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THE FIRST PART
OF
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

THE WORKS
OF
SHAKESPEARE

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH

EDITED BY

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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.[1]

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 . . . iijll xvjs 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

[1 The whole of this Introduction should now be read in the light of *Shakespeare's Henry VI. and Richard III.*, Cambridge, 1909, *q.v.*, by Peter Alexander, who practically proves that these so-called "earlier plays" are really nothing but "Bad Quartos," "memorial reconstructions" of *Henry VI.*, Parts II. and III. (or of nearly identical texts) contrived by actors anxious to reproduce popular plays of which hardships had deprived their Company. This seriously damages the case for attributing these plays in whole or part to other authors than Shakespeare, and must affect speculation about Part I. as well.—R.H.C.]

Shakespearian drama (for a different company) within this period; and later than "harey."

Is this Part I. of *Henry VI.*? There is only one piece of external evidence to assist us. It is from Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*, 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 ioyed 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 undoubtedly[1] refer to him—from the quibbling on the name:—

And there, though last not least is Aetion,
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 needless one, arising out of one interpolation.

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

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.)

[1 This ignores the likelier reference suggested to poet rather than dramatist, *viz.*, Michael Drayton, who refers to Spenser in *Idea, The Shepherd's Garland*, 1593, as Colin "to Fayrie gon on pilgrimage,' and whose *England's Heroicall Epistles*, published in 1597, were probably in circulation some years before. *Colin Clout's, etc.*, though written in 1591, was printed in 1595, and contains lines which must have been added in that or the previous year.—R.H.C.]

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 Iohn, 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 juxtaposition 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 consideration must be deferred for the present with the remark that it betrays Greene's extreme irritation, apparently at Shakespeare's having made use of work of his and of others, in some fashion with such success for the stage.[1] 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

[1 Probably few now maintain this interpretation of Greene's description "an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers," which is on a par with his previous address to an actor (in *Never too Late*, 1590), "Why *Roscius*, art thou proud with *Esops* Crow, being pranct with the glorie of others feathers? of thy selfe thou canst say nothing," etc., and need not imply plagiarism at all. See Alexander, *op. cit.*—R.H.C.]

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 Shakespeare'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 Shakespeare's, as his earliest work with a date of about 1589-90. There is thus a certain space of time in hand for the development 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 considerable extent, would be revealed by the same study of the language were it existent. There are no such staggering difficulties 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 surrounding 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 expression 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,

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 *Tamburlaine* 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.[1] 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

[[1] See note p. vii. *ante*. The fact assumed there throws a different light on echoes of Marlowe in *The Contention*. Actors reconstructing a play largely from memory may very well, as Mr. Alexander says, borrow lines and expressions from other plays with which they are familiar.—R.H.C.]

(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-play-writing—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 I.

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 houres 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 Berners'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. 71. *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 *Alcida*, 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 I. i.; end of I. iii. and end of II. iii. The classical references may be his. But see under Marlowe. The metre and verse is nearer Marlowe than Shakespeare's earliest stage.

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. iii. 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 flie 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. 40, etc.).

III. iii. 79. *roaring cannon-shot.* The earliest example of cannon-shot in *New Eng. Dict.*, 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 preiudice 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 excrescent *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 Shakespeare's down to the entrance of the Herald (vii. 50); the latter forty-five lines seem mongrel. "The proudest of you all" (IV. vii. 84) 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 Shakespeare. "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. 78, 79. *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 woodden 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 the 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, 140. *all France . . . Durst not presume.* I. 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. I. 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 wexen dim" (*Arraignment*, 369, a).

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

II. 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. II. i. 190.

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

IV. iii. 48. *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" (*Polyhymnia*, 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. *unspotted heart.* "His saint is sure of his unspotted 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" (*Edward 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 structural 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. 11; *took 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 Marlowe'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, 2. *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. 10, 11. *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" (*Foure letters confuted*, v. 285 (1592)).

I. ii. 9. *They want their . . . fat bull-beeves.* 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-brained Salisbury.* "Mad-braine fondnesse" occurs in Nashe's *Christ's Teares*, iv. 257 (1594).

I. ii. 33. *none but Samsons and Goliases.* "A big boand lustie fellow, and a Golias, 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 Stuffe*, 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 . . . braines" (*The Unfortunate Traveller*, v. 45 (1594)).

I. v. 4. *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 deathbed. 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.
bearing-cloth. I. iii. 42.
beard thee. I. iii. 44.
break our minds. I. iii. 81.
overpeer. I. iv. 11.
minute-while. I. iv. 54.
? dead and gone. I. iv. 93.
Nero. I. iv. 95.
have a bout with thee. I. v. 4.
devil's dam. I. v. 5.

ACT II.

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

ACT III.

saucy priest. III. i. 45.
touched near. III. i. 58.
viperous. III. i. 72.
giddy. III. i. 83.
hollow. III. i. 136.
sack the city. III. ii. 10.
darnel. III. ii. 44.
greybeard. III. ii. 50.
Foul fiend. III. ii. 52.
despite. III. ii. 52, and hag, *ibid.*
Belike. III. ii. 62.
Hecătě. 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.

ACT IV. (*continued*).

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.
front . . . apparent. IV. ii. 26.
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 the bosom. IV. iii. 47, 48.
neglection. IV. iii. 49.
scarce cold. IV. iii. 50.
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.
maidenhood. 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.

ACT V.

what remedy. V. iii. 132.
unapt. V. iii. 133.
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.
good my girl. V. iv. 25.
ratsbane. V. iv. 29.
drab. V. iv. 32.
heaven forfend. V. iv. 65.
lenity. V. iv. 125.
Gallian. V. iv. 139.
which is more. V. v. 16.
attorneyship. V. v. 56.
working of my thoughts. V. v. 86.
revolve and ruminate. V. v. 101.
event. V. v. 105.

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—Greene 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 Cæsar," I. i. 55, 56; "public

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 *Shepheards 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.

I. i. 11-13. Compare with *Faerie Queene*, I. xi. 14-18: "His blazing eyes, like two bright shining shieldes, Did burne with wrath and sparkled 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."

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

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

I. i. 124. *Here, there, and everywhere enrag'd he flew.*[1] Compare *Faerie Queene*, III. i. 66: "Wherewith enrag'd she fiercely at them flew. . . . Here, there, and everywhere, about her swayd Her wrathful steele."

I. 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."

I. 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

[1 But the Editor rejected this modern reading: see note at I. ii. 124, p. 11. —R.H.C.]

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 pelfe. . . . The dearest to his dounghill minde." And see *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 87.

I. iii. 22. *Faint-hearted Woodvile.* 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 II. 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 defaicted and put to flyght at the onely hearing of hys name. In somuch that the French women to affray theyr chyldren would tell them that the Talbot commeth."

II. ii. 1, 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. 14-16. *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 Hecătě.* Compare *Faerie Queene*, I. i. 43: "And threatned unto him the dreaded name Of Hecătě: 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 blandishment." 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 Dwarfe did lag."

III. iv. 33. *The envious barking of your saucy tongue. Shepheards 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."

ACT IV.

IV. i. 189. *This shouldering of each other in the court.* Compare *Faerie Queene*, 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 Queene*, II. vii. 22: "rancorous Despight."

IV. ii. 15. *owl of death.* Compare *Faerie Queene*, I. v. 40: "'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 Queene*, 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 Queene*, 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" (1590, "long sithens composed"). Spenser has it frequently elsewhere. Spenser naturally shows much familiarity with northern dialect. See his *Shepheards 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 *Selimus* (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 reintroduction 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," *Shepheards 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 (III. 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 are 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 jewell'd 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. 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 least 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 meeke 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 sownd, 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 doleful'st 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 *Locrine*, 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*, I. x. 51).
Thrise happy man the knight himselfe did hold (*Faerie Queene*, I. 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 *Locrine*, 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 Shepheards 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," acording 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 1 of *3 Henry VI.*), at the beginning of I. iv.: "Thrise 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. 123, "thrice valiant" is deliberately omitted; "Warwicke my thrice valiant sonne," reading "Warwicke, my sonne" in the final play, *2 Henry VI.*, I. i. 188.

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, graceless, hostless, woundless, trustless, rueless (unpitied), quenchless, 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 peculiar to the play): *sapless, pithless, crestless*, strengthless, reasonless, 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*, *conceitless.* 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 impulsive moments, and discontinued it as a practice after his earliest work, especially *1 Henry VI.* He never became enslaved. 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.

11, 12, 13. See also *3 Henry VI.* II. vi. 18, 23, 25. And the first stanzas of *Lucrece.*

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 Shakespeare in the liberality with which he pours them out. 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.*; fraudful, deathful, unhelpful in *2 Henry VI.*; mirthful, easeful, wishful in *3 Henry VI.* In *Lucrece* only are increaseful, faultful and mistful.[1] 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, shepherdish 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 thou in Shakespeare is well dealt with by Schmidt, and by Abbott. There was a very subtle

[1 A slip: *mistful* occurs only in *Henry V.*, IV. vi. 34.—R.H.C.]

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. 28:—

> the milk
> Thy mother gave thee when thou suck'dst 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. iv 157.
Calledst. *3 Henry VI.* IV. iii. 31 (and twice elsewhere in Shakespeare).
Obeyedst. *3 Henry VI.* III. iii. 96.
Strokedst. *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.

With the Suffix -y.

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, plumy, snowy, scaly, frory, pearly, gloomy, briny, leamy, heedy, vetchy, bushy, weedy, cloudy, horsy, whelky, fenny, slimy, snaky, ashy, 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 Hardyng, Fabyan and Stowe in addition. For Fabyan, see Part II. iv. iii. at the word "sallet." For Hardyng 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. 1. 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. 1 *et seq.*, where Iden finds Cade in his garden, Holinshed is not followed. The account is from Grafton 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 conclusion.

It is necessary here to say a word with regard to the authorship 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 version 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 Holinshed. 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 "Æsop'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,[1] 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, III. i. 171. See note on this undoubted correction.

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

louted, IV. iii. 13, for the meaningless lowted. See note.

Adonis garden, as in Ff, for gardens, I. vi. 6. See note.

fully omitted (as in F 1), and passage rearranged to F 1, I. iv. 16-18.

halcyons days (as in Ff 1, 2), I. ii. 131, from halcyon, Ff, 3, 4.

[1] Oversight or change of mind appears to have deprived the text of some of these modifications. References to Parts II. and III. in the notes which do not correspond with the numbering of the text adopt that of the Globe Shakespeare.—R.H.C.]

were (as in Ff) for was of Rowe, etc., I. iv. 50.
appaled (appal'd Ff), I. ii. 48, 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.
wherein shipp'd, as in Ff 1, 2, 3, for where inshipp'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[1]

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.*
RICHARD PLANTAGENET, *Son of Richard, late Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York.*
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.
WOODVILE, *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,

King Henry the Sixth] *Henry the Sixt* F 1; *King Henry VI* F 4. *Westminster Abbey*] Theobald. *Fifth*] *Fift* F 1, *Fifth* F 4. *Heralds, &c.*] Malone; *and the Duke of Somerset.* Ff.

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 I. vi. 2.

2. *Comets*] "These blazing starres the Greekes call *Cometas*, our Romanes *Crinitas*: dreadfull to be seene. . . . 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.
Glou. 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 *comeit;* quhen it is sene, ther occurris haistyly efter it sum grit myscheif." Greene often refers to the superstition: "like the elevation of a *Commet* which foreshewes ever some fatall and finall ruine" (*Penelopes Web* (Grosart, v. 175), 1587). And in *Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 150), 1583: "his foes contrariwise conjecturing the worst, said that his pompous prodigalitie 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.

3. *Brandish*] flash and glitter like a brandished sword. See quotation from Holland's *Plinie* at line 2. *New Eng. Dict.* has "*Brandysh*, or glytter, like a sword, *corusco*" (Huloet, 1552). And Sylvester's *Du Bartas*:—

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

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. ii.: "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.

4. *revolting*] rebellious. A favourite word in Shakespeare.

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

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 *repleat with* Majestie"; and *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* (Shaks. Library, Hazlitt, p. 316), 1591: "My life *repleat with* rage and tyranie." And see *2 Henry VI.* I. i. 20, and *3 Henry VI.* III. 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*, 1509 (*passim*).

14. *fierce*] Used adverbially again in *Henry V.* II. iv. 9.

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 ravisht so" (1567). And Grafton's *Chronicle*, 1569 (reprint 1809, i. 574), *Henry the Sixt*: "*What should I saye*, the Captaines 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.

16. *lift*] lifted. Common in early writers: "they drewe foorth, and *lift* Joseph out of the pit" (Genesis xxxvii. 28, Geneva Bible, altered in modern text). And Greene, *A Looking Glasse for London* (Grosart, xiv. 29, line 553):—

"And when I trac't 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 *woodden* picture with a golden creast, full of favour but flattering."

23. *planets of mishap*] An expression of Greene's: "Borne underneathe the *Planet of mishap*" (*Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, Grosart, xiii, 391).

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

27. *magic verses*] Compare *Faerie Queene*, I. ix. 48:—

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

34. *thread of life*] Again in *2 Henry VI.* iv. ii. 30, and *Pericles*, I. ii. 108. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, ii. 818, 819 (1567):—

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

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.
Glou. 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.
Bed. 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 invocate:
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 Cæsar or bright—

49. *moist'ned*] F 1; *moist* Ff. 2, 3, 4. 50. *nourish*] Ff, Cambridge; *marish* Pope, Craig; *nource* 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, *Cephēus* Keightley, *Charlemagne* Anon.)

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

"As though 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 of the fatherland or country; as in Holland's *Plinie*, bk. iii. ch. v. p. 56 (1601): "that land [Italy] which is the nource 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*, norysche." Steevens gives an example from Lydgate's *Tragedies of John Bochas*, bk. i. ch. xii.:—

"Athenes whan it was in his floures
Was called *nourish* of philosophers wise."

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

52. *thy ghost I invocate*] invoke or pray to. Compare *Richard III.* I. ii. 8: "Be it lawful that I *invocate thy ghost*." And *Locrine*, IV. i.: "by the gods whom thou dost *invocate*, 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 Cæsar*] See Golding's Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, The Epistle, lines 292, 293 (1567):—

"The turning to a blazing starre of Julius Cæsar showes
That fame and immortalitie of vertuous doing growes."

And again, bk xv. lines 944-56:—

". . . from the murthred corce of Julius Cæsar take
His sowle with speede . . . Venus out of hand
Amid the Senate house of Rome invisible did stand,
And from her Cæsars bodye tooke his new expulsed 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:
Guienne, 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 lead 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; *is 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 Cæsar's death." See note in Arden edition to *Julius Cæsar*, II. ii. 31. And see more in Holland's *Plinie*, bk. ii. ch. xxv.: "By that starre it was signified (as the common sort beleeved) that the soule of Iulius Cæsar was received among the divine powers of the immortal gods." That the above account in Golding of Cæsar'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 Cæsar*, II. ii. 12-25.

56. *or bright—*] M. Mason says, "Pope's conjecture is confirmed by this peculiar circumstance, that two blazing stars (the *Julium 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.). "Wrapt in *lead*," meaning dead, occurs twice in Spenser's *Shepheards 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.

Exe. 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 intermissive 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. 78. *Awake, awake*] Ff 1, 3, 4; *Awake, away* F 2. 80, 81. *arms Of England's coat,*] Ff; *arms; Of England's coat* Cambridge; *arms, Of England's coat* Pope. 83. *her*] Ff, Malone, Steevens; *their* Theobald, Cambridge, Craig.

71. *maintain . . . factions*] back up, uphold factions or parties. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes Hanmer, *Chronicle of Ireland* (*ante* 1604): "His three sonnes . . . formerly went into Ireland to *maintaine* one of the *factions*." See *faction*, II. iv. 109 below.

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.

80. *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: "Ihon 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 Richarde 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*" (*Tamburlaine*, 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.
Bedford, if thou be slack, I 'll fight it out.
Bed. Gloucester, why doubt'st thou of my forwardness?
An army have I muster'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,

92, 96. *Dauphin*] *Dolphin* Ff. 94. *Reignier*] Rowe, etc.; *Reynold* Ff. 94. *doth take*] F 1; *doth* Ff 2, 3, 4; *takes* Hanmer. 95. *flieth to*] Ff 1, 2; *flieth on* Ff 3, 4. 95. *side.*] Capell; *side.* Exit. Ff. 108, 145, 157. *Mess.*] 3 *Mess.* Ff.

91. *import*] importance. Usually accented on the last syllable.

92. *The Dauphin Charles is crowned king*] See note below, line 155.

98. *fly*] attack, rush at. Still a common sense provincially. "She flew at me." Compare Golding's *Ovid*, book vi. lines 40-43: "Arachne bent hir browes, And louring on hir, left hir worke: and hardly she eschewes From *flying* in the Ladies face."

102. *overrun*] harried and destroyed by a hostile force. A very old sense but not again in Shakespeare. See below, at "girt," III. i. 171, for Marlowe example.

104. *bedew . . . hearse*] This expression occurs again in *2 Henry IV.* IV. v. 114: "the tears that should *bedew* my *hearse*." Spenser has "salt teares bedeawd the hearers cheeks" (*Faerie Queene*, I. xii. 16). For "*dewit* with . . . tears," see *2 Henry VI.* III. ii. 340.

105. *dismal*] savage, ferocious, terrible. Compare *Macbeth*, I. ii. 53: "began a *dismal* conflict." Greene uses the word in this active fighting sense: "When the wild boare is not chafed thou mayst chasten him with a wand, but being once endamaged with the dogges, he is *dismoll*" (*Philomelv* (Grosart, xi. 150, (*ante* 1592). This dismal fight was the Battle of Patay.

109. *circumstance*] details, particulars.

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*] Ff; *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. *enrank*] 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 ignoraunt howe to order his men, made likewise an entier batayle, and suffered 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 (Verneuil) 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 cõpanie in good order of Battaile, 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 Englishe men comming forwarde perceyued the [French] horsemen, and imagining to deceyue their enemies, commanded the footemen to environe and enclose themselues about with their stakes, but the french horsemen came on so fiercely that the archers had no leysure 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 Englishe 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 xl. Whereof the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales, the Lorde Hungerford and Sir Thomas Rampstone were the chiefe. . . . From this battayle [Patay] departed without any stroke striken, Syr John Fastolfe, the same yere for his valyauntnesse 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 on I. 131 and III. ii. 109 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*] Ff; *flew* Rowe (ed. 2), Cambridge, Craig.

here is needful to explain a line in Greene's *Frier Bacon and Frier Bungay* (Grosart, xiii. 162):—

"But then the stormy threats of war shall cease:
The horse shall *stampe as carelesse of the pike*,
Drums shall be turn'd to timbrels of delight."

These pikes ("stakes bound with yron sharpe at both the ends of the length of v. or vj. foote, to be pitched before the Archers . . . so that the footemen were hedged about") were first devised and practised by that wise and politic prince (Henry the Fifth) at Agincourt (Grafton, pp. 516-517).

