,
Durst not presume to look once in the face.

Bed. Is Talbot slain? then I will slay myself,
For living idly here in pomp and ease
Whilst such a worthy leader, wanting aid,
Unto his dastard foemen is betray'd.

131. Fastolfe] Theobald; Palstaff Ff. 132. vaward] rearward Hanmer (Theobald conj.). 135. wrack] Fi, Craig; wreack Steevens, Cambridge. 137. Walloon] 1f 3, 4; Wallon Ff 1, 2. 139. their chief] Fi 1, 2; their Ff 3, 4.

131. Fastolfe . . . play'd the coward] See note at line 116, and see below, ii. ii. 103-9. Sir John Fastolfe appears to have satisfactorily disproved their charge of cowardice, upon his return home. His honours were restored to him and he served the King at home as a member of the Privy Council. Nor is there any reference to these accusations in his claims against the King for various losses in 1455. Nevertheless he was an object of aversion to the populace who held him partly accountable for the loss of Normandy, and Cade had him proclaimed as "the greatesttraitor in England or France." He died at Caister in Norfolk on the 5th November, 1459. For an ample account of him see Gairdner's Introduction to the Pas ton Letters, vol. i., and the Letters themselves. His appointment to the wars is mentioned as follows by Grafton: "After this victory ['The Battle of Crauan'] . . . the Regent . . . constituted the Erle of Salisbury (as he was well worthy) Vicegerent and Lieutenant for the king and him in the Countries of Fraunce, Bray and Champaine, and Sir John Fastolfe he substituted Deputie under him in the Duchie of Normandie on this side of the river of Seye and with that he deputed him governor of the Countries of Anjow and Mayne" (i. 552, 553).

132. in the vaward] in the vanguard.
Compare Coriolanus, i. vi. 53. Fastolfe was in support (placed behind) of the vanguard, which was probably led by Talbot himself. The passage has raised objections, but somebody had to be foremost. In Greene's Euphues His Censure to Philautus (Grosart, vi. 276) "Clytomenes, whose courage no peril could daunt . . . for proofe of his owne resolution, was foremost in the vawarde."

132. plac'd behind] A military use, posted, stationed, as in iii. ii. 127. So in Grafton, Chronicle, i. 296: "plant-yng and placynge men ofwarre in sundrie Castels and Townes." See Much Ado About Nothing, iii. iii. 159.

133. With purpose] on purpose, designedly. Compare Merchant of Venice, i. i. 91, and King John, v. vii. 86.

137. Walloon] an inhabitant of the border country between the Netherlands and France; or the country itself, as in ii. i. 10 below.

139. all France] See again "all Europe," line 156 below; and "all France" again, i. vi. 15; "through all Athens" is in Midsummer Night's Dream, i. ii. 5. Compare (Peele's) Jack Straw: "We are here four captains just, Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, Hob Carter and Tom Miller: Search me all England and find four such captains and by Gog's blood I'll be hanged" (Hazlitt's Dodshley, v. 386). And Peele, Edward I. (383, a): "My lordes, 'tis an odd fellow, as any is in all Wales,"
Mess. O, no! he lives; but is took prisoner,
And Lord Scales with him, and Lord Hungerford:
Most of the rest slaughter'd or took likewise.

Bed. His ransom there is none but I shall pay:
I'll hale the Dauphin headlong from his throne;
His crown shall be the ransom of my friend;
Four of their lords I'll change for one of ours.
Farewell, my masters; to my task will I;
Bonfires in France forthwith I am to make,
To keep our great Saint George's feast withal:
Ten thousand soldiers with me I will take,
Whose bloody deeds shall make all Europe quake.

Mess. So you had need; for Orleans is besieged;
The English army is grown weak and faint;
The Earl of Salisbury craveth supply,
And hardly keeps his men from mutiny,
Since they, so few, watch such a multitude.

Exe. Remember, lords, your oaths to Henry sworn,
Either to quell the Dauphin utterly,
Or bring him in obedience to your yoke.

Bed. I do remember it; and here take my leave,
To go about my preparation.

Glou. I'll to the Tower with all the haste I can,
To view th' artillery and munition;
And then I will proclaim young Henry king.

Exe. To Eltham will I, where the young king is,
Being ordain'd his special governor;

149. Dauphin] Dolphin Ff (throughout).
154. our great Saint George's feast] Held regularly on 23rd April in Shakespeare's time. Nichols has "Feast of St. George now kept," 1560 (i. 88); and "Feast of St. George observed at Utrecht," 1586 (ii. 455-57). A full account of the ceremonies and banqueting will be found at the later reference.
155. Ten thousand soldiers] "The Duke of Bedford hearing that these towne had returned to the parte of his adversaries, and that Charles late Dolphin had taken upon him the name and estate of the King of Fraunce... were driven only to overcome by battayle, and to subdue by force... Wherefore he having together ten thousand good Englishe men (besides Normans) departed out of Paris in war-like fashion and passed through Brie to Monstrell, Faultyow, and there sent by Bedorfe his Herault letters to the French king" (Grafton, i. 583, ed. 1809).
162. to Henry sworn] See note at line 70, above.
165. my] omitted Ff 2, 3, 4.

146. Scales... Hungerford] See note at line 116 above.
149. hale... headlong] Compare Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part II. iv. 3 (65, a): "Haling him headlong at the lowest hell."
150. Four of their lords I'll change for one of ours] This is a reference to the practice of ransom, where the captor of a nobleman could demand the ransom of one of his friends, or other lesser noblemen, in exchange for his release.
155. Ten thousand soldiers] The Duke of Bedford's troops, consisting of ten thousand soldiers, were driven only to overcome by battle, and to subdue by force. Wherefore he having together ten thousand good Englishmen (besides Normans) departed out of Paris in a warlike fashion and passed through Brie to Monstreuil, Faultyow, and there sent by Beddorfe his Herald letters to the French king (Grafton, i. 583, ed. 1809).
165. my] omitted Ff 2, 3, 4.
THE FIRST PART OF

And for his safety there I'll best devise.

Win. Each hath his place and function to attend:
I am left out; for me nothing remains.
But long I will not be Jack out of office.
The king from Eltham I intend to send,
And sit at chiefest stern of public weal.

175. *Jack out of office* Ff, Pope; hyphened Steevens, etc. 176. *send* Ff, Steevens; *steal* Singer (Mason conj.), Cambridge.

departed into England to be governour of the yong king in stead of Thomas duke of Excester, late departed to God. In whose steede was sent into Fraunce the lord Thomas Mountacute, Erle of Salisburie with five thousand men which landed at Calice and so came to the Duke of Bedford in Paris" (Grafton, i. 575, 1427).

175. *Jack out of office* An old phrase occurring in Heywood’s *Proverbs*, 1562 (Sharman’s edition, p. 101).— “And *Jacke out of office* she may bid me walke,
And thinke me as wise as Waltham’s calfe, to talke.”
Sharman quotes from Rich’s *Farewell to Militarie Profession*, 1581: “For liberalitie is tourned *Jacke out of office*, and others appointed to have the custodie.” Heywood has it again in *Epigrams upon Proverbs*, 1562.

176. *The king*] See quotation at i. iii. 70. This charge forms Item 2 of Gloucester’s Accusations: “my sayde Lorde of Winchester, without the advise and assent of my sayd Lorde of Gloucester, or of the King’s counsayle, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kinges person, and to have removed him from Eltham the place that he was in, to Windsore, to the entent to put him in governaunce as him liste” (Grafton, p. 503).

176. *Eltham*] Mentioned again, iii. i. 156. A favourite palace of the early kings of England down to the reign of Henry VIII., when it began to yield in importance to Greenwich. It was much frequented by Elizabeth and James for hunting and the healthy air of Kent. “As for tythyngs here, the Kyng is way at Eltham and at Grenewych to hunt and to sport hym there, byding the Parlement, and the Quene and the Prynce byth in Walys alway. And is with hir the Duc of Excestre and other” (Paston Letters, Oct. 12, 1460).

177. *sit at chiefest stern*] be in the chiefest place of guidance of public affairs. Stern is rudder. It occurs in this sense in Whetstone’s *Promos and Cassandra*, part i. (p. 11, *Six Old Plays*): “I am the stern that guides their thoughts.”

177. *public weal*] A standard expression occurring again in *Coriolanus*, ii. iii. 189. It is in Golding’s *Ovid* (iv. 258, 259): “rulde the *publice weal* Of Persey” (Persia). The usual expression in Grafton’s *Continuation of Hardvyng* (1543), as at p. 574, is “public weal.”
SCENE II.—France. Before Orleans.

Sound a Flourish. Enter CHARLES, with his Forces; ALENCON, REIGNIER, and Others.

Cha. Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens
So in the earth, to this day is not known,
Late did he shine upon the English side;
Now we are victors; upon us he smiles.
What towns of any moment but we have?
At pleasure here we lie near Orleans;
Otherwhiles the famish'd English, like pale ghosts,
Faintly besiege us one hour in a month.

Alen. They want their porridge and their fat bull-beeves:


1. Mars his] So in Troilus and Cressida several times; in The Tempest and Hamlet the reading is Mars's. Peele has "Mars his sworn man," "his knights," etc., very often. Golding has "Mars his snake" (Ovid, iii. 671).
2. Mars his true moving] Steevens referred to Nashe for a curious parallel here. The passage is in "To the Reader" prefixed to Have with you to Saffron Walden (Grosart's Nashe, iii. 28), 1596: "Nay, then, Æsopum non attriuisitis, you are as ignorant in the true movings of my Muse as the Astronomers are in the true movings of Mars, which to this day they could never attaine too." It was the motions of Mars, watched for many long years by Tycho Brahe, and studied for twenty years by Kepler, which enabled the latter, in 1609, to complete his labours and lead the planet captive.
3. we lie near Orleans] "After this [see note at line 171] in the Moneth of September, he [Salisbury] layde his siege on the one side of the water of Loyre and besieged the towne of Orleaunce, before whose comming, the Bastard of Orleaunce, and the Byshop of the Citie and a great number of Scottes hering of the Erles intent, made divers fortifications about the towne, and destroyed the suburbs, in the which were xij Parishe Churches, and four orders of Frriers. They cut also downe all the vines, trees and bushes within five leagues of the towne, so that the English men should have neyther comfort, refuge, nor succour" (Grafton, i. 576).
4. pale ghosts] See note at raw-boned, line 35.
6. porridge] Compare Nashe, Foure Letters Confuted (Grosart, ii. 285), 1592: "Amongst all other stratagems and puissant engins, what say you to Mates Pumpe in Cheapside, to pumpe over mutton and porridge into Fraunce? this colde weather our soldiery, I can tell you, have need of it, and, poore field mise, they have almost got the colicke and stone with eating of provant." A suggestive parallel. See lines 11, 12.
7. They want their ... bull-beeves] To eat bull beef was supposed to confer courage. The expression had a proverbial use. Thus Gascoigne, An Apologie of the School of Abuse (Arber, p. 64), 1579: "They have eaten bulibief, and threatened highly, too put water in my woortes, whensoever they catche me; I hope it is but a copy of their countenance, Ad diem fortasse miniaturt. Shrewde kyne shall have shorte homes." And Nashe, Preface to Sidney's Astrophel and Stella (Arber's English Garner, i. 500), 1591: "they bear out their sails as proudly as if they were ballasted with bull beef." "To look as if he had eaten bull-beef" is in Ray's Proverbs (ed. 1678).
Either they must be dieted like mules
And have their provender tied to their mouths,
Or piteous they will look, like drowned mice.

Reig. Let’s raise the siege: why live we idly here?
Talbot is taken, whom we wont to fear:
Remaineth none but mad-brain’d Salisbury,
And he may well in fretting spend his gall;
Nor men nor money hath he to make war.

Cha. Sound, sound alarum! we will rush on them.
Now for the honour of the forlorn French!
Him I forgive my death that killeth me
When he sees me go back one foot or fly. [Exeunt.

Here Alarum; they are beaten back by the English with great loss.

Re-enter CHARLES, ALENCÔN, and REIGNIER.

Cha. Who ever saw the like? what men have I!
Dogs! cowards! dastards! I would ne’er have fled
But that they left me ‘midst my enemies.

11, 12. And have . . . mice] misplaced in Ff. 2, 3, 4 after line 13. Here
. . . loss] Ff. Re-enter . . . ] Enter . . . Ff. and Reignier] Reignier and
the rest. Capell.

10, 11. mules . . . provender tied
to their mouths] Compare Nashe, Summers Last Will (Grosart, vi.
137):—
“Except the Cammell have his provender
Hung at his mouth he will not travell on.”
And Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part II.
III. v. 106:—
“I’ll have you learn to feed on provender
And in a stable lie.”
Horse food.
12. piteous . . . like drowned mice] usually rats.
“He lokyd furyous as a wyld catte,
And pale of hew like a drowned ratte”
(Colyblowbres Testament(circa 1500), Hazlitt’s Early Popular Poetry, i. 93).
And Udall’s Erasmus, 1542 (Robert’s reprint, p. 203): “Three heares on a side, like a drowned ratte.” And
Churchyard’s Queen’s Entertainment in Suffolk, 1578 [Nichols’ Progresses, ii.
201]: “Pastime to see us looke like drowned rattes.”
15. mad-brain’d] See Taming of Shrew, III. ii. 165, and Timon of Athens,
v. i. 177; and Nashe, Christes Teares (Grosart, iv. 257): “Farre is hee from that mad-braine fonndesse.”
16. spend his gall] wear out his bitterness of spirit. Compare “consume his gall with anguish” (Faerie Queene, III. x. 18); and “wast his inward gall with deepe despight” (ibid. i. ii. 6).
17. men nor money] See line 69 of Scene i. and note, line 171.
21. Here Alarum, etc., etc.] There is no such occurrence in the Chronicle; but compare the following: “Thiscourageous Bastard, after the siege had continued three weeks full, issued out of the gate of the bridge and fought with the Englishmen, but they receyued him with so fierce and terrible strokes that he was with al his company compell’d to retire and flie back into the Citie: but the Englishe men folowed them so fast, in kylling and taking of their enemies, that they entered with them the Bulwarke of the bridge: which with a great Towre standing at the ende of the same, was taken incontinent by the English men. In which conflict many French men were taken, but mo were slaine, and the keeping of the Towre and Bulwarke was committed to Wylliam Glasdale, Esquire” (Grafton, i. 577).
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

Reig. Salisbury is a desperate homicide;
He fighteth as one weary of his life:
The other lords, like lions wanting food,
Do rush upon us as their hungry prey.

Alen. Froissart, a countryman of ours, records,
England all Olivers and Rowlands bred
During the time Edward the Third did reign.
More truly now may this be verified;
For none but Samsons and Goliases
It sendeth forth to skirmish. One to ten!
Lean raw-boned rascals! who would e'er suppose
They had such courage and audacity?

Cha. Let’s leave this town; for they are hare-brain’d slaves,

27. The] F 1; To Ff 2, 3, 4. 30. bred] Rowe; breed Vi. 37. Let’s . . .

28. hungry prey] prey for their hunger. Compare wondrous praise, v. iii. 190 (praise of her wondrous virtues). A common and often perplexing kind of passage in Shakespeare. The hungry lion is perhaps more commonly met with in Shakespeare than in any other volume, excepting the Bible.
30. Olivers and Rowlands] The two selected ones of Charlemagne’s twelve peers or knights, commonly pitted against each other as exponents of deeds of derring-do. Greene brings them all on the stage in Orlando Furioso, but these two and Turpin (not Dick) and Ogier alone have parts. The others are merely “Gibson girls.” Ben Jonson speaks of “All the mad Rolands and sweet Olivers” in his Exe- cration upon Vulcain. Halliwell quoted from Hall, Henry VI. f. 64: “But to have a Roland to resist an Oliver, he sent solempne ambassadors to the Kyng of England.” “A Rowland for an Oliver,” “mad Rowland,” and “sweet Oliver,” were common sayings.
33. Goliases] Compare Nashe, Have with you, etc. (Grosart, iii. 125), 1596: “whereto, the other (beeing a big board lustie fellow, and a Golias, or Behemoth, in comparison of him).”
34. to skirmish] to battle. “Skirmish” had a more serious import than it has now. Compare Greene, Euphues His

Censure (Grosart, vi. 254). 1587: “the skirmish furiously begun continuing for the space of three hours, with great massacre and bloodshed, fell at last on Ortellius side.” And Holland’s Plutic (1601), viii. 7: “Anniball forced those captives whom he had taken of our men, to skirmish one against another to the utterance.” Common earlier as in Lord Berner’s Froissart.
35. raw-boned] skeleton-like. Nashe uses the term in Lenten Stuffe: “Any simple likelihood or rawbong carcass of a reason” (Grosart, v. 287). And again in Christes Teares over Jerusalem (Grosart, iv. 103), 1593: “So many men as were in Jerusalem, so many pale rawbone ghosts you would have thought you had scene.” See “pale ghosts,” line 7, above. Spenser has “rawbone armes” and “rawbone cheekes” in Faerie Queene (i. viii. 41 and i. ix. 35) earlier.
35. rascals] lean, worthless deer, not worth killing. Compare 1 Henry IV. ii. iv. 383; As You Like It, iii. iii. 58; and Coriolanus, i. i. 163.
37. hare-brain’d] Occurs again in 1 Henry IV. v. ii. 19. This is the spelling in Hall’s Chronicle, Henry V. (1548), the earliest example in New Eng. Dict. “As wood as a hare” occurs in Chaucer’s Frere’s Tale, and “as mad as a March hare” was very common from about 1500 onwards. Some support for “hair” may be found in the old saying, “more hair than wit.” “Hairbraide head” and a “hairbraude blab” are found in Golding’s Ovid (1567).
And hunger will enforce them to be more eager:  
Of old I know them; rather with their teeth  
The walls they'll tear down than forsake the siege.  

Reig. I think, by some odd gimmors or device  
Their arms are set like clocks, still to strike on;  
Else ne'er could they hold out so as they do:  
By my consent, we'll even let them alone.  

Alen. Be it so.  

Enter the Bastard of Orleans.  

Bast. Where's the Prince Dauphin? I have news for him.  

38. eager] fierce. See 3 Henry VI. i. iv. 3. See Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure: "He was as eager as grype or lyon."  
41. gimmors] A corruption of gimmals, a pair of rings or other hinged arrangements joined together. Compare Holland's Passe (1601), xxxii. i. p. 455: "Every joint . . . must have some lesser rings and gemmals to fit them." The singular is rare, but it occurs in Greene's Menaphon (Grosart, vi. 140), 1589: "Such simplicity was used, sayes the old women of our time, when a ring of a rush would e as much love together as a Gimmon [misprinted Gimmon] of golde." Nashe has it simply gims ("hookes and gemmals" of a gate) in Christes Teares (Grosart, iv. 91). Nares gives an example from Bishop Hall (quoted by Todd): "Who knows not how the famous Kentish idol moved her eyes and hands, by those secret gimmals which now every puppet play can imitate" (circa 1650?). Dekker gives a good parallel in The Ravens Almanack (Grosart, iv. 232), 1609: "The vsurer had a clocke in his house, which went with such vices and gimmals, that by letting downe a pullie, he could make it strike what a clocke himselfe would . . . he went himselfe and straing the pullie, and the clocke presently struck three." None of these examples (except Nashe's) are in New Eng. Dict., where ample explanatory information is given, with many quotations. Dekker is so exactly to the point that he is somewhat "suspect." Gim (Cimcrack) is in use in the north of Ireland for any trifling or ingenious little nick-knack.  
43. hold out] last, endure. See 2 Henry IV. iv. iv. 117 and Part III. ii. vi. 24. Compare (Peele's) Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 393): "We captains are Lords within ourselves, and if the world hold out, we shall be kings shortly."  
45. Enter the Bastard of Orleans] "Here must I a little digresse, and declare to you, what was this Bastard of Orleance which was not only now Capitayne of the Citie, but also after by Charles the Sixt, made Erle of Dunoyes, and in great auctoritie in Fraunce, and extreme enemy to the Englishe nation . . . Lewes Duke of Orleance . . . was owner of the Castell of Concy . . . whereof he made Constable the lord of Cawyn, a man not so wise as his wife was faire, & yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloved of the Duke of Orleance as of her husband . . . she conceived a child, & brought forth a pretie boy called John. . . . The next of the kinne to my Lord Cawny, chalenged the inherittance alleging that the boy was a bastard . . . the chylde came to the age of eyghty yeres olde. At which time it was demanded of him openly whose sonne he was . . . he boldly answered, my hart geyve me, and my noble courage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleance, more glad to be his Bastard with a meane lyving, then the lawfull sonne of that coward Cuckold Cawny, with his foure thousand crownes [a yere]. . . . Charles Duke of Orleance . . . tooke him into his family and gave him great offices and fees, which he well deserved, for (during his captivitie) he defended his landes, expulsed the Englishmen, and in conclusion procured his deliveraunce" (Grafted, i. pp. 576, 577).
Ch. Bastard of Orleans, thrice welcome to us.

Bast. Methinks your looks are sad, your cheer appaled.

Hath the late overthrow wrought this offence?

Be not dismay'd, for succour is at hand:

A holy maid hither with me I bring,
Which by a vision sent to her from heaven
Ordained is to raise this tedious siege,
And drive the English forth the bounds of France.

The spirit of deep prophecy she hath,

Exceeding the nine sibyls of old Rome;

48. appaled] appal'd Fi; appal'd, Steevens, Cambridge, Craig.

47. thrice welcome] See Introduction on these compounds.


Greene is fond of the word appale: "whose gorgeous presence so appaled my senses, y' I stood astonished" (Arbastro (Grosart, iii. 190), 1564, and often elsewhere).

51. A holy maid hither with me I bring] Holinshed says (iii. 163), 1577: "In time of this siege at Orleance [March, 1428-9] ... was caried a young wench of an eightene yeeres old, called Jone Are, by name of her father (a sorie sheepheard) James of Are, and Isabell her mother, brought up poorelie in their trade of keeping cattell. ..." Of favour was she counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie and stout withall: an understander of counsels though she were not at them; great semblance of chastitie ... the name of Iesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses. ... A person (as theyr bookes make hir) raised up by power divine, onelie for succour to the French estate ... at the Dolphins sending by her assignment, from Saint Katherines Church of Fierbois in Touraine (where she never had beene and knew not) in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword [see lines 98-101] to be sought out and brought hir, (that with five flore delices was graven on both sides) wherewith she fought and did manie slaughters by hir owne hands. On warfar rode she in armour cap a pie & mustered as a man; before her an ensigne all white, wherin was Jesus Christ painted with a flore delice in his hand. Unto the Dolphin into his gallerie when first she was brought; and he, shadowing himselfe behind, setting other gai lords before him to trie her cunning from all the companie, with a salutation (that indeed marz alle the matter) she prickt him out alone, who thereupon had her to the end of the gallerie, where she held him an houre in secret and private talke, that of his priuie chamber was thought verie long (see line 118), and therefore would have broken it off; but he made them a signe to let her saie on ... she set out unto him the singular feats (forsooth) given her to understand by reuocation divine, that in vertue of that sword shee should atchie: which were, how with honor and victorie she would raise the siege at Orleance, set him in state of the crowne of France, and drive the English out of the countrie (lines 53, 54). ... Heereupon he hartened at full, appointed hir a sufficient armie with absolute power." Grafton is more condensed here, and more scurrilous concerning Puzell: "a ramp of such boldnesse," etc. (p. 580). He does not call her "of Arc," but "Ione the Puzell" from the first.

54. forth] prep. out of; as in 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 89, and two or three later passages. Compare Peele, David and Bethsabe (473, b): "he forced Thamor shamefully, And hated her, and threw forth his doors." In the two later folios the reading at 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 89 is "from."

55, 56. The spirit of deep prophecy ... Exceeding the nine sibyls] Sibyls here stands for the sibylline books which the Cumaen Sibyl offered for sale to Tarquin, who bought but three. The Greek sibyls were set down at various numbers (Varro enumerates ten), but
What's past and what's to come she can descry.
Speak, shall I call her in? Believe my words,
For they are certain and unfallible.

Cha. Go, call her in.

But first, to try her skill,
Reignier, stand thou as Dauphin in my place:
Question her proudly; let thy looks be stern:
By this means shall we sound what skill she hath.

Re-enter the Bastard of Orleans with La Pucelle.

Reig. Fair maid, is't thou wilt do these wondrous feats?
Puc. Reignier, is't thou that thinkest to beguile me?
Where is the Dauphin? Come, come from behind;
I know thee well, though never seen before.
Be not amazed, there's nothing hid from me:
In private will I talk with thee apart.
Stand back, you lords, and give us leave awhile.

never at nine. Joan's spirit of prophecy exceeds that of the nine books. Lane-
ham introduces "one of the ten sibyls" to read "a proper poesy in Englishe rhyme" before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth (1575, Burn's reprint, p. 8) on the 9th of July at eight o'clock in the evening.

57. What's past and what's to come]
See Troilus and Cressida, iv. v. 166. Compare Greene's James the Fourth
(Grosart, xiii. 219):—
"Dread King, thy vassall is a man of Art,
Who knowes by constellations of the stars,
By oppositions, and by dire aspects,
The things are past and those that are to come."

Most of Reginald Scot's great devils (bk. xv. ch. ii.), in Discoverie of Witch-
craft, "know truly of things present, past, and to come." Spenser allots the gifts to "three honourable sages . . .
"The first of them could things to come foresee;
The next could of things present best advise;
The third things past could keep in memoree"

(11. ix. 48, 49). Peele is more matter-of-
fact:—
"The feeble eyes of our aspiring thoughts
Behold things present, and record things past;
But things to come exceed our human reach,
And are not painted yet in angels' eyes"

(David and Bethsabe, 484, a). Peele's is as much the more poetical, as he is the more sensible, on this occasion, than the other extracts.

59. unfallible] Elsewhere in Shakespeare the word is unfallible. Then as now the choice in this prefix seems to have been a matter of fancy. A few common words, such as unfrequent and unfortunate, illustrate this. Greene especially adheres to Un, as in Un-
constant, Uncurable, Undirect, Un-
evitable, Unexperienced, Unperfect, Unpossible, Unproper, Unsatiated, Un-
sufferable, Untolerable, and Unviolable. The modern tendency is to use In, the negative prefix, to words of obviously Latin types. Nashe affects unfallible: "unfallible prescriptions" (Pierce Peni-
lesse, etc. (Grosart ii. 126), 1592): "un-
fallible rules" (Have with you, etc. (iii. 11) 1596), and unfallibly in many places.

64. wondrous feats] Compare Kyd's Spanish Tragedy, 1. iii. 62: "Don Beltazar . . . To winne renowne did wondrous feats of armes."
Reig. She takes upon her bravely at first dash.

Puc. Dauphin, I am by birth a shepherd’s daughter,
My wit untrain’d in any kind of art.
Heaven and our Lady gracious hath it pleas’d
To shine on my contemptible estate:
Lo! whilst I waited on my tender lambs,
And to sun’s parching heat display’d my cheeks,
God’s mother deigned to appear to me,
And in a vision full of majesty
Will’d me to leave my base vocation
And free my country from calamity:
Her aid she promis’d and assured success;
In complete glory she reveal’d herself;
And, whereas I was black and swart before,
With those clear rays which she infus’d on me,
That beauty am I blest with which you may see.
Ask me what question thou canst possible
And I will answer unpremeditated:
My courage try by combat if thou dar’st,
And thou shalt find that I exceed my sex.
Resolve on this, thou shalt be fortunate
If thou receive me for thy war-like mate.

Cha. Thou hast astonish’d me with thy high terms.

86. blest] Ff; bless’d mod. edd. 86. which you may see] F i; which you see Ff 2, 3, 4.

71. takes upon her] plays her part, 
cuts a figure (Schmidt). Compare Taming of Shrew, iii. ii. 216, and iv. ii. 108. The expression occurs in the old Taming of a Shrew (Six Old Plays, p. 174): “I am so stout [proud], and take it upon me, and stand upon my pantofles to them out of all crie.”

71. at first dash] Not again in Shakespeare. “It occurs twice (page 89, Six Old Plays) in Whetstone’s Promos and Cassandra, part ii. 1578. See Appendix to Measure for Measure (Arden Edition). A favourite with Greene: “Shal I loue so lightly? shal Fancie give me the foyle at the first dash?” (Manillia (Grosart, ii. 73), 1583); and in Alcida (Grosart, iv. 59), where Greene repeats himself.

77. parching heat] An expression of Peele’s in An Elocgue Gratulatroy, 1589. Also in Lucreeci, 1445. See note at “Summer’s parching heat” (Peele’s phrase) in Part ii. i. i. 79. In Peele’s Pageant, “Louely London,” he has “parching zone” (1585).

84. swart] tawny, dark, grimy-look-
ing. Grafton speaks of “her foule face” in her early days. Shakespeare has the word (of the complexion only) again in Comedy of Errors, iii. ii. 104 and in King John, iii. i. 46. He has also swarth, swarthy, and swarty, in the same sense. Golding uses the word of discolouring clotted blood: “all his bodye wext stark cold and dyed swart” (Ovid’s Metamorphoses, xii. 463); and again “The blake swart blood gust out” (xii. 357, 1567). Compare Grafton, i. 307: “The king was of stature talle, somewhat swarte or blace of colour, strong of body.”

85. infus’d on me] shed, or diffused on me. Not in this sense again in Shakespeare. New Eng. Dict. has a 1420 example from Palladius on Husbandry.

91. Resolve on this] decide on this, make your mind up on this. “This” refers to the following clause. Without “on,” it is a common sense. “Do but look on his hand, and that shall resolve you” (Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, v. 2).
Only this proof I'll of thy valour make, 95
In single combat thou shalt buckle with me,
And if thou vanquishest, thy words are true;
Otherwise I renounce all confidence.

Puc. I am prepared: here is my keen-edg'd sword,
Deck'd with five flower-de-luces on each side;
The which at Touraine, in Saint Katharine's church-
yard,

Out of a great deal of old iron I chose forth. 100

Cha. Then come, o' God's name; I fear no woman.

Puc. And while I live I'll ne'er fly from a man.

[Here they fight and Joan La Pucelle overcomes. 105

Cha. Stay, stay thy hands! thou art an Amazon,
And fightest with the sword of Deborah.

Puc. Christ's mother helps me, else I were too weak.

Cha. Whoe'er helps thee, 'tis thou that must help me.
Impatiently I burn with thy desire;
My heart and hands thou hast at once subdued.

99. five] Steevens, Cambridge, Craig; fine Ft. 103. ne'er fly from a man] F. x; ne're fly no man Ff 2, 3, 4. 105. Joan la Pucelle] Ioane de Puzel Ff.

95. buckle with] grapple, or close with. The earliest example in New Eng. Dict. is from Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng, 1543. Shakespeare does not use the expression again, except in this play, IV. iv. 5 and V. iii. 28, and also in 3 Henry VI. i. iv. 50. It occurs in Greene's writings: "The King of Lidia hearing this . . . levied a mighty army, and hasted forward to buckle with Acestes" (Orpharion (Grosart, xi. 53), 1558-91). And in The Second Part of Tritameron (Grosart, iii. 131), 1587: "he marvelled how Scilla durst buckle with his [Mithridates] great fortune, especially knowing that she had not deceived him at any time." Greene uses it again, and I have no parallels, excepting his, of the date of these plays. See too his Alphonsus, King of Arragon (Grosart, xiii. 393, line 1585): "souldiers which themselves Long and desire to buckle with the foe. do need no words to egge them to the same." "Buckle to fight," or "to the field," is the Faerie Queene form (i. vi. 41, i. viii. 7). For an exact parallel to this sense, see extract from Hall, 3 Henry VI. i. ii. 49.

99. five flower-de-luces] See extract at line 50. Malone in accepting Steevens's correction (from "fine") says the same mistake has happened in Midsummer Night's Dream and in other places: "I have not hesitated to reform the text, according to Mr. Steevens's suggestion. In the MSS. of the age, u and n are undistinguishable." To-day's componists are of the same opinion. For flower-de-luce, see i. i. 80, note.

101. old iron] The words in Holinshed. Perhaps the sanctity of its luck redeems the commonplace: "it is good luck to find old iron, but 'tis naught to keep it, and the trade (fighting) is crafty" (Three Lords and Three Ladies of London, ante 1558, Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 485).

104. Amazon] See again 3 Henry VI. iv. i. 106 and i. iv. 114. Amazons were familiar figures. There was "A Maske of Amazones in all Armore compleat" shown "before Her Majestie the Sunday night after twelf daie" in 1578-79 (Cunningham's Revels Accounts, Shaks. Society, 1842, pp. 125-126). Sidney mentions a heroine who "On the same side on her thigh she ware a sword, which as it witnessed her to be an Amazon, or one following that profession, so it seemed but a needless weapon, since her other forces were without withstanding" (Arcadia, bk. i. p. 97, ed. 1739).
Excellent Pucelle, if thy name be so,
Let me thy servant and not sovereign be:
'Tis the French Dauphin sueth to thee thus.

Puc. I must not yield to any rites of love,
For my profession’s sacred from above:
When I have chased all thy foes from hence,
Then will I think upon a recompense.

Cha. Meantime look gracious on thy prostrate thrall.
Reig. My lord, methinks, is very long in talk.
Alen. Doubtless he shrikes this woman to her smock;
Else ne’er could he so long protract his speech.
Reig. Shall we disturb him, since he keeps no mean?
Alen. He may mean more than we poor men do know:
These women are shrewd tempters with their tongues.
Reig. My lord, where are you? what devise you on?
Shall we give over Orleans, or no?
Puc. Why, no, I say: distrustful recreants!
Fight till the last gasp; I will be your guard.
Cha. What she says I’ll confirm: we’ll fight it out.
Puc. Assign’d am I to be the English scourge.

Exc. [Pucelle] Puzel Fl. 113. rites] Pope; rights Fl. 125. over] Rowe; ore Fl.

Excellent Pucelle] A very Shakespearean touch.
he shrikes this woman] Compare Lodge’s Euphues Golden Legacie (Hazzitt’s Shaks. Library, p. 118), 1590:
“and with this they strained one another’s hands. Which Ganimede espying, thinking hee had had his mistresse long enough at shrift, sayd: What, a match or no?” And Nashe’s The Unfortunate Traveller (Grosart, v. 127): “To returne to Heraclide below, whom the ugliest of all bloud suckers Esdras of Granado had under shrift.”

keeps no mean] uses no moderation. Not a common expression; but compare Whitney’s Emblems (of the Seven Sages), 1586 (edited Green, p. 130): “Keep still the meane did Cleobulus teache.” “To use a mean” is often found. New Eng. Diet. quotes from Aureles and Isabella, 1556: “The king axe them... what meane one oughte to keape in suche a case.”

what devise you on] what do you decide on. Compare Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, iv. i:—
“Haggise. Let him alone, we have devis’d better upon ’t.

Purecraft. And shall he not into the stocks then?
Bristles. No, mistress.”
New Eng. Diet. has two earlier examples of “devise upon” meaning to resolve or decide upon, which is certainly applicable here.
the last gasp] to the end. Compare Nashe, Epistle Dedicatorie to Have with you, etc., 1596: “Here he lies at the last gaspe of surrendering all his credit and reputation.” The expression occurs (“to the last gasp”) earlier in Stubbes’ Anatomic of Abuses, 1583. “At latter gasp” was commoner in poetry.

fight it out] See 1. i. 99.
Assign’d... to be the English scourge] Compare Marlowe’s Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. 3, 1586: “The scum of men, the hate and scourge of God... it is the bloody Tamburlaine.” And Greene’s (?) Selimus, 1592 (Grosart, xiv. 210)—
“Selimus
Is borne to be a scourge unto them all.
Baiazet. Hee’s born to be a scourge to me & mine.”
This night the siege assuredly I'll raise:  
Expect Saint Martin's summer, halcyon's days,  
Since I have entered into these wars.  
Glory is like a circle in the water,  
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself  
Till by broad spreading it dispere to nought.

131. halcyon's days] halcyons days Ff 1, 2; halcyon days Ff 3, 4.

Earlier in Golding's Ovid, bk. xiii. line 781:—
"the fame  
Heereof too Agamemmonos eares the  
squorge of Trojans came" (1567).  
The word occurs in the same manner  
several times elsewhere in Marlowe's  
Tamburlaine, part ii. See note at 1. iv.  
42. See too Peele's Edward I. (Dyce,  
406, b): "Farewell, proud queen ...  
The squorge of England and to English  
dames!"

131. Saint Martin's summer] summer in late autumn, "Indian summer," at  
the feast of St. Martin. Martlemas (Nov.  
11), the time for hanging powdered  
beef, was an important period. Nares  
has confused this festival with St.  
Martin's ware, products from one of  
the many St. Martin's Lanes. No connec-  
tion between St. Martin and the  
Alcyon has been advanced to illustrate  
this passage, except the fortuitous one  
of the weather, which may occur in  
a fitting manner. But there was a St.  
Martin's bird. Cotgrave (quoted in  
New Eng. Dict.) says it (oiseau de S.  
Martin) was the hen-harrier or ring-  
tail. New Eng. Dict. has only one  
illustration of this, "1897, F. S. Ellis  
(Reynard, 38): And straightway hove  
within his sight Saint Martin's bird."  
I confess I am bewildered. In Caxton's  
Reynard the Fox, 1481 (Arber, p. 19),  
there is the following passage: "Tybert  
made hym sone redy toward malaper-  
dyus and he sawe fro ferre come flyeng  
one of seynt martyns byrdes, tho cryde  
hewode and saide al hayl gentyl byrde  
torne thy wynges hetherward and flece  
on my right side the byrde flewe forth  
upon a tree whiche stooide on the lift  
side of the catte tho was tybert wo  
for he thought hit was a shrewd token  
and a sygne of harme." Does Caxton  
refer to the hen-harrier? I can find no  
confirmation. Swainson says it is now  
held a lucky bird in the Hebrides, and  
that the French name is due to its  
appearance at that date. But Caxton's  
"gentyl bird" is not suggestive of the  
harrier. At any rate his passage, which  
seems to have been overlooked, is  
worthy of notice.

131. halcyon's days] "Now a seven-  
night before the Mid-winter day, and  
as much after, the sea is allailed and  
calme for the sitting and hatching of the  
birds Halciones, whereupon these daies  
took the name Alciones" (Plinie's  
Natural Historie (trans. Holland, 1601),  
bk. ii. chap. xlvii.). "I remembre the  
halciones days" (G. Joye, Exp. Dan.,  
2a, 1545, Stanford Dictionary). The  
term is in Warner's Albions England,  
p. 154, 1589, and many early writers.

132. entered into these wars] made  
them my business; taken them up.

133-135. circle in the water ... dis-  
perse to nought] This was a favourite  
metaphor. Malone and Holt White give  
a few parallels, as from Sir John Davis'  
Nasce Teifsun, 1599, Harington's Or-  
lando Furioso (viii. 63), Sylvestre's Du  
Bars, and Chapman's Epistle Dedic-  
torie to his translation of the Iliad.  
Later it is found in Beaumont and  
Fletcher's Rollo, ii. 1, 1624, and several  
times in Pope's writings. There was  
usually a stone or a pebble cast in and  
the applications manifold. Nashe uses  
it: "The clearest spring a little tucht  
is creased with a thousand circles: as  
those momenatarie circles for all the  
world, such are our dreams" (Terrors  
of the Night (Grosart, iii. 237), 1594).  
Chapman has it in Ovid's Banquet of  
Sense, 1595:—

"And as a pebble cast into a spring,  
We see a sort of trembling circles  
rise,  
One forming other in their issuing,  
Till over all the fount they cir-  
culize;  
So this perpetual-motion-making  
kiss," etc.

Rolfe quotes here from Clarke: "The  
simile and poetical image in these lines  
are more like Shakespeare's manner  
than anything in the whole play; but it  
is worthy of observation that the  
passage included within the five lines
With Henry's death the English circle ends;
Dispersed are the glories it included.
Now am I like that proud insulting ship
Which Caesar and his fortune bare at once.

*Cha.* Was Mahomet inspired with a dove?
Thou with an eagle art inspired then.
Helen, the mother of great Constantine,
Nor yet Saint Philip's daughters were like thee.

has a remarkable air of irrelevancy as
if it were introduced by some other
hand than the one that wrote the main
portion of the scene." But Charles's
reply develops this remarkably and yet
more irrelevantly; the whole conca-
tenation of metaphors reminds one of
several "other hands."

136. the English circle ends] Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, 480, a):
"Hereon depend Achitophels de-
lights
And in this life his circle must be
closed."

Marlowe has "The loathsome circle of
my dated life" (*Tamburlaine*, Part I.
ii. vi.).

138. proud insulting] "proud insulting
queen" and "proud insulting boy"
occur in *2 Henry VI*. ii. i. 168 and ii.
ii. 84. "Proud insulting Soliman"
ocurs in *Soliman and Perseda*, v. iii.
59 (Boas). See note at "insulting tyr-
anny," iv. vii. 19 below; and at "proud
commanding," iv. vii. 88. See "proud
ambitious," Part III. v. v. 17.

138, 139. proud insulting ship . . .
*Caesar and his fortune*] The ship was
only proud because of her burthen.
The anecdote is in Plutarch's *Life of
Julius Caesar* (trans. North, 1579),
*Temple Classics*, vii. 1712: "he fol-
lowed a dangerous determination, to
embark unknown in a little pinnace of
twelve oars only to pass over the sea
again, unto Brundusium . . . there
came a great wind . . . the encounter
was marvellous dangerous . . . the
master of the pinnace . . . bade the
mariners to cast about again . . . but
Caesar then taking him by the hand said
unto him, Good fellow, be of good cheer
and forwards hardly, fear not, for thou
hast *Caesar and his fortune* with thee.
. . . But at length . . . Caesar then to his
great grief was driven to return back
again." Greene has this tale in *The
Second Part of Tritameron* (Grosart, iii.
131), 1587, where the ship is a "little
Frygat." Greene's words are from T.
Bowes's translation of Primadaye's
*French Academy* (1577, trans. 1586).
See also Peele's *Parellow to the Gener-
als*, 1589: "You bear, quoth he, *Cesar
and Caesar's fortune* in your ships."

140. Mahomet inspired with a dove] Grey quotes Raleigh's *History of the
World*, 1614, bk. i. part i. ch. vi., to
this effect, the only illustration in
Steevens's *Shakespeare*. But Nashe
made use of the legend earlier, as in
*The Terrors of the Night* (Grosart, iii.
225), 1594: "Socrates Genius was one
of this stampe, and the Dove where-
with the Turks hold Mahomet their
Prophet to bee inspired." And see
Nashe again in *Luteen Stuffe* (Grosart,
v. 258), where the fable is given at
length. There was a famous play of
this date (or earlier) now lost, named
*The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren, the
Fair Greek*. In the Irving Shakes-
peare a reference is given to Reginald
Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584),
xii. 15, where Mahomet's pigeon is
described. It is at p. 204 of reprint.

141. with an eagle art inspired] The
holy Joan is compared by Charles to
the apostle John. In Christian art the
eagle is the attribute of St. John the
Evangelist, the symbol of the highest
inspiration. "With" means "by" here.

142. Helen, the mother of great Con-
stantine] An early notice of Helen in
Hakluyt (edition 1904, iv. 272) refers to
her visions: "Being warned by some
visions she went to Jerusalem and
visited all the places there which Christ
had frequented. She lived to the age
of fourscore yerees, and then died at
Rome the 15 day of August . . . her
sonne Constantine the Emperor then
also living; and her body is to this day
very carefully preserved at Venice."
Joan claims a vision (line 79).

143. Saint Philip's daughters] See
Acts xxi. 9.
Bright star of Venus, fall'n down on the earth,
How may I reverently worship thee enough? 145

Alen. Leave off delays and let us raise the siege.
Reig. Woman, do what thou canst to save our honours;
Drive them from Orleans and be immortalized.
Cha. Presently we'll try. Come, let's away about it:
No prophet will I trust if she prove false. 150

[Exeunt.

SCENE III.—London. Before the Tower.

Enter the Duke of Gloucester, with his Servants, in blue coats.

Glow. I am come to survey the Tower this day;
Since Henry's death, I fear there is conveyance.
Where be these warders that they wait not here?
Open the gates; 'tis Gloucester that calls.

145. reverently] over Capell.

SCENE III., the Duke of Gloucester. Gloster Ff. in blue coats in blue. Capell, omitted Ff.

144. Bright star of Venus] Perhaps recalling Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure:
"O Venus! lady, and excellent goddesse, O celestiall starre!" (p. 144, rept.); and p. 148: "She is now gone, the fayre shining sterre! O lady Venus! I pray thee provide."


148. immortalized] Not met with again in Shakespeare. The earliest example in this sense, "to cause to be commemorated or celebrated through all time," is from Greene's Menaphon, 1589: "holde, take thy favors (and therewith he threw her her gloue) and immortalize whom thou wilt with thy toys; for I will to Arcadie in despite of thee." (Grosart, vi. 110). For a note on verbs in -ize, see Love's Labour's Lost, at "sympathised," Arden edition, pp. 46, 47. Harvey adopts it of himself as the one "That must immortalize the killcawe Asse" [Nashe] (Pierce's Supererogation (Grosart, ii. 18), 1592).

Spenser wrote "whose living handes immortaliz'd his name" (Faerie Queene, ii. viii. 13), earlier than the above examples. Spenser also has "eternize" in Faerie Queene, i. x. 59; and "tyrannize," ii. x. 57, iii. ii. 23. He has "equalize" later, in Ruines of Rome.

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2. conveyance] underhand dealing.

A common word at this time. See 3 Henry VI. iii. iii. 166. Compare Spenser's Mother Hubbard's Tale (lines 855-857):
"For he was school'd by kinde in all the skill Of close conveyance, and each practise ill Ofcoosinage and cleanly knaverie."

4. Open the gates; 'tis Gloucester that calls] With reference to these dissensions, referred to already in a note at line 70, sc. 1, Grafton says (pp. 562, 563): "In this season fell a great division in the realm of England, which of a sparkle was like to growe to a great flame: For whether the Byshop of Winchester ... envied the authoritie of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester protector of the realme, or whether the Duke had taken disdaine at the same time and pompous estate of the Bishop, sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their parte takers. ... The xxv day of Marche (1426) after hys comynyng to London, a Parliament beganne at the towne of Leicester. ... In thys Parliament the Duke of Glo- cester layd certaine articles to the Byshop of Winchesters charge. ... First, where as he beyng Protector and
defender of thys lande, desyred the Towre to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Rychard Woodueyle Esquire, having at that time the charge of the keeping of the Towre, refused his desire, and kept the same Towre agaynst him, unduely and agaynst reason, by the commandement of my sayde Lorde of Winchester: and afterward in approving of the sayde refuse, he receuyed the sayde Woodueyle and cherished him agaynst the state and worship of the King and of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester."

13. Break up the gates] batter them to pieces. Malone quotes from Hall's Chronicle, Henry VI. (folio 78, b): "The lusty Kentishmen hopyn on more friends, brake up the gaytes of the King's Bench and Marshalsea," etc. Whalley refers to Micah ii. 13, and St. Matthew xxiv. 43. Compare for the milder sense "to open," 2 Henry VI. i. iv. 22; Winter's Tale, iii. ii. 132; Love's Labour's Lost, iv. i. 56, etc. See also Holinshed's account of 1381 rebellion.

13. warrantize] surety, pledge, guarantee. See Sonnet cl. Compare Greene, Orlando Furioso (Grosart, xiii. 155) :

"Thou bringest store of men from Mexico
To battle him that scorces to injure thee,
Pawning his colours for thy warrantize."

Nashe and Harvey both use the word later, and make a verb of it.

14. flouted] mocked, made a fool of. A favourite word with Shakespeare, but not an early term. Compare Greene, Farewell to Folly (Grosart, ix. 232) : "Others will flout and over reade euerie line with a frumpe, and say tis scurie"; and in his Alphonsus : "doth black Pluto ... seek for to flout me with his counterfeit." See below at iv. i. 75 for example from Grafton. Peele has "I flout you not" in Sir Clymon (516 a, Routledge ed.), earlier.

14. dunghill grooms] Compare "dunghill curs," 2 Henry IV. v. iii. 108. Greene has the expression earlier : "What, thinkst thou, villain, that high Amurath ... yeeld his daughter ... Into the hands of such a dunghill Knight" (Alphonsus, King of Arragon, Grosart, xiii. 404). And (Peele's) Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 406) :

"How darest thou a dunghill bastard born,
To brave thy sovereign and his nobles thus?"

Spenser has "doonghill kind" (Faerie Queene, ii. xii. 87); "dunghill mind" (Faerie Queene, iii. x. 15); "dunghill thoughts" (Teares of the Muses). See note in Todd's Spenser, Faerie Queene, vi. vii. i. An older expression, "dunghill thoughts," occurs in Gascoigne (Whetstone's Remembrunce, Arber, p. 18, 1576).
Wood. Have patience, noble Duke; I may not open;
The Cardinal of Winchester forbids:
From him I have express commandment
That thou nor none of thine shall be let in.

Glow. Faint-hearted Woodville, prizest him 'fore me?
Arrogant Winchester, that haughty prelate,
Whom Henry, our late sovereign, ne'er could brook?
Thou art no friend to God or to the king:
Open the gates, or I 'll shut thee out shortly.

First Serv. Open the gates unto the lord protector,
Or we 'll burst them open, if that you come not quickly.

Enter to the Protector at the Tower Gates, WINCHESTER and his men in tawny coats.

Win. How now, ambitious Humphrey! what means this?

Glow. Peel'd priest, dost thou command me to be shut out?

