THE TRAGEDY

OF

KING RICHARD THE THIRD
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INTRODUCTION

Six quarto editions of *The Life and Death of Richard III.* were published before the appearance of the folio of 1623. The title of the first quarto is: THE TRAGEDY OF | King Richard the third. | Containing, | His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: | the pittiefull murther of his innocent nephewes: | his tyrannicall vsurpation: with the whole course | of his detested life, and most deserued death. | As it hath beene lately Acted by the | Right honourable the Lord Chamber- | laine his servants. | AT LONDON | [Prinf]ted by Valentine Sims, for Andrew Wise, | dwelling in Paules Chuch-yard [sic], at the | Signe of the Angell. | 1597.

In the title of the second quarto (1598), printed for Wise by Thomas Creede, the words “By William Shake-speare” occupy a new line after “servants.” The fourth, fifth, and sixth quartos also spell the author’s name with a hyphen. The third quarto (1602), also printed by Creede, gives it as “Shakespeare,” and adds, in a line above, the words “Newly augmented” followed by a comma, which appear in the titles of the remaining quartos. The fourth (1605) and the fifth (1612) were printed by Creede for “Mathew Lawe, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the Foxe, neare S. Austin’s Gate.” The title of the fifth alters the title of the actors to “the Kings Maiesties servants.” As the licence by virtue of which the Lord Chamberlain’s players became the King’s bears date 19 May, 1603, this alteration probably should have appeared in the previous quarto. It occurs in the rest. The sixth quarto (1622) was printed for Law by Thomas Purfoot; the seventh (1629) and eighth (1634) by John Norton.

The title of the play in the first folio (1623) is: The
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The Tragedy of Richard the Third: | with the Landing of Earle Richmond, and the | Battell at Bosworth Field. The pages are headed: The Life and Death of Richard the Third. The play is divided into acts and scenes. The fourth scene of Act III. includes scenes iv.-vii. as at present arranged. In Act IV. there are four scenes instead of five, scenes ii. and iii. being treated as one. The second scene of Act V. embraces scenes ii.-v. of the modern editions.

While the quarto editions present many internal variations, they form one text of the play which was derived originally from Q 1, and in the remaining editions underwent steady degeneration. Q 1 is the basis of the text of Q 2; Q 2 supplies a basis for Q 3, and transmits to it, as a general rule, its own characteristic errors and variations. The rest of the quartos, with one possible exception, follow the same plan of reprinting the most recent edition, so that, in each, the accumulation of printer’s errors and alterations grows. The Cambridge editors hold that Q 5 was printed, not from Q 4, but from Q 3. For the present edition a minute examination has been made of Qq 1-4 and Q 6; but for Q 5 the editor has relied upon the Cambridge collation. But his impression is that of Mr. P. A. Daniel, who thinks that the Cambridge collation “suggests that Q 5 was printed from a copy made up of Q 3 and Q 4.” It is sufficient to refer to the first scene of the play, where, at lines 8, 14, 39, 48, 71, the debt of Q 5 to the errors of Q 4 is perfectly manifest. Very probably, as the play advanced, the printer realised that he had been guilty of heinous mistakes in Q 4, and, to avoid them, consulted the copy which in 1602 he had printed for another bookseller. He may have referred, as at I. i. 65, to Q 2, which he also had printed, to correct an error shared by Q 3 and Q 4. But the assumption that Q 5 was not, in the first place, printed from Q 4, involves a number of undesigned coincidences in error between the two editions, which are quite improbable.

A point of greater textual importance is the statement, in Q 3 and its successors, that the play had been “newly augmented.” The possible bearing of these words on its authorship will be discussed later. As a matter of fact, the text received no
augmentation in the later quartos. Q 3 is indeed responsible for numerous variations from its predecessors: many of these, where they happen to agree with readings in the folios, have taken their place in both the established versions of the text; and it has been a very general opinion that Q 3 was used as one of the authorities for the first folio. But, even if we allow the highest importance to these readings, they cannot be described as "augmentations." It seems unjust to conclude that the printer wished to attract fresh customers by false pretences. Nor have we any evidence that the author, having guaranteed some additions, failed to make good his promise, and that the title-page, printed in anticipation of the fulfilment of that promise, could not be cancelled. The most probable sense which the words can be made to bear is, that the Q text in all its forms is an augmentation of some earlier play, and that these words should have appeared on the title-pages of Q 1 and Q 2, as well as of the later quartos.

The F text, which is common to all the folios, leaves the general form of the play unaltered; but the variations from the Q text which it contains are so many and important, that the question of its derivation and independent value becomes a most intricate problem. The discrepancies between F and Q (as it is convenient, for the sake of brevity, to call the two versions of which F 1 and Q 1 are the original forms) may be summed up under the following general heads:

(1) Lines or passages peculiar to F;
(2) Lines or passages peculiar to Q;
(3) Variations in lines, phrases, or single words, pointing to a possible revision of one version by the other;
(4) Variations in stage-directions.

The problem which these points raise is concerned with the priority of the texts. Is F a revised and lengthened form of Q; or is Q a revised and shortened form of F? Or, supposing them to be independent revisions of a common original, which should we prefer as the basis for a modern text of the play?

(1) There are in F about 196 lines of ordinary length, 15 short lines, and 17 half-lines or parts of lines, which are additions to the text as represented by Q. In some cases the omission
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of these passages from Q can be accounted for quite simply, e.g. at I. iv. 36, 37, where the first printer of Q evidently has united the beginning of one line to the end of the next, by a careless, but quite intelligible mistake, which the printer of F has not made. But there are many passages which, if they existed in the original text, cannot have been overlooked accidentally by the original editor or printer of Q. At I. ii. 155-66, II. ii. 89-100, III. vii. 144-53, IV. i. 97-103, IV. iv. 222-35, the F additions are of some length and importance; while at IV. iv. 291-345 the new matter amounts to 55 lines. It is obvious that, at the first appearance of Q in 1597, these passages either did not exist, or were omitted deliberately by the editor. In the first case, they must be later additions, forming part of a revision the result of which was F; in the second case, they must have formed part of the original text, and, as such, establish a claim for F to represent the play as written by the author.

(2) On the other hand, Q contains twenty-three ordinary and nineteen short lines which are not to be found in F. Of these, fourteen ordinary and four short lines occur in a single passage, vis. IV. ii. 98-115. When this is deducted from the rest, the matter peculiar to Q is seen to be inconsiderable. Either the editor of F omitted these lines, in some cases wilfully, in others perhaps accidentally; or he had access to a text of the play which supplied the authority for their omission. That text, it is clear, either was revised by Q, or was itself a revision of Q. On the first supposition, these additions are easily explained: on the second, it is hard to see on what principle the reviser, while adding so much, cut out so little, and that little so unimportant; while it is impossible to account for his omission of the one important passage in IV. ii.

(3) The numerous minor differences between Q and F are recorded in the collation which accompanies this text. No attempt at their classification can be wholly satisfactory. In general, they are variations on words and phrases, and indicate that a very minute revision has been exercised, either on Q by the editor of F, or by the editor of Q on the text of which F is representative. Certain systematic differences may be noticed. For "which" in Q, we usually find "that" in F.
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Where Q has "betwixt," F has "between." In F we find greater metrical consistency throughout: lines which, in Q, are irregular or hypermetric, become smooth and regular. The passage at I. iv. 84-159, which is printed by Q in a kind of spurious verse, is arranged in F as prose. F also avoids repetitions, which occur in Q, of the same word in a few lines, or transposes words from their arrangement in Q. The student who compares the two texts for himself can hardly fail to recognise that, in point of regularity and order, the balance is in favour of F.

(4) The stage-directions in F are fuller and more perfect than those in Q. Certain minor parts appear in F, which Q either neglects or partly suppresses. The result is a gain in clearness to F, although, in one case, the duplication of the part of Brakenbury in I. iv. by that of the Keeper, the alteration seems unnecessary. It is of course possible that the addition of entrances, exits, and other more minute directions may be entirely due to the editor of F; and the utmost that they can be made to prove is his zeal for accuracy and definiteness.

From the dates of publication, it is obvious that F, as a printed text, is later than Q. Probably it was never edited for the press until a little before its appearance in 1623. Appearing at that time, it is probably a revision, to a certain extent, of Q, the hitherto accepted text of the play. There are three main possibilities with regard to the genesis of this revision. It may have been the arbitrary work of the editor. It may have been derived from an original source which was either inaccessible to the editor of Q, or was used by him with arbitrary alterations. Or, thirdly, it may represent a personal revision of the text by the author, after the appearance of the play on the stage and the publication of Q 1.

This third view is substantially the view taken by Pope and Johnson. It involves the existence in 1623 of a MS. of the play, or, at least, an annotated copy of one of the quartos, containing the author's final alterations of his original text, with additions and a few excisions. It seems certain, if this corrected text existed, that the editor of F compared it with Q. The result would be a text which, depending for the most part on
this conjectural document, would accept here and there a reading of Q whose origin is probably to be found in the later quartos. Oversights on the part of the editor, and mistakes on the part of the printer, must be allowed for in this as in all other theories.

Many editors, in more recent times, have taken the clearly defined view that Q is a revision, for dramatic purposes, of an original text represented by F. Howard Staunton regarded the long passages peculiar to F as deliberately omitted "to accelerate action," and to "afford space for the more lively and dramatic substitutions which are met with in the quartos alone." For the first of these statements there is much to be said: the omission of such passages as those in IV. iv. for this purpose, is more credible than their subsequent addition for no apparent purpose at all. But the presence of those substitutions which Staunton praised is very questionable. As we have seen, the additions in Q are, with one exception, insignificant and immaterial.

The authority of Q was asserted on other grounds by the Cambridge editors. In their view both Q and F are of Shakespearean origin. Of the author's original MS., which they called A I, a transcript (B I) was made for the theatre library; and from this transcript, with its accidental faults and omissions, Q I was printed. However, at some unspecified time, the author undertook a complete revision of the play, correcting the original MS. with marginal notes and interlineations, and adding new matter here and there on inserted leaves. At some time, probably after the author's death, this corrected MS. (A 2) was taken in hand by a transcriber, whose copy of it (B 2) was intended probably to take the place of B I, now worn and tattered, in the theatre library. To judge from the internal evidence of F I, which was printed from this new transcript, the transcriber "worked in the spirit, though not with the audacity, of Colley Cibber," altering words, even where it was unnecessary, to avoid their recurrence, or to correct a supposed metrical defect; or now and then modifying a word that, in the course of time, was become obsolete. The editor of F I, therefore, in addition to some unique Shakespearean matter, accepted much that is
non-Shakespearean. It follows that the Cambridge editors, while admitting all the additions (two lines excepted) which are peculiar to F, took Q I as the basis of their text.

The cardinal point of the Cambridge theory is the existence of the lawless transcriber. In 1872, Delius, writing in the Jahrbuch of the German Shakespeare Society, brought forward his theory that Q I was nothing more than a pirated edition of the play, in which an unknown editor mangled the original text at his own discretion. Delius' contempt for this "poetaster" surpassed in measure the Cambridge editors' allusions to their "nameless transcriber." For his theory there is one strong argument, to be derived from the preface to F 1. His hypothesis makes good the editors' statement that they were restoring the plays "cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and ... absolute in their numbers," to a public that hitherto had been "abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies."

Spedding's exhaustive paper, read before the New Shakespeare Society in 1875, maintained the case for F against the Cambridge editors. The most interesting part of his argument is his enumeration of alterations in F which, in his judgment, could not have been made by the author, but were due, for the most part, to editorial and press misunderstandings of marginal corrections, etc., in the MS. from which F I was prepared. In a detailed criticism of Spedding's paper, Mr. E. H. Pickersgill supported the main contentions of the Cambridge editors. He definitely regarded the author's final version of his MS. as anterior to the publication of Q I, which was founded on the actors' copy of the play, omitting the long passages, afterwards inserted in F, for the sake of shortening the dramatic representation. He admitted the presence of a number of blunders in Q, which were afterwards corrected or avoided in F. But the "nameless transcriber" was still made responsible for much tampering with the text. The theory advanced by Koppel, in his Textkritische Studien über Shakespeare's Richard III. (1877), is similar in detail to Pickersgill's, but does not adopt the conclusion as to the "nameless transcriber."

The exceptional scholarship and judgment of the Cambridge editors gives much weight to their elaborate theory. But very
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few students of the two texts, even while admitting the traces of a corrector’s hand in F, will agree with their low estimate of his skill. His text is more smooth and regular; but very seldom is it noticeably less vigorous on that account. Where single words differ, there is generally nothing to choose between the texts. No one has put down the additions in F to the credit of a corrector other than the author himself. As to the omissions in F, when we have deducted the long passage in IV. ii., the rest are of so little importance that it is impossible to discover the grounds on which Staunton characterised them as “terse and vigorous bits of dialogue.” And, after a careful and prolonged study of the texts, the present editor, while giving full weight to the editor or editors’ and printer’s responsibility for errors in F, is unable to distinguish its debt to a “nameless transcriber” from that which it may owe to the author’s original version of the play. In short, he sees nothing in F which precludes it from consideration as a return, in the main faithful and accurate, to the author’s own text, containing passages that had been omitted in Q, and superseding Q as a trustworthy and definite version of the play. On the other hand, the source of Q seems to him to be the stage version of the play, shortened at certain points from the original text, and garnished here and there with a line which breaks up the dialogue or illustrates the action of the play more fully. It is possible, too, that the editor of Q revised his text by comparing it with a performance of the play on the stage, or with his reminiscences of such a performance; for several of his readings are best explained as slips of memory or free interpolations on the part of an actor. When the editors of F I charged themselves with curing and perfecting the received text, they doubtless compared one or more editions of Q with a MS.—either the original or a careful transcript—of the play as originally written.

Mr. P. A. Daniel, in his preface to Mr. Griggs’ facsimile of Q I, has given an explanation of this process which sets the whole matter in a very clear light. He believes F to represent the author’s text of the play: Q to be a shortened and revised copy of that text. The editor of F carefully revised the text
of one of the quartos by the original MS., and sent the corrected volume, with his deletions, interlineations, and marginal additions, to the printer. Comparing F i with the quartos, Mr. Daniel finds that, for two doubtful readings shared by it with Q 1, and for one shared with each of the editions Q 3, Q 4, and Q 5, nine, at least, are shared with Q 6. These nine may be increased to twelve, by adding three probable cases. It is thus probable that Q 6 was the copy corrected by the editor of F, who overlooked a few words or wrong letters. The printer took over this copy, and brought F into being, with a certain number of errors and misunderstandings due to the crowded state of the revised page.

To almost every case of difficulty which meets the textual student, Mr. Daniel's hypothesis may be applied with a more than plausible result; and, in the text which the present editor has followed, he has endeavoured to act on the principles laid down by Mr. Daniel as a corollary to his proposition. At the same time, in examining the several variations between the texts, the editor has tested them by the other theories that have been put forward for their solution. While founding his text on F, he has accepted such readings from Q as seem to him to be deliberate improvements; and at II. i. 66-8 and II. iv. 1, 2, both highly debateable passages, he has ventured to retain the Q readings which have been rejected, on grounds which appear to him not sufficiently strong, by many editors.

Special instances will be found fully treated in the notes which supplement the text. One point, however, calls for further mention. The collation shows that, for the first 150 lines or so of III. i., and from about v. iii. 80 to the end of the play, the editor of F i found little to alter in his copy of Q. Where he made alterations, it is highly probable that he made them on his own responsibility. Reference to Q 1 or Q 2 at these passages shows us several times that, where the latter quartos are wrong, the earlier contain a satisfactory reading, which, we cannot doubt, he would have adopted had he possessed authority to guide him. The inference is that his MS. was wanting at these points, and that he had to depend on a later quarto and his own instinct. Again, in I. i., where
the variations between the texts are very few, the readings of the earlier quartos in several cases have a weight that cannot be attributed to F. A case in point is I. i. 65, where F reads "That tempts him to this harsh Extremity." This is an obvious correction of a reading common to Qq 2, 5, and 6, "That tempts him to this extremity." We might assume, as we can assume in most cases, that the editor of F I found the omitted word "harsh" in the original MS., and inserted it accordingly. But, in Q I, we find a better and more satisfactory reading, "That tempers him to this extremity," which needs no alteration. It seems likely that, in the MS. from which Q I was derived, "tempers" was written in its abbreviated form "temps," and that Q 2, not noticing the abbreviation, took the word from the same MS. as "temps." Q 3 likewise used the MS., and printed it "temps," without regard to sense. In Q 5, this meaningless word was altered to the more obvious "tempts," and so F I found it printed in Q 6. Nothing is more likely than that the opening pages of the authentic MS. were torn or illegible from use and the lapse of time. Finding no help here, the editor emended the metre of the line by inserting the word "harsh." To judge from the reading, the early leaves of the MS. were wanting or illegible in part; while the closing leaves, and a leaf or two in the middle, were totally illegible or had perished. There has been a very general opinion that, in passages where original authority was wanting, the editor of F I resorted to a copy of Q 3. This may have been the case; but there is no circumstance which tends to show that, to his copy of Q 6, he added in these instances anything more than a talent for cautious emendation.

Richard III., dramatically as well as historically, is a sequel to the three parts of Henry VI., in which Shakespeare's share is generally admitted to have been that of a reviser. The question naturally arises whether Shakespeare was the author of Richard III., or merely the editor and reviser of a sequel to those plays on which he had been engaged previously. Mr. Daniel holds that the play was really the work of the author or authors of the Henry VI. plays, and was revised by Shakespeare. Mr. Fleay looks upon it as a Shakespearean recension
and completion of an unfinished play by Marlowe, so thorough that any distinction between the original text and the revision is impossible. The only considerations on which an answer can be founded depend upon the style and date of the drama.

(i) The evidence of style places Richard III., beyond all doubt, among Shakespeare's earliest plays. Apart from the ordinary metrical tests, which, applied whether to Q or F, do not differ materially in the result, the verse has everywhere that rhetorical accent with which Marlowe had stamped the language of the stage. The spirit of the verse is in keeping with its accent. No passage can be singled out as an example of that vein of reflective sentiment which, at a not much later date, Shakespeare expressed with so great a command of imagery. The most striking passages, Clarence's account of his dream in I. iv., and Tyrrel's narrative of the murder of the princes in IV. iii., are little more than evenly written pieces of description, with a certain amount of smooth eloquence and picturesque colour. Richard's soliloquies in I. i. and I. ii. are clearly the work of the hand which was responsible for his soliloquies in 3 Henry VI. III. ii. and V. vi. He declares his aims in the vigorous rhythm which Marlowe makes his heroes use, explicit in sense and full of sound. These speeches, indeed, might have been written by Marlowe in a restrained mood, in which his habitual rhetoric was sobered by a consciousness of his dramatic purpose. If the programme which they reveal is outrageous, their actual words are free from the grotesqueness with which Marlowe's Barabas relates his iniquities, and from the extravagance of the wildly poetic "lunes" of Tamburlaine. On the other hand, they have not that depth of living passion which Marlowe sounds in Tamburlaine's rhapsody on Divine Zenocrate, or in the last soliloquy of Faustus.