121. *valiant Talbot*] Grafton's words on Talbot are (p. 574): "This ioly Capteyn & sonne of the valiant Mars . . . which Lord Talbot, beyng both of noble birth and haute courage, after his commyng into Fraunce, obteyned so many glorious victories of hys enimies that his only name was, and yet is, dreadfull to the French nacion, and much renoumed amongst all other people." See notes at I. iv. 42 and II. i. 79.

124. *Here, there, and every where*] Occurs again in *Troilus and Cressida*, v. v. 26. Also in the *Faerie Queene*, III. i. 66:—

"*Here, there, and everywhere*, about her sway'd
Her wrathfull steele."

And again, III. xi. 28.

124. *slew*] The alteration to "flew" is unbearable and unwarrantable. "Slay," used absolutely, is a fine expression. Compare *Julius Cæsar*, III. ii. 209.

126. *agazed*] astounded, amazed. Probably an old form of aghast. *New Eng. Dict.* gives examples from *Chester Plays* (*c.* 1400), and Surrey's Poems, 1557. Surrey affected Chaucerian language.

127. *undaunted spirit*] See again for these words, III. ii. 99 and v. v. 70. Marlowe uses this in *Edward II.* (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 foorthwith they gave the onset upon their enimies, cryng, Saint George, Bedford" (p. 557). And again (p. 561): "the Englishe men came out . . . by the gate of the towne, cryeng Saint George, Salisburie: and set on their enimies 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."

129. *bowels of the battle*] Compare IV. vii. 42 below, and *Coriolanus*, IV. v. 136. "Bowels of the earth" (*1 Henry IV.* I. iii. 61) occurs in Golding's *Ovid*, i. 156.

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; *Falstaff* Ff. 132. *vaward*] *rereward* Hanmer (Theobald conj.). 135. *wrack*] Ff, Craig; *wreck* Steevens, Cambridge. 137. *Walloon*] Ff 3, 4; *Wallon* Ff 1, 2. 139. *their chief*] Ff 1, 2; *their* Ff 3, 4.

131. *Fastolfe . . . play'd the coward*] See note at line 116, and see below, III. ii. 104-9. 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 greatest traitor 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 *Paston Letters*, vol. i., and the Letters themselves. His appointment to the wars is mentioned as follows by Grafton: "After this victory ['The Battle of Crauant'] . . . the Regent . . . constituted the Erle of Salisburie (as he was wel worthy) Vicegerent and Lieutenant for the king and him in the Countries of Fraunce, Bry and Champaine, and Sir John Fastolfe he substituted Deputie under him in the Duchie of Normandie on this side of the river of Seyne 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) "Clytomaches, whose courage no perill 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: "plantyng and placyng men of warre 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 Dodsley, 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 besieg'd;
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. [*Exit.*
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. [*Exit.*
Exe. To Eltham will I, where the young king is,
Being ordain'd his special governor;

149. *Dauphin*] *Dolphin* Ff (throughout). 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* to the lowest hell."

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 townes 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 . . . was driven only to overcome by battayle, and to subdue by force. . . . Wherefore he having together *ten thousand* good Englishe men (beside Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike fashion and passed through Brie to Monstrell, Faultyow, and there sent by Bedforde his Herault letters to the French king" (Grafton, i. 583, ed. 1809).

156. *all Europe*] See "all France," above, line 139.

162. *to Henry sworn*] See note at line 70, above.

168. *munition*] war materials. See again *King John*, v. ii. 98.

171. *his special governor*] "The Citie of Mouns thus being reduced into the English mens hands, the Lorde Talbot departed to the towne of Alanson. After which marciall feate manfully acheeved, the Erle of Warwike

And for his safety there I 'll best devise. [*Exit.*
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.

[*Exeunt.*

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*, 1546 (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. 563).

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 *publike weal* Of Persey" (Persia). The usual expression in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng* (1543), as at p. 574, is "public weal."

SCENE II.—*France. Before Orleans.*

Sound a Flourish. Enter CHARLES, *with his Forces;* ALENÇON, 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:

France. Before Orleans] *Before Orleans in France* Theobald. *Sound a Flourish*] F 1, omitted Ff 2, 3, 4; *Flourish*, Craig.

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).

1. *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 attriuistis*, 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.

6. *we lie near Orleans*] "After this [see note at l. 171 *ante*] 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 suburbes, in the which were xij Parishe Churches, and foure orders of Friers. They cut also downe all the vines, trees and bushes within five leagues of the towne, so that the Englishe men should have neyther comfort, refuge, nor succour" (Grafton, i. 576).

7. *pale ghosts*] See note at *raw-boned*, line 35.

8. *Faintly*] feebly, weakly. Compare *Tamburlaine*, Part I. ii. 1: "with unwilling soldiers *faintly* arm'd" (Dyce, 13, b).

9. *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 souldiers, 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.

9. *They want their . . . bull-beeves*] To eat bull beef was supposed to confer courage. The expression had a proverbial use. Thus Gosson, *An Apologie of the School of Abuse* (Arber, p. 64), 1579: "They have eaten bulbief, and threatned highly, too put water in my woortes, whensoever they catche me; I hope it is but a coppy of their countenance, *Ad diem fortasse minitantur*. Shrewde kyne shall have shorte hornes." 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, ALENÇON, *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 drouned ratte"

(*Colyn Blowbols 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* fondnesse."

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: "This courragious Bastard, after the siege had continued three weekes 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 compelled 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).

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* Ff. 37. *Let's . . . slaves*] two lines in Ff. 37. *hare-brained*] Dyce; *hayre-brayn'd* Ff 1, 2; *hair-brained* Ff. 3, 4.

25. *homicide*] manslayer. Only in this play and *Richard III.* and (corruptly) in *2 Henry IV.*, in Shakespeare: but in early use.

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 *Execration upon Vulcan*. 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: "whereтоо, the other (beeing a big boand 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 houres, with great massacre and bloodshed, fell at last on Ortellius side." And Holland's *Plinie* (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 *rawbond* carcase 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 seene." 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." "*Hairbraind* head" and a "*hairbrainde* 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.

41. *gimmors*] F 1; *gimmals* Ff 2, 3, 4.

38. *eager*] fierce. See *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 3. See Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure:* "He was as *egre* as grype or lyon."

41. *gimmors*] A corruption of gimmals, a pair of rings or other hinged arrangements jointed together. Compare Holland's *Plinie* (1601), xxxiii. i. p. 458: "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 simplicitie was used, sayes the old women of our time, when a ring of a rush woulde tye as much love together as a *Gimmor* [misprinted Gimmon] of golde." Nashe has it simply gims ("hookes and gymmes" 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 *gimmers* which now every puppet play can imitate" (*circa* 1650?). Dekker gives a good parallel in *The Ravens Almanacke* (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 coulde make it strike what a clocke himselfe would . . . he went himselfe and straind 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* (? gimcrack) is in use in the north of Ireland for any trifling or ingenious little knick-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 captaines 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 Orleaunce which was not only now Capitayne of the Citie, but also after by Charles the Sixt, made Erle of Dunoys, and in great aucthoritie in Fraunce, and extreme enemie to the Englishe nation . . . Lewes Duke of Orleaunce . . . was owner of the Castell of Concy . . . whereof he made Constable the lord of Cawny, a man not so wise as his wife was faire, & yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloued of the Duke of Orleaunce as of her husband . . . she conceyued a child, & brought forth a pretie boy called Iohn. . . . The next of the kinne to my Lorde Cawny, chalenged the enheritaunce alleging that the boy was a bastard . . . the chylde came to the age of eyght yeres olde. At which time it was demaunded of him openly whose sonne he was . . . he boldly answered, my hart geveth me, and my noble courage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleaunce, 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 Orleaunce . . . 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" (Grafton, i. pp. 576, 577).

Cha. 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* Ff; *appall'd*, Steevens, Cambridge, Craig.

47. *thrice-welcome*] See Introduction on these compounds, p. xxxiii. *sqq.*

48. *appaled*] Compare "pale of cheer" in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. *New Eng. Dict.* distinguishes the two words appall and appale. Both occur in Golding's *Ovid* (ii. 190, viii. 671). Greene is fond of the word appale: "whose gorgeous presence so *appaled* my senses, yt I stood astonished" (*Arbasto* (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 yoong wench of an eighteene yeeres old, called Jone Are, by name of hir father (a sorie sheepheard) Iames of Are, and Isabell hir mother, brought up poorelie in theyr 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 nsccour to the French estate . . . at the Dolphins sending by her assignement, from Saint Katherins 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 floure 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 Iesus Christ painted with a floure delice in his hand. Unto the Dolphin into his gallerie when first she was brought; and he, shadowing himselfe behind, setting other gaie 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 reuelation divine, that in vertue of that sword shee should atchive: 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 her 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 Cumæan 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. [*Exit Bastard.*

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.

[*Retires.*

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. Laneham 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 Witchcraft*, "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 thinges present best advise;
The third things past could keep in memoree"

(II. 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 infallible. 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 Unconstant, Uncurable, Undirect, Unevitable, Unexperienced, Unperfect, Unpossible, Unproper, Unsatiate, Unsufferable, 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 Penilesse*, etc. (Grosart ii. 126), 1592): "unfallible rules" (*Have with you*, etc. (iii. 11) 1596), and unfallibly in many places.

64. *wondrous feats*] Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, I. iii. 62: "Don Balthazar . . . 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 1; *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?*" (*Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 73), 1583); and in *Alcida* (Grosart, ix. 59), where Greene repeats himself.

77. *parching heat*] An expression of Peele's in *An Eclogue Gratulatory*, 1589. Also in *Lucrece*, 1145. 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-looking. 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 blacke *swart* blood gusht out" (xii. 357, 1567). Compare Grafton, i. 307: "The king was of stature talle, somewhat *swarte* or blacke 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,
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 churchyard,
Out of a great deal of old iron I chose forth.
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.*
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* Ff. 103. *ne'er fly from a man*] F 1; *ne're fly no man* Ff 2, 3, 4. 103. *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, xii. 53), 1588-91). 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 ("couple with").

99. *five flower-de-luces*] See extract at line 51. Malone in accepting Steeven'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 compositors 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* 1588, 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 Sonday 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 shrives 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.

110. *Pucelle*] *Puzel* Ff. 113. *rites*] Pope; *rights* Ff. 125. *over*] Rowe; *ore* Ff.

110. *Excellent Pucelle*] A very Shakespearian touch.

119. *he shrives this woman*] Compare Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacie* (Hazlitt's Shaks. Library, p. 118), 1590: "and with this they strained one anothers hand. Which Ganimede espying, thinking hee had had his mistresse long inough 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."

121. *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. Dict.* quotes from *Aurelio and Isabella*, 1556: "The Kinge . . . axade them what *meane* one oughte to *keape* in suche a case."

124. *what devise you on*] what do you decide on. Compare Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, iv. 1:—

"*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. Dict. has two earlier examples of "devise upon" meaning to resolve or decide upon, which is certainly applicable here.

126. *recreants*] cowards. See *2 Henry VI.* iv. viii. 27.

127. *the last gasp*] to the end. Compare Nashe, Epistle Dedicatorie to *Have with you*, etc., 1596: "Heere he lies at *the last gaspe* of surrendering all his credit and reputation." The expression occurs ("to *the last gasp*") earlier in Stubbs' *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583. "At latter gasp" was commoner in poetry.

128. *fight it out*] See 1. i. 99.

129. *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 disperse 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 Agamemnons 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 I. iv. 42. See too Peele's *Edward I.* (Dyce, 406, b): "Farewell, proud queen . . . The *scourge* 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 connection 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 maleperduys and he sawe fro ferre come fleyng one of *seynt martyns* byrdes, tho cryde he lowde and saide al hayl gentyl byrde torne thy wynges hetherward and flee on my right side the byrde flewh forth vpon a tree whiche stoode on the lift side of the catte tho was tybert woo ffor 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 allaied and calme for the sitting and hatching of the birds *Halciones*, whereupon these daies took the name Alcionis" (Plinie's *Naturall Historie* (trans. Holland, 1601), bk. ii. chap. xlvii.). "I remembred the *halcyons dayes*" (G. Joye, *Exp. Dan.*, 2*a*, 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 . . . disperse to nought*] This was a favourite metaphor. Malone and Holt White give a few parallels, as from Sir John Davis' *Nosce Teipsum*, 1599, Harington's *Orlando Furioso* (viii. 63), Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, and Chapman's Epistle Dedicatorie 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 momentarie *circles* for all the world, such are our dreames" (*Terrors of the Night* (Grosart, iii. 237), 1594). Chapman has it in *Ovids 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 circulize;
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 Cæsar and his fortune bare at once.
Cha. Was Mahomet inspired with a dove? 140
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 concatenation of metaphors reminds one of several "other hands."

136. *the English circle ends*] Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, 480, a):—

"Hereon depend Achitophels delights
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 *3 Henry VI.* II. i. 168 and II. ii. 84. "*Proud insulting* Soliman" occurs in *Soliman and Perseda*, v. iii. 59 (Boas). See note at "*insulting* tyranny," IV. vii. 19 below; and at "*proud* commanding," IV. vii. 88. See "*proud* ambitious," Part III. v. v. 17.

138, 139. *proud insulting ship . . . Cæsar and his fortune*] The ship was only proud because of her burthen. The anecdote is in Plutarch's *Life of Julius Cæsar* (trans. North, 1579), *Temple Classics*, vii. 1712: "he followed a dangerous determination, to embark unknowen 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 Cæsar then taking him by the hand said unto him, Good fellow, be of good cheer and forwards hardily, fear not, for thou hast *Cæsar and his fortune* with thee. . . . But at length . . . Cæsar 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 Primaudaye's *French Academie* (1577, trans. 1586). See also Peele's *Farewell to the Generals*, 1589: "You bear, quoth he, *Cæsar and Cæsar'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. 228), 1594: "Socrates Genius was one of this stampe, and the Doue wherewith the Turks hold Mahomet their Prophet to bee inspired." And see Nashe again in *Lenten 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 Shakespeare 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 Constantine*] 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 fourescore yeeres, 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?
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.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*London. Before the Tower.*

Enter the Duke of GLOUCESTER, *with his Servingmen, in blue coats.*

Glou. 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*] *ever* 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."

145. *reverently*] with respect. See *3 Henry VI.* II. ii. 109.

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 *immortalise* the killcowe 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*.

SCENE III.

2. *conveyance*] underhand dealing. A common word at this time. See *3 Henry VI.* III. iii. 160. Compare Spenser's *Mother Hubberd'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. i., Grafton says (pp. 562, 563): "In this season fell a great division in the realme of England, which of a sparkle was like to growe to a great flame: For whether the Byshop of Winchester . . . envied the aucthoritie of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester protector of the realme, or whether the Duke had taken disdaine at the riches 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 commyng to London, a Parliament beganne at the towne of Leicester. . . . In thys Parliament the Duke of Gloucester layd certaine articles to the Byshop of Winchesters charge. . . . First, where as he beyng Protector and

First Ward. Who 's there that knocks so imperiously?
First Serv. It is the noble Duke of Gloucester.
Second Ward. Whoe'er he be, you may not be let in.
First Serv. Villains, answer you so the lord protector?
First Ward. The Lord protect him! so we answer him:
We do no otherwise than we are will'd.
Glou. Who willed you? or whose will stands but mine?
There 's none protector of the realm but I.
Break up the gates, I 'll be your warrantize.
Shall I be flouted thus by dunghill grooms?
[*Gloucester's Men rush at the Tower gates, and Woodvile the Lieutenant speaks within.*
Wood. What noise is this? what traitors have we here?
Glou. Lieutenant, is it you whose voice I hear?
Open the gates! here 's Gloucester that would enter.

5, 7, 9 *Warder* Ff; *Warder* [*within*] Malone. 6. *First Serv.*] *Glost.* 1 *Man.* Ff. 13. *up*] *ope* Grey conj.

defendor of thys lande, desyred the Towre to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Rychard Woodeuile 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 approuing of the sayde refuse, he receyued the sayde Woodeuile 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 hopyng 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. 19; *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 battaile him that scornes to iniure 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 scuruie"; and in his *Alphonsus*: "doth black Pluto . . . seeke 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 Clyomon* (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, vilain, 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); "*dounghill* mind" (*Faerie Queene*, III. x. 15); "*dunghill* thoughts" (*Teares of the Muses*). See note in Todd's Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, VI. vii. 1. An older expression, "*dunghil* thoughts," occurs in Gascoigne (*Whetstone's Remembraunce*, 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.
Glou. Faint-hearted Woodvile, 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?
Glou. Peel'd priest, dost thou command me to be shut out?

20. *commandment*] F 4; *commandement*, Ff 1, 2, 3. 29. *Humphrey*] Theobald; *Umpheir*, F; *Umpire*, Ff 2, 3, 4. 30. *Peel'd*] *Piel'd* Ff.

22. *Faint-hearted*] See *3 Henry VI.* I. i. 183. Occurs again only in *Titus Andronicus*, III. i. 65. Compare *Faerie Queene*, 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.

23, 24. *Arrogant Winchester . . . Whom Henry . . . ne'er could brook*] Boswell Stone's *Shakespere'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, with 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, knowyng the haute courage, and the ambicious minde of the man, prohibited him on his allegeance once [altogether], either to sue for or to take: meanyng y^t^ [that] Cardinals Hats should not presume to be egal with princes. But now the king beyng yong, and the Regent his friend, he obteyned 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.

28. *tawny coats*] A tawny coat was the garb of an apparitor or sumner, an official attendant on a bishop. In Harington's *Brief View of the State of the Church*, 1608 (*Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 8), occurs this passage: "Docter Whitegyte was made Bishop of Worcester . . . though the revenew 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 Maidenhead well Lost* (Pearson, p. 114), and Middleton's *A Roaring Girl*: "*Enter Greenwit like a Sumner.* . . . Husband, lay hold on yonder *tawny coat*" (IV. ii.).

30. *Peel'd*] tonsured, shaven. Jonson has the verb referring to hair: "Who scorns at eld, *peels* 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'dst 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.

31. *proditor*] traitor. Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Nashe has the derivative, "proditoriously," in *Lenten Stuffe* (Grosart, v. 284).

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 beyng Prince, was lodged in the Palaice 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 delivered to the Erle of Arundell . . . confessed that he was there by the stirring vp and procuring of my sayde Lorde of Winchester ordeyned 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 IIIJ 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, absolution from punishment. This is explained by a note at "pernicious usurer," III. i. 17.

36. *canvass thee . . . cardinal's hat*] toss in a canvas 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, *Lesclaircissement*, 1530: "I *kanvas* a dogge or a matter, Je traffique." And Nashe: "they wrapt him in a blanket (like a dog to be *canvasde*) . . . 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 euery stale" (*Mamillia*, Grosart, ii. 17, and again, p. 169). Nashe gives a good parallel: "Hence Greene . . . tooke occasion to *canvaze* him [Harvey] a little in his Cloth-breeches and Velvet-breeches" (*Foure 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 hie thee to thy home;
Bouge not a foote to aid Prince 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 sloughe Abell his brother." Ritson cites *Polychronicon*, folio xii.: "Damascus is as moche to say as shedynge

To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt.
Glou. 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.
Glou. What! am I dar'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.
Glou. 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,

49. *I*] F 1; *Ile* Ff 2, 3, 4. 56. *Mayor*] Ff 2, 3, 4; *Maior* F 1.