20. commandment] F 4; commandment, Ff 1, 2, 3. 29, Humphrey] Theobald; Umpfre, F; Umpire, Ff 2, 3, 4.
22. Faint-hearted] See 3 Henry VI. i. i. 183. Occurs again only in Titus Andronicus, iii. i. 65. Compare Faerie Queen, i. ix. 52:
"Fie, fie, faint hearted knight!
What meanest thou by this reprochfull strife?"
23. haughty] See note at "come, come," iii. iii. 76.
24. Arrogant Winchester . . . Whom Henry . . . ne'er could brook] Boswell Stone's Shakespeare's Holinshed (and Hall) does not give the source of this, or the "Cardinal" references (lines 19-49). I find it in Grafton, i. 571, 572 (The V. Yere): "The Duke of Bedford . . . landed at Calice, whome also passed the seas, Henry Bishop of Winchester, which in the sayde towne was invested with the Habite, Hat, and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all Ceremonies to it apperteynyng. Which degree King Henrie the fift, knowynge the haute courage, and the ambicios minde of the man, prohibited him on his allegeance once [altogether], either to sue for or to take: meanyng yt [that] Cardinals Hats should not presume to be egal with princes. But now the king beyng yong, and the Regent his friend, he obtyened that dignitie . . . so was he surnamed the rich Cardinall of Winchester, and neyther called learned Bishop, nor virtuous Priest." See v. i. 32, 33 for a further reference to Henry V. and the Cardinal.

25. tawny coats] A tawny coat was the garb of an apparitor or summer, an official attendant on a bishop. In Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church, 1608 (Nugae Antique, i. 8), occurs this passage: "Docter Whitegyte was made Bishop of Worcester . . . though the revenue of that be not very great, yet his custom was to come to the Parliament very well attended, which was a fashion the Queen liked exceeding well. It happened one day Bishop Elmer of London, meeting this Bishop with such an orderly troop of Tawny Coats, and demanding of him how he could keep so many men, he answered it was by reason he kept so few women." In Day's Blind Beggar of Bednal Green the Cardinal, who is disguised as his own servant, is called Tom Tawny Coat. In Jonson's Love's Welcome at Welbeck, "Tawny, the Abbot's churl," is mentioned, though it may refer to his hood. Musicians, pedlars, and justices' clerks also wore tawny coats. See also Heywood's A Maidenshead well Lost (Pearson, p. 114), and Middleton's A Roaring Girl: "Enter Greenvit like a Sumner . . . Husband, lay hold on yonder tawny coat" (iv. ii.).
30. Peel'd] tensured, shaven. Jonson has the verb referring to hair: "Who scorws at eld, peel's off his own young hairs" (Sad Shepherd, ii. ii.).
Win. I do, thou most usurping proditor,  
And not protector, of the king or realm.

Glou. Stand back, thou manifest conspirator,  
Thou that contriv'est to murder our dead lord;  
Thou that giv'st whores indulgences to sin:  
I'll canvass thee in thy broad cardinal's hat,  
If thou proceed in this thy insolence.

Win. Nay, stand thou back; I will not budge a foot:  
This be Damascus, be thou cursed Cain,

34. dead] Ff 1, 3, 4; dread F 2.


34. contriv'dst] plotted.

34. contriv'dst to murder our dead lord] The 4th Item of Gloucester's Accusations laid to Winchester's charge is: “that our Soueraigne Lorde his brother, that was King Henry the fift, tolde him on a time when our sayde soueraigne Lorde beyn King Prince, was lodged in the Palace of Westminster in the great Chamber, by the noyes of a spanyell there was on a night a man spied and taken behinde a tapet of the sayd chamber, the which man was delivere to the Erle of Arundell . . . confessed that he was there by the stirring vp and procuring of my sayde Lorde of Winchester ordyned to have slaine the sayd prince there in his bed: Wherefore the sayde Erle of Arundell let sacke him forthwith and drowned him in the Thames” (Grafton, i. 563, The III J Yere).

35. giv'st whores indulgences to sin] The title of an Act passed, 1162, ran: “Ordinances touching the government of the stewholders in Southwark under the direction of the Bishop of Winchester.” The Row was on the Clink, Bankside, white, with signs, as Bear's Head, Crane, Cardinal's Hat, Swan, Bell, Castle, Cross Keys, Gun, Thatched House. There were 18 in Henry VII.'s time, reduced to 12 in 1506, abolished 1545, but only in name. Latimer, in 1549 (Seven Sermons, Arber, p. 81), refers to them: “I here say, ther is now more whordom in London, than ever ther was on the bancke.” See Stowe's *Survey of London*. See note at iii. ii. 7, *Measure for Measure* (Arden ed.). Dekker gives the constitutions to be observed at the Bordello (as these stews were called) in *The Dead Tearme*, 1608 (Grosart, iv. 56, 57). “Indulgences” bear the papist sense, abolution from punishment. This is explained by a note at “pernicious usurer,” iii. i. 17.

36. canvass thee . . . cardinal's hat] toss in a canvass sheet, blanket, belabour. An old form of punishment, or rough amusement, often applied to a dog. The use was influenced by the other meaning, to search out or examine thoroughly, as in a canvas sieve. Compare Palsgrave, *Lesclaireissement*, 1530: “I kawvas a dogge or a matter, Je trafique.” And Nashe: “they wrapt him in a blanket (like a dog to be canvased) . . . and so threwe him underboord” (Martins Months Mind (Grosart, i. 194), 1589). In the general sense of abused Greene has it often: “too sore canvased in the Nettes, to strike at every stale” (Manillia, Grosart, ii. 17, and again, p. 169). Nashe gives a good parallel: “Hence Greene . . . gave occasion to canvase him [Harvey] a little in his Cloth-breeches and Velvet-breeches” (Four Letters Confuted (Grosart, ii. 197)1592). “The Cardinal's Hat” was one of the Bankside signs mentioned at line 35 (note). See note at “Arrogant Winchester,” line 23, above.

38. I will not budge a foot] Greene has this expression:—

“Backe to thy ships, and hee thee to thy home;

*Bouge not a foote to aidPrince Rodomant*”

(Orlando Furioso, Grosart, xiii. 155).

“I'll not budge an inch” is in *Taming of the Shrew*, Induction, i. 14.

39. Damascus . . . cursed Cain] Reed quotes Maundeville's Travels, ed. 1725, p. 148: “And in that place where Damascus was founded, Kaym sloughie Abell his brother,” Ritson cites *Polychronicon*, folio xii.: “Damascus is as moche to say as shedynge
To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt.

Glo. I will not slay thee, but I'll drive thee back:
Thy scarlet robes as a child's bearing-cloth
I'll use to carry thee out of this place.

Win. Do what thou dar'st; I beard thee to thy face.

Glo. What! am I da'd and bearded to my face?

Draw, men, for all this privileged place;
Blue coats to tawny coats. Priest, beware your beard;
I mean to tug it, and to cuff you soundly.
Under my feet I stamp thy cardinal's hat,
In spite of pope or dignities of church;

Here by the cheeks I'll drag thee up and down.

Win. Gloucester, thou wilt answer this before the pope.

Glo. Winchester goose! I cry, a rope! a rope!

Now beat them hence; why do you let them stay?
Thee I'll chase hence, thou wolf in sheep's array.
Out, tawny coats! out, scarlet hypocrite!

Here Gloucester's Men beat out the Cardinal's Men, and enter
in the hurly-burly the Mayor of London and his Officers.

May. Fie, lords! that you, being supreme magistrates,

of blood. For there Chayme slowe Abell, and hydde hym in the sonde."

For Abel again, see Richard II. i. i. 104.

42. child's bearing-cloth] christening robe. See again Winter's Tale, iii. i. 119. And in Holland's Pliny, bk. xxviii. ch. 19 (p. 341 C): "To come now to little infants . . . If a child be lapped in a mantle or bearing-cloth made of an asse skin, it shall not be affrighted at any thing." Gloucester is still thinking perhaps of the canvassing process.

44. beard thee] defy thee, face thee. See again 2 Henry VI. iv. x. 40, and 1 Henry IV. iv. i. 12.

47. Blue coats] the ordinary wear of serving men.

50. dignities of church] dignitaries of church. Shakespeare's plays do not afford another example of this use. New Eng. Dict. has earlier references.

53. Winchester goose] See again Troilus and Cressida, v. x. 55. A cant name for a venereal disorder, with a reference to line 35. See Nares; and Cotgrave in several places (1611). In Gilpin's Skialetheia, 1598 (rept., p. 27), it is varied to "Hampshire goose."

Often in Chapman's and Webster's plays, as in Westward Ho, iii. 3: "The term lying at Winchester . . . every one that met him cried Ware the goose, collier." See too Beaumont and Fletcher's Cure for a Cuckold, and Jonson's Underwoods, lxi.

53. a rope! a rope! a halter! halter! Similar to the scurrilous abuse contained in the expressions "ropery," "ropeticks" and "rope-ripe," all in use at this period. And compare "like the parrot, beware the rope's end," in Comedy of Errors, iv. iv. 46. "A rope, a rope," was a parrot-cry of abuse; "an almond for parrot" was the reward for some parrot-like tricks. The two are met together in Lyly's Mydas, i. ii.; and in Lyly's Mother Bomble, iii. iv.:

"The duck cries quack: "A rope the parrot, that holds tack."

55. wolf in sheep's array] See St. Matthew vii. 15: "th' is a wolf in a lombe skynne" (Digby Mysteries, circa 1485, ed. Furnivall, p. 155).

56. scarlet hypocrite] Alludes to the cardinal's red soutane, with a recollection of Isaiah i. 18. Compare Henry VIII. iii. ii. 255.

56. hurly-burly] tumult, uproar. Formerly a more dignified word than now.
Thus contumeliously should break the peace!

_Glou._ Peace, mayor! thou know'st little of my wrongs.
Here's Beaufort, that regards nor God nor king,
Hath here constrain'd the Tower to his use.

_Win._ Here's Gloucester, a foe to citizens;
One that still motions war and never peace,
O'ercharging your free purses with large fines,
That seeks to overthrow religion
Because he is protector of the realm,
And would have armour here out of the Tower,
To crown himself king and suppress the prince.

_Glou._ I will not answer thee with words, but blows.

[Here they skirmish again.

_May._ Nought rests for me in this tumultuous strife
But to make open proclamation.
Come, officer; as loud as e'er thou canst,
Cry.

_Off._ "All manner of men, assembled here in arms
this day against God's peace and the king's, we
charge and command you, in his highness' name,

59. _mayor_ majer F 1; _Mayor, for Ff 2, 3, 4._

60. _nor God_ Ff 1, 2; not

God Ff 3, 4._ 74. _Off._ Hanmer, omitted Ff.

58. _contumeliously_ "Contumelious" occurs again below, sc. iv. 39, and in 2 _Henry VI._ iii. ii. 204. Elsewhere in Shakespeare only in _Timon of Athens,_ v. i. 177.


63. _motions_ "counsels, proposals" (Schmidt). Compare Spenser, _Mother Hubberd's Tale_ (line 125):

"Now surely brother (said the Foxe anon)"
Ye have this matter _motioned_ in season._

70. _rests_ remains.

70. _tumultuous_ Found in these three plays and in _Richard II._ only. "Tumultuous strife" is in _Hawes' Pastime_ (1599).

70. _strife_ Grafton may be quoted with reference to Gloucester's threats: "my saide Lorde Chauncelor [Winchester] aunswereth, that he was oft and dyvers times warned by dyvers credible persons, as well at the time of the Kinges last Parliament holden at Westminster, as before and sithe, that my sayd Lord of Gloucester purposed him bodily harme . . . that in the tyme of the sayd Parliament diverse persons of lowe estate of the Citie of London in great number assembled on a day upon the Wharfe, at the Crane of the Vintrie, and wished and desyred that they had there the person of my Lorde of Winchester sayng: that they would haue thrown him into the Thamise, to have taught him to swim with winges" (p. 565, _The III Yere._

This part of the Bishop's answer to Gloucester. He goes on to say that "after the Monday next before Allhallowen day . . . the people . . . of London by the commandement of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester as it was sayde assembled in the Citie armed and arrayed . . . sedicious and heavie language was used and in especiall against the person of . . . the Chancelor . . . on the morowe . . . earely my sayde Lorde of Gloucester sent unto the Maior and Aldermen . . . to ordyn him unto the number of thre C persons on horseback, to acompanie him . . . (it was sayd) unto the king to have his person, and to remove him from the place that he was in" (Grafton, p. 565, _The III Yere._

This may have suggested the introduction of the Mayor (this refers perhaps to the Eltham charge, at 1. i. 176).
to repair to your several dwelling-places; and not to wear, handle, or use any sword, weapon, or dagger, henceforward, upon pain of death."

Glou. Cardinal, I'll be no breaker of the law;
   But we shall meet and break our minds at large.

Win. Gloucester, we will meet; to thy cost, be sure:
   Thy heart-blood I will have for this day's work.

May. I'll call for clubs if you will not away.
   This cardinal's more haughty than the devil.

Glou. Mayor, farewell: thou dost but what thou may'st.

Win. Abominable Gloucester! guard thy head;
   For I intend to have it ere long.

[Exeunt severally, Gloucester and Winchester, with their Servingmen.

May. See the coast clear'd, and then we will depart.

Good God! these nobles should such stomachs bear; 90
   I myself fight not once in forty year.

[Exeunt.

82. we will] Cambridge; we 'll Ff. 83. heart-blood] reveal what's in our minds. Compare Henry V. v. ii. 263. Golding uses the expression in Ovid's Metamorphoses, x. 458-60:—
   "But nerethelasse shee gest
   There was some love: and standing
   in one purpose, made request
   Too breake her mynd unto her"
   (1567). New Eng. Dict. has an example from Berner's Froissart, 1525.
   "Break the matter" in Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng (502), 1543, is similar.


84. call for clubs] See Nares at the word "clubs". Originally the call to summon the 'prentices to part, or take part in a street riot. New Eng. Dict. quotes Hall's Chronicle, Henry VIII. 9: "All the young men . . . cried prentyses and clubbes. Then out at cuerie doore came clubbes and weapons, and the aldermen fled" (1548). Compare Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 459), 1587, 1588: "Simplicity. Clubs! clubs! Nay, come, neighbours, come, for here they be: here I left them, arrant thieves, rogues, coseners. I charge ye, as you will answer, 'prehend them . . . A

Constable. I charge ye keep the peace and lay down your weapons." Malone says it was "for peace officers armed with clubs or staves." It came to be equivalent to our "police!" Compare Greene, A Hee and Shee Conycatcher (Grosart, x. 215): "the Officer . . . sayd hee was his true prisoner, and cried clubbes: the Prentises arose and . . . tooke the Officers part."

89. See the coast clear'd] see that all obstructions or impediments are removed. A common expression occurring in the play referred to at line 84, note (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 496): "The coast is clear. Come, follow, Fraud, and fear not." And Greene: "Susanna . . . thinking there secretly to wash herselfe, and seeing the coast cleere, and hiselrfe solitarily said thus" (A Myrrovr of Modestie (Grosart, iii. 18), 1584). Not met with again in Shakespear.

90. stomachs] angry tempers, bitter resentment. See again iv. i. 141; and Part II. ii. i. 55. Compare Golding's Ovid's Metamorphoses, bk. v. 308-10:—
   "Nor yet the perils he endureth, nor all this troublous toyes
   Could cause thy stomache to relent. Within thy stonic breast
   Workes such a kinde of festred hate as cannot be repress"
   (1567). Greene has the expression in George-a-Greene (xiv. 168): "My friend,
SCENE IV.—France. Before Orleans.

Enter, on the walls, the Master-Gunner and his Boy.

M. Gun. Sirrah, thou know'st how Orleans is besieg'd, And how the English have the suburbs won.

Boy. Father, I know; and oft have shot at them, Howe'er unfortunate I miss'd my aim.

M. Gun. But now thou shalt not. Be thou rul'd by me: Chief master-gunner am I of this town; Something I must do to procure me grace. The prince's espials have informed me How the English, in the suburbs close intrench'd, Went through a secret grate of iron bars

Enter . . . ] Enter the Master Gunner of Orleans, and his Boy. Ff. 10. Went] Ff; Wont Steevens (1793), Cambridge, Craig; Watch Hanmer; View Roderick conj.

I see thou art a faint hearted fellow, thou hast no stomach to fight, therefore let us go to the Alehouse and drinke.”


Scene iv.

2. how the English have the suburbs won] See note at i. ii. 21 from Grafton. The Chronicle continues to the present scene. “In the Tower that was taken at the bridge ende, as you before have heard, there was a high Chamber, haung a Grate full of barres of yron by the which a man might loke all the length of the bridge into the City, at which grate many of the cheife Captyenes stoode diverse times viewyng the Cittie, and desyuing in what place it was best assautable. They within the Citie percyued well this totyng hole, and layde a piece of ordinaunce directly agaynst the Windowe. It so chaunced that the lxxx. day after the siege layd before the Citie, the Erle of Sarisbury, Sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glasdale, and diuerse other, went into the sayde Tower, and so into the high Chamber and looked out at the Grate, and within a short space the sonne of the Maister Gooner, perceyvyng men look out at the Chamber windowe, took his matche, as his father had taught him, which was gone downe to dinner, and fired the Goon, which brake and sheuered the yron barres of the grate, whereof one strake the Erle so strongly on the hed, that it strike away one of his eyes and the side of his cheeke, Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise stricken, so that he died within two dayes. The Erle was conveyed to Meum upon Loyre, where he lay beyng wounded, viij dayes, and then died, whose bodie was conveyed into England, with all funerall pompe, and buried at Bissam by his progenitours” (p. 577). This occurred in October. 1428.

8. espials] spies. Occurs again below, iv. iii. 6, and in Hamlet, iii. i. 32. Usually plural. “Espial” is a body of spies in the concrete; hence a spy. Greene uses it several times. “The Cittie of Athens was destroyed by Silla the Romaine Dictator, who by his espials was admonished by the prattling of certaine women washing of their cloathes, where they talked of a certaine place in the Towne that was weake and worst defended” (Penelopes Web (Grosart, v. 222, 223), 1587). And again: “Hector having by his espials understanding of their coming” (vi. 234; Euphues his Censure to Philautus,1587). The word is commonly used by the Chroniclers.

10. Went] The change to “Wont” is desirable, but not imperative. “Went,” in the sense of went several times, were used to go (to overpeer the city and discover, etc.), is very intelligible, and the word had the widest general usage. The alteration was suggested by Tyrwhitt. “Wont” has already occurred (t. ii. 14).
THE FIRST PART OF

In yonder tower to overpeer the city,
And thence discover how with most advantage
They may vex us with shot or with assault.
To intercept this inconvenience,
A piece of ordnance 'gainst it I have plac'd;
And even these three days have I watch'd
If I could see them.
Now boy do thou watch for I can stay no longer.
If thou spy'st any, run and bring me word;
And thou shalt find me at the governor's. [Exit.
Boy. Father, I warrant you; take you no care;
I'll never trouble you if I may spy them. [Exit.

Enter, on the turrets, the Lords Salisbury and Talbot; Sir William Glansdale, Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Others.

Sal. Talbot, my life, my joy! again return'd!
How wert thou handled being prisoner,
Or by what means got'st thou to be releas'd,
Discourse, I prithee, on this turret's top.

Tal. The Duke of Bedford had a prisoner

16-18. And even . . . longer] F 1; And fully even . . . Now Boy do . . . longer Fi 2, 3, i (lines beginning And, If, For).

11. overpeer] Occurs again in 3 Henry VI. v. ii. 14, and in Hamlet, iv. v. 99, and Merchant of Venice, i. i. 12, but the senses are not the same as here, i.e., to look over, down on, or across from above. It is a favourite with Greene, and the first example in New Eng. Dict. is from his Menaphon, 1589: "a hill that over-peered the great Mediterranean." See again Orlando Furioso (Grosart, xiii. 182): "On a hill that overpeers them both"; and p. 121: "the Cliffs That overpriere the bright and golden shore." And in The Spanish Masquerado (1589): "their huge barks built like Castles, overpeering ours." Compare Golding's Ovid (iii. 217): "by the middle of hir necke she overpeered them all" (1565); and Peede's Arraignment of Paris (Dyce, 352, b): "The double daisy and the cowslip, queen Of summer flowers, do overpeir the green" (meaning "overtop"). Perhaps Golding introduced it.

rupt passage, scarcely improved by the unimportant alterations in the later folios which were accepted by Steevens, who made it his business to attach more importance to the readings of the second folio than Malone did—or than they are entitled to.

23. Talbot] Talbot, who was not present historically at this disaster, appears immediately in the Chronicle: "The Duke of Bedford . . . seying that dead men cannot with sorrow be called again . . . appoynted the Erle of Suffolk to be his Lieutenant and Captayne of the Siege, and ioyned with him the Lord Scales, the Lord Talbot, Sir John Fastolfe, and dourse other valiant knightes and squiers." (p. 578, The VI. Yere). Historical inaccuracy in this drama is very prominent. The events are often transposed, backward or forward, out of their proper years, especially those at home, with regard to those at the seat of war. For a note on Talbot's repute, see i. i. 121.
Called the brave Lord Ponton de Santrailles;
For him I was exchang'd and ransomed.
But with a baser man of arms by far
Once in contempt they would have barter'd me:
Which I disdaining scorn'd, and craved death
Rather than I would be so vile-esteem'd.
In fine, redeem'd I was as I desir'd.
But, O! the treacherous Falstaff wounds my heart:
Whom with my bare fists I would execute
If I now had him brought into my power.

Sal. Yet tell'st thou not how thouwert entertain'd.

Tal. With scoffs and scorns and contumelious taunts.
In open market-place produc'd they me,
To be a public spectacle to all:
Here, said they, is the terror of the French,

28. Santrailles] Santryle Ff 1; Santraile Ff 2, 3, 4. 33. so vile-esteem'd]
so wildestem'd] Pope; so pil'd-esteem'd Ff; so fill'd-esteem'd Capell; so ill-
estem'd Mason conj.; so pile-esteem'd Malone conj.; so Philistin'd Steevens conj.; so pil'oil'd esteem'd] Jackson conj. 35. Fastolfe] Theobald; Falstaff or Falstaffe Ff.

28-29. Lord Ponton . . . exchang'd] The ransom of Lord Talbot, historically, took place several years later after a defeat by the English at Beauvais in 1431. There was an ambush "of xxiij hundredth men . . . priuely in a close place, not farre from the sayd towne. . . . The Frenchmen . . . issued out and manfully fought with the Englishmen: which sodainly fled toward the stale. The Frenchmen corragiously followed, thinkyng the game gotten on their syde . . . there were slain and taken, in maner all the frenchmen. . . . Amongst the Captaynes was founde prisoner, the valiant Captaine, called Poynton of Sanctrayles, which (without delay) was exchang'd for the Lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the battale of Patay" (Grafton, pp. 592-3, the X. Yere).

30. man of arms] soldier. Sometimes, as in Love's Labour's Lost, iv. iii. 290, "man at arms." Compare Greene's Alphonsus (line 1670):—

"All the men at armes
Which mounted were on lustie courseres backes";
and line 1808:—

"Your mightie countrie and your
men at armes,
Be conquerd all."

It occurs as "man of arms" in Grafton's Chronicle, 1569.

31. barter'd] Not again in Shakespear.

32. Lord Ponton] Compare Golding's Ovid, xiii. 10, 11: "It easier is therefore with woordes in print too maynteine stryfe, then for to fyght it out with fists" (the Battle of Troy being the scene).

35. treacherous Falstaff] See note at 1. i. 131.

36. bare fists] bare hands. Craig quotes from Greene's Orlando Furioso (Grosart, xiii. 161): "We will not leaue one of our owne souldiers alieue, for we two will kill them with our fists." Compare Golding's Ovid, xiii. 10, 11: "It easier is therefore with woordes in print too maynteine stryfe, then for to fyght it out with fists" (the Battle of Troy being the scene).

39. contumelious] See above, sc. iii. 58.

42. the terror of the French] Grafton writes at the death of Talbot (pp. 650, 651, The XXXII. Yere): "This man was to the French people a very scourge and a daylie terror, in so much that as his person was fearefull and terrible to his adversaries present: so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent, in so much that women in Fraunce to feare their yong children, would crie, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth," See above, i. ii. 129, and note; and below, ii. iii. 16. The same was said of King Richard in the Holy Land; and of Drake by the Spaniards. "It was also stated about William Wallace as well as the Black Douglas and the English mothers" (Craig).
The scarecrow that affrights our children so.
Then broke I from the officers that led me,
And with my nails digg'd stones out of the ground,
To hurl at the beholders of my shame.
My grisly countenance made others fly;
None durst come near for fear of sudden death.
In iron walls they deem'd me not secure;
So great fear of my name 'mongst them were spread
That they supposed I could rend bars of steel
And spurn in pieces posts of adamant:
Wherefore a guard of chosen shot I had,
That walk'd about me every minute-while;
And if I did but stir out of my bed
Ready they were to shoot me to the heart.

Enter the Boy with a linstock.

Sal. I grieve to hear what torments you endured;

43. scarecrow] Scar-crow Ff 1, 2.
Steevens quotes to the same purport of Warwick, from Drayton's Miseries of Queen Margaret:—
"And still so fearful was great Warwick's name,
That being once cry'd on, put them oft to flight."
Steevens also points out that "Dryden has transplanted this idea into his Don Sebastian." See note, ii. i. 79. The legend about Talbot, "the valiant captain, the very scourge of France," is found also in E. K.'s notes to Spenser's Shepheard's Calendar (June), 1579.

43. scarecrow] Again in Measure for Measure and 1 Henry IV. Spenser calls his Braggadocchio (Faerie Queene, iii. iii. 7) the scarecrow.

45. nails . . . stones] Compare Richard II. v. v. 18, 19. Marlowe has the same figure:—
"Set me to scale the high Pyramids,
And thereon set the diadem of France:
I'll either rend it with my nails
to naught
Or mount the top"
(Massacre at Paris, Dyce, 1859, p. 228, b). And Peele, Edward I. (Dyce, p. 378, a):—
"Lords, these are they will enter
branzen gates
And tear down lime and mortar
with their nails."
See "bare fists" above, line 36.

47. grisly] grim, full of terror.

50. were] Ff; was Rowe, Cambridge.

53. chosen shot] picked gunners. Compare Peele, Battle of Alcazar, iv. i. 57:—
"Hamet, my brother, with a thousand shot
On horseback, and choice harque-buziers all,
Having ten thousand [foot] with spear and shield,
Shall make the right wing of the battle up."
As a single markman, see 2 Henry IV. iii. ii. 205. See passage from Spanish Tragedy quoted at "squadrons," iv. ii. 23.

54. minute-while] minute's space. Shakespeare has "breathing-while," and other compounds elsewhere.

56. linstock] Compare Henry V, iii. (chorus, 33). A staff with a cleft end to hold a light, or prepared lint for torch. The staff was of any length to suit the requirements. In Chapman's All Fools the term is used of a torch for a tobacconist's use. In Voyage of the Susan, etc., 1582-3 (Hakluyt, v. 248, reprint 1904): "a gunner standing by with a lint-stocke in his hand about fourteen or fifteen feet long, being (as we thought) ready to give fire." Ben Jonson has the word: "they had planted me three demi-culverins just in the mouth of the breach: now, sir, as we were to give on, their master gunner . . . confronts me with his linstock, ready to give fire" (Every Man in his Humour, iii. i., 1598).
But we will be revenged sufficiently.
Now it is supper-time in Orleans:
Here, through this grate, I count each one
And view the Frenchmen how they fortify:
Let us look in; the sight will much delight thee.
Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Sir William Glansdale,
Let me have your express opinions
Where is best place to make our battery next.

Gar. I think at the north gate; for there stand lords.

Glan. And I, here, at the bulwark of the bridge.

Tal. For aught I see, this city must be famish’d
Or with light skirmishes enfeebled,

[Here they shoot. Salisbury and Gargrave fall.

Sal. O Lord! have mercy on us, wretched sinners.

Gar. O Lord! have mercy on me, woeful man.

Tal. What chance is this that suddenly hath cross’d us?
Speak, Salisbury; at least, if thou canst speak:
How far’st thou, mirror of all martial men?
One of thy eyes and thy cheek’s side struck off!
Accursed tower! accursed fatal hand
That hath contriv’d this woeful tragedy!
In thirteen battles Salisbury o’ercame;
Henry the Fifth he first train’d to the wars;
Whilst any trump did sound or drum struck up,
His sword did ne’er leave striking in the field.
Yet liv’st thou, Salisbury? though thy speech doth fail,
One eye thou hast to look to heaven for grace:
The sun with one eye vieweth all the world.

60. count each one] F i; can count every one F f 2, 3, 4.

67. bulwark] fortification. A bulwark was manned with soldiers. Compare Golding’s Ovid, viii. 480, 481:—
“ And looke with what a violent brunt a mightie Bullet goes From engines bent against a wall, or bulwarks full of foes.”

74. mirror of all martial men] pattern, exemplar. Compare “mirror of all Christian kings,” Henry V. ii. (chorus). A favourite metaphor at this time. Compare Golding’s Ovid, Epistle, lines 67, 68:—

“Daphnee turn’d to Bay A myrror of virginitee”

(1565-67). Holinshed wrote (of Henry V.): “he that both lived and died a paterne in princehood, a lode-starre in honour, and mirror of magnificence,”

74. martial men] military men, soldiers. Compare Greene’s Blacke Bookes Messenger (Grosart, xi. 6), Epistle to the Reader: “Hee was in outward shew a gentlemanlike companion, attrey’d very braue, and to shadowe his villany the more would nominate himselfe to be a Marshall man . . . forsooth a brave Souldier.”

See again Lucrece, line 200. See also Tamburlaine, Part 1. iv. i. 30.

83. One eye thou hast] The servant’s remark to Gloucester in King Lear, iii. vii. 81, 82, is more human.

84. sun with one eye] Polyphemus brings the same comfort to Galatea when he courts her: “This one round eye of myne is lyke a myghty target. Why? Vewes not the Sun all things from heaven? Yit but one only eye Hath hee” (Golding’s Ovid, xiii. 1001-1003).
THE FIRST PART OF

Heaven, be thou gracious to none alive,
If Salisbury wants mercy at thy hands!
Bear hence his body; I will help to bury it.
Sir Thomas Gargrave, hast thou any life?
Speak unto Talbot; nay, look up to him.
Salisbury, cheer thy spirit with this comfort;
Thou shalt not die whiles—
He beckons with his hand and smiles on me,
As who should say "When I am dead and gone,
Remember to avenge me on the French."
Plantagenet, I will; and like thee, [Nero],
Play on the lute, beholding the towns burn:
Wretched shall France be only in my name.

[An alarum; it thunders and lightens.]

What stir is this? what tumult's in the heavens?
Whence cometh this alarum and the noise?

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My lord, my lord! the French have gather'd head: 100

93. like thee, [Nero] like thee, Nero Malone; like thee F 1; Nero-like will F 2; Nero-like, will F 3, 4.

93. dead and gone See 2 Henry VI. ii. iii. 37, and Ophelia's song in Hamlet, iv. v. 29. See Gratton, Cont. of Hard- yng (436), 1543: "their capitaines were dedde and gone." New Eng. Diet. gives early examples of this expression (always taken literally). It has a sort of ballad-tag ring about it. Skelton uses it in Garlande of Laurell. Several times in Greene's plays.

95. Nero] Gratton (Chronicle, i. 61) gives a page to this much-abused mon- arch, describing the above episode: "He commaunded the City of Rome to be set on fyre, and himself in the meane season, with all semblant of joy, sitting in an high Tower to beholde the same, played upon the Harpe, and sang the destruction of Troy." "The situations, look you, is both alike ... and there is towers in both." Nero is referred to again in 3 Henry VI. iii. i. 40; and in King Lear, Hamlet and King John.

100. gather'd head] gathered an army. See below, iv. v. 10, part ii., and Titus Andronicus, iv. iv. 63. Compare Peele, Battle of Alcazar, iii. 1:— "The Spaniard ready to embark him- self, Here gathers to a head"
The Dauphin, with one Joan la Pucelle join’d,  
A holy prophetess new risen up  
Is come with a great power to raise the siege.  

[Here Salisbury lifteth himself up and groans.  

Tal. Hear, hear how dying Salisbury doth groan!  
It irks his heart he cannot be reveng’d.  
Frenchmen, I’ll be a Salisbury to you;  
Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish,  
Your hearts I’ll stamp out with my horse’s heels  
And make a quagmire of your mingled brains.  
Convey me Salisbury into his tent,  
And then we’ll try what these dastard Frenchmen dare.  

[Alarum. Exeunt.  

SCENE V.—The Same.  
Here an alarum again and Talbot pursueth the Dauphin,  
and driveth him: then enter La Pucelle, driving Englishmen before her, and exit after them. Then re-enter Talbot.  

Tal. Where is my strength, my valour, and my force?  

(Dyce, 432, a). The events of the play (subsequent to the death of Salisbury) are not in agreement with history, for a considerable space. The English retired from Orleans, and the recapture by Talbot is fictitious.  

101. Joan la Pucelle] Joane de Puzel Ff. 107. Pucelle or puzzel] Puzel or Pussel Ff. 111. And then we’ll try] Then try we Steevens conj.; And then try S.Walker conj. 111. Alarum. Exeunt] Ff, 2; Alarum omitted Capell; Alarum, Exit, Ff 3, 4; Exeunt bearing Salisbury and Sir Thomas Gargrave out. Theobald.  

SCENE V.  

SCENE V. and exit after them] Dyce, omitted Ff.  

(spawne of a beastly dogfish will understand no other language but his owne” (Pierces Supererogation (Grosart, ii. 238), 1592); and again (ii. 122): “For what other quarrel could Green or this doggefish ever pick with me.” It was probably not uncommon, the fish being so hated. “Dolphin” of the folio is consideredly allowed to stand in the text here for the sake of the quibbling.  

109. quagmire] A favourite illustration with Nashe: “in their bellies they have standing quag-mires and bogs of English bere” (Pierce Peullesse (Grosart, ii. 81), 1592); and “The plaine appeared like a quagmire, overspread as it was with trampled dead bodies . . . dead murthered men . . . brains,” etc. (The Unfortunate Traveller (Grosart, v. 45, 46), 1594). Kyd has a great stringing together of battle-field horrors in Corinella (Act v.), 1594:—  

“Streames of blood . . . that surcloys the ground and of a cham-pant land  
Makes it a quagmire, where (knee deep) they stande.”
Our English troops retire, I cannot stay them;  
A woman clad in armour chaseth them.

Re-enter La Pucelle.

Here, here she comes. I'll have a bout with thee;  
Devil, or devil's dam, I'll conjure thee: 
Blood will I draw on thee, thou art a witch,  
And straightway give thy soul to him thou serv'st.

Puc. Come, come; 'tis only I that must disgrace thee.

[Here they fight.

Tal. Heavens, can you suffer hell so to prevail?
My breast I'll burst with straining of my courage,  
And from my shoulders crack my arms asunder,  
But I will chastise this high-minded strumpet.

[They fight again.

4. a bout] about F 2.

4. I'll have a bout with thee] See below, iii. ii. 56; and in Twelfth Night, iii. iv. 337; and in Romeo and Juliet, i. v. 19. No example previous to Shakespeare is given in New Eng. Dict.; so that, like the last, it is characteristic, perhaps. But it is frequent in Nashe, and earlier, as: "Every man's spirit . . . had two bouts with the Apostle before he left him" (Pasquils Return) (Grosart, i. 119, 1589); and later in Pierce Penilesse (ii. 59): "With the enemies of Poetry, I care not if I have a bout"; and in Strange News (ii. 179), 1593. Greene has it also earlier, in Tullies Love (Grosart, vii. 202, 1589): "in his owne minde having a boutre or two with fancie." The latter has it again in The Defence of Conny-Catching (xi. 79). Ben Jonson makes it technical of cudgel-play in The Case is Altered (1598). See too Locrine, ii. ii.: "I will have a bout with you. [They fight.]"

5. devil's dam] Quite curiously common in Shakespeare. See Othello, iv. i. 150, and note (Arden edition). Greene has the expression once (at least): "I wondered at it, and thought verily that the Devill and his Dam was in his fingers" (Second Part of Conny-Catching, Grosart, x. 129). It is as old as Piers the Plowman (1399).

6. Blood will I draw on thee] Johnson's statement, "the superstition of those times taught that he that could draw the witch's blood was free from her power," has not been illustrated, though constantly quoted. I have looked through all the likely Elizabethan writers that occurred to me (Reginald Scot, Ben Jonson, Middleton, etc.), but failed to detect a reference. Henderson's Folklore of the Northern Counties (Folk-Lore Society, 1879) has the following at p. 181: "To draw blood above the mouth from the person who has caused any witchery is the accredited mode of breaking the spell." Several tales are told in support of this, from Durham, Devonshire and Exeter of the years 1868-70. On the following page a note states: "In Brittany, if the lycanthropist be scratched above the nose, so that three blood-drops are extracted, the charm is broken. In Germany, the werewolf has to be stabbed . . . thrice on the brows." But nothing is cited of early times. Nor do Pliny or Ovid come to the rescue. Possibly there is no such reference at all, and Talbot merely means he will prove that Joan is vulnerable, and send her soul to hell. "To draw blood," meaning to spill blood, is frequent in Shakespeare; followed by "on" it occurs in King Lear, ii. i. 35.

12. high-minded] "arrogant, overweening" (Schmidt). Not met with again in Shakespeare. The term is not credited with any disparaging sense in New Eng. Dict., nothing worse than haughty. Greene uses it so in Friar Bacon. But compare Golding's Ovid's Metamorphoses (bk. xiii. line 916), where Polyphemus rejects the warning of Telemus: "And sayd O foolish
Puc. Talbot, farewell; thy hour is not yet come:  
I must go victual Orleans forthwith.

A short alarum: then enter the Town with Soldiers.

O'ertake me if thou canst; I scorn thy strength.  
Go, go, cheer up thy hungry-starved men;  
Help Salisbury to make his testament:  
This day is ours, as many more shall be.  

[Exit.

Tal. My thoughts are whirled like a potter's wheel;  
I know not where I am, nor what I do:  
A witch, by fear, not force, like Hannibal,  
Drives back our troops and conquers as she lists:  
So bees with smoke, and doves with noisome stench,  
Are from their hives and houses driven away.  
They call'd us for our fierceness English dogs;  
Now, like to whelps, we crying run away.

[A short alarum.

Hark, countrymen! either renew the fight  
Or tear the lions out of England's coat;

soothsayre thou deckyed art in that.  
. . . Thus skorning him that told him  
truehe because he was hyghmynded,"  
i.e. bursting with conceit. The term  
is in Grafton's Continuation of Hardnyng  
(1543), p. 522, in the same sense (More,  
1513).

16. hungry-starved] Pf 1, 3, 4, Cambridge; hungry-starved V 2; hunger-starved  
Rowe, Malone, etc.  
26. like to] like the Pf 2, 3, 4.

(Alphonsus, King of Arragon, Grosart,  
xiii. 334, lines 73, 74). And Spenser:—  
"I, of many most  
Most miserable man"  
(Daphnaiada, stanza 6).

19. like a potter's wheel] Steevens suggests that this idea might have been  
captured up from Psalm lxxxiii. 13.

21. like Hannibal] "See Hannibal's  
stratagem to escape by fixing bundles  
of lighted twigs on the horns of oxen,  
recorded in Livy, lib. xxii. c. xvi."  
(Holt White). Introducing the following  
thoughts of smoke and stench.

23, 24. doves . . . driven away]  
Compare Greene, Menaphon (Grosart,  
vi. 47), 1589:

"The Turtle parketh not on barren  
trees, Doves delight not in foule cot- 
tages." And Gabriel Harvey, Letters  
between Spenser and Harvey (Grosart,  
i. 89), 1573-80: "Fyle [defile] me the  
Doouehouse: leave it unhansome,  
where the like poorehouse?"

28. lions out of England's coat]  
Greene is fond of this kind of lan- 
guage:—  
"O English King, thou bearest in  
thy crest  
The King of Beasts, that harmes  
not yeelding ones . . .  
Be gracious"
Renounce your soil, give sheep in lions' stead:
Sheep run not half so treacherous from the wolf,
Or horse or oxen from the leopard,
As you fly from your oft-subdued slaves.

[Alarum. Here another skirmish.
It will not be: retire into your trenches:
You all consented unto Salisbury's death,
For none would strike a stroke in his revenge.
Pucelle is enter'd into Orleans
In spite of us or aught that we could do.
O! would I were to die with Salisbury.
The shame hereof will make me hide my head.

[Exit Talbot. Alarum; retreat; flourish.

SCENE VI.—The Same.

Enter, on the walls, La Pucelle, Charles, Reignier, Alençon, and Soldiers.

Puc. Advance our waving colours on the walls
Rescued is Orleans from the English.

30. treacherous] timorous Pope, Rolfe.

SCENE VI.

2. English] F 1; English wolves Ff 2, 3, 4.

(The Fourth, Grosart, xiii. 303, l. 2234); and all this animal metaphor
is much in his style. In another part
of this play (p. 319) there is a combination
of a lion, lion's whelp, fox, wolf
and hind. And Greene was quite familiar with the leopard in his prose
writings, but Shakespeare has no other
reference to the animal again excepting
to the Biblical leopard and his spots.
Peele has:

"These British lions rampant in this field
That never learned in battles' rage
to yield"

(Descensus Astrææ (542, b), 1591).
Dryden is earliest in New Eng. Dict., for "British lion," nearly a century
later.

29. give] heraldic, as in Merry Wives, 1. i. 16.

29. sheep in lions' stead] Grafton has
(p. 188): "We have against us Robert
Erle of Gloucester, who useth great
threates and performeth small deeds.
In mouth and countenaunce lyke a
Lyon, but in heart a very sheepe."

30. treacherous] some modern editors altered to "timorous." "But in
the opinion and language of a man
like Talbot cowardice is treachery" (Schmidt).


"At view of whom the Turks have
trembling fled
Like sheep before the wolves."

31. leopard] trisyllable. A dissyllable
in Richard II. Compare Sylvester's
Du Bartas (6th Day of 1st Week):
"The lightfoot Tigre, spotted Leopard."

32. oft-subdued] No similar compound occurs in Shakespeare.

SCENE VI.

1. Advance] raise; of colours (standards) it occurs again in Merry Wives, iii. iv. 85. Both words are prominent
in these historical plays. See Part II,
v. i. 98. Compare Peele, Descensus
Astrææ (542, h), 1591:

"In whose defence my colours I
advance,
And girt me with my sword, and
shake my lance."

And see quotation from Hall, 3 Henry
VI. 1. ii. 50.

2. Rescued is Orleans] A favourite
Thus Joan la Pucelle hath perform'd her word.

Chas. Divinest creature, Astraea's daughter,
How shall I honour thee for this success?
Thy promises are like Adonis' garden,
That one day bloom'd and fruitful were the next.
France, triumph in thy glorious prophetess!
Recover'd is the town of Orleans:
More blessed hap did ne'er befall our state.

4. Astraea's] F 1; bright Astraea's Ff 2, 3, 4.
6. garden] Ff; gardens

structure with Marlowe. See Tamburlaine (Part II.): "Discomfited is all the Aristian host" (ii. iii. 1). But he desists from it in later plays, after the well-known "Cut is the branch!" at the close of Doctor Faustus. See the first line of this play; also "Assign'd am I . . ." (i. ii. 129). And Greene-Lodge, A Looking Glass, etc. (Grosart, xiv. 83). "Loath'd is the life that now enforced I leade." Earlier still in Peele, Arraignment of Paris, Prologue:—

"Done be the pleasure of the powers above,
Whose hests men must obey"
(1584). See too a passage at the close of Lodge's Wounds of Civil War (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 196). See note below at ii. v. 74, and Introduction. These inversions occur elsewhere in Peele's writings. Spenser set the fashion. See too Sonnet lxxi.: "When I perhaps compounded am with clay."

4. Astraea] We are to make four syllables of this; the name of the Goddess of Justice. Golding can only afford her two:—

"All godlynesse lies under foote.
And Lady Astrye cast
Of heavenly vertues from this earth
in slaughter drownded past"
(Ovid's Metamorphoses, i. 169, 170). Peele wrote a pageant, Descensus Astraeæ, to the Lord Mayor of London's entry, 1591: "Astræa, daughter of the immortal Jove." Elsewhere he speaks of "Eliza's court, Astræa's earthly heaven" (Anglorum Femia). Her introduction is characteristic of Peele.

6. Adonis' garden] Spenser's Ferie Queene (iii. vi.) gives a poetical account of "The Gardin of Adonis, far renowned by fame" (iii. vi. 29):—

"There is continuall spring, and harvest there
Continuall, both meeting at one tyme;

For both the boughes doe laughing
blossomes beare,
And with fresh colours decke the
wanton Pryme,
And eke attonce the heavy trees
they clyme,
Which seeme to labour under their
fruites lode"
(stanza xiii.). Gabriel Harvey has a bitter passage in which he says: "Arte . . . beganne to sproute in M. Robert Greene, . . . Witt . . . to blossom in M. Pierce Pennelisse, as in the riche garden of poor Adonis: both to growe to perfection in M. Thomas Nashe . . . proper men, handsome giftes." Fastidious Brisk in Jonson's Every Man out of his Hymour, iv. vi., says that in Court a man "shall behold all the delights of the Hesperides, the Insula Fortunatæ, Adonis' Gardens, Tempe, or what else." In Cynthia's Revels, v. iii., Mercury says to Cupid: "Remember thou art not now in Adonis' garden, but in Cynthia's presence where thorns lie in garnison about the roses." Neither this classical allusion, nor that to Astræa, are found again in Shakespearne (except in Titus Andronicus, iv. iii. 4). Pliny referred to this garden, xix. iv. (p. 10, trans. Holland, bk. ii.): "Auncient writers, who had nothing (to speake of) in more account and admiration in old time than the gardens of the Hesperides, of Adonis, and Alcinous." There was a battle fought over the existence of these gardens in earlier classical writers, amongst four critics (Bentley, Theobald, Dr. Pearce and Warburton), with reference to a passage in Milton, which will be found in Steevens' Shakespeare, at this line. It appears that Adonis had no garden, only a few flower-pots after his death. But its existence in the writings of such scholars as Harvey and Jonson establishes the tradition, apart from Pliny's words.
Reig. Why ring not out the bells aloud throughout the town?
Dauphin, command the citizens make bonfires
And feast and banquet in the open streets,
To celebrate the joy that God hath given us.

Alen. All France will be replete with mirth and joy,
When they shall hear how we have play'd the men.

Cha. 'Tis Joan, not we, by whom the day is won;
For which I will divide my crown with her;
And all the priests and friars in my realm
Shall in procession sing her endless praise.
A statelier pyramids to her I'll rear
Than Rhodope's or Memphis' ever was:
In memory of her when she is dead,
Her ashes, in an urn more precious

11. Why ... town] two lines in Ff, ending aloud, town. 22. or Memphis'] of Memphis Dyce (Capell conj.).

11. Why ring not out?] Perhaps the line should read "Ring out the bells," etc. But Steevens' remark that aloud is redundant is to the point.
11, 12. bells ... bonfires] See Part II. v. i. 3: "Ring, bells, aloud; burn bonfires, clear and bright," Marlowe has similar rejoicing in Tamburlaine, Part I. iii. iii.:—
"Now will the Christian miscreants be glad,
Ringing with joy their superstitious bells,
And making bonfires for my overthrow,"
14, 15. celebrate ... with mirth and joy] Compare Greene, Althousus (Grosart, xiii. 364):—
"Let us marche with speed
Into the Citie, for to celebrate
With mirth and joy this blisful festiual"
(ll. 852-54). The repetition of the commonplace word "joy" here is Greene's foible. Note "for to" also in the quotation.
15. replete with] See 1. i. 11 (note).
16. play'd the men] An old expression, frequent in Grafton (1569): "Ceesaying not to say vnto them with a loude voyce that the same day if they would play the men a little while, they should confirme unto them," etc. (i. 135).
20. shall in procession ... ] Compare this line with Contention lines iv. ix. 23, 24, in Part II. (Shakespeare Society, p. 62). And see Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng (p. 459), 1543: "When Kinge Edward had thus overcome them, he went to London, and ther for iii. dayes caused procession to bee through evrye place after the moost solempne and devoute fassyon."
21, 22. pyramids ... Than Rhodope's or Memphis'] Capell's conjecture "of Memphis" is very reasonable. The illustration is almost certainly from Greene. In Mamillia (Grosart, ii. 270) he says: "they which came to Memphis thought they had seene nothing unless they had viewed the Pyramides built by Rhodope"; and again (p. 280): "That flourishing and beautiful dame Rodophe which married old Sampniticus the King of Memphis"; and p. 200: "Was not Rodope in the prime of her youth counted the most famous or rather the most infamous strumpet of all Egypt? ... yet in the floure of her age being married to Piasmcticus the king of Memphis ... so chast a Princes." And in The Debate between Pollye and Love (iv. 219): "What made Rodope builde the Pyramids ... but Pollye?" In Planetomachia, 1585 (Grosart, v. 104), Saturn's tragedy is the story of Rhodope told at great length. In several other places Greene refers to her, making her a favourite in his writings. See Pliny's Natural History, xxxvi. 12. Marlowe refers to the "Pyramides" several times, and to the mountain Rhodope, and to Memphis, all in different collocations. Spenser also uses Rhodope (the mount) in Faerie Queene, bk. ii.
Than the rich-jewell’d coffer of Darius, 25
Transported shall be at high festivals
Before the kings and queens of France.
No longer on Saint Denis will we cry,
But Joan la Pucelle shall be France’s saint.
Come in, and let us banquet royally
After this golden day of victory.

[Flourish. Exeunt.