And, as a matter of fact, where Marlowe worked, as in Edward II., with greater self-restraint, his style has not much in common with that of Richard III. The classical allusions, which fill Edward II., and are very noticeable in the Henry VI. plays, are nearly absent from Richard III. The formal tragic style of such a passage as the lamentation of the women in Richard III. IV. iv., has a stateliness which we miss in Edward II.
but it has not that lyric fervour which give certain passages of Edward II. a pathos that redeems their crudeness. It is conceivable, in short, that Marlowe may have written much of Richard III.; but we have nothing from his hand which goes to prove that he must have had a part in it. It may be said that the style of the play is a distinct advance on the style of Titus Andronicus, which is closely akin to the style of Marlowe's most literal imitators. The individual quality of its rhetoric has been trained by previous work on the Henry VI. plays; while probably the congeniality of a tragic figure like Richard to a taste founded on Marlowe's models has given an opportunity for the independent expression of that quality. Any tendency to exaggeration is softened by an increasing sense of the relation between the dramatist's art and life itself. If we allow Shakespeare to have had any part in the play, then Richard III., whatever may be its debt to older material, shows witness of his hand, at a time when he has reached the stage of untrammelled expression of his meaning, but is still partly dependent on his models for the form that his work takes, and has yet to handle the highest gifts of poetry. The declamatory vigour of Richard III. gathers fresh life in the complaints of Constance and the ecstasies of Romeo and Juliet. Its echo is still audible in the balanced melody of the plays of Shakespeare's middle life. And, tame as it is in comparison, it is the first sign of the possibility of that eloquence, compact of fire and air, and pregnant with "immortal longings," which is the case for the huge spirits of his great tragedies.

(2) In date, then, Richard III. probably follows immediately upon the third part of Henry VI. No allusion exists to settle the year in which the play was first produced. John Weever's epigram to "honie-tong'd Shakespeare," which selects the poems of 1593-4 and the characters of Romeo and Richard for praise, was not published till 1599. It may have been written, as has been conjectured, as early as 1595; but this cannot be proved. All that can be said is that Weever probably chose the names of Romeo and Richard for mention, on account of their popularity on the stage. A book of Epigrammes and
Elegies by J. D. and C. M., first published about 1596, contains lines which were probably imitated from Richard's opening soliloquy on his want of polite accomplishments:

I am not fashion'd for these amorous times,
To court thy beauty with lascivious rhymes;
I cannot dally, caper, dance, and sing,
Oblige my saint with supple sonnetting.

Collier found, in The Rising to the Crown of Richard the Third, appended to Giles Fletcher's Licia (1593), evidence that Richard had not yet appeared as a hero on the stage, when the poem was written. Fletcher makes Richard complain of "the Poets of this Age,

Like silly boats in Shallow rivers tost,
Losing their pains, and lacking still their wage,
To write of Women, and of Women's falls."

But the dramatists of 1593 could not be charged with exclusive attention to female misfortune. And if the third part of Henry VI. had appeared before September, 1592, as is probable from the famous allusion in Greene's Groats-worth of Wit, Richard III., in which the strong outlines of the character of Gloucester are developed directly from the earlier play, must have followed soon after, probably in the course of 1593. It is the most natural thing to conclude that Shakespeare, having revised the plays which dealt with the tragedy of the house of Lancaster, and having set his own mark on the revision, with increasing certainty of touch as the work proceeded, should continue the series, whether as author or reviser, to the culminating tragedy in which the house of York pays the penalty of its vengeance, and the destroyer of his own family is himself exterminated. And naturally, again, when Richard III. had proved a success on the stage, the dramatist would see what could be done with the original events that were the prime cause of all these sorrows, and so undertook the tragedy of Richard II. The relative chronology of Richard III. and Richard II. is an unsettled question, it is true; but it is difficult to disprove the patent fact that Richard II. shows just that degree of advance on Richard III. in poetic, if not in
metrical and dramatic skill, which we might expect. There is nothing in Richard III., which can compare, on grounds of poetry, with the dialogue between John of Gaunt and Bolingbroke in Richard II. i. iii. 275-303, Gaunt’s dying speech (II. i. 31-68), the King’s reflections (III. ii. 144-77, III. iii. 143-75), or York’s description of Richard’s captive entry into London (v. ii. 7-40). In these passages the rhetoric of Richard III. has lost self-consciousness and has acquired fresh grace. If the date of Richard II. is not later than 1594, as is generally acknowledged, it may be assumed that Richard III. was Shakespeare’s chief work of 1593.

May it be taken, then, as Shakespeare’s own unaided work? His authorship of the play cannot be denied positively. We have no traces of any play on which he could have exercised his revision—not even of any play from which the text that he revised, like that of Henry VI., could have been derived. The comparative evenness of the style shows that the revision, if revision it was, was performed with great skill. There is a concentration and liveliness in the action, which are less noticeable in such hurried chronicles of events as the three parts of Henry VI. The occasional humour of the Henry VI. plays is certainly almost wanting in Richard III.; but they are far surpassed by Richard III. in point of dramatic irony. Certain weaknesses which may be detected here and there—for example, Richard’s soliloquy on waking from his dreams, in v. iii.—may be explained by the probability that Shakespeare was attempting more than a young dramatist might be expected to achieve on his own account. Such points of style as the abandonment of classical similes favour the supposition that the reviser of the earlier plays was now working as an independent author. The theory that the origin of Richard III. was similar to that of the three parts of Henry VI. is attractive and not improbable. But, on the other hand, if we recognise that there is such a thing in Shakespeare’s work as a current of development and improvement, we cannot surrender whatever seems feeble or commonplace in it to other authors, unless probability is supported by something stronger than itself. Richard III., inferior though it is to Shakespeare’s more mature writings, is nevertheless far
from being feeble or commonplace. On the contrary, it is conspicuous, among the plays of Marlowe's followers, for its dramatic skill and interest.

There doubtless was an existing play on the same subject, when Richard III. appeared on the stage for the first time. The True Tragedie of Richard III., published in 1594, "as it was played by the Queenes Maiesties Players," covers much the same ground as the Shakespearean play; but there is no textual connexion between the two. Possibly the True Tragedie was an earlier play, whose publication as the "only original" Richard III. was intended to steal a march upon its successful younger rival. But, if Shakespeare simply revised an older drama, the text and original sources of that drama have disappeared altogether. The chief argument in favour of the revised play may be found, perhaps, in the words "newly augmented," which were prefixed to Shakespeare's name for the first time in Q 3. It has been shown already that these words are not true, if applied merely to the editions in which they occur. But it is possible that they supply an omission which had been made in the title-pages of the earlier quartos. Q 1 had been printed without the author's name. In Q 2 Shakespeare had been introduced as the author. Four years later, when Q 3 appeared, his true relation to the play may have been discovered; and it is not unlikely that the words "newly augmented" were inserted to rectify the impression, created by Q 2, that he was the original author. Nothing is more probable than that the publisher of an unauthorised edition of the play should be insufficiently informed as to its true authorship. The word "newly," which was continued on the title-pages of the later quartos, might easily be applied to work which had been done some years before the publication of Q 3. In short, Q, from this point of view, may be regarded as the text of an earlier play augmented by Shakespeare. We might even go further, and surmise that many of the roughnesses of Q were left unsmoothed from the original drama, and that the process of augmentation came before that of revision, which eventually was accomplished in the text represented by F. This view would not diminish, but corroborate the im-
portance of F as the true basis of a text of the play. It is, however, a mere conjecture; and the only conclusions at which we can arrive safely are, that the text as we have it is substantially Shakespeare's, and that either, as in the Henry VI. plays, he embroidered skilfully upon an older text, or wrote an entire new play in a style to which, by practice, his own was become assimilated.

Beside the True Tragedie of Richard the Third, there was a Latin play on the same theme by Thomas Legge, Master of Caius, which had been acted at Cambridge in 1579. But the real source of the material used for Richard III. was Holinshed's Chronicles of England, in which Halle's earlier chronicle and the History of Richard III. by Sir Thomas More were embodied almost literally. A reading at v. iii. 325, which is shared by all the printed editions of the play, shows that the second edition of Holinshed (1586-7) must have been used in the preparation of Richard III.: the passage at iv. ii. 98-115, peculiar to Q, depends on an insertion added to the same edition. It goes without saying that the treatment of the historical sources in Richard III. is free in general, but faithful in minor details. To form a connected action, the events of several years are brought together into a space of time which Mr. Daniel has estimated at eleven days with certain intervals. Thus the imprisonment and death of Clarence (I. i. and iv.) took place in 1478. The events of I. ii., if they were historically possible, would belong to 1471. From II. i. to IV. iv., the events of 1483 follow one another in rapid succession. At the end of IV. iv., the interval between Richmond's separate expeditions of 1483 and 1485 is annihilated, and the drama moves on to its climax at Bosworth. The dramatic convenience of these alterations is obvious: accuracy of date is incompatible, in the space of five acts, with striking presentation of character. The main object of the play is to give bold dramatic relief to the figure of Richard III., whose traits were ready to hand in Holinshed. This is the object of the liberty which is taken with history in the famous scene between Richard and Lady Anne—a scene which has no foundation in fact, but is a most powerful demonstration of the personal influence of the hero on
those round him. The interview with the Queen-dowager in IV. iv., where Richard again exercises his faculty of persuasion, is a free deduction from history for the same purpose. Richard's connivance at the death of Clarence, which the historical authorities merely insinuate, becomes in the play a positive fact. The impression of subtlety and wickedness, which is left by the chroniclers, is repeated by Shakespeare in the higher key and more emphatic tone which are required by drama. Now and then, the Shakespearean estimate of a particular character departs slightly from the estimate suggested by Holinshed. The Hastings of the play, vindictive, but gay and imprudent, is a more foolish person than the Hastings of history, who is more closely related to the Shakespearean Buckingham. Even Buckingham is represented as less cautious than he actually was. His bragging, melodramatic words in III. v. 5-11 amount to a confession of imbecility. Hastings and Buckingham, however, are merely dramatic foils to the figure of Richard; and, as such, the depreciation of their characters is unavoidable. Finally, some of the doubtful minor details of history become, where it is necessary in the play, actual facts. This is the case with the confidences of Richard to Buckingham, for which there is only historical probability; while the manner of Clarence's murder is related in accordance with likelihood rather than with ascertained truth.

The treatment of history in Richard III. is guided everywhere by loyalty to the traditional principles of tragedy. The irresistible power of Nemesis over-rules the actions of every one of the characters. In the great tragedies of Shakespeare's later life, the misfortunes of the heroes compel our sympathy and regret, while we acknowledge that they are inevitable. But in Richard III. the inevitable nature of the tragedy precludes us from sympathy. We are passionless spectators, standing outside the drama. It is true that the dramatis personae interest us more nearly than any persons in the Henry VI. plays. Richard himself is a powerful study in sustained villanry: Hastings, his credulous dupe, and Buckingham, his short-sighted fellow-conspirator, although they are merely foils to him, are skilfully drawn as such. There is a pathetic humour
in the precocious taunts of young York: the lamentations of the women and children whom Richard has bereaved have real pathos beneath their outward formality. But the abiding power of the tragedy lies in its clear presentation of the moral significance of the events which it relates. *Raro antecedentem seculorum deseruit pede Pana clando* are words which would suggest themselves as a fit motto for the play, were it not that here vengeance follows at the very heels of crime. Richard has not had time to enjoy his triumph, when the first blow of vengeance strikes him. Hastings, in the moment of exultation at the death of his enemies, finds himself a partaker in their fate. Buckingham hastens his own downfall by hesitating at the last crime by which he can ensure temporary success. The ruin of Rivers and his friends, the helpless misery of the women, are hurried on by their selfish ambition and intrigue.

It would be inaccurate to say that the author of *Richard III.* was profoundly moved by the spectacle of sin and its punishment in history. The doctrine was the conventional foundation of the tragic art which he practised. Expressed with pious conviction or reluctant acquiescence by the great Athenian dramatists, it had been accepted as an artificial principle by the author of the Senecan tragedies. In the dawn of the Renaissance, the “harm of hem that stode in heigh degree” was a favourite theme of prose and poetry, of which, in England, *The Myrroure for Magistrates* was the crowning example. The frigid atmosphere of that grave poem was the atmosphere of tragedy on the early Elizabethan stage, where Seneca was the formal model of drama. The tragic propriety of *Gorboduc* stirs no emotion of sympathy or horror, beyond the natural repugnance which we feel towards its fatal catastrophes. The crimes and punishment of Queen Eleanor in Peele's *Edward I.* are merely grotesque. In Lodge and Greene’s *Looking-Glass for London*, a certain sincerity of feeling underlies the artless machinery of the story. But, in plays like *The Wounds of Civil War*, Greene's *James IV.*, or the three parts of *Henry VI.*, the tragic groundwork is a matter of course; and our estimate of such works depends on the degree of skill with which their leading principle is developed. The same
thing, allowing for the exceptional horrors of the action, may
be said of *Titus Andronicus*. *Richard III.* is almost the first
tragedy of the school of Marlowe, in which the conventional
element, used and developed with great clearness, is invested
with a real human interest. The characters are something
more than mere stage dolls, moved to and fro as the action of
the play prescribes. Yet their sin and fate, if they compel
our interest, leave our deeper emotions untouched. They are
still matters of course. The dramatist has not won as yet that
insight into the springs of human sin and folly which gives
*Othello* or *King Lear* their eternal pathos. His characters are
drawn in simple outline and with uniform colouring. They
are good or bad without compensation. They sin without re-
flexion: their punishment is purely mechanical. Richmond,
the ultimate avenger, is the most lifeless figure of the play: he
is merely the instrument of justice. To the author, in fact, the
whole course of such a tragedy was perfectly obvious. It
would have been impossible for him, at this date, to make
Hastings say, in the hour of his misfortune:—

> As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods;
> They kill us for their sport.

Margaret or Elizabeth could not yet acknowledge that:—

> The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
> Make instruments to plague us.

Richmond could not yet confess, over the body of his slain
adversary:—

> This shows you are above,
> You justicers, that these our nether crimes
> So speedily can venge.

In *Richard III.*, as in *King Lear*, the wheel comes full circle;
but the dramatist watches its revolution with imperfect experi-
ence, and, as a consequence, with little emotion.

His artistic sympathy is concentrated on the figure of his
hero. Every actor in the story receives his degree of life from
association with Richard and contact with his malign influence.
But, when we speak of the character of the hero and its effect on
the play, we recognise in its design the same simplicity which
distinguishes the author’s perception of the tragic principle. Richard is an ideal conception after the pattern of Marlowe’s heroes. Already his audacity, his determination to stick at nothing, have given him heroic prominence in the third part of *Henry VI.*—a prominence which leaves Warwick, the real hero of the piece, in the background. This preliminary revelation of his remorseless nature, devoid of pity, love, and fear, glorying in its powers of dissimulation and treachery, must have whetted the appetite of an Elizabethan audience for a further development of the theme. The key is maintained in *Richard III.* Like Tamburlaine or Barabas, Richard is absolutely consistent to his character and aims. There is no room for any real development of character. No chastening of experience can modify the superhuman passion for self-aggrandisement at any price, the ready-made standard to which Richard’s every action must conform. His opening soliloquy lays down his motives and plan of campaign. He follows out all his designs with swiftness and eminent success. Relying on his force of will, he removes his enemies one by one, uses his adherents as his tools, and accomplishes feats like the wooing of Anne and the persuasion of the Queen-dowager to further his plans. It is only when he has done everything that he possibly can do, that Nemesis falls upon him. Even so, he is loyal to his part, and goes to ruin with the callous assurance that has been the keynote of all his actions. No compunction visits him. Once, when he hears of the first serious opposition to his career, the defection of Buckingham and Richmond’s invasion, he falters, chides the messengers furiously, and issues contradictory orders to his lieutenants. But, a moment later, he recovers his courage. Once again, after his last night of visions, he wakes with the agonised cry, “Have mercy, Jesu!” and turns to a self-questioning, which, however, compared with his earlier soliloquies, is lifeless and perfunctory. On the field of battle, there is no place for his usual weapons of hypocrisy and treachery. Courage and physical force alone are possible; and in these he is still superhuman, fighting to the end with entire consistency to those early glimpses of his character in the third part of *Henry VI.*, when, after St. Albans, he flung down Somerset’s
head on the ground with a savage gibe, or when, at Towton, he and his brother Edward, "like a brace of greyhounds, having the fearful flying hare in sight," chased the Lancastrians from the field.

Selfish ambition, physical courage, absolute want of moral scruple and human kindliness, are the fundamental qualities on which the character of Richard is built up. The figure is imposing, because the villainy embodied in its conception is on so large a scale, and is worked out so thoroughly. At the same time, the conception itself is mechanical. The character is made to order, to fulfil an ideal plan. As a study in selfish wickedness, it is far behind such a study as that of Iago. Exceptional though he is, Iago compels our belief by virtue of the complexity of his motives, and of the mind that dwells in him and admits us to its secrets. Richard's motive is simple; he has no individual mind; he is merely an artistic conception of a gigantic villain with no redeeming quality, worked out with great power, and impressive chiefly because of the bulk of the design. Not very long before, Marlowe had made a similar attempt in the Jew of Malta, in whom malevolence and avarice exclude all other qualities. If Barabas supplied some hints for Shylock at a later date, he can hardly have been overlooked in the work of creating or transforming the character of Richard III. Richard is the most striking stage-villain of the type of which Barabas is the most grotesque example. He possesses in an eminent degree those Machiavellian tricks of which Barabas furnishes a shameless demonstration. To "count religion but a childish toy" is one of the fundamental tenets of this statesman who had boasted, in an earlier play, that he was able to "set the murderous Machiavel to school." He steals "odd old ends" from Holy Writ to deceive the ears of those who suspect him. It is by an unblushing parade of piety that he gains his object, in the critical scene where he accepts the crown from the citizens. He is an adept in the art of moralising "two meanings in one word." Examples of the Machiavellian tradition in English drama recur to the mind of every student. Richard, with his ambition, his fearlessness, his unscrupulousness, his calculating hypocrisy, his never-failing irony,
his natural defects redeemed by his gifts of insinuation and persuasion, is the beau idéal of the Machiavelian, to whom virtù, prompt and unscrupulous energy, is indispensable, with whom the semblance of religion must take the place of the reality, in whom the highest perfection of bestial qualities, the cunning of the fox and the courage of the lion, must be combined.