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. iii. 119. And in Holland's *Plinie*, 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. 37, 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 Guilpin'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*, lxii.

53. *a rope! a rope!*] a halter! a halter! Similar to the scurrilous abuse contained in the expressions "ropery," "rope-tricks" 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 Bombie*, III. iv.:—

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

55. *wolf in sheep's array*] See St. Matthew vii. 15: "ther is a wolfe 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 distrain'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*] *maior* 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.

61. *distrain'd*] seized, annexed. A loose use of a legal term. No parallel in Shakespeare.

63. *motions*] "counsels, proposes" (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* (1509).

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 Wharffe, at the Crane of the Vintrie, and wished and desyred that they had there the person of my Lorde of Winchester saiyng: that they would haue throwen him into the Thamise, to have taught him to swim with winges" (p. 565, The IIIJ Yere). This is 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 ordeyn 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 IIIJ Yere). This may have suggested the introduction of the Mayor (this refers perhaps to the Eltham charge, at I. 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;
I myself fight not once in forty year. [*Exeunt.*

82. *we will*] Cambridge; *we 'll* Ff. *cost*] F 1; *dear cost* Ff 2, 3, 4, Steevens. 88. *it ere long*] Ff 1, 2; *it e're be long* Ff 3, 4; *it ere't be long* Capell.

81. *break our minds*] reveal what 's in our minds. Compare *Henry V.* v. ii. 265. Golding uses the expression in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, x. 458-60:—

"but nerethelesse shee gest
There was some love: and standing in one purpose, made request
Too *breake her mynd* untoo 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.

83. *heart-blood*] peculiar to these three plays and *Richard II.* in Shakespeare. "Vital energy, life" (*New Eng. Dict.*). An old expression. Figuratively used in *Troilus and Cressida.* See note, Part III. 1. i. 223.

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 . . . cryed prentyses and clubbes. Then out at euerie 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 cride *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 washe hirselfe, and *seeing the coast cleere,* and hirselfe solitarily said thus" (*A Myrror of Modestie* (Grosart, iii. 18), 1584). Not met with again in Shakespeare.

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 endurde, nor all this troublous toyles
Could cause thy *stomacke* to relent. Within thy stonie breast
Workes such a kinde of festred hate as cannot be represt"

(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,
How'e'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 *stomacke* to fight, therefore let us go to the Alehouse and drinke."

91. *forty*] A favourite number to express "many." Common in Shakespeare.

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, hauyng 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 chiefe Capteynes stoode dyverse times viewyng the Citie, and deuisyng in what place it was best assautable. They within the Citie perceyued well this totyng hole, and layde a piece of ordinaunce directly agaynst the Windowe. It so chaunced that the lix. 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 Goonner, 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 stroke 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 progenitors" (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 *espyals* 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 comming" (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 (I. ii. 14).

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* Ff. 2, 3, 4 (lines beginning *And, If, For*). 22. *Enter, on the . . .*] *Enter Salisbury and Talbot on the Turrets, with others* Ff. 27. *Duke*] Theobald; *Earle* Ff.

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 Mediteraneum." See again *Orlando Furioso* (Grosart, xiii. 182): "On a hill that *overpeeres* them both"; and p. 121: "the Clifts That *overpiere* the bright and golden shore." And in *The Spanish Masquerado* (1589): "their huge barkes built like Castles, *overpeering* ours." Compare Golding's *Ovid* (iii. 217): "by the middle of hir necke she *overpeerde* them all" (1565); and Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* (Dyce, 352, b): "The double daisy and the cowslip, queen Of summer flowers, do *overpeer* the green" (meaning "overtop"). Perhaps Golding introduced it.

16-18. *And even . . . longer*] A corrupt 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 . . . seeyng that dead men cannot with sorowe be called againe . . . appoynted the Erle of Suffolke to be his Lieutenant and Capteyne of the Siege, and ioyned with him the Lord Scales, the Lord Talbot, Sir Iohn Fastolfe, and diuerse 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 Fastolfe 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 thou wert 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*] *Santrayle* F 1; *Santraile* Ff 2, 3, 4. 33. *so vile-esteem'd*] *so vilde-esteem'd* Pope; *so pil'd-esteem'd* Ff; *so pill'd-esteem'd* Capell; *so ill-esteem'd* Mason conj.; *so pile-esteem'd* Malone conj.; *so Philistin'd* Steevens conj.; *sop-oil'd esteem'd* Jackson conj. 35. *Fastolfe*] Theobald; *Falstaffe* or *Falstaff* 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 hundreth 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. . . . Amongest the Captaynes was founde prisoner, the valiaunt Captaine, called Poynton of Sanctrayles, which (without delay) was exchaunged for the Lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the battaile 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 coursers backes";

and line 1808:—

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

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

31. *barter'd*] Not again in Shakespeare.

33. *vile-esteem'd*] Pope's correction is proved by the first line of Sonnet cxxi. Steevens says he "cannot help smiling at his own conjecture."

35. *treacherous Fastolfe*] See note at I. 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 aliue, for we two will kill them with our fists." Compare Golding's *Ovid*, xiii. 10, 11: "It easyer 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 Talbo 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 *Shepheards 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 Pyramides,
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 brazen 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 harquebuziers all,
Having ten thousand [foot] with spear and shield,
Shall make the right wing of the battle up."

As a single marksman, see *2 Henry IV.* III. ii. 295. 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 1; *can count every one* Ff 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 *mirrour* 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, attyred 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 I. 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).

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:

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

91. *whiles*] while, whilst. It has the sense of *until* here, a common use. See Greene's *Looking Glass for London and England* (Grosart, xiv. 45); Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, I. ii. (Cunningham's *Gifford*, vol. ii. 218, b); Massinger's *Roman Actor*, v. 1 (with notes by Gifford). And King James, *Demonologie:* "When the conjured spirit appears, which will not be *while* after many circumstances." Still in use in provincial Ireland, "wait while I come," etc. Greene's *Pandosto* and Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacie* give examples, as Schmidt points out. Talbot had more to tell him when he breaks off.

93. *As who should say*] as if he should say, like one that would say. It occurs several times in Shakespeare, as in *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 51. See Schmidt, 1040, b. And Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (Grosart, ii. 28): "Some think to be counted rare Politicians and Statesmen, by being solitary, *as who should say*, I am a wise man, a brave man, Secreta mea mihi," etc. And see Gascoigne, *Philomene* (Arber, p. 90), 1575; Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, Act iv.; and Golding's *Ovid*, bk. xv. line 98 (Moring, p. 297). In the last example the meaning is doubtful.

93. *dead and gone*] See *2 Henry VI.* II. iii. 37, and Ophelia's song in *Hamlet*, IV. v. 29. See Grafton, *Cont. of Hardyng* (436), 1543: "their capitaines were *dedde and gone*." *New Eng. Dict.* 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*] Grafton (*Chronicle*, i. 61) gives a page to this much-abused monarch, 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 Part II. IV. v. 10, and *Titus Andronicus*, IV. iv. 63. Compare Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, iii. 1:—
"The Spaniard ready to embark himselfe,
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?

101. *Joan la Pucelle*] *Ioane 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 1, 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.

(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*] See 1. ii. 51 (note).

107. *puzzel*] a common drab. Nares gives this word an Italian origin (puzzolente) from Minshew, independent of the French pucelle, a virgin, which had been in use earlier, as in Laneham's *Letter* (1578): "Then three pretty *pucelles* [*puzels*] as bright as a breast of bacon" (Burn's reprint, p. 30). Laneham's use may be taken either way. Nares quotes from Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses:* "No, nor yet any droyle or *puzzel* in the country but will carry a nosegay." A wench, or country girl. "La Bel Pucelle" is the central figure in Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1509.

107. *dogfish*] *New Eng. Dict.* gives an example of this word as a term of abuse from Lyly's *Pappe with a Hatchet*, 1589. Harvey uses it to Nashe: "the 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 Greene or this *doggefish* ever pick with me." It was probably not uncommon, the fish being so hated. "Dolphin" of the folio is considerately 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 beere" (*Pierce Penilesse* (Grosart, ii. 81), 1592); and "The plaine appeared like a *quagmire*, overspread as it was with trampled dead bodies . . . dead murthered men . . . braines," etc. (*The Unfortunate Traveller* (Grosart, v. 45, 46), 1594). Kyd has a great stringing together of battle-field horrors in *Cornelia* (Act v.), 1594:—

"Streames of blood . . . that surcloyes the ground and of a champant land
Makes it a *quagmire*, where (knee deepe) 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 *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: "Euery mans spirit . . . had two *bouts* with the Apostle before hee left him" (*Pasquils Returne* (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 boute* 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 wondred 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;

16. *hungry-starved*] Ff 1, 3, 4, Cambridge; *hongry-starved* F 2; *hunger-starved* Rowe, Malone, etc. 26. *like to*] *like the* Ff 2, 3, 4.

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

16. *hungry-starved*] hunger-starved, for which see *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 5. To starve is hardly now used (except provincially) apart from hunger (so that the compound seems tautological), but it had the general sense of to perish, or suffer want, from any cause in Shakespeare's time. To hunger-starve was in regular use at an early date and down to the sixteenth century. Nashe has a double adjective of similar formation: "He . . . hath compelled a tender-starv'd Mother to kille and eate her onely sonne" (*Christes Teares*, Grosart, iv. 110). The alteration of the text here, introduced by Rowe, may be tempting, but it is absolutely improper. Hunger-starved is in Golding's *Ovid.*

18. *as many more shall be*] Greene has this construction:—

"Mocke on apace! my backe is broad enough
To beare your flouts, as many as they be"

(*Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, Grosart, xiii. 334, lines 73, 74). And Spenser:—

"I, of many most
Most miserable man"

(*Daphnaida*, stanza 6).

19. *like a potter's wheel*] Steevens suggests that this idea might have been caught 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 pearketh not on barren trees, Doves delight not in foule cottages." 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 language:—

"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.

(*James 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*, I. i. 16.

29. *sheep in lions' stead*] Grafton has (p. 188): "We have against us Robert Erle of Glocester, who useth great threates and performeth small deedes. 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).

30. *Sheep run . . . wolf*] Compare Peele, *Edward I.* (Dyce, 378, a):—

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

31. *leopard*] trisyllabic. 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. IV. i. 98. Compare Peele, *Descensus Astrææ* (542, b), 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.* I. ii. 49.

2. *Rescued is Orleans*] A favourite

Thus Joan la Pucelle hath perform'd her word.
Cha. Divinest creature, Astræa'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. *Astræa's*] F 1; *bright Astræa's* Ff 2, 3, 4. 6. *garden*] Ff; *gardens* Hanmer, *et seq.*

structure with Marlowe. See *Tamburlaine* (Part II.): "Discomfited is all the Christian 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 inforced 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 (xxx.). These inversions occur elsewhere in Peele's writings frequently. Spenser set the fashion. See too sonnet lxxi.: "When I perhaps compounded am with clay."

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

"All godlynesse lyes under foote.
And Lady *Astrey* last
Of heavenly vertues from this earth in slaughter drownèd past"

(Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, i. 169, 170). Peele wrote a pageant, *Descensus Astrææ*, 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 Feriæ*). Her introduction is characteristic of Peele.

6. *Adonis' garden*] Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (III. vi.) gives a poetical account of "The *Gardin of Adonis*, far renowmed 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 xlii.). Gabriel Harvey has a bitter passage in which he says: "Arte . . . beganne to sproute in M. Robert Greene. . . . Witt . . . to blossome in M. Pierce Pennilesse, 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 Humour*, IV. vi., says that in Court a man "shall behold all the delights of the Hesperides, the Insulæ 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 garrison about the roses." Neither this classical allusion, nor that to Astræa, are found again in Shakespeare (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 told 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 pyramis 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, *Alphonsus* (Grosart, xiii. 364):—

"Let us marche with speed
Into the Citie, for to *celebrate*
With mirth and ioy this blisful festiuall"

(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 I. i. 12 (note).

16. *play'd the men*] An old expression, frequent in Grafton (1569): "Ceassyng not to say vnto them with a loude voyce that the same day if they woulde *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. *pyramis . . . 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 unlesse 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 Psammeticus the king of *Memphis* . . . so chast a Princes." And in *The Debate between Follie and Love* (iv. 219): "What made *Rodope* builde the *Pyramides* . . . but Follie?" 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,
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* Hanmer; *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 Homer were holden with Alexander the Great, insomuch as euery 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 battaile." "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 festiuall* day."

28, 29. *Saint Denis . . . France's saint*] "When the noble King Charles of Fraunce 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 severall patrone? As Paule for London, Denis for Paris, Ambrose for Millen, 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 *Tamburlaine*, 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 territories."

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,
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 prowesse, for that killing the watch and Sentonell, hee past the *Courte of Garde*, and set upon the souldiers, making a great slaughter of such men as were sleepie and amaz'd." The passage in *Orlando Furioso* (Grosart, xiii. 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 Bobadill (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.

12. *caroused and banqueted*] Marlowe's phrase, twice at least, but not elsewhere in Shakespeare. See note, I. vi. 30, 31.

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 go *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" (*Towneley Mysteries*, p. 221, *circa* 1400); and again pp. 65, 315, etc. And in *Mankind* (Early English Dramatists) "Go *we* hence" occurs several times (pp. 8, 9, etc.). See "Stay *we* no longer," Part III. II. i. 199.

14. *to quittance*] to repay in kind, requite. 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. 186) 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* magicke 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 taile of myghty *fortytude*."

22. *masculine*] There is some quibbling here that is perhaps the better for not being intelligible now.

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 altogether: 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 walles. Enter Acomat" (stage direction).

38. "*St. George*," "*A Talbot*"] See note, I. i. 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 "Citie 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 hardinesse had not serued, nor all their pollicie had not defended them, if they had not priuely sent a messenger to the Lorde Talbot . . . The Lorde Talbot hering these newes, neyther slept nor banquetted but with all hast assembled together his valiaunt Capitaynes, to the number of vij hundred men of warre . . . and . . . sent as an espyall Mathew Gough . . . to shewe to his countreymen that he was at hande, to be their ayde and rescues. Mathew Gough so well sped, that priuely in the night he came into the Castell, where he knew howe that the French men being lordes of the Citie, and now casting no perilles, . . . beganne to waxe wanton and fell to ryot. . . . When Mathew Gough had knowne all the certainty he priuely 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 approched, with all haste possible came to the posterne gate, and alighted 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 ouer 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 hurte but such, which eyther resisted or would not yeelde, 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 Alanson" (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 ye geve 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.* I. ii. 70-90). It is characteristic of Peele. In *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 388) the following endings occur: levity, 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, infirmity, weakest heart, basest part. Marlowe took them up also, as in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. i. For "follow 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. i.).

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 throwes 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.

58. *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 pottle-deep potations 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' translation of Primaudaye's *French Academie* (ch. lii.), 1586: "Euery 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).

74. *But*] only. A common sense.

And now there rests no other shift but this;
To gather our soldiers, scatter'd 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. *platforms*] plans. Not met with again in Shakespeare. It occurs twice in Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, Act v., in the sense of Cotgrave: "Plateforme: f. A platforme, plot, modell" (ground-plan). See T. Bowes' translation of Primaudaye's *French Academie*, 1586: "Aristotle in his *platforme* of a happy commonwelth" (ch.lxvi.). Very frequent in R. Greene's writings.

77. *endamage*] damage. In *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. 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), *Glosse* (1579): "No otherwise then the Frenchemen used to say of that valiant captain, the very scourge of Fraunce, the Lorde Thalbote, afterward Erle of Shrewsbury, whose noblesse bred such a terrour in the hearts of the French, that oft times even great armies were defaicted and put to flyght at the onely hearing of hys name. Insomuch that the French women, to affray their chyldren 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, ll. 189-192):—

"Hath William Musgrove seene 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. i.:—

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

And in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, 1543 (p. 573): "So *loden* with praies 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. *Whose pitchy mantle*] "Night's mantle" occurs in Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*. See *3 Henry VI.* IV. ii. 22.

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

"Now that 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 welkin 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. i.: "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 II. 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 souldiers 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."

10. *hereafter*] used adjectively again in *Richard III.* IV. iv. 390: "*hereafter* time."

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 Primaudaye'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 *massācred* martyrs fill" (*Faerie Queene*, III. iii. 35) and "huge *massācres*" (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* Ff. 27. *dusky*] *dusty* Rowe.

of his begin so. Compare too "the Archbishop's grace of York" (*1 Henry IV.* III. ii. 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. 1: "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. 312 (note). And in Kyd's *Cornelia*, ii. 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 Phœbus shroude."

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

"Gallop apace, bright Phœbus, 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 rayes of Phœbus 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.

36. *realm of France*] This expression occurs some ten times in the three plays, *Henry V.*, and First and Second *Henry VI.* A quotation in *New Eng. Dict.* from Lidgate gives the phrase, but it is side by side with "realm of England." However, I find it in *Piers the Plowman*, ed. Skeat, vol. i. p. 17, line 192 (*ante* 1377): "for al the *realme of Fraunce.*" And in Grafton, i. 576, 1569. Grafton reports that Edward the Third "Sayde that in hys opinion there was no Realme to be compared to the *Realme of Fraunce*" (i. 335).

41. *lies*] dwells.

43. *fills the world with*] See below, v. iv. 35, and Part III. v. v. 44.

45. *comic*] ludicrous, raising mirth. See *3 Henry VI.* v. vii. 43: "stately triumphs, mirthfull *comic* shows." *New Eng. Dict.* overlooks these two passages. Compare Greene, *Orlando Furioso* (Grosart, xiii. 43): "We must lay plots of stately tragedies, Strange *comick* showes."

48. *a world of men*] an immense number. A favourite expression in Shakespeare, occurring throughout. It occurs in Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Arragon* (Grosart, xiii. 349):—

"Such terror have their strong and sturdie blowes
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 like" (heaps). 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-veil'd*, 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. [*Exeunt.*

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 crav'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 *Knyghtes Tale*. See *Merry Wives*, II. ii. 128 (Arden ed., note). Compare Greene, *Alphonsus* (xiii. 377): "And is there, then, *no remedie* for it?" And *Spanish Tragedy*, III. vi. 51.

59. *perceive my mind*] understand me, grasp my meaning. An obsolete use 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* throughlye perceaued and knowen, 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.* III. i. 165). 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 Hypsiphil, 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. 116 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 Appeles shoppe" (*Tritameron of Love* (Grosart, iii. 78), 1584).

Count. And he is welcome. What! is this the man?
Mess. Madam, it is.
Count. 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 writhled 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. i. 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 Philautus* (Grosart, vi. 234): "Next to these, *Hector*, whose countenance threatned warres, and in whose face appeared a map of martiall 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. *writhled shrimp*] For "shrimp," see *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 582, and note, Arden edition, p. 163. "Writhled" occurs in Marston's *Scourge of Villainy* (Bullen, iii. 326): "Cold, *writhled* eld, his life-sweat almost spent." It seems to be a strengthened form of "writhen" (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 *writhled* skin, as rough as maple rind." Craig quotes from Gascoigne, *Poesies* (1575): "My *writhled* 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. 11-12. And *Richard III.* v. iii. 217. See also *Locrine*, v. 1, quoted at "pillars of the state," Part II. I. i. 73.