27. Before] Ever before Hamner; And borne before Anon. conj. 27. France
France up-born Capell conj.

25. rich-jewell’d coffer] Malone refers to Puttenham’s *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589; the passage will be found in Arber’s reprint, pp. 31, 32: “In what price the noble poemes of IHomar were holden with Alexander the Great, inso-
much as euer night they were layd under his pillow, and by day were carried in the rich jewell coffer of Darius, lately before vanquished by him in bataille.” “The coffer” was especially applied to a strong treasure-box.
“Chestes made of ivery. In coffers these put nothing els save yellow glistring golde” (Timothie Kendall (1577), *Flowers of Epigrammes*, reprint, p. 63). Shakespeare’s indebtedness to Puttenham appears in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* several times. See Part II. i. iv. 62. See also Plutarch’s *Life of Alexander the Great.*

26. high festivals] Compare Grafton (i, 203): “the Archebishop the next day addressed him to the Masse of S. Stephen with all solemnitie, as though it had bene an high festivall day.”

28, 29. Saint Denis . . . France’s saint] “When the noble King Charles of Franchise had heard his sisters lamentation . . . he most comfortably spake . . . by the fayth I owe to God and Saint Denise, I shall right well provyde for you some remedy” (Grafton, *Edward the Second*, i. 317). According to some writers, the saint belonged to

Paris: “Had not everie citie in all the popes dominions his several patrone?
As Paule for London, Denis for Paris,
Ambrose for Milan, Loven for Gaunt,
Romball for Machline, S. Marks lion
for Venise, the three magician kings
for Cullen, and so of other” (R. Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft* (reprint, p. 442), 1584). In a preceding line he gives “S. Michael for France.”

30, 31. let us banquet . . . victory] The proper ending for a victory in Marlowe’s way. Compare *Tambrlaine*, Part I., end of Act iii. :—
“Come bring them in: and for this
happy conquest
Triumph and solemnize a martial
feast.”

And Part II., end of i. i. :—
“Come banquet and carouse with us
a while
And then depart we to our terri-
tories.”

And end of i. iii. :—
“Then will we triumph, banquet and
carouse . . .
Come, let us banquet and carouse
the whiles.”

And end of ii. iii. :—
“With full Natolian bowls
Of Greekish wine, now let us
celebrate
Our happy conquest and his angry
fate.”

A handy way to clear the stage.
ACT II

SCENE I.—Before Orleans.

Enter to the gates, a French Sergeant, and two Sentinels.

Serg. Sirs, take your places and be vigilant.
   If any noise or soldier you perceive
   Near to the walls, by some apparent sign
   Let us have knowledge at the court of guard.
First Sent. Sergeant, you shall.          [Exit Sergeant.]
   Thus are poor servitors, 5
   When others sleep upon their quiet beds,
   Constrain'd to watch in darkness, rain, and cold.

Enter Talbot, Bedford, Burgundy, and Forces, with scaling-ladders; their drums beating a dead march.

Tal. Lord Regent, and redoubted Burgundy,

4. court of guard] watch-post, station occupied by soldiers on guard. See note to Othello, ii. i. 219 (Arden edition, p. 82). In a passage there quoted from Greene's Orlando Furioso, I remarked it was the earliest example of the Shakespearian spelling, or corruption, of the original expression "corps de gard." But Greene has it yet earlier in Menaphon (Grosart, vi. 120), 1589: "the Portcullis was let downe, the bridge drawen, the Court of garde, thether I went." He has it again in Orpharion (xii. 58), 1588-89 (?): "hee marched closely and secretly to the Campe of Sertorius, where he arrived about midnight: using new pollicy, that before had conquered with prowess, for that killing the watch and Sentonell, hee past the Courte of Garde, and set upon the soldiery, making a great slaughter of such men as were sleepie and amaz'd." The passage in Orlando Furioso (Grosart, xii. 134-35) is quite parallel with the present position. Orlando surprises a sleeping sentinel who is in sympathy with him, on the walls of a castle, and he is warned to keep clear of the "Round of Court of Gard." In this case the "guard" is "pitched within a trench of stones,"

5. servitors] those who served in the wars, soldiers. Ben Jonson uses it so twice in Every Man in his Humour. Knowell says to Bobadile (iii. i.): "then you were a servitor at both, it seems, Strigonium, and what do you call't." And in Thos. Sanders' Voyage to Tripoli (Hakluyt, ed. 1811, ii. 308), 1583: "A Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an old servitour in Flanders." See 3 Henry VI. iii. iii. 196, for an example from Hall's Chronicle.

7. drums beating a dead march] This is explained by line 4 of the next scene, at the next appearance of Talbot. They are bringing Salisbury on a funeral procession. All historically untrue. In Jeronimo (Hazlitt's Dodsley, iv. 377) is an earlier dead march.

8. redoubted Burgundy] Occurs again as a title of address in Richard II. iii. iii. 198; Henry V. ii. iv. 14; but not
By whose approach the regions of Artois, 
Walloon, and Picardy, are friends to us, 
This happy night the Frenchmen are secure, 
Having all day caroused and banqueted: 
Embrace we then this opportunity, 
As fitting best to quittance their deceit 
Contrived by art and baleful sorcery. 

Bed. Coward of France! how much he wrongs his fame, 
Despairing of his own arm's fortitude, 
To join with witches and the help of hell! 

Bur. Traitors have never other company. 
But what's that Pucelle whom they term so pure? 

Tal. A maid, they say. 

Bed. A maid! and be so martial! 

Bur. Pray God she prove not masculine ere long, 
If underneath the standard of the French 
She carry armour as she hath begun.

elsewhere in Shakespeare. It replaces the earlier "renowned," and I don't find it in Greene. Like several other expressions (e.g. "proud insulting"), which will be grouped together later on, they point at least to Shakespeare's continuous authorship or final preparation. "Baleful," a few lines below, is another word characteristic of these plays, and of Shakespeare's earlier work (Romeo and Juliet, Titus Andronicus). It was a great favourite with Greene.

10. Walloon] See note, i. i. 137.
13. Embrace we then ...] "The subjunctive of the present, followed by we, expressing an invitation = let us" (Schmidt, 1343, a). References follow, showing that the figure is much more prevalent in those three plays than elsewhere in Shakespeare. See iii. ii. 102; iii. iii. 68. Compare Selimus (Greene?) (Grosart, xiv. 209): "But we Lords, and solace in our campe," "Go we" seems to be the starting point of this old form. It occurs oftenest (King John, Richard III., Merchant of Venice, etc.). I find "Go we to it and be we strong" (Townsley Mysteries, p. 221, circa 1400); and again pp. 65, 315, etc. And in Mankin (Early English Dramatists) "Go we hence" occurs several times (pp. 8, 9, etc.). See "Stay we no longer," Part III. ii. 199.

14. to quittance] to repay in kind, require. Not a common verb and not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Greene seems to be responsible for it in this sense, and uses it frequently: "to quittance all my ils" occurs in Orlando Furioso (Grosart, xiii. 140, line 533); and "to quittance all thy wrongs" is found later (p. 136) in the same play. He has it again in Philomela, and elsewhere, but it belongs to his latest work.

15. art] magic. The magic art, or art-magic, as it was called. "Art magick and sorcery" (Grafton's Chronicle (rept., i. 35), 1569). So Peele in Old Wives Tale (457, b): "Without this the conjuror could do nothing; and so long as this light lasts so long doth his art endure."

17. fortitude] vigour, strength. An unusual sense; but see Othello, i. iii. 222, and note in Arden edition, p. 44. New Eng. Dict. combines these two as "physical or structural strength," with one parallel from Eden's Travels, 1553. I find a good illustration in King Edward the Third, iii. iii.:

"As with this armour I impale thy breast
So be thy noble unrelenting heart
Wall'd in with flint of matchless fortitude."

See note at true-born, ii. iv. 27. And Hawes' Pastime (1509): "dragon's tale of myghty fortitude."

22. masculine] There is some quibbling here that is perhaps the better for not being intelligible now.
THE FIRST PART OF

Tal. Well, let them practise and converse with spirits; God is our fortress, in whose conquering name Let us resolve to scale their flinty bulwarks.

Bed. Ascend, brave Talbot; we will follow thee.

Tal. Not all together: better far, I guess, That we do make our entrance several ways, That if it chance the one of us do fail, The other yet may rise against their force.

Bed. Agreed: I'll to yond corner.

Bur. And I to this.

Tal. And here will Talbot mount, or make his grave. Now, Salisbury, for thee, and for the right Of English Henry, shall this night appear How much in duty I am bound to both.

Sent. Arm, arm! the enemy doth make assault!

[Cry: "St. George," "A Talbot."

29. all together] Rowe; altogether Ff.

27. scale . . . bulwarks] Compare Peele's David and Bethsabe (465, a): "Let us assault and scale this kingly tower." And Selimus, line 1130: "Alarum. Scale the wallies. Enter Acomat" (stage direction).

38. "St. George," "A Talbot"] See note, p. 128. This was the battle-cry at an incident in the wars which is probably the foundation of the present scene, a fictitious one so far as Orleans is concerned. After the English were compelled to retire from the "Cite of Mons" (Grafton, pp. 574, 575), through its rulers admitting the French captains from outside, they escaped to the castle of Saint Vincent, where they were sore beset. "But all their hardships had not serued, nor all their policie had not defended them, if they had not pruely sent a messenger to the Lorde Talbot. . . . The Lorde Talbot hering these newes, neyther slept nor banquetted but with all hast assembled together his valiant Captaynes, to the number of vij hundred men of warre . . . and . . . sent as an espayll Mathew Gough . . . to shewe to his countreymen that he was at hande, to be their aye and rescues. Mathew Gough so well sped, that pruely in the night he came into the Castell, where he knew howe that the French men being lorde of the Citie, and now casting no perilles, . . . beganne to waxe wanton and fell to royt. . . . When Mathew Gough had knowne all the certainty he pruely returned agayne and within a mile of the Citie met with the Lorde Talbot, and the Lorde Scales; and made open to them all thinges according to his credence, which to speede the matter, because the day approcheth, with all haste possible came to the posterne gate, and alightede from their horses, and about sixe of the clock in the morning they issued out of the Castle, cryeng Saint George, Talbot. The Frenchmen which were scarce up, and thought of nothing lesse than of this sodaine approchement, some rose out of their beds in their shirts, and lept over the walles, other ranne naked out of the gates for sauing of their lives, leaving behinde them all their apparell, horses, armour and ryches. None was hurt but such, which eyther resisted or would not yeilde, whereof some were slaine and cast in prison . . . the citie of Mons thus being reduced into the English mens hands, the lorde Talbot departed to the towne of Alanso" (The VJ Yere). See note at court of guard above (line 4) for a parallel scene from Greene's Orlando Furioso, and elsewhere in his works.
The French leap over the walls in their shirts. Enter, several ways, the Bastard of Orleans, ALENÇON, REIGNIER, half ready, and half unready.

Alen. How now, my lords! what! all unready so?
Bast. Unready! ay, and glad we 'scaped so well.
Reig. 'Twas time, I trow, to wake and leave our beds, Hearing alarums at our chamber-doors.
Alen. Of all exploits since first I follow'd arms,
Ne'er heard I of a war-like enterprise
More venturous or desperate than this.
Bast. I think this Talbot be a fiend of hell.
Reig. If not of hell, the heavens, sure, favour him.
Alen. Here cometh Charles: I marvel how he sped.
Bast. Tut! holy Joan was his defensive guard.

Enter CHARLES and LA PUCELLE.

Cha. Is this thy cunning, thou deceitful dame?
Didst thou at first, to flatter us withal,

39. unready] undressed. So in Puttenham (Arber, p. 205), 1589: "as he that said to a young gentlewoman, who was in her chamber making her selfe unready, Mistresse will you give me leave to unlace your peticote." Both expressions, "make ready" and "make unready," of a person, were in familiar use; the former is still common provincially.

43. follow'd arms] Only again in King John, ii. i. 31. It occurs in (Peele's) Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 382):—

"And rightly may you follow arms,
To rid you from these civil harms."

The prevalence of trochaic endings here is to be noticed, and in many places in this play; as in scene ii. of the last Act (e.g. ii. ii. 70-90). It is characteristic of Peele. In Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 388) the following endings occur: levy, extremity, injury, reverence, courtesy, policy, determines so. take in hand—all on a single page. They are equally prevalent in Selimus. Peele adopted them perhaps from his favourite Faerie Queene. Occasionally in that great poem Spenser gives full swing to them, as in ii. i. 57: mortality, tyranny, regality, infancy, weakest heart, basest part. Marlowe took them up also, as in Tamburlaine, Part I. ii. i. For "low arms" in Marlowe, see Tamburlaine, Part II. i. iii.:—

"But while my brothers follow arms,
my lord,
Let me accompany my gracious mother."

44. war-like] warrior-like, soldierly. Compare iv. iii. 31, below.

46. fiend of hell] Occurs again in Pericles, iv. vi. 173, and Taming of Shrew, i. i. 88.

47. favour him] support, befriend him. See Part III. iv. i. 144. So Brutus in his dying speech: "Favour my sons, favour these orphans, lords" (Locrine, i. ii.).

48. sped] fared, what sort of experience he had. A common expression. See quotation from Grafton above, at line 38.

49. defensive] See Richard II. ii. i. 48. Not elsewhere in Shakespeare, and commoner as a substantive in his time, meaning defence (Arcadia, Greene's prose works, etc.).

50. cunning] magical power, skill in the black art, supernatural cleverness. See below, iii. iii. 10, and Tempest, iii. ii. 49. And in "cunning man" commonly. Compare Greene, George-a-Greene (xiv. 157): "keepe out of my circle, Least you be torne in peeces with shee devils. Mistres Bettris, once, twice, thrice. [He throws the gown in, and she comes out.] Oh is this no cunning?"
Make us partakers of a little gain,
That now our loss might be ten times so much?

Puc. Wherefore is Charles impatient with his friend?
At all times will you have my power alike?
Sleeping or waking must I still prevail,
Or will you blame and lay the fault on me?
Improvident soldiers! had your watch been good,
This sudden mischief never could have fallen.

Cha. Duke of Alençon, this was your default,
That, being captain of the watch to-night,
Did look no better to that weighty charge.

Alen. Had all your quarters been as safely kept
As that whereof I had the government,
We had not been thus shamefully surpris'd.

Bast. Mine was secure.

Reig. And so was mine, my lord.

Cha. And for myself, most part of all this night,
Within her quarter and mine own precinct
I was employ'd in passing to and fro,
About relieving of the sentinels:
Then how or which way should they first break in?

Puc. Question, my lords, no further of the case,
How or which way: 'tis sure they found some place
But weakly guarded, where the breach was made.

63. your] F 1; our Ff 2, 3, 4.

54. impatient] irritable.
55. Improvident] heedless, unwary.

See again Merry Wives, ii. ii. 302. New Eng. Dict. has no earlier example in
this sense, although Barclay (1514), a
Scotch writer, uses the word earlier,
meaning "unforeseeing." All these
atoms of evidence of authorship are
fruitful.

59. fallen] come to pass.
60. default] fault. See below, iv.
iv. 28, and Comedy of Errors, i. ii. 52.
Throwing the blame on another in each
case—"your default."

61. captain of the watch] the officer
whose duty it was to visit the various
watches and courts of guard, or was
responsible for them. "The court of
gard is put unto the sword, And all the
watch that thought themselves so sure"
(Orlando Furioso, lines 449, 450). In
Othello, Cassio is lieutenant of the watch
when the bonfires and bottle-deep pota-
tions of carousings are going on at the
castle in Cyprus, and there (ii. i. 219) as
here the terms are indiscriminately used.

63. quarters . . . kept] kept proper
discipline in their allotted posts or
charges, Alençon had the headquarters
presumably. Compare Day, Blind
Beggar (Bullen's edition, p. 87), 1600:
"Thus have you heard your several
charges. Every one to his court of
guard and keep fair quarter." See note
at Othello, ii. iii. 185 (Arden edition, p.
106). An early use of "quarter " in the
military sense occurs in T. Bowes' trans-
lation of Primadaye's French Academie
(ch. lii.), 1586: "Every one betook him
againe to his quarter and reconciled
themselves unto their generall."

68. precinct] not used elsewhere by
Shakespeare, Marlowe uses it of a
territory sway in Tamburlaine, Part I.
(Dyce, ed. 1859, p. 10, a): "As easily
may you get the Soldan's crown. As
any prizes out of my precinct." Place
under one's control or rule. "The
pourprise and precinct" (Holland's
Plinie, xxviii. 2, p. 295 (1601), and
elsewhere).

71. But] only. A common sense.
And now there rests no other shift but this; To gather our soldiers, scatterd and dispers'd, And lay new platforms to endamage them.

Alarum. Enter an English Soldier, crying "A Talbot! A Talbot!" They fly, leaving their clothes behind.

Sold. I'll be so bold to take what they have left. The cry of Talbot serves me for a sword; For I have loaden me with many spoils, Using no other weapon but his name. [Exit.

SCENE II.—Orleans. Within the Town.

Enter Talbot, Bedford, Burgundy, a Captain, and Others.

Bed. The day begins to break, and night is fled, Whose pitchy mantle over-veil'd the earth.

SCENE II.] Capell, omitted Ff.  a Captain, and Others] Capell, omitted Ff.


77. endamage] damage. In Two Gentlemen of Verona, i. ii. 43. Common from Chaucer downward, and often spelt indamage.

78. I'll be so bold to] "Bold" in the sense of forward, free with, is frequent in Shakespeare.

79. The cry of Talbot] See note, i. i. 121, and i. iv. 42, 43. Compare Spenser's Shepheards Calendar (June), Glosses (1579): "No otherwise then the Frenchmen used to say of that valiant captain, the very scourge of Fraunce, the Lorde Thalbote, afterward Eric of Shrewsbury, whose noblesse bred such a terrour in the hearts of the French, that oft times even great armies were defaited and put to flyght at the onely hearing of his name. Insomuch that the French women, to affray their children would tell them that the Talbot commeth." (Globe edition, p. 465). Noted by Steevens, who also quotes from Drayton (see note at i. iv. 42). Greene uses this idea in George-a-Greene (Grosart, xiv. 130, i. 189-192):—

"Hath William Musgrove scene an hundred yeres? Have I beene feared and dreaded of the Scottes, That when they heard my name in any roade They fled away and posted thence amaine?"

In Saturday Review, Oct. 5, 1907, a translation of a French nursery rhyme heard recently at Rouen is given—sung as a lullaby to quiet babes, the name being Wellington. See below, ii. iii. 16.

80. loaden] Compare Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part I. i. 1:—

"milk white steeds of mine, All loaden with the heads of killed men."

And in Grafton's Continuation of Har- dyng, 1543 (p. 573): "So loaden with praises and spoiles." Often in this connection.

SCENE II.

SCENE II. This scene of erecting a tomb to Salisbury in France, is not historical. For his funeral, see note at i. iv. 2.


2. pitchy] Compare Marlowe, Doctor Faustus (Dyce, ed. 1859, 82, b):—

"The gloomy shadow of the earth, Longing to view Orion's drizzling look,
Here sound retreat, and cease our hot pursuit.

[Retreat sounded.]

**Tal.** Bring forth the body of old Salisbury, And here advance it in the market-place, The middle centre of this cursed town. Now have I paid my vow unto his soul; For every drop of blood was drawn from him There hath at least five Frenchmen died to-night. And that hereafter ages may behold

What ruin happen'd in revenge of him, Within their chiefest temple I'll erect A tomb wherein his corpse shall be interr'd: Upon the which, that every one may read, Shall be engraved the sack of Orleans, The treacherous manner of his mournful death, And what a terror he had been to France.

But, lords, in all our bloody massacre, I muse we met not with the Dauphin's grace,

3. [Retreat sounded] Capell; Retreat Ff. 6. centre] Ff 3, 4; centure F 1; center F 2.

Leaps from the Antarctic world unto the sky, And dims the weeklin with her pitchy breath."

These lines are interesting, since they are found almost word for word in the old play *The Taming of a Shrew*, circa 1594 (*Six Old Plays*, p. 16, Act i. sc. i.). Shakespeare has "pitchy day" in 3 Henry VI. v. vi. 85, and "pitchy night" later in All's Well, iv. iv. 24. See *Faerie Queene*, i. v. 20 for this passage.

2. **over-veil'd**] Shakespeare was very fond of the prefix "over," especially in his earlier work. "O'er" prevails with him later. Greene and Spenser led him the way with "over."

3. sound retreat] See Part II. iv. viii. 4 and note. A favourite phrase in the historical plays. And in Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part II. i. 1: "And they will, trembling, sound a quick retreat."

5. advance] raise (Schmidt). But perhaps "bring forward." In connection with the "dead march" in the stage direction at 11. i. 7, it seems there is some sort of funeral procession intended here, preliminary to the erection of the tomb (line 13).

5. market-place] an open space in the middle of a town; commonly referred to as the public place *par excellence*. Thus Greene in *Euphues His Censure* (Grosart, vi. 280): "calling the soul-

diers by sounde of a Trumpet to the market place: hee discoursed unto them."

7. paid my vow unto his soul] Steevens quotes from the old play of King John:—

"Thus hath King Richard's son perform'd his vow And offered Austria's blood for sacrifice Unto his father's ever-living soul."


18. massacre] A new word at this time, and found only in Shakespeare, in the historical plays (1 Henry IV., 1 Henry VI. and Richard III.) and Titus Andronicus. Marlowe has both verb (once) and substantive (title). Greene has both so often in his plays that the word is quite characteristic of them. He took it from the translation of Prim- audaye's *French Academie* (1586), the earlier example in *New Eng. Dict*. Greene uses the noun in *The Spanish Masquerado*, 1589 (Grosart, v. 282), and in *Euphues His Censure* (vi. 254). But Spenser has "And Bangor with massacred martyrs fill" (*Faerie Queene*, iii. iii. 35) and "huge massacre" (iii. xi. 29), probably earliest, and note accent.

19. I muse] I wonder—a thoroughly Shakespearian line; half-a-dozen lines
His new-come champion, virtuous Joan of Arc, Nor any of his false confederates.

Bed. 'Tis thought, Lord Talbot, when the fight began, Rous'd on the sudden from their drowsy beds, They did amongst the troops of armed men Leap o'er the walls for refuge in the field.

Bur. Myself, as far as I could well discern For smoke and dusky vapours of the night, Am sure I scar'd the Dauphin and his trull, When arm in arm they both came swiftly running, Like to a pair of loving turtle-doves That could not live asunder day or night. After that things are set in order here, We'll follow them with all the power we have.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. All hail, my lords! Which of this princely train Call ye the war-like Talbot, for his acts

20. [Arc] Rowe; [Acre Fl.] of his begin so. Compare too "the Archbishop's grace of York" ([Henry IV. ii. iii. 119].

20. new-come] See Merchant of Venice, iv. i. 109, and Richard II. v. ii. 47. Occurs in Golding's Ovid, and twice in Faerie Queene, bk. i.

21. confederates] associates, generally of an evil kind, with reference to the old legal use, accomplice. But it has not always the ill sense in Shakespeare. Sidney's Arcadia, "his old friend and confederate, the king Basilius," affords an example of the best use (ally), at the beginning of bk. v.

23. drowsy] inclining to sleep, as in Spenser's Faerie Queene, ii. iii. i: "Sir Guyon . . . Uprose from drowsie couch." Compare Othello, iii. iii. 332.

24. troops of armed men] a phrase from The Contention. See Part II. iii. i. 314 (note). And in Kyd's Cornelia, i. 173.

27. dusky vapours] "dusky sky" occurs in 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 104. "Dusky" is a rare word at this time. The expression in the text occurs in Greene's Never too Late (Grosart, viii. 68), 1590:—

"The Welkin had no racke that seemed to glide, No duskie vapour did bright Phoebus shrude."

There is a well-known passage in Marlowe's Edward the Second (Dyce, 208, b, ed. 1859):—

"Gallop apace, bright Phoebus, through the sky;
And dusky Night, in rusty iron car,
Between you both shorten the time, I pray";
which Shakespeare made use of in Romeo and Juliet, iii. ii. 1, "dusky night" being "cloudy night" at line 4. Marlowe has the term again in The Massacre at Paris. And Greene again in Euphues His Censure (vi. 233): "The gladsome yares of Phoebus had no sooner shaken of, by the consent of blushing Aurora, the dusky and darksome Mantle that denied Tellus and Flora the benefits of Tytan" (1587). Golding however is earliest, with "Duskie Plutoe's emptie Realme" (Ovid, Metamorphoses, iv. 629), and "duskie nyght" (ibid. xv. 35, 1567). Spenser prefers duskish.

28. trull] courtesan, harlot. Shakespeare gives this meaning in Burgundy's speech at iii. ii. 45. There is usually the sense of lewdness. Greene has the word very frequently.

29, 30. arm in arm . . . running. Like . . . turtle-doves] Marlowe puts this more poetically in Tamburlaine, Part I. v.: "What, are the turtles fray'd out of their nests?"
So much applauded through the realm of France?

Tal. Here is the Talbot: who would speak with him?

Mess. The virtuous lady, Countess of Auvergne,
With modesty admiring by renown,
By me entreats, great lord, thou would'st vouchsafe
To visit her poor castle where she lies,
That she may boast she hath beheld the man
Whose glory fills the world with loud report.

Bur. Is it even so? Nay, then, I see our wars
Will turn into a peaceful comic sport,
When ladies crave to be encounter'd with.
You may not, my lord, despise her gentle suit.

Tal. Ne'er trust me then; for when a world of men
Could not prevail with all their oratory,
Yet hath a woman's kindness over-ruled.
And therefore tell her, I return great thanks,
And in submission will attend on her.
Will not your honours bear me company?

Bed. No, truly, it is more than manners will;
And I have heard it said, unbidden guests

54. it is] Steevens; 'tis Ff.

Strooke to their hearts, as for a
world of gold,
I warrant you, they will not come againe."

Ben Jonson and all later poets adopt it,
Jonson varies it in one of his Masques,
1608 (Cunningham's Gifford, iii. 37, a):
"girdles, gyrlonds, and worlds of such
heads. See too Marlowe's
Tamburlaine, Part II. i. 1: "He brings
a world of people to the field."

49. oratory] eloquence. Compare
Lucrece, 564, and Titus Andronicus,
v. iii. 90. These are the earliest illustrations in New Eng. Dict. of this sense of persuasiveness.

50. over-ruled] prevailed in opinion.
The earliest instance of this meaning in New Eng. Dict. See note at over-ruedy, ii. ii. 2. See Venus and Adonis, 109.

54. manners] "good manners." Compare Greene, Carde of Fancie (Grosart, iv. 21), 1584-1587: "so shall all men have cause to prayse thee for thy manners and commend thee for thy modestie." New Eng. Dict. has an example from Lyly's Euphues, which is hardly parallel.

55. unbidden guests] were evidently a current nuisance. Chapman has "I see unbidden guests are boldest still"
Are often welcomest when they are gone.

_Tal._ Well then, alone, since there's no remedy,
I mean to prove this lady's courtesy.
Come hither, captain. You perceive my mind.  [Whispers.

_Cap._ I do, my lord, and mean accordingly.  [Exit.  60

**SCENE III.**—Auvergne. Court of the Castle.

_Enter the Countess and her Porter._

_Count._ Porter, remember what I gave in charge;
And when you have done so, bring the keys to me.

_Port._ Madam, I will.  [Exit.

_Count._ The plot is laid: if all things fall out right,
I shall as famous be by this exploit
As Scythian Tomyris by Cyrus' death.
Great is the rumour of this dreadful knight,
And his achievements of no less account:
Fain would mine eyes be witness with mine ears,
To give their censure of these rare reports.

Enter Messenger and Talbot.

_Mess._ Madam, according as your ladyship desir'd,
By message cray'd, so is Lord Talbot come.

11. Madam, . . . desir'd] as in Ff; two lines, Steevens (1793), Cambridge.

(Ovid's _Banquet of Sense_ (Minor Poems, ed. 1875, p. 34), 1595). They led to a proverb: "An unbidden guest knoweth not where to sit, or he should bring his stool along." See Heywood's _Proverbs_ (Sharman ed., p. 35), 1546. The saying occurs in Camden's _Remains_ (1614); in Day's _Law Tricks_, Act ii. (1608); in Rowley's _Match at Midnight_, and in Massinger's _Unnatural Combat_, iii. iii.

57. there's no remedy] there's no way out of it. Occurs in Chaucer's _Knights Tale_. See _Merry Wives_, ii. ii. 128 (Arden ed., note). Compare Greene, _Alphonsus_ (xii. 377): "And is there, then, no remedy for it?" And Spanish Tragedy (see Introduction).

59. perceive my mind] understand me, grasp my meaning. An obsolete case occurring again in _2 Henry VI._ iii. i. 374 and _3 Henry VI._ iii. ii. 66. Compare Grafton's _Continuation of Hardyng_, p. 526: "came to the duke in to Wales, and the dukes mynde throughly perceaued and knowne, with greate spede retourned." This is part of Grafton not from Sir Thomas More—like the quotation at "lay their heads together" ( _2 Henry VI._ iv. viii. 60). Without "mind" perceive is similarly used on p. 511.

**SCENE III.**

**SCENE III.** There is no known authority for this picturesque scene in history. But, like the last, it bears evidence of Shakespeare's hand throughout.

6. Tomyris] Ben Jonson gives "Victorious Thomyris of Scythia" third place in his _Masque of Queens_, 1609. He tells that "She is remembered both by Herodotus and Justin, [with references, 'in Clio' and 'Epit. lib. 1'] to the great renown and glory of her kind." Spenser selects her, with Semiramis and Hypsiphiph, in _Faerie Queene_, ii. x. 56.

10. give their censure] pronounce their judgment, or opinion. The same expression occurs in _2 Henry VI._ i. iii. 120 and _Richard III._ ii. ii. 144. It is a favourite one with Greene: "it is hard for him to give a censure of painting that hath but lookt into Applees shoppe" ( _Tritameron of Love_ (Grosart, iii. 78), 1584).
THE FIRST PART OF

ACT II.

Count. And he is welcome. What! is this the man?
Moss. Madam, it is.

Is this the scourge of France?
Is this the Talbot, so much fear’d abroad
That with his name the mothers still their babes?
I see report is fabulous and false:
I thought I should have seen some Hercules,
A second Hector, for his grim aspect,
And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs.
Alas! this is a child, a silly dwarf:
It cannot be this weak and writhed shrimp
Should strike such terror to his enemies.

Tal. Madam, I have been bold to trouble you;
But since your ladyship is not at leisure,
I’ll sort some other time to visit you.

14. scourge of France] See extract from Spenser, ii. ii. 79 note.
16. That with his name] See note, i. iv. 42, 43. See also iv. ii. 16. See above, ii. i. 79, note at “The cry of Talbot.”
18. 19. Hercules, A second Hector, for his grim aspect] Both Hercules and Hector were favourite heroes with Shakespeare, and are very often mentioned in affectionate and commendatory language. Hector in particular was dear to his heart, apart from the Troilus and Cressida representation. “Grim aspect” has not here the sense it now would have, of ugly, forbidding. Rather it means awe-inspiring, inflexibly stern, determined looking as befits a warrior. Shakespeare is very fond of the word, with varied shades of meaning. “Grim, sir” was a common expression in the ten years before and after this play, and it meant very little more than dignified, grave, austere. Marston has: “outstare the terror of thy grim aspect” in Antonios Revenge, iii. v. (1602). “Second” in the sense in this line occurs again in Merchant of Venice (“A second Daniel”) and in Taming of Shrew (“a second Grissel”). Greene has a passage about Hector in Euphues His Censure to Philantus (Grosart, vi. 234): “Next to these, Hector, whose countenance threateneth warres, and in whose face appeared a map of martill exploits.” Greene uses “second” in the above sense: “she should send us a second Adonis to delude our senses” (Menaphon (Grosart, vi. 96), 1589). See Alcides (note), iv. vii. 60. Hall, the Chronicler (1548), at the beginning of “The XXXI Yere,” calls Talbot “Thys Englishe Hector and marcial flower.”
20. strong-knit] Compare “well-knit” in Love’s Labour’s Lost, i. ii. 77. No early examples of “knit” in compound, excepting these two, are known to me. “Well-knit Achilles” is used (by Kyd) in Soliman and Perseda, v. iii. 72.
22. writhed shrimp] For “shrimp,” see Love’s Labour’s Lost, v. ii. 582, and note, Arden edition, p. 163. “Writhed” occurs in Marston’s Scourge of Villainy (Bullen, iii. 326): “Cold, writhed eld, his life-sweat almost spent.” It seems to be a strengthened form of “writhe” (twisted) with the idea of wrinkled thrown in. Nashe has “riueld [rivelled] barke, or outward rynde of a tree” (Terrors of Night (Grosart, iii. 257), 1594); and on the same page: “the palme of his hand is wrythen and pleyted.” He also has “wrinkled-faced” and “writhen-faced.” Steevens gives the word from Spenser: “Her writhed skin, as rough as maple rind.” Craig quotes from Gascoigne, Poesies (1575): “My writhed cheekes betray that pride of heat is past” (Poesies, ed. Cunliffe, p. 43). In Spenser the word is “wrizled.”
23. strike such terror] See quotation from Jack Straw, below, iii. iv. 10-12. And Richard III. v. iii. 217. See also Locrine, v. i, quoted at “pillars of the state,” Part II. i. i. 75.
26. sort some other time] choose some other time fittingly. Compare Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. ii. 92, and Romeo and Juliet, iv. ii. 34.
Count. What means he now? Go ask him whither he goes.

Mess. Stay, my Lord Talbot; for my lady craves
To know the cause of your abrupt departure.

Tal. Marry, for that she's in a wrong belief,
I go to certify her Talbot's here.

Re-enter Porter with keys.

Count. If thou be he, then art thou prisoner.

Tal. Prisoner! to whom?

Count. To me, blood-thirsty lord;
And for that cause I train'd thee to my house.
Long time thy shadow hath been thrall to me,
For in my gallery thy picture hangs:
But now the substance shall endure the like,
And I will chain these legs and arms of thine,
That hast by tyranny these many years
Wasted our country, slain our citizens,
And sent our sons and husbands captive.

Tal. Ha, ha, ha!

Count. Laughest thou, wretch? thy mirth shall turn to moan.

Tal. I laugh to see your ladyship so fond
To think that you have aught but Talbot's shadow
Whereon to practise your severity.

Count. Why, art not thou the man?

Tal. I am, indeed.

31. to certify her] Talbot knows she intends to detain him prisoner, and his words have the double meaning, he will inform her certainly he is Talbot, by going when he chooses.
34. train'd] allured, enticed (by a cheat). The senses of this verb need the New Eng. Dict's. elucidation. Greene uses it of baiting (a hook), and of tracking (game). See Life and Death of Ned Browne (xi. 29): "Have I knowne sundry yoong Gentlemen of England trayned forth to their own destruction." See Comedy of Errors, iii. ii. 45. In the sense of "artifice," train is found in Ben Jonson, Fox, iii. vi., and Eastward Ho, v. i.
35. shadow hath been thrall to me] "Shadow" here means image or portrait (a common sense in Shakespeare), and "thrall" is slave. Does she not mean she has been torturing his waxen representation, according to the received custom in witchcraft of the time? See ll. 45, 46.
37. substance] Playing on the "shadow" of the preceding line. The words constantly introduce one another. See note, Merry Wives, ii. ii. 216.
38. arms of thine] See note at "arms of mine," Part II. i. i. 118. And see below, iv. vi. 22, "blood I spill of thine," followed by "that pure blood of mine." See also Lucrece, 515, 1632; and Richard III. iv. iv. 331, and Titus Andronicus, 1. i. 306. Peele has it: "David the King shall wear that crown of thine." Golding has "those careless limbs of thine" (Ovid, ix. 287, 1567); he has also "heart of hirs" (vi. 794). See King Lear, i. i. 267.
41. captivate] captive. An unfrequent word, occurring again in this play, v. iii. 107. Greene uses it: as "except liberality, as a linck to knit these two in their forces, presents the minde of the soouldiers captivate by their Captaines bounty." (Enphues to Philipsus (vi. 283), 1587). And elsewhere.
Count. Then have I substance too.

Tal. No, no, I am but shadow of myself:
You are deceiv'd, my substance is not here;
For what you see is but the smallest part
And least proportion of humanity.
I tell you, madam, were the whole frame here,
It is of such a spacious lofty pitch,
Your roof were not sufficient to contain it.

Count. This is a riddling merchant for the nonce;
He will be here, and yet he is not here:
How can these contrarieties agree?

Tal. That will I show you presently.

Winds his horn. Drums strike up; a peal of ordnance.
Enter Soldiers.

How say you, madam? are you now persuaded
That Talbot is but shadow of himself?
These are his substance, sinews, arms, and strength,
With which he yoketh your rebellious necks,
Razeth your cities, and subverts your towns,
And in a moment makes them desolate.

Count. Victorious Talbot, pardon my abuse:

59. Winds his horn . . . ] Fl; Winds. . . . The gates are forced; and enter certain of his troops. Capell.

54. pitch] elevation. Marlowe, 13 (a), Greene, iv. 103.
56. riddling] The reference is to the old saying, "riddle me, riddle me right," accompanying divinations, as in siting embers, letting fall a staff, cup-tossing or handy-dandy. See example from Nashe in next note. And Peele, Old Wives Tale (Dyce, 449, a): "Riddle me a riddle, what's this?" And especially apt is (Peele's) Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodslcy, v. 402): "Riddle me a riddle, what's this, I shall be hanged, I shall not be hanged. [Here he tries it with a staff.]
56. riddling merchant] fellow who speaks in riddles. For "merchant" as a contemptuous appellation, see Romeo and Juliet, ii. iv. 153. It was in frequent use. Nashe has the verb to riddle: "riddle me, riddle me, what was he that told a very friend of his he would owe never a pennie in England" (Pasquis Apologie (Grosart, i. 219), 1590). Graton has a good instance of merchant: "a false and counterfeited prophet called Peter Wakefield, a Yorkshire man, who was an Hermite, an idle gadder about, and a pratling merchant" (i. 239, 1569).
56. for the nonce] as occasion requires.
See again Hamlet, iv. vii. 161, and 1 Henry IV, i. ii. 201. Used frequently by Chaucer, and common afterwards.
58. contrarieties] contradictions. See again Coriolanus, iv. vi. 73.
62. sinews . . . strength] Compare Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part II. i. :
   "Stout lanciers of Germany,
The strength and sinews of the imperial seat."
64. subverts] destroys, overthrows. Compare Spenser, Faerie Queene, iii. xii. 42:
   "Those goodly rowmes, which erst
She saw so rich and royally arayed
Now vanisht utterly and cleanly subvest."
   "Subversion" occurs in 2 Henry VI, iii. i. 205. Neither is again in Shakespeare. See extract from Hall in 3 Henry VI, ii. i. 111.
I find thou art no less than fame hath bruited,
And more than may be gather'd by thy shape.
Let my presumption not provoke thy wrath;
For I am sorry that with reverence
I did not entertain thee as thou art.

_Tal._ Be not dismayed, fair lady; nor misconstrue
The mind of Talbot as you did mistake
The outward composition of his body.
What you have done hath not offended me;
No other satisfaction do I crave,
But only, with your patience, that we may
Taste of your wine and see what cates you have;
For soldiers' stomachs always serve them well.

_Count._ With all my heart, and think me honoured
To feast so great a warrior in my house.    

[Exeunt.

SCENE IV.—London. The Temple Garden.

_Enter the Earls of Somerset, Suffolk, and Warwick;
Richard Plantagenet, Vernon, and a Lawyer._

_Plan._ Great lords and gentlemen, what means this silence?
Dare no man answer in a case of truth?

72. _misconstrue_ Ff; _misconstrue_ Rowe, Cambridge. 77. _your_ F 1; _our_ Ff 2, 3–4.

_SCENE IV._

_SCENE IV._ omitted Ff.  Enter . . . ] Capell; Enter Richard Plantagenet, Warwick, Somerset, Poole, and others F 1. 1. _Plan._ ] Rowe; Yorke Ff (and throughout the Scene).

67. _bruited_ ] reported. See again 2 Henry _IV._ 1. i. 114. A very common word with Greene.

72. _misconstrue_ ] misconstrue. A distinct form, not often kept so by editors. In Richard _III._ 3. i. v. 61, "Misconstrue us in him and wayle his death," demands the accent on the second syllable, as the passage before us does. It is not so easily placed there in _misconstrue._ The same holds good in Merchant of Venice, ii. ii. 197; and _As You Like It,_ i. ii. 277. But in _1 Henry IV._ and _Julius Caesar_ the folio has "misconstrued." The spelling was undergoing the change at the date of the folio. But since the accent is never on the last syllable in Shakespeare, the earlier form is best. Greene has "misconster" invariably in his verse—not so in his prose. See quotation from _Jack Straw_ (Peele?) at "misconceived" (v. iv. 49).


79. _stomachs_ ] appetites. In the limited use here (hunger for food), compare Peele, _Old Wives Tale:_ "Eumenides walks up and down and will eat no meat. . . . Eum. Hostess, I thank you, I have no great stomach." And in _Locrine,_ ii. ii., when Strumbo challenges a soldier to fight, he says: "Come, sir, will your stomach serve you?"

_SCENE IV._

_SCENE IV._ There is no authority in history for this scene and its sequel (iii. iv. 28–45; iv. i. 78–161).
Suf. Within the Temple hall we were too loud;  
The garden here is more convenient.

Plan. Then say at once if I maintain'd the truth,  
Or else was wrangling Somerset in the error?  
Suf. Faith, I have been a truant in the law,  
And never yet could frame my will to it;  
And therefore frame the law unto my will.

Som. Judge you, my Lord of Warwick, then, between us.

War. Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch;  
Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth;  
Between two blades, which bears the better temper;  
Between two horses, which doth bear him best;  
Between two girls, which hath the merriest eye;  
I have perhaps some shallow spirit of judgment;  
But in these nice sharp quillets of the law,  
Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw.

Plan. Tut, tut! here is a mannerly forbearance:

The truth appears so naked on my side  
That any purblind eye may find it out.

7. truant] idler.  
11. pitch] a hawk's utmost height of flight. Compare King Edward III. ii. i. 87:—  
"Fly it a pitch above the roar of praise,  
For flattery fear not thou to be convicted"

(1595). And Brewer's Lingua, v. xvi. (1607):—  
"And by the lofty towering of their minds  
Fledged with the feathers of a learned muse  
They raise themselves unto the highest pitch."

And Ben Jonson, New Inn, i. i.:—  
"Thou  
Commendst him fitly."

Fer. To the pitch he flies, sir."  
And see 2 Henry VI. ii. i. 6, 12.  
12. deeper mouth] Compare Taming of the Shrew, Induction, i. 18.  
16. shallow ... judgment] See 3 Henry VI. iv. i. 62.  
17. quillets] subtleties, fine distinctions. See note to Love's Labour's Lost, iv. iii. 285 (Arden ed., p. 102). Occurs again in 2 Henry VI. iii. i. 261, and though rare outside Shakespeare, the word is in six different plays, the earliest example known being in Love's Labour's Lost. "As for me, my purpose is not to judge and determine of these doubtfull quillets, and their causes: but to set downe and shew the nature of such things as be cleare and apparent" (Holland's Plinius, bk. xi. ch. iii., 1601).

18. no wiser than a daw] Compare The Trial of Treasure (Hazlitt's Dodsley, iii. 273), 1567: "Well said, Greedy-gut, as wise as a daw." And Golding's Ovid, vi. 47-49:—  
"I am not such a Dawe,  
But that without thy teaching I can well ynowgh advise  
My selfe"


Som. And on my side it is so well apparell'd,
So clear, so shining, and so evident,
That it will glimmer through a blind man's eye.

Plan. Since you are tongue-tied and so loath to speak,
In dumb significants proclaim your thoughts:
Let him that is a true-born gentleman
And stands upon the honour of his birth,
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
From off this brier pluck a white rose with me.

Som. Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the truth,
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.

War. I love no colours, and without all colour
Of base insinuating flattery
I pluck this white rose with Plantagenet.

Suf. I pluck this red rose with young Somerset,
And say withal I think he held the right.


Shakespeare, as in Love's Labour's Lost, iii. i. 151, it means blind, which
(see Skew) is the primary sense, meaning pure-blind; later confused with
"pore," as if poring.

22. apparell'd] decked out, adorned.

A common figurative use. See Comedy of Errors, iii. ii. 12.

25. tongue-tied] A favourite expression, occurring a dozen times in Shake-
speare. It occurs again in 3 Henry VI. and in Richard III. I have notes of
it in Palsgrave, 1530; in Nashe's Have with you to Saffron Walden (Grosart,
iii. 47), 1596; and twice in Lyly's Woman in the Moone (circa 1580), Fair-

26. significants] signs, symbols. In
this emblem thus in show significant." See the use of the word in
Love's Labour's Lost, iii. i. 131. The
word here may be equated with significance.

There was a strange confusion in
certain words, owing to identity of sound, which is to be noticed. See my
note to assistants in Love's Labour's Lost, v. i. 113 (Arden ed., p. 120),
where I give a quotation from Nashe (Grosart, iv. 256) for the word "observ-
ants" = observance. "Occurrents" meaning "occurrence" is not uncom-
mon. "Exigents" for "exigence" is another case in point of this indiscrimi-
ate usage. Pope read significance.

27. true-born gentleman] "true-born
Englishman" is in Richard II. i. iii.
309. "True-born sovereign occurs
twice in Act iii. scene iii. of King
Edward the Third, a play which bears
evident marks of Shakespeare's hand.
See note at "base-born," Part II. i. iii.
86, and at "mean-born," Part II. iii.
i. 335.

28. stands upon the honour of his
birth] insists on it, prides himself on it.
See Merry Wives of Windsor, ii. ii. 21
(Arden ed., p. 83), where I have quoted
the expression from Nashe's Pierce
Penilesse (Grosart, ii. 15), 1592.
It occurs earlier in Harvey (nearly):
"Standinge altogether uppon terms
of honour and exquisite forms of
speaches" (Letters (Grosart, i. 122),
1573-81). "Stand upon points" and
"stand upon terms" both occur in
Greene's plays.

32. maintain . . . truth] support the
true party.

34. I love no colours] I love no tricks,
or deceits, quibbling on the colours of
the roses. See Love's Labour's Lost,
iv. ii. 156: "I do fear colourable
colours." In 2 Henry IV. v. v. 91,
the quibble is with "collar." "I fear
no colours" contains yet another
quibble (on flags, ensigns, etc.),
and became a very common expression a
little later than this play (Twelfth
Night, Ben Jonson's Sejanus, etc.).
Ver. Stay, lords and gentlemen, and pluck no more
Till you conclude that he, upon whose side
The fewest roses are cropp'd from the tree,
Shall yield the other in the right opinion.
Som. Good Master Vernon, it is well objected:
If I have fewest I subscribe in silence.
Plan. And 1.
Ver. Then for the truth and plainness of the case,
I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here,
Giving my verdict on the white rose side.
Som. Prick not your finger as you pluck it off,
Lest bleeding you do paint the white rose red,
And fall on my side so, against your will.
Ver. If I, my lord, for my opinion bleed,
Opinion shall be surgeon to my hurt,
And keep me on the side where still I am.
Som. Well, well, come on: who else?
Law. Unless my study and my books be false,
The argument you held was wrong in you;
In sign whereof I pluck a white rose too.
Plan. Now, Somerset, where is your argument?
Som. Here in my scabbard; meditating that
Shall dye your white rose in a bloody red,
Plan. Meantime your cheeks do counterfeit our roses:
For pale they look with fear, as witnessing
The truth on our side.

Som. No, Plantagenet,
'Tis not for fear but anger that thy cheeks
Blush for pure shame to counterfeit our roses,
And yet thy tongue will not confess thy error.
Plan. Hast not thy rose a canker, Somerset?
Som. Hast not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet?
Plan. Ay, sharp and piercing, to maintain his truth;
Whilst thy consuming canker eats his falsehood.

65. thy] Ff 1, 2; my Ff 3, 4.

43. objected] thrown out, proposed, adduced. Steevens quotes from Chapman's Homer's Odyssey, bk. xxxi.: "Excites Penelope's object the prize (The bow and bright steeles) to the wooers' strength." And in Greene's Repentance (Grosart, xii. 158), 1592: "So is youth apt to admit of every vice that is objected unto it." A better instance is that referred to in New Eng. Diet. "For the maintenance of witches transportations, they object the words of the Gospel, where the devill is said" etc. (R. Scot, Discoverie of Witchcraft (Nicholson's reprint, p. 82), 1584).

68-71. canker ... consuming canker] the caterpillar or larva that feeds on blossoms. One of Shakespeare's commonest metaphors. Found in his contemporaries more sparingly. Compare Marlowe. Edward II. (Dyce, ed. 1859, p. 195, a):—
"A lofty cedar . . .
And by the bark a canker creeps me up,
Som. Well, I'll find friends to wear my bleeding roses, That shall maintain what I have said is true, Where false Plantagenet dare not be seen.

Plan. Now, by this maiden blossom in my hand, I scorn thee and thy faction, peevish boy.

Suf. Turn not thy scorns this way, Plantagenet.

Plan. Proud Pole, I will, and scorn both him and thee.

Suf. I'll turn my part thereof into thy throat.

Som. Away, away! good William de la Pole: We grace the yeoman by conversing with him.

War. Now, by God's will, thou wrong'st him, Somerset: His grandfather was Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Third son to the third Edward, King of England.

Spring crestless yeomen from so deep a root?

Plan. He bears him on the place's privilege, Or durst not, for his craven heart, say thus.

Som. By him that made me, I'll maintain my words On any plot of ground in Christendom. Was not thy father, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, For treason executed in our late king's days? And by his treason stand'st not thou attainted, Corrupted, and exempt from ancient gentry? His trespass yet lives guilty in thy blood; And, till thou be restored, thou art a yeoman.

Plan. My father was attached, not attainted,

And gets into the highest bough of all."