To discuss the relation of this dramatic ideal to its real origin in Machiavelli, or, more properly, in the ideas of the "Englishman Italianate" about Machiavelli, is not to the present purpose. Nor is it necessary to enter into the relationship between the Richard of the drama and the real Richard of history. Something has been said of the minor characters, of the would-be Machiavelian Buckingham, and of the frivolous, sensual Hastings. In the case of Hastings, the dramatic irony of the tragedy, its most distinguishing excellence, is at its best. Richard, and even Buckingham, are too thoroughly alive to their own villainy, and too obviously self-devoted to destruction, to be altogether blind to a possible reversal of their fortunes, or to lend their words that terrible significance with which the thoughtless sinner bears witness on the stage to his real insecurity or prophesies his own downfall. The cynicism with which Richard says of Clarence's murder, "God will revenge it," disarms the situation of half its irony. When Buckingham sets aside Margaret's warning, it is not because he feels himself secure from the necessity to "take heed of yonder dog," but because he thinks himself competent to take care of himself and foresee all means of self-preservation. Hastings, on the other hand, has full confidence in the good faith of the protector. He laughs at Stanley's dreams and caution; he exults in the news of the execution of his enemies; the meeting with the pursuivant, though it recalls an unhappy day in his life, gives him no foreboding qualm. His meeting with the priest fills him with no sense of ill to come: he can laugh over it with Buckingham, and answer his sinister jests with a jeer at the unhappy lords at Pomfret. At the council in the Tower he boasts of his intimate friendship with Gloucester, and praises his friend's simplicity of heart and face, of which he is doubtless ready to take the first advantage. But, in a moment, the fatuous self-
complacence that has held us in suspense for two scenes, crumbles to pieces, when the protector, frowning and biting his lip, bursts into the council-chamber, and Hastings, at close quarters with death, realises what the conceit was that had given so cheerful a seeming to his grace's good-morrow, and how ill his face had accorded with the thoughts of his heart.

More pathetic is the irony with which Anne, in her repulsion from the murderer of Henry VI. and of his son, curses the woman who may become Richard's wife, and then, almost in the same breath, yields to his mastery, and consents to be that woman. The scene is a *tour de force*; and the illusion which it produces is rather too violent to be entirely successful. But we are reminded of it at that later date, when Anne, the "woeful welcomer of glory," discloses to the other hapless women who have felt the influence of the "unavoided eye" of the royal basilisk, the fulfilment of her imprecation on herself. Of those women, whose part is almost that of a chorus to the play—a chorus whose personal concerns are most deeply implicated by its events—Anne is the most blameless and the most attractive. The widowed Duchess of York, broken by grief, is surrendered to passionate despair. For Queen Elizabeth in her helplessness we have less sympathy. She has played an ambitious and domineering part in the past: she has been a sharer in that hollow reconciliation by her husband's death-bed, the manifest insincerity of which prejudices us against all concerned in it: her self-interest persuades her to sacrifice her daughter to Richard, at a time when his villainies are no longer any secret. Much praise has been given to the character of Margaret, whose kinship to the models of antique tragedy is become a commonplace of criticism. The sudden appearances of the wrinkled beldame to gloat over the misfortunes of her foes, and the dialogue in which Richard, by his sudden interjection of her own name, diverts the current of her curses, are highly effective from a theatrical point of view. She is little more, however, than a shadowy phantom, the survivor of Richard's early experiments in crime; and her real use, like that of the funeral of her husband in I. ii., is to connect the events of the new play more closely with those of its predecessor, and to
add the weight of Richard's past exploits to the load of guilt which he has piled up more recently. When we look forward to Lear, or Coriolanus, or Lady Macbeth, it seems needless to single out Margaret for comparison with the tragic figures of the Athenian stage.

Early records of the stage history of Richard III. are connected chiefly with the performance by Burbage of a part which, without involving great intellectual effort in the actor, calls forth his most striking powers of action and declamation. Manningham notes in his diary for 13th March, 1601, a story of a trick played on Burbage by Shakespeare, "vpon a tyme when Burbidge played Richard III." In the same year, the authors of the third part of The Returne from Parnassus introduce Burbage catechising Philomusus thus: "I like your face and the proportion of your body for Richard the 3. I pray M. Phil. let me see you act a little of it." Whereupon Philomusus quotes the opening lines of the play. A third allusion is contained in Bishop Corbet's Iter Boreale, written before 1635, in which he describes his visit with a loquacious host to Bosworth Field. The host showed him the position of the armies and the very spot of Richard's death:—

Besides what of his knowledge he could say,  
He had authentick notice from the Play;  
Which I might guesse, by's mustring up the ghosts,  
And policies, not incident to hosts,  
But chiefly by that one perspicuous thing,  
Where he mistook a player for a king,  
For when he would have sayd, King Richard dyed,  
And call'd—A horse! a horse! he Burbidge cry'de.

It was Burbage, no doubt, who gave the famous line "A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!" its vogue, attested by many allusions in the plays and poems of the earlier part of the seventeenth century. But, although there is ample evidence of the early popularity of Richard III., no allusion to a definite performance is found before 1633, when Sir Henry Herbert notes in the Office-book which he kept as Master of the Revels, that the play was acted at St. James's before Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, soon after the birth of the future James II.
Its popularity seems to have waned after the Restoration. Betterton does not seem to have included Richard in his répertoire of Shakespearean characters. Pepys makes no mention of the play; and no dramatist adapted it for the stage until Colley Cibber brought out his famous version early in the eighteenth century. For more than a century and a half this mutilated edition became the playgoer's text of the drama. It was as Cibber's Richard that Garrick made his first appearance at Goodman's Fields, 19th October, 1741: it remained one of his favourite parts until his retirement in June, 1776. In May of that year, Mrs. Siddons, then a member of Garrick's company at Drury Lane, made one of her earliest appearances in London as Lady Anne. Her brothers, John Philip and Charles Kemble, produced a revision of Cibber's version, in which they took the parts of Richard and Richmond, at Covent Garden in 1811. Edmund Kean played Richard with great success at Drury Lane in the seasons of 1813-4 and 1814-5. Macready, who made his fame in the same part about 1819, was the principal actor in the restoration of the Shakespearean text which took place at Covent Garden, 12th and 19th March, 1821. The public, long accustomed to Cibber's adaptation, received this change for the better without enthusiasm. Later actors, like Charles Kean, returned to the mutilated text; and it was not till 29th January, 1877, when Henry Irving produced the play, "arranged for the Stage exclusively from the author's text," at the Lyceum, that Cibber's book was ousted from the boards. Among the famous actors whose débuts are connected with the drama, may be mentioned Richard William Elliston, who appeared as a youth at the Bath Theatre in 1791, taking the very minor part of Tressel in the second scene of this play.

From the notes to the present volume it will be seen how much the editor owes to the freely-given help and friendship of the late Mr. Craig. He is also indebted to Mr. P. A. Daniel for advice and suggestions communicated through Mr. Craig. All references to other plays of Shakespeare follow the numbering of lines in the Globe edition of the plays.
THE TRAGEDY
OF
KING RICHARD THE THIRD
DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

King Edward the Fourth.
Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward V., sons to the King.
Richard, Duke of York,
George, Duke of Clarence,
Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards brothers to the King.
King Richard III.,
A young son of Clarence.
Henry, Earl of Richmond, afterwards King Henry VII.
John Morton, Bishop of Ely.
Duke of Buckingham.
Duke of Norfolk.
Earl of Surrey, his son.
Earl Rivers, brother to Elizabeth.
Marquess of Dorset and Lord Grey, sons to Elizabeth.
Earl of Oxford.
Lord Hastings.
Lord Stanley, called also Earl of Derby.
Lord Lovel.
Sir Thomas Vaughan.
Sir Richard Ratcliff.
Sir William Catesby.
Sir James Tyrrel.
Sir James Blount.
Sir Walter Herbert.
Sir Robert Brakenbury, Lieutenant of the Tower.
Christopher Urswick, a priest.
Another Priest.
Tressel and Berkeley, gentlemen attending on the Lady Anne.
Lord Mayor of London.
Sheriff of Wiltshire.
Elizabeth, queen to King Edward IV.
Margaret, widow of King Henry VI.
Duchess of York, mother to King Edward IV.
Lady Anne, widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, son to King Henry VI.; afterwards married to Richard.
A young daughter of Clarence.

Ghosts of those murdered by Richard; Lords and other Attendants; a Pursuivant; a Scrivener; Citizens, Murderers, Messengers, Soldiers, etc.

Scene: England.
NOTES ON DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

A young son of Clarence] Edward, Earl of Warwick, born 1475; kept in custody at Sheriff Hutton during the reign of Richard III., but knighted during the King’s visit to York, 1483. Removed by order of Henry VII. to the Tower of London, 1485, where he was shut up, “out of all companye of men & sight of beasts; insomuch that he could not discerne a goose from a capon” (Holinshead, iii. 787, where five years are added to his age). In iv. ii. 55 below, this simplicity is slightly anticipated. Executed 28th November, 1499, on the charge of conspiracy with Perkin Warbeck and connivance at his escape from the Tower.

CARDINAL BOURCHIER] Thomas, son of William Bourchier, Earl of Eu, by Anne, elder daughter of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III. His brother Henry, created Earl of Essex, 1461, was an uncle by marriage of Edward IV. and Richard III. By their mother’s first marriage, the Bourchiers were half-brothers to the first Duke of Buckingham, grandfather of the Buckingham of the play. The Cardinal was born 1404: he was Chancellor of Oxford and Bishop of Worcester, 1434-5; Bishop of Ely, 1443-4; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1454; Lord Chancellor, 1455-6; Cardinal with title of San Ciriaco in Terme, 1467-8. At first a Lancastrian, he declared for the house of York, 1460. He crowned Edward IV., Queen Elizabeth Woodville, Richard III., and Henry VII., and married Henry VII. to Elizabeth of York. He died at Knole, 30th March, 1486.

THOMAS ROTHERHAM] or Scott, born at Rotherham, 1423. Nominated Bishop of Rochester and Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1467; Chancellor of Cambridge, 1469-71, 1473-8; Bishop of Lincoln, 1472; Archbishop of York, 1480; Lord Chancellor, 1474-83; Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, c. 1480-6. For his part in the play see Appendix II. He was arrested and imprisoned after the council of 13th June, 1483, at which Hastings was entrapped; but seems to have made his peace with Richard, and to have held office as Lord Treasurer for a short time under Henry VII. He died at Cawood in May, 1500. He founded the College of Jesus at Rotherham, and is regarded as the second founder of Lincoln College, Oxford.

JOHN MORTON] Born c. 1420; lawyer and diplomatist; Bishop of Ely, 1479; for his imprisonment and escape see notes on iv. 470-1 and 512-6; rewarded for his services to Richmond with the archbishopric of Canterbury, 1486; Lord Chancellor, 1487; created Cardinal, 1493; Chancellor of Oxford, 1495; died 1500. It is probably from him, through Sir Thomas More, that we derive the traditional account of the character and reign of Richard III.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM] Henry Stafford, born c. 1454; succeeded his grandfather as second Duke, 1460; executed at Salisbury, 1483. For his descent see note on iii. i. 195. His son, Edward, third Duke, is the Buckingham of Henry VIII.


EARL OF SURREY] Thomas Howard, born 1443; fought at Bosworth; imprisoned by Henry VII., but gained distinction afterwards in the service of the Tudors; won battle of Flodden, 1513; created Duke of Norfolk, 1514; died 1524. He is the Norfolk of Henry VIII.
EARL RIVERS] Anthony Woodville, born c. 1442; K.G., 1466; executed 1483. His translation, The Diciles and Sayings of the Philosophers, was the first book printed by Caxton, 1477. See also Appendix II.

MARQUESS OF DORSET] Thomas Grey, born 1451; succeeded his father as ninth Baron Ferars of Groby, 1461; Earl of Huntingdon, 1471; Marquess of Dorset, 1475; K.G., 1476; escaped to Brittany, 1483; confirmed in his titles by Henry VII.; died 1501.

LORD GREY] more correctly Lord Richard Grey; executed 1483.

EARL OF OXFORD] John de Vere, born 1443; succeeded his father as thirteenth Earl, 1462; a consistent Lancasterian. His abortive attempt to hold St. Michael's Mount in 1473 led to his attainder and imprisonment at Hammes, 1474-84. He returned with Richmond to England, and died 1523.

LORD HASTINGS] William Hastings, created Baron Hastings of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Lord Chamberlain, 1461. He was a prominent antagonist of the Woodville faction; but his imprisonment in the Tower, referred to in i. i. and iii. ii. is merely an inference drawn by the author of the play from Holinshed, iii. 723, where it is said (following More) that Hastings was “accused unto King Edward by the Lord Rivers ... in such wise, as he was for the while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, & stood in great fear of himselfe.” Executed 1483.

LORD STANLEY] Thomas Stanley, born c. 1435; succeeded his father as second Baron Stanley, 1459; became third husband of Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII.; created Earl of Derby, 1485; died 1504. Strictly speaking, the use of the title “Derby,” where it occurs in this play, is wrong, as Stanley was not yet created Earl of Derby at the time of the action. Theobald used “Stanley” throughout, on the ground that the author was not responsible for the inaccuracy. The Cambridge editors retain Derby where both Qq and Ff agree in the reading; and their custom has been followed in the present edition.

LORD LOVEL] more usually Lovell. Francis Lovell, ninth Baron Lovell of Tichmarsh, Northants; created Viscount Lovell and K.G., 1483; Lord Chamberlain to Richard III.; died after fighting for Lambert Simnel at Stoke, 1487.

SIR THOMAS VAUGHAN] Chamberlain to Edward, Prince of Wales (Edward V.), 1471; executed 1483.

SIR RICHARD RATCLIFF] or Radcliffe; knighted at Tewkesbury, 1471; K.G., 1484; killed at Bosworth, 1485; the “Rat” of Colyngborne’s couplet.

SIR WILLIAM CATESBY] A lawyer, and protégé of Hastings, whose service he forsook for that of Gloucester. Under Richard III. he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1484 was knight of the shire for Northants and Speaker of the House of Commons. He was taken at Bosworth, and beheaded at Leicester. The “Cat” of Colyngborne’s satire. The knighthood given him here is purely a courtesy title.

SIR JAMES TYRREL] more correctly Tyrrell or Tyrell; knighted after Tewkesbury, 1471; Master of the Horse to Richard III.; pardoned and made Lieutenant of Guisnes Castle by Henry VII.; beheaded 1502. See note on iv. ii. 36.

SIR JAMES BLount] son of Sir Walter Blount, Baron Montjoy of Mountjoy; Lieutenant of Hammes Castle, 1476, where he was custodian of the Earl of Oxford; knighted 1485; died 1493.


SIR ROBERT BRakenbury] Appointed Constable of the Tower, 1483, so that his connexion with the murder of Clarence (1478) has no warrant in history; killed at Bosworth.

CHRISTOPHER URswick] A member of a northern family; confessor to the Countess of Richmond, Henry VII.’s mother; Archdeacon of Richmond; employed in diplomatic missions by Henry VII.; Dean of York, 1488; Dean of Windsor, 1495; died 1522.

TRESSELL and Berkeley] Names probably chosen by Shakespeare at random.

LORD MAYOR OF London] Sir Edmund Shaw. See note on iii. v. 103.

ELIZABETH] Born c. 1437, daughter of Sir Richard Woodville (Baron Rivers, 1448; Earl Rivers, 1466) by Jacquetta of Luxemburg, widow of John, Duke of Bedford; married (1) Sir John Grey, eighth Baron Ferrers of Groby, (2) Edward
NOTES ON DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

IV., 1464-65; died 1492. Her complicity in the designs of Richard III. (see iv. iv.) brought her out of favour with her son-in-law, Henry VII.


Duchess of York] Born 1415; daughter of Sir Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmorland, the “cousin Westmoreland” of Henry V. iv. iii. 19; married Richard, Duke of York, 1438; died 1495. See notes on iii. vii. 179-82; iv. i. 95.

Lady Anne] Born 1456, younger daughter of Richard Nevill, the great Earl of Warwick; betrothed, but never married, to Edward, son of Henry VI., 1470; married Richard, Duke of Gloucester, 1474; died March, 1485. In 3 Henry VI. iii. iii. 242 she is wrongly called Warwick’s “eldest daughter” (see also ibid. iv. i. 118). Her elder sister and co-heiress, Isabella, married George, Duke of Clarence; and a dispute over her inheritance was one of the causes of ill-feeling between Clarence and his brothers.

A young daughter of Clarence] Margaret Plantagenet, born 1473; married to Sir Richard Pole; restored to the title and possessions of the earldom of Salisbury by Henry VIII., 1513; attainted for her suspected complicity in the intrigues of her son, Reginald Pole, and others, 1539; executed 27th May, 1541. At iv. iii. 37 she is probably confused with her first cousin, Princess Cicely, whom Richard III. married “to a man found in a cloud, and of an vnknowne linage and familie” (Holinshed, iii. 752), probably a member of the Lincolnshire family of Kyme.

A Pursuivant] See note on iii. ii. 94.
Enter Richard, Duke of Gloucester, solus.

Glou. Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York;
And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.
Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;
Our bruised arms hung up for monuments;

"The mother's curse is heavy; where
that fights,
Sons set in storm, and daughters
lose their lights."

In Shakespeare's account of the vision
mentioned above, Edward divines the
three ominous suns joined in one as an
eblem of the three "sons of brave
Plantagenet."

A. M. (ap. Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, 1599, ii. 135): "They kept
there the sword wherewith John Fox
had killed the Keeper... and hanged
it up for a monument." The phrase is
sometimes taken as referring to the
armour hung up over tombs, like those
Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings;
Our dreadful marches, to delightful measures,
Grim-visag'd War hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds,
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber,

7. alarums] alarmes Q1. 8. measures] Qq 1-3, Ff; pleasures Qq 4-8.

of the Black Prince or Henry V. Such armour, however, was usually made for
the funeral ceremonies, and could not come under the category of “bruised
arms”; nor were the members of the
house of York at present in need of
funeral armour. The allusion, if any is
needed, is simply to the custom of
ornamenting a hall with the disused
armour of the family, like the armour
“Hugh’s at Agincourt and . . . old
Sir Ralph’s at Ascalon” in Tennyson’s
Princess, 1847, proI. lines 25, 26, or
Mr. Chainmail’s “rusty pikes, shields,
helmets, swords, and tattered banners”
in Peacock’s Crockett Castle, 1831,
chap. 5.