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 captivate.
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.

29. *abrupt*] Only here in Shakespeare, and the earliest example in *New Eng. Dict.*, meaning sudden. Earlier in the literal sense in Stubbes, 1588.

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* foorth 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*, I. i. 306. Peele has it: "David the King shall wear that crown *of thine*." Golding has "those carelesse limbes *of thyne*" (*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: in "except liberality, as a linck to knit these two in their forces, presents the mindes of the souldiers *captivate* by their Captaines bounty" (*Euphues to Philautus* (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 . . .*] Ff; *Winds. . . . The gates are forced; and enter certain of his troops.* Capell.

52. *humanity*] mankind. Earlier in Lyly's *Euphues.*

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 sifting 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 Dodsley, 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" (*Pasquils Apologie* (Grosart, i. 219), 1590). Grafton has a good instance of merchant: "a false and counterfeated prophet called Peter Wakefielde, a Yorkeshire man, who was an Hermite, an idle gadder about, and a pratlyng *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. 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 arayd
Now vanisht utterly and cleane *subverst.*"

"Subversion" occurs in *2 Henry VI.* III. i. 208. Neither is again in Shakespeare. See extract from Hall in *8 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 misconster
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. *misconster*] 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.* I. i. 114. A very common word with Greene.

72. *misconster*] misconstrue. A distinct form, not often kept so by editors. In *Richard III.* III. v. 61, "*Misconster* 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 Cæsar* 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).

78. *cates*] dainties, delicates. Frequent in Shakespeare and always in the plural. A favourite word with Greene also. In *New Eng. Dict.* the earliest example in the singular is from Heywood's *Lancashire Witches*, 1634.

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 soar 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.

14. *bear him best*] carry himself best.

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 *Plinie*, 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 ynough advise
My selfe"

(1565-67). Compare "worse *than a daw*" in a note from *Jack Straw*, Part II. IV. vii. 1.

19. *Tut, tut!*] Occurs again, doubled as here, in *1 Henry IV.*, *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* A characteristic ejaculation with Shakespeare. Compare *Three Ladies of London* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 314), 1584: "Marry, for Conscience, *tut*, I care not two straws."

21. *purblind*] short-sighted. Compare Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (Grosart, ii. 120): "the conceit of an adversarie, so weather-beaten and tired: the learning of a schollar, so *pore-blind* and lame" (1592). Also Timothie Kendall, *Flowers of Epigrams*: "*Against Zoilus.* Black head, red beard, short feete thou hast and *poreblinde* eke thou art" (Spenser Society reprint, p. 59), 1577. See again *Venus and Adonis*, 679. Elsewhere in

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.

26. *significants*] *significance* Pope.

Shakespeare, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 181, it means blind, which (see Skeat) 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 Shakespeare. 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), Fairholt's edition, pp. 158, 161.

26. *significants*] signs, symbols. In dumb show. Compare Peele, "Louely London" Pageant, 1585: "And offer . . . 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 "observants" = observance. "Occurrents" meaning "occurrence" is not uncommon. "Exigents" for "exigence" is another case in point of this indiscriminate 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. 82, 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 termes 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 I.
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. Hath not thy rose a canker, Somerset?
Som. Hath not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet?
Plan. Ay, sharp and piercing, to maintain his truth;
Whiles 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. xxi.: "Excites Penelope t' *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. Dict.* "For the maintenance of witches transportations, they *object* the words of the Gospell, where the divell 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 *cankars*"; and *Mamillia* (ii. 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 falshood." See extract from Grafton at IV. i. 162, 163, for the "*cankered* 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.* I. i. 63-65).

89. *in Christendom*] See *2 Henry VI.* II. i. 125 and *3 Henry VI.* III. ii. 83.

92. *attainted*] tainted, disgraced, smirched. A word of Spenser's: "Phoebus golden face it did *attaint*" (*Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 34). And in Peele's *Sir Clyomon* (531, b, Routledge): "Therefore I 'll take me to my legs, seeing my honour I must *attaint*."

93. *exempt*] excluded. Prevalent in Shakespeare's early work and historical plays.

96. *attached, not attainted*] arrested, not convicted. Compare "of capital treason I *attach* you both," in *2 Henry IV.* IV. ii. 109. For "attainted" in this sense, see *2 Henry VI.* II. iv. 59. But does not line 97 here show that he was convicted? If so, Plantagent 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 'll prove on better men than Somerset,
Were growing time once ripen'd to my will.
For your partaker Pole and you yourself,
I 'll 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. [*Exit.*

Som. Have with thee, Pole. Farewell, ambitious Richard. [*Exit.*

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,

117. *wip'd*] *wip't* Ff 2, 3, 4; *whipt* F 1.

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. 743): "Ile *proue* it good upon your carcasses." Frequent in Shakespeare.

100. *partaker*] supporter—one who takes a part. Not found again in Shakespeare. 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. i. 85.

101. *note you in my book of memory*] Compare "table of my memory," *Hamlet*, 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 Holofernes' 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. *cognizance*] badge. "He made a law also the same time, against the excessive takyng of Vsurie by the Iewes, and that they should weare a certaine *cognisaunce* upon their uppermost garment, whereby they should be knowne from Christians" (Grafton, i. 285, *Edward the First*, The VIIJ Yere). And again (p. 300): "there met her sixe hundreth Citizens in one Lyuery of red and white, with the *cognisaunce* of diuers misteries [trades] brodered vpon their sleues."

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* houre" (*Faerie Queene*, II. iii. 34). Fatal.

SCENE V.

4. *long imprisonment*] twenty-seven years. See note at line 7.

5. *pursuivants of death*] state messengers. Lyly has this figure earlier in *The Woman in the Moon*, IV. I (Fairholt, p. 188), *circa* 1580: "Ascend thou winged *pursevant 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 dayes
Of him that lived worthy old *Nestors age*"

(*Orlando Furioso*, Grosart, xiii. 187, l.

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 *Alphonsus* (at the end): "Take her I say, and live King *Nestors* yeeres." See North's *Plutarch* (ed. 1612, p. 354), 1579: "And thus he lived as *Nestor*, in manner three *ages* of man." 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 (Grafton, p. 485): "he also made warre upon the Lorde *Edmond Mortimer*, Erle of Marche . . . and toke him prisoner, and fettered him in Cheynes, and cast him in a deepe and miserable Dungeon." And later, in the fourth year of Henry the Sixth (p. 560): "During which season *Edmond Mortimer*, the last Erle of Marche of that name (which long time had been restrained from his libertie and finally waxed lame) deceassed without issue, whose inheritaunce descended to Lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heyre to Richard Erle of Cambridge, behedded as you have heard before, at the towne of Southhampton. Which Richard, within lesse then XXX yeres as heyre to this Erle *Edmond* . . . claymed ye crowne and sceptre of this Realme." "Which 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 kinsman 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.* I. 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), 1584: "Then first gan Cupid's eyesight *wexen dim*." And his *Tale of Troy* (556, a) 1589: "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 Zelmane brought to an *exigent*, when the King turning his eyes that way." And Greene, *Philomela* (Grosart, xi. 200): "I, even I that committed the deede, though to the *exigent* of mine own death, could not but burst foorth."

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. Dict.*, and Shakespeare has no parallel for "overborne with." See below, III. i. 53.

11. *pithless*] strengthless. Compare *Othello*, I. iii. 83, the primary sense of "pith" being marrow. Compare "crestless," II. iv. 85.

11. *like to a wither'd vine*] Compare Peele, *Polyhymnia* (569, a):—

"Oershadowed with a *wither'd* running *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 perished
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, and

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 despairs,
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* Ff 2, 3, 4; *to his* Rowe.

2 Henry IV. I. 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, xxxvi. *sqq.*

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 *Daphnaida* (stanza 60). The adjective is earlier (Townely Mysteries) in *New Eng. Dict.*

15. *Swift-winged*] See again *Richard III.* II. ii. 44. "*Swift-winged* snakes" occurs in *Selimus* (Grosart's Greene, xiv. 289, l. 1674). And in Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, II. ii. 33: "Thou great commander of the *swift-winged* winds."

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.

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 ease 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 Whetstone'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. 78. *fourth*] F 1; *the fourth* Ff 2, 3, 4.

New Eng. Dict. quotes Phaer's *Æneid*, 158, b:—

"the bodies twayne
Of Almon, *flouring* lad, and good Galesus fouly slayne."

Craig quotes from *Helyas, Knight of the Swan* (p. 103, ed. 1827): "the saide maiden . . . was in pleasaunt age of *flouringe* youth." In Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* (1509) "her grene *flowryng* age" occurs (reprint, pp. 73, 86). The first words of (Dame Juliana Berners) *Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an Angle* (1496) are: "Salamon in his parablys saith that a good spryte makyth a *flowrynge* aege, that is a fayre aege & 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 quoting "the violent usurpation of Henry the Fourth," . . . "The duke immediately was transported so headlong with ambition that he went about to preoccupate and forestall his owne hopes, and so he raised that deadly warre betweene the houses of York and Lancaster, distinguished by the white and red rose . . . many Princes of the roiall bloud and a number of the Nobility lost their liues: those hereditary and rich Provinces in France belonging to the King of England were lost," etc. etc.

64. *nephew*] cousin. See *Othello*, I. i. 112. Used laxly.

74. *I derived am*] For this form of inversion, occurring again (86), "that thy mother was," and (94), "I no issue have," see Introduction (xxx.). It was very much used by Spenser, Peele, Marlowe, and Greene. Spenser perhaps revived it from earlier writers. Mr. Woollet tells me he has observed it in Gower and other early writers. Spenser has it often in his most archaic poem, *The Shepheards Calendar* (1579): "if by mee thou list advised bee" (June), "for he nould warned be" (May), and elsewhere. See above, I. i. 1 and I. vi. 2 (note).

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. *laboured*] Rolfe calls attention to "the many instances in this play in which the final -ed 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." Peele often sounds it similarly in his early work. In one column of *Arraignment of Paris* (366, a, Routledge, Act iv.), he has destinèd, intitulèd, praisèd, pardonèd, measurèd.

88, 89. *Levied an army . . . diadem*] Malone says this is "another falsification of history. Cambridge levied no army, but was apprehended at Southampton," etc. See note at line 96 in the last scene. The words may be a little strong, but there was foundation. Grafton says: "the king beyng in a readinesse to advaunce forwarde [for France], sodeinly he was credibly informed, 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 delyuer the king alive into the handes of his enemyes, or else to murther him" (p. 511). This implies a force. However, there is no mention of one in *Henry the Fifth*, II. ii.

89. *diadem*] Grafton supplies the following: "Of this man [Constantine the Great] the kynges of Briteyn had first the priuelege 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 perhaps fifty times in his half-dozen plays, disdaining the commonplace crown.

98. *admonishments prevail*] I will attend to thy warnings. Occurs again in *Troilus and Cressida*, v. iii. 2. The word is used by Golding, *Ovid*, bk. vi. 35, 36:—

"Experience doth of long continuance spring,
Despise 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.
Mor. 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.
[*Exeunt 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. [*Exit.*

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. 107; 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 intreate
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.

116. *pilgrimage*] human life, a favourite term with Shakespeare. *New Eng. Dict.* has examples back to 1340.

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 gron'd 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

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

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

SCENE I. This scene, at least in the form before us, must have been written by Shakespeare. See previous notes with regard to this parliament, held in 1426. At II. v. 7 a passage from Grafton fixes the death of Mortimer at this season. King Henry was now five years of age.

put up a bill] statement of the accusations. See *Merry Wives* (Arden edition, p. 61) for note at "exhibit *a bill* in the parliament." Malone gives another example from Nashe, *Have With you*, etc. (1596): "That's the cause we have so manie bad workmen nowadaies: *put up a bill* against them next parliament."

1. *lines*] writing. See *Titus Andronicus*, v. ii. 14 and 22. Still extant in the expression "(marriage) lines."

2. *pamphlets*] a written composition. See *Lucrece* (Dedication). A word with a remarkable career. Spenser in his Dedication of *Daphnaida* says: "I recommende this *pamphlet* . . . to your honourable favour."

6. *extemporal*] unpremeditated. Occurs again *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 173 (and note, Arden ed. p. 28).

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 Glasse for London*, Grosart, xiv. 12, l. 121). For "proud *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*] *vouchsake* F 2.

13. *Verbatim*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Compare Greene, *Tullies Love* (Grosart, vii. 153): "I have not translated Lentulus letter *verbatim* worde for worde" (1589).

15. *pestiferous*] pernicious, mischievous. Occurs again, *All's Well*, IV. iii. 340. Greene has it twice at least: "no regard of God or man could prohibit 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 elsewhere.

17. *a most pernicious usurer*] See note about Winchester in Henry the Fifth's opinion, at I. 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 impouerishing of the spiritualtie. 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 surnamed the rich Cardinall of Winchester." The "Bull Legantine," which explains the usury, is also referred 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*] "neyther 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 Winchester, untruely and agaynst the kinges peace, to the entent to trouble my sayd Lorde of Gloucester goyng 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 Bulwarkes; and set men in Chambers, Sellers and Windows, with Bowes and arrowes and other weapons to the entent to bring to finall destruction 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, scrutinised.

25. *The king . . . not quite exempt*] See note at I. i. 176, also at I. iii. 70 and I. iii. 4. See Item 3 of Accusations in previous note.

26. *swelling heart*] This line is repeated (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" (*Muiopotmos*).

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. As good!
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 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 Alcazar*, II. 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"

45. *Am I not*] Ff 1, 2; *Am not I* Ff 3, 4.

(*Tamburlaine*, Part I. 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 *emperious*."

45. *saucy priest*] overbearing, insolent. Shakespeare was particularly partial to this word: "Playing so the *sawcye* 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!
Glou. 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?"

49. *Unreverent*] *Unreverend* F 4. 49. *reverent*] *reverend* Ff 3, 4. 51-55. *War. Roam . . . Som. My lord . . . War. Ay, see . . . Som. Methinks my lord . . . such.*] Arranged as by Theobald, Cambridge; *Warw. Roame . . . forbeare. Som. I see . . . such.* Ff. 61-64. First marked "Aside" by Hanmer.

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 Stuffe*, 1599: "three hundred thousand people romed to Rome for purgatorie pils and paternal veniall benedictions" (Grosart, v. 247). Rolfe says: "Elsewhere *Rome* seems to be pronounced *Room*. Compare the quibbles in *King John*, III. i. 180, and *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 156, and the rhymes in *Lucrece*, 715, 1644." Barnaby Googe rhymes Rome with come and some in *The Popish 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 thyse wordes which *touchid* hym *nygh*" (Arber, p. 32); and again: "And yf I may come to speche and may be herde I shal so ansuere 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 Dodsley, vi. 146), *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 Legacie* (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 Shakespearian language:—

"While Phebus and his rechelesse sonne were *entertalking* this;
Aeöus, Aethon, Phlegon, and the firie Pyrois
The restlesse horses of the Sunne began to ney so hie."

Compare "enterdeale" in *Mother Hubberd'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 haue one *fling* at women? dispraysing their nature" (*Mamillia* (Grosart's Greene, ii. 76, 77), 1583). "Hearing as he travelled abroad of this Marian, did meane to *haue a fling at* her" (*Defence of Conny-Catching* (xi. 87), 1592). "Mullidor . . . sayd he would ieopard a ioynt, and the next day *haue a fling at* her" (*Never too Late* (viii. 190), 1590); and again (p. 218), "dissention will *haue a fling* amongst the meanest." *New Eng. Dict.* gives "have theyr 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. *viperous*] Occurs again in *Coriolanus*, III. i. 287, and *Cymbeline*, III. iv. 41. Venomous, malignant. Gabriel Harvey uses it several times in *Pierces 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 oftener with a reference to the word "piller" (or poller). Stephen Gosson used it on his title: "The Schoole of Abuse containing a pleasaunt invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters, and such like caterpillers of a commonwealth" (1579). In *Polimanteia* (1595) it is varied to "canker of a *commonwelth*." Harrison's *Description of England*, II. x. (*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 licke 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 theyr swerdes and other wepeyns in theyr Innys, the people toke great battes and stauys in theyr neckes, and so folowed theyr lordes and maisters unto the Parlyament. And when that wepyn was Inhybyted theym, then they toke stonys and plummettes of lede, and trussyd them secretly in theyr sleuys and bosomys" (Shakespeare's Holinshed, p. 221).

80. *pebble-stones*] A very old form, older than "pebble." *New Eng. Dict.* goes back to 1000 with it. It is in Golding's *Ovid*, bk. viii. 722.

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."

93. *unaccustom'd*] unusual, indecorous, uncouth.

99. *inkhorn mate*] bookish fellow scribbling chap. For "mate," see *3*

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. [*Begin again.*
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, 366, etc.) "Inkhorn" in this sneering sense is not found in Shakespeare. Compare Greene, *Menaphon* (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 tapsterlie tearmes whatever" (vi. 14). "*Inkhorn* terms" and "smellen 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 *pared nayle* will hee foregoe" (Hall's *Satires*, IV. iii. 68, 1598). "A wretch, pinch-peny, penny-father . . . one that would not part with the *paring of his nails*" (Cotgrave, in v. Chiche). "You shall finde moreover among the Greeke 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. Cuningham (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 fielde with two great hostes, and eyther with other fought a cruell Battail" (Grafton, i. 166). "Pitch a field" is a common expression in Grafton.

113. *repulse*] 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. 381, l. 1293):—

> "call this sentence back againe,
> Bring not thy Priests into this dangerous state:
> For when the Turke doth heare of this *repulse*,
> 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,

131. *king!*] Pope; *king:* F. 136. Marked "Aside" first by Collier.

115, 116. *what murder too Hath been enacted*] Compare *True Tragedy* (at *3 Henry VI.* II. iv. 1-6): "for to revenge the murders thou hast made."

124. *smoothed brows*] Compare Greene, *A Looking Glasse for London* (Grosart, xiv. 109, l. 2538): "Exchange thy cloudie lookes to *smoothed* smiles."

131. *kindly gird*] Several commentators have misunderstood this line, which means that the bishop *has received* a kindly gird, or twit, from the king—in his "practise what you preach" remark.

135. *hand for hand I give*] At the close of the lengthy wording of the Arbitrament: "it was decreed by the sayde Arbitratours that my lorde of Gloucester should aunswere and say, Faire Uncle, sithe ye declare you suche a man as ye saye, I am right glad that it is so, and for such a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decreed by the sayd Arbitratours that every eche of my lordes of Gloucester and Winchester should take eyther other by the hande, in the presence of the king, and al the parliament, in signe and token of good loue and accord, the which was done and the parliament was adjourned till after Easter" (Grafton, p. 570). The Arbitrators according to Grafton were (p. 568): "Henry Archebyshop of Cauntorburie, Thomas Duke of Excester, Iohn Duke of Norffolke, Thomas Byshop of Duresme, Phillip Byshop of Worcester, Iohn Bishop of Bathe, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, Wylliam Alnewik keper of the kings privie seale, Rauffe Lorde Cromewell Arbitratoures." One glaring historical discrepancy appears in these speeches, the presence of Warwick: "while these things were thus appointyng and concludyng in England: the Erle of Warwike Lieutenant for the Regent in the realme of Fraunce, entred into the Countrie of Mayne" (p. 571).