And Greene, Never too Late (Grosart, viii. 16): "the finest buds are soonest nipt with frosts, the sweetest flowers sorest eaten with cankers"; and Ma-millia (viii. 132), 1583: "rather then for tales of troth, thinking and fearing to find in ye fairest rose, a foule canker: and in finest speech, foulest falsehood." See extract from Grafton at iv. i. 162, 163, for the "canker'd malice" between York (Richard Plantagenet) and Somerset.

85. crestless] ignoble, not bearing arms. A Shakespearian word, not found again. See note at ii. v. 12 below.

86. He bears him on ... privilege] "he shapes his conduct to the liberty the place affords him: he presumes on the privilege of the place" (Schmidt, p. 88, b). See above, line 14. And compare Richard II. ii. i. 116: "Presuming on an ague's privilege."

88. I'll maintain my words] This language is developed in Mowbray's famous challenge (Richard II. 1. i. 63-65).

89. in Christendom] See 2 Henry VI. ii. i. 120 and 3 Henry VI. iii. ii. 83.

90. attainted] tainted, disgraced, smirched. A word of Spenser's: "Phoebus golden face it did attain" (Faerie Queene, 1. vii. 34). And in Peele's Sir Clyomon (531, b, Routledge): "Therefore I'll take me to my legs, seeing my honour I must attain."


96. attached, not attainted] arrested, not convicted. Compare "of capital treason I attach you both," in 2 Henry IV. iv. ii. 109. For "attained" in this sense, see 2 Henry VI. ii. iv. 59. But does not line 97 here show that he was convicted? If so, Plantagenet means that he was not disgraced by the conviction, being innocent. Richard, Earl of Cambridge was executed (with Lord Scrope and Sir Thomas Gray) by Henry the Fifth in his third year. There was much question raised after-
Condemn'd to die for treason, but no traitor;
And that I'ill prove on better men than Somerset,
Were growing time once ripe'n'd to my will.
For your partaker Pole and you yourself,
I'1l note you in my book of memory,
To scourge you for this apprehension:
Look to it well and say you are well warn'd.

Som. Ah, thou shalt find us ready for thee still,
And know us by these colours for thy foes;
For these my friends in spite of thee shall wear.

Plan. And, by my soul, this pale and angry rose,
As cognizance of my blood-drinking hate,
Will I for ever and my faction wear,
Until it wither with me to my grave
Or flourish to the height of my degree.

Suf. Go forward, and be chok'd with thy ambition:
And so farewell until I meet thee next.


Plan. How I am brav'd and must perforce endure it!
War. This blot that they object against your house
Shall be wip'd out in the next parliament,

wards as to the amount of his guilt.
See Grafton, p. 512. In any case
Plantagenet maintained there was no treason.
See below, v. 60 et seq. and v. 100.

98. prove on better men] Compare
Greene, George-a-Greene (xiv. 154, l. 713): "Ile prove it good upon your carcasses." Frequent in Shakespeare.
100. partaker] supporter—one who
takes a part. Not found again in Shake-
spere. Sidney used it in Arcadia
(ante 1586): "no more solemnized by
the tears of his partakers than by the
blood of his enemies" (bk. ii.). It
occurs in the chroniclers Hall and
Grafton. See quotation at iii. 1. 90.

101. note you in my book of memory] Compare
"table of my memory," Ham-
let, i. v. 98. Peele has "enrol his
name in books of memory" twice in
A Poem in Praise of Chastity from
Phoenix Nest (1593). But not parallel.

102. apprehension] notion, view, idea
upon the subject. Very likely Hol-
fornes' sense in Love's Labour's Lost,
iv. ii. 63.

103. well warn'd] soundly lectured and
cautioned. Compare Locrine, iii.
3: "You have your rhetoric so ready at
your tongue's end, as if you were never
well warned when you were young."

108. cognisance] badge. "He made
a law also the same time, against the
excessive takyng of Vishrie the Jewes,
and that they should ware a certaine
cognisance upon their uppermost gar-
ment, whereby they should be knowne
from Christians" (Grafton, i. 285, Ed-
ward the First, The VIIJ Yere). And
again (p. 300): "there met her sixe
hundrith Citizens in one Luyere of red
and white, with the cognisance of
duiers misteries [trades] brodered upon
their slues."

108. blood-drinking] See the last line
of this scene. Craig compares King
John, iii. i. 342, 343; Steevens cites
"Dry sorrow drinks our blood" from
Romeo and Juliet, iii. v. 59. See too
"blood-drinking sighs," 2 Henry VI,
iii. ii. 63, and "blood-drinking pit,
Titus Andronicus, ii. iii. 224.

112. chok'd with thy ambition] A
favourite expression. See below, ii. v.
123 and Part II, iii. i. 143. This sort
of moral suffocation occurs several times
in other plays of Shakespeare, and
seems to be rather peculiar to him.

115. brav'd] insulted, defied.
Call'd for the truce of Winchester and Gloucester; And if thou be not then created York, I will not live to be accounted Warwick. Meantime, in signal of my love to thee, Against proud Somerset and William Pole, Will I upon thy party wear this rose. And here I prophesy: this brawl to-day, Grown to this faction in the Temple garden, Shall send between the red rose and the white A thousand souls to death and deadly night. Plan. Good Master Vernon, I am bound to you, That you on my behalf would pluck a flower. Ver. In your behalf still will I wear the same. Law. And so will I. Plan. Thanks, gentle sir. Come, let us four to dinner: I dare say This quarrel will drink blood another day. Exeunt.

SCENE V.—The Tower of London.

Enter Mortimer, brought in a chair by two Gaolers.

Mor. Kind keepers of my weak decaying age, Let dying Mortimer here rest himself. Even like a man new haled from the rack, So fare my limbs with long imprisonment; And these grey locks, the pursuivants of death, Nestor-like aged in an age of care,

132. gentle sir] Ff 2, 3, 4; gentle, F 1.

Scene v.

6. an age] a cage Collier MS.

121. signal] sign, token.
126, 127. Shall send . . . A thousand souls to death] Reminding one of Peele's Arraignment of Paris, iii. ii. (1584):— "This little fruit if Mercury can spell, Will send, I fear, a world of souls to hell." "Spell" means foretell. See 3 Henry VI. ii. v. 97-102.
127. deadly night] the night of death, death. Compare "Withhold this deadly hour" (Faerie Queene, ii. iii. 34). Fatal.

Scene v.

5. pursuivants of death] state messengers. Lyly has this figure earlier in The Woman in the Moon, iv. 1 (Fairholt, p. 188), circa 1580: "Ascend thou winged pursuivant of love." But the full metaphor is found in a fine passage in King Edward the Third, iv. iv.:-

"Now, Audley . . . let those milkwhite messengers of time Show thy time's learning in this dangerous time,"

6. Nestor-like aged] Greene takes Nestor as a type of old age in this casual manner several times:— "this minute ends the days Of him that lived worthy old Nestors age" (Orlando Furioso, Grosart, xiii. 187, 1.
Argue the end of Edmund Mortimer.
These eyes, like lamps whose wasting oil is spent,
Wax dim, as drawing to their exigent;
Weak shoulders, overborne with burdening grief,
And pithless arms, like to a wither’d vine
That droops his sapless branches to the ground:
Yet are these feet, whose strengthless stay is numb,

1419); and in Alphonsum (at the end):
"Take her I say, and live King Nestors eyes." See North’s Plutarch (ed.
1812, p. 354). 1579: "Thus he lived as Nestor, in name three ages of men."
And Peele’s Polyhymnia, 1590: "the noble English Nestor’s sons" (line 177).

7. Edmund Mortimer was made prisoner by Owen Glendower in the
first year of Henry the Fourth (Gratian, p. 455): "he also made warre upon the
Lord Edmund Mortimer, Erle of Marche . . . and toke him prisoner, and
fettered him in Cheynes, and cast him in a deep and miserable Dungeons.
And later, in the fourth year of Henry the Sixth (p. 569): "During
which season Edmund Mortimer, the last Erle of Marche of that name (which
long time had been restrained from his libertie and finally waxed lame) de-
ceased without issue, whose inheritance descended to Lord Richard
Plantagenet, sonne and heyre to Rich-
ard Erle of Cambridge, behedded as you have heard before, at the towne
of Southampton. Which Richard, within lesse then XXX yeares as heyre
to this Erle Edmund . . . clavmed ye crowne and sceptre of this Realme."
"This season." is the Parliament which arranged the differences between
Gloucester and Winchester. There is no occasion here to enter into the
disputed question as to the identity of this Edmund Mortimer, who was
apparently confounded with his kins-
man by the author of this play, and
by the old historians. See Steevens’
Shakespeare, ix. 569-73, 1793. It is
dealt with by Ritson. Malone and
Steevens.

8. lamps whose wasting oil] Compare
Richard II. 1. iii. 221:—
"My oil-dried lamp and time-
bewasted light
Shall be extinct with age."
8. 9. eyes . . . Wax dim] Compare
Peele, Arraignment of Paris (369, a, Dyce), 1574: "Then first gan Cupid’s
eyesight waxen dim." And his Tale of

Troy (556, a) 1590: "The Trojans
glory now gan waxen dim." And
(Peele and Greene’s) Locrine, i. 1:—
"Mine eyes wax dim o’ercast with
clouds of age."

9. exigent] end, extremity. Compare
Sidney’s Arcadia, bk. ii. (ed.
1738, p. 184): "Now was Zelmae
brought to an exigent, when the King
turning his eyes that way." And
Greene, Philomela (Grosart, xi. 200):
"I, even I that committed the deed,
though to the exigent of mine own
death, could not but burst forth."

10. overborne with . . . grief] Greene
has the line "Assaild with shame,
with horror overborne," twice in A
Looking Glasse for London (xiv. 96,
97). Not illustrated in New Eng. Diet.,
and Shakespeare has no parallel for
"overborne with." See below, ii. i.
53.

Othello, i. iii. 83, the primary sense of
"pith" being narrow. Compare
"crestless," ii. iv. 85.

11. like to a wither’d vine] Compare
Peele, Polyhymnia (569, a):—
"Oershadowed with a wither’d run-
ning vine
As who should say, my spring of
youth is past."
Marlowe is fond of this simile—of a
king. He has it twice in Edward the
Second:—
"This Spenser, as a putrefying
branch
That deads the royal vine"
(204, b). And again:—
"So shall not England’s vine be per-
ished
But Edward’s name survive"
(213, a).

11, 12, 13. pithless . . . sapless . . .
strengthless] This assemblage of new
compounds is remarkable, and this
scene (like the last) being assuredly
all Shakespeare’s is worthy of close
attention. "Sapless" occurs again (iv.
v. 4) below: "strengthless" is in Lucrece,
709, and Venus and Adonis, 153,
Unable to support this lump of clay,
Swift-winged with desire to get a grave,
As witting I no other comfort have.
But tell me, keeper, will my nephew come?

First Gaol. Richard Plantagenet, my lord, will come:
We sent unto the Temple, unto his chamber,
And answer was return'd that he will come.

Mor. Enough; my soul shall then be satisfied.
Poor gentleman! his wrong doth equal mine.
Since Henry Monmouth first began to reign,
Before whose glory I was great in arms,
This loathsome sequestration have I had;
And even since then hath Richard been obscured,
Depriv'd of honour and inheritance:
But now the arbitrator of desairs,
Just death, kind umpire of men's miseries,
With sweet enlargement doth dismiss me hence.
I would his troubles likewise were expired,
That so he might recover what was lost.

19. unto his] F 1; his F 2, 3, 4; to his Rowe.

2 Henry IV. 1. i. 141. We are reminded of Marlowe here, who rejoiced in these terms. He uses remediless, timeless, ruthless, quenchless, removeless, expressless, resistless, hapless. Needless to say it is only this peculiarity recalls Marlowe here—nothing of the style. And Golding had already (Ovid's Metamorphoses) used wiveless, knotless, hurtless, luckless, pleasureless, tongueless, lightless, headless, heedless, helpless. See Introduction.

13. numb] An uncommon word in Shakespeare, occurring again only in Titus Andronicus and Richard III. "Numbed" is in Lear. Compare Peele, Old Wives Tale (450, a):

"And brought her hither to revive the man,
That seemeth young and pleasant to behold,
And yet is aged, crooked, weak and numb."

And later (457, a) in the same play:
"these are my latest days. Alas, my veins are numb'd, my sinews shrink."
Spenser has "My flesh is numb'd with fears" in Daphnoida (stanza 60). The adjective is earlier (Townley Mysteries) in New Eng. Dict.


23. Since Henry Monmouth first began to reign] See note at line 7. It is quite obvious that Grafton (or Hall) supplied the situation. Mortimer's being brought forth at the point of death from his prison, is a fine dramatic conception and not inconsistent with what the historian tells. Whether it be true history or not is of no consequence. Shakespeare was not writing history.

25. sequestration] seclusion, separation. See Othello, i. iii. 351, note, Arden ed., p. 56. See Henry V. i. i. 58. "Sequester" is a not infrequent word at this time, but the term in the text seems to be rare outside Shakespeare. Properly a legal term.

28, 29. arbitrator . . umpire] Compare Romeo and Juliet, iv. i. 63, where "the original signification of determination by an umpire is still perceptible" (Schmidt). And see Troilus and Cressida, iv. v. 225. The only two examples of figurative use of the word in New Eng. Dict.

30. sweet enlargement] happy release.
THE FIRST PART OF

Enter Richard Plantagenet.

First Gaol. My lord, your loving nephew now is come.
Mor. Richard Plantagenet, my friend, is he come?

Plan. Ay, noble uncle, thus ignobly used,
Your nephew, late-despised Richard, comes.

Mor. Direct mine arms I may embrace his neck,
And in his bosom spend my latter gasp:
O! tell me when my lips do touch his cheeks,
That I may kindly give one fainting kiss.
And now declare, sweet stem from York’s great stock,
Why didst thou say of late thou wert despised?

Plan. First, lean thine aged back against mine arm,
And in that case I’ll tell thee my disease.
This day, in argument upon a case,
Some words there grew ’twixt Somerset and me;
Among which terms he used his lavish tongue
And did upbraid me with my father’s death:
Which obloquy set bars before my tongue,
Else with the like I had requited him.
Therefore, good uncle, for my father’s sake,
In honour of a true Plantagenet,
And for alliance sake, declare the cause
My father, Earl of Cambridge, lost his head.

Mor. That cause, fair nephew, that imprison’d me,
And hath detain’d me all my flow’ring youth

47. Among] F 1; Amongst Ff 2, 3, 4.

36. late-despised] lately despised.
See below at “late-betrayed,” III. ii. 82.
38. latter gasp] See note at i. ii. 127.
This is the form in the Second Part of
Wheatstone’s Promos and Cassandra,
1578 (Six Old Plays, p. 102):—
“That I the grace may have
At latter gaspe the fear of death
to kyll.”
44. disease] trouble, distress. So in
Selimus (Grosart’s Greene, xiv. 209, l.
388):—
“Nought but the Turkish scepter
can him please,
And there I know lieth his chiefe
disease.”

For the play on words in ease, disease, see also at line 6, “-aged in an age of
care,” and at line 35, “noble uncle thus ignobly used.” Mr. Woollett in a
letter to me parallels these from Marlowe’s Faustus. And see Tamburlaine, Part II. v. iii.: “pitch their
pitchy tents.” Sidney’s Arcadia gave
an impetus to this kind of writing, which was very common.
47. lavish tongue] unrestrained, licentious. “Lavish” was expressly used of
the tongue from an early date, in the form of “lavish of the tongue.” See
New Eng. Dict. But the following examples (not in New Eng. Dict.) are
from Shakespeare’s favourite writer, Arthur Golding’s Ovid, 1565-67:—
“This person for his lavas tongue
and telling tales might seeme
To have deserved punishment”
(bk. v. 683-84). And again:—
“and there with lavas tongue
Reported all the wanton words
that he had heard me sung”
(bk. vii. 1070, 1071). “Lavish tongue”
occurs also in The Contention, at 2
Henry VI. iv. i. 64. And in Marlowe’s
Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. 2: “rein their
lavish tongues.”

56. flow’ring] flourishing, vigorous.
Not an unfrequent early expression.
Within a loathsome dungeon, there to pine,
Was cursed instrument of his decease.

Plan. Discover more at large what cause that was,
For I am ignorant and cannot guess.

Mor. I will, if that my fading breath permit,
And death approach not ere my tale be done.
Henry the Fourth, grandfather to this king,
Depos'd his nephew Richard, Edward's son,
The first-begotten and the lawful heir
Of Edward king, the third of that descent:
During whose reign the Percies of the north,
Finding his usurpation most unjust,
Endeavour'd my advancement to the throne.
The reason moved these war-like lords to this
Was, for that—young King Richard thus remov'd,
Leaving no heir begotten of his body—
I was the next by birth and parentage;
For by my mother I derived am
From Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son
To King Edward the Third; whereas he
From John of Gaunt doth bring his pedigree,
Being but fourth of that heroic line.

71. King] Ff 2, 3, 4; omitted F 1.

New Eng. Dict. quotes Phædr's Æneid, 158, b:—

"the bodies twayne
Of Almon, flouring lad, and good
Galesus foulye slayne."

Craig quotes from Helyas, Knight of the Swan (p. 103, ed. 1827): "the saide maiden . . . was in pleasauent age of flouringe youth." In Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure (1509) "her grene flouryng age" occurs (reprint, pp. 73, 86). The first words of (Dame Juliana Berners) Treatise of Fysshynge wyth an Angle (1496) are: "Salomon in his parablys saith that a good spryte makyth a flourynge age, that is a fayre age & a longe." These lines (55 to 60) are worthy of note. They are remarkably mean, giving a feeling of a hand inferior to most of the writing in this scene.

57. loathsome dungeon] See note at line 7, above: "deepe and miserable dungeon."

61-90. The title here given might have been taken from Camden's Britannia. See Holland's translation (p. 725), 161 a, where it is set forth more explicitly than in the earlier historians. Camden goes on, after quot-
THE FIRST PART OF

But mark: as in this haughty great attempt
They laboured to plant the rightful heir,
I lost my liberty and they their lives.

Long after this, when Henry the Fifth,
Succeeding his father Bolingbroke, did reign,
Thy father, Earl of Cambridge, then derived
From famous Edmund Langley, Duke of York.
Marrying my sister that thy mother was,
Again in pity of my hard distress
Levied an army, weening to redeem
And have install’d me in the diadem;
But, as the rest, so fell that noble earl,
And was beheaded. Thus the Mortimers,
In whom the title rested, were suppress’d.

Plan. Of which, my lord, your honour is the last.

Mor. True; and thou seest that I no issue have,
And that my fainting words do warrant death.
Thou art my heir; the rest I wish thee gather:
But yet be wary in thy studious care.

Plan. Thy grave admonishments prevail with me:
But yet methinks my father’s execution
Was nothing less than bloody tyranny.

Mor. With silence, nephew, be thou politic:
Strong-fixed is the house of Lancaster,

80. labour’d] Rolfe calls attention to
"the many instances in this play in
which the final edition of the past tense
or participle is made a distinct syllable.
This metrical peculiarity occurs far
more frequently, we think, than in any
of the undoubted plays of Shakespeare,
even the earliest." Peake often sounds
it similarly in his early work. In one
column of Arraignment of Paris (366, a,
Routledge, Act iv.), he has destined,
intitled, praised, pardon’d, measured.

88, 89. Levied an army... diadem] Malone
says this is "another falsification of
history. Cambridge levied no
army, but was apprehended at South-
ampton," etc. See note at line 96 in
the last scene. The words may be
a little strong, but there was foundation.
Graffon says: "the king byeng in
a readiness to advance forwarde [for
France], sodeinly he was credibly in-
formed, that Richard Erle of Cambridge,
brother to Edward, Duke of Yorke, and
Henry Lorde Scrope and Sir Thomas
Gray had conspired his death and utter
destruction, wherefore he caused them
forthwith to be apprehended... they
not onely confessed the conspiracie,
but also declared that for a great somme
of money which they had receyued of
the French Kyng they entended eyther
to deluyer the king alive into the handes
of his enemieys, or else to murther him"
(p. 511). This implies a force. How-
ever, there is no mention of one in
Henry the Fifth, ii. ii.

98. admonishments prevail] Graffon supposcs
the following: "Of this man [Constantine
the Great] the kynges of Briteyn had
first the priutlegie to weare close
Crownes or Diademes" (i. 70(A.D. 310),
1569). The word occurs frequently in
these three plays. It was an especial
favourite with Greene, who has it per-
haps fifty times in his half-dozen plays,
disdaining the commonplace crown.

35; 36:—
"Experience doth of long continu-
ance spring,
Despire not mine admonishment."
And again in bk. xii. line 391.
And like a mountain, not to be removed.
But now thy uncle is removing hence,
As princes do their courts, when they are cloy'd
With long continuance in a settled place.

Plan. O, uncle! would some part of my young years
Might but redeem the passage of your age.

Mov. Thou dost then wrong me, as that slaughterer doth
Which giveth many wounds when one will kill.
Mourn not, except thou sorrow for my good;
Only give order for my funeral:
And so farewell; and fair be all thy hopes,
And prosperous be thy life in peace and war!

[Dies.

Plan. And peace, no war, befall thy parting soul!
In prison hast thou spent a pilgrimage,
And like a hermit overpass'd thy days.
Well, I will lock his counsel in my breast;
And what I do imagine let that rest.
Keepers, convey him hence; and I myself
Will see his burial better than his life.

[Execut Gaolers, bearing out the body of Mortimer.
Here dies the dusky torch of Mortimer,
Chok'd with ambition of the meaner sort:
And for those wrongs, those bitter injuries,
Which Somerset hath offer'd to my house,
I doubt not but with honour to redress;
And therefore haste I to the parliament,
Either to be restored to my blood,
Or make my ill the advantage of my good.

103. mountain, not to be removed
Compare King John, ii. i. 452. From Isaiah liv. 10: “For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed: but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall my covenant of peace be removed, saith the Lord.” Steevens gives a poor parallel from Paradise Lost.

106. long continuance See again Tempest, iv. i. 197; and quotation above at “admonishment,” l. 98.

108. redeem the passage of your age prolong your days; ransom your death.

108. passage of your age] departure, going-hence, death. Compare Greene:—
“... Let me at thy dying day in-treate
By that same sphere wherein thy soule shall rest,
If Jove denye not passage to thy ghost,
Thou tell me”

(Orlando Furioso, Grosart, xiii. 186, l. 1390.) See Hamlet, iii. iii. 86.

115. parting soul] departing soul. Spenser has “And when life parts vouchsafe to close mine eye” (Daphnaida, stanza 73). See again Henry V. ii. iii. 12.


117. overpass'd] Only here and in Richard III. (twice) in Shakespeare. It is in Golding’s Ovid, iv. 729; and in Spenser, Peele, and Greene.

122. dusky] See ii. ii. 27 above. Compare Marlowe’s Massacre at Paris:—
“If ever Hymen grond’t at marriage-rites,
And had his altars deck’d with dusky lights.”

123. Chok’d with ambition] See above, ii. iv. 112.

128. blood] rank due to my blood.
ACT III


Flourish. Enter King Henry, Exeter, Gloucester, Warwick, Somerset, and Suffolk; the Bishop of Winchester, Richard Plantagenet, and Others. Gloucester offers to put up a bill; Winchester snatches it, tears it.

Win. Com’st thou with deep premeditated lines, With written pamphlets studiously devis’d, Humphrey of Gloucester? If thou canst accuse, Or aught intend’st to lay unto my charge, Do it without invention, suddenly;

As I with sudden and extemporal speech Purpose to answer what thou canst object.

Glou. Presumptuous priest! this place commands my patience Or thou should’st find thou hast dishonour’d me. Think not, although in writing I preferr’d The manner of thy vile outrageous crimes, That therefore I have forged, or am not able

See Lucrece (Dedication). A word with a remarkable career. Spenser in his Dedication of Daphnaida says: "I recommende this pamphlet . . . to your honourable favour."


8. Presumptuous] Outside these three plays (in each of which it occurs) Shakespeare uses this word only once (All's Well). A favourite word with Greene beginning a line as here: "Presumptuous Viceroy, darst thou check thy Lord" (A Looking Glass for London, Grosart, xiv. 12, l. 121). For "poufed presumptuous," from Faerie Queene, see note at iv. vii. 88. A far older word, common in Berner's Froissart, etc.

10. preferr'd] brought forward.
Verbatim to rehearse the method of my pen:
No, prelate; such is thy audacious wickedness,
Thy lewd, pestiferous, and dissentious pranks,
As very infants prattle of thy pride.
Thou art a most pernicious usurer,
Froward by nature, enemy to peace;
Lascivious, wanton, more than well beseems
A man of thy profession and degree:
And for thy treachery, what’s more manifest?
In that thou laid’st a trap to take my life,
As well at London Bridge as at the Tower.
Beside, I fear me, if thy thoughts were sifted,
The king, thy sovereign, is not quite exempt
From envious malice of thy swelling heart.

Win. Gloucester, I do defy thee. Lords, vouchsafe

23. London Bridge] Ff; London-bridge Cambridge. 27. vouchsafe] vouch-
sake F 2.

13. Verbatim] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Compare Greene, Tul-
lies Love (Grosart, vii. 133): “I have not translated Lentulus letter verbatim
words for words” (1589).
15. pestiferous] pernicious, mischief-
ous. Occurs again, All’s Well, iv. iii. 340. Greene has it twice at least:
“no regard of God or man could pro-
hibit him from his pestiferous purpose”
(Mamillia, Grosart, ii. 118). Later in
Mamillia (186) the word has the literal
sense. See extract from Grafton at iv.
i. 162-3.
15. dissentious] quarrelsome. Also a
word of Greene’s: “dissentious quarrels” Planetomachia, v. 85), and else-
where.
17. a most pernicious usurer] See note
about Winchester in Henry the Fifth’s
opinion, at ii. iii. 23, 24. The passage
quoted there from Grafton (p. 572) states
further: “he obteyned that dignitie [the
Cardinalate] to his great profite, and to
the impourerishing of the spiritualitie.
For by a Bull Legantine, which he
purchased at Rome, he gathered so
much treasure that no man in maner
had money but he, and so was he sur-
named the rich Cardinal of Win-
chester.” The “Bull Legantine,”
which explains the usury, is also re-
ferred to, i. iii. 35. This especial usury
is, I believe, again borne in mind in
Measure for Measure, iii. ii. 7.
19. 20. more than well beseems A man
of thy profession] “neither calledlearned
Bishop, nor vertuous Priest” (Grafton,
p. 572).
22, 23. take my life . . . at London
Bridge as at the Tower] For the
Tower, see i. iii. Item 3 of the Accusations
says: “My sayd Lorde of Win-
chester, untruely and agaynst the kinges
peace, to the entent to trouble my sayd
Lorde of Gloucester going to the King,
purposing his death in case that he had
gone that way [to Eltham to frustrate
Winchester’s design in Item 2], set men
of armes and Archers at the ende of
London bridge next Southwarke: and
forbarring of the kings highway, let
draw the cheyne of the Stulpes there,
and set up Pypes and Hardels in maner
and forme of Bulwarke: and set men
in Chambers, Sellers and Windows, with
Bowes and arrowes and other weapons
to the entent to bring to finall destruc-
tion my sayde Lorde of Gloucesters
person, as well as of those that then
should come with him” (Grafton, p. 563).
24. sifted] examined in detail, scru-
ninised.
25. The king . . . not quite exempt] See note at i. i. 171, and at i. iii. 70
(note at line 4). See Item 3 of Accu-
sations in previous note.
26. swelling heart] This line is re-
peated (nearly) in Titus Andronicus, v.
iii. 13. And compare Peele’s Alcazar, ii.
iii.: “The fatal poison of my swelling
heart” where the old printer’s confusion
of “prison” (quarto) occurs. Spenser
has “hart-swelling hate” (Mpiopolmos).
To give me hearing what I shall reply.
If I were covetous, ambitious, or perverse,
As he will have me, how am I so poor?
Or how haps it I seek not to advance
Or raise myself, but keep my wonted calling?
And for dissension, who preferreth peace
More than I do, except I be provoked?
No, my good lords, it is not that offends;
It is not that that hath incensed the duke:
It is, because no one should sway but he;
No one but he should be about the king;
And that engenders thunder in his breast,
And makes him roar these accusations forth.
But he shall know I am as good—

Glou.

Thou bastard of my grandfather!

Win. Ay, lordly sir; for what are you, I pray,
But one imperious in another’s throne?

Glou. Am I not protector, saucy priest?

Win. And am I not I a prelate of the church?

Glou. Yes, as an outlaw in a castle keeps,
And useth it to patronage his theft.

41. good—] Ff 2, 3, 4; good. F 1.
Ff 3, 4.

42. Thou bastard of my grandfather!] The Bishop of Winchester was an illegitimate son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Katharine Swynford, whom the Duke afterwards married (Malone).

43. lordly] proud, stuck-up. Only in Lucrece, 1731 (in a good sense); in Richard III. iv. iv. 369 (a doubtful reading); and in this play and 2 Henry VI. several times. Compare Greene’s Frier Bacon (Grosart, xiii. 54):—

"Then lordly sir, whose conquest is as great
In conquering love as Cæsars victories."

Peele has “my lordly breast” in Battle of Alcasar, i. ii. And in Jack Straw (Peele?): “Your majesty and all your lordly train” (Hazlitt’s Dodsley, v. 392).

44. imperious] imperial, majestical; used sarcastically and insolently with the same sense as lordly. A favourite word (seriously) with Marlowe:—

“For there sits Death; there sits imperious Death,
Keeping his circuit by the slicing edge”

(Tamburlaine, Part 1. v. i.) and again in The Massacre at Paris (ed. Dyce, p. 238. a):—

“Am I thus to be jested at and scorn’d?
’Tis more than kingly or imperious.”

45. saucy priest] overbearing, insolent. Shakespeare was particularly partial to this word: “Playing so the sawcy Jacke” is in Golding’s Ovid, xiii. 289. In Greene.

47. castle keeps] Compare (Peele’s) Jack Straw (Hazlitt’s Dodsley, v. 387): “I heard say he would keep the castle still for the king’s use.” And see extract from Hall’s Chronicle (1548) at 3 Henry VI. i. ii. 49.

48. patronage] Greene seems to be responsible for this barbaric verb. The passage in the text was the earliest in New Eng. Dict. proof, but I was able to furnish the following: “Pallas... the goddesse did most patronage learning and souldiers” (Euphues his Censure to Philautus (Grosart, vi. 151), 1587). He has it in the body of the same tract (p. 239): “it is no offence in Pallas temple to treate of wisdome, nor at Venus altars to parle of loves: sith
Win. Unreverent Gloucester!
   Thou are reverent,
   Touching thy spiritual function, not thy life.
Win. Rome shall remedy this.
War. Roam thither then.
Som. My lord, it were your duty to forbear.
War. Ay, see the bishop be not overborne.
Som. Methinks my lord should be religious,
And know the office that belongs to such.
War. Methinks his lordship should be humbler;
It fitteth not a prelate so to plead.
Som. Yes, when his holy state is touch’d so near.
War. State holy or unhallow’d what of that?
   Is not his grace protector to the king?
Plan. [Aside.] Plantagenet, I see, must hold his tongue,
   Lest it be said “Speak, sirrah, when you should;
   Must your bold verdict entertalk with lords?”


the goddesses doo patronage such affections.” The previous example is from the Epistle Dedicatory; and Greene has the verb in three other such epistles, dating about 1589-1590. The verb occurs only once elsewhere in Shakespeare, in this play, below, iii. iv. 32.

51. Rome . . . Roam] See Skeat’s Etymological Dictionary on this word. He has an example of the Romans roaming (ramden) as early as Layamon, the word pronounced broad, and akin to ramble. The root was distinct, but the verb was influenced by the early pilgrimages. Steevens found the quibble in Nashe’s Lenten Stuffs, 1599: “three hundred thousand people roamed to Rome for purgatorie pils and paternal veniall benedicitions” (Grosart, v. 247). Rolfe says: “Elsewhere Rome seems to be pronounced Room. Compare the quibbles in King John, iii. i. 180, and Julius Caesar, i. ii. 156, and the rhymes in Lucrece, 715, 1644.” Barnaby Googe rhymes Rome with come and some in The Pofish Kingdome, 1570; and with groom (spelt grome). In Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales “roomy” rhymes “to me.” For the speaker’s [Warwick] presence in this scene, see note below, 135.

53. overborne] borne down, subdued. See v. i. 60. “Overborne with” has occurred already, ii. v. 10 (note).

58. touch’d so near] concerned so closely, as in Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. i. 60:—
   “I am to break with thee of some affairs
   That touch me near.”
But the expression here is stronger in meaning, and identical rather with the old “touch one nigh,” that is, hit, hurt, annoy. Compare Caxton’s Reynard the Fox, 1481: “The foxe herde alle thys worde which touchid hym nygh” (Arber, p. 32); and again: “And yt I may come to speche and may be herde I shal so answere that I shal touch somone nygh ynowh” (Arber, p. 60). See Othello, ii. iii. 225, for the sense of wounding; and The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune (Hazlitt’s Dodson, vi. 140), circa 1580:—
   “He hath been lately rubb’d and
   touch’d perhaps too near;
   Which he ne can or will put up
   without revenge.”

63. entertalk with] Explained by Schmidt: “engage in, begin” conversation with lords. But I think it was meant to be one word, “enter” standing for “inter” as was commonly
Else would I have a fling at Winchester.

_K. Hen._ Uncles of Gloucester and of Winchester,

The special watchmen of our English weal,

I would prevail, if prayers might prevail,

To join your hearts in love and amity.

O! what a scandal is it to our crown,

That two such noble peers as ye should jar.

Believe me, lords, my tender years can tell

Civil dissension is a viperous worm,

That gnaws the bowels of the commonwealth.

_[A noise within._ “Down with the tawny coats!”

What tumult ’s this?

_War._

An uproar, I dare warrant,

Begun through malice of the bishop’s men.

_[A noise again._ “Stones! stones!”

the case. Greene has entermeddle, enterrupt, etc. Compare “interparleys” in Lodge’s _Euphues Golden Legate_ (Shaks. Library, p. 80, Hazlitt ed.), and “interprater” in Lyly’s _Sapho and Phao_, iv. iii. But the word itself actually occurs in Golding’s _Ovid_ (ii. 201), 1565-67, and there is no better storehouse of Shakespearean language:—

“While Phebus and his rechelesse sonne were entertalking this;

Aeous, Aethon, Phlegon, and the firie Pyrois

The restlesse horses of the Sunne

began to ney so hie,”

Compare “enterdeale” in _Mother Hubbard’s Tale_ (520, a, Globe); and “enterblinning” in Sylvester’s _Du Bartas_ (1591), p. 27, ed. 1626.

64. _have a fling at_ have a go, or crack at; make an attempt upon. A favourite expression with Greene but not found in Shakespeare elsewhere.

“They must have one fling at women? dispraysing their nature? (Mamillia) (Grosart’s Greene, ii. 76, 77, 1583).

“Hearing as he travelled abroad of this Marian, did meanto have a fling at her” (Defence of Conyn-Catching (xi. 87), 1592). “Mullidor . . . sayd he would icopard a loynt, and the next day have a fling at her” (Never too Late (vii. 190), 1590); and again (p. 218), “dis- sension will have a fling amongst the meanest.” _New Eng. Dict._ gives “have their false flynges” from Bale, 1550, which is not identical, so that the expression is of or belonging to Greene. Oliphant (who is not reliable) gives earlier examples in _New English._

From the “flinging at” (Gabriel Harvey, i. 164) or kicking of a horse. Here used figuratively, an attack in words, a taunt. The expression is also in Kyd’s _Spanish Tragedy_. iii. xii. 21.

66. _watchmen_ guardians. Compare _Hamlet_, i. iii. 46.

72. _viporous_ Occurs again in _Coriolanus_, iii. i. 287, and _Cymbeline_, iii. iv. 41. Venomous, malignant. Gabriel Harvey uses it several times in _Pierses Supererogation_, 1592, 1593. But the allusion is to the viper and the mother’s womb (or bowels) myth. See passage from Sylvester quoted in _3 Henry VI_. ii. v. 12.

72. 73. _worm_ . . . _of the commonwealth_ more familiar as “caterpillar of the commonwealth,” as in _Richard II_. ii. iii. 166. This expression occurs in every writer of the time almost, sometimes with a mocking allusion to “pillars of the state,” but often with a reference to the word “piller” (or poller). Stephen Gosson used it on his title: “The Schoole of Abuse containing a pleasant inuictive against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, lesters, and such like caterpillers of a commonwealth” (1579). In _Polimanteia_ (1595) it is varied to “canker of a commonwealth.” Harrison’s _Description of England_, xi. (New Shaks. Soc. p. 217), 1577, is the earliest I have met; “But in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but liche the sweat from the true laborers browes.” Greene has it in several places.

73. _tawny coats_ See _i_. iii. 28.
Enter Mayor.

May. O! my good lords, and virtuous Henry,
    Pity the city of London, pity us.
The bishop and the Duke of Gloucester's men,
    Forbidden late to carry any weapon,
Have fill'd their pockets full of pebble stones,
    And banding themselves in contrary parts,
Do pelt so fast at one another's pate,
That many have their giddy brains knock'd out:
    Our windows are broke down in every street,
And we for fear compell'd to shut our shops.

[Enter Servingmen, in skirmish, with bloody pates.

K. Hen. We charge you, on allegiance to ourself,
    To hold your slaught'ring hands and keep the peace.
Pray, uncle Gloucester, mitigate this strife.

First Serv. Nay, if we be forbidden stones, we'll fall to it with our teeth.

Second Serv. Do what ye dare; we are as resolute.

[Skirmish again.

Glou. You of my household, leave this peevish broil,
    And set this unaccustom'd fight aside.

First Serv. My lord, we know your grace to be a man
    Just and upright, and, for your royal birth,
Inferior to none but to his majesty;
    And ere that we will suffer such a prince,
So kind a father of the commonweal,
To be disgraced by an inkhorn mate,

86. ourself] our selves Ff 2, 3, 4.

78-80. The bishop . . . pebble stones] Boswell Stone quotes here from Fabyan (596), that this Parliament of the Arbitrament "was clepyd of the Comon people the Parlyament of Battes: the cause was, for Proclamacyons were made that men shulde leue their swords and other wepeyns in theyr Inny, the people toke great batte and stauids in theyr neckes, and so folowed theyr lorde and maisters unto the Parlyament. And when that wepyn was Inhybyted, theym, then theye toke stony and plummettes of lede, and trusseyd them secretly in theyr sleuys and bosomys" (Shakespeare's Holinshed, p. 221).


81. contrary] Accent on middle syllable. Shakespeare used it as he pleased. See King John, iv. ii. 198, and iii. i. 10 for both quantities.

83. giddy] A word characteristic of Shakespeare, like "saucy."

85. shut our shops] Grafton has (p. 562): "the whole realme was troubled with them and their parte takers: so that the Citezens of London . . . were fayne to keepe daylie and nightly watches, as though their enemies were at hande to besiege and destroy them: In so much that all the shoppes within the Citie of London were shut in for feare of the favourers of these two great personages."

92. unaccustom'd] unusual, indecorous, uncouth.

99. inkhorn mate] bookish fellow, scribbling chap. For "mate," see 2
We and our wives and children all will fight,
And have our bodies slaughter'd by thy foes.

Third Serv. Ay, and the very parings of our nails
Shall pitch a field when we are dead.

Glou. Stay, stay, I say!

And if you love me, as you say you do,
Let me persuade you to forbear awhile.

K. Hen. O! how this discord doth afflict my soul.
Can you, my lord of Winchester, behold
My sighs and tears and will not once relent?
Who should be pitiful if you be not?
Or who should study to prefer a peace
If holy churchmen take delight in broils?

War. Yield, my lord protector; yield, Winchester;
Except you mean with obstinate repulse
To slay your sovereign and destroy the realm.

104. And] An Dyce (S. Walker conj.).

Henry IV. ii. iv. 134, and Taming of a Shrew, i. i. 58. A very common term in Greene's plays (Grosart, xiii. 124, 138, 342, 396, 306, etc.). "Inkhorn" in this sneering sense is not found in Shakespeare. Compare Greene, Monaphon (Grosart, vi. 82): "an inkhorne desire to be eloquent"; and the introduction to it by Nashe (1589): "count it a great peece of art in an inkhorne man, in anie tasterlie tearmes whatever" (vi. 14). "Inkorn terms" and "smells all of the inkehorne" are in Udall's Erasmus (1542), p. 243, Robert's reprint.

102. parings of our nails] anything pointed if stakes could not be found, with allusion to nails as weapons as well as to the old proverb for miserliness: "she will not part with the paring of her nayles. She toyleth continually for avayles" (Heywood's Proverbs ed. Sharman, p. 79, 1546). "Not his pored nayle will he foregoe" (Hall's Satires, iv. iii. 68, 1598). "A wretch, pinchpeny, penny-father . . . one that would not part with the paring of his nails" (Cotgrave, in v. Chiche). "You shall finde moreover among the Grecke writers, not a few, that . . . left not out the verie paring of the verie nails but they could pick out of them some fine Physick" (Holland, Plinie, xxviii. 1 (p. 293), 1601). The expression occurs in Comedy of Errors, iv. iii. 72, in a passage to be explained by Scot's Discoverie of Witchcraft and not by a reference to Marlowe's Faustus as is suggested by Mr. Cunningham (Arden ed.). The proverb is found in Mabbe, Celestina (Act xii), 1631; and in Ray. These references may be acceptable, since New Eng. Dict. does not help nor the commentators. It is quite Shakespearian to re-adapt a popular proverbial expression.

103. pitch a field] See note at i. i. 116. As distinguished, "plain field," seems to have implied the absence of stakes. "In so much that at length the father and the sonne [William Rufus and Robert] met in plaine field with two great hostes, and eyther with other fought a cruel Battail" (Grafton, i. 166). "Pitch a field" is a common expression in Grafton.

113. refulse] denial, rejection, rebuff. New Eng. Dict. has only one example (from a Scotch writer, 1555) preceding the date of this play. Greene uses it of the serious rebuff Mahomet gives, "out of the brazen head," to the craving priests in Alphonsus (Grosart, xiii. 38, 1. 1293):—

"Call this sentence back againe,
Bring not the Priests into this dangerous state:
For when the Turke doth heare of this refulse,
We shall be sure to die the death therefore."
You see what mischief and what murder too
Hath been enacted through your enmity:
Then be at peace, except ye thirst for blood.

Win. He shall submit, or I will never yield.

Glou. Compassion on the king commands me stoop;
Or I would see his heart out ere the priest
Should ever get that privilege of me.

War. Behold, my lord of Winchester, the duke
Hath banish’d moody discontented fury,
As by his smoothed brows it doth appear:
Why look you still so stern and tragical?

Glou. Here, Winchester, I offer thee my hand.

K. Hen. Fie, uncle Beaufort! I have heard you preach
That malice was a great and grievous sin;
And will not you maintain the thing you teach,
But prove a chief offender in the same?

War. Sweet king! the bishop hath a kindly gird.
For shame, my lord of Winchester, relent!
What! shall a child instruct you what to do?

Win. Well, Duke of Gloucester, I will yield to thee;
Love for thy love and hand for hand I give.

Glou. [Aside.] Ay; but, I fear me, with a hollow heart.
See here, my friends and loving countrymen,

This token serveth for a flag of truce
Betwixt ourselves and all our followers.
So help me God, as I dissemble not!

Win. [Aside]. So help me God, as I intend it not!

K. Hen. O loving uncle, kind Duke of Gloucester,
How joyful am I made by this contract!
Away, my masters! trouble us no more;
But join in friendship, as your lords have done.

First Serv. Content: I'll to the surgeon's.
Second Serv. And so will I.
Third Serv. And I will see what physic the tavern affords.

[Execunt Mayor, Servingmen, etc.

War. Accept this scroll, most gracious sovereign,
Which in the right of Richard Plantagenet
We do exhibit to your majesty.

Glou. Well urged, my Lord of Warwick: for, sweet prince,
And if your grace mark every circumstance,
You have great reason to do Richard right;
Especially for those occasions
At Eltham-place I told your majesty.

K. Hen. And those occasions, uncle, were of force:
Therefore, my loving lords, our pleasure is
That Richard be restored to his blood.

War. Let Richard be restored to his blood;
So shall his father's wrongs be recompens'd.

Win. As will the rest, so willeth Winchester.

K. Hen. If Richard will be true, not that alone,
But all the whole inheritance I give
That doth belong unto the house of York,
From whence you spring by lineal descent.

Plan. Thy humble servant vows obedience
And humble service till the point of death.

K. Hen. Stoop then and set your knee against my foot;
And, in reguerdon of that duty done,
I girt thee with the valiant sword of York:
Rise, Richard, like a true Plantagenet,
And rise created princely Duke of York.

Plan. And so thrive Richard as thy foes may fall!
And as my duty springs, so perish they
That grudge one thought against your majesty!

All. Welcome, high prince, the mighty Duke of York!


Glow. Now will it best avail your majesty
To cross the seas and to be crown’d in France.
The presence of a king engenders love
Amongst his subjects and his loyal friends,

171. girl] See again 2 Henry VI. i. 1. 65; and compare engirt, which occurs a couple of times in this latter play. An old form of "gird," to which it was giving place. Greene has it in Frier Bacon (xiii. 77, l. 1659): "And girt faire England with a wall of brasse." And A Looking Glasse for London (siv. 51, l. 1095): "Go girl thy loines and hast thee quickly hence." Peele uses the exact expression in Descensus Astreae (1591):—

"In whose defence my colours I ad-

171. 173. I girt thee . . . Duke of York] This occurrence is in its historical sequence: "when the great fyre of this
discention, beetweene these two Noble personages was thus . . . utterly quenchéd out, and layde vnder boorde.
. . . For ioj whereof the king caused a
solempne feast to be kept on whitson
Sunday, on the which daye he created
Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire
to the Erle of Cambridge (whom his
father at Hampton had put to execution,
as you before have heard), Duke of Yorke,
not foreseeing before, that this prefer-
ment shoule be his destruction" (Graf-
ton, i. 570). These events, as well as
the death of Mortimer, belong to the
fourth year of the king. Several of the
preceding occurrences in this play took
place in the fifth to the tenth years. The crowning in France, which occurs here immediately (l. 180, below), belongs to the tenth year (after the death of Joan).

176. grudge one thought] "think an en-
vious thought" (New Eng. Dict., with no other example of the construction).
"To grudge" was commonly used for to be inwardly discontented, generall
with "against," as here. "To grudge a thought" is to have a grudging thought.
"Olympia (although she grudged inwardly, yet being loath to offiend) helde her peace" (Greene's Menaphon (Grosart, vi. iii.), 1587). And Grafton's Con-
tinuation of Hardyng (494): "albeit hys hearte grudged that he was not afore made of councel in this matter."

178. ignoble] See v. iv. 7 and note.

179-183. "It was most apt and mete, for the time present, that King Henry in his royall person, with a new armie, should come downe into Fraunce,partely
to comfort and visite his awne subjects
there, partly eyther by fear or favour
(because a childe of his age and beautie
doth commonly allure to him the harte
of the elder persons) to cause the French-
men to continue in their due obeysaunce
towarde him" (Grafton, i. 590. The X
Yere). In Grafton the removal to
France, with a great host, takes place immediately after these words, and "The Coronation of King Henry the Sixt in Paris, sacred king of Fraunce," followed at once in the year 1431. The intimation here is chronologically and dramatically misplaced. See scene iv. of this Act, and the beginning of the next Act. Such jumbling is impossible to a play constructed by Shakespeare. Dramatically, we are to suppose the
As it disanimates his enemies.

K. Hen. When Gloucester says the word, King Henry goes;
   For friendly counsel cuts off many foes.

Glow. Your ships already are in readiness.

[Senet. Flourish. Exeunt all but Exeter.

Exe. Ay, we may march in England or in France,
   Not seeing what is likely to ensue.
This late dissension grown betwixt the peers
   Burns under feigned ashes of forg'd love,
And will at last break out into a flame:
   As fester'd members rot but by degree,
Till bones and flesh and sinews fall away,
   So will this base and envious discord breed.
And now I fear that fatal prophecy
Which in the time of Henry nam'd the Fifth
   Was in the mouth of every sucking babe;
That Henry born at Monmouth should win all,
And Henry born at Windsor should lose all;

186. Senet.] Senet. F r; omitted, Ff 2, 3, 4.    Exeunt all . . . ]Capell;
Exeunt, Manet, Exeter, Ff.    190. lose] loose F r; should lose, Ff 2, 3, 4.

events of the next two scenes take place while the king is on his voyage.
183. disanimates] disheartens, discourages. New Eng. Dict. gives an earlier example (1583) from Stubbes' Anatomie of Abuses, ii. 39 (New Shaks. Soc. 183-2). I find it in Nashe's Christes Tears (Grosart, iv. 261): "They [the Romans] with thunder from any enterprise were disanimated, we nothing are amated." An uncommon word.
190. feigned ashes . . . forg'd love] These terms are constantly jingled together by Greene: "his great promises and small performance, his fained faith and forged flatterie" (Mamillia (Grosart, ii. 153), 1587). "To forge a feyned tale" (Alphonsus, Grosart, xiii. 341, l. 262). And the first line of the Prologue to Selimus: "No fained toy nor forged Tragedie" (Grosart, xiv. 103). But Peele is in evidence also: "that I should forge or feign with you my love in aught" (Sir Clynoun, 492, a); and Spenser: "That feigning dreame, and that faire-forged Spright" (i. 2, 2).
192. fester'd members] A metaphor that Greene would have written. Compare Mamillia (Grosart, ii. 125), 1583: "The surgon, when the festring Fistuloe hath by long continuance made the sound flesh rotten, can neither with lenitive plaisters, nor cutting corasives be cured: so love craveth but only time to bring the body and mind to bondage." See Hall's Chronicle, p. 245.
195. that fatal prophecy] Grafton has this: "And duryng the time of this seige was borne at Wyndsore the kings sonne called Henry whose Godfathers were John Duke of Bedford, and Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Iaquet Duches of Holland was Godmother, whereof the king was certeyled lyeng at the siege of Meaux, at the which he much rejoysed, but when he heard of the place of his nativity, whether he fantasied some olde blind prophecie, or else judged of his sonnes fortune, he sayde to the Lorde Fitz Hugh his Chamberley these wordes. My Lorde, Henry borne at Monmouth, shall small time reigne and get much; And Henry borne at Wyndsore shall long reigne and loose all: But as God wyll, so be it" (Reprint, vol. i. p. 545).
197. sucking babe] Occurs in Golding's Ovid, 1565-67. "Sucking child" is the Biblical expression. Greene uses it ludicrously as here: "the king commanded upon paine of death, none should eate for so many dayes, no, not the sucking infant" (Looking Glass for London, xiv. 108, l. 2500).
198, 199. win all . . . lose all] So in Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng, p. 547 (1543): "intendying vyterly ether to lose all or els to wynne all."
SCENE II.—France. Before Rouen.