8. measures] slow and solemn dances.
Sir John Davies, Orchestre, 1596, st.
65, says of Love, who had taught the
multitude lighter dances:—

“But after these, as men more civil
grew,
He did more grave and solemn
Measures frame;
With such fair order and proportion
true,
And correspondence every way the
same,
That no fault-finding eye did ever blame”;

and st. 66:—

“Yet all the feet whereon these
measures go
Are only Spondees, solemn, grave, and slow.”

Decker, Bel-Man of London, 1608, has “I neither wonder at the stately
measures of the clouds, the nimble
galliards of the water, nor the wanton
trippings of the wind” (ed. Smeeat,
1904, p. 71). There is a close parallel
between the present passage and Lyly,
Alexander and Campaspe, 1584, ii. 2
and iv. 3. Shakespeare seems to have
had both these passages in mind. In
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.
But I, that am not shap'd for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass;
I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty,
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
Cheated of feature by dissembling Nature,
Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
And that so lamely and unfashionable,
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them;
Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,
Have no delight to pass away the time,

13. lute] Ff; love Qq. 14. shap'd for] Ff; shapte for Qq 1-3; sharpe for Qq 4, 5; sharpe of Qq 6-8.
21. scarce] Qq 1, 2; scarce Ff; omitted Qq 3-8.

Than feature or proportion."

Shakespeare does not here imply beauty of appearance: it is the shape of his body of which Richard has been cheated. Its "feature" is imperfect: as he explains lower down, he is "scarce half made up."

dissembling Nature] The idea of cheating is probably emphasised in "dissembling." Warburton explained the phrase as meaning "Nature that puts together things of a dissimilar kind, as a brave soul and a deformed body," i.e. dis-assembling Nature. But this idea seems rather far-fetched.

21. this breathing world] Compare Sonnet lxxxi. 12. See also 2 Henry VI. 1. ii. 21 (Craig).
22. lamely and unfashionable] For this double adverb with a single termination compare Ben Jonson, Poetaster, 1601, i. 1: "What, hast thou buskins on, Luscus, that thou swearest so tragically and high."
Sometimes the adverbial termination is given to the second of the two words, as Fletcher, False One, iv. 2:—
"we make louder prayers to die nobly,
Than to live high and wantonly."

24. piping] The pipe was an instrument proper to times of peace, as the fife to times of war. Compare Much Ado About Nothing, ii. iii. 13-15.
Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
And descant on mine own deformity.
And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover,
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
I am determined to prove a villain,
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,
By drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams,
To set my brother Clarence and the king
In deadly hate the one against the other:
And if King Edward be as true and just,
As I am subtle, false, and treacherous,
This day should Clarence closely be mew'd up,
About a prophecy, which says that G

26. spy] spie Qq; see Ff. 39. a prophecy] adrohesie Qq 4, 5.

27. descant] The usual meaning of "descant" in music was the art of constructing variations on a simple melody called the "ground" or "plain-song." Richard's deformity is the plain-song of his descant. New Eng. Dict. quotes Cotgrave, s.v. Contre, "To sing...the Plainesong whereon another descants." Compare below, iii. vii. 49; Edwards, Damon and Pithias, 1571, refers to the jests passed on ladies by Aristippus: "They are your playne song to singe descant upon"; Lyly, Euphues, 1579 (ed. Arber, p. 137): "He that always singeth one note without descant breedeth no delight." In Eastward Ho, 1605, Wolf the prison-keeper answers to Touchstone's puns, "Sir, your worship may descant as you please o' my name."

29. entertain...days] Compare Measure for Measure, iii. i. 75; Sonnet xxxix. 11. Shakespeare uses the word in this act with three different senses, (1) as here; (2) as in i. ii. 257, with which compare King Lear, iii. vi. 83; (3) as in i. iii. 4, where it corresponds to our phrase "to entertain a hope."

30. Gloucester has expressed this intention previously, 3 Henry VI. v. vi. 78-9. The soliloquy of the Duke of Epirus in Machin and Markham, Dumb Knight, 1608, act i., is a recollection of this passage:—

"I am resolv'd, since virtue hath disdain'd
To clothe me in her riches, henceforth to prove
A villain fatal, black and ominous."

32. inductions] beginnings, preparations; as below, iv. iv. 5. Compare 1 Henry IV. iii. i. 2; Cook, Green's Tu Quoque, c. 1599: "False dice say amen: for that's my induction." In drama, the "induction" is the scene or scenes preparatory to a play, like the inductions to Taming of the Shrew, or Jonson's Cynthia's Revels, or Webster's induction to Marston's Malcontent.

38. mew'd up] confined, properly of a hawk while mewing (muer) or moulting its feathers. It is used again below, line 132 and 1. iii. 139. Compare Spenser, Faerie Queene, ii. iii. 34; Midsummer-Night's Dream, i. i. 71; Beaumont and Fletcher, Woman-Hater, 1607, iii. 1: "Is this your mewing-up, your strict retirement?" The cage was called a "mew": see Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, A. 349; Troilus and Criseyde, iii. 602. In London, the fact that the royal stables originally were built on the site of the king's mews for hawks, gave rise to the name commonly applied to stables of town houses.

39. a prophecy] Compare Halle (ap. Holinshed, iii. 703), "a foolish prophesie,
Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be.
Dive, thoughts, down to my soul! here Clarence comes.

Enter CLARENCE, guarded, and BRAKENBURY.

Brother, good day: what means this armed guard
That waits upon your grace?

Clar.
His majesty,
Tendering my person's safety, hath appointed
This conduct, to convey me to the Tower.

GLOU. Upon what cause?

Clar.
Because my name is George.

GLOU. Alack, my lord, that fault is none of yours;
He should for that commit your godfathers.
O, belike his majesty hath some intent
That you shall be new-christ'ned in the Tower.
But what's the matter, Clarence? may I know?

Clar. Yea, Richard, when I know; for I protest
As yet I do not: but, as I can learn,
He hearkens after prophecies and dreams,
And from the cross-row plucks the letter G,

40. murderer] murderer Qq 3-8, Ff; murderers Qq 1, 2. 41. Dive ... comes] one line as Ff; two lines Qq, divided after soule. Enter ... Brakenbury.] Rowe; Enter Clarence with a guard of men. Qq; Enter Clarence and Brakenbury, guarded. Ff. 42. day] Ff; days or dates Qq. 43-45. That waits ... the Tower.] arranged as Pope; That waits ... Grace? His ... appointed This ... the Tower (3 lines) Qq; That waits ... Grace? His ... safety, Hath ... th' Tower. Ff. 48. godfathers] Qq 1-3, Ff 1; good fathers Qq 4-6; grandfathers Ff 2-4. 50. shall be] Qq 2-8; shallbe Qq 1; should be Ff. 51. what's] Ff; what Qq 1, 2; what is Qq 3-8. 52. know] doe know Q 6. for] Qq; but Ff.

which was, that, after K. Edward, one
should reign, whose first letter of his
name should be a G." Q 5 follows Q
4 in the extraordinary misprint "adrohezie.

44. tendering] having regard to. The
word is used about twenty times by
Shakespeare, e.g. II. iv. 72 below; Richard II. i. 1. 32; Hamlet. i. iii.
107; Tempest, ii. i. 270: compare I
Henry IV. v. iv. 49. See also Lyly,
Euphues (Arber, 147): "When as I
see many fathers more cruel to their
children then carefull of them, which
think it not necessarlye to have those
about them, that most tender them";
Lodge and Greene, Looking-Glass
for London and England, 1594 (Dyce,
124): "the duty of lawyers in tender-
ing the right cause of their clients."

54. hearkens after] Compare Much
Ado About Nothing, v. i. 216. New
Eng. Dict. quotes Berners' Froissart, i,
303: "There abode styll the Englyssh-
men to hearken after other newes."

prophecies] Malone notes the state-
ments of Philippe de Commines "that
the English at that time were never
unfurnished with some prophecy or
other, by which they accounted for
every event."

55. cross-row] the alphabet or Christ-
cross-row, so called from the cross
which was placed before the alphabet
And says, a wizard told him that by G
His issue disinherited should be:
And, for my name of George begins with G,
It follows in his thought that I am he.
These, as I learn, and such like toys as these,
Have mov'd his highness to commit me now.

Glou. Why, this it is, when men are rul'd by women:
'Tis not the king that sends you to the Tower;
My Lady Grey his wife, Clarence, 'tis she
That tempers him to this extremity.
Was it not she, and that good man of worship,
Anthony Woodville, her brother there,
That made him send Lord Hastings to the Tower,
From whence this present day he is delivered?
We are not safe, Clarence, we are not safe.

Clar. By heaven, I think there is no man secure
But the queen's kindred and night-walking heralds

in horn-books. Cotgrave gives "La croix de par Dieu: The Christ's cross row, hornebooke wherein a child learns it." The sixteenth century screen in the tower-arch of Probus Church, Cornwall, is ornamented with a series of small shields in its lower panels, the first of which bears a cross, and the rest the opening letters of the alphabet cut in relief. New Eng. Dict. quotes a formula repeated before the alphabet from Morley, Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, 1597: "Christ's crosse be my speede, in all vertue to procede, A, b, c," etc. Halliwell, s.v. Christ-Cro:es, notes a variant beginning "Christe cross me spede in all my worke." Skelton refers to one or other of these formulas, Against Venemous Tongues, ant. 1529 (Chalmers, English Poets, ii. 235): "In your crosse rowe, nor Christ crosse you spede."

60. toys] trifles, idle fancies; very common in all writers of this age. Compare Lyly, Euphues (Arber, 208): "They that inuented this toy were unwise, and they that reported it vnkinde."

61. Have] Qq, F 4; Hath Ff 1-3. 65. tempers] Q 1; tempis Qq 2, 5-8, Ff; tempis Qq 3, 4. this] Qq; this harsh Ff. 71. secure] Ff; is secure Qq 1-3; secure Q 4; securd Q 5; secur'd Q 6.

65. tempers] Reasons for adopting this reading, peculiar to Q 1, have been given in the Introduction. The queen tempers Edward's will as one tempers or moulds wax: compare for the metaphor 2 Henry IV. iv. iii. 140: "I have him already tempering between my finger and thumb, and shortly will I seal with him." For "temper" in the sense of "govern, control," see Greene, Friar Bacon (Dyce, 178): "mine art, Which once I temper'd in my secret cell."

67. Woodville] pronounced as a trisyllable. The name originally was spelt Wydeville, and a full syllabic value given to the middle e. Steevens mentions that, in his day, one of the bearers of the name Woodville pronounced it in this way. "England" and "Henry," among other words, are often found in places where it is necessary to pronounce them as trisyllables, as in Qq readings of iv. iv. 264, iv. ii. 94 below. Compare Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, A. 16 "angelond," A. 389 "Dertemouthe."
That trudge betwixt the king and Mistress Shore.
Heard you not what an humble supplicant
Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery?

Glou. Humbly complaining to her deity
Got my lord chamberlain his liberty.
I'll tell you what; I think it is our way,
If we will keep in favour with the king,
To be her men and wear her livery.
The jealous o'er-worn widow and herself,
Since that our brother dubb'd them gentlewomen,
Are mighty gossips in this monarchy.

Brak I beseech your graces both to pardon me;
His majesty hath straitly given in charge,
That no man shall have private conference,
Of what degree soever, with his brother.

Glou. Even so; an't please your worship, Brakenny,
You may partake of any thing we say.

74. [y]ou] Ff, Qq 7, 8; ye Qq 1-6. 75. was to her for his] Qq; was, for her Ff; was, for his Ff 2, 3; was for his F 4. 83. this] Qq; our Ff. 87. his] Qq; your Ff. 88. an'f] Pope; and Qq 1, 2, Ff; & Qq 3-6. Brakenny]

73. Mistress Shore] Jane Shore was daughter of a Cheapside mercer and wife of a goldsmith in Lombard Street. More says that she used her influence with the king "to manie a mans comfort and releafe. Where the king tooke displeasure, shee would mitigate and appease his mind: where men were out of favour, she would bring them in his grace." In 1483 Gloucester, as Protector (see below, iii. iv.) accused her of sorcery against his person. No proof being found against her, she was condemned to do penance in St. Paul's for incontinency. She died in poverty c. 1527.

75. to her for his] Qq, although adding an extra foot to the line, have the better reading. "For her delivery" in Ff can mean only "for delivery at her hands," which is strained and awkward.

81. o'erworn] Compare Chapman (?) Alphonsus Emperor of Germany, 1654, i. 2: "Joachim Carolus, Marquess of Brandenburg, o'erworn with age."

82. gentlewomen] There was no question of Elizabeth's gentry. Richard brackets her name with that of Mistress Shore in a spirit of malicious insinuation. That erroneous accounts of her origin were current appears from a phrase in the translation of Polydore Vergil (ed. Ellis, 1844, p. 117), where the king is said to have kept his marriage secret "because the woman was of meane caulyng."

83. gossips] familiar acquaintances. So Gammer Gurton's Needle, 1575, "mother Chat, my gossip"; Midsummer-night's Dream, ii. 47; Merchant of Venice, iii. i. 9; Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, 1614, i. i: "All the poets and poet-suckers in town... are the players' gossips." Nares quotes Verstegen for the origin of the word, "Such as undertooke for the child at baptism, called each other by the name of Godsi, that is, of kin together through God." The sense of vulgar familiarity implied by Richard is found in Piers the Plowman, B-text, v. 310 (A-text, 152), and Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, D. 548. Compare Fr. compère, commune.
We speak no treason, man; we say the king
Is wise and virtuous, and his noble queen
Well struck in years, fair, and not jealous;
We say that Shore's wife hath a pretty foot,
A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue;
And that the queen's kindred are made gentle-folks:
How say you, sir? can you deny all this?

Brak. With this, my lord, myself have nought to do.

Glow. Naught to do with Mistress Shore? I tell thee, fellow,
He that doth naught with her, excepting one,
Were best to do it secretly alone.

Brak. What one, my lord?

Glow. Her husband, knave: wouldst thou betray me?

Brak. I beseech your grace to pardon me, and withal
Forbear your conference with the noble duke.

92. jealous] Qq; jealious Ff.
97. nought] Qq 1, 6, Ff; naught Qq 2-5.
98-100. Naught ... alone] arranged as Qq 1-7; Ff, Q 8 divide thus, Naught ... Shore? I tell ... with her (Excepting one) ... alone. 100. to do]
Ff, Q 8; he do Qq 1-7.

101. What one ... betray me?] omitted Q 1.
103. beseech] Qq; do beseech Ff.

103. I beseech ... noble duke] arranged as Capell; Qq divide thus, I beseech ... forbear Your ... Duke; Ff thus, I do beseech your Grace To pardon ... forbear Your ... Duke (3 lines).

92. struck in years] Aldis Wright points out that this phrase means "well gone" or "far run" in years. "Struck" is from A.S. stricen = to go, run: compare Ger. streichen.
"Strike" is used with this meaning in a lyric poem on Springtime, c. 1300 (Morris and Skeat, Specimens, new ed. 1879, ii. 48): "Asse sune ne [at strike] stille." Halliwell, sub Strike (2) and Streke, gives thirteen and fourteenth century examples. See George a Greene, 1599: "Three men come strik- ing through the corn, my love," and Eastward Ho, i. 1:—
"prouder hopes, which daringly o'erstrike
Their place and means."
Elizabeth could not be said to be "struck in years" or "o'erworn" (line 81). She was about thirty-seven when Edward IV. died. All Richard's remarks are coloured by insinuation.

jealous] a trisyllable, Ff print "jealous." Compare Drayton, Eng. Her. Eph. 1597, Mary of France to Charles Brandon, 72: "That we by nature all are jealous," where the same pronunciation is necessary.

94. Steevens emended the metre by giving a whole line to "A cherry lip."
"Pope omitted "a bonny eye." Is it not possible that the line is a snatch from some old song in "fourteen" metre?

94. bonny] Compare 2 Henry VI. v. ii. 12; Much Ado About Nothing, ii. iii. 69; Greene, Friar Bacon (Dyce, 174):—
"May it please your highness give me leave to post
To Frebergield, I'll fetch the bonny girl."

100. Were best to do it] The ordinary phrase would be "he ... were best do it." Compare Taming of the Shrew, v. i. 15; Lyly, Alexander and Campaspe, iv. 1: "You were as good eat my master." The earliest example cited in New Eng. Dict. belongs to 1483. Before that time the pronoun was in the dative, "him were best." The reading in Qq is confused and ungrammatical, and I have found no parallel for it.
Clar. We know thy charge, Brakenbury, and will obey.

Glou. We are the queen’s abjects, and must obey.

Brother, farewell: I will unto the king,
And, whatsoe’er you will employ me in,
Were it to call King Edward’s widow sister,
I will perform it to enfranchise you.

Meantime, this deep disgrace in brotherhood
Touches me deeper than you can imagine.

Clar. I know it pleaseth neither of us well.

Glou. Well, your imprisonment shall not be long;
I will deliver you, or else lie for you:

Meantime, this deep disgrace in brotherhood
Touched me deeper than you can imagine.

Clar. I know it pleaseth neither of us well.

Glou. Well, your imprisonment shall not be long;
I will deliver you, or else lie for you:

Meantime, have patience.

Clar. I must perforce: farewell.

[Exeunt Clarence, Brakenbury, and guard.

Glou. Go, tread the path that thou shalt ne’er return,
Simple, plain Clarence!—I do love thee so,
That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven,
If heaven will take the present at our hands.

But who comes here? the new-delivered Hastings?

Enter Lord Hastings.

Hast. Good time of day unto my gracious lord!

Glou. As much unto my good lord chamberlain!

Well are you welcome to this open air:
How hath your lordship brook’d imprisonment?

Hast. With patience, noble lord, as prisoners must;
But I shall live, my lord, to give them thanks
That were the cause of my imprisonment.

108. whatsoe’er] whatsoe’re Ff; whatsoeuer Qq. 115. or else] Ff; or Qq.
Exeunt . . . guard,) Capell; Exit Clar. (or Cla.) Qq, Ff. 124. this] Qq 3–8, Ff; the Qq 1, 2.

106. abject] used in an exaggerated sense for “subjects.” Monck Mason and others explain, “the most servile of her subjects.” So Lyly, Alexander and Camiasthe, i. 1: “You shall not be as abject of war, but as subjects to Alexander.” There is a similar play between “abject” and “object” in Henry VIII. i. 1, 127.

109. King Edward’s widow] i.e. the widow whom King Edward has made his wife.

115. lie for you] On their face, the words mean, “lie in prison instead of you.” But Gloucester, no doubt, uses “lie” in a double sense. He really means “I will deliver you, or else will tell falsehoods about you.” See below, lines 147, 148.