136. *hollow heart*] insincere, false. A prevalent sense in Shakespeare. Skelton has the expression: "so many *holow hartes*, and so dowbyll faces" (*Speke, Parrot* (Dyce, ii. 24), *circa* 1530). And Spenser: "a guilefull *hollow hart*" (*Colin Clout's come Home again*, l. 699).

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.
[*Exeunt 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,

141. Marked "Aside" first by Pope. 153. *And if*] Ff.; *An if* Theobald. 163. *alone*] Ff 2, 3, 4; *all alone* F 1.

149. *scroll*] document, copy of deed, etc. See *Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. i.: "this truce . . . of whose conditions . . . signed with our hands each shall retain a *scroll*."

150. *right of Richard Plantagenet*] See note, II. v. 7; and II. v. 61. See below, 171-173, note.

159. *restored to his blood*] See above, end of Act II. note.

170. *reguerdon*] ample reward. The verb occurs below, III. iv. 23. Both occur in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (1390), and are hardly found again until this play (*New Eng. Dict.*). Cotgrave has "*Reguerdonner*. To reward plentifully, guerdon abundantly" (1611). And compare Nashe (Grosart, v. 250), *Lenten Stuffe*, 1594: "in generous *reguerdonment* whereof he sacramentally obliged himselfe that." Old French forms. Not again in Shakespeare.

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!
Som. [*Aside.*] Perish, base prince, ignoble Duke of York!
Glou. 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. *girt*] Ff 1, 2, 3, Steevens, Craig; *gird* F 4, Cambridge.

171. *girt*] See again *2 Henry VI.* I. i. 63; 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. 1658): "And *girt* faire England with a wall of brasse." And *A Looking Glasse for London* (xiv. 51, l. 1095): "Go *girt* thy loines and hast thee quickly hence." Peele uses the exact expression in *Descensus Astrææ* (1591):—

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

"Girt" for "girded" was frequent. Earlier in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. 5:—

"Who means to *girt* Natolias walls with siege,
Fire the town and over-run the land."

171-173. *I girt thee . . . Duke of York*] This occurrence is in its historical sequence: "when the great fyre of thys discention, betweene these two Noble personages was thus . . . utterly quenched out, and layde vnder boorde. . . . For ioy whereof the king caused a solempne feast to be kept on whitson Sonday, 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 preferment shoulde be his destruction" (Grafton, 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 envious thought" (*New Eng. Dict.*, with no other example of the construction). "To grudge" was commonly used for to be inwardly discontented, generally with "against," as here. "To grudge a thought" is to have a grudging thought. "Olympia (although she grudged inwardly, yet being loath to offend) helde her peace" (Greene's *Menaphon* (Grosart, VI. III.), 1587). And Grafton's *Continuation 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, parteiy to comfort and visite his awne subjects there, partly eyther by feare or favour (because a childe of his age and beautie doth commonly allure to him the hartes of the elder persons) to cause the Frenchmen 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.
Glou. Your ships already are in readiness.
[*Sennet. 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. *Sennet.*] *Senet.* F 1; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4. *Exeunt all . . .*] Capell; *Exeunt. Manet Exeter*, Ff. 199. *lose*] *loose* F 1; *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.* 1882). I find it in Nashe's *Christes Teares* (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 smal performance, his fained faith and forged flatterie" (*Mamillia* (Grosart, ii. 183), 1587). "To *forge* a *fayned* tale" (*Alphonsus*, Grosart, xiii. 341, l. 262). And the first line of the Prologue to *Selimus*: "No *fained* toy nor *forged* Tragedie" (Grosart, xiv. 193). But Peele is in evidence also: "that I should *forge* or *feign* with you my love in aught" (*Sir Clyomon*, 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 surgion, when the *festring* Fistuloe hath by long continuance made the sound flesh rotten, can neither with lenitive plaisters, nor cutting corasives be cured: so loue 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 siege was borne at Wyndsore the kings sonne called Henry whose Godfathers were Iohn Duke of Bedford, and Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Iaquet Duches of Holland was Godmother, whereof the king was certefyed lyeng at the siege of Meaux, at the which he much rejoysed, but when he heard of the place of his natiuity, whether he fantasyed some olde blind prophecie, or else iudged of his sonnes fortune, he sayde to the Lorde Fitz Hugh his Chamberleyn 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 Glasse for London*, xiv. 108, l. 2500).

198, 199. *win all . . . lose all*] So in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 547 (1543): "intendyng vtterly ether to *lose all* or els to *wynne all*."

Which is so plain that Exeter doth wish
His days may finish ere that hapless time. [*Exit.*

SCENE II.—*France. Before Rouen.*

Enter JOAN LA PUCELLE *disguised, with four soldiers with sacks upon their backs.*

Puc. 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.

SCENE II. Enter Joan la Pucelle] *Enter Pucell* Ff. 13. *Qui est là?*] Malone; *Che la.* Ff. 14. *Paysans, pauvres*] Rowe; *Peasauns la pouvre* Ff.

1. *the gates of Roan*] This fictitious capture of Rouen is perhaps an adaptation of a story told by the chroniclers of The XIX Yere (1441), (Grafton, 621, 622): "The Frenchmen had taken the towne of Evreux, by treason of a fisher. Sir Fraunces Arragonoys heeryng of that chance apparrelled sixe strong men like rusticall people with sackes and basketts as cariers of corne and vitaile, and sent them to the Castell of Cornill in the which divers English men were kept as prisoners; and he with an imbushment of Englishe men lay in a Valey nie to the fortresse. These sixe Companions entred into the Castle unsuspected and not mistrusted, and straight came to the Chamber of the Capteyne and layde handes upon him, gevyng knowlege thereof to their imbushement, which sodainly entred the Castell and slue and toke all the French men prisoners, and set at libertie al the Englishe men, which thing done they set the Castell on fire and departed with great spoyle to the citie of Roan. Thus the Ladie victorie sometime smiled on the Englishe part and sometime on the French syde. Thus one gayned this day, and lost on the next. Thus fortune chaunged and thus chaunce hapned, accordyng to the olde prouerbe, saiyng: in warre is nothing certaine, and victorie is ever doubtfull."

2. *policy*] stratagem, as in III. iii. 12.

4. *market men*] marketing folks.

"Men know (quoth I) I have heard now and then,
How the market goeth by the *market men*"
(Heywood's *Proverbs* (Sharman ed. p. 66), 1546).

10. *mean*] means. Used interchangeably. "They perceuyed well that there was none other *meane*, but to defend their cause with dent of sworde" (Grafton, i. 270, 1568, 1569, reprint).

10. *sack the city*] Falstaff gives us this quibble much better. "Ay, Hal; 'tis hot, 'tis hot, there 's that will *sack a city*. [The Prince draws out a bottle of Sack.]" (*1 Henry IV.* v. iii. 56). The expression "sack a city" is often in Greene's prose, as in *Euphues his Censure to 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.

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.*] Ff; *Guard open: and Pucelle, and her soldiers, enter the city.* Capell. *the Bastard of Orleans*] *Bastard* Ff, *Reignier* Cambridge; omitted Ff; *and forces* Capell. 21, 22. *specify Where . . . in?*] Rowe; *specifie? Here . . . in* Ff. 23, 33. *Reignier.*] Ff; *Alençon.* Capell. 25. *on the top*] Ff; *on a battlement* Capell. 28. *Talbotites*] Theobald; *Talbonites* Ff; *Talbotines* Hanmer. 31. *shine*] Ff 1, 2; *shines* Ff 3, 4.

18. *Saint Denis*] See again, 1. vi. 28 and note.

20. *practisants*] confederates in the scheme.

25. *No way to that*] no way to compare with that. Compare Marlowe, *Jew 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 Capitaines priuely approched the towne, making a little fire on an hill in the sight of the towne, to signifie their comming and approching. The Citezens . . . 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 slue the porters and watchmen and let in their friendes" (p. 574).

31. *shine it like a comet*] may it shine. Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe* (467, b): "hate's fire . . . Making thy forehead like a comet, shine."

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.*

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?

35. *Alarum. Exeunt.*] Cambridge; *Alarum.* Ff. *Enter Talbot*] Cambridge; *Talbot* Ff. 40. *the pride*] *the prize* Theobald; *being prize* Hanmer. *Burgundy*] *Burgonie* Ff (and *passim*). *Bastard, Alençon, and Reignier*] Cambridge; *Bastard, and Reignier* Ff.

33. *Defer no time*] The verb occurs again *2 Henry VI.* IV. vii. 131, and doubtfully in *Richard III.* (Qq neglect). Greene has the expression in *A Looking Glasse for London* (Grosart, xiv. 80, l. 1813):—

"The houre is nie; *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. i. 111.

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 prouerbe was all too true, Omnis mora trahit periculum" (*Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth*, 1575, Nichols' *Progresses*, ed. 1823, i. 516). And Greene, *Alphonsus* (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 giltie hand had . . . Done *execution on* hirselfe." And in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng* (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, ll. 556, 557):—

"That whyle I thus stand gazing on
his [panther's] hyde,
He may devour mee *unbewares*";

and bk. iii. l. 452: "by stealth and *unbewares*." Elsewhere in Shakespeare, except *3 Henry VI.* IV. viii. 63, the word is preceded by "at." See Part III. IV. ii. 23. Elsewhere in Golding and in Spenser the word used is "*unwares*." 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?
Bur. Scoff on, vile fiend and shameless courtezan!
I trust ere long to choke thee with thine own,
And make thee curse the harvest of that corn.
Cha. Your grace may starve perhaps before that time.
Bed. O! let no words, but deeds, revenge this treason.
Puc. What will you do, good grey-beard? break a lance,
And run a tilt at death within a chair?
Tal. 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. See note at "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 Herbes*, 1548 (*Eng Dict. Soc* 1881). "To sowe upon the good siede, the pestilent *Dernell*" (W. Watreman, *Fardle of Facions* (reprint, Hakluyt, v. 67, 1812), 1555). Steevens finds an allusion to the poisonous properties of *Lolium*, quoting Gerard: "*Darnel* hurteth the eyes, and maketh them dim, if it happen either in corne for breade or drinke." He goes on: "Pucelle means to intimate 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 Cæsar*, 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. 50. again in Shakespeare: where it comes from *The Contention*, sc. iii. It was more usual to make a verb of *tilt.* 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 Cleremont."

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 *Euphues his Censure to Philautus* (vi. 184): "hunting, hawking, running *at tilt*, and other pastimes" (1587).

52. *Foul fiend*] An expressly Shakespearian 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 Custom* (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 hatefull 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,
Or else let Talbot perish with this shame.

Puc. Are ye so hot, sir? yet, Pucelle, hold thy peace;
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,
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; 65
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 thy lord
Or *twit him with* the laws that nature lowes?"

and again, p. 28, l. 534: "And dar'st thou *twit me with* a womans 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, I. 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 Xantippe; and in *The Schole-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. *Hĕcătĕ*] 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 "entertalk 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. 318). And at p. 139, ll. 105, 106:—

"To Persey's daughter *Hecate* (of whome 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 dissyllabic value without dropping the final e. These are from books vi. and vii. of the *Metamorphoses*. Greene wrote thus: "And Hell and *Heccate* shall faile the Frier" (*Frier Bacon*, xiii. 22, l. 378). *Hĕcătĕ* 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. 10. 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.

67. *Signior, no*] An old piece of chaff, founded on "Signior Nobody" perhaps.

Tal. Signior, hang! base muleters of France!
Like peasant foot-boys do they keep the walls,
And dare not take up arms like gentlemen.
Puc. 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. *came*] 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 Souldier* (*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 welcome." 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 See [Si]" occurs in Greene's *He and She Coneycatcher*, Grosart (x. 224). The appellation Signior, dragged in here, does not occur again in the trilogy, or in the other historical plays. "Faith sir no" occurs in Greene's *James the Fourth* (xiii. 315), and "In faith sir, no" in *Alphonsus* (xiii. 355).

68. *muleters*] muleteers, mule-drivers. See *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vii. 36. Compare *pioner*, *enginer*, the recognised forms. From the French: "*Muletier*. A Mulletar, Moyle-keeper, Moyle-driver" (Cotgrave). Peele has the word in the *Battle of Alcazar*, IV. i.: "Drudges, negroes, slaves and muleters."

78. *Prick'd on*] goaded, invited. Frequent in Shakespeare.

82, 83. *in this late-betrayed town Great Cordelion's heart was buried*] "Within three dayes after the king was hurt, he dyed that is to say the IX. day Aprill, 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 bowelles 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. Shakespeare has this construction again in *Venus and Adonis*, 818, "*late*-embarked." In *1 Henry IV.* II. iii. 62, "*late*-disturbed." In *Lucrece*, 1740, "*late*-sacked." In every case *late* is to be regarded adverbially, and the hyphen is open to objection. "Our *late*-confirmed 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.
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.
Bur. Courageous Bedford, let us now persuade you.
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.
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. *Undaunted*] *Undaunting* F 2. 103. [*Exeunt . . .*] Cambridge; *Exit.* Ff.

89. *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 iourney, either that their credite at home is crasie, or else being wedded to vanitie seeke to augment their follie." Spenser speaks of "craesie" pipes in *Colin Clout's come Home again*, 1591.

94. *from hence*] So in Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. i. 2: "Depart *from hence* with me." And in Golding's *Ovid*: "We haled are *from hence*."

95. *That stout Pendragon in his litter*] From John Harding, according to Speed's *Historie*, p. 269, ed. 1632: "This field was at Verolam, whither Vter [Pendragon] sicke, and in his Horse-litter, was borne among his Army, and after long and sore siege, wonne from them that Citie." 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 sawe well 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 Abdelmelec dies in battle:—

"as he died,
My noble brother will we here advance,
And set him in his chair with cunning props,
That our Barbarians may behold their king"

(438, a).

99. *Undaunted spirit*] See above, I. i. 127, and note at v. v. 70.

102. *gather we*] See note at "Embrace we then," II. i. 13, above. And below, III. iii. 68.

102 *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.* III. 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. Ay,
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.

104, 105. *Whither away*] A favourite expression. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 183 (note, Arden ed. p. 97). Greene has it in *George-a-Greene* (xiv. 156): "*George.* How now sirrha, *whither away? Ienkin. Whither away?* why, who doe you take me to bee? *George.* Why, Ienkin, my man." There seems to have been something odd in the expression. It is nowhere so common as in Skakespeare, often in chaff. "Whither so fast away" occurs in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (1591), p. 27, ed. 1626.

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. i. 8.

117. *heavens have glory*] Compare Henry the Fifth's speech, IV. viii. 111. 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 forgat to be thankfull unto God, the giuer not onlye 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.
Bur. What wills Lord Talbot pleaseth Burgundy.
Tal. But yet, before we go, let 's not forget
The noble Duke of Bedford late-deceas'd,

123. *gleeks*] Hanmer; *glikes* Ff.

119. *Enshrines*] Not met with in Shakespeare again. The earliest example of the figurative use in *New Eng. Dict.* Compare Greene (?), *Selimus* (Grosart, xiv. 199):—

"in whose high thoughts
A map of many values is *enshrin'd*."

And *Locrine* (by Greene and Peele):—

"Nature's sole wonder in whose beauteous breasts
All heavenly grace and virtue was *enshrined*"

(v. iv.).

122. *familiar*] attendant spirit. For "Pucelle," see note, I. ii. 51. We get the English view of her in this Act. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 162 (note, Arden ed. p. 27).

123. *braves*] expressions of defiance, brags, boasts. A very common word in Greene's prose and plays. As in *Frier Bacon* (l. 1921), "such shamelesse *braves* as manhood cannot brooke."

123. *gleeks*] scoffs. See *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. v. 115. And Greene's *Farewell to Follie* (Grosart, ix. 251): "among the rest messieur Benedetto galled Peratio with this *gleeke*." Both these terms occur commonly at the time.

124. *all amort*] very downcast. Occurs again in *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 36. Greene has it twice, as in *Frier Bacon* (l. 28, Grosart, xiii. 8): "Shall he thus *all amort* live malecontent?" And in *The Thirde Part of Conny-Catching* (x. 171): "Blancke and *all amort* sits the poore Cutler, and with such a pittifull countenaunce." *New Eng. Dict.* has no earlier examples, but it occurs in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I. (1575), as I have shown in Appendix II. to *Measure for Measure* (Arden ed. p. 153). See too Peele's *Edward I.* (Dyce, 392, a): "What, *all amort!* How doth my dainty Nell?"

126. *take some order*] make arrangements. A favourite expression of Shakespeare's. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from Grafton's *Chronicle*, i. 176, 1568: "When the king had thus taken order with his affayres in Denmarke, he returned shortly into England" (not the reference for the reprint). See Peele, *Edward I.* (Dyce, 397, b):—

"He is thine own, as true as he is mine;
Take order, then, that he be passing fine."

127. *expert*] experienced, skilled, as in *Henry V.* III. vii. 139. For *placing*, see note at I. i. 132. In *Tamburlaine*, Part II. Act I. Marlowe has: "A hundred thousand *expert* soldiers." See *Faerie Queene*, I. ix. 4: "In warlike feates th' *expertest* man alive."

132. *late-deceas'd*] Again in *Titus Andronicus*, I. i. 184. As the Duke of Bedford has barely died at this point, the expression perhaps implies some of the natural confusion in the mind of the writer of the sequence of events. See note at "late-betrayed," above, III. ii. 82.

132, 133. *Duke of Bedford . . . exequies*] There is this much truth in this unhistorical scene, that the Duke of Bedford kept his Norman court and parliament at Roan: "the xiiij day of September, died Iohn Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce, a man as politique in

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. [*Exeunt.*

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 solempnitie buried in the Cathedrall Church of our Lady in Roan, on the North side of the high Aulter, under a sumptuous and costly monument" (Grafton, i. 605, The XIIIJ 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 buryed, and the *Exequies* scantly 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. 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 Gentlemen 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 *Orlando.* 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 example. 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*, v. 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 dramatists in the forms corsie, corsive, corrosive, etc. An "inward corsie," or "a corsie to the heart," occurs three times in Golding's *Ovid* (1567). Greene has the noun "corasive" several times in *Mamillia:* "the *corasive* of despair" (p. 152), "a *corasive* to renew thy griefe" (p. 171), etc. Compare Gascoigne, *The Steele Glas* (Arber, p. 43), 1576: "The *corrosyve* of care woulde quickely confounde 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. 22): "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 doth 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): "Bewteous and stately as the eie-trained 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: "Shal I loue so lightly? shal Fancie give me the *foyle* at the first dash?" (*Mamillia* (ii. 73)). Greene repeats these words later in his *Metamorphosis* (ix. 59). In *Frier Bacon* (xiii. 61, l. 1301) Greene has "take not now the *foile.*" 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 *pollicies*, and in a black horse, marke saddle-spots," etc. (*Second Part of Conny-Catching*, x. 77). And in *A Looking Glasse 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 *policie.*"

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 sillie 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.
Cha. 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 wordes*" (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 meane might be sought by other, and not by himselfe, least . . . he might be noted of vntruth and traytorous behaviour toward the King of England and his nation: to whom he had done homage, league, and sworne fealtie. Now this counsayle [of Arras] was to him a cloke 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 thereunto persuaded by the generall counsayle, and by the Bishop of Rome." There is here no mention of Joan's influence; she is the dramatist's own introduction for "the honest meane 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 favourite word with Greene: "Tell me faire *sweeting*, wants thou any thing Conteind within the threefold circle of the world?" (*A Looking Glasse*, Grosart, xiv. 45). And again, p. 13: "so bright a *sweetings* armes"; and again (p. 10) in the same play; and elsewhere in his prose. Shakespeare has it several times.