Enter Joan la Pucelle disguised, with four soldiers with sacks upon their backs.

Joan. These are the city gates, the gates of Roan,
Through which our policy must make a breach:
Take heed, be wary how you place your words;
Talk like the vulgar sort of market men
That come to gather money for their corn.
If we have entrance, as I hope we shall,
And that we find the slothful watch but weak,
I'll by a sign give notice to our friends,
That Charles the Dauphin may encounter them.

First Sold. Our sacks shall be a mean to sack the city,
And we be lords and rulers over Roan;
Therefore we'll knock.

[Knocks.

Watch. [Within.] Qui est là?

Puc. Paysans, pauvres gens de France:
Poor market folks that come to sell their corn.


1. the gates of Roan] This fictitious
2. capture of Rouen is perhaps an adap-
3. tion of a story told by the chroniclers
4. of The XIX. Vere (1441), (Grafton,
5. 621, 622): "The Frenchmen had
6. taken the town of Evreux, by treason
7. of a fisher. Sir Fraunces Arragonoys
8. heeryng of that chance apperrelled sixe
9. strong men like rustickall people with
10. sacks and baskettes as cariers of corne
11. and vitaille, and sent them to the Castell
12. of Cornill in the which divers English
13. men were kept as prisoners; and he
14. with an imbuschment of Englishe men
15. lay in a Valay nie to the fortresse.
16. These sixe Companions entred into the
17. Castle unsuspected and not mistrusted,
18. and straight came to the Chamber of
19. the Captayne and layde handes upon
20. him, gevyng knowlege thereof to their
21. imbuschement, which sodainly entred
22. the Castell and slue and toke all the French
23. men prisoners, and set at libertie al the
24. Englishe men, which thing done they
25. set the Castell on fire and departed
26. with great spoyle to the citie of Roan.
27. Thus the Ladie victorie sometime
28. smiled on the Englishe part and some-
29. time on the French syde. Thus one
30. gayned this day, and lost on the next.
31. Thus fortune chaunged and thus
32. chance hapned, accordyng to the olde
33. proverbe, saiyng: in warre is nothing
certaine, and victorie is ever doubtfull."

2. policy] start again, as in iii. iii. 12.
3. market men] marketing folks.
4. " "Men know (quoth I) Have heard
5. now and then,
6. How the market goeth by the
7. market men"

(Heywood's Proverbs (Sharman ed. p.
8. 66), 1546).

10. mean] means. Used interchange-
9. ably. "They perceived well that there
10. was none other meane, but to defend
11. their cause with dent of sworde" (Graft-
12. ton, i. 270, 1568, 1569, reprint).
13. 10. sack the city] Falstaff gives us this
14. quibble much better. "Ay, Hal; 'tis
15. hot, 'tis hot, there's that will
16. sack a city. [The Prince draws out a bottle of Sack.]"
17. (I Henry IV. v. iii. 56). The expres-
18. sion "sack a city" is often in Greene's
19. prose, as in Euphues his Censure to
20. Philautus (twice), etc. etc.
Watch. [Opens the gate.] Enter, go in; the market bell is rung.
Puc. Now, Roan, I'll shake thy bulwarks to the ground.
[Exeunt.

Enter Charles, the Bastard of Orleans, Alençon, and Forces.

Cha. Saint Denis bless this happy stratagem! And once again we'll sleep secure in Roan.

Bast. Here enter'd Pucelle and her practisants; Now she is there how will she specify Where is the best and safest passage in?

Alen. By thrusting out a torch from yonder tower; Which, once discern'd, shows that her meaning is, No way to that, for weakness, which she enter'd. 25

Enter Joan la Pucelle on the top, thrusting out a torch burning.

Puc. Behold! this is the happy wedding torch That joineth Roan unto her countrymen, But burning fatal to the Talbotites. [Exit.

Bast. See, noble Charles, the beacon of our friend, The burning torch in yonder turret stands.

Cha. Now shine it like a comet of revenge, A prophet to the fall of all our foes!

17. [Exeunt.] Ft; Guard open: and Pucelle, and her soldiers, enter the city. Capell. the Bastard of Orleans] Bastard Ft; Reignier Cambridge; omitted Ft; and forces Capell. 21, 22. specify Where . . . in?] Rowe; specifie? Here . . . in Ft. 23, 33. Reignier.] Ft; Alençon. Capell. 25. on the top] Ft; on a battlement Capell. 28. Talbotites] Theobald; Talbonites Ft; Talbotines Hanmer. 31. shine] Ft 1, 2; shines Ff 3, 4.


20. practisants] confederates in the scheme.

25. No way to that] no way to compare with that. Compare Marlowe, "few of Malta, iv. i. "There is no music to a Christian's knell." And Greene, James the Fourth (Grosart, xiii. 225): "No fishing to the sea, nor service to a king." A frequent idiom.

29, 30. See . . . the beacon of our friend, The burning torch] Boswell Stone suggests that an incident in the betrayal of Le Mans to the French may have suggested this. It is told by Grafton (The VI Yere): "When the daye assigned and the night appointed was come, the French Captaines priuely approched the towne, making a little fire on an hill in the sight of the towne, to signifie their comming and approching. The Citzens . . . shewed a burning Cresset out of the Steeple, which sodainly was put out and quenched. What should I saye, the Captaines on horseback came to the gate, and the Traytors within slye the porters and watchmen and let in their friends" (p. 574).

31. shine it like a comet] may it shine. Compare Peele, David and Belsasbe (467, b): "hate's fire . . . Making thy forehead like a comet, shine."
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

Alen. Defer no time, delays have dangerous ends; Enter, and cry "The Dauphin!" presently, And then do execution on the watch.  

[Alarum. Exeunt.]

An alarum. Enter Talbot in an excursion.  

Tal. France, thou shalt rue this treason with thy tears, If Talbot but survive thy treachery.  
Pucelle, that witch, that damned sorceress, Hath wrought this hellish mischief unawares, That hardly we escap'd the pride of France.  

[Exit. 40]

Alarum. Excursions. Bedford, brought in sick in a chair. Enter Talbot and Burgundy without: within La Pucelle, Charles, Bastard, Alençon, and Reignier, on the walls.  

Puc. Good morrow, gallants! Want ye corn for bread?  


33. Defer no time] The verb occurs again 2 Henry VI. iv. vii. 142, and doubtfully in Richard III. (Qn neglect). Greene has the expression in A Looking Glasse for London (Grosart, xiv. 80, l. 1813):—  
"The hour is nigh; defer not time,  
Who knowes when he shall die?"

New Eng. Dict. gives the phrase from Hall's Chronicle (1548) and Lyly's Euphues. See extract from Hall in 3 Henry VI. ii. 1. iii.

33. delays have dangerous ends] An old proverb occurring in various forms. Hazlitt quotes from Havelok the Dane: "Delay hath often wrought scathe" (ed. Skeat, l. 1352, circa 1300?). And see Chaucer, Troilus and Cresside, iii. 122. And Lyly, Euphues (Arber, p. 65), 1579: "Delays breed dangers." Gascoigne gives the Latin: "I found . . . that this proverbe was all too true, Omnis mora trahit periculum" (Princely Pleasures at Knitwolfe, 1575, Nicholls' Progresses, ed. 1823, i. 516). And Greene, Alphonus (Grosart, xiii. 373, l. 1080):—  
"I see tis time to looke about,  
Delay is dangerous and procureth harme."

35. do execution on] Occurs again twice in Titus Andronicus, which is the earliest use in New Eng. Dict. (1589). I find it in Golding's Ovid (viii. 686, 687), 1565-7: "his mothers gilty hand had . . . Done execution on hirselfe."

And in Grafton's Continuation of Hardying (p. 557), 1543: "Then did he execution of suche rebellions [rebels] as were taken."

36. France, thou shalt rue] So in King John, iii. i. 323: "France, thou shalt rue."

39. unawares] by surprise. Occurs again (three times) in 3 Henry VI. of an attack, military exploit. In Golding's Ovid (Epistle, ii. 556, 557):—  
"That whyle I thus stand gazing on  
his [panther's] hyde,  
He may devour mee unawares";

and bk. iii. l. 452: "by stealth and unawares." Elsewhere in Shakespeare, except 3 Henry VI. iv. viii. 63, the word is preceded by "at." See note, Part III. iv. ii. 23. Elsewhere in Golding and in Spenser the word used is "unawares." Peele has "at unawares" (Alcazar, iv. ii.).

40. the pride of France] the power and arrogance of France. Compare iv. vi. 15.

40. Alarum. Excursions.] This stage
I think the Duke of Burgundy will fast
Before he'll buy again at such a rate.
'Twas full of darnel; do you like the taste?

_Scoff on, vile fiend and shameless courtesan_!
I trust ere long to choke thee with thine own,
And make thee curse the harvest of that corn.

_Have your grace starve perhaps before that time._

_Have let no words, but deeds, revenge this treason._

_What will you do, good grey-beard? break a lance,_
And run a tilt at death within a chair?

_Foul fiend of France, and hag of all despite,
Encompass'd with thy lustful paramours!_
Becomes it thee to taunt his valiant age

50, 51. _What . . . chair?]_ Pope; three lines Ff, ending gray-beard, _Death, Chayre._

direction is frequent in these plays: see Part II. v. ii. "Excursions" is not a word in the text of Shakespeare. As a stage direction it is in Peele's _David and Bethsabe_ (473, a): "Alarum, excursions, assault." And in Marlowe's _Edward the Second_ (205, a): "Alarums, excursions." In _Selimus_ only "Alarum" occurs. In Greene's _Alphonsus_ it is "strike up alarum." 44. _darnel_] See again _King Lear_, iv. iv. 5, and _Henry V._ v. ii. 45. _cockle,_ "Love's Labour's Lost_, iv. iii. 380 (Arden edition, p. 107). Used indiscriminately with "cockle" for any injurious weed in common, but properly _Lolium._ See Turner, _Names of Herbs_, 1548 (Eng. Dict. Soc. 1881). "To suee upon the good siede, the pestilent _Darnell_" (W. Watremen, _Fardele of Facions_ (reprint, Hakluyt, v. 67, 1812), 1555). Steevens finds an allusion to the poisonous properties of _Lolium_, quoting Gerard: "Darnel hurtheth the eyes, and maketh them dim, if it happen either in corn for breade or drinke." He goes on: "Fucelle means to intiate that the corn she carried had produced the same effect on the guards of Rouen; otherwise they would have seen through her disguise." This seems to be very nice, but too far-fetched. Only "bad grain" is needful. Is Steevens' quotation correct? 50. _grey-beard_] old man. Occurs again _Taming of Shrew_ (twice), _Julius Caesar_, and _3 Henry VI._ North's _Plutarch_ (1580) is in _New Eng. Dict._ preceding Shakespeare. Greene uses it in _Selimus_ (Grosart, xiv. 246, l. 1333). 51. _run a tilt at_] The expression "run a tilt" occurs only in _2 Henry VI._ i. iii. 54 again in Shakespeare: where it comes from _The Contention_, sc. iii. It was more usual to make a verb of _till_. It is in Marlowe, _Edward the Second_ (Dyce, 220, a):

'Tell Isabel the queen, I looked not thus
When for her sake I ran at tilt in France
And there unhorsed the Duke of Clermont._

It is an expression of Greene's: "What causeth men to just, tourney, _runne at tilt_, & combat, but love?_" (Debate between Follie and Love, Grosart, iv. 212, 213). And in _Epheuses his Censure to Philautus_ (vi. 184): "hunting, hawking, running at _till_, and other pastimes" (1587). 52. _Foul fiend_] An expressly Shakespearean phrase, occurring a dozen times in _King Lear_, iii. iv., and once in _Richard III._ i. iv. 58. _New Eng. Dict._ has no example earlier than _King Lear_. There is a tang of the early mysteries about "_foul fiend._ Compare _New Cust_ on_ (Hazlitt's Dodsley, iii. 23), _ante_ 1573: "The _foul fiend_ of hell fetch me, body and soul._

52. _hag_] witch. _New Eng. Dict._ gives "That hateful hellish hagge of ugly hue" (Mirrour for Magistrates, 1587). And see Spenser, _Faerie Queene_, i. viii. 46. Shakespeare has this word about a dozen times, always of a witch, except in _King Lear_, ii. iv. 281.

52. _despite_] malice, mischief, spite. Very frequent in Shakespeare.
And twit with cowardice a man half dead? 55
Damsel, I'll have a bout with you again, 55
Or else let Talbot perish with this shame.

Puc. Are ye so hot, sir? yet, Pucelle, hold thy peace; 55
If Talbot do but thunder, rain will follow.

[The English whisper together in council.

God speed the parliament! who shall be the speaker? 60

Tal. Dare ye come forth and meet us in the field?
Puc. Belike your lordship takes us then for fools, 65
To try if that our own be ours or no.

Tal. I speak not to that railing Hecate,
But unto thee, Alençon, and the rest;
Will ye, like soldiers, come and fight it out?

Alen. Signior, no.

59. The English . . . They . . . Ff.

55. twit with] Occurs again in Two Gentlemen of Verona, iv. ii. 8, 3 Henry VI. v. v. 40, and 2 Henry VI. iii. i. 178, but not in Shakespeare's mature work. A favourite expression with Greene: "Shee twits thee with Vesta when God wotte Venus is the goddesse that heareth hir orisons" (Tullies Love (Grosart, vii. 167), 1589); and in A Looking Glasse for London (xiv. 12):

"Darst thou check
Or twit him with the laws that nature lowes?"

and again, p. 28, I. 534: "And dar'st thou twit me with a women's fault." Peele has the exact words in The Tale of Troy (556, b), 1589: "And twits Ulysses with his cowardice."

55. half-dead] Compare (Peele's) Jack Straw: "Men half-dead, who lie killed in conceit" (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 408).

56. have a bout with you] See above, 1. v. 4, note.

58. Are ye so hot?] Occurs again in Romeo and Juliet, ii. v. 64, and elsewhere. "Hot," meaning hot-tempered, cross, is frequent in Shakespeare.

59. thunder, rain will follow] "After thunder comes a rain" is an old saw. It is in Udall's Erasmus' Apophthegmes, 1542 (Robert's reprint, p. 26), in connection with Socrates and Xanthippe; and in The Schale-house of Women (Hazlitt's Early Pop. Poetry, iv. 121), ante 1570.

62. Belike] Shakespeare starts sentences about twenty times with belike, very often, as here, in mocking passages.

64. Hecaté] Here a trisyllable, but in Midsummer Night's Dream and Macbeth (thrice) it is dissyllabic. But we have had already some obvious hints that Shakespeare was familiar with Golding's Ovid, and Golding has it both ways. For Golding before, see line 35, "do execution on" (note), and "enter-talk with," iii. i. 63. These are the more conspicuous echoes in this Act. Golding spells Hecate as Hecat three times (Moring's reprint, p. 122, l. 174; p. 141, l. 237; p. 143, l. 316). And at p. 139, II. 105, 106: "To Persey's daughter Hecate (of whom the witches holde)

As of their Goddesse ";

and at p. 142, l. 261: "And thou three headed Hecate who knowest best the way," we have the trisyllable. At p. 139, l. 136, he gives it trisyllabic value without dropping the final e. These are from books vi. and vii. of the Metamorphoses. Greene would have written thus: "And Hell and Hecate shall faile the Frier" (Frier Bacon, xiii. 22, l. 378). Hécâte is in Faerie Queene, i. i. 43.

66. fight it out] has occurred already, i. i. 99 and i. ii. 128. And see 3 Henry VI. i. i. 117 and i. iv. 9. Peculiar to these plays in Shakespeare. New Eng. Dict. gives an example from W. Patten (1548), in Arber's English Garner, iii. 109. Peele has it in The Arraignment of Paris (Dyce, 358, a), 1584: "To be renown'd for happy victory, to fight it out." "Test it out" occurs also in Peele.

THE FIRST PART OF

ACT III.

Tal. Signior, hang! base muleters of France!
Like peasant foot-boys do they keep the walls,
And dare not take up arms like gentlemen.

Pue. Away, captains! let's get us from the walls,
For Talbot means no goodness by his looks.
God be wi' you, my lord: we came but to tell you
That we are here. [Exeunt from the walls.

Tal. And there will we be too ere it be long,
Or else reproach be Talbot's greatest fame!
Vow, Burgundy, by honour of thy house,
Prick'd on by public wrongs sustain'd in France,
Either to get the town again or die;
And I, as sure as English Henry lives,
And as his father here was conqueror,
As sure as in this late-betrayed town
Great Cordelion's heart was buried,
So sure I swear to get the town or die.

Bur. My vows are equal partners with thy vows.

Tal. But ere we go, regard this dying prince,

73. cane] F 1; come sir Ff 2, 3, 4.

The remark is jerked in very unexpectedly, supposing there to be no further meaning than the mere negative.
Another form, probably the repartee, is "Signior, si," varied to "Signior see" sometimes. See (for "Signior No") The Noble Soultard (Bullen's Old Plays, i. 325) and Bullen's note. "Signior Nobody" occurs in Day, Isle of Gulls (noted in Bullen's edition). See too the old play Nobody and Somebody in Simpson's School of Shakespeare and notes. Compare Armin, Two Maids of Moreclacke (ante 1609), (Grosart, p. 111): "Signior No, you're locksome." And Lyly, Mother Bombie: "I faith sir, no" (Fairholt ed. p. 96, and again p. 124); and Ben Jonson, Case is Altered (Cunningham's Gifford, p. 549, b): "Vatturn? upon the toe! Fin. O Signior, no."
"Signior Si" occurs in Greene's He and She Conyeatcher (Grosart, x. 224). The appellation Signior, dragged in here, does not occur again in the trilogy. It is found in the Orient and elsewhere. "Faith sir no" occurs in Greene's James the Fourth (xiii. 315), and "In faith sir, no" in Aphrons (xiii. 355).

68. muleters] muleters, mule-drivers.
See Antony and Cleopatra, iii. vii. 36. Compare pioneer, enginer, the recognised forms. From the French: "Mule-
tier. A Mulletar, Moyle-keeper, Moyle-driver" (Cotgrave). Peele has the word in the Battle of Alcazar, iv. i.: "Drudges, negroes, slaves and mule-
ters."

78. Prick'd on] goaded, invited. Fre-
quent in Shakespeare.

82, 83. in this late-betrayed town
Great Cordelion's heart was buried]
"Within three days after the king was hurt, he dyed that is to say the IX. day April, and was buryed as he himselfe willed at Fount Ebrard or Everard at the Feete of his father. Howbeit his hart was buryed at Roan and his bow-
elles in Poytiers" (Grafton, i. 230).

82. late-betrayed] Compare "late-
despised Richard," above, ii. v. 36; and "late-deceased," iii. ii. 132 below; and in Titus Andronicus, i. i. 184. Shake-
spere has this construction again in Venus and Adonis, 818, "late-embarked." In I Henry IV. ii. iii. 62, "late-dis-
turbed." In Lucrece, 1740, "late-
sacked." In every case late is to be regarded adverbially, and the hyphen is open to objection. "Our late-con-
formed league" occurs in The Spanish Tragedy. And "East India and the late-
discover'd isles" in Tamburlaine, Part I. i. i. Spenser has "his late-renewed might" in Faerie Queene, i. xi. 35.
The valiant Duke of Bedford. Come, my lord, We will bestow you in some better place, Fitter for sickness and for crazy age.

\textit{Bed.} Lord Talbot, do not so dishonour me; Here will I sit before the walls of Roan, And will be partner of your weal or woe.

\textit{Bur.} Courageous Bedford, let us now persuade you.

\textit{Bed.} Not to be gone from hence; for once I read That stout Pendragon in his litter sick Came to the field and vanquished his foes, Methinks I should revive the soldiers' hearts, Because I ever found them as myself.

\textit{Tal.} Undaunted spirit in a dying breast! Then be it so: heavens keep old Bedford safe! And now no more ado, brave Burgundy, But gather we our forces out of hand, And set upon our boasting enemy.

*[Exeunt all but Bedford and Attendants.]*

99. \textit{Undaunted] Undaunting F 2.}

89. \textit{crazy] decrepit.} Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. "Crazed" was the common form at this time. *New Eng. Dict.* has an earlier example than the present from Fleming (1576). Greene uses it in *Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 181), 1583: "Travellers . . . which take their journey, either that their credite at home is crasie, or else being wedded to vanitie seek to augment their follie." Spenser speaks of "crasie" pipes in *Colin Clout's come Home again*, 1591.

94. \textit{from hence] So in Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part II. 1: 2: "Depart from hence with me." And in Golding's *Ovid*: "We haled are from hence."

95. \textit{That stout Pendragon in his litter] From John Harding, according to Speed's *Historic*, p. 269, ed. 1632: "This field was at Verolam, whither V'ter [Pendragon] sickre, and in his Horse-litter, was borne among his Army, and after long and sore siege, wonne from them that Cite." This is Geoffrey of Monmouth's version. Holinshed attributes this heroic deed to Pendragon's brother, Aurelius Ambrosius. See too Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, i. 4, where Merlin commands Uther Pendragon (King Arthur's father) "to the field, though ye ride on a horse litter." Grafton tells of Seward, ruler of Northumberland (who died of a flux), in similar fashion to Bedford: "When he sawell that he should dye, he caused his armour to be put upon him, and so armed and sitting in a Chayre, sayde, thus it becommeth a knight . . . and not lying in his bed" (i. 147). Peele has a similar device in the *Battle of Alcazar* when Abdememelec 97. \textit{out of hand] Occurs as here (meaning at once, directly) again in *Titus Andronicus*, v. ii. 77, and in 3 *Henry VI*. iv. vii. 63. In 2 *Henry IV*. i. i. 107, the meaning is off one's hands, done with. A common expression, found twice in Golding's *Ovid*, and in the second part of Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*.}
An alarum: excursions. Enter Sir John Fastolfe and a Captain.

Cap. Whither away, Sir John Fastolfe, in such haste?  
Fast. Whither away! to save myself by flight:  
We are like to have the overthrow again.

Cap. What! will you fly, and leave Lord Talbot?  
Fast.  
All the Talbots in the world, to save my life.  
[Exit.  
Cap. Cowardly knight! ill fortune follow thee!  
[Exit.

Retreat: excursions. La Pucelle, Alençon, and Charles fly.

Bed. Now, quiet soul, depart when heaven please,  
For I have seen our enemies' overthrow.  
What is the trust or strength of foolish man?  
They that of late were daring with their scoffs  
Are glad and fain by flight to save themselves.  
[Bedford dies, and is carried in by two in his chair.

An alarum. Re-enter Talbot, Burgundy, and the rest.

Tal. Lost, and recover'd in a day again!  
This is a double honour, Burgundy:  
Yet heavens have glory for this victory!  
Bur. War-like and martial Talbot, Burgundy

103, 104. Fastolfe] Theobald; Falstaffe Ff. 107, 108. Ay ... life] Hanmer; one line, Ff. 114. Re-enter ... ] Enter. ... Ff.


106. overthrow] defeat. Frequent in the historical plays, and in the chroniclers.

109. cowardly knight] See note on Sir John Fastolfe at i. i. 116. This is an aggravated offence against Fastolfe. He was accused, as we have seen, of flying at the battle of Patay; but not at Rouen.

110, 111. Now ... seen] Steevens quotes St. Luke ii. 29.  
111. enemies] Pronounced here as a dissyllable, very markedly. Shakespeare usually gives the mid-syllable its value. So characteristically dissyllabic is this word in Golding, that he usually spells it "enmie" to make sure.

114. fain] rejoiced, well-pleased. See 2 Henry VI. ii. 1. 8.  
117. heavens have glory] Compare Henry the Fifth's speech, iv. viii. Touches like this remind us of Shakespeare's developed piety in the later plays. The historians often tell us of such thanksgiving, or repudiate their omission. Grafton says of Edwyn (614), "But for all this victory he forseg to be thankfull unto God, the gier not onely of his health but also of the same victory" (i. 93). See below, iii. iv. 12. Biblical language.
Enshrines thee in his heart, and there erects
Thy noble deeds as valour's monument.

Tal. Thanks, gentle duke. But where is Pucelle now?
I think her old familiar is asleep:
Now where's the Bastard's braves, and Charles his gleeks?
What! all amort? Roan hangs her head for grief
That such a valiant company are fled.
Now will we take some order in the town,
Placing therein some expert officers,
And then depart to Paris to the king;
For there young Henry with his nobles lie.


Tal. But yet, before we go, let's not forget
The noble Duke of Bedford late-deceas'd,

123. gleeks] Hanmer; glikes Fl.
But see his exequies fulfill'd in Roan.
A braver soldier never couched lance,
A gentler heart did never sway in court;
But kings and mightiest potentates must die,
For that's the end of human misery.

SCENE III.—The Same. The Plains near Rouen.

Enter CHARLES, the Bastard of ORLEANS, ALENÇON, LA
PUCELLE, and forces.

Puc. Dismay not, princes, at this accident,
Nor grieve that Roan is so recovered:
Care is no cure, but rather corrosive,
For things that are not to be remedied.

3. Corrosive] Ff 1, 4; Corrasive Ff 2, 3.

peace, as hardy in warre, whose bodie
was with great funerall solemnitie
buried in the Cathedrall Church of our
Lady in Roan, on the North side of the
high Auler, under a sumptuous and
costly monument" (Grafton, i. 605, The
XIII] Yere).

133. exequies] funeral rites. Not
again in Shakespeare. In Wyclif, 2
Samuel iii. 31 (1382). And in Ben
Jonson, Sad Shepherd, i. ii. Elsewhere
in Shakespeare it is "obsequies." In
Grafton, i. 308: "his father was buried,
and the Exequies scantily finished." See
Locrine (last speech).

134. couched lance] laid, or levelled
for attack, by lowering the point.
"Couched spear" occurs in Malory's
Morte d'Arthur, i. xi. (1480), New Eng.
Dict. Not in Shakespeare again. For
the structure of these two lines, see
Part II. i. 15, 16 (note). "Couched
his spear" is often in Faerie Queene.

136. mightiest potentates] "Potentate"
is only in Shakespeare's earliest plays
(Love's Labour's Lost and Two Gentle-
men of Verona). "Mighty potentate" is
an expression of Greene's in several
places, as Euphues to Philautus (vi. 177):
"to be loved of such a mighty Potentate."
"Potentate" is very common in Greene.

137. This weak-ending wretched line
is of a sort that abounds in Greene.
Misery, prophecy, certainty, injury,
speedily, company, destiny, ebony,
penalty, presently, majesty, heresy,
courtesy, victory, comedy, all end lines
in Alphonsus—to say nothing of packed
monosyllables. And similarly in Or-
lando. See above, ii. i. 43.

SCENE III.

1. Dismay not] do not be frightened.
The intransitive verb is not found
again in Shakespeare. Compare
Stephen Hawes, Pastime of Pleasure,
xxxiv, 5. 1509 (Percy reprint, p. 171):
"Be of good chere, and for nothyng
dismaye,
I spake with her but now this other
daye."

New Eng. Dict. has another earlier ex-
ample. Spenser has it in Faerie Queene.

3. Care is no cure] grief, sorrow, is
the meaning of "care" here, as in "past
cure, past care" (Love's Labour's Lost,
vi. ii. 28). Ray and Fuller (Gnomologia,
1732) adopt this as a proverb.

3. corrosive] fretting, giving pain.
The noun occurs in 2 Henry VI. iii. ii.
403. Neither of them appears again in
Shakespeare, in which he is peculiar, as
they were very popular with the drama-
tists in the forms corsie, corrosive, cor-
rosive, etc. An "inward corsie," or "a
corsie to the heart," occurs three times
in Golding's Ovid (1567). Greene has
the noun "corsasive" several times in
Mamillia: "the corsasive of despair"
(p. 152), "a corrosive to renew thy grieve"
(p. 171), etc. Compare Gascoigne, The
Steel Glas (Arber, p. 43), 1576: "The
corrosive of care woulde quickly con-
founde me." And Spenser, Faerie
Queene, i. x. 25 and iv. ix. 14 ("bitter
corsive").
Let frantic Talbot triumph for a while,
And like a peacock sweep along his tail;
We'll pull his plumes and take away his train
If Dauphin and the rest will be but ruled.

Cha. We have been guided by thee hitherto,
And of thy cunning had no diffidence:
One sudden foil shall never breed distrust.

Bast. Search out thy wit for secret policies,
And we will make thee famous through the world.

Alen. We'll set thy statue in some holy place,
And have thee reverenced like a blessed saint:
Employ thee then, sweet virgin, for our good.

Puc. Then thus it must be; this doth Joan devise:
By fair persuasions mix'd with sugar'd words

6, 7. peacock . . . plumes] Occurs twice in Whetstone, Promos and Cassandra, 1575; and many times in Greene's prose works, generally with reference to the ugly feet. These lines read like Greene—slightly altered.

7. pull his plumes] Craig (Little Quarto) refers to Greene, George-a-Greene (Dyce, 261, b): "What shall he? George. Pull all your plumes and sore dishonour you." Greene has it again in his Metamorphosis (Grosart, ix. 23): "I was, sonne . . . once young and buxsome . . . where now a tawny hiew pulleth downe my plumes." And in his Farewell to Follie (ix. 260): "Cresus was proude of his pelfe, but Solon pulde downe his plumes." And no doubt it occurs elsewhere in Greene. But all these are later than Tamburlaine, Part I. i. i.: "Tamburlaine, That . . . as I heare dooth mean to pull my plumes."

7. train] tail, particularly a fine one. Davies has "thy gay peacocks traine" in The Immortality of the Soul, xxxiv. viii. (1592). And in the old Taming of a Shrew (Six Old Plays, p. 203): "Be courteous and stately as the electrained bird" occurs.

10. of thy cunning had no diffidence] of thy magic cleverness had no distrust. See King John, i. i. 65, for "diffidence" again. And for "cunning," see ii. i. 50.

11. foil] "defeat, miscarriage" (Schmidt). See again, v. iii. 23, the only parallel in Shakespeare: "give the French the foil." It is a phrase met elsewhere in Greene: "Shall I loue so lightly? shall Fancie give me the foil at the first dash?" (Mamillia (ii. 73)). Greene repeats these words later in his Metamorphoses (ix. 59). In Frier Bacon (xiii. 61, l. 1301) Greene has "take not now the foil." Earlier examples are given in New Eng. Dict. Marlowe has "And never had the Turkish emperor So great a foil by any foreign foe" (Tamburlaine, Part I., end of Act iii.).

12. policies] stratagems, schemes, dodges, tricks. The most unmistakable example of this meaning, since the only plural one. Elsewhere (as glossed by Schmidt) it may mean much what it does now—plan of action. It is a favourite word, in a bad sense, with Greene in his Conny-Catching tracts: "They will straight spotte him by sundry policies, and in a black horse, marke saddle-spots," etc. (Second Part of Conny-Catching, x. 77). And in A Looking Glass for London (xiv. 82): "I have a pollicie to shift him, for I know he comes out of a hote place," etc. In George-a-Greene (xiv. 146, l. 551) this very expression occurs: "But now Ile flie to secret pollicie."

18. sugar'd words] See again, 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 45 (note), and Richard III. iii. i. 13. "In the days when sugar of any kind was a rarity, and consequently a delicacy, our English poets used the word [sugar] with a certain appetite in their comparisons."—Note to a translation of Persian poetry by Sir Richard Burton, in his Life, 1893, ii. 68. In Persian it still holds its ground. It is a standard phrase with Greene: "they seeke with sugred words and filed speech to inveigle the sille eyes of wel meaning Gentlewomen" (Mamillia (Grosart, ii. 258), 1583). And again: "Love commeth in . . . by seeing natures workes not
We will entice the Duke of Burgundy
To leave the Talbot and to follow us.

Char. Ay, marry, sweeting, if we could do that,
France were no place for Henry's warriors;
Nor should that nation boast it so with us,
But be extirped from our provinces.

Alen. For ever should they be expuls'd from France,
And not have title of an earldom here.

Puc. Your honours shall perceive how I will work
To bring this matter to the wished end.

[Drum sounds afar off.
Hark! by the sound of drum you may perceive
Their powers are marching unto Paris-ward.

by hearing sugred words" (p. 283). And often elsewhere. He has "sugred speech" in Tritameron (1584), etc., etc. Spenser has "sugred words and gentle blandishment" (Faerie Queene, iii. vi. 25).

19, 20. We will entice the Duke . . .
to follow us] There is this much historical accuracy here, that it was in the year of Bedford's death that Burgundy deserted the English for the French king. Grafton says (p. 604): "He therefore imagined, and determined with himselfe to returne into the pathe againe, from the which he had strayed and erred, and to take part and ioyne with his awne bloud and Nation: so that some honest mane might be sought by other, and not by himselfe, least . . . he might be noted of vntruth and traytoryous behaviour toward the King of England and his nation: to whom he had done homage, league, and sworne fauletie. Now this counsayle [of Arras] was to him a clok for the rayne, as who should say, that he sought not amitie of the french king (which thing in his hert most coveted and desyred) but was there-unto persuaded by the generall counsayle, and by the Bishop of Rome." There is here no mentuon of Joan's influence; she is the dramatist's own introduction for "the honest mane he sought for" as a cloak for the rain, or the excuse he sought for. But Rolfe transcribes a letter of Joan's to the Duke of Burgundy (published by Barante, Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne, iv. 259), of date 1429, "using arguments not at all unlike those of this scene." The original is at Lille. Rolfe thinks the author of this play must have had access to some French chronicler by whom the substance of the letter was given. The letter is too long to transcribe and I do not find it the least convincing.

21. sweeting] See Othello, ii. iii. 257 (note, Arden edition, p. 111). A favourable word with Greene: "Tell me faire sweeting, wants thou any thing Conteidn within the threefold circle of the world?" (A Looking Glasse, Grosart, xiv. 45). And again, p. 13: "so bright a sweetings arms"; and again (p. 10) in the same play; and elsewhere in his prose. Shakespeare has it several times.

24. extirped] extirpates. Occurs again in Measure for Measure, iii. ii. 110; see note, Arden edition. Occurs in Hall's Chronicle, and in the Faerie Queene, i. x. 25.

25. expuls'd] expelled. Not frequently used in this century (16th), but not again in Shakespeare. Nashe uses it of academic rustication: "touching his whole persecution by the Fellowes of the House about it, and how, except he had mercie on him, he were expuls'd" (Have with you, etc., Grosart, iii. 119). And Gascoigne, The Steele Glas, 1576 (Arber, p. 43): "Themistocles . . . by his unknde citizens of Athens expuls'd from his owne." The word occurs several times in Golding's Ovid's Metamorphoses.

28. bring . . . to the wished end] Compare Locrine, i. i. (Peele and Greene?): "And bring our wished joys to perfect end," See note at Part II. iii. ii. 113. "Wished day" and "wished haven" both occur in Faerie Queene, ii. (i. 32 and iv. 22).

29. sound of drum] Not in Shake-
Here sound an English march. Enter, and pass over at a distance, Talbot and his forces.

There goes the Talbot, with his colours spread, And all the troops of English after him.

French march. Enter the Duke of Burgundy and forces.

Now in the rearward comes the duke and his: Fortune in favour makes him lag behind. Summon a parley; we will talk with him.

[Trumpets sound a parley.

Cha. A parley with the Duke of Burgundy!

Bur. Who craves a parley with the Burgundy?

Puc. The princely Charles of France, thy countryman.


Cha. Speak, Pucelle, and enchant him with thy words.

Puc. Brave Burgundy, undoubted hope of France! Stay, let thy humble handmaid speak to thee.

Bur. Speak on; but be not over- tedious.

Puc. Look on thy country, look on fertile France, And see the cities and the towns defaced By wasting ruin of the cruel foe. As looks the mother on her lowly babe When death doth close his tender dying eyes, See, see the pining malady of France; Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds, Which thou thyself hast given her woeful breast. O! turn thy edged sword another way; Strike those that hurt, and hurt not those that help.

30. Here ... march.] Ff. Enter ... ] Capell; omitted Ff. 32. French march] Ff. Enter ... ] Capell; omitted Ff.

speare again. Spenser has it, Faerie Queene, i. ix. 41:—

"He that points the Centonell his roome,
Doth license him depart at sound of morning dromne."

32. French march] Very slow and time for lagging. "He comes but slowly on as if hee trodde a French March" (Dekker, Seven Deadly Sins (Grosart, ii. 51), 1606).


34. Fortune in favour] Fortune favourably disposed. The same expression occurs in King John, ii. i. 393.

34. lag behind] no earlier example in New Eng. Dict., except from diction-aries (Palgrave, Levins). Compare again, Faerie Queene:—

"Behind her farre away a dwarfe did lag,
That lasie seemed in being ever last"

(i. i. 6).

44. fertile France] Again in Henry V. v. ii. 37.

49. malady of France] Again in Henry V. v. i. 87, in a very different and less prosaic context.

52. edged sword] Compare (Peele's) jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 4w): "running furiously into the danger of the law, as mad and frantic men upon an edged sword." Not elsewhere in Shakespeare, except figuratively in Henry V. iii. v. 38.
One drop of blood drawn from thy country's bosom
Should grieve thee more than streams of foreign gore. 55
Return thee therefore with a flood of tears
And wash away thy country's stained spots.

Bry. Either she hath bewitch'd me with her words,
Or nature makes me suddenly relent.

Puc. Besides, all French and France exclaims on thee,
Doubting thy birth and lawful progeny.
Who join'st thou with but with a lordly nation
That will not trust thee but for profit's sake?
When Talbot hath set footing once in France,
And fashion'd thee that instrument of ill,
Who then but English Henry will be lord,
And thou be thrust out like a fugitive?
Call we to mind, and mark but this for proof,
Was not the Duke of Orleans thy foe,
And was he not in England prisoner?

55. foreign] foraine Ff 1, 2; common Ff 3, 4. 62. Who] F 1; whom Ff 2, 3, 4.

56. Return thee] See extract at ll. 19, 20, above.
57. stained] disgraceful, (spots) caused
by a stain. See Schmidt on this word (1418, 3). Compare Lucrece, 1059, 1316.
60. exclaims on thee] Compare Kyd's
Spanish Tragedy, iii. xiv. 70:—
"what a scandalous word among
the kings
To heare Hieronymo exclaim on
thee?"
Often with "upon."
61. progeny] descent. Compare
Greene, Planctomachia (v. 40): "the
destinies have appointed my progenie
from such a peevish Parent"; and
Menaphon (vi. 110): "My parents and
progenie are envied by obscuritie"; and
A Princely Mirrour of Peerless Modestie
(iii. 9): "Honored generalie of all men
for his parentage and progenie"; and
passim in Greene, meaning parentage,
but not so used by Shakespeare. Bur-
gundy's original reason for allaying him-
self with the English was: "Beyng
much desyrous to reuenge and punishe
the shamefull murther done to his father"
(Grafton, 604). Grafton illustrates "pro-
geny" (i. 306): "This Erle was of the
bloud royall ... To whome the king
not respecting his bloud and progeny
sayde ... then is it meete that he ... should hang higher then any of the
other."

64. set footing] Occurs again Richard
II. ii. 48; 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 87; Henry
VIII. iii. i. 183.
66. 67. Who then but ... fugitive] This was Burgundy's chief reason with
himself, according to the Chronicler:
"For he in the beginning of his rule ... beganne to be associate, and to reign
with the English power, and to serve the
King of England, thinking that by his
amitie and ioyning, he shoule neither
harme nor hurte the common wealth of
the County, whereof at that time he
bore the whole rule, nor yet lose one
iote or point of his aucthoritie or govern-
ance. But when it happened contrary
to his expectation, that the King of
England ... tooke upon him the
whole rule ... and that he was not
had ... in a perfect trust," etc. (p. 604).
67. fugitive] a runaway to the other
party. Very bad sense, see Marlowe,
Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. v.: "Villain,
traitor, damned fugitive" (Tamburlaine
to Almeyda).
68. Call we] See above, ii. i. 13, and
iii. ii. 102.
68-73. Call we to mind ... friends] This narration is jumbled history, and
the passage stating the real facts will be
found in Grafton, i. 618, 619 (or Hall,
192, 193). But it is lengthy and intric-
ate, and need not be more than referred
to.
But when they heard he was thine enemy,  
They set him free without his ransom paid,  
In spite of Burgundy and all his friends.  
See then, thou fight'st against thy countrymen,  
And join'st with them will be thy slaughter-men.  

Come, come, return; return, thou wand'ring lord;  
Charles and the rest will take thee in their arms.

Bur. I am vanquished; these haughty words of hers  
Have batter'd me like roaring cannon-shot,  
And made me almost yield upon my knees.  
Forgive me, country, and sweet countrymen!  
And, lords, accept this hearty kind embrace:  
My forces and my power of men are yours.  
So, farewell, Talbot; I'll no longer trust thee.

Puc. [Aside.] Done like a Frenchman: turn, and turn  
again!

78. I am ... hers] one line, Rowe; two in F.  
85. Marked "Aside" by Capell.

72. They set him free] Ritson says here: "The duke was not liberated till  
after Burgundy's decline to the French  
interest; which did not happen, by the  
way, till some years after the execution of  
this very Joan la Pucelle: nor was  
that during the regency of York, but  
of Bedford." This blundering "over-  
tedious" stuff reminds me all the time  
of Greene. The repeated words "Come,  
come, return: return" (l. 76) are his, as  
in ll. 50, 53 above, and 44.

75. join'st] This rugged monosyllable  
occurs above, l. 62. Peele is given to this.  
In Edward I. he uses pay'st, see'st,  
dart'st, may'st, etc. See "fight'st"  
above, l. 74; and in 2 Henry VI. And  
"fail'st," 3 Henry VI. ii. i. 190.

75. slaughter-men] See again, 3  
Henry VI. i. iv. 169, and Titus  
Andronicus, iv. iv. 58. Also in Cymbeline  
and Henry V. It occurs in Greene's  
Groats Worth of Wit (xii. 142): "Onely  
Tyrants should possewe the earth,  
and they struing to exceede in tyranny,  
should each to other bee a slaughter  
t man: till the mightiest out-living all,  
one stroke were left for Death." The  
word is found (later) in Arden of  
Feversham.

76. Come, come ... wand'ring lord]  
See note at l. 72. "Haughty" in the next  
line is characteristic of Greene, but not  
a very common word earlier and found  
in Shakespeare only in his earliest work.  
It occurs five times in this play. See  
next note. Craig says Shakespeare  
ever uses "haughty" in a good sense.  
78. haughty words] So Greene,  
George-a-Greene (xiv. 132): "Nick, as  
you know, is hautie in his wordes";  
and Orlando Furioso: "Hawtie their  
words" (xiii. 170).

79. roaring cannon-shot] "Cannon-  
shot" does not occur in Shakespeare,  
and the example in the text is the  
eldest in New Eng. Dict., the next  
being Urquhart's Rabelais, 1653. The  
whole expression is Greene's:—  
"Fearce is the fight and bloudie  
the bryole;  
No sooner had the roaring cannon-  
shot  
Spit forth the venome of their fired  
panch"  
(Alphonius, King of Arragon, xiii. 397,  
l. 1662).

85. Frenchman ... turn, and turn  
again] Dr. Johnson said: "The incon-  
stanty of the French was always the  
subject of satire: I have read a disserta-  
tion written to prove that the index of  
the wind upon our steeples was made in  
form of a cock, to ridicule the French  
for their frequent changes." Clark adds  
that the sneer is so out of place in Joan's  
mouth, it is inconceivable Shakespeare  
should have assigned it to her. See iv.  
i. 138. For "turn and turn again," see  
Othello, iv. i. 264. Joan, of Lorraine,  
would not hesitate to speak thus of the  
French people.
Cha. Welcome, brave duke! thy friendship makes us fresh.
Bast. And doth beget new courage in our breasts.
Alen. Pucelle hath bravely played her part in this,
And doth deserve a coronet of gold.
Cha. Now let us on, my lords, and join our powers,
And seek how we may prejudice the foe. [Exeunt.


Enter the King, Gloucester, Bishop of Winchester,
York, Suffolk, Somerset, Warwick, Exeter; Vernon, Basset, and others. To them with his soldiers, Talbot.

Tal. My gracious prince, and honourable peers,
Hearing of your arrival in this realm,
I have awhile given truce unto my wars,
To do my duty to my sovereign:
In sign whereof, this arm, that hath reclaim'd
To your obedience fifty fortresses,
Twelve cities, and seven walled towns of strength,
Beside five hundred prisoners of esteem,
Lets fall his sword before your highness' feet;

90. Now ... powers] one line, Rowe; two in Ff.

Scene iv.  


88. played her part] Compare Peele, Battle of Alcazar, v. i. (438, a): "Farewell, brave world, for I have played my part." Compare Faerie Queene, ii. iv. 27: "he went, and his owne false part played."

91. And seek how we may prejudice the foe] Clarke (quoted by Rolfe) writes: "We cannot think that Shakspeare even when a schoolboy, would have put forth so suddenly vapid a sentence." There are many worse in the play, according to my taste. But it is of interest, since "prejudice" (to injure) is not a Shakespearian word, but commonly used (as here) by Greene: "What daies and nightes they spende in watching either to prevent or prejudice the enimie" (Farewell to Follie ix. 247), ante 1591.

And in Never too Late (viii. 53), 1590: "Set not upon a weaponlesse woman least in thinking to triumph ... you be prejudite with the taint of cowardise."

Scene iv.  

Scene iv.] This imaginary scene of Talbot’s interview with King Henry, preceding the coronation, may be taken as a stepping-stone to the latter to announce Henry’s arrival in France. The coronation took place in 1431, Talbot’s advancement in 1442: see line 26 (note).

5. reclaim’d] subdued. See 2 Henry VI. v. ii. 54; Romeo and Juliet, iv. ii. 47; and "unreclaim’d" in Hamlet, ii. i. 34. An old term especially applied to taming wild animals, birds, etc.

8. prisoners of esteem] Compare v. v. 27: "another lady of esteem." New Eng. Dict. has a parallel from Caxton, and then a long gap in time down to these two examples. Compare Greene, George-a-Greene (xiv. 126, l. 105):—

"Who scoures that men of such esteeme as these
Should brooke the braves of any trayterous squire."
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

And with submissive loyalty of heart
Ascribes the glory of his conquest got
First to my God, and next unto your grace. [Kneels.

K. Hen. Is this the Lord Talbot, uncle Gloucester,
That hath so long been resident in France?

G lou. Yes, if it please your majesty, my liege.

K. Hen. Welcome, brave captain and victorious lord!
When I was young, as yet I am not old,
I do remember how my father said
A stouter champion never handled sword.
Long since we were resolved of your truth,
Your faithful service and your toil in war;
Yet never have you tasted our reward,
Or been reguervedon’d with so much as thanks,
Because till now we never saw your face:
Therefore, stand up; and for these good deserts,
We here create you Earl of Shrewsbury;
And in our coronation take your place.

[Sennet. Flourish. Exeunt all but VERNON and BASSET.

12. [Kneels] Cambridge. 20. were] Ff 1, 2; have Ff 3, 4. 27. [Sennet. Flourish] F 1; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4. Ff 1; Exeunt. Manet . . . Ff 2, 3, 4.

See Romeo and Juliet, iii. 70. But the parallel is not good.

11, 12. Ascribes the glory . . . to my God] See above, iii. ii. 117. And Faerie Queene, i. x. i:

"Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill
That thorough grace hath gained victory
. . . All the good is God’s."

And (Peele’s) Jack Straw (Hazlitt’s Dodsley, v. 407):

"It is our God that gives the victory.
Drag this accursed villain through the streets
To strike a terror to the rebels’ hearts."

From the Bible, 1 Chron. xxix. 11; Psalm cxviii. 1; 1 Cor. xv. 57, etc. See Grafton’s account of the victory of Agincourt (i. 518, 1809). 1567: "After this last conflict, the King of England . . . caused a retrayte to be blouen . . . callying his prelates togeth-er, caused them to give thanks to God [as Hall sayth] by whose almighty power he had receaved that victorie, and to sing the Psalme of In exitu Israel, etc. Commanding every man to kneele downe when they came at that verse, Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam . . . and then caused the psalme of Te deum to be song."

17, 18. When I was young, as yet I am not old, I do remember how my father said] Malone says: "The author of this play was not a very correct historian. Henry was but nine months old when his father died, and never saw him."

19. A stouter . . . never] See above, iii. ii. 134 and 135. But it is purely Spenserian (learned by him from earlier poets?) like "well I wot." See Faerie Queene, iii. v. 5; Ruines of Time (496, a, Globe).


23. reguerdon’d] See iii. i. 170 (note). 24. Because . . . face] This seems to me more "soddenly rapid" than line 91 above, the end of last scene.