116. patience . . . perforce] Steevens sees an allusion to the proverb “Patience perforce is a medicine for a mad dog.”
Glou. No doubt, no doubt; and so shall Clarence too;
    For they that were your enemies are his,
    And have prevail'd as much on him as you.
Hast. More pity that the eagle should be mew'd,
    While kites and buzzards prey at liberty.
Glou. What news abroad?
Hast. No news so bad abroad as this at home:
    The king is sickly, weak, and melancholy;
    And his physicians fear him mightily.
Glou. Now, by Saint Paul, that news is bad indeed!
    O, he hath kept an evil diet long,
    And overmuch consum'd his royal person:
    'Tis very grievous to be thought upon.
    What, is he in his bed?
Hast. He is.
Glou. Go you before, and I will follow you. [Exit Hastings.
    He cannot live, I hope, and must not die
    Till George be pack'd with post-horse up to heaven.
    I'll in, to urge his hatred more to Clarence,
    With lies well steel'd with weighty arguments;
    And if I fail not in my deep intent,
    Clarence hath not another day to live;
    Which done, God take King Edward to his mercy,
    And leave the world for me to bustle in!

132, eagle] Qq; Eagles Ff. 133, While] Qq; Whiles Ff. 138. Saint Paul] Qq; S. John Ff. 139. evil diet] So More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 712): "The king his brother (whose life he looked that evil diet should shorten)."
140. steel] pointed with steel, like a lance; and so, armed, fortified. Compare 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 331: "Now, York, or never, steel thy fearful thoughts," where, however, "steel" approximates more nearly to the sense of "harden," as "the steeld gaoler" in Measure for Measure, iv. ii. 90.
152, bustle] busy myself energetically. Compare Lyly, Alexander and Campaspe, iv. 1: "See, they begin to flock, and behold my master bustles himself to fly"; Merry Devil of Ed-
For then I'll marry Warwick's youngest daughter.
What though I killed her husband and her father?
The readiest way to make the wench amends
Is to become her husband and her father:
The which will I, not all so much for love
As for another secret close intent,
By marrying her which I must reach unto.
But yet I run before my horse to market:
Clarence still breathes; Edward still lives and reigns;
When they are gone, then must I count my gains. [Exit.

SCENE II.—The same. Another street.

Enter the corpse of King Henry VI., Gentlemen with halberds to guard it; Lady Anne being the mourner.

Anne. Set down, set down your honourable load—
If honour may be shrouded in a hearse—
Whilst I awhile obsequiously lament
The untimely fall of virtuous Lancaster.
Poor key-cold figure of a holy king!

SCENE II. The same. Another street.] Capell. Enter . . mourner] Enter the Coarse of Henrie the sixt with Halberds to guard it . . . Mourner. Ff.; Enter Lady Anne, with the hearse of Harry the 6. Qq. 1. load] Ff; l [rest imperfect] Q 1; lord Qq 2-8.

monton, 1617: "Let us alone to bustle for the set." In the same play, the keeper Brian uses the word thus:—
"Let me alone to bustle with your fathers;
I warrant you that I will keep them play
Till you have quit the Chase."

154. her husband and her father]
For the traditional part taken by Richard in the slaying of Prince Edward after Tewkesbury, see below, i. ii. 242, and 3 Henry VI. v. v. 39: "Her father" cannot mean Warwick. Gloucester commanded the vanguard at Barnet, where Warwick fell; but only in this general sense could he be called Warwick's murderer. On the other hand, he was credited with the murder of Henry VI., Anne's father-in-law. The later Qq use "father" for "father-in-law" below, i. ii. 231; and compare Romeo and Juliet, iv. i. 2, etc.

158. secret close] The second adjective intensifies the first: compare "secretly alone" above, line 100. For "close" compare below, iv. ii. 35.

Scene II.

3. obsequiously] as befits a funeral, mournfully. Compare 3 Henry VI. ii. v. 118. For the more usual and modern sense, see Merry Wives of Windsor, iv. ii. 2, and Othello, 1. i. 46.

5. key-cold] as cold as a key, i.e. very cold. Aldis Wright quotes Gower, Confesso Amantis, vi. 244-7:

"For certes there was never keie
Ne frozen is vpon the walle
More inly cold, than I am alle."

Compare Lucrece, 1774; Decker, Seven Deadly Sinnes of London, 1606 (Arber, p. 19): "Such fellowes [the porters at the city-gates] are key-cold in their comming downe to Strangers, except
KING RICHARD III

Pale ashes of the house of Lancaster!
Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood!
Be it lawful that I invoke thy ghost,
To hear the lamentations of poor Anne,
Wife to thy Edward, to thy slaught’red son,
Stabb’d by the selfsame hand that made these wounds!
Lo, in these windows that let forth thy life
I pour the helpless balm of my poor eyes.
O cursed be the hand that made these holes!
Cursed the heart that had the heart to do it!
Cursed the blood that let this blood from hence!
More direful hap betide that hated wretch,
That makes us wretched by the death of thee,
Than I can wish to adders, spiders, toads,
Or any creeping venom’d thing that lives!

11. hand] Ff; hands Qq. wounds] Ff; holes Qq. 12. these] Ff; those Qq.
14. O cursed] Ff; Curst Qq. these] Ff; these fatall Qq 1, 2; the fatall Qq.
3-8. 15. Cursed] Ff; Curst be Qq. 16. Cursed . . . hence] Ff; omitted
Qq. 19. adders] Qq. Wolves, to Ff.

they be brybed." The earliest example in New Eng. Dict. is of 1529.
Mr. Craig furnishes several examples, e.g. John Heywood, Proverbs, 1546
(ed. Sharman, 1876, p. 121): “Hot as a toste, it grew cold as a kay”;
Fletcher, Wild-Goose Chase, 1652, iv. 3: “till they be key-cold dead, there’s no trusting of ‘em.”

8. invoke] invoke, as I Henry VI. 1. i. 52. New Eng. Dict. quotes Institution of a Christian Man, 1537:
“Whensoever I do invoke and call upon him in right faith and hope.”
Compare Milton, Samson Agonistes, 1671, 1146:—

“Go to his Tempe, invoke his aid
With solemnest devotion.”

11. hand In line 92 below, Ff apparently fall into the error of printing “hands” for “hand,” which in this line they correct.

19. adders] In favour of Ff it may be conceded that “any creeping venom’d thing” in the next line does not necessarily refer to the creatures mentioned in this. At the same time, “wolves” is incongruous with “spiders, toads.” The alteration in Ff could hardly be a mere editorial conjecture, for which no reason could be alleged but the recurrence of the same syllable in “adders” and “spiders.” If, as is likely, the editor of F 1 was conservative in his emendations, the probability is that some intended alteration, begun, but not extended to the whole line, had found its way into the margin of the corrected Q which he used, and was embodied by him in his new text without question. Spedding’s view was that Shakespeare had begun such an alteration, intending to change “creeping venom’d things,” significant of treacherous and underhand dealing, into words compatible with acts of open violence. This theory is somewhat discounted by the fact that “open violence” is hardly characteristic of a wolf’s behaviour. Pickersgill thought that Ff represented Shakespeare’s original text, and thus expressed the “blood-thirsty ferocity” of Gloucester by “wolves,” and by the rest the loathing which Anne felt for him. For Richard’s biting, wolfish nature is insisted upon in these plays. But Qq give us a more consistent reading, whether it be due to Shakespeare or not, which is also more in keeping with the general sense of the passage.
If ever he have child, abortive be it,
Prodigious, and untimely brought to light,
Whose ugly and unnatural aspect
May fright the hopeful mother at the view,
And that be heir to his unhappiness!

If ever he have wise, let her be made
More miserable by the death of him
Than I am made by my young lord and thee!
Come now towards Chertsey with your holy load,
Taken from Paul's to be interred there;
And still, as you are weary of this weight,
Rest you, whiles I lament King Henry's corse.

Enter Gloucester.

Glou. Stay, you that bear the corse, and set it down!
Anne. What black magician conjures up this fiend,
To stop devoted charitable deeds?

Glou. Villains, set down the corse! or, by Saint Paul,
I'll make a corse of him that disobey's!
Gent. My lord, stand back, and let the coffin pass.

27. More] Ff; As Qq. 28. Than] Then Ff; As Qq. young] Ff; poore Qq.
31. weary] Qq 1, 2, Ff; a wearie Qq 3-6. this] Ff; the Qq. 36. Villains] Villaines F f; Villaine Qq. 38. My Lord] omitted Q 6.

22. prodigious] monstrous, unnatural.
Compare King John, iii. i. 46.
25. unhappiness] capacity for working mischief. "Unhappy" is mischievous: see All's Well that Ends Well, iv. v. 66; and compare Skelton, Against Venemous Tongues: "Such tongues unhappy hath made great division." Compare Lyly, Alexander and Campaspe, v. 4: "I am no thought-catcher, but I guess unhappily"; Fletcher and Massinger, Elder Brother, 1637, iii. 5: "He speaks unhappily"; Wilkins, Miseries of Injorst Marriage, 1607, act v.: "I am sure they are greater sinners that made this match, and were unhappy men"; Psalm xiv. 7 (Prayer-Book version): "Destruction and unhappiness is in their ways."

29, 30. See Holinshed, iii. 690, 691.
The body of Henry VI. was "conuiced with billes and glaues pompouslie (if you will call that a funerall pompe)" from the Tower to St. Paul's on Ascension Eve, 22nd May, 1471. It remained in St. Paul's during Ascension Day "on a beire or coffin bare faced," where it was reported to have bled in the presence of spectators. It was then taken to the Blackfriars, "and bled there likewise." Next day, it was taken by boat to Chertsey "without priest or clerke, torch or taper, singing or saing," and was buried in the abbey. Richard III., in August, 1484, removed the body to St. George's Chapel at Windsor. Henry VII. strove to obtain leave from Pope Julius II. for the removal of the body from Windsor to Westminster.

36. by Saint Paul] Richard's favourable oath, as above, i. i. 138; below, line 41; iii. iv. 78, etc.
KING RICHARD III

Glou. Unmanner'd dog, stand thou when I command!
Advance thy halberd higher than my breast,
Or, by Saint Paul, I'll strike thee to my foot,
And spurn upon thee, beggar, for thy boldness!

Anne. What, do you tremble? are you all afraid?
Alas, I blame you not; for you are mortal,
And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.
Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell!
Thou hadst but power over his mortal body,
—His soul thou canst not have; therefore be gone.

Glou. Sweet saint, for charity, be not so curt.

Anne. Foul devil, for God's sake, hence, and trouble us not!
For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell,
Fill'd it with cursing cries and deep exclam's.
If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,
Behold this pattern of thy butcheries.
O gentlemen, see, see! dead Henry's wounds

39. *Unmanner'd* . . . *command*] one line as Qq; two lines Ff, divided after *dog. stand* Qq 1-7, Ff 2-4; *stand'st* F 1, Q 8. 50. *Foul devil . . . us not*] one line as Qq; two lines Ff, divided after *devil.*

39. *Unmanner'd*] unmannerly. So Beaumont and Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherdess,* c. 1609, ii. 4: "I fear I am too much unmanner'd, far too rude." Forms of this kind are common in Shakespeare. Compare above, line 20, "venom'd" for "venomous"; *Measure for Measure,* iii. i. 121, "delighted" for "delightful"; *ibid.* iii. ii. 62, "unshunned" for "unavoidable"; *ibid.* iv. ii. 13, "unpitied" for "pitiless."


"No, Sylla, my discourse is resolute,
Not coin'd to please thy fond and cursed thoughts;"

Marlowe, *Edward II.,* 1594, v. 2: "Speak *curstly* to him." The proverb "God sends a *curst* cow short horns" is quoted in *Much Ado About Nothing,* ii. i. 25. Mr. Craig furnishes several instances of references to this proverbial use, e.g. North's Plutarch, 1579, *Life of Crassus* (ed. Rouse, 1899, vi. 13): "The manner was then at Rome, if any man had a *curst* bullock that would strike with his horn, to wind hay about his head."

50. *exclaims*] Compare *Richard II,* i. ii. 2; *Troilus and Cressida,* v. iii. 91; Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy,* act iii.:

"Mine exclaims, that have surcharg'd the air
With ceaseless plaints."

54. *pattern*] Compare *Othello,* v. ii. 11; Haughton, *Grim the Collier of Croydon,* c. 1599, act i.: "Stand forth, thou ghastly pattern of despair." The use may be illustrated by Machin and Markham, *Dumb Knight,* act iii.:

"Ascend, poor model [of] calamity."

55. The current legend was (see note on lines 29, 30) that Henry VI.'s corpse bled in the presence of eye-witnesses. Shakespeare, for dramatic purposes, combines this legend with the common superstition that dead bodies bled in the presence of their murderers. Instances are given by Brand, *Pop.*
Open their congeal’d mouths and bleed afresh.
Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity!
For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood
From cold and empty veins where no blood dwells,
Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural,
Provokes this deluge most unnatural.
O God, which this blood mad'st, revenge his death!
O earth, which this blood drink'st, revenge his death!
Either heav'n with lightning strike the murderer dead,
Or earth, gape open wide and eat him quick,
As thou dost swallow up this good king's blood,
Which his hell-govern'd arm hath butchered!

Glou. Lady, you know no rules of charity,
Which renders good for bad, blessings for curses.

Anne. Villain, thou know'st no law of God nor man:
No beast so fierce but knows some touch of pity.

Glou. But I know none, and therefore am no beast.

Anne. O wonderful, when devils tell the truth!

Glou. More wonderful, when angels are so angry.

Vouchsafe, divine perfection of a woman,
Of these supposed evils, to give me leave,  
By circumstance but to acquit myself.  

Anne. Vouchsafe, defus'd infection of a man,  
For these known evils, but to give me leave,  
By circumstance to curse thy cursed self.  

Glou. Fairer than tongue can name thee, let me have  
Some patient leisure to excuse myself.  

Anne. Fouler than heart can think thee, thou canst make  
No excuse current, but to hang thyself.  

Glou. By such despair, I should accuse myself.  

Anne. And, by despairing, shouldst thou stand excus'd  
For doing worthy vengeance on thyself,  
That didst unworthy slaughter upon others.  

Glou. Say that I slew them not?  

Anne. Why, then they are not dead:  
But dead they are, and, devilish slave, by thee.  

Glou. I did not kill your husband.  

Anne. Why, then he is alive.  

Glou. Nay, he is dead, and slain by Edward's hand.  

the line. In line 79 the MS. is probably entirely to blame; but the editor, if this is the case, ought to have detected its error. Spedding suggested that "curse" in line 80 was to have been altered into "accuse," thus explaining the variation in line 79; but this conjecture applies merely to his own general theory.  

77. By circumstance] by detailed argument, circumstantially. Compare Two Gentlemen of Verona, i. i. 36, 37; Troilus and Cressida, iii. iii. 114; Cymbeline, ii. iv. 61.  

78. defus'd] diffused: i.e. spread abroad (compare Milton, Samson Agonistes, 118), and so shapeless. See Mr. Craig's note on King Lear, i. iv. 2, and Mr. Hart on Merry Wives of Windsor, iv. iv. 55 [54].  

78. infection] a retort to "perfection" in line 75. The original sense of the word is a "corrupted or diseased condition." New Eng. Dict. quotes Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, 1621, i. § i. 3. 3 (ed. Shilheto, 1896, i. 193) [Melancholy is, according to Galen] "a privation or infection of the middle cell of the head."  

82. patient] tranquil. Compare the verbal use of "patient" in Titus Andronicus, i. i. 121.  

89. dead] Qq add to the force of "dead they are" in the next line, and so to that of the whole passage.  

92. Holinshed's account (taken from Halle) of Prince Edward's murder (iii. 688) is that Edward IV. "thrust him from him, or (as some saie) stroke him with his gantlet; whom, incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, Thomas Greie marquessse Dorcet, and William lord Hastings, that stood by, suddenlie murthered." See below, lines 241, 242; i. iii. 210-12; i. iv. 52-57. Also compare the scene of
Anne. In thy foul throat thou liest: Queen Margaret saw
Thy murderous falchion smoking in his blood;
The which thou once didst bend against her breast,
But that thy brothers beat aside the point.

Glou. I was provoked by her slanderous tongue,
That laid their guilt upon my guiltless shoulders.

Anne. Thou wast provoked by thy bloody mind,
That never dreamt on ought but butcheries:
Didst thou not kill this king?

Glou. I grant ye.

Anne. Dost grant me, hedge-hog? Then God grant me too
Thou may'st be damned for that wicked deed!
O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous!

Glou. The better for the King of heaven, that hath him.

Anne. He is in heaven, where thou shalt never come.

Glou. Let him thank me, that holp to send him thither;
For he was fitter for that place than earth.

Anne. And thou unfit for any place but hell.

Glou. Yes, one place else, if you will hear me name it.

Anne. Some dungeon.

Glou. Your bed-chamber.

93. In thy . . . saw] one line as Qq; two lines Ff, divided after ly'st.
94. murderous] murderous Ff; bloody Qq 1, 2; bloody Qq 3-6. 98, 100. That] Ff; Which Qq. 100. dream] Qq; dream'st Ff. 101. ye] Ff; yee Qq 3-8; yea Qq 1, 2.
102. Dost . . . grant me too] one line as Qq; two lines Ff, divided after hedge-hog.
103. may'st be damned] Ff; maiest be damn'd Qq 1, 2; maiest be damned Qq 3-6. 105. better] Ff; fitter Qq. 110. you] Qq 1, 2, 6-8, Ff; ye Qq 3-5.

the murder, 3 Henry VI. v. v. 38-40. In The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, sc. xxi., Edward is the murderer. From the same source, and from no historical authority, comes the story, repeated in 3 Henry VI., and below, line 95, that Gloucester threatened Queen Margaret's life on the same occasion.

101. Gloucester's admission is in entire keeping with the audacity of his character as Shakespeare designed it. It need hardly be said that it rests on no historical basis. The only authority for Richard's guilt in the case of Henry VI. was "constant fame" (Holinshed, iii. 690).

107. holp] For the strong preterite, compare King John, i. i. 240; King Lear, iii. vii. 62. Pope altered it here to "help'd". Kyd, Spanish Tragedy, act iii., uses "holp" as past participle, "He runs to kill, whom I have holp to catch." Tennyson is fond of this form of the preterite, e.g. Princess, i. 198, "and himself . . . holp to lace us up."

111. The broken metre emphasises the brevity of Anne's taunt and Gloucester's retort. There is room for a pause between the two, to allow him to recover from the stinging severity of her answer. The proposed emendations—e.g. Steevens, "Some dungeon perhaps. Glou. Your bed-chamber," in which "dungeon" is a trisyllable—seem to be unnecessary.
Anne. Ill rest betide the chamber where thou liest!
Glou. So will it, madam, till I lie with you.
Anne. I hope so.