24. *extirped*] extirpated. 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 unfrequently 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 *expulst*" (*Have with you*, etc., Grosart, iii. 119). And Gascoigne, *The Steele Glas*, 1576 (Arber, p. 43): "Themistocles . . . by his unkinde citizens of Athens *expulsed* from his owne." The word occurs several times in Golding's *Ovid's Metamorphoses*.

28. *bring . . . to the wished end*] Compare *Locrine*, II. 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.
Bur. What say'st thou, Charles? for I am marching hence.
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:—

"And he that points the Centonell his roome,
Doth license him depart at sound of morning *droome*."

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).

33. *rearward*] rearguard. Always figuratively elsewhere in Shakespeare.

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 dictionaries (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. 410): "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.
Return thee therefore with a flood of tears
And wash away thy country's stained spots.

Bnr. 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*] *forraine* 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, a). Compare *Lucrece*, 1059, 1316.

60. *exclaims on thee*] Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, III. xiv. 70:—

"what a scandale wert among the kings
To heare Hieronymo *exclaim on thee?*"

Often with "upon."

61. *progeny*] descent. Compare Greene, *Planetomachia* (v. 40): "the destinies have appoynted my *progenie* from such a peevish Parent"; and *Menaphon* (vi. 110): "My parents and *progenie* are envied by obscuritie"; and *A Princely Mirrour of Peereless Modestie* (iii. 9): "Honored generallie of all men for his parentage and *progenie*"; and *passim* in Greene, meaning parentage, but not so used by Shakespeare. Burgundy's original reason for allying himself with the English was: "Beyng much desyrous to reuenge and punishe the shamefull murther done to his father" (Grafton, 604). Grafton illustrates "progeny" (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. 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 reigne with the English power, and to serve the King of England, thinking that by his amitie and ioyning, he shoulde neither harme nor hurte the common wealth of the Country, whereof at that time he bore the whole rule, nor yet lose one iote or point of his aucthoritie or governaunce. But when it happened contrary to his expectation, that the King of Englande . . . tooke upon him the whole rule . . . and that he was not had . . . in a perfite 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 intricate, 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 Ff. 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 possesse the earth, and they striuing to exceede in tyranny, should each to other bee a *slaughter man:* till the mightiest out-liuing 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 l. 78 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 never 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 earliest in *New Eng. Dict.*, the next being Urquhart's *Rabelais*, 1653. The whole expression is Greene's:—

"Fearce is the fight and bloudie is the broyle;
No sooner had the *roaring cannon-shot*
Spit forth the venome of their fired panch"

(*Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, xiii. 397, l. 1662).

85. *Frenchman . . . turn, and turn again*] Dr. Johnson said: "The inconstancy of the French was always the subject of satire: I have read a dissertation 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.*

SCENE IV.—*Paris. The Palace.*

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.

SCENE IV.] *Scæna Quarta* Ff. *Bishop of Winchester*] *Winchester* Ff. *Vernon, Basset, and others*] omitted Ff.

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 playd."

91. *And seek how we may prejudice the foe*] Clarke (quoted by Rolfe) writes: "We cannot think that Shakespeare even when a schoolboy, would have put forth so soddenly 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 preuent or *preiudice* the enemie" (*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 *prejudicte* 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 scornes that men of such *esteeme* as these
Should brooke the braves of any trayterous squire."

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?
Glou. 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 reguerdon'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. *Exeunt all but . . .*] *Exeunt. Manet . . .* F 1; *Exeunt. Manent . . .* Ff 2, 3, 4.

See *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 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. 1:—

"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 xcviii. 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 Englande . . . caused a retrayte to be blowen . . . callyng his prelates together, caused them to geve thankes to God [as Hall sayth] by whose almightie power he had receaved that victorie, and to sing the Psalme of *In exitu Israel*, etc. Commaunding euery 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).

20. *resolved*] convinced, satisfied. See *3 Henry VI.* II. ii. 124.

23. *reguerdon'd*] See III. i. 170 (note).

24. *Because . . . face*] This seems to me more "soddenly vapid" than line 91 above, the end of last scene.

26. *create you Earl of Shrewsbury*] Grafton writes, in the xxii. year (1442-3): "About this season, the King remembering the valiaunt service and noble actes of Iohn Lorde Talbot, created him Earl of Shrewsburie, and with a company of three thousand men, sent him agayne into Normandie, for the better tuicion of the same, which neyther forgat his duetie 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. 38. *knowest*] Ff; *know'st*, Pope, Cambridge. 39. *whoso*] Rowe; *who so* Ff.

28. *hot*] passionate, hot-tempered.

29. *Disgracing of*] For the superfluous "of" to fill the line, compare "resolved of," above, line 20. A weak trick found often in Greene. Shakespeare would more readily omit than add the trifling word. See IV. ii. 23, V. i. 5, IV. vi. 37.

32. *patronage*] See above, III. i. 48 (note).

33. *envious barking*] Craig quotes from Spenser, lines prefixed to *Shepheards 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.

38. *law of arms*] Again in *Henry V.* and *King Lear.* And below, IV. i. 100. See *Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. 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. 37, 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

SCENE I.—*Paris. A hall of state.*

Enter the KING, GLOUCESTER, WINCHESTER, YORK, SUFFOLK, SOMERSET, WARWICK, EXETER, TALBOT, *the Governor of Paris, and others.*

Glou. Lord bishop, set the crown upon his head.
Win. God save King Henry, of that name the sixth.
Glou. 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 I.] Grafton gives the list of those present: "There were in his company of his awne Nation, his Vncle the Cardinall of Winchester, the Cardinall and Archebyshop of Yorke, the Dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norfolke, the Earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Oxford, Huntyngdon, Ormonde, Mortayn, Suffolke, and of Gascoynes . . . he was met at the Chapell, in the meane way, by Syr 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 xvij of the sayde Moneth [December] he departed from the Palace in great triumph, honorably accompanyed to our Lady Church of Paris: where with all solempnitie 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*.

6. *pretend*] aim at, mean, intend. See *Two Gentlemen*, II. vi. 37, and *Macbeth*, II. iv. 24.

7. *practices*] stratagems.

8. *Sir John Fastolfe*] See note at I. i. 116. The note there gives the name Patay, Capell's correction for Poictiers, which was fought a century before this date (line 19). It was the Duke of Bedford who "in a great anger toke from hym the Image of Saint George and the Garter." They were restored again against Talbot's wishes.

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 unworthily
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 beseeming 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,

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.

19. *dastard*] a coward of an extra bad sort; one who shrinks from danger in the path of duty or honour. Occurs several times in these plays, and in *Coriolanus* and *Richard II.*

19. *Patay*] "a small Vyllage called Patay" (Grafton, p. 582).

20. *six thousand*] See I. i. 112.

22. *or that a stroke was given*] he fled "not having struck one stroke," or "without any stroke striken" (Grafton), but not before the battle was engaged.

30. *fact*] evil deed, crime. Abundantly so used by Shakespeare, and frequent at the time.

31. *ill beseeming*] Occurs again (hyphened) *2 Henry IV.* IV. i. 84; *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 113; and twice in *Romeo and Juliet.* Seems to be a term of Shakespeare's own; and as in other places his hand seems apparent at the opening of a scene. There is nothing remarkable in the diction, nor is there anything of Greene's style of importance. See *3 Henry VI.* reference (note).

33. *this order*] Compare this passage with another prosy reference to the order in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. v. 65-77. There is not much to choose, for poetry, between them, but this is more dignified and suitable. See again *Richard III.* IV. iv. 370. Grafton has a legend about this order for which he seems to be responsible himself: "But King Richard, as sayth an olde written Chronicle, before his departure called all his Lordes and knightes to him, and did swere them for evermore to be true unto him, and to take his part. And in token thereof he gaue to every of them a blewe Lace or Ribband to be knowen by, and hereof (sayth that olde Chronicle) began the first occasion of the order of the Garter" (*Richard the First*, The VI. Yere). Speed gives this at greater

Valiant and virtuous, full of haughty courage,
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.
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 adorne Martiall vertue with honours, rewards and splendour."

35. *haughty courage*] high courage. In a good sense here. See notes at III. iii. 76, 78.

36. *credit*] honourable reputation.

38. *most extremes*] the greatest extremes, or extremities, dangers, straits. "Most" is very commonly used without the article by Shakespeare. "Extremes" in this sense occurs in several of Shakespeare's plays. Compare Golding'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. 52. 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 extremely partial to this word. Spenser uses it in two senses, youth and servant. In the text here it is a term of contempt. 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, occurring 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 wearyed . . . but also chafed dailie with complaints and lamentation of his people . . . affirming that he onely was the supporter and maintener of the English people, . . . and that he . . . intentively toke paine, both to keepe and maintaine the Englishe men in Fraunce . . . rather then to restore King Charles his Cosyn to his rightfull inheritaunce, by reason of which things and many other, he was in maner compelled and constrayned to take a peace, and conclude an amitie with King Charles, exhorting King Henry . . . to make an ende of the warre . . . with many glosyng and flatteryng wordes. . . . This letter was not a little looked on, nor smally regarded of the King of England . . .: not onely for the waightinesse of the matter, but also for the sodaine change of the man, and for the straunge superscription of the letter, which was: To the high and mightie prince, Henry by the grace of God, King of England his welbeloved 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?
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."
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.
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?
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.

65. *your*] F 1; *my* Ff 2, 3, 4.

inconstant prince . . . when the Messenger was departed, the King of Englande and hys counsayle thought and determined to worke some displeasure to the Duke" (The XIIIJ Yere, p. 605).

53. *superscription*] address or direction of the letter, the same as "superscript" in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 123 (Arden ed.). Compare R. Harvey, *Plaine Percevall* (1589): "The boy which greeted his father with a letter, clapt full of commendations . . . proovde 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* Ff 2, 3, 4. 90. *envious*] F 1; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4. 93. *represent*] F 1; *present* Ff 2, 3, 4.

Shakespeare. So Grafton, i. 309: "In somuch that he disdeyned the Lordes 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 yeere after his corronation in England, hee passeth over into France, there also to receive the Diademe thereof. The Constableship of England was before his departure assigned by Patent, for tearme 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 Iohn Vpton of Feversham in Kent Notarie, accused Iohn Down of the same place gentleman, *That he and his complices did imagine the King's death at his Corronation.* The combate 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. *carping*] cavilling at. See *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. i. 71, and *Richard III.* III. v. 68.

94. *repugn*] reject, repel, refute. Not again in Shakespeare, but a common word at this time. See extract from Hall's *Chronicle* at Part III. III. ii. 98.

97. *ignominious terms*] See note to "ignominious words," Part II. III. i. 179. Marlowe has:—

"Wherein he wrought such *ignominious* wrong
Unto the hallowed person of a prince"

(*Tamburlaine*, Part I. IV. 3). And

In confutation of which rude reproach,
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;
Betwixt 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.
Glou. Confirm it so! Confounded be your strife!
And perish ye, with your audacious prate!

115. *I pray*] F 1; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4.

in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. v. i. 140, 141:—

"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. 196. A legal term.

102. *with . . . 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*] dissentious, rebellious Frequent in these three plays, and in *Troilus and Cressida.*

113. *emulations*] jealousies. See Galatians v. 19, 20 (Craig).

Presumptuous vassals! are you not asham'd
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, [*Putting on a red rose.*

152. [*Putting . . .*] Johnson; omitted Ff.

125. *Presumptuous*] Only in *All's Well*, I. iii. 204, besides each of these three plays. Greene has it frequently in his plays, especially *Alphonsus*. In *A Looking Glasse for London* (xiv. 12), "*Presumptuous* Viceroy, darst thou check thy Lord" (l. 120), is similar to the line before us. In *All's Well* the application is very different. "Proud *presumptuous*" has been already quoted from *Faerie Queene*, bk i.

130. *take occasion*] take the opportunity.

131. *mutiny*] strife.

133. *good my lords*] See Part III. II. ii. 75 (note).

138. *France . . . fickle*] See III. iii. 85.

140. *disagree*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare.

141. *grudging stomachs*] resentful, discontented tempers. The word is frequent in the early histories: "They tooke their stomakes so couragiously unto them, and gave them so fierce and sharpe an onset, that they overthrew them, man and mothers sonne" (Grafton, i. 301).

144. *certified*] informed, made certain of it. Compare Greene, *James the Fourth*, xii. 261: "a knight hard by . . . whom I must *certifie*, that the lease of East Spring shall be confirmed." In common use.

147. *realm of France*] See above, II. ii. 36.

149. *tender years*] King Henry has told his hearers of his *tender years* already (III. iv. 17). The expression occurs continually in Shakespeare.

149. *forgo*] forfeit. See *Lucrece*, 228. An old word becoming obsolete.

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*] *disgest* 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 . . . althoughe 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 Somerset, beyng 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 euill 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 hartes of these two Princes, till mortall warre consumed them both, and almost all their lines and ofsprings, as within fewe yeres you shall perceyue" (The XIIIJ Yere (p. 606), 1435). Boswell Stone (230) omits this obviously needed passage (from Hall and Grafton); he proceeds here to consider "good my lord of Somerset, unite . . . Your . . . horsemen with his . . . foot" (164, 165), and finds historical warrant in 1443 for the joined forces. See the following passage in Grafton (The XIX Yere (1440, not 1443), p. 619): "The Dukes of Yorke and Sommerset, lykewise entered into the Duchie of Aniow, and Countie of Mayne, destroiyng townes, spoilyng the people, and with great pray and profite, repayred 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 townes 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 "disgest" at this time, and still provincially in the North. Compare *All's Well that Ends Well*, v. iii. 74. Physical language of the time. Compare Kyd's *Cornelia*, IV. ii. 220-223:—

"Wicked Enuie . . .
To choller doth convart
Purest blood about the heart,
Which oreflowing of their brest
Suffreth nothing to *digest*."

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.
[*Flourish. Exeunt all but* YORK, WARWICK, EXETER, *and* VERNON.
War. My Lord of York, I promise you, the king
Prettily, methought, 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

173. [*Flourish*] Ff (after line 181). . . . Ff 1, 2; *Exeunt, Manent . . .* Ff 3, 4. *Exeunt all but . . .*] *Exeunt, Manet* Capell; *And if I wish he did*, Ff. *Manet Exeter*, Ff.

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."

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. 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 out 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*, I. i. 1 (note, Arden ed.).

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. [*Exit.*

SCENE II.—*Before Bourdeaux.*

Enter TALBOT, *with trump and drum.*

Tal. Go to the gates of Bourdeaux, trumpeter;
Summon their general unto the wall.

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.

SCENE II.—Before . . . drum] *Enter Talbot, with Trumpe and Drumme, before Burdeaux.* Ff (*Trumpet* Ff 2, 3; *Trumpets* F 4). 2. *Trumpet sounds*] *Sounds* Ff. *and others*] Malone; omitted Ff.

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. *shouldering*] Spenser uses this:—

> "Some thought to raise themselves to high degree
> By riches and unrighteous reward:
> Some by close *shouldring;* some by flatteree"

(*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 hydraes; 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 Shakespeare meaning indicate (prophetically). Compare *Locrine*, III. ii.: "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. 243.

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 1451-3. In 1451, in consequence of "the pestiferous division which reigned in England," 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

6. *humble*] F 1; *humbled* Ff 2, 3, 4.

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 realme and most might doe with the Queene: Whome the commons, for the losse of Normandy, worse then a Tode or Scorpion hated, disdained and abhorred, in so much that diverse evill ruled persons, brake his house and spoyled his goods" (p. 646). During the factions and commotions that ensued (Black heath, Brent heath) "came Ambassadors from the heddes and Magistrates of the City of Burdeaux . . . which signified to the Counsaile, that if they would send an armie into Gascoyn, the Gascoynes would revert and turne againe to the Englishe part (p. 648). . . . The Counsayle of Englande . . . appointed the noble souldiour and valyaunt Capitayne Iohn Lorde Talbot, and Erle of Shrewsburie to be Chiefetayne of the armie which should in all haste be transported into Aquitayne. The Lordes of Gascoyne . . . glad of their aunswere . . . 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 now to fall into the French captivity: whose . . . daylie exactions were to them importable . . . The Erle of Shrewsburie toke his chaunce . . . his army, being scant three thousand men, and destroyed all the Countrey 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."

10, 11. *three attendants . . . climbing fire*] See *Henry V.* Act i. chorus, l. 7. From a speech of King Henry the Fifth after the siege of Rouen, when messengers of surrender come to him with a "subtile and crafty invention," he said: "If these things be to you blind and obscure, I will declare and open them to you. The Goddesse of warre called Bellona (which is the Correctrice of Princes for right withholdyng, or injury doyng, and the plague of God for evill lyvng) hath these three handmaydes, euer of necessitie to attend vpon her, that is, blood, fyre and famine which three Damoselles be of that force and strength that euery of them alone is able to torment and afflict a proude Prince; But they all beyng ioyned together, are of puyssaunce able to destroy the most populous Countrie and richest region of the worlde. . . . I have appoynted the mekest of the three Damosels to afflict and plague you, until you be brydeled and brought to reason, which shall be when it shall please me . . . the choyse is in my hande to tame you eyther with blood, fyre or famin, or wyth all, I will take the choyse at my pleasure and not at yours" (Grafton (or Hall), The VIJ Yere, *Henry the Fift*). Holinshed has this abridged. So Peele in *Battle of Alcazar*, II. iii.:—

"Crying for battle, famine, sword, and fire,
Rather than calling for relief or life"

(428 a, Routledge).

11. *Lean famine*] Shakespeare abounds in epithets to personifications. See "pale destruction," below, l. 27. "Lean" is usually appropriated by Envy. 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,
Stands with the snares of war to tangle thee:
On either hand thee there are squadrons pitch'd
To wall thee from the liberty of flight;
And no way canst thou turn thee for redress
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

28. *Ten . . . sacrament*] placed before line 25 in Ff 2, 3, 4. 29. *rive*] Ff 3, 4; *ryue* Ff 1, 2; *drive* Johnson conj.; *rain* Vaughan conj.

14. *If you forsake the offer of their love*] Steevens compares *Henry VIII.* III. ii. 3, 4:—

"If you omit
The offer of this time, I cannot promise."

15. *owl of death*] See *Richard III.* IV. iv. 509. Compare Golding's *Ovid* (bk. x. ll. 521, 522):—

"Three tymes the *deathfull owle* that eeven
With doolefull noyse prognosticates unhappie lucke."