26. create you Earl of Shrewsbury] Grafton writes, in the xxxii. year (1442-3): "About this season, the King remember- ing the valiant service and noble actes of John Lorde Talbot, created him Earl of Shrewsburie, and with a com- pany of three thousand men, sent him agayne into Normandie, for the better tuicion of the same, which neyther forgot his dutie nor forslowed his businesse," etc. (p. 623).
Ver. Now, sir, to you, that were so hot at sea,  
Disgracing of these colours that I wear  
In honour of my noble Lord of York,  
Dar'st thou maintain the former words thou spak'st?  

Bas. Yes, sir; as well as you dare patronage  
The envious barking of your saucy tongue  
Against my lord the Duke of Somerset.

Ver. Sirrah, thy lord I honour as he is.

Bas. Why, what is he? as good a man as York.
Ver. Hark ye; not so: in witness, take ye that. [Strikes him.

Bas. Villain, thou knowest the law of arms is such  
That whoso draws a sword, 'tis present death,  
Or else this blow should broach thy dearest blood.  
But I'll unto his majesty, and crave  
I may have liberty to venge this wrong;  
When thou shalt see I'll meet thee to thy cost.

Ver. Well, miscreant, I'll be there as soon as you;  
And, after, meet you sooner than you would.

[Exeunt.

34. my lord] F 1; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4.  
37. ye] Ff 1, 2; you Ff 3, 4.  
38. Villain . . . such] one line, Rowe; two in Ff.  
39. whoso] Rowe; who so Ff.

29. Disgracing of] For the superfluous "of" to fill the line, compare "re solved of," above, line 20. A weak trick found often in Greene. Shakespeare would more readily omit than add the trifling word. See iv. ii. 22, v. i. 5, iv. viii. 37.
32. patronage] See above, iii. i. 48 (note).
33. envious barking] Craig quotes from Spenser, lines prefixed to Shepheard's Calendar (1589):—  
"And if that envy bark at thee,  
As sure it will, for succour flee  
Under the shadow of his wing."  
Occurs in Troilus and Cressida, ii. i. 38.
35. law of arms] Again in Henry V. and King Lear. And below, iv. i. 100.  
See Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. 16, a;  
"Thou break'st the law of arms unless thou kneel."  
39. whoso . . . death] Reed quotes from Sir William Blackstone: "by the ancient law before the Conquest, fighting in the king's palace, or before the king's judges, was punished with death" (Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 124). And again: "By the ancient common law, also before the conquest, striking in the king's court of justice, or drawing a sword therein, was a capital felony" (p. 125).
40. broach . . . blood] See 2 Henry VI. iv. x. 49, and 3 Henry VI. ii. iii. 16. "Broaching blood" does not occur again, not even in Titus Andronicus, but Shakespeare makes fun of it in Midsummer Night's Dream, v. i. 148; no doubt with a good-humoured recollection.
40. dearest blood] Compare (Peele and Greene's) Locrine, i. i.—  
"And for this gift his life and dearest blood  
Will Corineus spend for Brutus' good."  
Occurs again, Part iii. v. i. 69; and i. i. 223 ("heart blood").
ACT IV


Enter the King, Gloucester, Winchester, York, Suffolk, Somerset, Warwick, Exeter, Talbot, the Governor of Paris, and others.

Glo. Lord bishop, set the crown upon his head.
Win. God save King Henry, of that name the sixth.
Glo. Now, governor of Paris, take your oath,
That you elect no other king but him,
Esteem none friends but such as are his friends,
And none your foes but such as shall pretend
Malicious practices against his state:
This shall ye do, so help you righteous God!

Enter Sir John Fastolfe.

Fast. My gracious sovereign, as I rode from Calais,

Scene 1.] Grafton gives the list of those present: "There were in his company of his own Nation, his Vncl the Cardinall of Winchester, the Cardinall and Archebyshop of Yorke, the Dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norfolke, the Earles of Warwike, Salisbury, Oxford, Huntyngdon, Ormonde, Mortayn, Suffolke, and of Gascoynes... he was met at the Chapell, in the mean way, by Sir Simon Moruer Provost of Paris, with a great company" (The X Yere, 1431, p. 591). Boswell Stone says (p. 228): "Gloucester was in England... Lieutenant of England during the King's absence." "Somerset" was Edmund Beaufort, then Earl of Mortain; Talbot was a prisoner in 1431; Exeter (Thomas Beaufort) died about five years before; the French Governor of Paris is a fictitious personage (the last remark may be set aside). Grafton tells us that after "divers riche and notable burgesses" had done their reverence "there approched to the king the IX. worthies, sytting richely on horseback, armed with the armes to them apperteyning."... "And on the xviij of the sayde Moneth [December] he departed from the Palace in great triumph, honorably accompanied to our Lady Church of Paris: where with all solemnitie he was annoynted and crowned King of Fraunce by the Cardinall of Winchester: (the Byshop of Paris not being content that the Cardinall should doe such a high ceremonie in his Church and jurisdiction)."

The mention of the Nine Worthies is interesting. At about the time this play passed through Shakespeare's hands, he was introducing them into Love's Labour's Lost.


7. practices] stratagems.
To haste unto your coronation,
A letter was deliver'd to my hands,
Writ to your grace from the Duke of Burgundy.

Tal. Shame to the Duke of Burgundy and thee!
I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,
To tear the garter from thy craven's leg: [Plucks it off.]
Which I have done, because unworthy
Thou wast installed in that high degree.
Pardon me, princely Henry, and the rest:
This dastard, at the battle of Patay,
When but in all I was six thousand strong,
And that the French were almost ten to one,
Before we met or that a stroke was given,
Like to a trusty squire did run away:
In which assault we lost twelve hundred men;
Myself and divers gentlemen beside
Were there surpris'd and taken prisoners.
Then judge, great lords, if I have done amiss;
Or whether that such cowards ought to wear
This ornament of knighthood, yea or no.

Glou. To say the truth, this fact was infamous
And ill beseeing any common man,
Much more a knight, a captain and a leader.

Tal. When first this order was ordain'd, my lords,
Knights of the garter were of noble birth,
remarkable in the diction, nor is there anything of Greene's style of importance. See Henry VI. reference (note).

14. thee] the F 1. 15. [Plucking it off] Capell; omitted Ff. 18. me, princely] me Princely Ff 1, 2; my Princely Ff 3, 4. 19. Patay] Malone (Capell conj.). Poictiers Ff.
Valiant and virtuous, full of haughty courage, 35
Such as were grown to credit by the wars;
Not fearing death, nor shrinking for distress,
But always resolute in most extremes.
He then that is not furnish'd in this sort
Doth but usurp the sacred name of knight,
Profaning this most honourable order,
And should, if I were worthy to be judge,
Be quite degraded, like a hedge-born swain
That doth presume to boast of gentle blood.

K. Hen. Stain to thy countrymen! thou hear'st thy doom. 45
Be packing therefore, thou that wast a knight:
Henceforth we banish thee on pain of death.

[Exit Fastolfe.

And now, my lord protector, view the letter
Sent from our uncle Duke of Burgundy.

length, and quotes besides from Camden
that it was founded "to adorn Martiall
virtue with honours, rewards and
splendour."

35. haughty courage] high courage.
In a good sense here. See note at iii.
iii. 76, 77.
36. credit] honourable reputation.
38. most extremes] the greatest ex-
tremes, or extremities, dangers, straits.
"Most" is very commonly used with
the article by Shakespeare. "Ex-
tremes" in this sense occurs in several
of Shakespeare's plays. Compare Gold-
ing's *Ovid*, ix. 354: "my most fo." And
Peele, *Sir Clyomon* (527, a, Routledge): "
My most misfortunes."

43. hedge-born] born or brought up
under a hedge; contemptuously used.
Boorish, low, common. Compare
"hedge-priest," *Love's Labour's Lost*,
v. ii. 536, and note Arden edition. And
see 2 *Henry VI*, iv. ii. 55. There were
many such compounds, amply collected
in *New Eng. Dict.* For the latter
member, compare base-born, true-born,
etc. in these plays.

43. swain] Shakespeare was ex-
tremely partial to this word. Spenser
uses it in two senses, youth and servant.
In the text here it is a term of con-
tempt. See note in Todd's *Spenser*
(*Faerie Queene*, i. viii. 13).

44. gentle blood] Only again (in this
sense) in "gentler blood" (below, v. iv.
8) in Shakespeare. In ancient use,
occuring in *Cursor Mundi* (ante 1300)
(*New Eng. Dict.*). And *Faerie Queene*,
ii. iv. 1: "But chiefly skill to ride
seemes a science Proper to gentle
blood."

46. Be packing] away with you.
Frequent in Shakespeare.

48. the letter] Grafton narrates this
episode: "when thys league was sworne,
and this knot knit, the Duke of Burgoyne
... sent Thoison Dor, his king at
armes to King Henry with letters: that
he being not only waxed faint and
weary'd ... but alsochated dailie with
complaints and lamentation of his
people ... affirming that he onely was
the supporter and maintener of the
English people, ... and that he ...
tentively toke paine, both to keepe and
maintaine the Englishe men in Fraunce
... rather then to restore King Charles
his Cosyn to his rightfull inheritance,
by reason of which things and many
other, he was in maner compelled and
constrayned to take a peace, and con-
clude an amitie with King Charles,
exhorting King Henry ... to make an
ende of the warre ... with many
glosyng and flatterying wordes. ..."
This letter was not a little looked on,
not smally regarded of the King of
England ...: not onely for the weight-
tinessse of the matter, but also for the
sodaine change of the man, and for the
strange superscription of the letter,
which was: To the high and mightie
prince, Henry by the grace of God, King
of England his wellbeloved Cosyn:
Neyther naming him King of Fraunce,
nor his soveraigne Lorde ... wherfore
all they which were present ... openly
called him Traytor, deceyuer, and most
Glou. What means his grace, that he hath chang'd his style? 50
No more but, plain and bluntly, To the King!
Hath he forgot he is his sovereign?
Or doth this churlish superscription
Pretend some alteration in good will?
What's here? "I have, upon especial cause,
Moved with compassion of my country's wrack,
Together with the pitiful complaints
Of such as your oppression feeds upon,
Forsaken your pernicious faction
And join'd with Charles, the rightful King of France." 60
O monstrous treachery! Can this be so,
That in alliance, amity, and oaths,
There should be found such false dissembling guile?

K. Hen. What! doth my uncle Burgundy revolt?
Glou. He doth, my lord, and is become your foe. 65
K. Hen. Is that the worst this letter doth contain?
Glou. It is the worst, and all, my lord, he writes.
K. Hen. Why then, Lord Talbot there shall talk with him,
And give him chastisement for this abuse.
How say you, my lord? are you not content? 70
Tal. Content, my liege! Yes: but that I am prevented,
I should have begg'd I might have been employ'd.
K. Hen. Then gather strength and march unto him straight:
Let him perceive how ill we brook his treason,
And what offence it is to flout his friends. 75

65. your] F r; my Ff 2, 3, 4.

inconstant prince . . . when the Messenger was departed, the King of England and his counsayle thought and determined to worke some displeasure to the Duke" [The XIII] Yere, p. 605).
53. superscription] address or direction of the letter, the same as "superscript" in Love's Labour's Lost, iv. ii. 133 (Arden ed.). Compare R. Harvey, Plaine Perceval (1589): "The boy which greeted his father with a letter, clapt full of commendations . . . prov'd as untoward a sonne, as he that directed his superscription to his most obedient parents."

54. Pretend] mean, convey, import: see above, line 6. "Churlish," in previous line, is a pet word with Shakespeare.
56. wrack] ruin. It is an unfortunate thing that Theobald's alteration of the old "wrack" (universal in the old editions) should have been ever followed. See above, i. i. 135. Compare (Peele's)

Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 388):—
"These unnatural rebels and unjust
That threaten wrack unto this wretched land."
"Wreck" might well be limited to the sea or similar sudden catastrophes.
68. talk with him] have a serious settlement; make him explain himself; a few "cold words." Compare Selimus (Greene ?), Grosart, xiv. 212:—
"And tell him, messenger, another time
He shall have talke inough with Baiazet."
71. prevented] anticipated. Often in Shakespeare, as in Merchant of Venice, i. i. 61, etc.
73. strength] forces, an army. Frequent in the historical plays, and in the Chroniclers. Also in Titus Andronicus, and in Antony and Cleopatra.
74. brook] endure.
75. flout] mock; both very frequent in
Tal. I go, my lord; in heart desiring still
You may behold confusion of your foes. [Exit.

Enter Vernon and Basset.

Ver. Grant me the combat, gracious sovereign!
Bas. And me, my lord; grant me the combat too!
York. This is my servant: hear him, noble prince!
Som. And this is mine: sweet Henry, favour him!
K. Hen. Be patient, lords; and give them leave to speak.
Say, gentlemen, what makes you thus exclaim?
And wherefore crave you combat? or with whom?
Ver. With him, my lord; for he hath done me wrong.
Bas. And I with him; for he hath done me wrong.
K. Hen. What is that wrong whereof you both complain?
First let me know, and then I’ll answer you.
Bas. Crossing the sea from England into France,
This fellow here, with envious carping tongue,
Upbraided me about the rose I wear;
Saying, the sanguine colour of the leaves
Did represent the colour of my master’s blushing cheeks,
When stubbornly he did repugn the truth
About a certain question in the law
Argu’d betwixt the Duke of York and him;
With other vile and ignominious terms:

87. whereof] F 1; whereon Fl 2, 3, 4.
93. represent] F 1; present Fl 2, 3, 4.

Shakespeare. So Grafton, i. 399: “In somuch that he disdeyned the Lords of England, flouted, scorned, and rudely taunted them.” Kyd has it in The Spanish Tragedy.

78. Grant me the combat] No source for this incident (continued from the close of the last Act) has been advanced. Speed narrates an occurrence which has many points in common with this combat challenged by Vernon and Basset: “The next yeare after his coronation in England, hee passeth over into France, there also to receive the Diadem thereof. The Constableship of England was before his departure assigned by Patent, for terme of life, to Richard Duke of Yorke (which gave him a more feeling of greatnesse, and secretly whetted his ambitious appetite) upon this occasion: One John Vpton of Feversham in Kent Notarie, accused John Down of the same place gentleman, That he and his complices did imagine the King’s death at his Coronation.

The combat was granted, and in Smithfield (the Duke of Yorke exercising the office of high Constable) they fought in lists. In the end the King’s name was used to part and forgive them” (p. 819, ed. 1632). The exact date of this public challenge (the cause being the Duke of York), the trial by combat and the interference of the king to settle it, are more than coincidences.

90. envious] F 1; omitted Fl 2, 3, 4.

Marlowe has:

“Wherein he wrought such ignominious wrong
Unto the hallowed person of a prince” (Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. 3). And
In confusion of which rude reproach, 100
And in defence of my lord's worthiness,
I crave the benefit of law of arms.

Ver. And that is my petition, noble lord:
For though he seem with forged quaint conceit
To set a gloss upon his bold intent,
Yet know, my lord, I was provok'd by him;
And he first took exceptions at this badge,
Pronouncing that the paleness of this flower
Bewray'd the faintness of my master's heart.

York. Will not this malice, Somerset, be left?

Som. Your private grudge, my Lord of York, will out,
Though ne'er so cunningly you smother it.

K. Hen. Good Lord! what madness rules in brainsick men,
When for so slight and frivolous a cause
Such factious emulations shall arise!

Good cousins both, of York and Somerset,
Quiet yourselves, I pray, and be at peace.

York. Let this dissension first be tried by fight,
And then your highness shall command a peace.

Som. The quarrel toucheth none but us alone;
Bewryst ourselves let us decide it then.

York. There is my pledge; accept it, Somerset.

Ver. Nay, let it rest where it began at first.

Bas. Confirm it so, mine honourable lord.

Glow. Confirm it so! Confounded be your strife!
And perish ye, with your audacious prate!

115. I pray] F r; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4.

in Tamburlaine, Part II. v. i. 69, a:-

"And, like base slaves, abject our princely minds
To vile and ignominious servitude"
—the language of the text.
98. confutation] refutation, disproving. Not found in Shakespeare's plays again.

100. benefit] privilege, or bestowal of rights. Compare Richard III. iii. vii.
106. A legal term.

102. quaint conceit] with a neat invention, or wit.

103. To set a gloss upon] to give a fair appearance to. See Timon of Athens, i. ii. 16. Nashe uses the phrase in Lenten Stuffe. Greene has "put a gloss on" in Penelopes Web.

105. took exceptions at] disapproved of, condemned. See Two Gentlemen of Verona, v. ii. 3. I find the phrase again (later) in Marlowe's Edward the Second (Dyce, 186, b): "Doth no man take exceptions at the slave?"

107. Bewray'd] made known, or disclosed involuntarily; betrayed.
107. faintness] lack of spirit, pusillanimity. "Send a faintness into their hearts" (Leviticus xxvi. 36).

111. brainsick] addle-headed, foolish. Common at this time, and occurring as early as Caxton. It is in Edward's Damon and Pithias (ante 1566); Misfortunes of Arthur (Hazlitt's Dodsley, iv. 307), 1587; Marlowe, Jew of Malta; and Greene has it several times. See Troilus and Cressida, ii. ii. 122, and Lucrece, 175. In Titus Andronicus, and twice in 2 Henry VI.

113. factious] dissention, rebellious. Frequent in these three plays, and in Troilus and Cressida.

115. emulations] jealousies. See Galatians v. 19, 20 (Craig).
Presumptuous vassals! are you not ashamed
With this immodest clamorous outrage
To trouble and disturb the king and us?
And you, my lords, methinks you do not well
To bear with their perverse objections;
Much less to take occasion from their mouths
To raise a mutiny betwixt yourselves:
Let me persuade you take a better course.

Exe. It grieves his highness: good my lords, be friends.

K. Hen. Come hither, you that would be combatants.

Henceforth I charge you, as you love our favour,
Quite to forget this quarrel and the cause.
And you, my lords, remember where we are;
In France, amongst a fickle wavering nation.
If they perceive dissension in our looks,
And that within ourselves we disagree,
How will their grudging stomachs be provok'd
To wilful disobedience, and rebel!
Beside, what infamy will there arise,
When foreign princes shall be certified
That for a toy, a thing of no regard,
King Henry's peers and chief nobility
Destroy'd themselves, and lost the realm of France!
O! think upon the conquest of my father,
My tender years, and let us not forgo
That for a trifle that was bought with blood.
Let me be umpire in this doubtful strife.
I see no reason, if I wear this rose,

152. [Putting ... ] Johnson; omitted Ff.
That any one should therefore be suspicious
I more incline to Somerset than York:
Both are my kinsmen, and I love them both.
As well they may upbraid me with my crown,
Because, forsooth, the king of Scots is crown'd.
But your discretions better can persuade
Than I am able to instruct or teach:
And therefore, as we hither came in peace,
So let us still continue peace and love.
Cousin of York, we institute your grace
To be our regent in these parts of France:
And, good my Lord of Somerset, unite
Your troops of horsemen with his bands of foot;
And, like true subjects, sons of your progenitors,
Go cheerfully together and digest
Your angry choler on your enemies.
Ourself, my lord protector, and the rest,

167. digest] digest F 2.

162, 163. Cousin of York . . . our regent in these parts of France] "After the death of . . . the Duke of Bedford . . . the Englishe people . . . set up a new sayle, and beganne the warre newe agayne, and appointed for Regent in Fraunce, Richard Duke of Yorke . . . although the Duke of Yorke, both for birth and courage, was worthy of this honour and preferment, yet he was so disdayned of Edmonde Duke of Somersset, byeng Cosyn to the king, that he was promoted to so high an office (which he in very deede gaped and looked for) that by all wayes and meanes possible, he both hindered and detracted him, glad of his losse, and sorie of his well doing; causing him to linger in England without dispatch, till Parys and the Flower of Fraunce were gotten by the French king. The Duke of Yorke perceyving his euil will, openly dissimuled that which he inwardly thought, eche working things to the others displeasure. This cancared malice and pestiferous diuision so long continued in the hартes of these two Princes, till mortall warre consumed them both, and almost all their lines and ofspings, as within fewe yeres you shall perceyue." (The XIII Yere (p. 606), 1435). Boswell Stone omits this obviously needed passage (from Hall and Grafton); he proceeds here to consider "good my lord of Somersset, unite . . . your horsemen . . . with his foot" (164, 165), and finds historical warrant in 1443 for the joined forces in the following passage, in Grafton (The XIX Yere (1440, not 1443), p. 619): "The Dukes of Yorke and Sommersset, lykewise entered into the Duchie of Aniow, and Countie of Mayne, destroyyng towanes, spoilyng the people, and with great pray and profite, repayed again into Normandie." This is quite a needless and confusing excursion to mention here. Nothing in the play arises out of Henry's friendly mandate to the two rivals. But that it was of no effect, Grafton tells us (607): "Many other towanes in Fraunce were taken and betrayed, for lacke of succours and sufficient garrisons, then the Duke of Yorke appoynted at the Parliament before to be regent of Fraunce, and by the disdeyn and envy of the Duke of Sommerset and other, not till now dispatched, was sent into Normandie." 167. digest] distribute, disperse, dissipate. The oldest sense of this word, often spelt "digest" at this time, and still provincially in the North. Compare All's Well that Euds Well, v. iii. 74. Physical language of the time. Compare Kyd's Corinelia, iv. ii. 220-223:—

"Wicked Enuie . . .
To choller doth convart
Purest blood about the heart,
Which oreflowing of their brest
Sufreth nothing to digest."
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

After some respite will return to Calais;
From thence to England, where I hope ere long
To be presented, by your victories,
With Charles, Alençon, and that traitorous rout.


War. My Lord of York, I promise you, the king
Prettily, metheought, did play the orator.
York. And so he did; but yet I like it not
In that he wears the badge of Somerset.
War. Tush! that was but his fancy, blame him not;
I dare presume, sweet prince, he thought no harm.
York. An if I wist he did,—but let it rest;
Other affairs must now be managed.

[Exeunt all but Exeter.

Exe. Well didst thou, Richard, to suppress thy voice;
For had the passions of thy heart burst out,
I fear we should have seen decipher'd there
More rancorous spite, more furious raging broils,
Than yet can be imagined or supposed.
But howsoe'er, no simple man that sees


... Ff 1, 2; Exeunt, Manet ... Ff 3, 4.
180. An if I wist he did,—]
181. Exeunt ...] Exeunt, Flourish.

170. respite delay, rest. So Spenser,
Faerie Queene, ii. xi. 8, 9:—
"Lawlesse lustes ..."
Against the bulwarke of the sight
Did lay strong siege ... 
Ne once did yield it respitt day nor night."
174. I promise you] I assure you.
See Merchant of Venice, iii. v. 3, etc.
etc. Occurs many times in Shakespeare.
Sometimes equivalent to "methinks."

175. play the orator] Occurs again,
3 Henry VI. i. ii. 2; ii. 43; iii. ii. 188; and Richard III. iii. v. 95.
Very near also in Part II. iii. ii. 274. One of the many phrases showing continuity of authorship.
Two of the three uses in Part III. are in Qq. The last is not.
Marlowe has it in Tamburlaine, Part I.:—
"Shall we fight courageously with them,
Or look you I should play the orator?"
[i. 2].
177. badge] cognizance. See ii. iv.
108, note.

178. Tush!] Shakespeare's favourite ejaculation. See Othello, 1. i. 1 (note, Arden ed.).
180. An if I wist he did,—] Rowe,
Theobald and Steevens read this line variously. York means to say, menacingly, "if I thought he did"—but checks his threat with "let it rest." The same figure occurs in Coriolanus, ii. iii. 89, and elsewhere (Malone). "An if" is very common in Shakespeare for "if."

184. decipher'd] discovered, disclosed.
See Titus Andronicus, iv. ii. 8. Compare Peele: "Ulysses ... In pedler's base array decipher'd him" (Tale of Troy (1589) 554, b). Greene often uses the word also.

185. rancorous spite] "There sate
Cruell Revenge, and rancorous Despight,
Disloyall Treason, and hart-burning Hate;
But gnawing Gealosy, out of their sight
Sitting alone"
(Faerie Queene, ii. vii. 22).
This jarring discord of nobility,
This shouldering of each other in the court,
This factious bandying of their favourites,
But that it doth presage some ill event.
'Tis much when sceptres are in children's hands;
But more when envy breeds unkind division:
There comes the ruin, there begins confusion.

SCENE II.—Before Bourdeaux.

Enter Talbot, with trumpet and drum.

Trumpet sounds. Enter General and others, aloft.

English John Talbot, captains, calls you forth,
Servant in arms to Harry King of England;

191. But that it] Ff 1, 2; By that it Ff 3, 4. 194. There comes] F 1; Then comes Ff 2, 3, 4.

SCENE II.


188. jarring discord] Compare "jarring notes" (Taming of Shrew, v. ii. 1); and "jarring concord" (All's Well that Ends Well, i. i. 186).
189. shoulder] Spenser uses this—
"Some thought to raise themselves to high degree
By riches and unrighteous reward:
Some by close shoulder; some by flattering"
(Faerie Queene, ii. vii. 47). The passage is descriptive of the Court of Ambition. And in Colin Clout's Come Home Again, speaking of court he says:
"Ne is there place for any gentle wit . . .
But shouldred is or out of doore quite shit"
(ll. 707-709). And in Faerie Queene, ii. xii. 23: "Spring-headed hydres; and sea-shouldering whales."
190. bandying] contending. See Romeo and Juliet, iii. i. 92, where the word is substantively used. A new term in this sense.
191. presage] presage or foretell (to him). Occurs several times in Shake- speare meaning indicate (prophetically). Compare Locrine, iii. ii. 1: "See how the traitor doth presage his harm"; and again v. 4. And Faerie Queene, i. x. 61.
192. 'Tis much] it's a hard case. Compare Venus and Adonis, 411; Richard III. iii. vii. 93; Othello, iv. i. 254, etc. Thoroughly in Shakespeare's way.
192. sceptres . . . children's hands] See 2 Henry VI. i. i. 245.
193. unkind] unnatural.
193. division] disunion. See extract at ll. 162, 163, above. In the foregoing scene there is little evidence of Greene's work. Exeter's closing speech, with the "furious raging broils" and his favourite "deciphered," comes near him. But even there the broils would have been bloody.

SCENE II.

SCENE II.—Before Bourdeaux] The sequence of events in the play requires us to travel forward from the fourteenth year of King Henry to the thirty-first and thirty-second—from 1435 to 1451. In 1451, in consequence of "the pestif- erous division which reigned in Eng- land," and "so inveigled the brains of the noblemen there," no succour came to the English subjects in Aquitaine and
And thus he would: Open your city gates,
Be humble to us, call my sovereign yours,
And do him homage as obedient subjects,
And I'll withdraw me and my bloody power;
But if you frown upon this proffer'd peace,
You tempt the fury of my three attendants,
Lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire;
Who in a moment even with the earth
the Gascon towns, of which the French
king was determined to get possession.
Grafton gives a full account of how, one
by one, all were lost—all Normandy—
and especially Bourdeaux, which had
been English for about three centuries.
At this time the Duke of York, in order
to advance privily, without spot of
usurpation, his title to the crown,
thought it expedient to pick a quarrel
with the Duke of Somerset: "which
ruled the king, ordered the realm and
most might doe with the Queene:
Whome the commons, for the losse of
Normandy, worse then a Tode or
Scorpion hated, disdaigned and abhorred,
in so much that diverse evil ruled
persons, brake his house and spoyled
his goods" (p. 646). During the factions
and commotions that ensued (Black
heath, Brent heath) "came Ambassa-
dors from the heddes and Magistrates
of the City of Burdeaux ... which
signified to the Counsaile, that if they
would send an armie into Gascoy, the
Gascoynes would revert and turne
againe to the English part (p. 648).
... The Counsayle of Englande ...,
apPOINTED THE noble souldiour and
valyaunt Capitayne John Lorde Talbot,
and Erle of Shrewsburie to be Chiefe-
tayne of the armie which should in all
haste be transported into Aquitaine.
The Lordes of Gascoyne ... glad of
their answere ... exhorting every
man to be firme ... to the King of
England and his heyres, under whose
liberty ... they had prospered ... above
three hundred yeres, rather than
to fall into the French captivity:
whose ... daylie exactions were to
them importable ... The Erle of
Shrewsburie toke his chauncse ... his
army, being scant three thousand
men, and destroyed all the Countrie
between Burdeaux and Blay, and toke the strong
towne and Castell of Fronsac, and divers
other townes ... till he came before
the Citie of Burdeaux. The citizens
... opened one gate and let in a great
parte of the Englishe armie."

6. humble] F 1; humbled F 2, 3, 4.

"Crying for battle, famine, sword,
and fire,
Rather than calling for relief or
life"

11. Lean famine] Shakespeare
abounds in epithets to personifications.
See "pale destruction," below, l. 27.
"Lean" is usually appropriated by
Envie. See Whitney's Emblems (ed.
Green, p. 94). 1586: "This Envie is
leane, pale, and full of yeares."
Shall lay your stately and air-braving towers,
If you forsake the offer of their love.

_Gen._ Thou ominous and fearful owl of death,

Our nation's terror and their bloody scourge!
The period of thy tyranny approacheth.
On us thou canst not enter but by death;
For, I protest, we are well fortified,
And strong enough to issue out and fight:
If thou retire, the Dauphin, well appointed,

---

But death doth front thee with apparent spoil,
And pale destruction meets thee in the face.

Ten thousand French have ta'en the sacrament
To rive their dangerous artillery

25. _Ten . . . sacrament_ placed before line 25 in Ff 2, 3, 4. 29. _rive_] Ff

14. _If you forsake the offer of their love_ Steevens compares _Henry VIII._

15. _owl of death_] See _Richard III._

16. _their bloody scourge_] See _Richard III._

23. _on either hand thee_ i.e. of thee.

23. _squadrons pitch'd_] Compare Kyd's _Spanish Tragedy._

29. _rive their . . . artilllery_] Explan ed "fire till they split," which is not satisfactory. The object is not to burst the guns but to hit Talbot. I should like to read "rove," an ordinary term, meaning to find the elevation or aim. See Nares for examples. Used by Sir John Harington, Spenser, etc. And in Greene: "But Bacon roves a bow beyond his reach" (Frier _Bacon_, Grosart, xiii. 17). However, no one except Shakespeare would have made this bold and expressive use of the word "_rive_."
Upon no Christian soul but English Talbot.
Lo! there thou stand'st a breathing valiant man,
Of an invincible unconquer'd spirit:
This is the latest glory of thy praise,
That I, thy enemy, due thee withal;
For e're the glass, that now begins to run,
Finish the process of his sandy hour,
These eyes, that see thee now well coloured,
Shall see thee wither'd, bloody, pale, and dead.

[Drum afar off.]

Hark! hark! the Dauphin's drum, a warning bell,
Sings heavy music to thy timorous soul,
And mine shall ring thy dire departure out.

[Exeunt General, etc.]

Tal. He fables not; I hear the enemy.
Out, some light horsemen, and peruse their wings.
O! negligent and heedless discipline;

34. due] Theobald; dew Fr.

36. sandy hour] hour measured by the sand of the glass. Compare Merchant of Venice, 1. i. 25: "I should not see the sandy hour-glass run."

38. with'er'd] See 3 Henry VI. 11. v. 102.

39. warning bell] Compare Romeo and Juliet, v. iii. 207. Greene has the term in A Looking Glasse for London (Grosart, xiv. 87, l. 1981):—
"Sinne growne to pride, to misery is thrall,
The warning bell is rung, beware to fall."

41. departure] death. Not again in Shakespeare. New Eng. Dict. quotes from a Will, 1558. And from 2 Timothy (A.V.), 1611. It is in Kyd's Corinella, iii. iii. 85 (Boas ed.): "Hee that of his departure tooke the spoyle"; and earlier, "departure or decease" occurs.

42. He fables not] The verb is found again only in 3 Henry VI. v. v. 25. Steevens quotes from Greene's George-a-Greene, The Pinner of Wakefield (Grosart, xiv. 153): "good father, fable not with him" (the lines are miserable stuff). Greene has it again in The Carde of Fancie (Grosart, iv. 163), 1584: "Why Gwydonius (quoth he) wilt thou seeke to prove thy selfe loyal, when the hear lese thee a lyar . . . Dost thou think my fathers furie wil suffer thee to fable?"

43. some light horsemen] "light-armed cavalry soldiers," acting as scouts. New Eng. Dict. quotes from Patten, Expedition to Scotland, 1548. I find the term in a Letter from the Queen to the Bishop of Chester, 1580 (Nichols' Progresses, ii. 298, ed.,1823): "We thinke yt verie convenient and needfull for our present service and the defence of that our realme [Ireland] to have a certaine number of horsemen put in readiness to serve as light horsemen"; and again next page. Compare Pecce, Battle of Alcazar, iv. i.:—
"Consisting of light armed horse
And of the garrisons from Tangier brought"

(p. 435, a).

43. peruse] examine. In Golding's Ovid, bk. xiv. ii. 312, 313:—
"And so perusing every herb by good advysemest, she
Did wey them out."

See Richard II. iii. iii. 53 and 2 Henry IV. iv. ii. 94.

43. wings] a military term. See quotation at "chosen shot," i. iv. 53. In All's Well that Ends Well, Cymbeline, etc. See quotation from Spanish Tragedy at 1. 23.
How are we park'd and bounded in a pale, 45
A little herd of England's timorous deer,
Maz'd with a yelping kennel of French curs!
If we be English deer, be then in blood;
Not rascal-like, to fall down with a pinch,
But rather moody, mad, and desperate stags,
Turn on the bloody hounds with heads of steel
And make the cowards stand aloof at bay:
Sell every man his life as dear as mine,
And they shall find dear deer of us, my friends.
God and Saint George, Talbot and England's right, 55
Prosper our colours in this dangerous fight!

[Execunt.

50. moody, mad, and] moodie mad: And Ff 1, 2, 3; moodie mad and F 4; moody-mad and Capell, Cambridge.

45. park'd] enclosed, as in a park. New Eng. Dict. has several examples ranging backwards to beginning of century. "Pare," an enclosure, is frequent in Shakespeare. Compare Puttenham, Arte of English Poesie (Arber, p. 112): — "Within the pale of true obeysaunce:
Holding imparked as it were,
Her people like to heards of deere." Shakespeare often recalls Puttenham. See Love's Labour's Lost (Introduction, Arden ed.).
47. Maz'd] stupefied, dazed.
48. in blood] in perfect trim. See Love's Labour's Lost, iv. ii. 4, note, Arden edition, p. 71. See Cortilanus, i. i. 163. Compare Jonson's Sad Shepherd, i. ii.: —
"A heart of ten... good venison,
According to the season in the blood."
A sportsman's term.
49. rascal-like] like the worthless deer of a herd, with reference to the ordinary sense of rascal. See i. ii. 35 (note).
49. pinch] a snap, or slight bite. From the verb used 3 Henry VI. ii. i. 16. A recognised term in the chase; see note at last reference. The verb occurs twice in Golding's Ovid. And in Spenser's Visions of Petrarch, i. : —
"Two eager dogs... so in their cruell race
They pinch the haunches of that gentle beast."

50. moody] sulky, "dangerous." Compare Golding's Ovid, vi. 42, 43: —
"Hir countnance did bewray
Hir moodie minde."
I am quite unable (from some mental obliquity) to see the desirability of Capell's interjected hyphen here. The adjective is a favourite one with Shakespeare.
50. mad] passionate, furious. See below, iii. 28.
52. stand aloof] Occurs several times in Shakespeare, who uses "aloof" only with "stand" and "keep." "Off aloof" occurs below, iv. iv. 21. Compare Locrine, i. i.: —
"I will not stand aloof from off the lure,
Like crafty dames that most of all deny
That which they most desire to possess"
(lines recalling Shakespeare more than is often the case).
54. dear deer] a favourite quibble in Shakespeare. See Love's Labour's Lost, iv. i. 112 (and note, Arden edition). Schmidt references it no less than nine times.
55. God and Saint George] See again 3 Henry VI. ii. i. 204, and iv. ii. 29; Richard III. v. iii. 270. We may safely set this scene, like its predecessor, down to Shakespeare.
55. Talbot and England's right] See i. i. 128, note.
SCENE III.—Plains in Gascony.

Enter York, with Forces; to him, a Messenger.

York. Are not the speedy scouts return’d again
That dogg’d the mighty army of the Dauphin?

Mess. They are return’d, my lord, and give it out
That he is march’d to Bourdeaux with his power,
To fight with Talbot. As he march’d along,
By your espials were discovered
Two mightier troops than that the Dauphin led,
Which join’d with him and made their march for Bourdeaux.

York. A plague upon that villain Somerset,
That thus delays my promised supply
Of horsemen that were levied for this siege!
Renowned Talbot doth expect my aid,
And I am louted by a traitor villain
And cannot help the noble chevalier.
God comfort him in this necessity!
If he miscarry, farewell wars in France.

Enter Sir William Lucy.

Lucy. Thou princely leader of our English strength,
Never so needful on the earth of France,
Spur to the rescue of the noble Talbot,
Who now is girdled with a waist of iron


SCENES III. and IV. The presence of York and Somerset during these occurrences culminating in Talbot’s death, is imaginary. They were raising civil war in England at this time. See extract at the opening of the last scene.

2. dogg’d] tracked, followed, keeping knowledge of the whereabouts; “shadowed.” Greene uses the word in A Hye and a Shee Conny-Catcher (Grosart, x. 207): “And then dogge the partie into a presse where . . . hee shall not feele when we strip him of his boun.” and p. 214: “They haunted about the Inne where he laie, and dogged him into divers places.”

6. espials See i. iv. 8 and note.
9. that villain Somerset] See extracts at iv. i. 162, 163.
And hemm'd about with grim destruction.
To Bourdeaux, war-like duke! to Bourdeaux, York!
Else, farewell Talbot, France, and England's honour.

_York._ O God! that Somerset, who in proud heart
Doth stop my cornets, were in Talbot's place:
So should we save a valiant gentleman
By forfeiting a traitor and a coward.
Mad ire and wrathful fury make me weep
That thus we die, while remiss traitors sleep.

_Lucy._ O! send some succour to the distress'd lord.

_York._ He dies, we lose; I break my war-like word;
We mourn, France smiles; we lose, they daily get;
All long of this vile traitor Somerset.

33. _long_] Ff; 'long

Johnson, Cambridge.
Lucy. Then God take mercy on brave Talbot's soul; 35
And on his son young John, whom two hours since
I met in travel toward his war-like father.
This seven years did not Talbot see his son;
And now they meet where both their lives are done.

York. Alas! what joy shall noble Talbot have
To bid his young son welcome to his grave? 40
Away! vexation almost stops my breath
That sunder'd friends greet in the hour of death.
Lucy, farewell: no more my fortune can
But curse the cause I cannot aid the man.
Maine, Blois, Poictiers, and Tours, are won away,
Long all of Somerset and his delay.

[Exit, with his soldiers.

Lucy. Thus, while the vulture of sedition
Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders,
Sleeping neglect doth betray to loss
The conquest of our scarce cold conqueror,
That ever living man of memory,
Henry the Fifth: whiles they each other cross,
Lives, honours, lands, and all hurry to loss.

[Exit.

36. toward] F 1; towards Ff 2, 3, 4. bridge. 53. [Exit] omitted F 1.

37. This seven years] this long time.
Not to be taken literally, though dates and days are quite plastic in this play.
A common expression in Shakespeare, as in 1 Henry IV. ii. iv. 343, and 2 Henry VI. ii. i. 2. A very old phrase occurring in Chaucer's Knightes Tale (l. 1452); and in Piers Plowman (Skeat's edition, vol. i. p. 147), ante 1377; in most of the early Mystery plays, and very common in the 16th century.
Perpetuated in more than one proverb, as "It hath in one hour that hath not in seven yeare" (Heywood, 1546, etc. etc.).

41. stops my breath] kills me. Compare Faerie Queene, ii. x. 60: "through poison stopped was his breath."

46. Long all of] all along of, all owing to; see line 33 above.

47, 48. vulture ... Feeds in the bosom] a metaphor from Prometheus and Tityus. See Merry Wives of Windsor, i. iii. 94: "Let vultures gripe thy guts," and note in Arden edition, p. 43. Shakespeare has this allusion several times. Perhaps there is no commoner loan to the poets from the ancients. Twice in Golding's Ovid the bird is named a "Grype."

48. great commanders] Occurs again in Troilus and Cressida, and in Henry V. Compare Peele, A Tale of Troy (558, a): "The great commander of such lordly peers"; and Locrine, ii. iv.: "Albanact, The great commander of these regions."

49. neglect] disregard; found again Troilus and Cressida, i. iii. 127; and in Pericles, iii. iii. 20 (Ff neglect). Halliwell gives it as a Gloucestershire provincialism. New Eng. Dict. has no example earlier than Shakespeare, and only one of any sort from Owen Feltham.


51. ever living man of memory] An example of the transposition of words so commonly adopted by Shakespeare (man of ever living memory). "Ever-living" was an early compound. See Introduction; Faerie Queene, 1. i. 38, 39, 41: "ever-damned." This scene is undoubtedly Shakespeare's.
SCENE IV.—Other plains in Gascony.

Enter Somerset, with his army; a Captain of Talbot's with him.

Som. It is too late; I cannot send them now:
This expedition was by York and Talbot
Too rashly plotted: all our general force
Might with a sally of the very town
Be buckled with: the over-daring Talbot
Hath sullied all his gloss of former honour
By this unheedful, desperate, wild adventure:
York set him on to fight and die in shame,
That, Talbot dead, great York might bear the name.

Cap. Here is Sir William Lucy, who with me
Set from our o'ermatch'd forces forth for aid.

Enter Sir William Lucy.

Som. How now, Sir William! whither were you sent?
Lucy. Whither, my lord? from bought and sold Lord Talbot;


4. sally] See again, 1 Henry IV. ii. iii. 54, and Troilus and Cressida, v. iii. 14.
5. buckled with] See note, i. ii. 95.
5. over-daring] Only here in Shakespeare. Marlowe uses it in Edward the Second (Dyce, ed. 1859, 188, a): "Meet you for this, proud over-daring peers?" He has the verb in Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. v. (Dyce, 59, a): "To over-dare the pride of Græcia" (1587). Marlowe is strong in verbs with "over." Compare too Locrine (Greene and Peele), i. i.: "Ixion's over-daring son." And Sylvester's Du Bartas (ed. 1626, p. 17), 1591: "Senacheriib's proud over-daring Hoast."
6. sullied all his gloss] Craig compares Othello, i. iii. 228, 229: "slubber the gloss of your new fortunes." "Gloss" is a favourite word with Shakespeare. "Sully" occurs again Merry Wives of Windsor, ii. i. 102, and 1 Henry IV. ii. iv. 84. And "un-sullied" is in Love's Labour's Lost, v. ii. 352.
7. unheedful] rash. Shakespeare has this again in Two Gentlemen of Verona, ii. vi. 11; and the adverb, i. ii. 3 in the same play.


11. o'ermatch'd] Occurs again 3 Henry VI. i. iv. 64; "over-matching" occurs in that play also (i. iv. 21). The verb is old, but the example in the text is the earliest for the participial adjective in New Eng. Dict. "Over-matching foes" is in Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Part I (Dyce, ed. 1859, 13, b), 1586.

13. bought and sold] Compare "Dickon thy master is bought and sold," Richard III. v. iii. 305; King John, v. iv. 10; and Comedy of Errors, iii. i. 72. New Eng. Dict. says: "be-trayed for a bribe," and quotes Cursor Mundi (ante 1300): "How that Ioseph was boght and sold." It came to mean simply "made a fool of." Compare Nash, The Unfortunate Traveller (Grosart, v. 21): "Oh, quoth he, I am bought & solde for doing my country such good service as I have done" (1594). See Lyly's Mother Bombie, iv. ii.: "Luecio. Nay, Sir, there is no harme done; they have neither bought nor solde, they may be twins for theyr wits and yeeres" (i.e., neither has
Who, ring'd about with bold adversity,  
Cries out for noble York and Somerset,  
To beat assailing death from his weak legions:  
And whiles the honourable captain there  
Drops bloody sweat from his war-wearied limbs,  
And, in advantage lingering, looks for rescue,  
You, his false hopes, the trust of England's honour,  
Keep off aloof with worthless emulation.  
Let not your private discord keep away  
The levied succours that should lend him aid,  
While he, renowned noble gentleman,  
Yields up his life unto a world of odds:  
Orleans the Bastard, Charles, Burgundy,  
Alençon, Reignier, compass him about,  
And Talbot perisheth by your default.  

Som. York set him on; York should have sent him aid.  

Lucy. And York as fast upon your grace exclaims;  
Swearing that you withhold his levied host  
Collected for this expedition.  

Som. York lies; he might have sent and had the horse:  
I owe him little duty, and less love,  
And take foul scorn to fawn on him by sending.  

Lucy. The fraud of England, not the force of France,  
Hath now entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot.
THE FIRST PART OF

Never to England shall he bear his life,
But dies, betray'd to fortune by your strife.

Som. Come, go; I will despatch the horsemen straight:
Within six hours they will be at his aid.

Lucy. Too late comes rescue: he is ta'en or slain,
For fly he could not if he would have fled;
And fly would Talbot never, though he might.

Som. If he be dead, brave Talbot, then adieu!

Lucy. His fame lives in the world, his shame in you.

[Exeunt.

SCENE V.—The English camp near Bourdeau.

Enter Talbot and his Son.

Tal. O young John Talbot! I did send for thee
To tutor thee in stratagems of war,
That Talbot's name might be in thee reviv'd
When sapless age and weak unable limbs

42. rescue: he is] rescue, he is Ff 1, 2; rescue, if he is Ff 3, 4.

SCENE V.

Som. His son] Malone. his son] Ff;
John his son Cambridge.

(Polyhymnia (570 a), 1590). And in
Locrine, iii. i. :-

"Priam . . .
When he beheld his noble-minded
son
Slain traitorously by all the Mir-
midons."

SCENES V.-VII. Grafton (pp. 649-650) continues from the extract quoted at the opening of Scene ii.: "... After the regaying of Burdeaux, arrived at Blay the Bastarde of Sommerset, Sir John Talbot Lorde Lisle, by his wife sonne to the sayde Erle of Shrewsbury . . . the Erle of Shrewsbury . . . fortified Burdeaux with English men . . . after that he rode into the Countrey abroad, where he obtayned Cities & gat townes without stroke or dent of sworde . . . The French King . . . assembled a great armie . . . of xxij thousand men, and . . . marched toward Calice . . . After that towne gayned, the French King divided his armie into two parties . . . the one . . . he appointed to take the next way toward Burdeaux . . . the other armie whereof he was Capitayn . . . he kept and retayned still beside Ca-
leys . . . and sent the two Marshallles of Fraunce . . . to besiege the townes of Chastillon in Perigot . . . The Erle of Shrewsbury hearing of these newes, and perceyving that . . . he must of necessitie . . . fight with two armies, determined . . . to assay the least power . . . he assembled together euyght C horsemen, whereof the Lord Lisle his sonne, the Lorde Molyns . . . were chiefe, and so marched forward toward Chastylon . . . he asuited the Tower . . . and by force entered . . . They within the townes . . . sent out worde to the Englishe men that the French men had fled. The courageous Erle hearing these newes . . . not tariyng till his footemen were come, set forward toward his enemies . . . where the French men were encamp'd (as Æneas Silvius testifieth) were three hundred peeces of Brasse . . . and subtill engines . . . unknowne, and no-
thing suspected, they lighted all on foote the Erle of Shrewsburie onely except, which because of his age, rode on a little Hackeny, and fought fiercely with the French men and gat the entrie of their Campe. . . . Thys conflict con-
Should bring thy father to his drooping chair.
But, O malignant and ill-boding stars!
Now thou art come unto a feast of death,
A terrible and unavoided danger:
Therefore, dear boy, mount on my swiftest horse,
And I'll direct thee how thou shalt escape
By sudden flight: come, daily not, be gone.

tinued in doutfull judgement of victorie
two long houres: during which fight
the Lords of Montamban and Humadaye, with a great company of French
men entered the battayle and began a
new fielde and sodainely the Gonners
... discharged their ordinaunce, and
slue three hundred persons nere to
the Erle, who perceying the imminent
jeopardie, and subtle labirynth in the
which he and his people were enclosed
and wrapped, dispising his awne save-
guarde, and desiring the lyfe of his en-
tierly and wellbeloved sonne the Lord
Lisle, willed, advertised, and counsayled
him to departe out of the fielde and to
save himself. But when the sonne had
answered him that it was neyther
honest nor naturall for him to leaue
his father in the extreme jeopardie of
his lyfe, and that he would taste of that
draught which his father and Parent
should assay and beginne: The noble
Erle and comfortable Capitayne sayde
to him: Oh sonne, sonne, I thy father,
which onely hath bene the terror and
scourge to the French people so many
yeres, which hath subverted so many
townes ... neyther can flie or depart
without perpetuall shame. ... But be-
cause this is thy first journey and enter-
prise neyther thy lyeng shall redounde
to thy shame, nor thy death to thy
glorie; for as hardie a man wisely
flyeth as a rashe person foolishly
abideth, therefore the lyeng of me
shall be the dishonor, not onely of
me and my progenie, but also a discom-
fiture of all my company: thy departure
shall saue thy lyfe, and make thee able
another tymes, if I be slayne to reuenge
my death. ... But nature so wrought
in the sonne, that neyther desire of
lyfe, nor thought of securitie, could with-
draw or plucke him from his naturall
father: Who considering the constance
of his childe ... cheare his Capit-
aynes, and valiantly set on his enemies
and slue of them more in number then
he had in his company. But his enemies
... first shot him through the thighe

with a handgonne, and slue his horse,
and cowardly kylled him, lyeng on the
ground, whome they never durst looke
in the face, while he stoode on his feete,
and with him there dyed manfully his
sonne the Lord Lisle, his bastard sonne
Henry Talbot and Syr Edward Hull,
elect to the order of the Garter, and
xxx valyant personages, ... and the
Lorde Molys was there taken prisoner
with lx. other. The residew fled to Bur-
deaux and other places, whereof in the
flight were slayne aboue a thousand
persons” (The XXXI Yere).