Glou. I know so. But, gentle Lady Anne,
To leave this keen encounter of our wits
And fall something into a slower method,
Is not the causer of the timeless deaths
Of these Plantagenets, Henry and Edward,
As blameful as the executioner?

Anne. Thou wast the cause and most accurs'd effect.
Glou. Your beauty was the cause of that effect;
Your beauty, that did haunt me in my sleep
To undertake the death of all the world,
So I might live one hour in your sweet bosom.

Anne. If I thought that, I tell thee, homicide,
These nails should rend that beauty from my cheeks.

Glou. These eyes could not endure that beauty's wrack;
You should not blemish it, if I stood by:
As all the world is cheered by the sun,
So I by that; it is my day, my life.

115. keen] Q 1, Ff; kind Qq 2-8. 116. something] Ff; somewhat Qq.
120. wast] Ff; art Qq. 122. that] Ff; which Qq. 124. live] Ff; rest Qq.
126. rend] Qq; rent Ff. 127. not] Ff; never Qq. 128. if] Ff; them Qq.

116. slower method] Steevens explains as "more serious," i.e. slow as opposed to "quick" in the sense of "lively." Perhaps "more deliberate" is a better interpretation.
117. timeless] untimely. Aldis Wright notices Shakespeare's use of the word in his earliest plays and poems: e.g. Richard II. iv. i. 5; Romeo and Juliet, v. iii. 162; Lucrece, 44. Compare Marlowe, 2 Tamburlaine, 1590, v. 3: "Let Earth and Heaven his timeless death deplore." R. C. Browne, on Milton, Death of Fair Infant, line 2 (Clar. Press ed. i. 250), refers to Spenser, Faerie Queene, vi. 2. 14, where "knightlesse" = unknighthly.
120. effect] efficient power, agent. Richard is at once the causer and the executioner of the deaths of Henry and Edward. Malone understood the passage thus. "Effect," meaning "agency, operative influence," is used by Marlowe, Doctor Faustus, c. 1588, sc. x.: "none...can compare with thee for the rare effects of magic"; and New Eng. Dict. gives a more recent instance from Sir David Brewster's Natural Magic, 1833: "It will act like a concave when the cooling effect has reached the axis." In the present line both "cause" and "effect" are used in a concrete sense, to be retorted in the next with their ordinary abstract meaning. Warburton explained "effect" as "executioner," which amounts to the same as Malone's reading; Steevens and Johnson took the word in its usual sense. Hamner proposed: "Thou wast the cause and most accurs'd th' effect." 128. blemish it] i.e. your beauty, referring to line 126. Qq "them" refers, of course, to "cheeks" in line 126; but Gloucester's mention of his eyes in the previous line makes such a reference ambiguous.
Anne. Black night o'ershade thy day, and death thy life!
Glou. Curse not thyself, fair creature; thou art both.
Anne. I would I were, to be reveng'd on thee.
Glou. It is a quarrel most unnatural,
To be reveng'd on him that loveth thee.
Anne. It is a quarrel just and reasonable,
To be reveng'd on him that kill'd my husband.
Glou. He that bereft thee, lady, of thy husband,
Did it to help thee to a better husband.
Anne. His better doth not breathe upon the earth.
Glou. He lives that loves thee better than he could.
Anne. Name him.
Glou. Plantagenet.
Anne. Why, that was he.
Glou. The self-same name, but one of better nature.
Anne. Where is he?
Glou. Here. [She spitteth at him.
Why dost thou spit at me?
Anne. Would it were mortal poison, for thy sake!
Glou. Never came poison from so sweet a place,
Anne. Never hung poison on a fouler toad.
Out of my sight! thou dost infect mine eyes.
Glou. Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.
Anne. Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead!

131. o'ershade] o're-shade Ff; ouershade or ouershad Qq.
132. Curse not . . both] one line as Qq; two lines Ff, divided after creature.
135. thee]
FF; you Qq.
137. kill'd] Ff; slew Qq.
141. He] Ff; Go to, he Qq. thee
Ff; you Qq.
142. that] Qq 1, 2, Ff; what Qq 3-8.
148. mine] Ff; my Qq,

141. He lives] Qq “go to” at the beginning of the line may have been an ejaculation added on the stage, which found its way into theatrical MSS. and so into the text. In Qq, the murderers’ conversation in i. iv. is full of such expletives and interjections. See also line 187 below.

150. basilisks] In popular superstition, the basilisk was a creature “with legs, wings, a serpentine and winding tail, and a crest or comb somewhat like a cock.” It was the offspring of a cock’s egg, hatched under a toad or serpent, and had the power of killing at a distance with the poison of its eye. See Sir T. Browne, Pseud. Epid., 1646. iii. 7, where also the real basilisk is described, a small serpent distinguished by its habit of “advancing his head,” and by “some white marks or coronal spots on the crown,” which gave it its name of basiliscus (Vulgate, Ps. xci. 13) or regulus (Prov. xxiii. 32). Gloucester (3 Henry VI. iii. ii. 187) says he will “slay more gazers than the basilisk.” See also 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 52, 324; Cymbeline, ii. iv. 107; Winter’s Tale, i. ii. 388. Compare Jonson, pref. speech to Poetaster:—
“Are there no players here? no poet-apes,
Glou. I would they were, that I might die at once;  
For now they kill me with a living death.  
Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,  
Sham'd their aspects with store of childish drops—  
These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear—  
No, when my father York and Edward wept  
To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made  
When black-fac'd Clifford shook his sword at him;  
Nor when thy warlike father like a child  
Told the sad story of my father's death,  
And twenty times made pause to sob and weep,  
That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,  
Like trees bedash'd with rain—in that sad time  
My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear;  
And what these sorrows could not thence exhale  
Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.  
I never sued to friend nor enemy;  
My tongue could never learn sweet smoothing word:  
But, now thy beauty is propos'd my fee,  
My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to speak.  

[She looks scornfully at him.]

Teach not thy lip such scorn, for it was made  
For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.  

154. aspects] Ff; aspect Qq.  
155-166. These eyes ... weeping] Ff; omitted  
Qq.  
168. smoothing] Ff, Qq 7, 8; soothing Qq 1-6. word] Ff; words Qq.  
170. She looks ... ] Ff; omitted Qq.  
171. &c] Ff; lips Qq. it was] Ff; they were Qq.

That come with basilisk's eyes,  
whose forked tongues  
Are steep'd in venom, as their  
hearts in gall";  
Fletcher, False One, iv. 2:—  
"I will ... put a look on, arm'd  
with all my cunning,  
Shall meet him like a basilisk, and  
strike him."

Lodge, Wounds of Civil War, act ii.,  
speaking of the kind of cannon called,  
for obvious reasons, a basilisk, carries  
out the metaphor in detail:—  
"... these Roman basilisks,  
That seek to quell us with their  
currish looks."

157. Rutland] second son of Richard,  
Duke of York. For his supposed murder  
by John, Lord Clifford, after the battle  
of Wakefield, see 3 Henry VI. i. iii.  
York's tears at the news (line 156) are  
recorded ibid. i. iv. 147. The tidings  
were brought to Edward and Gloucester  
on the field of Mortimer's Cross (ibid.  
i. i.). Warwick (line 159) does not  
bring them in Shakespeare, but enters  
after they have been told. Gloucester's  
indignation at the news forbade him to  
weep. Once, however, in 3 Henry VI.  
(ii. iii. 40) he is allowed to "shed re-  
moroseful tear," when the prospect at  
Towton is unpromising for the Yorkist  
party.  
168. smoothing] flattering. See be-  
low, i. iii. 48, and 2 Henry VI. i. i.  
156.
if thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,
Lo, here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword,
Which if thou please to hide in this true breast,
And let the soul forth that adoreth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.

[He lays his breast open: she offers at it with his sword.

Nay, do not pause: for I did kill King Henry;
But 'twas thy beauty that provoked me.
Nay, now dispatch: 'twas I that stabb'd young Edward;
But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.

[Here she lets fall the sword.

Take up the sword again, or take up me.

Anne. Arise, dissembler: though I wish thy death,
I will not be thy executioner.

Glou. Then bid me kill myself, and I will do it.

Anne. I have already.

Glou. That was in thy rage.

Anne. I would I knew thy heart.

Glou. 'Tis figur'd in my tongue.

Anne. I fear me, both are false.

175. breast] Ff; bosom Qq.
177. the] thy Qq 6-8, F 3.
178. He lays . . . at it . . . sword.] F (at F r); omitted Qq.
179. for I . . . Henry] Ff; twas I that kild your husband Qq.
180. stabb'd young Edward] Ff; kild King Henry Qq.
181. lets fall] Qq; fals Ff.
182. thy] Ff; the Qq.
183. That] Ff; Tush, that Qq, thy] the Qq 3-7.
184. This] Ff; That Qq.
185. shalt thou] Q 1, Ff; thou shalt Qq 2-8.

178. the death] death after judicial sentence, as St. Mark vii. 10: "He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death." See Henry V. iv. i. 181; Measure for Measure, ii. iv. 165; Chapman (?), Alphonsus, v. 2: "Thou shalt obtain thy boon and die the death."

183. The line recalls the first part of Feronimo, c. 1587 (Dodsley, 1825, iii. 68): "Take up thy pen, or I'll take up thee."

192-201. Steevens arranged these lines in more or less regular blank verse; his lines end "figur'd in . . . man . . . sword . . . know . . . men . . . ring" (Camb.). His divisions are out of keeping with those characteristic of this period of Shakespeare's work; and their metrical accuracy is open to criticism.
Glou. Then never man was true.

Anne. Well, well, put up your sword.

Glou. Say then my peace is made.

Anne. That shalt thou know hereafter.

Glou. But shall I live in hope?

Anne. All men, I hope, live so.

Glou. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

Anne. To take is not to give.

Glou. Look, how my ring encompasseth thy finger:
   Even so thy breast encloseth my poor heart;
   Wear both of them, for both of them are thine.
   And if thy poor devoted servant may
   But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
   Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.

Anne. What is it?

Glou. That it may please you leave these sad designs
   To him that hath most cause to be a mourner,
   And presently repair to Crosby Place;
   Where, after I have solemnly inter'd
   At Chertsey monast'ry this noble king,

   195. man was] Qq.3-8, Ff; was man Qq.1, 2.  198. shalt thou] Ff; shall you
   199. shall I] Qq.1, Ff; I shall Qq.2-8.  201. Glou.] Qq; omitted Ff.
   202. Anne, To . . . give] La. To . . . give Qq; omitted Ff.  203. my] Ff;
   this Qq; thy Ff.2-4. thy finger] Qq, Ff; my finger Ff.2-4.  206. devoted]
   Q1, Ff; omitted Qq.2-8. servant] Ff; suppliante Qq.  210. may] Ff; would
   Qq. you] Ff; thee Qq.  211. most] Ff; more Qq.  212. Place] Qq;
   House Ff.

201. Ff continue this line from
Anne's speech in the line before, and
omit line 202 altogether. This omission
may be attributed to a quite comprehensible printer's error. The
passage, as printed, would have read thus:

An. All men, I hope, live so.

Rich. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

Rich. Look, how my ring, etc.

In the final revision of F I, it seems probable that the error was altered summarily: the first Rich. was struck out, and the line was set back so that the V of "Vouchsafe" ranged immediately below the A of "An." The sense was confused by this hasty emendation.

212. presently] immediately, as iii. i. 34 below; Julius Caesar, iii. i. 28;

Philippians ii. 23: "Him therefore I hope to send presently."

212. Crosby Place] See Stow, Survey, ed. Strype, 1720, i. pt. ii. p. 106. The site of Crosby Place or House (now called Crosby Hall) was leased in 1466 to Sir John Crosby by the prioress and convent of St. Helen's. The house, fronting on Bishopsgate Street Within, was built by Sir John, "of stone and timber, very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London." Sir John was alive at the time of the burial of Henry VI. Later, "Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and lord protector, was lodged in this house," which, in Shakespeare, is the centre from which he works his plots. See below, i. iii. 345, etc.
And wet his grave with my repentant tears, 
I will with all expedient duty see you. 
For divers unknown reasons, I beseech you, 
Grant me this boon.

Anne. With all my heart; and much it joys me too 
To see you are become so penitent. 
Tressel and Berkeley, go along with me.

Glou. Bid me farewell.

Anne. 
'Tis more than you deserve; 
But, since you teach me how to flatter you, 
Imagine I have said farewell already.

[Exeunt Lady Anne, Tressel, and Berkeley]

Glou. Sirs, take up the corse.

Gent. Towards Chertsey, noble lord?

Glou. No, to White-Friars; there attend my coming.

[Exeunt all but Gloucester]

Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?
Was ever woman in this humour won?
I'll have her, but I will not keep her long.
What! I, that kill'd her husband and his father.
To take her in her heart's extremest hate,
With curses in her mouth, tears in her eyes.
The bleeding witness of her hatred by,

224. farewell already] After these words, Cibber, regarding the whole scene as in need of some safeguard against criticism, added a remark by Tressel:—

"When future chronicles shall speak of this,
This will be thought romance, not history."

227. White-Friars] The chroniclers give Blackfriars as the intermediate stage of Henry's obsequies.

228, 229. Kindred passages are found in Titus Andronicus, ii. 1, 82, 83, and I Henry VI. v. iii. 77, 78. The origin of this effective dramatic tag may spring from the earlier of these passages, or from some previous play. See also the quotation from Greene in Mr. Baildon's edition of Titus Andronicus, 1904, p. 32.

234. her hatred] Qq reading is preferable. Henry's bleeding wounds bore witness to the justice of Anne's hatred. Speeding defends Ff by saying that Henry's corpse was the "motive or ground of Anne's hatred of Richard, whereas it was really the witness of Richard's hatred of her father-in-law." The difference between the readings lies in the sense which "witness" is made to bear.
Having God, her conscience, and these bars against
me,
And I no friends to back my suit withal
But the plain devil and dissembling looks—
And yet, to win her, all the world to nothing!
Ha!
Hath she forgot already that brave prince,
Edward her lord, whom I, some three months since,
Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewkesbury?
A sweeter and a lovelier gentleman,
Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,
Young, valiant, wise, and, no doubt, right royal,
The spacious world cannot again afford:
And will she yet abase her eyes on me,
That cropp'd the golden prime of this sweet prince,
And made her widow to a woful bed—
On me, whose all not equals Edward's moiety—
On me, that halt and am unshapen thus?
My dukedom to a beggarly denier,
I do mistake my person all this while!
Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,
Myself to be a marvellous proper man.

236. no friends] Ff; nothing Qq.  withal] Qq 3-8, Ff; at all Qq 1, 2. 24
abase] Ff; debase Qq.  251. halt] Qq; halts Ff.  252. io] to be Qq 5-8.

241. three months since] In reality, Tewkesbury was fought on 4th May; Henry was buried on 23rd May, 1471.
244. the prodigality of nature] nature's most prodigal mood. Holinshed (iii. 688) speaks of Prince Edward as "a faire and well proportioned young gentleman."
245. valiant] must be read as a full trisyllable for the sake of metre. For alterations like Pope's "wise and valiant" there is no need.
245. royal] "It is hard to believe that this is what Shakespeare wrote" (Aldis Wright). But why? Gloucester means that Edward no doubt was royal by nature, and not merely by birth—handsome, young, brave, wise, in every respect fit to be a king. Steevens' suggestion that the word contains a sneer at Edward's legitimacy is possible, but is not needed to make sense; while Johnson's emendation "loyal" (i.e. to his wife) does not improve matters.
252. denier] A small copper coin, equivalent to the twelfth part of a test or the "tenth part of an English pennie" (Cotgrave); Lat. denarius.
Compare Taming of the Shrew, Ind. i. 9; Fletcher, Monsieur Thomas, 1639, i. 2:—
"No money, no more money,
Monsieur Launcelot,
Not a denier, sweet signior."
The first quotation in New Eng. Dict. is c. 1425. "Denier" is also equivalent to a pennyweight in Troy weight.
255. proper] handsome, well-liking: compare Taming of the Shrew, i. ii. 144; As You Like It, i. ii. 129.
I'll be at charges for a looking-glass,
And entertain a score or two of tailors
To study fashions to adorn my body:
Since I am crept in favour with myself,
I will maintain it with some little cost.
But first I'll turn yon fellow in his grave,
And then return lamenting to my love.
Shine out, fair sun, till I have bought a glass,
That I may see my shadow as I pass.

[Exit.]

SCENE. III.—The Palace.

Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH, LORD RIVERS, and LORD GREY.

Riv. Have patience, madam: there's no doubt his majesty
Will soon recover his accustom'd health.

Grey. In that you brook it ill, it makes him worse:
Therefore, for God's sake, entertain good comfort,
And cheer his grace with quick and merry words.

Q. Eliz. If he were dead, what would betide on me?
Riv. No other harm but loss of such a lord.
Q. Eliz. The loss of such a lord includes all harms.
Grey. The heavens have bless'd you with a goodly son,
To be your comforter when he is gone.

Q. Eliz. Ah! he is young;—and his minority

257. at charges] at the expense.
Compare Chapman, An Humorous Day's Mirth, 1599 (ed. Shepherd, 1874, p. 42): "Here's the poor man hath been at great charges for the preparation of a lottery." For the use of "charge, charges," in the sense of "expense, cost," see Jonson, Cynthia's Revels, 1600. i. 1: "Amo... your travel is your only thing that rectifies... Aso. I think it be great charge though, sir"; Marston, Malcontent, 1604, act iii.: "Madam, I am going ambassador for Florence; 'twill be great charges to me"; i Maccabees iii. 30: "He feared that he should not be able to bear the charges any longer."

Scene III.

5. quick] lively: compare Love's Labour's Lost, v. ii. 283; Antony and Cleopatra, v. ii. 216; Jonson, Cynthia's Revels, iv. 1: "This tire, methinks, makes me look very ingeniously, quick, and spirited." See also line 196 below.
Is put unto the trust of Richard Gloucester,
A man that loves not me, nor none of you.

**Riv.** Is it concluded he shall be protector?

**Q. Eliz.** It is determin’d, not concluded yet;
But so it must be, if the king miscarry.

*Enter Buckingham and Derby.*

**Grey.** Here come the lords of Buckingham and Derby.

**Buck.** Good time of day unto your royal grace!

**Der.** God make your majesty joyful as you have been!

**Q. Eliz.** The Countess Richmond, good my lord of Derby,
To your good prayer will scarcely say amen.
Yet, Derby, notwithstanding she’s your wife
And loves not me, be you, good lord, assur’d
I hate not you for her proud arrogance.