Spenser has "The messenger of death, the ghastly owle" (*Faerie Queene*, I. v. 30). Todd refers to Virgil's *Æneid*, IV. 462.

16. *their bloody scourge*] See I. iv. 42, 43, and II. iii. 16 (notes). See extract from Grafton (p. 650) at the opening of Sc. v.: "I, thy father, which onely hath bene the terror and *scourge* to the French people." This is used by Marlowe in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. I. iii.: "*scourge* and terror of the world," three times on one page.

23. *On either hand thee*] *i.e.* of thee. See note, III. iv. 29.

23. *squadrons pitch'd*] Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, I. ii. 32:—

"Our battels both were *pitch'd* in *squadron* forme,
Each corner strongly fenst with wings of shot;
But ere we ioynd and came to push of Pike,
I brought a squadron of our readiest shot
From out our rearward to begin the fight;
They brought another wing to incounter us."

26. *apparent spoil*] destruction in sight.

28. *ta'en the sacrament*] See *All's Well that End's Well*, IV. iii. 156; *Richard II.* (three times); and *Richard III.* (twice). A solemn public asseveration was made in this way by Edward IV. at York: "A masse was said at ye gates, wher he receiuyng the *sacrament*, promised feithfully upon his othe that he would obserue bothe the thynges afore named" (Grafton, *Continuation of Hardyng* (452), 1543).

29. *rive their . . . artillery*] Explained "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 ere 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* Ff.

34. *due*] endue, endow. *New Eng. Dict.* has an example of this verb (in this sense) from *Piers Plowman*. "Dew" might be defended as meaning absolutely to shed tears for, mourn for. "Dewing tears" was often used, as in *2 Henry VI.* III. ii. 340. It is twice in Greene's *A Maidens Dreame*, but not so violently.

36. *sandy hour*] hour measured by the sand of the glass. Compare *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 25: "I should not see the *sandy hour*-glass run."

38. *wither'd*] See *3 Henry VI.* II. 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 *Cornelia*, 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 proue thy selfe loyall, when the hearers deeme 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 oure 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 Peele, *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. ll. 312, 313:—

"And so *perusing* every herb by good advysement, 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 I. 23.

How are we park'd and bounded in a pale,
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,
Prosper our colours in this dangerous fight!

[*Exeunt.*

50. *moody, mad, and*] *moodie mad: And* Ff 1, 2, 3; *moodie mad and* F 4; *moody-mad and* Capell, Cambridge. 56. [*Exeunt*] omitted F 1.

45. *park'd*] enclosed, as in a park. *New Eng. Dict.* has several examples ranging backwards to beginning of century. "Pale," 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 *Coriolanus*, 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 *pincht* 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

SCENE III.] Capell; omitted Ff. *Plains . . .*] Capell; *Another part of France.* Theobald. 13. *louted*] *lowted* Ff; *flouted* Johnson conj. 16. *Enter Sir William Lucy*] Theobald; *Enter another Messenger* Ff. 17. *Lucy*] *2 Mes.* Ff (and throughout the Scene). 20. *waist*] Steevens; *waste* Ff.

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 Hee 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 boung"; and p. 214: "they haunted about the Inne where he laie, and *dogd* him into divers places."

6. *espials*] See I. iv. 8 and note.

9. *that villain Somerset*] See extracts at IV. i. 162, 163.

13. *louted*] made a lout or fool of; formed as "fooled."

14. *chevalier*] only in *King John*, II. i. 287 again, except in a French sentence, *Henry V.* IV. iv. 59. Occurs in *Paston Letters*, 1478, iii. p. 221 (1874). Stanford Dictionary also quotes Conings by, *Siege of Rouen*, Camden Misc. vol. i. p. 37 (1847), 1591: "in which [army] there are a nombre of *Chevaliers*."

20. *girdled with a waist of iron*] The same expression occurs in *King John*, II. i. 217: "those sleeping stones that as a waist doth girdle you about." See *Measure for Measure*, III. ii. 41, Arden edition (p. 79), for an example of "waist" in this sense from *The Troublesome Raigne*. The spelling of the word indifferently "waste" and "waist" led to constant quibbling (as in Lyly's *Endy-*

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.

mion, III. iii.). Here there is probably a thought of the equivalent "vast" as in *Hamlet*, I. ii. 198. Peele affords a good example of "waist" meaning girdle:—

"That so I might have given thee for thy pains
Ten silver shekels and a golden *waist*"

(Quarto "wast"), *David and Bethsabe*, (481, a).

21. *hemm'd about with . . . destruction*] Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. v. 195; and *Venus and Adonis*, 229, 1022. See also Marlowe and Nashe, *Dido* (Grosart, vi. 28), II. i.:—

"And after him, his band of Mirmidons,
With balles of wilde fire . . .
All which *hemd* me about, crying, this is he."

And *Tamburlaine*, Part I. II. iv.: "Till I may see thee *hemm'd* with armed men."

25. *cornets*] bands of cavalry. Peele has the word at the beginning of I. ii. in *Battle of Alcazar*:—

"Pisano, take a *cornet* of our horse,
As many argolets and armed pikes,
And with our carriage march away before."

And in connection with Peele's part authorship of *Locrine*, compare the beginning of II. iv. in that play:—

"Hubba go take a *coronet* of our horse,
As many lanciers and light-armed knights
As may suffice for such an enterprise."

"Light-armed horse" occurs in *Alcazar*, near the end. See Introduction, xx. Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, I. ii. 41:—

"Don Pedro their chiefe Horsemens Corlonell
Did with his *Cornet* bravely make attempt
To breake the order of our battell rankes."

See for this further at "squadrons pitched," IV. ii. 23.

29. *remiss*] negligent, careless. Occurs half a dozen times in Shakespeare.

31, 32. *He dies, we lose . . .*] Words set in opposition like these, or grouped in heaps of nominatives and verbs and accusatives, separated, are met with not only in Shakespeare but almost all poetical writers of the latter half of the century. See Puttenham, Arber reprint, p. 242. Upton gives a good note to *Faerie Queene* (Todd's ed.), I. xi. 28, with examples from Fairfax and Milton. He quotes also from Cicero and says "they are called versus paralleli, correlation, correspondents, etc." See *Faerie Queene* again, II. iv. 35; II. vi. 11, 12. Peele has some amazing examples, as in *Alcazar*, Act v.; and the opening lines of *David and Bethsabe*. Spenser varies the form poetically in *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 70; and in *Shepheards Calendar* (January); Lodge, *Wounds of Civil War*.

33. *long of*] along of, in consequence of. Still in use provincially, and occurs again in *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 119 (see note, Arden ed. p. 34); and in *Coriolanus*, *Cymbeline* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*. See line 46 below, and *3 Henry VI.* IV. vii. 32.

Lucy. Then God take mercy on brave Talbot's soul;
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?
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 neglection 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. 46. *Long*] Ff; *'Long* Johnson, Cambridge. 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 hapth in one hour that hapth not in *seven yeare*" (Heywood, 1546, etc. etc.).

41. *stops my breath*] kills me. Compare *Faerie Queene*, ii. x. 67: "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. *neglection*] 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.

50. *scarce cold conqueror*] Compare "*scarce cold* battle," *Cymbeline*, v. v. 469.

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 (xxxviii.); *Faerie Queene*, I. 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;

SCENE IV.] Capell. *Other plains . . .*] Capell; *Another part of France.* Theobald. *a Captain . . .*] *an Officer . . .* Capell; omitted Ff. 11. *Enter . . .*] Theobald; omitted Ff. 12. *whither*] *whether* F 1. 13. *Whither*] *Whether* F 1.

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: "Senacherib'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.

8. *set him on*] incited him. Abundant in Shakespeare.

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: "betrayed 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 Nashe, *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.: "*Lucio.* 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.

16. *legions*] Rowe; *regions* Ff. 23. *should*] F 1; *shall* Ff 2, 3, 4. 25. *Yields*] *Yeeld* F 1. 26. *Burgundy*] *and Burgundie* Ff 2, 3, 4. 27. *Reignier*] Rowe; *Reignard* Ff.

taken in the other). *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from Burns, 1791.

14. *ring'd about with*] Compare Greene, *Frier Bacon* (Grosart, xiii. 26):—

"Great men of Europe, monarks of the West,
Ringde with the wals of old Oceanus."

16. *legions*] may be right, but it implies considerable troops, more than the unhappy Talbot had with him. "Regions," meaning places, may be right also.

18. *war-wearied limbs*] Compare "war-worn coats," *Henry V.* IV. Prologue, 26.

19. *in advantage lingering*] "Protracting his resistance by the advantage of a strong post" (Johnson).

21. *aloof*] See IV. ii. 52 above, note.

21. *emulation*] jealousy. See above, i. 113.

25. *world of odds*] See II. ii. 48, note.

28. *by your default*] shortcoming. See II. i. 60.

35. *take foul scorn*] From the common expression "think scorn," which occurs in Marlowe's *Edward the Second*, in Lyly's *Euphues*, and several times in Shakespeare, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 60 (see note, Arden ed. p. 21). Sir Philip Sidney has "thinking *foul scorn* to submit myself" in *Arcadia*, bk. iv.; and Craig quotes the same expression from *Robert Earl of Huntington* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, viii. 123). But perhaps "take scorn" was earlier, or independent, since it occurs in Golding's *Ovid* (bk. xiii. l. 986):—

"Now come my Galat, come away;
And of my present *take no scorne.*"

37. *noble-minded*] Again in *Titus Andronicus*, I. i. 209, but nowhere else. An expression of Peele's:—

"Him *noble-minded* Nowell pricks to meet,
All arm'd in sables"

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 Bourdeaux.*

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.

SCENE V.] Capell. *The English camp . . .*] 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 Mirmidons."

SCENES V.-VII. Grafton (pp. 649-650) continues from the extract quoted at the opening of Scene ii.: ". . . After the regayning 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 obteyned Cities & gat townes without stroke or dent of sworde . . . The French King . . . assembled a great armie . . . of xxij thousand men, and . . . marched towarde 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 reteyned still beside Caleys . . . and sent the two Marshalles of Fraunce . . . to besiege the towne of Chastilon 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 eyght C horsemen, whereof the Lord Lisle his sonne, the Lorde Molyns . . . were chiefe, and so marched forward toward Chastylon . . . he asauted the Towre . . . and by force entered. . . . They within the towne . . . 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 enimies . . . where the French men were encamped (as Æneas Silvius testifieth) were three hundred peeces of Brasse . . . and subtill engines . . . unknowne, and nothing 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, dally not, be gone.

tinued in doutfull iudgement of victorie two long houres: during which fight the Lords of Montamban and Humadayre, 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 perceyving the imminent ieopardie, and subtle labirynth in the which he and his people were enclosed and wrapped, dispising his awne saveguarde, and desiring the lyfe of his entierly and wellbeloved sonne the Lord Lisle, willed, aduertised, and counsayled him to departe out of the fielde and to save himself. But when the sonne had aunswered him that it was neyther honest nor naturall for him to leaue his father in the extreme ieopardie 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 because this is thy first iourney and enterprise neyther thy flyeng shall redounde to thy shame, nor thy death to thy glorie; for as hardie a man wisely flyeth as a rashe person folishely abideth, therefore the flyeng of me shall be the dishonor, not onely of me and my progenie, but also a discomfiture of all my company: thy departure shall saue thy lyfe, and make thee able another tyme, 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 withdraw or plucke him from his naturall father: Who considering the constancie of his childe . . . cheared his Capitaynes, and valiauntly set on his enimies and slue of them more in number then he had in his company. But his enimies . . . 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 valyaunt personages, . . . and the Lorde Molyns was there taken prisoner with lx. other. The residew fled to Burdeaux and other places, whereof in the flight were slayne aboue a thousand persons" (The XXXIJ Yere).

2. *To tutor thee*] This not common verb occurs eight or ten times in Shakespeare. See *Romeo and Juliet*, III. i. 32.

2. *stratagems of war*] Peele has this phrase: "Train'd up in feats and *stratagems of war*" (*David and Bethsabe* (477, b)).

4. *sapless*] See note at II. v. 11, 12, 13.

5. *to his drooping chair*] Compare *2 Henry VI.* v. ii. 48: "in thy reverence, and thy chair-days." Hardly well-turned expressions, either of them, poetically.

6. *malignant*] having an evil influence. A Shakespearian use. "What fatall starre *malignant*" occurs in *True Tragedie* (Quarto of *3 Henry VI.*) at II. iii. 8.

6. *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.* "Bode" is a favourite with Peele: "What chance did *bode* this ill" (*Battle of Alcazar*, v. 1); "sith my stars *bode* me this tragic end" (*ibid.* 439, a).

8. *unavoided*] inevitable. See *Richard II.* II. i. 268; *Richard III.* IV. iv. 217. It occurs similarly in Golding's *Ovid*:—

"With deadly stripe of *unavoyded* blow
Strake through the breast"

(bk. ii. ll. 760, 761). And again:—

"thunderclaps and lightning . . .
Of deadly *unavoyded* 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.
[*Exeunt.*

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 *The Misfortunes of Arthur;* of the rhymed in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra.* The former is known as *στιχομυθία*, as is mentioned in the Irving Shakespeare's notes at this passage. See again, Part III. III. 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. 16-17 above.

9. *determin'd*] fixed, ended.

9. *date*] See a quotation from Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (457, a) given at "timeless," below, v. iv. 5.

12. *bold-faced*] occurs in *Venus and Adonis*, l. 6. Dekker uses the compound in a parodying line in *The Gentle Craft* (Pearson, p. 55), 1600: "Like to a *bold-faced* debtor."

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 *Thestylis* by L. Bryskett, in Spenser's *Astrophel:* "Thy *irefull* bemes have chilld our harts with cold." Sylvester uses it in his *Du Bartas*, 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 Shakespeare 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. 82 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 Glasse 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 wote* and knowlege and deme my selfe to be, and have bene, insufficient," 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.

54, 55. *Crete, Thou Icarus*] See *3 Henry VI.* v. vi. 18. The fable is in Golding's *Ovid*, bk. viii. See below, vii. 16.

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 Shakespearian 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 guardant 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.*] *Enter . . . led.* Ff.

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.

9. *guardant*] protector, guard. Compare *Coriolanus*, v. ii. 67. Seems to be a peculiarly Shakespearian use.

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 *tendringe* 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 Dreame* (xiv. 304):—

"And like a father that affection beares
So *tendred* he the poore with inward teares."

See Part II. III. i. 277 (note).

11. *Dizzy-eyed*] giddy, dazzled. Shakespeare has from fifteen to twenty compounds ending in *eyed*.

13. *clust'ring*] crowding, swarming. Compare Greene, *Alphonsus* (xiii. 333): "Such clients *clustred* to thy Court."

14. *blood . . . drench*] Peele has

"Thus into a lake of *blood* . . .
Hath *drencht* himself."

And in *Locrine*, ii. 4: "*drenched* in my foemen'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, younge Icary, young Chorœbi, 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* Ft. 25. *whether*] Ff 3, 4; *whither* Ff 1, 2.

young Babingtons, and how many millions of greene youthes haue in over-mounting most ruefully dismounted, and left behinde them full-lamentable Histories." And *Locrine* (Peele and Greene), i. 1:—

"Soaring with Icarus too near the sun
May catch a fall with young Bellerophon."

For "blossom," see note, *3 Henry VI.* v. v. 62.

18. *Thou antic death*] See *Richard II.* III. ii. 162. The buffoon, death. See too "old father *Antic* the law," *1 Henry IV.* I. ii. 69. Greene opened his play, *The Scottish Hystorie of Iames the Fourth*, with "a dance of Antiques" (Grosart, xiii. 205, 209).

19. *Anon*] A favourite line-beginning with Shakespeare.

19. *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 *Menaphon* (Grosart, vi. 98): "*tyrannising* so Lordlie ouer his boies . . . *insulting* ouer their children" (1589).

21. *lither*] pliant, supple. *New Eng. 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 hilld 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 translations.

23. *hard-favour'd*] See *3 Henry VI.* v. v. 78. It occurs nine times in Shakespeare. 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 I. 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;

32. *Enter . . . and forces.*] Cambridge; *Enter . . . and Pucelle.* Ff; *Alarums, Exeunt Soldiers and Servant bearing the two bodies, drums.* Capell. 35. *Talbot's, raging wood*] *Talbots raging wood,* Ff; *Talbot's, raging-wood* Capell, Cambridge. 42. *So . . . French*] F1; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4. 50. *Enter . . .*] Capell; *Enter Lucie.* Ff.

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.

35. *wood*] mad. See again *Venus and Adonis*, 740; *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 192. Greene has it in *Orlando Furioso* (xiii. 161): "Franticke companion, lunaticke and *wood*." Several times in Spenser's *Faerie Qusene*, and in Peele's *Edward I.*

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*."

41. *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 I. i. 129: "rush'd 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 forlorne 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.

67. *thrice-victorious*] See Introduction, p. xxxv.

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 Magnanimitie*, 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 not ce 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 terrour 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 Iohn Talbot, sometimes Earle of Shrewsburie, Lord Talbot, Lord Furnivall, Lord Verdon, Lord Strange de Black-Mere, and Mareshall of France: Who died in the battaile at Burdews, VII. Iulii. M.CCCC.LIII." 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 Bajazeth'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. 49); "all the hundred and thirty kingdoms" of the Turk occurs.

Him that thou magnifiest 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 beseems 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.

88. *proud commanding*] *proud-commanding* S. Walker (conj.). 89. *him*] Ff; *'em* Theobald, Cambridge.

75. *magnifiest*] 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"

(ed. Dyce, 421, b). And Greene in *Orlando Furioso* (xiii. 193): "Angry *Nemesis* sits on my sword"; and earlier in *Orpharion*.

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. 97:—

"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.*

94. *rid . . . what*] F 1; *rid of them, do with them what* Ff 2, 3, 4; *rid of them, do with 'em what* Malone, Cambridge. 96. *Exeunt*] Rowe; *Exit* Ff 1, 2, 3; omitted Ff 4.

92, 93. *ashes . . . phœnix*] This metaphor is repeated in *3 Henry VI.* 1. iv. 35 (see note); Golding's *Ovid* may be consulted (middle of last book).

93. *afeard*] Occurs about thirty times in Shakespeare.

94. *do with him*] See note at line 89, above.

95. *vein*] had a very free figurative use, but with no one more than Shakespeare, who adopts it constantly. Greene has it a few times: "hearing their Lady in so goode a *vaine*" (*Penelopes Web* (Grosart, v. 162), 1587). Prior to Shakespeare it generally stood alone, "in the vein" meaning in good form, in a happy mood.

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

Sennet] F 1; omitted Ff 2, 3, 4. 2. *Armagnac*] *Arminack* Ff.

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 aucthour and Arbiter of that great strife. . . . Wherefore by aucthoritie 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 . . . Vandosme. . . . Upon the day of the first session, the Cardinall . . . declared to the three parties the innumerable mischiefes . . . 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 . . . euery 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, callyng himselfe King of Sicile, Naples, and Ierusalem, having only the name and style of the same, without any peny profite or foote of possession. This mariage was made straunge to the Erle a good space. . . . eyther corrupted with bribes or to much affection to this unprofitable mariage, condiscended and agreed to their mocion, that the Duchie of Aniow, and the Countie of Mayne, should be released and deliuered to the king her father, demaunding for her mariage neyther peny nor farthing (as who would say) that this newe affinitie 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 immanity 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 . . . declaring 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.