2. To tutor thee] This not common
verb occurs eight or ten times in Shake-
spare. See Romeo and Juliet. iii. i. 32.

3. stratagems of war] Peele has this
phrase: “Train’d up in feats and
stratagems of war” (David and Beth-
sabe (477, b)).

4. safless] See note at ii. v. 11, 12, 18.

5. to his drooping chair] Compare
2 Henry VI. v. ii. 48: “In thy rever-
ence, and thy chair-days.” Hardly
well-turn’d expressions, either of them,
poetically.

6. malignant] having an evil in-
fluence. A Shakespearian use. “What
fattall starre malignant” occurs in True
Tragedie (Quarto of 3 Henry VI.) at
ii. iii. 8.

7. ill-boding] See again 3 Henry VI.
ii. vi. 59. Inauspicious. Milton used
the expression later (New Eng. Dict.).
No earlier use in New Eng. Dict.

8. unavoidable] inevitable. See Rich-
ard II. i. 268; Richard III. iv. iv.
217. It occurs similarly in Golding’s
Ovid:—

“With deadly stripe of unavoidable
blow
Strake through the breast”

(bk. ii. ll. 760, 761). And again:—

“thunderclaps and lightning . . .
Of deadly unavoidable dynt”

(bk. iii. ll. 377, 378).
John. Is my name Talbot? and am I your son?
And shall I fly? O! if you love my mother,
Dishonour not her honourable name,
To make a bastard and a slave of me:
The world will say, he is not Talbot's blood
That basely fled when noble Talbot stood.
Tal. Fly, to revenge my death if I be slain.
John. He that flies so will ne'er return again.
Tal. If we both stay, we both are sure to die.
John. Then let me stay; and father, do you fly:
Your loss is great, so your regard should be;
My worth unknown, no loss is known in me.
Upon my death the French can little boast;
In yours they will, in you all hopes are lost.
Flight cannot stain the honour you have won;
But mine it will that no exploit have done:
You fled for vantage every one will swear;
But if I bow, they'll say it was for fear.
There is no hope that ever I will stay
If the first hour I shrink and run away.
Here, on my knee, I beg mortality,
Rather than life preserv'd with infamy.
Tal. Shall all thy mother's hopes lie in one tomb?
John. Ay, rather than I'll shame my mother's womb.
Tal. Upon my blessing I command thee go.
John. To fight I will, but not to fly the foe.
Tal. Part of thy father may be sav'd in thee.
John. No part of him but will be shame in me.
Tal. Thou never hadst renown, nor canst not lose it.
John. Yes, your renowned name: shall flight abuse it?
Tal. Thy father's charge shall clear thee from that stain.

37. to fly] flye Ff 3, 4. 42. that] yt F 1; ye F 2; the Ff 3, 4.

16-17. blood . . . stood] The deliberate excursion into rhyming couplets is very noteworthy here. Traces of it appear at the end of the previous scene, and in an early speech of La Pucelle's. But in the following scenes it is adopted continually down to vii. 50. This recalls Peele. But rhyming does not preclude Shakespeare's early work. Love's Labour's Lost and Comedy of Errors afford plenty of it. It may be regarded as legitimate stage-work of the time. See below, 34-42, note.

26. Flight cannot stain] John's arguments in this speech are mostly borrowed from his father's speech in Grafton.

29. bow] bend, show signs of yielding, stoop.

32. mortality] death.

34-42. These rhyming lines in a dialogue, whether in consecutive or in alternate lines, belong to the earliest period of Shakespeare's work. They abound in Love's Labour's Lost, Comedy of Errors, Two Gentlemen of Verona and Richard III. The practice was common (rhymed or unrhymed) in the earlier dramatists, and was a favourite trick in Greek tragedy. It is harmless enough as a conversationalist method perhaps (as in Lyly's plays), but becomes very artificial and unsuitable in various situations. Good illustrations of the unrhymed method
John. You cannot witness for me, being slain.
    If death be so apparent, then both fly.

Tal. And leave my followers here to fight and die?
    My age was never tainted with such shame.

John. And shall my youth be guilty of such blame?
    No more can I be severed from your side
    Than can yourself yourself in twain divide.
    Stay, go, do what you will, the like do I;
    For live I will not if my father die.

Tal. Then here I take my leave of thee, fair son,
    Born to eclipse thy life this afternoon.
    Come, side by side together live and die,
    And soul with soul from France to heaven fly.

SCENE VI.—A field of battle.

Alarum: excursions, wherein Talbot's Son is hemmed about,
    and Talbot rescues him.

Tal. Saint George and victory! fight, soldiers, fight!
    The regent hath with Talbot broke his word,
    And left us to the rage of France his sword.
    Where is John Talbot? Pause, and take thy breath;
    I gave thee life and rescu'd thee from death.

John. O! twice my father, twice am I thy son:
    The life thou gav'st me first was lost and done,
    Till with thy war-like sword, despite of fate,
    To my determin'd time thou gav'st new date.

Tal. When from the Dauphin's crest thy sword struck fire,
    It warm'd thy father's heart with proud desire
    Of bold-faced victory. Then leaden age,
    Quicken'd with youthful spleen and war-like rage,
    Beat down Alençon, Orleans, Burgundy,
    And from the pride of Gallia rescu'd thee.

SCENE VI. A field of battle] Capell.

are in Whetstone's Damon and Pithias; of the rhymed in Promos and Cassandra. The former is known as στίχουμενα, as is mentioned in the Irving Shakespeare's notes at this passage. See again, Part III. i. ii. 36-59.

53. "eclipse" extinguish. Steevens saw the quibble here between "son" and "sun," so frequent in Shakespeare. See note at Part III. iv. vi. 63 for Greene's use.

SCENE VI.

2, 3. word . . . sword] For the rhymed lines, see note at v. 15-16 above.
9. determin'd] fixed, ended.
15. pride of Gallia] full power (Schmidt). Compare Henry V. i. ii. 112; and see above, III. ii. 40. But the
The ireful bastard Orleans, that drew blood
From thee, my boy, and had the maidenhood
Of thy first fight, I soon encountered,
And, interchanging blows, I quickly shed
Some of his bastard blood; and in disgrace
Bespoke him thus: "Contaminated, base
And misbegotten blood I spill of thine,
Mean and right poor, for that pure blood of mine
Which thou didst force from Talbot, my brave boy:"
Here, purposing the Bastard to destroy,
Came in strong rescue. Speak, thy father's care,
Art thou not weary, John? how dost thou fare?
Wilt thou yet leave the battle, boy, and fly,
Now thou art seal'd the son of chivalry?
Fly, to revenge my death when I am dead;
The help of one stands me in little stead.
O! too much folly is it, well I wot,
To hazard all our lives in one small boat.
If I to-day die not with Frenchmen's rage,
To-morrow I shall die with mickle age:

meaning here is rather the flower, or
special glory in arms of Gallia—in the
person of Alençon, etc.
16. ireful] Shakespeare had an early
partiality for this word, afterwards
neglected. See 3 Henry VI. ii. i. 57
and ii. v. 132; Venus and Adonis, 628,
and Comedy of Errors, v. i. 151. It is in
Thystylis by L. Bryskett, in Spenser's
Astrophel: "Thy irefull bemes have
child our harts with cold." Sylvester
uses it in his Du Barias, 1591 (ed. 1621,
p. 138).
17. maidenhood] in this figurative
sense, the word "maidenhead" is
commonly used, as in 1 Henry IV. iv. i.
59.
22-23. of thine . . . of mine] See
Part II. i. i. 118 and above, ii. iii. 38.
29. son of chivalry] Elsewhere Shakes-
peare has son of darkness, war, hell
and fortune. Jonson was fond of this
figure; he has son of the sword, silence,
earth, noise, physic, etc. Lodge has
"sons of subtlety" (A Fig for Momus),
Beaumont and Fletcher adopt it freely.
32. well I wot] In Midsummer
Night's Dream, iii. ii. 422. Elsewhere
this expression is found only in the
historical plays, as Richard II. v. vi.
18; 3 Henry VI. ii. ii. 134, iv. vii. 83
and v. iv. 71. It is characteristic of
Greene; he uses it four times in
Alphonsus, King of Arragon (Grosart,
xiii. 361, 362, 398, 402); and again in
A Looking Glass for London (xiv. 104).
Hence it has been made a test of
Greene's handiwork. But Peele has it in
A Farewell to the General (1589)
and twice in Polyhymnia, and twice in
Jack Straw. Peele would know it
from his favourite Faerie Queene, for it
is found four times in the first two
books. All of these writers would
have known it from Grafton's Chronicle
in Richard II.'s speech on his deposition
(i. 476): "For well I wot and
knowledge and deme my selfe to be, and
have bene, insufficiant," etc.
Probably "well I wot" came from the
North, like many other expressions at
this date (1550-1600). It occurs several
times in The Townely Mysteries (circa
1460). Richard II.'s speech was in
1389.
33. hazard all . . . one small boat] Compare
Merchant of Venice, i. i. 42:
"My ventures are not in one bottom
trusted." This latter expression became
a common proverb, but I have no
example of the boat phrase.
35. mickle age] Occurs again 2 Henry
VI. v. i. 174: "That bows unto the
grave with mickle age." "Mickle" is a
scarce word in Shakespeare, met with
again in Romeo and Juliet, Comedy of
By me they nothing gain an if I stay;
'Tis but the short'ning of my life one day.
In thee thy mother dies, our household's name,
My death's revenge, thy youth, and England's fame.
All these and more we hazard by thy stay;
All these are sav'd if thou wilt fly away.

John. The sword of Orleans hath not made me smart;
'These words of yours draw life-blood from my heart.
On that advantage, bought with such a shame,
To save a paltry life and slay bright fame,
Before young Talbot from old Talbot fly,
The coward horse that bears me fall and die!
And like me to the peasant boys of France,
To be shame's scorn and subject of mischance!
Surely, by all the glory you have won,
An if I fly, I am not Talbot's son:
Then talk no more of flight, it is no boot;
If son to Talbot, die at Talbot's foot.

Tal. Then follow thou thy desperate sire of Crete,
Thou Icarus. Thy life to me is sweet:
If thou wilt fight, fight by thy father's side,
And, commendable proved, let's die in pride.

[Exeunt.]

36. an if] Capell; and if Ff. 44. 45. On that advantage . . . fame] On that bad vantage . . . fame Theobald (conj.); Out on that vantage . . . fame! Theobald. 51. An if] Theobald; And if Ff. 57. Exeunt] Rowe; Exit Ff.

Errors and Henry V. Greene uses "mickle" ad nauseam, sometimes meaning many ("mickle more") and several times the expression "mickle praise," great praise. 37. short'ning of my life one day] Steevens compared here: "God shorten Harry's happy life one day," 2 Henry IV. v. ii. 145. See also Winter's Tale, iv. iv. 432; "shorten thy life one week," and Hamlet, v. i. 22 and Richard II. i. iii. 227. But "shortening one's days" was an ancient and biblical expression. For the unnecessary "of" see above, iii. iv. 29, and below, v. i. 5.

42. smart] suffer, grieve. Compare Peele, Old Wives Tale (453, a): "Ply you your work or else you're like to smart."

44. On that advantage] making an opportunity that way, on such an opening. Compare Golding's Ovid, bk. v. 210:—

"So Persey who did itch
To be at host with both of them . . .
upon advantage spide
Did wound me."

48. like] liken, compare. See 2 Henry IV. ii. i. 97.


Note.—The foregoing Scene falls to a lower level than the rest of this Act, unless it be regarded as matched by the following. But this one in particular wears an air of superfluity, and in connection with the retrograde introduction of rhymes, the falling off in Shakespearean language, and the renewed reminders of Greene, the remark seems justifiable, although Talbot's death scene (rhymed) is undeniably Shakespeare's own.
SCENE VII.—Another part of the field.

Alarum: excursions. Enter old Talbot, led by a servant.

Tal. Where is my other life? mine own is gone;
O! where's young Talbot? where is valiant John?
Triumphant death, smear'd with captivity,
Young Talbot's valour makes me smile at thee.
When he perceived me shrink and on my knee,
His bloody sword he brandish'd over me,
And like a hungry lion did commence
Rough deeds of rage and stern impatience;
But when my angry guardian stood alone,
Tend'ring my ruin and assail'd of none,
Dizzy-eyed fury and great rage of heart
Suddenly made him from my side to start
Into the clust'ring battle of the French;
And in that sea of blood my boy did drench
His over-mounting spirit; and there died
My Icarus, my blossom, in his pride.

Serv. O! my dear lord, lo! where your son is borne.

Scene VII.—Another...] Malone. Enter... led by a servant.

3. Triumphant death, smear'd with captivity] Talbot exults that death has triumphed over him, with no blemish of captivity. Death, the conqueror disgraced by captivity, has triumphed.

With " means "by," as it often does.

Talbot means to welcome death, free from the stain himself of captivity. He is greater than death.

7. hungry lion] See note, i. ii. 28.


10. Tend'ring my ruin] solicitous, tenderly anxious, over my fall. Compare Winter's Tale, ii. iii. 128, 133 (Schmidt). It is almost hopeless to assign a meaning, within verbal limits, to the verb tender, which was mixed up with the adjective tender on the one side, and the verb tender (for acceptance) on the other. Greene does the same. Compare too Whetstone's Promos and Cassandra, Part I. (p. 8, Six Old Plays, Argument), 1578: "The kinge tendrigne the generall benefit of the common weale." This is the legitimate sense; as in Greene's James the Fourth (xiii. 269):

"I love, I tender thee
Thou art a subject fit to serve his grace."

And his Carde of Fancie (iv. 165): "The young storkes so tender the old ones in their age, as they will not suffer them so much as to flie to get their owne living."

And A Maidens Dreeame (xiv. 304):—

"And like a father that affection beares
So tendred he the poore with inward teares."

See Part II. iii. 1. 277 (note).

11. Dizzy-eyed] giddy, dazzled. Shakespeare has from fifteen to twenty compounds ending in eyed.


14. blood...drench] Peele has "Thus into a lake of blood...Hath drencht himself."

And in Locrine, ii. 4: "drenched in my foesmen's blood."

15, 16. His over-mounting spirit...My Icarus] Compare G. Harvey, Foure Letters (Grosart, i. 193), 1592: "I have heard of...yong Phaetons, young Icary, young Chorici, and I shall say
Enter Soldiers, with the body of John Talbot.

Tal. Thou antic death, which laugh'st us here to scorn,
Anon, from thy insulting tyranny,
Coupled in bonds of perpetuity,
Two Talbots, winged through the lither sky,
In thy despite shall 'scape mortality.
O! thou whose wounds become hard-favour'd death,
Speak to thy father ere thou yield thy breath;
Brave death by speaking whether he will or no;
Imagine him a Frenchman and thy foe.
Poor boy! he smiles, methinks, as who should say,
Had death been French, then death had died to-day.
Come, come, and lay him in his father's arms:
My spirit can no longer bear these harms.
Soldiers, adieu! I have what I would have,
Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave.

[Dies.

17. Enter . . ] Capell; Enter with John Talbot, borne. Ff (born Ff 3, 4).
23. hard-favour'd] Theobald; hard favoured Ff. 25. whether] Ff 3, 4;
whether Ff 1, 2.

young Babingtons, and how many millions of greene yoythes haue in
over-mounting most ruelfully dismounted, and left behindem full-
lamentable Histories." And Locrine
(Peele and Greene), i. i:—
"Soaring with Icarus too near the sun
May catch a fall with young Bel-
lerophon."
For "blossom," see note, 3 Henry VI.
v. v. 62.
See too "old father Antic the law," 1 Henry IV. i. ii. 69. Greene opened
his play, The Scottish Hystorie of James the Fourth, with "a dance of
Antiques" (Grosart, xiii. 205, 209).
19. Anon] A favourite line-beginning
with Shakespeare.
10. insulting' tyranny] See again
Richard III. ii. iv. 51: "Insulting
tyranny begins to jet." See i. ii. 138
above, and note. The passage there is
the earliest containing this word in New
Eng. Dict.; the verb being a little earlier (1572, Lambarde's Kent). This
adjective is found in Shakespeare again
in Lucrece, 509, in Richard II. and 1
Henry IV. Compare Greene's Men-
phon (Grosart, vi. 98): "tyrannising so
Lordlie owre his boies . . . insulting
ower their children" (1589).
Dict. quotes Cooper's Thesaurus (1565)
for this sense of a much earlier word.
As Craig first pointed out, Shakespeare
found it in Golding's Ovid (1565-1567).
He quotes two passages containing
"lither air" (viii. l. 1027, xiv. l. 489).
Elsewhere Golding has: "And in his lither
hand he hold a potte of wyne"
(xii. 351); and "the drowzye God of sleepe his lither limbes dooth rest" (xi.
711). Golding had consulted Cooper?
The word belongs to his 1567 transla-
tions.
23. hard-favour'd] See 3 Henry VI.
v. v. 78. It occurs nine times in Shake-
speare. Found in Greene, and earlier.
25. whether he will or no] A common
expression in Shakespeare, occurring in
The Tempest, Midsummer Night's
Dream, 2 Henry VI., etc.
25. will or no] See Part II. iii. ii. 265.
27. as who should say] See note at
1. iv. 93 above.
Enter Charles, Alençon, Burgundy, Bastard, La Pucelle, and forces.

Cha. Had York and Somerset brought rescue in
We should have found a bloody day of this.

Bast. How the young whelp of Talbot's, raging wood,
Did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood!

Puc. Once I encounter'd him, and thus I said:
"Thou maiden youth, be vanquish'd by a maid;"
But with a proud majestical high scorn,
He answer'd thus: "Young Talbot was not born
To be the pillage of a giglot wench."
So, rushing in the bowels of the French,
He left me proudly, as unworthy fight.

Bur. Doubtless he would have made a noble knight;
See, where he lies inhearsed in the arms
Of the most bloody nurser of his harms.

Bast. Hew them to pieces, hack their bones asunder,
Whose life was England's glory, Gallia's wonder.

Cha. O, no! forbear; for that which we have fled
During the life, let us not wrong it dead.

Enter Sir William Lucy, attended; Herald of the French preceding.

Lucy. Herald, conduct me to the Dauphin's tent,
To know who hath obtain'd the glory of the day.

Cha. On what submissive message art thou sent?

Lucy. Submission, Dauphin! 'tis a mere French word;

34. found a bloody day of this] Compare 2 Henry IV, v. iv. 14: "He would make this a bloody day to somebody." And see Richard III, v. v. 36.

35. raging wood] There is no need for hyphens in many conjectured places. "Raging mad" is not hyphened now, for example.

36. flesh . . . sword] Compare 1 Henry IV, v. iv. 133: "full bravely hast thou flesh'd Thy maiden sword."

And in Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part II, iv. i: "To flesh our taintless swords."

37. giglot] wanton. See Cymbeline, iii. i. 31: "giglot fortune." And Measure for Measure, v. i. 352. Compare Greene, Orlando Furioso (xiii. 124): "that Greekish giglots love, That left her Lord, [her Lord] Prince Menelaus."

42. bowels of the French] See note at 1. i. 129: "rushing into the bowels of the battle." Compare Spenser, Faerie Queene, ii. x. 23: "He with his victour sword first opened The bowels of wide France, a forlorn Dame."

45. inhearsed] inclosed as in a coffin. See Sonnet lxxxvi. 3.

50. Enter . . . Herald] With the entrance of the herald we seem to usher in Greene again and lose sight of Shakespeare for the present.
We English warriors wot not what it means.
I come to know what prisoners thou hast ta'en
And to survey the bodies of the dead.

Cha. For prisoners ask'st thou? hell our prison is.
But tell me whom thou seek'st.

Lucy. But where's the great Alcides of the field,
Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury?
Created, for his rare success in arms,
Great Earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence;
Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,
Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Sheffield,
The thrice-victorious Lord of Falconbridge,
Knight of the noble order of Saint George,
Worthy Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece,
Great marshal to Henry the Sixth
Of all his wars within the realm of France?

Puc. Here is a silly stately style indeed!
The Turk, that two-and-fifty kingdoms hath,
Writes not so tedious a style as this.

70. Henry] F 1; our King Henry Ff 2, 3, 4. 72. silly stately] silly-stately

Dyce.

60. the great Alcides] Greene mentions Alcides in Menaphon (vi. 89); but none of the poets use the name as freely as Shakespeare. Spenser speaks of "great Alcides" (Faerie Queene, i. vii. 17). See above, ii. iii. 18.
71. realm of France] See note, ii. ii. 36.
72. Here is . . . indeed] Compare this interjected line with ii. iii. 56.
72. silly stately style] Boswell Stone quotes this epitaph on Talbot, in almost exactly the same words, from Richard Crompton's Mansion of Magnanimity, 1599, sig. E 4, from whom it was copied into Ralph Brooke's Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, etc. etc. (ed. 1619, p. 196), with one or two very trifling changes. Boswell Stone says Crompton has a marginal note "Camden, 462," but a reference to Camden (ed. 1594), at that page, has merely a notice of Talbot's tomb at Whitchurch, and does not even quote another epitaph on Talbot once existing at Whitchurch. No other edition (says Stone) of Camden, prior to 1599, contains any reference to Talbot at p. 462. Camden, in his Remaines Concerning Britaine (ed. 1623, p. 332), mentions that he has "elsewhere noted the Epitaph of "the terour of France". And in his Britannia (ed. 1610, p. 598) he gives it in Latin and English: "Orate Pro Anima . . . that is: Pray for the soule of the right Noble Lord, Sir John Talbot, sometimes Earle of Shrewsburie, Lord Talbot, Lord Furnivall, Lord Verdon, Lord Strange de Black-Mere, and Marshell of France: Who died in the battale at Burdews, vii. Iulii. m.cccl.iii." If Crompton had authority earlier than Shakespeare, it would be vastly interesting to know what it was. Apparently he amended Camden by a reference to this passage.
73. Turk] Compare the account of Bejazeth's dignities in Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Part I. Act iii., and elsewhere. Shakespeare probably refers to this silly-stately language in Marlowe's play here. He has "successive heir" (in Part II. iii. i. 40); "all the hundred and thirty kingdoms" of the Turk occurs.
THE FIRST PART OF [ACT IV.

Him that thou magnifist with all these titles
Stinking and fly-blown lies here at our feet.

Lucy. Is Talbot slain, the Frenchmen's only scourge,
Your kingdom's terror and black Nemesis?
O! were mine eyeballs into bullets turned,
That I in rage might shoot them at your faces.
O! that I could but call these dead to life,
It were enough to fright the realm of France.
Were but his picture left amongst you here
It would amaze the proudest of you all.
Give me their bodies, that I may bear them hence
And give them burial as seems their worth.

Puc. I think this upstart is old Talbot's ghost,
He speaks with such a proud commanding spirit.
For God's sake, let him have him; to keep them here
They would but stink and putrefy the air.


75. magnifist] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare.
76. fly-blown] Earlier in Gabriel Harvey, several times; but not again in Shakespeare. Compare The Tempest, v. i. 284.
78. Nemesis] Not met again in Shakespeare. Gascoigne calls on Nemesis in two places in his Complaynt of Philomene (Arber, pp. 89, 114), 1576. Peele has her several times in the Battle of Alcazar:—

"Nemesis, high mistress of revenge,
That with her scourge keeps all
The world in awe."

79. eyeballs] See Part II. iii. ii. 49 and 169 (note).
84. the proudest of you all] See Merry Wives of Windsor, ii. ii. 77; Taming of the Shrew, iv. i. 89; Richard III. ii. i. 128. An expression of Greene's: "A companie of scabbes, the proudest of you all drawe your weapon if he can" (Frier Bacon, Grosart, xiii. 31); and in Alphonsus (xiii. 396):—

"How now sir boy? let Amurack himselfe,
Or any he, the proudest of you all,
But offer once for to unsheath his sword."

One of these lines is found in 3 Henry VI. ii. ii. 96:—

"here I stand to answer thee,
Or any he, the proudest of thy sort."

But the expression comes from Hall (or Grafton). Speaking of a wish on the part of certain noblemen to deface Bedford's tomb at Roan, King Lewis the XI. said: "let his body now lye in rest, which when he was alyve would have disquieted the proudest of us all" (Grafton, i. 606).

88. proud commanding spirit] Compare "proud insulting," i.ii.138 (see note). Greene has "proud injurious," "proud blasphemous"; Peele, "proud usurping." The word seemed to require help. Marlowe has "proud usurping" in Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. i., probably earlier than Peele's Alcazar, i. i. I believe they all picked it up from Spenser's Faerie Queene: "proud presumptuous gate" (gait), i. viii. 12; "proud avenging boy" (Cupid), i. ix. 12, etc. etc. See Peele and Greene, passim. Spenser has "proud rebellious," ii. v. 10; "proud presumed force," Faerie Queene, ii. vi. 30; "proud luxurious pomp," i. xii. 14. 89. have him] Referring to Talbot, the most prominent spirit, and the body Lucy has come to seek (l. 59). 'Em was not a common contraction at the date of this play—if known at all. It must be rejected.
Cha. Go, take their bodies hence.
Lucy. I'll bear them hence; but from their ashes shall be rear'd
    A phœnix that shall make all France afeard.
Cha. So we be rid of them, do with him what thou wilt.
    And now to Paris, in this conquering vein:
    All will be ours now bloody Talbot's slain.

[Exeunt.]
ACT V

SCENE I.—London. The Palace.

Sennet. Enter King Henry, Gloucester, and Exeter.

K. Hen. Have you perused the letters from the pope,
The Emperor, and the Earl of Armagnac?
Glou. I have, my lord; and their intent is this:
They humbly sue unto your excellence


In the beginning of this scene two historical events of different dates are again combined: the interference of the pope, and the proffer of marriage to King Henry. In “The XIIJ Yere” (1434), Grafton writes (p. 602): “The crie and noyse of this perillous and insaciable warre, was blasted through Europe, detested through Christendome, and especially at the counsaile of Basill.

Wherefore, the Emperour and the temporall Princes ... desired Eugeny then Bishop of Rome, to be the authour and Arbiter of that great strife.

Wherefore by aucthentic of this generall Counsaill, two Cardinals came to the towne of Arras, ... whither were sent for the King of England ... Winchester ... Yorke ... Suffolke ... and for the French King ... Burbon ... Vandasme, ... Upon the day of the first session, the Cardinall ... declared to the three parties the innumerable mischiefs ... exhorting and requiring them for the honor of God ... that they would laye all rancour aparte ... and conforme themselves to reason and to godly concorde. ... After which admonition ... euerie parte brought in their demaunde which were most contrary. ... The Cardinalles ... offered ... condicions ... both parties ... openly refused: In so much as the English men in great displeasure departed to Calice, and so into England.”

In “The XXIJ Yere” (1443), p. 623, Grafton has: “All christendome lamented the continuall destruction of so noble a realme, and the effusion of so much christian blood, wherfore to appease the mortall warre ... there was a great diet appointed, to be kept at the Citie of Tours in Tourayne, where for the King of England appered William de la Pole, Erle of Suffolke ... the Erle of Suffolk, extending his commission to the uttermost ... because the French King had no daughter of ripe age ... desired to have the Ladye Margaret, Cosyn to the French King, and daughter to Reyner Duke of Aniow, calling himselfe King of Sicile, Naples, and Jerusalem, having only the name and style of the same, without any peny profite or foote of possession. This mariage was made strange to the Erle a good space. ... Oyther corrupted with bribes or to much affiction to this unprofitable mariage, condescended and agreed to their mocion, that the Duchie of Aniow, and the Countie of Mayne, should be released and deliuere to the king her father, demanding for her mariage neyther peny nor farthing (as who would say) that this newe affinittie excelled ryches and surmounted Golde and precious stone. ... Although this mariage pleased well the King, and ... such as were adherents and fautors to the Erle of Suffolke, yet Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realme, repugned and resisted as muche as in
To have a godly peace concluded of
Between the realms of England and of France.

K. Hen. How doth your grace affect their motion?

Glou. Well, my good lord; and as the only means
To stop effusion of our Christian blood,
And stablish quietness on every side.

K. Hen. Ay, marry, uncle; for I always thought
It was both impious and unnatural
That such immianny and bloody strife
Should reign among professors of one faith.

Glou. Beside, my lord, the sooner to effect
And surer bind this knot of amity,
The Earl of Armagnac, near knit to Charles,
A man of great authority in France,
Proffers his only daughter to your grace
In marriage, with a large and sumptuous dowry.

7. their] this F 4. 16. this] his F 4. 17. knit] Ff, Capell, Steevens; kin Pope, Theobald.

him lay, this newe alliaunce . . . declar- ing that the King by his Ambassadors . . . had concluded and contracted a mariage betwene his highnes and the daughter of the Erle of Arminack, upon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. . . . The Duke was not heard, but the Erles doings were condiscended unto and allowed. Which fact engendered such a flame, that it never went out, till bothe the parties with many other were consumed and slaine." The underlined passage above shows that Shakespeare used Hall or Grafton here, not Holinshed.

A considerable part of the machinery of Act v. is covered by these two extracts, especially the latter one. But it must be again repeated that history is in kaleidoscopic confusion. Very few traces of Shakespeare's work appear in this Act. From Scene iii. onwards, none.

5. concluded of] For the needless "of," see note at III. iv. 29.

9. effusion . . . blood] For this line see the extract from Grafton at the opening of the Act. See also Henry V. iii. vi. 138. And Locrine, ii. i. (quoted at "ruthful," Part III.). "Effusion of Christian blood" occurs twice on one page of Holinshed, thirty-eighth year of Henry VI. "Effuse of blood" occurs in 3 Henry VI. ii. vi. 28.


17. knit] tied by relationship. "Knit" and "knot" were frequently brought into juxtaposition, as here. See Coriolanus, iv. ii. 32; Titus Andronicus, iii. ii. 4; Antony and Cleopatra, ii. ii. 129; Romeo and Juliet, iv. ii. 24, and Merry Wives of Windsor, iii. ii. 76. See Greene's Mamillia (Grosart, ii. 64), 1583, quoted in Arden edition of Merry Wives of Windsor, p. 124; and his Looking Glasse for London (xiv. 110): — "come, with a holy band

Lest knit a knot to salve our former shame."

Compare Grafton, i. 657: "their hartes were knit and coupled in one."

20. sumptuous] Occurs again once in 1 Henry IV, and twice in 2 Henry VI.; the adverb in Titus Andronicus, Greene
K. Hen. Marriage, uncle! alas! my years are young
And fitter is my study and my books
Than wanton dalliance with a paramour.
Yet call the ambassadors; and as you please,
So let them have their answers every one:
I shall be well content with any choice
Tends to God's glory and my country's weal.

Enter Winchester in Cardinal's habit, a Legate and two Ambassadors.

Exe. What! is my lord of Winchester install'd,
And call'd unto a cardinal's degree?
Then I perceive that will be verified
Henry the Fifth did sometime prophesy:
"If once he come to be a cardinal,
He'll make his cap co-equal with the crown."

K. Hen. My lords ambassadors, your several suits
Have been consider'd and debated on.
Your purpose is both good and reasonable;
And therefore we are certainly resolv'd
To draw conditions of a friendly peace;
Which by my lord of Winchester we mean
Shall be transported presently to France.

Glow. And for the proffer of my lord your master,
I have inform'd his highness so at large,
As liking of the lady's virtuous gifts,

27. Enter . . . ] Cambridge, Globe; Enter Winchester and three Ambassadors.

Ff.

has it several times earlier, as in Pene-
lopes Web (v. 200), 1587: "sumptuous attyre"; and Alphousus (xiii. 388):
"sumptuous triumphs"; and in A Look-
ing Glasse (xiv. 11): "I have my weddinge sumptuous," etc. Spenser
uses the word in the first two books of
Faerie Queene. "Sumptuous" and
"sumptuousness" are both in Golding's
Ovid (1567-7).

23. paramour] "A thing of naught"
(Midsommer Night's Dream, iv. ii. 12).
See above, iii. ii. 53: "lustful para-
mours." And meaning mistress, v. iii.
51 (below); also in Romeo and Juliet,
v. iii. 105. Only in these early plays
and always with a repugnant sense. A
particular favourite with Greene, male
and female, good and bad. This line
is altogether like Greene's diction.

28. install'd] Occurs again ii. v. 89
and iv. i. 17 above; and in 3 Henry VI.
iii. i. 46. Elsewhere only in Henry
VIII. iii. ii. 401. One of Greene's
particularly abundant "silly-stately"
words. Sometimes, as in Selimus (xiv.
222, 281), he varies it to "enstal."

31. Henry the Fifth] See note at i.
iii. 23-24 for this prophecy.
33. co-equal with the crown] "co-
equal" is not in Shakespeare. Compare
Greene, Orlando Furioso (Grosart, xiii.
128):—
"Me thinkes I fit my forehead for a
Crowne;
And when I take my truncheon in
my fist . . .
Mightie, glorious, and excellent,—
I (aye) these . . .
Make me in termes coequall with
the gods."
Her beauty, and the value of her dower,
He doth intend she shall be England's queen.

K. Hen. In argument and proof of which contract,
Bear her this jewel, pledge of my affection.
And so, my lord protector, see them guarded
And safely brought to Dover; wherein shipp'd
Commit them to the fortune of the sea.

[Exeunt all but Winchester and Legate.

Win. Stay, my lord legate: you shall first receive
The sum of money which I promised
Should be deliver'd to his holiness
For clothing me in these grave ornaments.

Leg. I will attend upon your lordship's leisure.

Win. [Aside.] Now Winchester will not submit, I trow,
Or be inferior to the proudest peer.
Humphrey of Gloucester, thou shalt well perceive
That neither in birth or for authority
The bishop will be overborne by thee;
I'll either make thee stoop and bend thy knee,
Or sack this country with a mutiny.

[Exeunt.

SCENE II.—France. Plains in Anjou.

Enter CHARLES, BURGUNDY, ALENÇON, BASTARD, REIGNIER,
LA PUCELLE, and Forces.

Cha. These news, my lords, may cheer our drooping spirits:
'Tis said the stout Parisians do revolt
And turn again unto the war-like French.

49. wherein shipp'd] Ff 1, 2, 3; where inshipp'd F 4. 50. Exeunt . . .

SCENE II.

SCENE II.] Capell; Scena Tertia Ff. France] Pope. Plains in Anjou]
Capell. Enter . . . ] Cambridge; Enter . . . and 'tune Ff. Bastard, Reignier]
omitted Capell. and Forces] and Forces, marching. Capell; omitted Ff.
These] Ff 1, 2; This Ff 3, 4. 3. turn] F 1; return Ff 2, 3, 4.

49. shipp'd] New Eng. Dict. has one example of "inshipped" from Daniel, 1615. "Shipped" being a frequent word, and the fourth folio being insufficient to outweigh the previous three, I restore the text.

55. I will . . . leisure] Such intolerably prosaic lines as this and its neighbours, constantly reappearing, make one certain of an underlying inferior hand.

57. proudest peer] See above, iv. vii. 84. "Proudest," so frequent in these plays, was greatly affected by Greene and Peele. Compare Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 388): "he will make the proudest rebel know"; and

"I think the proudest foe he hath
Shall find more work than he will take in hand"

(ibid.).

60. bishop . . . overborne] See iii. i.

53.

SCENE II.

2. Parisians do revolt] Hall is fuller than Grafton here. He says (XIII]
THE FIRST PART OF

136

[ACT V.

Alen. Then march to Paris, royal Charles of France,
And keep not back your powers in dalliance.

Puc. Peace be amongst them if they turn to us;
Else, ruin combat with their palaces!

Enter Scout.

Scout. Success unto our valiant general,
And happiness to his accomplices!

Cha. What tidings send our scouts? I prithee, speak.

Scout. The English army, that divided was
Into two parties, is now conjoin'd in one,
And means to give you battle presently.

Cha. Somewhat too sudden, sirs, the warning is;
But we will presently provide for them.

Bur. I trust the ghost of Talbot is not there:
Now he is gone, my lord, you need not fear.

Puc. Of all base passions, fear is most accurs'd.
Command the conquest, Charles, it shall be thine;
Let Henry fret and all the world repine.

Cha. Then on, my lords; and France be fortunate!

[Exeunt.

5. powers] F 1; power Fl 2, 3, 4.

Yere, p. 179): "the losse . . . of the noble ciete of Paris. For where before tymes there were sent over for the aile and tuicion of the touns and citees . . . thousands of men, apete and meete for the warre . . . now were sent into Fraunce hundreds, yea scores, some rascall, and some not able to draw a bowe . . . Which weakenes King Charles well perceivd . . . the Parisians . . . when they saw the Englishmen at their weakest, turned the leafe and sang another song: declaryng to all men their inconstant harts. . . . Thus was the ciete of Paris brought again into the possession of the French kyng." But Paris was lost before the play began (see 1. i. 61-69), but the coronation of Henry was held there in the fourth act.

5. dalliance] trifling, idle waste of time.

9. accomplices] The only use of this word in Shakespeare. Elsewhere (only in the historical plays) the word is the proper old form, "complice," the accretionary ac, being unaccounted for. The earliest example in New Eng. Dict. of "accomplice" appears to be from Nashe's introduction to Greene's Menaphon (1589), where it is spelt "accompishe," which points to a fancied connection with "accomplish." New Eng. Dict. at the word Accomplie confounds the two forms.

12. conjoin'd] united. Occurs several times elsewhere in Shakespeare. A common word at the time.

13. give you battle] Occurs again in As You Like It only. Compare Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Part II. v. 3:

". . . death with armies of Cimmerian spirits
Gives battle 'gainst the heart of Tamburlaine."

Defoe's seems to be the only example in New Eng Dict.
SCENE III.—Before Angiers.

Alarums. Excursions. Enter La Pucelle.

Puc. The regent conquers and the Frenchmen fly.
Now help, ye charming spells and periapts;
And ye choice spirits that admonish me
And give me signs of future accidents:
[Thunder.
You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
Under the lordly monarch of the north,
Appear and aid me in this enterprise!

Enter Fiends.

This speedy and quick appearance argues proof
Of your accustom’d diligence to me.
Now, ye familiar spirits, that are cull’d
Out of the powerful regions under earth,

SCENE III.] Capell; Ff continue the scene. Before Angiers] Under Angiers Capell. 10. cull’d] call’d Collier. 11. regions] Ff; legions Singer (Warburton conj.).

2. charming spells] varied to “spelling charms,” below (l. 31).

2. periapts] inscribed bandages or charms. From Scot’s Discoverie of Witchcraft (1564), where the term is used several times. “These virtues under these verses... are contain’d in a periapt or tablet, to be continuallie wornne about one, called Agnus Dei” (reprint, p. 185). This chapter (bk. xii. ch. ix.) is headed “Popish periapts, amulets and charms,” etc. etc. Nowhere else in Shakespeare.

3. 4. admonish me... of future accidents] notify, or inform me of them. Compare Golding’s Ovid (xi. 442): “His wyfe Alycone by the noyse admonish’t of the same.” Wrongly explained by Schmidt, with reference to a different use in Hebrews viii. 5.

6. lordly monarch of the north] Out of the north all ill (spirits) came forth. Many references might be cited from the Discoverie of Witchcraft, bk. xv. Two will suffice: “How to raise and exorcize all sorts of Spirits belonging to the Airy Region” (p. 481) (see “regions” in line 11). And: “A form of conjuring Luridan the Familiar... Luridan is a Familiar Domestick Spirit of the North, who is now become Servant to Balkin, Lord and king of the Northern Mountains” (p. 485). In another place (p. 327) Zimimar is “king of the north.” But Greene is the authority here to be noticed most. Compare Frier Bacon (Grosart, xiii. 62):—

“But proud Astermothe, ruler of the North, And Demegorgon maister of the fates, Grudge that a mortall man should worke so much; Hell trembled... Fiendes frown’d,” etc.

11. regions under earth] Steevens very pertinently asks, with reference to Singer’s ridiculous alteration of the text (to "legions"): “The regions under earth are the infernal regions. Whence else should the sorceress have selected or summoned her fiends?” She might have had them from other regions (see last note), but the word “powerful” shows she needs those out of Erebus itself. “Powerful regions” are the homes of the powerful. Compare Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part II. iv. 3 (65, a): “O thou that
Help me this once, that France may get the field.

[They walk, and speak not.]

O! hold me not with silence over-long,
Where I was wont to feed you with my blood,
I'll lop a member off and give it you
In earnest of a further benefit,
So you do condescend to help me now.

[They hang their heads.]

No hope to have redress? My body shall
Pay recompense if you will grant my suit.

[They shake their heads.]

Cannot my body nor blood-sacrifice
Entreat you to your wonted furtherance?
Then take my soul; my body, soul, and all,
Before that England give the French the foil.

[They depart.]

See! they forsake me. Now the time is come
That France must vail her lofty plumed crest,


sway'st the region under earth . . . a king as absolute as Jove."

14. feed you with my blood] I find no note to this passage. We have already had a blood-superstition (i. v. 6) with regard to witches. This relates to their dealings with the familiar or devil from which they derive their powers. Probably the belief was common amongst peasants, and will be found illustrated in early trials. Scot does not, I think, refer to it anywhere. On the contrary, part of his refutation that he insists upon, is that devils are bloodless, and do not need or care for blood; and in the first chapter of the third book "The witches bargain with the devill, according to . . . Bodin," etc. etc., this is no part of the compact. Witches had fifteen crimes laid to their charge (p. 26), one of which was that "They eat the flesh and drink the bloud of men, women and children openly." So much for Scot on this point. In Middleton's Witch (Bullen's edition, v. 417):—

"There's one comes down to fetch his dues,
A kiss, a coll, a sip of blood;
And why thou stayest so long,
I muse, I muse"
(circa 1610). A fuller example is in Ford's A Witch of Edmonton. Mother Sawyer obtains the services of the devil in the shape of a black dog. "Enter a Black Dog. Ho! have I found thee cursing? now thou art Mine own" (Dyce's ed. iii. 201). He then makes her to "make a deed of gift Of soul and body to me . . . And seal it with thy blood . . . [She pricks her arm, which he sucks. Thunder and lightning.]" He then executes her wishes (of revenge) on an old churl, and continues to do so, receiving his due each time she summons him, until he is weary and refuses to partake, when he leaves her to her fate—playing the devil with her in fact. The date of this play is about 1625. Mephistopheles found no such carnal attraction in Faustus, although he required his blood for writing purposes.

15. lop a member] Compare Kyd's Soliman and Perseda, iv. ii. 23 (Boas ed.).


23. give the French the foil] See note at iii. iii. 11.

25. vail] lower. See Merchant of Venice, i. i. 28, and Love's Labour's Lost, v. ii. 297. Not a common verb with Shakespeare, except metaphorically, but very much so with Greene. See Love's Labour's Lost, Arden edition, p. 141:
And let her head fall into England's lap.
My ancient incantations are too weak,
And hell too strong for me to buckle with:
Now, France, thy glory droopeth to the dust.  [Exit.

Excursions.  Re-enter La Pucelle fighting hand to hand with York: La Pucelle is taken.  The French fly.

York.  Damsel of France, I think I have you fast:


"Ile make them wayle their plumes"  (George-a-Greene, xiv. 123).  And Orlando Furioso (xiii. 185):—
"Then mayest thou think that Mars himselfe came downe
To vaile thy plumes and heave thee from thy pompe."

25.  lofty plumed crest] Compare King John, ii. i. 517, and 1 Henry IV. iv. i. 93. See too Spenser's Faerie Queene (i. vii. 32):—
"Upon the top of all his lofty crest
A bunch of heares . . . Did shake."
Again:—
"They let their cruel weapons fall
And lowly did abuse their lofty crests"
(ii. ii. 32).  Hence crestfallen probably (not from cock-fighting).

28.  buckle with] See i. ii. 95 (note), and iv. iv. 5.  An expression of Greene's.

30.  Damsel . . . I have you fast] The "wooning of Margaret" belongs to 1443-4;  see note at beginning of this Act.  The loss of Paris had occurred before the play opened;  see note at iii. ii. 3.  And 1430 (May 23) "is the historic date of La Pucelle's capture.  On that day she accompanied a sally from Compiegne, then besieged by the English and Burgundians, and was taken before she could re-enter the town.  Bedford was 'Regent' (i. i.) at the time, but the dramatist killed him in Act iii. sc. ii. York—whose prisoner she becomes in this scene—held no such post until 1436."  I quote here from Boswell Stone.  Any arrangement of dates is only distracting.  That way madness lies.  Here is Grafton's account of Joan's capture (The IX. Yere, p. 588):  "And it happened in the night of the Ascention of our Lorde, that Ponton of Xentrales, Ione the Puzzell, and five or sixe hundred men of armes issued out of Compeigne by the gate of the bridge . . . they assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgonions, and courageously set on the Frenche men.  Sore was the fight and great was the slaughter, in so much that the French men, not able longer to indure, fled into the towne so fast, that one letted the other to enter.  In which chace was taken, Ione the Puzell and diuers other:  which Ione was sent to the Duke of Bedford to Roan, where (after long examination) she was brent to ashes.  This witch or manly woman (called the mayde of God) the French men greatly glorified and highly exueto, alleging that by her Orleauance was vitayled; by her King Charles was sacred at Reynes . . .  What blot is this to the French Nation!  What more rebuke can be impoted to a renowned Region, then to affirme . . . that all notable victories . . . were gotten and achued by a shepherdes daughter, a Chamberlein in an hostrie, and a beggers brat:  which blinding the wittes of the French nation, by rueelations, dreames, and phantasticall visions, made them beleue things not to be supposed . . . if credite may be geuen to the actes of the Clergie . . this woman was not inspyred with the holy ghost . . but an Enchanteresse, an organe of the Deuill, sent from Sathan . . as by a letter sent from the King of England may appere:  But for that the same is long [over 100 long lines—  in full in Hall] I thought it suicient to rehearse the effect thereof . . . And for a true declaration of the falsitie and lewdnesse of her doing, she being called before the Byshop and the University of Pares, was there with great solempnity adjudged and condempned a superstitious Sorceresse and a diueldish Blasphemere of God, and as an erronous wretch was consumed with fyre.  And at the time of her death, she confessed how
Unchain your spirits now with spelling charms,  
And try if they can gain your liberty.  
A goodly prize, fit for the devil's grace!  
See how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,  
As if with Circe she would change my shape.

_Puc._ Chang'd to a worser shape thou canst not be.  
_York._ O! Charles the Dauphin is a proper man:  
No shape but his can please your dainty eye.

_Puc._ A plaguing mischief light on Charles and thee!  
And may ye both be suddenly surpris'd  
By bloody hands, in sleeping on your beds!  
_York._ Fell banning hag, enchantress, hold thy tongue!  
_Puc._ I prithee, give me leave to curse awhile.  
_York._ Curse, miscreant, when thou comest to the stake.

[Exeunt.

**Alarums. Enter Suffolk, leading in Lady Margaret.**

_Suf._ Be what thou wilt, thou art my prisoner.  
[ _Gazes on her._  
O fairest beauty! do not fear nor fly,  
For I will touch thee but with reverent hands.  
I kiss these fingers for eternal peace,  
And lay them gently on thy tender side.  
Who art thou? say, that I may honour thee.

_Mar._ Margaret my name, and daughter to a king,  
The King of Naples, whoseoe'er thou art.

_Suf._ An earl I am, and Suffolk am I call'd.  
Be not offended, nature's miracle,

the Deuill had deluded and decaued her." A terrible reading and record for the church.

31. spelling charms] Compare "charming spells," line 2 above. Whether the verb spell here means to charm, or to decipher out, character, or both quibblingly, may be left to the reader.

34. bend her brows] See note at "she knits her brows," 3 Henry VI. i. iii. 8. See King John, iv. ii. 90.


42. enchantress] This is the term employed of La Pucelle in the chroniclers Hall and Grafton. See extract at line 30 above.

44. miscreant] See above, iii. iv. 44.

46. Enter Suffolk, leading in Lady Margaret] This interview is entirely fictitious. See extract at the beginning of the Act.

48, 49. I kiss ... tender side] Capell transposed these utterly puerile lines, inserting ["kissing her hand"] with an effort at improvement, not worth adopting, even if allowable.

54. nature's miracle] Compare Peele, Edward I. (390, a): "Sweet Ellen, miracle of nature's hand, [Hell in] thy name, but heaven is in thy looks." A fearsome pun if the text be right. On the previous page occurs: "mould of beauty, miracle of fame."
Thou art allotted to be ta’en by me:
So doth the swan her downy cygnets save,
Keeping them prisoner underneath her wings.
Yet, if this servile usage once offend,
Go and be free again, as Suffolk’s friend.  
[She is going.]
O, stay! I have no power to let her pass;
My hand would free her, but my heart says no.
As plays the sun upon the glassy streams,
Twinkling another counterfeited beam,
So seems this gorgeous beauty to mine eyes.
Fain would I woo her, yet I dare not speak:
I’ll call for pen and ink and write my mind.
Fie, de la Pole! disable not thyself;
Hast not a tongue? is she not here?
Wilt thou be daunted at a woman’s sight?
Ay; beauty’s princely majesty is such,
Confounds the tongue and makes the senses rough.

Mar. Say, Earl of Suffolk, if thy name be so,
What ransom must I pay before I pass?
For I perceive I am thy prisoner.

Suf. How canst thou tell she will deny thy suit,
Before thou make a trial of her love?

Mar. Why speak’st thou not? what ransom must I pay?

59. She is going] Ff; She turns from him, as going. Capell. 68. here?]
F 1; here thy prisoner? Ff 2, 3, 4. 71. Confounds] ‘Confounds F 1. makes
the senses rough] Ff; makes the senses crouch Hanmer; makes the senses touch
Jackson conj.; makes the sense’s touch Singer; mocks the sense of touch Collier,
Bullen. 77. pray] pray F 2.