**Der.** I do beseech you, either not believe
The envious slanders of her false accusers;

15. *determin’d, not concluded*] The matter is settled, but the official formalities are not completed. Aldis Wright notes that at Trinity College, Cambridge, the official entries of decisions arrived at by the Master and Seniors are entered in a book called the Conclusion Book. A treaty is determined before it is officially concluded. So *Merry Devil of Edmonton*:

“... After we ’ll conclude
The cause of this our coming,”
i.e. the betrothal.

16. *miscarry*] Compare *Measure for Measure*, iii. i. 218; Chapman, *All Fools*, 1605, i. i.:

“... How would his father grieve, should he be maim’d,
Or quite miscarry in the ruthless war.”

17. *come the lords*] The Pf reading is either due to the printer, or, which is hardly credible, reintroduces an error of the MS. which the editor employed. It seems likely that the original reading had the old plural “comes the lords,” like the quartos from Q 3 onwards; that the editor of F 1 found this both

in his Q and the MS. by which he checked it; and that the printer eventually altered “lords” into “lord,” perhaps assuming that Buckingham and Derby were two titles of the same person, and certainly anxious to get rid of the plural meaning of “comes.”

20. **Countess Richmond**] Margaret Beaufort (1443-1509), daughter and heiress of John Beaufort, first Duke of Somerset, and great-grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. She married in 1455 Edmund Tudor (d. 1456), Earl of Richmond, son of Owen Tudor and Katharine, widow of Henry V. By him she had Henry Tudor, afterwards Henry VII. She married secondly, Lord Henry Stafford, a son of the first Duke of Buckingham, and uncle of the Buckingham of this play. Her third husband was Thomas, Lord Stanley.

25. *not believe*] Compare “not equals” above, i. ii. 250.

26. *atonement*] reconciliation, setting at one (at-one-ment). Compare 2 *Henry IV*. iv. i. 221; More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 714): “having more regard to their old variance, than their new
Or, if she be accus'd on true report,  
Bear with her weakness, which, I think, proceeds  
From wayward sickness, and no grounded malice.  
Riv. Saw you the king to-day, my lord of Derby?  
Der. But now the Duke of Buckingham and I  
Are come from visiting his majesty.

Q. Eliz. What likelihood of his amendment, lords?  
Buck. Madam, good hope; his grace speaks cheerfully.  
Q. Eliz. God grant him health! Did you confer with him?  
Buck. Ay, madam: he desires to make atonement  
Between the Duke of Gloucester and your brothers,  
And between them and my lord chamberlain,  
And sent to warn them to his royal presence.

Q. Eliz. Would all were well!—but that will never be.  
I fear our happiness is at the height.  

Enter Gloucester, Hastings, and Dorset.

Glou. They do me wrong, and I will not endure it.  
Who are they that complain unto the king,  
That I, forsooth, am stern and love them not?  
By holy Paul, they love his grace but lightly,  
That fill his ears with such dissentious rumours!  
Because I cannot flatter and look fair,  
Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog,

27. on] Ff; in Qq. 32. Are come] Ff; Come Qq. 33. What] Qq 3-8, Ff;  
With Qq 1, 2. 36. Ay, Madam] I Madam Ff; Madam we did Qq. 37.  
Between] Ff; Betwixt Qq. 38. between] Ff; betwixt Qq. 39. to his] of  
his Qq 6. 41. height] Ff; highest Qq. 43. are they] Qq; is it Ff. com-  
plain] Q 8; complaines Qq 1-7, Ff. 47. look] Ff; speak Qq.

atonement." See also Antony and  
Cleopatra, ii. ii. 102; Fletcher and  
Massinger, Spanish Curate, 1622, iii.  
4: "I have been atoning two most  
wrangling neighbours." For an in-  
transitive use see Coriolanus, iv. vi.  
72:—

"He and Aufidius can no more  
on more  
alone  
Than violentest contrariety."

39. warn] summon, as King John,  
ii. i. 201.

43. "Complaines" in Qq 1-7 is not  
a singular, but the old plural form. Ff  
seem to attempt to modernise the  
grammar. This might be taken as a re-  
turn to an original MS. reading; but  
the tell-tale "them," which has been  
overlooked in the next line, is against  
this theory.

48. Smooth] See note on i. ii. 168  
above. Theobald suggested "sooth."  
cog] used originally of cheating at  
dice. A common word. New Eng.  
Dict. quotes Dice Play, 1532: "There  
be divers kinds of cogging, but of all  
other the Spanish cogg bears the bell,  
and seldom raises any smoke." Com-  
pare Love's Labour's Lost, v. ii. 235:  
"Since you can cog, I'll play no more  
with you." Mr. Craig notes that, in  
Ireland, "to cog" is used by schoolboys
Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,  
I must be held a rancorous enemy.  
Cannot a plain man live and think no harm,  
But thus his simple truth must be abus'd  
With silken, sly, insinuating Jacks?

Grey. To whom in all this presence speaks your grace?

Glou. To thee, that hast nor honesty nor grace:  
When have I injur'd thee? when done thee wrong?  
Or thee? or thee? or any of your faction?  
A plague upon you all! His royal person—Whom God preserve better than you would wish!—  
Cannot be quiet scarce a breathing-while,  
But you must trouble him with lewd complaints.

Q. Eliz. Brother of Gloucester, you mistake the matter.
The king, on his own royal disposition,

52. his] in Qq 5-8. 53. With] Fr; By Qq. 54. Grey] Fr [Gray Fr 3, 4]; Ri. or Ry. Qq. whom] who Fr 1; home Q 6. all] omitted Qq 6-8. 58. person] QQ; grace Fr. 63. on] Fr; of Qq.

in the sense of "to copy work from another" at an examination, and that a "cog" is used of a translation from a classical author, like the English "crib."

49. French nods and apish courtesy] In Decker, Seven Deadly Sins of London (Arber, 35), the fifth sin is "Apishness," the sin of "counterfetting or imitation." Much about the year when Monsieur came in, was hee begotten, betweene a French Tayler, and an English Court-Seamster." François, Duke of Alençon, and, after 1574, Duke of Anjou and, by courtesy, Monsieur de France, the youngest son of Henry II. and Caterina de' Medici, visited England in 1579 and 1581 as a suitor to Elizabeth, and was regarded for a time as her prospective husband. The popular attitude to the foreign marriage is gauged by such allusions as these, which, written several years after the event, retain the deep impression which it created. Compare Eastward Ho: "dost thou think our Englishmen are so Frenchified, that a man knows not whether he be in France or in England, when he sees 'hem'?"; Fletcher, Monsieur Thomas, i. 2: "Sirrah, no more of your French shrugs, I advise you."

53. Jacks] Used contemptuously: low-bred fellows. Compare 1 Henry IV. ii. iv. 12; Romeo and Juliet, ii. iv. 160; Wilkins, Miseries of Inforst Marriage, act i.: "Now death of me, shall I be crossed by such a jack?"; act v.: "Peace, saucy Jack." See also the conversation in Martin Marprelate, Epistle, 1588 (Arber, 20), between John Aylmer, Bishop of London, and one Madox: "That is my meaning, ka dumb Iohn, and I tell thee Madox that thou art but a Jacke to use me so: Master Madox replying sayd that in deed his name was Iohn, and if euer Iohn were a Jacke, he was content to bee a Jacke (there he hit my L[ord] over the thumbs)."

63-69. The king . . . remove it] The meaning of the sentence is obvious; but the grammar is hopelessly confused. The words "royal disposition" have deposed "the king" from its place as the true nominative. The words "Aiming . . . hatred" are intended to qualify "royal disposition"; the "interior hatred" of Gloucester being the antithesis to the royal nature of the king. Elizabeth goes on to explain how this hatred shows itself. But she loses the thread of her sentence; and, when she comes to her verb, the "royal disposition" is
KING RICHARD III  

And not provok'd by any suitor else—
Aiming, belike, at your interior hatred,
That in your outward action shows itself
Against my children, brothers, and myself,
Makes him to send, that thereby he may gather
The ground of your ill-will, and so remove it.

Glou. I cannot tell: the world is grown so bad,
That wrens make prey where eagles dare not perch.
Since every Jack became a gentleman,
There's many a gentle person made a Jack.

Q. Eliz. Come, come, we know your meaning, brother Gloucester;
You envy my advancement and my friends'.
God grant we may never have need of you!

Glou. Meantime, God grants that we have need of you!
Our brother is imprison'd by your means,
Myself disgrac'd, and the nobility
Held in contempt, while great promotions
Are daily given to ennable those.

That scarce, some two days since, were worth a noble.

65. That] Ff; Which Qq. action] Ff; actions Qq. 66. children] Ff; kindred Qq, brothers] Ff; brother Qq. 68, 69. that thereby . . . The ground . . . so remove it] Steevens; that thereby . . . The ground . . . to remove it Qq 1-5; that thereby . . . The grounds . . . to remove it Q 6; that he may learn the ground Ff; whereby . . . The ground . . . to remove it Qq 7, 8. 71. make] Qq 1, 2, Ff; may Qq 3-6. 75. my] Q 1, Ff; mine Qq 2-8. 77. grants] Qq 1, 2, Ff; grant Qq 3-8. we] Qq; I Ff. 80. while] Ff; whilst Qq. great] Ff; many faire Qq.

uppermost in her mind, and becomes the subject of the sentence. Abbott, Shakespearean Grammar, § 413, quotes Cymbeline, v. v. 344, 345:—

"Beaten for loyalty
Excited me to treason";
but the case does not seem exactly parallel. In behalf of Qq, Aldis Wright quotes the Prayer-Book version of Ps. lxxxviii. 81: "That they might put their trust in God, and not to forget," etc. Ff seem to adopt a summary method of emendation by removing the main difficulty. If, on Mr. Daniel's theory, the editor of F 1 used a copy of Q 6, the plural "grounds" in line 69 would have complicated the problem which he thus solved. Even if the involved construction of the speech is due to hasty writing, it is exactly the agitated and incoherent defence which a woman would make, face to face with a dangerous enemy, and powerless against his insinuations.

72. every Jack] "Jack" (see note on line 53 above) is here used in the original sense of peasant: compare John Heywood, Proverbs (Sharman, 61): "Jacke would be a gentleman, if he could speake French." (Craig). 77. need of you] Gloucester plays on the double meaning of "need." Elizabeth has prayed that she and her family may never be under the necessity of asking his help. He rejoins that he and his friends are in necessity owing to her intrigues.
Q. Eliz. By Him that rais'd me to this careful height
From that contented hap which I enjoy'd,
I never did incense his majesty
Against the Duke of Clarence, but have been
An earnest advocate to plead for him!
My lord, you do me shameful injury,
Falsely to draw me in these vile suspects.

Glou. You may deny that you were not the mean
Of my Lord Hastings' late imprisonment.

Riv. She may, my lord, for——

Glou. She may, Lord Rivers! why, who knows not so?
She may do more, sir, than denying that:
She may help you to many fair preferments,
And then deny her aiding hand therein,
And lay those honours on your high desert.
What may she not? she may, ay, marry, may she,—

Riv. What, marry, may she?

Glou. What, marry, may she! marry with a king,
A bachelor and a handsome stripling too:
I wis your grandam had a worser match.

Q. Eliz. My Lord of Gloucester, I have too long borne
Your blunt upbraiding and your bitter scoffs:
By heaven, I will acquaint his majesty
Of those gross taunts that oft I have endur'd!
I had rather be a country servant-maid

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I had rather be a country servant-maid

90. mean[ ]Ff; cause Qq. 92. lord, for—[ ]Ff; Lord Qq. 97. desert[ ]Ff;
deserts Qq. 98. ay[ ]I Ff; yea Qq. 101. and[ ]Ff; omitted Qq. 106. Of[ ]
Ff; With Qq. that oft I Ff; I often Qq.

hetherto founde me a cheerfull companion in thy myrth, and nowe shalt
thou finde me as careful with thee in thy moane"; Lodge, Wounds of Civil War, act v.
"the coverts of my carefull eyes."

89. draw me in] Compare Wilkins, Miseries of Inforst Marriage, act ii.: "Draw all her soul in th' compass
of an oath."

suspects] suspicions, as 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 139; Marlowe, Edward II. 1594, act iv.: "Free from suspect, and
fell invasion."
Than a great queen, with this condition,
To be so baited, scorn’d, and stormed at:
Small joy have I in being England’s queen.

Enter Queen Margaret, behind.

Q. Mar. And less’en’d be that small, God I beseech Him!
Thy honour, state, and seat is due to me.

Glou. What, threaten you me with telling of the king?
Tell him, and spare not: look, what I have said,
I will avouch’t in presence of the king:
I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower,
’Tis time to speak; my pains are quite forgot.

Q. Mar. Out, devil! I do remember them too well:
Thou kill’dst my husband Henry in the Tower,
And Edward, my poor son, at Tewkesbury.

Glou. Ere you were queen, ay, or your husband king,
I was a pack-horse in his great affairs,
A weeder-out of his proud adversaries,
A liberal rewarder of his friends:
To royalise his blood, I spent mine own.

109. so baited] Ff; thus taunted Qq. stormed] Ff; baited Qq. aft. 110. Enter . . . behind.] Enter old Queene Margaret. Ff; Enter Queen Margaret. Qq (aft. 109). 111. Him] Ff; thee Qq. 113. of] or Q 2; omitted Qq 6-8. 114. Tell him . . . said] Qq; omitted Ff. have] Qq 1, 2; omitted Qq 3-8. 115. avouch’t] Ff; avouch Qq. 116. I dare . . . Tower] Ff; omitted Qq. 117. my] when Q 6. 118. Out . . . well] one line as Qq; two lines Ff, divided after Duell. do] Ff; omitted Qq. 119. kill’dst] Ff; slewest Qq. 121. Ere you . . . king] one line as Qq; two lines Ff, divided after Queene. ay] I Ff; yea Qq. 125. spent] Ff; spilt Qq.

114-116.] The omission of line 114 in Ff may be due to a printer’s error. Its loss injures the emphasis, if not the sense: the editor can hardly have missed it willingly. If he used Q 6 for his text, he would have found the line imperfect; but he could have corrected it from his MS. copy or by mere conjecture. Of course, the MS. may have omitted it by mistake, just as it probably supplied line 116. But Ff “avouch t’” in line 115 does not necessarily imply such an omission; and it has been kept here as a mere repetition of the object after the verb, which F probably borrowed from MS. The omission of line 116 in Qq may have been either an error or an unnecessary piece of revision.

125. royalise] A word frequently used by Marlowe and his disciples; *e.g.* Marlowe, *T Tamburlaine*, c. 1587, ii. 3:—

“For fates and oracles of Heaven have sworn
To royalise the deeds of Tamburlaine.”

Greene, *Friar Bacon* (Dyce, 169):—

“Rich Alexandria drugs . . . Shall royalise the table of my king.”

Peele, *Edward I*. 1593 (ibid. 377):—
Q. Mar. Ay, and much better blood than his or thine.
Glou. In all which time you and your husband Grey
Were factious for the house of Lancaster;
And, Rivers, so were you. Was not your husband
In Margaret’s battle at Saint Albans slain?  
Let me put in your minds, if you forget
What you have been ere this, and what you are,
Withal, what I have been, and what I am.

Q. Mar. A murd’rous villain, and so still thou art.
Glou. Poor Clarence did forsake his father, Warwick;
Ay, and forswore himself, which Jesu pardon!—

Q. Mar. Which God revenge!
Glou. To fight on Edward’s party for the crown;
And for his meed, poor lord, he is mew’d up.
I would to God my heart were flint, like Edward’s,
Or Edward’s soft and pitiful, like mine:
I am too childish-foolish for this world.

Q Mar. Hie thee to hell for shame, and leave this world,
Thou cacodemon! there thy kingdom is.

126. Ay] I Ff; Yea Qq. Ay . . . thine] one line as Qq; two lines Ff, divided after blood. 131. minds] minde Q 5; mind Qq 6-8. you] Ff; yours Qq. 132. this] Ff; now Qq. 136. Ay] I Ff; Yea Qq. 142. childish-foolish] Theobald; childish, foolish Q q 1, 2; childish foolish Qq 3-8, Ff. 143. this] Ff; the Qq.

“Illustrious England, ancient seat of kings,
Whose chivalry hath royalis’d thy fame.”

130. Margaret’s battle at St. Albans
Margaret’s battle” may mean either
(1) the battle in which Margaret was victorious at St. Albans, i.e. the battle of Bernard’s Heath, 17th February, 1461; or (2) Margaret’s army, as in Henry IV. iv. i. 120; and see note on v. iii. 11 below. Either is tenable; but, if Shakespeare is consistent to his error in 3 Henry VI. iii. ii. 6, the first is the more likely.

144. cacodemon] simply equivalent to “evil demon.” κακόδαμως means “possessed by an evil spirit”; but Aristophanes once uses it (Eq. 112) in the sense of “an evil genius.” Decker, Lanthorne and Candle-light, 1608 (ed. Smeaton, 235), has: “The Under Sheriffe for the county of the Caco-
demons, knowing into what arrarages these Rank-riders were runne for horse-
flesh to his maister, . . . sent out his writs to attach them.” New Eng. Dict. quotes Nashe, Terrors of the Night, 1594: “Anie terror, the least illusion in the earth is a Cacodamon unto him.” C. I. Elton, William Shakespeare, 1904, pp. 315, 316, notes Howell, Ep. Ho.-El., 1655, ii. 76: “I fear, that while France sets all wheels a-going, and stirs all the Cacodemons of Hell to pull down the House of Austria, she may chance at last to pull it upon her own head”; also Diary of the Rev. John Ward, ed. Severn, 1839, p. 163: “It is said of the gunpowder plot, that itt seemd a piece rather hammered in hell by a conventicle of cacodemons, than tracd by humane invention.” In Fletcher, Bloody Brother, c. 1624, iv. 2 (a scene sometimes ascribed to Jonson), the twelfth or lowest house in an astro-
KING RICHARD III

Riv. My Lord of Gloucester, in those busy days,
   Which here you urge to prove us enemies,
   We follow’d then our lord, our sovereign king:
   So should we you, if you should be our king.

Glou. If I should be! I had rather be a pedlar:
   Far be it from my heart, the thought thereof!

Q. Eliz. As little joy, my lord, as you suppose
   You should enjoy, were you this country’s king,
   As little joy you may suppose in me
   That I enjoy, being the queen thereof.

Q. Mar. A little joy enjoys the queen thereof;
   For I am she, and altogether joyless,
   I can no longer hold me patient.

   Hear me, you wrangling pirates, that fall out
   In sharing that which you have pill’d from me!
   Which of you trembles not that looks on me—
   If not that, I being queen, you bow like subjects,
   Yet that, by you depos’d, you quake like rebels?
   Ah, gentle villain, do not turn away!