10. *stablish*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare's plays. "Stablishment" occurs in *Antony and Cleopatra*. A very old form found in *Piers Plowman* (as "stablisse"). And in Grafton's *Chronicle* (vol. i. p. 359): "the King [Edward the Thirde] builded a Chappell of Saint George within the sayde Castell of Windsore, and *stablished* therein certein Chanons . . . and endued them with . . . possessions."

13. *immanity*] ferocity, monstrous cruelty. *New Eng. Dict.* has an earlier example. Not again in Shakespeare. Compare *A Warning for Faire Women*, ii. line 873 (Simpson's *School of Shakespeare*): "The horror of their foule *immanity*" (1599).

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
Lets *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 are we certainly resolv'd
To draw conditions of a friendly peace;
Which by my lord of Winchester we mean
Shall be transported presently to France.
Glou. 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 *Penelopes Web* (v. 200), 1587: "*sumptuous* attyre"; and *Alphonsus* (xiii. 388): "*sumptuous* triumphs"; and in *A Looking Glasse* (xiv. 11): "Ile 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* (1565-7).

23. *paramour*] "A thing of naught" (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV. ii. 12). See above, III. ii. 53: "lustful *paramours*." And meaning mistress, v. iii. 82 (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 trunchion 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 . . .*] Cambridge; *Exeunt.* Ff. 56. *Win.* [*Aside.*]] Cambridge; *Win.* Ff.

SCENE II.

SCENE II.] Capell; *Scena Tertia* Ff. *France*] Pope. *Plains in Anjou*] Capell. *Enter . . .*] Cambridge; *Enter . . . and Joyne* Ff. *Bastard, Reignier*] omitted Capell. *and Forces*] *and Forces, marching.* Capell; omitted Ff. 1. *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 (XIIIJ

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* Ff 2, 3, 4.

Yere, p. 179): "the losse . . . of the noble citee of Paris. For where before tymes there were sent over for the aide and tuicion of the touns and citees . . . thousands of men, apte 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 perceived . . . 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 citee of Paris brought again into the possession of the French kyng." But Paris was lost before the play began (see 1. i. 61-65), 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 "accomplisshe," which points to a fancied connection with "accomplish." *New Eng. Dict.* at the word *Accomplice* 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* (1584), where the term is used several times. "These vertues under these verses . . . are conteined in a *periapt* or tablet, to be continuallie worne 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 Alcyone by the noyse *admonisht* 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):—

> "Bacon, that bridles headstrong Belcephon,
> And rules Asmenoth, guider of the North,
> Bindes me from yielding unto Vandermast."

And p. 81:—

> "But proud Astmeroth, 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,

25. *lofty plumed*] Ff; *lofty-plumed* Capell, Cambridge.

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 bargaine 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 eate the flesh and drinke the bloud of men, women and children openly." So much for Scot on this point. In Middleton's *Witch* (Bullen's edition, v. 417):—

"[*A spirit like a cat descends.*
Voice above. Hecate.
"There's one comes down to fetch his dues,
A kiss, a coll, a sip of blood;
And why thou stayst 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.).

16. *In earnest*] prepayment to seal a bargain; handsel. Frequent in Shakespeare.

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: 30

29. *Re-enter La Pucelle . . .*] *Burgundie and Yorke fight hand to hand. French flye.* Ff.

"Ile make them *vayle* 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. 317, and *1 Henry IV.* IV. i. 98. See too Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (I. vii. 32):—

"Upon the top of all his *loftie crest*
A bounch of heares . . . Did shake."

Again:—

"They let their cruell weapons fall
And lowly did abase 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 "wooing 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 v. ii. 2. And 1430 (May 23) "is the historic date of La Pucelle's capture. On that day she accompanied a sally from Compiègne, 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 Ponthon of Xentrales, Ione the Puzell, and fiue 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 couragiously 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 extoled, alleging that by her Orleaunce was vitayled; by her King Charles was sacred at Reynes. . . . What blot is this to the French Nation! What more rebuke can be imputed to a renowned Region, then to affirme . . . that all notable victories . . . were gotten and achiued by a shepherdes daughter, a Chamberlein in an hostrie, and a beggers brat: which blinding the wittes of the French nation, by reuelations, dreames, and phantasticall visions, made them beleue things not to be supposed . . . if credite may be geuen to the actes of the Clergie . . . thys 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 sufficient 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 Vniversity of Pares, was there with great solempnity adjudged and condempned a superstitious Sorceresse and a diuelishe Blasphemere of God, and as an erronyous 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, whosoe'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 deceaued 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.* III. ii. 82. See *King John*, IV. ii. 90.

39. *plaguing*] tormenting, plaguy. See below, v. iv. 154.

42. *banning*] cursing. The verb occurs several times again, but the participial adjective not elsewhere. *New Eng. Dict.* gives one other example from Warner, 1581. Greene has it in *Menaphon*: "Wherefore no time by *banning* praiers shall pause, till proud she repent" (Grosart, vi. 106), 1589.

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. 43.

44. *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. *pay*] *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 fawne 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" (*Mamillia* (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*, I. 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 community 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 evidence). 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.

78, 79. *She's beautiful . . . She is a woman*] A stock expression of Greene's, and repeated in *Titus Andronicus*, II. i. 82, 83. Greene has it as follows: "Pasylla was a *woman*, and therefore to be wonne: if *beautiful* with prayses; if coie with praiers" (*Planetomachia* (Grosart, v. 56), 1585); "*shee is a woman* and therefore to be wonne with prayses or promises, for that *shee is a woman*" (*ibid.* 110). The first passage is repeated in *Perymedes the Blacksmith* (vii. 68). He has it again in *Orpharion* (xii. 31); and at page 78 in *Orpharion* (1588?): "Argentina *is a woman* & therfore to be wooed, & so to be won." See again in *Richard III.* I. ii. 228, 229.

82. *paramour*] See v. i. 23 (note).

84. *a cooling card*] anything that checks one's enthusiasm or moderates one's transports—*a cooler*. Not again in Shakespeare. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes 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 *Euphues*, 1579-80: "that he might bridle the overlashing affections . . . which he termed *a cooling card*" (Arber, p. 105). It occurs also in Gabriel Harvey's *Letters* (Grosart, i. 139), 1573; in *Mucedorus* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 250), 1598; in Nashe's *Have with you*, etc., 1596; in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Island Princess*, 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 carde* 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 Dodsley, vii. 155), 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* (*a..te* 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 marksmanship. 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 enthrall'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).

101. *enthrall'd*] taken prisoner. Not again in Shakespeare literally. Compare Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. 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. 41, the only parallel in Shakespeare, though "captivates" occurs in *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 115. In Greene.

109. *I cry you mercy*] I beg your pardon. See *Othello*, v. i. 69 (Arden edition, note).

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."

113. *servility*] slavery. Not again in Shakespeare.

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's fickleness.
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*, I. 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.

142. *face*] deceive, humbug, feign. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 1570 (Arber, p. 54):

"To laughe, to lie, to flatter, to *face;*
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* (ll. 504-506):—

"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. [*Going.*
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. 174. [*Going*] Cambridge; *Shee is going* Ff. 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.

176. *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

Suf. And this withal. [*Kisses her.*
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 semblance 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* Ff 2, 3, 4.

a blush, a flower's hue), is common in Greene, verb and noun. "Love" here has an impure sense of lust. Shakespeare uses "taint" or "tainted with" as a reproach in the plays. See Part III. III. i. 40.

186. *peevish*] silly, foolish.

188, 189. *labyrinth; There Minotaurs*] "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*, III. x. 40. Shakespeare has no other mention of the Minotaur, but he appears very frequently in Greene's euphuistical love-tales. Spenser has them again in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*: "Griffons, *Minotaures*, Crocodiles, Dragons, Beavers and Centaures."

192. *natural graces . . . art*] Compare for this sentiment, *King Lear*, IV. vi. 86; *All's Well that Ends Well*, II. i. 121; *Timon of Athens*, V. i. 88, etc.

192. *extinguish*] Only again in *Lucrece*, 313.

193. *Repeat their semblance*] reproduce the mental representation of them. Shakespeare was decidedly affected to this word "semblance," 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. 51, for the ordinary use of "semblance."

The foregoing scene is composed of such simple featureless verse, since Margaret'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 prosaic. 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" between Reignier and Suffolk see extract at the beginning of the Act, which covers the following scene as well, time and place being disregarded historically. 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.

SCENE IV.—*Camp of the Duke of York in Anjou.*

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; *2 Henry VI.* III. ii. 187, and *3*, 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 Shakespeare'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.
Shep. 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, avaunt! You have suborn'd this man,
Of purpose to obscure my noble birth.
Shep. '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,

singular). First born. This sense seems to have escaped *New Eng. Dict.* For fruit = offspring, see *3 Henry VI.* IV. iv. 24.

13. *bachelorship*] No other example in *New Eng. Dict.* excepting from Lamb's *Elia.* See note below at "attorneyship," V. v. 56.

14, 20, 32. *deny*] disown. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, II. ii. 34.

15. *This argues . . . kind of life*] Compare *2 Henry VI.* III. iii. 30: "So bad a death *argues* a monstrous life." See too *Othello*, III. iv. 38. This is evidence of Shakespeare, if needs be.

17. *obstacle*] "An old vulgar corruption of 'obstinate,' which has oddly lasted since our author's time till now" (Johnson). *New Eng. Dict.* has an example from a 1536 Will. Steevens quotes from Chapman's *May Day* (1611) and *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, 1631. He says further: "It may be met with in Gower."

18. *a collop of my flesh*] Ritson quoted from *The History of Morindos and Miracola*, 1609—a far cry. The expression is an old one, occurring in Golding's *Ovid* (v. 650-651):—

". . . my daughter is a Jewell deare and leefe;
A *collup of mine owne flesh* cut as well as out of thine."

So, too, in Heywood's *Proverbs* (1546), edited by Sharman, p. 49: "For I have heard say, it is a deare *collup* that is cut of th' owne flesh."

23. *noble*] Johnson made out some far-fetched explanation here "of the nobleman and royal man" (*1 King Henry IV.* II. iv. 321) which I have not pursued. The shepherd affects not to understand any meaning of "noble" except the pecuniary one, in a quite Shakespearian way. In "The XV Yere" of *Edward the Third*, Grafton says (vol. i. p. 347): "And in this yere the king caused a new coyne of Gold to be coyned called the *Noble*, of the value of vj shillings viij pence or ix pence, &c. Wherein was mixed and quartered the armes of Fraunce and England" (1339-1340).

25. *good my girl*] A favourite transposition of Shakespeare's, occurring in the majority of his plays. See note at *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 144 (Arden edition, p. 52).

27. *nativity*] See *Comedy of Errors*, IV. iv. 32 and *As You Like It*, IV. i. 36. Not commonly used in the ordinary sense of birth. For the sentiment compare Greene's *George-a-Greene* (Grosart, xiv. 131):—

"I say, Sir Gilbert, looking on my daughter,
I curse the houre that ere I got the girle."

And *Faerie Queene*, III. vi. 2:—

"The Hevens . . .
Looking with myld aspect upon the earth
In th' Horoscope of her *nativitee*."

28. *suck'dst*] See note at "meant'st," III. ii. 222, Part II. Occurs again *Coriolanus*, III. ii. 129, and *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 144. The use of these forms, now stilted or disused, belonged to the formerly much commoner "thou" and "thee." As in biblical language.

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. [*Exit.*

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 condemn'd:
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, p. xli.

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*, sublime '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."

32. *drab*] strumpet. Frequent in Shakespeare.

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 beleeue) 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, 53. *blood . . . cry for vengeance*] Compare *Richard II.* I. i. 104-106:—

"Whose *blood . . . cries . . .*
To me *for justice*"

(Genesis iv. 10).

56. *Spare for no faggots*] Compare *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. v. 66:

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; *discovet* Ff 1, 2. *Matchevile* F 4.

74. *Machiavel*] *Machevile* Ff 1, 2, 3;

"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 *spared 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. 191. "Forfended" (forbidden) 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 contempnars 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 Cæsar Borgia, the soueram Type of *Machiavels* Prince, wan the Dukedome 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 Alençon. 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* Ff.

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 punisht by the lawes 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 lenitie gave hir nine moneths staie, at the end wherof she (found herein as false . . .) was thereupon deliuered 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* thereon"

(*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.

88. *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 *Alcazar*, IV.

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 accursed minister of hell!

Enter Cardinal BEAUFORT, *Bishop of* WINCHESTER, *attended.*

Car. Lord regent, I do greet your excellence
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 1; *matters* Ff 2, 3, 4. 102. *travail*] *travel* Ff.

ii.: "Best, then, betimes t' avoid this *gloomy* storm." And *David and Bethsabe* (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 Shakespeare, 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 peaceful 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 liegemen 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?

115. *Bastard*] Ff; omitted Capell. *and others*] Capell; omitted Ff. 121. *poison'd*] *prison'd* Theobald. 133. *as*] *a* F 4.

120. *boiling*] In this sense is selected for ridicule in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Compare Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 583: "his wickednes *boylyng* 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 passeth by mine eye,
The fatal *poison* of my swelling heart"

in *Alcazar*, II. iii., where Dyce says the quarto reads "prison." In *Edward I.* (411, a, Routledge) he has

". . . in this painful prison of my soul
A world of dreadful sins holp there to fight."

Prisons were very poisoned places.

125. *lenity*] mildness. Twice in *3 Henry VI.* and in several other plays. Compare (Peele's) *Jack Straw*:—

"And though his looks bewray such *lenity*
Yet at advantage he can use extremity"

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 388). And *Selimus* (Grosart's Greene, xiv. 210): "My *lenitie* addes fuel to his fire."

131. *viceroy*] Compare *Tamburlaine*, Part II. v. i. (69, a): "Come, Asian *viceroys*." See below, l. 143. Only again (jocularly) in *The Tempest*.

133-135. *shadow . . . substance*] See note, II. iii. 37. Shakespeare never wearied of knocking these two words together.

Adorn his temples with a coronet,
And yet, in substance and authority,
Retain but privilege of a private man?
This proffer is absurd and reasonless.
Cha. '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*] *compremize* Ff. 155-158. [*To the Dauphin Aside.*] Hanmer 159-164. [*Aside to the Dauphin.*] Pope.

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. *cast from*] driven from. Compare *Cymbeline*, v. iv. 60.

150. *Stand'st . . . upon*] See note, II. iv. 28 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 "*incessaunt* labours" in the same play (p. 321). Several times in Spenser.

161. *ruthless slaughters*] "*ruthles* rage" occurs in *The Spanish Tragedy*, I. iv. 23.

163. *compact*] The earliest example of the substantive in *New Eng. Dict.* The use of the word points to Shakespeare's use of Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng* (1543): "But suche was the good fortune of Englande 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?
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,
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 inanimate 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.

5. *tempestuous gusts*] Occurs again in *Titus Andronicus*, v. iii. 69: "Scatter'd by winds and high *tempestuous gusts*," the only passage containing "tempestuous" in Shakespeare. "*Tempestuous* fortune" occurs in the *Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 25.

6. *Provokes*] impels.

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 literally, 2 Corinthians xi. 25. Greene has "make *shipwracke* of her chastitie" in *Penelopes Web* (Grosart, v. 209), 1587. And in Sharpham, *Cupid's Whirligig*, ii. (1607): "all his hopes will *suffer shipwreck*." See *Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 7:—

"make *shipwracke* violent
Both of their life and fame."

9. *fruition*] Not again in Shakespeare. Compare Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. v. iii. (73, a): "Deny my soul *fruition* of her joy."

". . . Absalon may glut his longing 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 *Othello*, I. i. 1, note (Arden edition). It occurs at least twenty times.

11. *preface*] Not met with elsewhere in Shakespeare. Compare Greene (and Marlowe), *Selimus* (Grosart, xiv. 234):—

"March to Natolia, there we will begin,
And make a *preface* to our massacres."

15. *ravish*] entrance, enchant. Common use in Shakespeare; "conceit," meaning imagination, of mind generally, 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 Triumphans* (Nichols' *Progresses*, ii. 555), 1588:—

"Yea, *which is more*, he 'll cause a devillish doult
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* (Hazlitt'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 unhonourable."

20. *I mean*] A weak unpoetical trick of Peele's. Compare *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt'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,

39. *my lord*] F 1; *my good lord* Ff 2, 3, 4.

"so good a gentleman
As is that knight Sir John Morton *I mean*,
Would entertain," etc.

See Part III. III. ii. 58. 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* (522, 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 *Cornelia*. And Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. i.:—

"I fear the custom . . .
Will never be *dispensed with* till our deaths."

29. *deface*] disfigure, soil. Not in Shakespeare's maturer work, but common at the time.

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, and Main,
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 plenteous oratory . . .
Nor left him not, till he for love was sick,
Beholding thee in my sweet rhetorick."

"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 expulsed Aquitain, Gascoine 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.
Glou. 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 preferr'd.
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. 55. *Marriage*] F 1; *But marriage* Ff 2, 3, 4. 60. *It most*] Rowe; *Most* Ff. 64. *bringeth*] F 1; *bringeth forth* Ff 2, 3, 4.

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. 103, and "protectorship," II. i. 30. "Lordship," too, gets a special sense in Part II. IV. vii. 4. 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 quadrisyllable. Steevens had "little confidence in this remark," and read "bringeth forth." Cŏntŏrārў 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 *Patterne* 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 attaint
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" (I. i. 127; III. ii. 99). Only again in *Macbeth*. With regard to this description of Margaret, compare Grafton, p. 625 (The XXIIJ Yere): "This woman excelled all other, as well in beautie and favour, as in wyt and pollicie, and was of stomacke and courage, more lyke to a man then a woman" (see line 71). See note at I. i. 127. Probably in one of the Chronicles.

76. *link'd*] similarly used in *3 Henry VI* IV. i. 116 ("*link'd* in friendship"); and in *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. 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. *attaint*] attainted, infected. See "taint" above, v. iii. 183. Compare Golding's *Ovid*, xiv. 68: "she sawe her hinderloynes with barking buggs *atteint*." And Peele, *Sir Clyomon*:—

"my heart to fight doth faint,
Therefore Ile take me to my legs,
seeing my honour I must *attaint*"

(531, b). And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 34: "Phœbus golden face it did *attaint*." See note at *attainted*, II. iv. 96 above.

86. *working of my thoughts*] Malone refers to *Henry V.* III. Prol. 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* streight." 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. 131. 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. [*Exit.*

Glou. Ay, grief, I fear me, both at first and last.
[*Exeunt Gloucester and Exeter.*

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.*

102. *Exeunt . . .*] Capell; *Exit Gloucester* Ff.

97. *censure*] judge, criticise.

101. *revolve and ruminate*] Occurs again in *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 198: "*revolve and ruminate* himself." Oftener without than with "on" in Shakespeare. Compare Greene, *Orlando Furioso* (xiii. 140): "There solemnely 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 remodelling. 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."

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