56. downy cygnets] See Troilus and
Cressida, i. i. 58, for “cygnet’s down” again. But the metaphor is Greene’s:
“The sucking favne followeth the steps of the Doe; The Cignets dare not resist
the call of the old Swan ... And should I then, syr, be so voide of grace” (Ma-
millia (Grosart, ii. 167), 1583).
62. glassy] Peele uses this epithet of
water in Edward I.:—
“bridegroom-like shall march
With lovely Thetis to her glassy
bed”
(380, b), recalling, as he does elsewhere,
Spenser’s famous simile in Faerie Queene,
t. v. 2; “glassy stream” is in Hamlet
also (iv. vii. 168).
65. Fain would I woo her, yet I dare not speak] Compare Lodge’s Euphues
Golden Legacie (Hazlitt’s Shakes. Lib.
83): “Faine would I trust, but yet I
dare not trie.” Both preceded by Sir
Walter Raleigh’s well-known line to
Queen Elizabeth: “Fain would I climb
yet fear I to fall.” Lodge and Greene
worked together and have much com-
munity of expression.
67. disable] disparage. See Merchant
of Venice, ii. vii. 30; and As You Like
It, iv. i. 34, v. iv. 80.
71. Confounds] “destroys the office
of.” The lines are not worth tinkering,
but Mr. Bullen would read “makes our
senses vouch” (“vouch” meaning evi-
dence). Dulls or blunts the senses is
the meaning.
75. Pope put in [Aside] after this and
several other succeeding speeches of
Suffolk’s. Cambridge edition omits
them as so obvious as to be unnecessary,
and I quite agree. It was a favourite
stage-trick; Falstaff and the Chief
Justice being the best example.
Suf. She’s beautiful and therefore to be woo’d;
         She is a woman, therefore to be won.
Mar. Wilt thou accept of ransom, yea or no?
Suf. Fond man! remember that thou hast a wife;
         Then how can Margaret be thy paramour?
Mar. I were best to leave him, for he will not hear.
Suf. There all is marr’d; there lies a cooling card.
Mar. He talks at random; sure, the man is mad.
Suf. And yet a dispensation may be had.
Mar. And yet I would that you would answer me.
Suf. I’ll win this Lady Margaret. For whom?
         Why, for my king: tush! that’s a wooden thing.
Mar. He talks of wood: it is some carpenter.
Suf. Yet so my fancy may be satisfied,
         And peace established between these realms.
         But there remains a scruple in that too;
         For though her father be the King of Naples,
         Duke of Anjou and Maine, yet is he poor,
         And our nobility will scorn the match.

85. random] Ff 3, 4; randon Ff 1, 2.
82. paramour] See v. i. 23 (note).
84. a cooling card] anything that checks one’s enthusiasm or moderates
         it from Holinshed’s Chronicle, iii. 188
         (1577). Greene made this expression one
         of his special characteristics, taking it,
         like much of his writing, out of Lyly’s
         Enphilus, 1579-80: “that he might bridge
         the overashing affections . . . which he
         termed a cooling card” (Arber, p. 105).
         It occurs also in Gabriel Harvey’s
         Letters (Grosart. i. 139), 1573; in Mucedorous
         (Hazlitt’s Dodsley, vii. 250), 1598;
         in Nashe’s Have with you, etc., 1596; in
         Beaumont and Fletcher’s Island Prin-
         cess, Act i.; and as late as Dryden’s
         Kind Keeper, i. i. (1675). Greene has it
         in the Dedicatory Epistle to Mamillia
         (his first known piece): “there is not a
         greater cooling card to a rash wit than
         want” (Grosart, ii. 6), 1583; and twice,
         later, in the same piece—and indeed it is
         constant through his interminable prose
         tracts. I wish to enforce this because it
         is a fair view of a most distorted bit of
         evidence given by Fleay several times,
         who makes this expression a test of
         Lodge because he found it in The
         Wounds of Civil War (Hazlitt’s Dods-
         ley, vii. 153), 1594. See his English
         Drama, ii. 49: and his other Lodge-test,
         “rasors of Palermo,” given there also,
         is in Edward’s Damon and Pithias (ante
         1566). Gabriel Harvey (1573) is perhaps
         the earliest user of this phrase.
85. He talks at random] recklessly. Occurs again (with verb of action) in Two
         Gentlemen of Verona, ii. i. 117. Greene
         uses it often in his prose, as though
         specially belonging to archery or marks-
         manship. Compare North’s Plutarch
         (Tudor trans. i. 148, Lycurgus), 1579:
         “They dyd never use to speake vaine
         wordes at randone”; and Golding’s
         Ovid (viii. 301): “To fly at randon.”
89. wooden thing] expressionless, insensible thing—referring to the king. See
         note at i. i. 19 for a parallel from Greene’s
         Orpharion for this contemptuous term.
Mar. Hear ye, captain? Are you not at leisure?
Suf. It shall be so, disdain they ne'er so much:
    Henry is youthful and will quickly yield.
    Madam, I have a secret to reveal.
Mar. What though I be enthral'd? he seems a knight,
    And will not any way dishonour me.
Suf. Lady, vouchsafe to listen what I say.
Mar. Perhaps I shall be rescu'd by the French;
    And then I need not crave his courtesy.
Suf. Sweet madam, give me hearing in a cause—
Mar. Tush! women have been captivate ere now.
Suf. Lady, wherefore talk you so?
Mar. I cry you mercy, 'tis but quid for quo.
Suf. Say, gentle princess, would you not suppose
    Your bondage happy to be made a queen?
Mar. To be a queen in bondage is more vile
    Than is a slave in base servility;
    For princes should be free.
Suf. And so shall you,
    If happy England's royal king be free.
Mar. Why, what concerns his freedom unto me?
Suf. I'll undertake to make thee Henry's queen,
    To put a golden sceptre in thy hand,
    And set a precious crown upon thy head,
    If thou wilt condescend to be my—
Mar. What?
Suf. His love.
Mar. I am unworthy to be Henry's wife.
Suf. No, gentle madam; I unworthy am
    To woo so fair a dame to be his wife
    And have no portion in the choice myself.
    How say you, madam, are ye so content?
Mar. An if my father please, I am content.

106. cause—] Capell; cause, Ff. 120, 121. to be my— What? His
love] to— What? His love Steevens (conj.) (1793).
ii.:—
    "Though my right hand have thus enthralled thee,
    Thy princely daughter here shall set thee free"
(1586).
107. captivate] taken prisoner. See ii. iii. 42, the only parallel in Shakespeare, though "captivates" occurs in 3 Henry VI, i. iv. 115. In Greene.
109. quid for quo] Earlier examples (in serious literature) are given in Stanford Dictionary. Compare Lyly's Midas, iii. ii. (1591-2): "Then we will have quid pro quo, a tooth for a beard."
120. condescend] See above, l. 17. Nowhere else in Shakespeare, but a favourite with Greene—of course far older.
Suf. Then call our captains and our colours forth!
And, madam, at your father's castle walls
We'll crave a parley, to confer with him.

A Parley sounded. Enter Reignier, on the walls.

See, Reignier, see thy daughter prisoner!
Reig. To whom?
Suf. To me.
Reig. Suffolk, what remedy?

I am a soldier, and unapt to weep
Or to exclaim on fortune'sickleness.

Suf. Yes, there is remedy enough, my lord:
Consent, and for thy honour give consent,
Thy daughter shall be wedded to my king,
Whom I with pain have woo'd and won thereto;
And this her easy-held imprisonment
Hath gain'd thy daughter princely liberty.

Reig. Speaks Suffolk as he thinks?
Suf. Fair Margaret knows
That Suffolk doth not flatter, face, or feign.

Reig. Upon thy princely warrant, I descend
To give thee answer of thy just demand.
[Exit from the walls.

Suf. And here I will expect thy coming.

Trumpets sound. Enter Reignier.

Reig. Welcome, brave earl, into our territories:
Command in Anjou what your honour pleases.

Suf. Thanks, Reignier, happy for so sweet a child,
Fit to be made companion with a king.
What answer makes your grace unto my suit?

Reig. Since thou dost deign to woo her little worth

130. A parley sounded] Cambridge; Trumpet sounds a parley Capell; Sound Ff. Enter... Ff. 144. [Exit...] Capell; omitted Ff.
132. what remedy] See Merry Wives of Windsor, v. v. 250, the earliest example in New Eng. Dict., except a Scotch one from Dunbar, 1500-1520. See again Twelfth Night, 1. v. 56: "There's no help for it."
133. unapt] "not propense or ready" (Schmidt). Occurs in Venus and Adonis, 34; 1 Henry IV., and Coriolanus in the same sense.
134. exclaim on] See above, III. iii. 60. To abuse in language, or accuse.
Foure waies in Court to win men grace."
And Hay any Work (1589): "Thou canst cog, face, and lye as fast as a dog can trot." Spenser recalled Ascham in Mother Hubberd's Tale (II. 594-506): "For there [at the Court] thou needs must learne to laugh, to lie,
To face, to forge, to scoffe, to companie,
To crouche, to please."
To be the princely bride of such a lord,
Upon condition I may quietly
Enjoy mine own, the country Maine and Anjou,
Free from oppression or the stroke of war,
My daughter shall be Henry's, if he please.

_Suf._ That is her ransom; I deliver her;
And those two counties I will undertake
Your grace shall well and quietly enjoy.

_Reig._ And I again, in Henry's royal name,
As deputy unto that gracious king,
Give thee her hand for sign of plighted faith.

_Suf._ Reignier of France, I give thee kingly thanks,
Because this is in traffic of a king:

[Aside.] And yet, methinks, I could be well content
To be mine own attorney in this case.
I'll over then to England with this news
And make this marriage to be solemniz'd.
So farewell, Reignier: set this diamond safe
In golden palaces, as it becomes.

_Reig._ I do embrace thee, as I would embrace
The Christian prince, King Henry, were he here.

_Mar._ Farewell, my lord. Good wishes, praise and prayers
Shall Suffolk ever have of Margaret.

_Suf._ Farewell, sweet madam! But hark you, Margaret;
No princely commendations to my king?

_Mar._ Such commendations as becomes a maid,
A virgin and his servant, say to him.

_Suf._ Words sweetly placed and modestly directed,
But, madam, I must trouble you again;
No loving token to his majesty?

_Mar._ Yes, my good lord; a pure unspotted heart,
Never yet taint with love, I send the king.

165. 166. Marked "Aside" by Rowe.
175. _Going._ Cambridge; Shee is going P. 179. modestly] modestie F 1.

155. stroke of war] a standard term, like "stroke of death." See Tamburlaine, Part II. II. v. (Dyce, 16, b): "Since he is yielded to the stroke of war."

166. mine own attorney] See note, v. v. 56. And Comedy of Errors, v. i. 100: "And will have no attorney but myself." And Richard III. v. iii. 83. Favourite language in Shakespeare's early plays.

175. princely] See above, ll. 70, 140, 143 and 152. Five times in one scene, an allowance that Shakespeare must have overlooked. Greene was very fond of "princely." Such people, such words. In Kyd's _Spanish Tragedy_ (iii. xii.) an ambassador repeats "kingly" three or four times in a few lines. The guise of court.

182. unspotted heart] Occurs again 2 Henry VI. iii. i. 100. A well-known expression of Peele's:—
"But though from court to cottage he depart,
His saint is sure of his unspotted heart" (Polyhymnia).

183. Never yet taint] never yet attainted, or attaint, as in v. v. 81 below. "Taint" in the sense of tinge, tint (as of
The First Part Of

Suf. And this withal.

Mar. That for thyself: I will not so presume

To send such peevish tokens to a king.

[Exeunt Reignier and Margaret.]  

Suf. O! wert thou for myself. But, Suffolk, stay;

Thou may'st not wander in that labyrinth;

There Minotaurs and ugly treasons lurk.

Solicit Henry with her wondrous praise:

Bethink thee on her virtues that surmount,

And natural graces that extinguish art;

Repeat their simile often on the seas,

That, when thou com'st to kneel at Henry's feet,

Thou may'st bereave him of his wits with wonder.

[Exit.

186. Exeunt] Capell; omitted Ff.  

192. And] Capell; Mad F 1; Made Fl

a blush, a flower's hue], is common in
Greene, verb and noun. "Love" here
has an impure sense of lust. Shake-
spere uses "taint" or "tainted with"
as a reproach in the plays. See Part
III. iii. i. 40.

186. peevish] silly, foolish.

188. labyrinth; There Mi-no-
taurs] "Minotaurs," meaning monsters,
is seldom found in the plural, but it
occurs in Greene's Never too Late
(Grosart, viii. 104), ante 1590: "Here
be such monstrous Minotaures as first
devour the threed, and then the person."
See too Spenser, Faerie Queene, ill.
W. 40. Shakespeare has no other men-
tion of the Minotaur, but he appears
very frequently in Greene's euphu-
siological love-tales. Spenser has them
again in Mother Hubberd's Tale:
"Griffons, Minotaures, Crocodiles,
Dragons, Beavers and Centaures."

192. natural graces . . . art] Com-
pare for this sentiment, King Lear, iv.
VI. 86; All's Well that Ends Well, ii.
1. 121; Timon of Athens, v. i. 88, etc.

192. extinguish] Only again in Lu-
crece, 313.

193. Repeat their simile] repro-
duce the mental representation of them.
Shakespeare was decidedly affected to
this word "simile," but it is rather
obscure here. Compare Greene, James
the Fourth (Grosart, xiii. 291):

"Go to mine Ida, tell her that my
soule

Shall keepe her semblance closed
in my brest."

Greene uses the word with the meaning
recognition in Mamillia (ii. 55): "She
passed on without any semblance of his
sight"—an obsolete sense that might
better explain this line. See extract
from Holinshed at i. ii. 50, for the
ordinary use of "semblance."

The foregoing scene is composed of
such simple featureless verse, since Mar-
garet's appearance, that it is scarcely
capable of identification. The frequent
occurrence of "princely"—five times in
100 lines—a favourite word with Greene,
recalls that writer, but he is rarely so
prosais. In Greene's Frier Bacon Lacy
courts Margaret, the keeper's daughter,
for himself when he should be wooing
her for his prince (Henry the Third's
son), but beyond this outline the parallel
does not stretch. For the "traffic" be-
tween Reignier and Suffolk see extract
at the beginning of the Act, which
covers the following scene as well,
time and place being disregarded his-
torically. The transition of method
and style, or from one hand and mind
to another, is nowhere more marked in
this play than between this scene and
its successor, however delightful be the
matter. In the later plays we shall see
that Margaret becomes a more finished
and important poetical creation at the
hands of Shakespeare himself.
KING HENRY THE SIXTH


Enter York, Warwick, and Others.

York. Bring forth that sorceress, condemn’d to burn.

Enter La Pucelle guarded, and a Shepherd.

Shep. Ah, Joan, this kills thy father’s heart outright!
Have I sought every country far and near,
And, now it is my chance to find thee out,
Must I behold thy timeless cruel death?
Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I’ll die with thee!

Puc. Decrepit miser! base ignoble wretch!
I am descended of a gentler blood:
Thou art no father nor no friend of mine.

Shep. Out, out! My lords, an please you, ’tis not so;
I did beget her all the parish knows:
Her mother liveth yet, can testify
She was the first fruit of my bachelorship.

2. kills thy father’s heart] An old expression; see Love’s Labour’s Lost, v. ii. 149, note, Arden edition, p. 131. See again As You Like It, iii. ii. 260; Winter’s Tale, iv. iii. 88; Richard II. v. i. 100; Henry the Fifth, ii. i. 92.

3. sought] searched; used here as though it were the participle of “search,” not “seek.” Compare “unsought” in Comedy of Errors, i. i. 136.

5. timeless] untimely, premature. A Shakespearian word. See Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. i. 21; Richard II. iv. i. 5; 3 Henry VI. iii. ii. 187, and v. vi. 42; Richard III. i. ii. 117; Titus Andronicus, ii. iii. 265; Romeo and Juliet, v. iii. 162. Steevens gave an example of “timeless death” from Drayton’s Legend of Robert Duke of Normandy (taken from here), 1596. A regular Marlowe use. Compare Tamburlaine, Part II. (last lines): “Let earth and heaven his timeless death deplore.” And Edward the Second (Dyce, 186, a):—

“This ground . . .
Shall be their timeless sepulchre or mine.”

And The Massacre at Paris (beginning):—

“the blood of innocents,
That Guise hath slain by treason of his heart,
And brought by murder to their timeless ends.”

Without finding Marlowe’s own work in this, as in other doubtful plays, we find his influence on Shakespeare, for this scene is Shakespeare’s own. In the case of Greene, one sees Shakespear’s remodelling of him. Peele has [Old Wives Tale, 457, a]: “And now my timeless date is come to end [Dies],” where the sense is rather previously undetermined (compare IV. vi. 9).

7. Decrepit!] See Love’s Labour’s Lost, i. i. 139; Venus and Adonis, 1148; Sonnet 37. Worn with age.

7. miser] a miserable wretch. Not elsewhere in Shakespeare in this sense. Compare Sir Philip Sidney’s Arcadia, book ii. (ed. 1738, ii. p. 217): “Most blessed paper, which shalt kiss that hand, whereto all blessedness is in nature a servant, do not yet disdain to carry with thee the woeful words of a miser now despairing” (ante 1586). Steevens quotes from Holinshed, and from Jacob and Esau, 1568. No doubt Spenser gave the word fresh life in Faerie Queene, ii. i. 9, and ii. iii. 8.

7. ignoble] of low descent. See above iii. i. 178; 3 Henry VI. iv. i. 70, and Richard III. iii. vii. 127.

8. gentler blood] See iv. i. 44 above, and note. “Men, noble and ignoble,” occurs in the chroniclers Fabyan, Hall and Grafton.

13. first fruit] In Winter’s Tale, iii. ii. 98, it is “first fruits” (plural for
War. Graceless! wilt thou deny thy parentage?
York. This argues what her kind of life hath been:
Wicked and vile; and so her death concludes.

Sic. Fie! Joan, that thou wilt be so obstacle;
God knows thou art a collop of my flesh;
And for thy sake have I shed many a tear:
Deny me not, I prithee, gentle Joan.
Puc. Peasant, avaint! You have suborn'd this man,
Of purpose to obscure my noble birth.

Sic. 'Tis true I gave a noble to the priest
The morn that I was wedded to her mother.
Kneel down and take my blessing, good my girl.
Wilt thou not stoop? Now cursed be the time
Of thy nativity! I would the milk
Thy mother gave thee when thou suck'dst her breast,
Had been a little ratsbane for thy sake!
Or else, when thou didst keep my lambs a-field,
I wish some ravenous wolf had eaten thee!
Dost thou deny thy father, cursed drab?
O! burn her, burn her: hanging is too good.

York. Take her away; for she hath lived too long
To fill the world with vicious qualities.

Puc. First, let me tell you whom you have condem'nd:
Not me begotten of a shepherd swain,
But issued from the progeny of kings;
Virtuous and holy; chosen from above,
By inspiration of celestial grace,
To work exceeding miracles on earth.
I never had to do with wicked spirits:
But you, that are polluted with your lusts,
Stain'd with the guiltless blood of innocents,
Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices,
Because you want the grace that others have,
You judge it straight a thing impossible
To compass wonders but by help of devils.
No, misconceived! Joan of Arc hath been
A virgin from her tender infancy,
Chaste and immaculate in very thought;
Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effused,
Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven.

York. Ay, ay: away with her to execution!

War. And hark ye, sirs; because she is a maid,
Spare for no fagots, let there be enow:

Marlowe has this jaw-breaker as a monosyllable in Edward II. See Introduction.

29. ratsbane] Mentioned again 2 Henry IV. i. ii. 48, and King Lear. iii. iv. 55. The only example in New Eng. Dict. of an earlier date than this (which is not cited) is from a Church Warden's account. Ratsbane was sublimate. Compare Jonson's and Chapman's Eastward Ho! iv. i.: "Take arsenic, otherwise called realga, which indeed is plain ratsbane, sublimate 'hem three or four times." And Every Man in his Humour, ii. iii.: "Its little better than ratsbane or rosaker." And Epicene, ii. i.: "take a little sublimate and go out of the world like a rat."


40. inspiration of celestial grace] See extract at v. iii. 30: "This woman was not inspyred with the Holy Ghost, nor sent from God (as the Frenchmen beleeeue) but an enchantress." (Hall).

43. polluted with] Not again in Shakespeare. Pucelle's language is intentionally Biblical. Compare Ezekiel xxiii. 17, 30, xx. 31, etc.

49. misconceived] Not again in Shakespeare. Peele (?) has a good passage in Jack Straw (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 384):—
"The Multitude, a beast of many heads,
Of misconceiving and misconstruing minds."
The word is found in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.

52. blood ... cry for vengeance] Compare Richard II. i. i. 104-106:—
"Whose blood ... cries ... To me for justice"

(Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.); 104, 106: —
"Whose blood ... cries ...
To me for justice"

(Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.); 104, 106: —
"Whose blood ... cries ...
To me for justice"

(Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.); 104, 106: —
"Whose blood ... cries ...
To me for justice"
Place barrels of pitch upon the fatal stake, 
That so her torture may be shortened.

_Puc._ Will nothing turn your unrelenting hearts?
Then, Joan, discover thine infirmity,
That warranteth by law to be thy privilege.
I am with child, ye bloody homicides:
Murder not then the fruit within my womb,
Although ye hale me to a violent death.

_York._ Now heaven forfend! the holy maid with child!

_War._ The greatest miracle that e'er ye wrought!
Is all your strict preciseness come to this?

_York._ She and the Dauphin have been juggling:
I did imagine what would be her refuge.

_War._ Well, go to; we will have no bastards live;
Especially since Charles must father it.

_Puc._ You are deceiv'd; my child is none of his:
It was Alençon that enjoy'd my love.

_York._ Alençon! that notorious Machiavel:

60. _discover]_ Ff 3, 4; _discover Ff t, 2._
_Matchevile F 4._

"We will spare for no wit"; and _Romeo and Juliet_, iv. iv. 6. Greene has it in _Orlando Furioso_ (xiii. 164, l. 1021):—

"Runne to Charlemaine, spare for no cost:
Tell him Orlando sends for Angelica."

And Grafton, i. 339: "Eche of them kept a great estate and port, and spare no cost."

59. _unrelenting_ Occurs again 3_Henry VI_. ii. i. 58, and in _Titus Andronicus_, ii. iii. 141. Marlowe has "unrelenting ears" in _Tamburlaine_, Part II. v. iii.

62. _homicides_ See i. ii. 25 above.

65. _heaven forfend]_ Occurs nine or ten times in Shakespeare, usually with "heavens." See 3_Henry VI_. ii. i. 151. "Forfended" (obfuscan) occurs separately, only in _King Lear_, v. i. 11.

74. _Alençon! that notorious Machiavel]_ See again 3_Henry VI_. iii. ii. 193, and note. And _Merry Wives of Windsor_, iii. i. 104. _New Eng. Dict._ quotes from Buchanan's _Admonition_, 1570: "Proud contemporars or machiavell mokkaris of all religioun and vertew." Machiavel was a great writer and consummate politician, and the infamous methods advanced in his _Il Principe_ (1513) are regarded now as rather a necessity of his time, and an advance on his contemporaries. Gabriel Harvey says: "So Cesar Borgia, the sourain Type of _Machiavels_ Prince, wan the Dukedom of Vrbin, in one day" (_Pierces Supererogation_ (Grosart, ii. 305-306), 1592). By stratagem and sudden assault. My friend, Mr. Francis Worllett, sends me an interesting note on Machiavel, with regard to Alencon. Machiavel was known chiefly to Elizabethans from the Frenchman Gentillet, not from the Italian. Of course one excepts Bacon, who appreciated him, as possibly did also Harvey. Gentillet's _Discourse against Machiavel_ is a French refutation or misrepresentation of him, published in 1576. The preface to the English version is dated 1577, although the first printed edition we have is much later. The French book was dedicated to the Duc d'Alençon, and Gentillet brought upon himself much ridicule by not knowing that the Duke was a most notorious Machiavel. This tones down the anachronism into an interesting topical allusion in the passage in the text. Hall tells us that John, Duke of Alençon, who was executed in France in Henry's thirty-sixth year, was accused of high treason and of conspiring with the English to recover Normandy, whereupon he suffered death very unjustly. He had been a prisoner and well entertained in Eng-
It dies an if it had a thousand lives.

_Puc._ O! give me leave; I have deluded you:
'Twas neither Charles nor yet the duke I nam'd,
But Reignier, King of Naples, that prevail'd.

_War._ A married man! that's most intolerable.

_York._ Why, here's a girl! I think she knows not well,
There were so many, whom she may accuse.

_War._ It's sign she hath been liberal and free.

_York._ And yet, forsooth, she is a virgin pure.
Strumpet, thy words condemn thy brat and thee:
Use no entreaty, for it is in vain.

_Puc._ Then lead me hence; with whom I leave my curse:
May never glorious sun reflex his beams
Upon the country where you make abode;
But darkness and the gloomy shade of death

75. an if] Theobald; and if Fl.

land (p. 238). York's remark is therefore quite uncalled for, except in the sense of his being two Alençons rolled into one—a position which several characters occupy in these plays. Even then it is more likely Shakespeare had in his mind the notorious Alençon (afterwards Henri III) of the massacre at St. Bartholomew's (then Anjou). Readers of Dumas will recall his character, brought up as he was in the Italian school of politics by his mother, Catherine de' Medici. The Alençon to whom Gentillet dedicated his *Discours* in 1576 was Francis of Valois, fourth son of Catherine. He died at the age of thirty in 1584. For an account of Machiavel's character as found in Elizabethan literature, with an attempt to relieve him from the extravagant reprobation therein, see *Pioneer Humanists*, by J. M. Robertson. It is from Herr Edward Meyer's book (Weimar, 1897), who counted 395 references to Machiavel, as a monster of wickedness, usually.

84. *Strumpet*, thy words condemn . . . thee: an additional plea. Compare Greene, *Orlando Furioso* (xiii, 188):—

"We will, have her punish by the laws of France,
To ende her burning lust in flames of fire."

Boswell Stone quotes here from Holinshed (iii. 604): "and yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might, stake [stuck] not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse herselfe a *strumpet*, and (unmaried as she was) to be with child. For triall, the lord regent's lenite gave hir nine moneths staie, at the end wherof she (found here-in as false . . .) was thereupon deliered ouer to secular power, and so executed."

87. *sun reflex his beams*] This verb is not found again in Shakespeare. The phrasing is Marlowe's:—

"For neither rain can fall upon the earth,
Nor *sun reflex his virtuous beams* theron"

(Tamburlaine, Part I. iii. ii. (20, a), 1586). One is inclined to give Marlowe credit for a good deal of the savagery here, such as lies in lines 87-93.

85. *make abode*] dwell, live. See again *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. iii. 23, and *King Lear*, i. i. 136. Drayton uses it in his *Heroical Epistles*.

89. *darkness . . . death*] Malone points out that this is scriptural: "to give light to them that sit in *darkness* and the shadow of *death*."

89. *gloomy*] Occurs again only in *Titus Andronicus*, iv. i. 53, and *Lucrece*, 803. Another example of the many words seemingly deliberately dropped out of Shakespeare's later work. "Glooming" is in *Romeo and Juliet*, v. iii. 305. Both forms occur in the first book of the *Faerie Queene*: "A little glooming light, much like a shade" (i. i. 14); "a gloomy glade" (i. vii. 4). Peele has "gloomy" several times: "gloomy Time sat whipping on the team" (*Polyhymnia*). And *Aleazar*, iv.
THE FIRST PART OF

[ACT V.

Environ you, till mischief and despair
Drive you to break your necks or hang yourselves!

[Exit, guarded.

York. Break thou in pieces and consume to ashes,
Thou foul accused minister of hell!

Enter Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, attended.

Car. Lord regent, I do greet your excellency
With letters of commission from the king.
For know, my lords, the states of Christendom,
Mov'd with remorse of these outrageous broils,
Have earnestly implor'd a general peace
Betwixt our nation and the aspiring French;
And here at hand the Dauphin and his train
Approacheth to confer about some matter.

York. Is all our travail turn'd to this effect?
After the slaughter of so many peers,
So many captains, gentlemen, and soldiers,
That in this quarrel have been overthrown,
And sold their bodies for their country's benefit,
Shall we at last conclude effeminate peace?
Have we not lost most part of all the towns,
By treason, falsehood, and by treachery,
Our great progenitors had conquered?

O! Warwick, Warwick, I foresee with grief
The utter loss of all the realm of France.

War. Be patient, York: if we conclude a peace,

93. Enter Cardinal . . . ] Enter Cardinall ff (after line 91); Enter Cardinal Beaufort, attended Capell. 101. matter] F f; matters F f 2, 3, 4. 102. travail] travel F f.

ii.: "Best, then, betimes t' avoid this gloomy storm." And David and Beth-sabe (473, a):—
"hurls through the gloomy air,
His radiant beams."
New Eng. Dict. has Titus Andronicus, dated 1588, as earliest use. This date follows Fleay (Manual), an unreliable authority who rejected that date later placing it not earlier than 1593 (for Shakespeare's part), which is probably correct. Golding gives the word's evolution: "some mistie cloud that ginnes
to gloom and loure" (Ovid, vi. 292).
93. minister] servant.
93. Enter Cardinal Beaufort . . . ] For the negotiations here referred to, see extract at the beginning of this Act.
There is a certain quiet dignity and strength in the remainder of this scene that is quite in the way of Shakespeare. There is no need to question this authority. It is altogether outside Greene or Marlowe's work. But although we meet the language of Shake-
speare, we look in vain for his genius.
99. aspiring French] This is again like Marlowe. "Th' aspiring Guise" occurs several times in The Massacre at Paris; "aspiring Lancaster" in Edward the Second (184, b). Greene has "Aspiring traitor" in George-a-Greene (xiv. 161). In this sense of ambitious (applied to a person or persons) it is scarcely met with in Shakespeare, but Spenser used it.
112. realm of France] See note at ii. ii. 36.
It shall be with such strict and severe covenants
As little shall the Frenchmen gain thereby.

Enter Charles, Alençon, Bastard, Reignier, and others.

Cha. Since, lords of England, it is thus agreed
That peaceable truce shall be proclaim'd in France,
We come to be informed by yourselves
What the conditions of that league must be.

York. Speak, Winchester; for boiling choler chokes
The hollow passage of my poison'd voice,
By sight of these our baleful enemies.

Car. Charles, and the rest, it is enacted thus:
That, in regard King Henry gives consent,
Of mere compassion and of lenity,
To ease your country of distressful war,
And suffer you to breathe in fruitful peace,
You shall become true liegmens to his crown.
And, Charles, upon condition thou wilt swear
To pay him tribute, and submit thyself,
Thou shalt be placed as viceroy under him,
And still enjoy thy regal dignity.

Alen. Must he be then as shadow of himself?


120. boiling] In this sense is selected
for ridicule in Midsummer Night's Dream. Compare Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng, p. 583: "his wickednes boyling so hote within his brest."
120, 121. choler chokes . . . passage of my . . . voice] Compare Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part II. iii. ii.:
"My mother's death hath mortified my mind
And sorrow stops the passage of my speech."

Developed by?

121. poison'd] Theobald's emendation is very probably correct. But compare Othello, v. ii. 364, and Coriolanus, v. ii. 92, for the obsolete sense of "destroy" which the verb had. There is much more to be said for "prison" here than in Love's Labour's Lost, iv. iii. 302 (Arden edition, p. 103, note), where Theobald would also make the alteration. It was an old confusion with printers. Peele has "O deadly wound that pasheth by mine eye,
The fatal poison of my swelling heart"

125. lenity] mildness. Twice in Henry VI. and in several other plays. Compare (Peele's) J'ack Straw:
"And though his looks bewray such lenity
Yet at advantage he can use extremity"


131. viceroy] Compare Tamburlaine,
133. shadow . . . substance] See note, ii. iii. 37. Shakespeare never wearied of knocking these two words together.
Adorn his temples with a coro- net,  
And yet, in substance and authority,  
Retain but privilege of a private man?  
This proffer is absurd and reasonless.

Chu. 'Tis known already that I am possess'd  
With more than half the Gallian territories,  
And therein reverenced for their lawful king:  
Shall I, for lucre of the rest unvanquish'd,  
Detract so much from that prerogative  
As to be call'd but viceroy of the whole?  
No, lord ambassador; I'll rather keep  
That which I have than, coveting for more,  
Be cast from possibility of all.

York. Insulting Charles! hast thou by secret means  
Us'd intercession to obtain a league,  
And, now the matter grows to compromise,  
Stand'st thou aloof upon comparison?  
Either accept the title thou usurp'st,  
Of benefit proceeding from our king  
And not of any challenge of desert;  
Or we will plague thee with incessant wars.

Reig. My lord, you do not well in obstinacy  
To cavil in the course of this contract:  
If once it be neglected, ten to one  
We shall not find like opportunity.

Alen. To say the truth, it is your policy  
To save your subjects from such massacre  
And ruthless slaughters as are daily seen  
By our proceeding in hostility;  
And therefore take this compact of a truce,  
Although you break it when your pleasure serves.

149. compromise] compremeize Fl.  
150. cast from] driven from. Compare Cymbeline, v. iv. 60.

137. reasonless] Occurs in Two Gentlemen of Verona, ii. iv. 198.  
139. Gallian] Occurs again, Cymbeline, i. vi. 66.

142. Detract] The verb occurs in a different sense (derogate) in The Tempest, ii. ii. 96, but only there. Take away, subtract.

146. stand'st . . . upon] See note, ii. iv. 150 above. Make a point of comparisons. Spenser has "stands on terms of" in Mother Hubberds Tale.

154. incessant] Only in Comedy of Errors, i. i. 51, and the historical plays. Greene has "incessant prayer" in James the Fourth (Grosart, xiii. 253), and "incessant labours" in the same play (p. 321). Several times in Spenser.

163. compact] The earliest example of the substantive in New Eng. Dict. The use of the word points to Shakspere's use of Grafton's Continuation of Harding (1543): "But suche was the good fortune of Englannde that this craftye compacte took no place" (p. 534). The word is also in Hall later.
War. How say'st thou, Charles? shall our condition stand? 165
Cha. It shall;
Only reserv'd, you claim no interest
In any of our towns of garrison.
York. Then swear allegiance to his majesty,
As thou art knight, never to disobey
Nor be rebellious to the crown of England,
Thou, nor thy nobles, to the crown of England.
So now dismiss your army when ye please;
Hang up your ensigns, let your drums be still,
For here we entertain a solemn peace.

[Exeunt.

SCENE V.—London. The royal palace.

Enter Suffolk in conference with the King, Gloucester and Exeter.

K. Hen. Your wondrous rare description, noble earl, 165
Of beauteous Margaret hath astonish'd me:
Her virtues graced with external gifts
Do breed love's settled passions in my heart:
And like as rigour of tempestuous gusts
Provokes the mightiest hulk against the tide,
So am I driven by breath of her renown

165. Two lines in Ff.

SCENE V.

SCENE V.] Capell; Actus Quintus F 1; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4. London ...]
Cambridge; Changes to England Pope; London. A room in the palace. Capell.
Enter ...] Ff, Cambridge,

168. garrison] See again Part II. iii. i. 117, the only other example in Shakespeare. The verb to garrison occurs in Hamlet and Cymbeline. The passage in the text is the earliest use of "town of garrison" in New Eng. Dict., but it is probably earlier in Greene's Life and Death of Ned Browne (Grosart, xi. 27): "in a Towne of Garrison he leaves you, runnes away with your money, and makes you glad to betake your self to prouant."

175. entertain] give reception to, allow to enter, accept. Compare Comedy of Errors, ii. ii. 188. See the last sense but one of the verb in New Eng. Dict., where early examples are given. Schmidt's analysis of this word is confusing and in want of revision.

The close of this scene is certainly a puzzle. It is almost impossible to imagine Shakespeare writing such animate stuff in such a position for thrilling thoughts. Peele occurred to me, but at this date, Peele, the author of The Arraignment of Paris and Edward the First was at the top of his powers and could not have kept so low a level. Lodge alone seems prosy enough, but there are none of his peculiarities. Marlowe is never so poor, so impoverished in thought, not even in The Massacre at Paris.

SCENE V.


7. driven by breath of her renown] This recalls a beautiful passage at the
Either to suffer shipwreck, or arrive
Where I may have fruition of her love.

_Suf._ Tush! my good lord, this superficial tale
Is but a preface of her worthy praise;
The chief perfections of that lovely dame,
Had I sufficient skill to utter them,
Would make a volume of enticing lines,
Able to ravish any dull conceit:
And, which is more, she is not so divine,
So full replete with choice of all delights,
But with as humble lowliness of mind
She is content to be at your command;
Command, I mean of virtuous chaste intents,

11. of her] Ff 1, 2; to her Ff 3, 4.

beginning of Peele's _Edward the First_ (circa 1583?):——

"And now . . .
Comes lovely Edward from Jerusalem,
Veering before the wind, ploughing
the sea;
His stretched sails fill'd with the
breath of men
That through the world admire
his manliness."

8. _suffer shipwreck_] "Shipwreck" is
used again, metaphorically, in _Titus Andronicus_, ii. i. 24: "see his shipwreck
and his commonweal's." The earlier
and usual expression was "to make
shipwreck of," as in 1 Timothy i. 19;
while "suffer shipwreck" occurs liter-
ally, 2 Corinthians xi. 25. Greene has
"make shipwrecke of her chastitie" in
_Penelope's Web_ (Grosart, v. 209), 1587.
And in Sharpham, _Cupid's Whirligig_,
ii. (1607): "all his hopes will suffer ship-
wreck." See _Faerie Queene_, ii. xii. 7:——

"make shipwrecke violent
Both of their life and name."

9. _fruition_] Not again in Shake-
speare. Compare Marlowe, _Tambur-
laine_, Part II. v. iii. (73, a): "Deny my
soul fruition of her joy."

". . . Absalon may glut his long-
sing soul
With sole fruition of his father's
crown"
(David and Bethsabe, 478, a). An old
but little used, word.

10. _Tush!]_ Shakespeare's favourite
ejaculation—from the Bible. See _Oth-
cillo_, i. i. 11, note (Arden edition). It
occurs at least twenty times.

11. _preface_] Not met with elsewhere
in Shakespeare. Compare Greene (and
Marlowe), _Selinus_ (Grosart, xiv. 234):——

"March to Natolia, there we will
begin,
And make a _preface_ to our mas-
sacres."

15. _ravish_] entrance, enchant. Com-
mon use in Shakespeare; "conceit,
meaning imagination, of mind gener-
ally, is also a common use.

16. _which is more_] Shakespeare liked
this. See _Merry Wives of Windsor_, ii.
ii. 78; _Measure for Measure_, i. ii. 68;
and _Much Ado About Nothing_, iv. ii.
83, 84. I find it earlier in J. Aske,
_Elizabetha Triumphant_ (Nichols’_ Pro-
gresses_, ii. 555), 1588:——

"Yea, which is more, he'll cause a
devilish doubt
Of France, a Doctor (Parry I do
meane)."

Our "what's more."

17. _full_] altogether (adv.). See i.
i. 112.

17. _replete with_] See note i. i. 12.
Characteristic of Shakespeare's earliest
work.

17. _full replete with_] An expression
used by Peele (?) in _Jack Straw_ (Hazz-
litt's Dodsley, v. 412):——

"Whose thankful hearts I find as
full replete
With signs of joy and duty to your
grace
As those unnatural rebels' hateful
mouths
Are full of foul speeches and un-
honourable."

20. _I mean_] A weak unpoetical trick
of Peele's. Compare _Jack Straw_ (Hazz-
litt's Dodsley, v. 389):——
To love and honour Henry as her lord.

K. Hen. And otherwise will Henry ne'er presume. Therefore, my lord protector, give consent That Margaret may be England's royal queen.

Glou. So should I give consent to flatter sin. You know, my lord, your highness is betroth'd Unto another lady of esteem; How shall we then dispense with that contract, And not deface your honour with reproach?

Suf. As doth a ruler with unlawful oaths: Or one that, at a triumph having vow'd To try his strength, forsaketh yet the lists By reason of his adversary's odds: A poor earl's daughter is unequal odds, And therefore may be broke without offence.

Glou. Why, what, I pray, is Margaret more than that? Her father is no better than an earl, Although in glorious titles he excel.

Suf. Yes, my lord, her father is a king,

"so good a gentleman] F i; my good lord F 2, 3, 4.
As is that knight Sir John Morton](532, a).
I mean,
Would entertain," etc.
See Part III. iii. ii. 53. And in Titus Andronicus the same stuffing occurs several times. Jack Straw gives other examples of it (p. 392): "I mean against your manor of Greenwich town," giving one the impression of so-much-a-word composition. See Richard III. iv. iv. 262, and in Henry VIII. And in Jack Straw again (p. 410). Several times in Part III. (see iii. ii. 58). Compare Kyd's Spanish Tragedie, ii. i. 63. And Peele again in Sir Clyomon (532, a).

27. of esteem] See iii. iv. 8 (note).
28. dispense with] set aside, neglect. See Love's Labour's Lost, i. i. 148, and Merry Wives of Windsor, ii. i. 47. Twice in Kyd's Corinelia. And Marlowe, Tamburlaine, Part I. v. i.:

"I fear the custom . . .
Will never be dispensed with till our deaths."


For the previous betrothal and the discord raised between Gloucester and Suffolk, see extract at the beginning of this Act. Drayton may be quoted here (England's Heroical Epistles, 1597-8, William De La Pool, Duke of Suffolk, to Queen Margaret):—

"Thou know'st how I (thy beauty to advance)
For thee refus'd the Infanta of France;
Brake the contract Duke Humphrey first did make
'Twixt Henry and the Princess Arminack:
Only that here thy presence I might gain,
I gave Duke Regnier Anjou, Mons,
Thy peerless beauty for a dower to bring,
As of itself sufficient for a king . . .
And to the king relating of thy story
My tongue flow'd with such plentiful oratory . . .
Nor left him not, till he for love was sick,
Beholding thee in my sweet rhetoric."

"Whereupon" (says Drayton, in his Annotations) "the Earl of Arminack (whose daughter was before promised to the king) seeing himself to be deluded, caused all the Englishmen to be expelled Aquitain, Gascony and Guien" (Edition 1753, vol. i. pp. 312-318). Drayton makes free use of Henry VI. 31. triumph] tournament.
The king of Naples and Jerusalem;
And of such great authority in France
As his alliance will confirm our peace,
And keep the Frenchmen in allegiance.

Glon. And so the Earl of Armagnac may do,
Because he is near kinsman unto Charles.

Exe. Beside, his wealth doth warrant a liberal dower,
Where Reignier sooner will receive than give.

Suf. A dower, my lords! disgrace not so your king,
That he should be so abject, base, and poor,
To choose for wealth and not for perfect love.
Henry is able to enrich his queen,
And not to seek a queen to make him rich:
So worthless peasants bargain for their wives,
As market-men for oxen, sheep, or horse.

Marriage is a matter of more worth
Than to be dealt in by attorneyship:
Not whom we will, but whom his grace affects,
Must be companion of his nuptial bed;
And therefore, lords, since he affects her most,
It most of all these reasons bindeth us,
In our opinions she should be preferred.
For what is wedlock forced but a hell,
An age of discord and continual strife?
Whereas the contrary bringeth bliss,
And is a pattern of celestial peace.

Whom should we match with Henry, being a king,
But Margaret, that is daughter to a king?
Her peerless feature, joined with her birth,
Approves her fit for none but for a king:

46. warrant a] F 1; warrant Ff 2, 3, 4.
60. It most] Rowe; Most Ff.
Ff 2, 3, 4. 55. Marriage] F 1; But marriage
Ff 2, 3, 4. 64. bringeth] F 1; bringeth forth

54. market-men] See iii. ii. 4 for the only other use by Shakespeare.
56. attorneyship] proxyship, by proxy.
Steevens remarked "this is a phrase of which Shakespeare is peculiarly fond."
It (not the word) occurs in King Richard III. (ii. iii. 134; iv. iv. 127, 413; v. iii. 83). See, too, Comedy of Errors, v. i. 100; As You Like It, iv. i. 94, etc. etc. Shakespeare's hand at mixing compounds appears above in "bachelorship," v. iv. 13. In Part II. we have "regentship," i. iii. 107, and "protectorship," ii. i. 50. "Lordship," too, gets a special sense in Part II. iv. vii. 5. All formed on the early "worship," etc. New Eng. Dict.

has no earlier example of "attorneyship," which is only here in Shakespeare. "Township" (older) is in 2 Henry VI. 64. contrary] Malone believed this word was used here as a quadrissyllable. Steevens had: "little confidence in this remark," and read "bringeth forth."

Contrary is a frequent pronunciation, however (in Ireland), where the letter r is properly pronounced.

65. pattern] example, instance. Compare Henry V. ii. iv. 61, and Othello, v. ii. 11. And Spenser, Teares of the Muses, Dedication: "that most honourable Lorde, the verie Paterne of right Nobilitie."
Her valiant courage and undaunted spirit,
More than in women commonly is seen,
Will answer our hope in issue of a king;
For Henry, son unto a conqueror,
Is likely to beget more conquerors,
If with a lady of so high resolve
As is fair Margaret he be link’d in love.
Then yield, my lords; and here conclude with me
That Margaret shall be queen, and none but she.

K. Hen. Whether it be through force of your report,
My noble Lord of Suffolk, or for that
My tender youth was never yet attain’d
With any passion of inflaming love,
I cannot tell; but this I am assur’d,
I feel such sharp dissension in my breast,
Such fierce alarums both of hope and fear,
As I am sick with working of my thoughts.
Take, therefore, shipping; post, my lord, to France:
Agree to any covenants, and procure
That Lady Margaret do vouchsafe to come
To cross the seas to England and be crown’d
King Henry’s faithful and anointed queen.
For your expenses and sufficient charge,
Among the people gather up a tenth.

70. undaunted] This is the third occurrence of “undaunted spirit” (1. i. 127; iii. ii. 99). Only again in Macbeth. With regard to this description of Margaret, compare Grafton, p. 625 (The XXII Yere): “This woman excelled all other, as well in beauty and favour, as in wit and policie, and was of stomacke and courage, more lyke to a man then a woman” (see line 71). See note at 1. i. 127. Probably in one of the Chronicles.

76. link’d] similarly used in 3 Henry VI. iv. ii. 116 (“link’d in friendship”); and in Antony and Cleopatra, 1. ii. 193. Compare Greene, James the Fourth (xiii. 269): “love, the faithfull lincke of loyall hearts.” An alliterative touch.

78. none but she] recalls Marlowe’s “And none but thou shall be my paramour” (Faustus, ed. Dyce, p. 100, a).

81. attained] attained, infected. See “taint” above, v. iii. 183. Compare Golding’s Ovid, xiv. 68: “she saw her hinderlynes with barking buggs atteint.” And Peele, Sir Clyomon:—

“my heart to fight doth faint,
Therefore Ite take me to my legs,
seeing my honour I must atteint”
(531, b). And Spenser, Faerie Queene, i.

vi. 34: “Phoebus golden face it did atteint.” See note at attained, ii. iv. 96 above.

86. working of my thoughts] Malone refers to Henry V. iii. Pro1. 25. Shakespeare constantly applies the verb “to the motions or labours of the mind” (Schmidt).

87. Take ... shipping] A recognised expression. Compare Lyly, The Woman in the Moone, iv. i. (circa 1510?): “tell me which way shall we go? Pandora. Unto the sea-side, and take shipping straight.” And in The Queen’s Entertainment at Rycot (Nichols’ Progresses, iii. 170), 1592: “Being readie to take shipping.”

88. procure] contrive.

93. gather up a tenth] This is wrong. “The king had with her not one pennie, and for the fetchyng of her, the Marques of Suffolke demaunded a whole fiftene in open Parliament” (Grafton, p. 625). But it is correctly announced in 2 Henry VI. i. i. 133. And in Drayton, England’s Heroical Epistles: “A fifteen’s tax in France I freely spent In triumphs.” But this belongs to another story.
Be gone, I say; for till you do return
I rest perplexed with a thousand cares.
And you, good uncle, banish all offence:
If you do censure me by what you were,
Not what you are, I know it will excuse
This sudden execution of my will.
And so conduct me, where from company
I may revolve and ruminate my grief.

Glou. Ay, grief, I fear me, both at first and last.

Suf. Thus Suffolk hath prevail'd; and thus he goes,
As did the youthful Paris once to Greece;
With hope to find the like event in love,
But prosper better than the Trojan did.
Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king;
But I will rule both her, the king, and realm.

[Exit.]

97. censure] judge, criticise.
101. revolve and ruminate] Occurs again in Troilus and Cressida, ii. iii.
102: "revolve and ruminate himself." Often without than with "on" in Shakespeare. Compare Greene, Orlando Furioso (xiii. 140): "There solemnly he ruminates his loue."
104. Paris once to Greece] Greene never wearies of Paris; he has him (or Helen) in every place and tract:—
"Should Paris enter in the courts of Greece,
And not lie fettered in faire Hellens lookes?"

(Frier Bacon (xiii. 83)). In this scene, like several others, Shakespeare seems to disappear towards the end as though he wearied of the task of revivifying and re-modeling. We see nevertheless evidence of his work in several turns of language.

105. event] result, consequence—a common use in Shakespeare. "I'll after him, and see the event of this" (Taming of the Shrew, iii. ii. 129), and above, iv. i. 191—in every play perhaps. The word is not commonly met with so early. Lyly has it in Sapho and Phao (1584) v. i.: "I will expect the event and tarye for Cupid."
Shakespeare, William
The First Part of King Henry the Sixth