Glou. Foul wrinkled witch, what mak’st thou in my sight?

Q. Mar. But repetition of what thou hast marr’d;
   That will I make before I let thee go.

Glou. Wert thou not banished on pain of death?

Q. Mar. I was; but I do find more pain in banishment.

logical scheme of the heavens is called
the “cacademon,” as being significant
of misfortune to the native.

153. in me] as regards me, in my case.
158. you wrangling pirates] Mr. Craig notes a parallel from 2 Henry VI. i. i. 222.
159. pill’d] robbed, pillaged. Compare Richard II. ii. 1. 246. Halliwell and Aldis Wright quote examples of
“to rob and pill” from Halle’s chronicle. “To pill” is the same word as “to peel,” i.e. to strip clean. Mr. Craig
supplies an instance from Caxton,
Than death can yield me here by my abode.  
A husband and a son thou ow'st to me;  
And thou a kingdom; all of you allegiance:
This sorrow that I have by right is yours,
And all the pleasures you usurp are mine.

Glou. The curse my noble father laid on thee,
When thou didst crown his warlike brows with paper,
And with thy scorns drew'st rivers from his eyes,
And then, to dry them, gav'st the duke a clout
Steep'd in the faultless blood of pretty Rutland—
His curses, then from bitterness of soul
Denounc'd against thee, are all fall'n upon thee;
And God, not we, hath plagu'd thy bloody deed.

Q. Eliz. So just is God to right the innocent.
Hast. O, 'twas the foulest deed to slay that babe,
And the most merciless that e'er was heard of.
Riv. Tyrants themselves wept when it was reported.
Dor. No man but prophesied revenge for it.
Buck. Northumberland, then present, wept to see it.

Q. Mar. What! were you snarling all before I came,
Ready to catch each other by the throat,
And turn you all your hatred now on me?
Did York's dread curse prevail so much with heaven,
That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death,
Their kingdom's loss, my woful banishment,
Should all but answer for that peevish brat?
Can curses pierce the clouds and enter heaven?
Why then, give way, dull clouds, to my quick curses!

170. ow'st to] Ff; owest to Qq 1-5; owest unto Qq 6-8.  
172. This] Ff; The Qq.  
173. are] Qq 1, 2, Ff; is Qq 3-8.  
174. faultless] omitted Qq 3-8.  
176. scorns] Ff; scorne Qq.  
178. e'er] ere Ff; ever Qq.  
190. all . . . now] Qq 1, 2, Ff; now . . . all Qq 2-6.  
194. Should] Ff; Could Qq.

174. For York's curse see 3 Henry VI. 1. iv. 164-66.


194. peevish] childish, fretful. Compare below, iv. iv. 420. See 3 Henry VI. v. vi. 18; Lodge, Wounds of Civil War, act ii.: "peevish eld discoursing by a fire." Below, iii. i. 31, is an example more nearly approximating to our own use, as meaning "wayward and querulous." "Peevish" is constantly applied to a boy, as a conventional epithet.
Though not by war, by surfeit die your king
As ours by murder, to make him a king!
Edward thy son, that now is Prince of Wales,
For Edward my son, that was Prince of Wales,
Die in his youth by like untimely violence!
Thyself a queen, for me that was a queen,
Outlive thy glory, like my wretched self!
Long may'st thou live to wail thy children's loss,
And see another, as I see thee now,
Deck'd in thy rights, as thou art stall'd in mine!
Long die thy happy days before thy death;
And, after many lengthen'd hours of grief,
Die neither mother, wife, nor England's queen!
Rivers and Dorset, you were standers-by,
And so wast thou, Lord Hastings, when my son
Was stabb'd with bloody daggers—God I pray Him,
That none of you may live his natural age,
But by some unlook'd accident cut off!

Glou. Have done thy charm, thou hateful wither'd hag!

Q. Mar. And leave out thee? stay, dog, for thou shalt hear me!

If heaven hath any grievous plague in store,
Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee,
O, let them keep it till thy sins be ripe,
And then hurl down their indignation

206. stall'd] installed. Aldis Wright quotes Greene, Friar Bacon (Dyce, 155): "A friar newly stall'd in Brazennose." Compare id., Orlando Furioso, 1594 (Dyce, 95):—

"Nor can there sit within the sacred shrine

Of Venus more than one installed heart."

In Decker, Bel-Man of London, 1608 (Smeaton, 83), a candidate for initiation in the ragged regiment of beggars is asked "if hee were stalled to the Rogue or no? the poore Hungarian answered, yes, He was: then was he asked by Whom he was Stalled, and

where, and in what manner of comple-
ment it was done."

214. The sense is obvious, but the syntax is elliptic. The construction of "cut off" is either (1) co-ordinate with the wish in the previous line, "But [that you may be] cut off," or (2) pro-
leptic, "But [that you may live until you are] cut off." This latter is the more probable.

219. them] Notice the plural pronoun after "heaven," as though Margaret had said "the gods."

220. elvish-mark'd] Compare King John, iii. i. 47, and the lines im-
mmediately preceding. For this malig-
On thee, the troubler of the poor world’s peace!
The worm of conscience still begnaw thy soul!
Thy friends suspect for traitors while thou livest,
And take deep traitors for thy dearest friends!
No sleep close up that deadly eye of thine,
Unless it be while some tormenting dream
Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils!
Thou elvish-mark’d, abortive, rooting hog!
Thou that wast seal’d in thy nativity
The slave of nature and the son of hell!
Thou slander of thy heavy mother’s womb!
Thou loathed issue of thy father’s loins!
Thou rag of honour! thou detested——

Glou. Margaret!

Q. Mar. Richard!

Glou. Ha!

223. while] whilst Q. 6. 226. while] Fi; whilst or whilst Qq. 231. heavy
mother’s] Ff; mothers heavy Qq. 233. detested——] Ff 1, 3, 4; detested F 2;
detested, &c. Qq.

nant sense of “elvish” compare 1
Feronimo, c. 1587:—
“Oh fate thou elf!
To kill Andrea, which here kill’d himself.”
See also Chaucer, Canterbury Tales,
G. 751 [of alchemy]: “our elvish craft.”

223. rooting hog] Richard’s badge
was a white boar, as below, iii. ii. 11.

230. slave of nature] Conjectural
emendations, such as “shame of
nature,” quoted by Theobald, seem
unnecessary. Aldis Wright explains
it as a term of contempt. In Fletcher,
False One, iv. 2, Cleopatra refers con-
temptuously to “hated lure, on
which Caesar has cast his eyes covet-
ously, as “the slave of nature.” War-
burton and Malone both took the phrase
here as referring “to the ancient custom
of masters branding their profligate
slaves”; and Malone notes the couple-
ing of a “slavish wipe” and “birth-
hour’s blot” in Lucrece, 537. We may
compare the application of “stigmatic”
to Richard in 2 Henry VI. v. i. 215,
and 3 Henry VI. ii. 11. 136. Nature,
in this sense, has sealed him her slave
in his nativity by branding him with
deformity.

233. rag] Compare Taming of the
Shreke, iv. iii. 112, and Mr. Bond’s note
on the passage. See also below, v. iii.
320; Jonson, Cynthia’s Revels, v. 2:
“Heart! who let in that rag there
amongst us?” Warburton proposed
to read “wrack.”
Q. Mar.  I call thee not.

Glou. I cry thee mercy then, for I did think

That thou hadst call'd me all these bitter names.

Q. Mar. Why, so I did, but look'd for no reply.

O, let me make the period to my curse!

Glou. 'Tis done by me, and ends in "Margaret."

Q. Elis. Thus have you breath'd your curse against your-

self.

Q. Mar. Poor painted queen, vain flourish of my fortune!

Why strew'st thou sugar on that bottled spider,

Whose deadly web ensnareth thee about?

Fool, fool! thou whet'st a knife to kill thyself.

The day will come that thou shalt wish for me

To help thee curse that poisonous bunch-back'd toad.

Hast. False-boding woman, end thy frantic curse,

Lest to thy harm thou move our patience.

235. I cry . . . then] Ff; Then I cry thee mercy Qq.

236. That thou] Q i, Ff; Thou Qq 2-6.


239. in] by Q 6.

245. day] Ff; time Qq.

246. poisonous] Q i, Ff; poisoned Qq 2-8.

238. period] the conclusion, which rounds off my curse. See below, ii. i. 44; Antony and Cleopatra, iv. xiv. 107; and compare Fletcher and Massinger, Spanish Curate, i. 3: "The period of human happiness"; Elder Brother, i. 2:

"I might well conclude
My name were at a period."

241. painted] counterfeit. So Hamlet, iii. i. 53, refers to fair-seeming speeches which are really hollow and empty. Compare Eastward Ho, act ii.: "marriage is but a form in the school of policy, to which scholars sit fastened only with painted chains."

241. vain flourish] empty decoration of a fortune which is mine by right. We still speak of "flourishes" in connection with ornamental handwriting or a highly decorated speech. Compare Hamlet, v. ii. 187. Steevens quotes Massinger, Great Duke of Florence, iii. i:

"I allow these
As flourishes of fortune, with
Which princes
Are often sooth'd."

See also Wilkins, Miseries of Inforst
Marriage, act iii.: "How ill it will stand with the flourish of your reputations," and act v.: "Who bear a flourish in the outward show"; Fletcher, False One, i. 1:

"To be honest,
Religious and thankful, in themselves
Are forcible motives, and can need no flourish
Or gloss in the persuader."

There is a good parallel to the present line in Love's Labour's Lost, iv. iii. 238-39. For the verbal use of "flourish" see Measure for Measure, iv. i. 75.

242. bottled] bottle-shaped, swollen: applied again to Richard, iv. iv. 8r below. Steevens quotes the absurd opinion of Robert Heron, that "a bottled spider is evidently a spider kept in a bottle long fasting, and of consequence the more spiteful and venomous." Mr. Craig ("Little Quarto," Richard III. 1904, p. 58) notes that the bluebottle fly in North Lincolnshire is called the "bottle fly."
Q. Mar. Foul shame upon you! you have all mov'd mine.

Riv. Were you well serv'd, you would be taught your duty.

Q. Mar. To serve me well, you all should do me duty,

Teach me to be your queen, and you my subjects:

O, serve me well, and teach yourselves that duty!

Dor. Dispute not with her; she is lunatic.

Q. Mar. Peace, master marquess, you are malapert:

Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current.

O, that your young nobility could judge

What 'twere to lose it, and be miserable!

They that stand high have many blasts to shake them,

And, if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces.

Glou. Good counsel, marry: learn it, learn it, marquess.

Dor. It touches you, my lord, as much as me.

Glou. Ay, and much more; but I was born so high,

Our aery buildeth in the cedar's top,

And dallies with the wind and scorns the sun.

Q. Mar. And turns the sun to shade, alas, alas!

Witness my son, now in the shade of death,

Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy wrath

Hath in eternal darkness folded up.

Your aery buildeth in our aery's nest.

O God, that seest it, do not suffer it!

As it was won with blood, lost be it so!

Buck. Peace, peace, for shame, if not for charity!

259. blasts] blast Q i. 262. touches] toucheth Qq. 263. Ay] I Ff; Yea Qq. 267. son] sunne Qq 5-8. 272. was] Qq; is Ff. 273. Peace, peace] Ff; Have done Qq.

255. malapert] impudent. An emphatic form of "apert," i.e. free-spoken, our modern "pert." Compare Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, iii. 87: "Al nere he malapert, or made it tough"; Chapman (?), Alphonsus, act i.: "What, boy, so malapert?"; Twelfth Night, iv. i. 47.

256. fire-new] newly-coined, fresh from assay. Dorset's title had been granted 18th April, 1475. Compare Twelfth Night, iii. ii. 23, 24, and see Mr. Craig on King Lear, v. iii. 133 [132]. New Eng. Dict. quotes Sylvester, Hymn of Almes, 1611, line 197: "Or Fire new Fashion in a sleeve or slop" (Works, 1641, p. 516).

264. aery] the brood of an eagle. Compare King John, v. ii. 149, where New Eng. Dict. is surely wrong in taking "aery" to mean simply the nest. For this latter sense compare Mas-singer, Maid of Honour, 1632, i. 2:—

"One aery with proportion ne'er discloses

The eagle and the wren."
Q. Mar. Urge neither charity nor shame to me:
Uncharitably with me have you dealt,
And shamefully my hopes by you are butcher'd,
My charity is outrage, life my shame,
And in that shame still live my sorrow's rage!

Buck. Have done, have done!

Q. Mar. O princely Buckingham, I'll kiss thy hand,
In sign of league and amity with thee:
Now fair befall thee and thy noble house!
Thy garments are not spotted with our blood,
Nor thou within the compass of my curse.

Buck. Nor no one here; for curses never pass
The lips of those that breathe them in the air.

Q. Mar. I will not think but they ascend the sky,
And there awake God's gentle-sleeping peace.
O Buckingham, take heed of yonder dog!
Look, when he fawns, he bites; and, when he bites,
His venom tooth will rankle to the death.
Have not to do with him, beware of him!
Sin, death, and hell have set their marks on him,
And all their ministers attend on him.

Glo. What doth she say, my Lord of Buckingham?

Buck. Nothing that I respect, my gracious lord.

Q. Mar. What, dost thou scorn me for my gentle counsel,
And soothe the devil that I warn thee from?
O, but remember this another day—
When he shall split thy very heart with sorrow,
And say poor Margaret was a prophetess.
Live each of you the subjects to his hate,
And he to yours, and all of you to God's!

[Exit.

Hast. My hair doth stand an end to hear her curses.

Riv. And so doth mine: I muse why she's at liberty.

Glou. I cannot blame her: by God's holy mother,
She hath had too much wrong; and I repent
My part thereof that I have done to her.

Q. Eliz. I never did her any, to my knowledge.

Glou. Yet you have all the vantage of her wrong.

"I was too hot to do somebody good,
That is too cold in thinking of it now.

Marry, as for Clarence, he is well repaid;
He is frank'd up to fatting for his pains—

God pardon them that are the cause thereof!

Riv. A virtuous and a Christian-like conclusion,
To pray for them that have done scathe to us.

Glou. So do I ever—[Aside] being well advis'd;
For, had I curs'd now, I had curs'd myself.

302. subjects to J Ff; subjects of Qq 1-6. 303. yours] Fl; your Qq 1, 2; you Qq 3-8. 304. Hast.] Qq; Buc. Fl. an] Fl; on Qq. 305. muse why] Ff; wonder Qq. 308. to her] Ff; omitted Qq. 309. Q. Eliz.] Camb.; Qq. Qq 15; Hast. Qq 6-8; Mar. Fl 1, 2; Der. Ff 3, 4; Dors. Rowe. 310. Yet] Ff; But Qq. her] Ff; this Qq. 315. thereof] Ff; of it Qq. 318. Aside] Camb.; omitted Qq; Speakes to himselfe Ff (after advis'd); Rowe marks both lines Aside. 319. curs'd now, I] curst now, I Q 4, Ff; curst, now I Qq 1-3, 5-8.

305. I muse] I wonder. Compare George a Greene (Dodsley, 1825, iii. 23):—

"I muse, if thou be Henry Momford, Kendall's earl,
That thou wilt do poor George a Greene this wrong."

Milton, Of Reformation in England, 1641, book ii.: "How then this third and last sort that hinder reformation will justify that it stands not with reason of state, I much muse."

314. frank'd up] See also below, iv. v. 3. Nares, after Cotgrave, gives "Frank. A place to fatten a boar in; a sty," as 2 Henry IV. ii. ii. 160. New Eng. Diet. quotes Holland's Livy, 1600: "The Commons doe feed and franke vp, even for the shambles and butchers knife the fators and maintainers of their weale and libertie."

Malone quotes Harrison, Description of Britain, 1577: "The husbandmen and farmers never fraanke them above three or four months, in which time he is dyeted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planches of an uneasy cote."

317. scathe] injury. The 13th century version of Genesis, printed in Morris, Specimens of Early English, part i. (2nd ed. p. 164), has (line 2208) "Josep ne soht dor-of no scafe," i.e. no harm. See also Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, A. 446: "But she was som-del deef, and that was scathe," i.e. a misfortune. See Romeo and Juliet, i. v. 88, for "scathe" used as a verb.
KING RICHARD III

Enter CATESBY.

Cates. Madam, his majesty doth call for you,
And for your grace, and you, my noble lords.

Q. Eliz. Catesby, we come. Lords, will you go with us?

Riv. We wait upon your grace. [Exeunt all but Gloucester.

Glou. I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl:
The secret mischiefs that I set abroach
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
Clarence, whom I indeed have cast in darkness,
I do beweep to many simple gulls,
Namely to Derby, Hastings, Buckingham,
And tell them 'tis the queen and her allies
That stir the king against the duke my brother.
Now they believe it, and withal whet me
To be reveng'd on Rivers, Vaughan, Grey:
But then I sigh, and, with a piece of Scripture,
Tell them that God bids us do good for evil;
And thus I clothe my naked villainy
With odd old ends stolen forth of Holy Writ,
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.

Enter Catesby.] Ff; omitted Qq. 321. your grace] Qq 1, 2, Ff; your noble grace, Qq 3-8. you . . . lords.] Capell; you my noble Lo : Qq 1, 2; you my noble Lord Qq 3-6; yours my gracious Lord Ff. 322. we . . . us] Qq; I . . . mee Ff. 323. We] Ff; Madam we Qq. wait upon] Ff; will attend Qq. 324. begin] Ff; began Qq. 325. mischiefs] mischiefe Qq 3-8. 327. whom] who Ff. cast] Ff; laid Qq. 329. Derby, Hastings] Ff; Hastings, Darby Qq. 330. tell them 'tis] Ff; say it is Qq 1-7. 332. if] Ff; me Qq. 333. Vaughan] Qq; Dorset Ff. 334. I omitted Qq 3, 5-8. 337. odd old] odde old Ff; old odde (or od) Qq. forth] Ff; out Qq.

325. set abroach] a common metaphor. See Romeo and Juliet, i. i. 111; Lodge, Wounds of Civil War, act i.: "this discord, newly set abroach"; Chapman, All Fools, act ii.: "shall I be made A foolish novice, my purse set abroach"

By every cheating come-you-seven.

337. odd old ends] For "odd old," compare Marston, Malcontent, act v.: "fables feign'd, odd old fools' chat"; Beaumont and Fletcher, Woman-Hater, ii. 1: "Any odd old gentlewoman, that mourns for the death of her hus-

band." "Old ends" occurs Much Ado About Nothing, 1. i. 290, and Jonson, Volpone, 1607, (Prose Works, ed. St. John, iii. 110): "His odd ends, which from some penurious book of characters he had been culling out and would fain apply." "Ends" are tags, commonplace quotations, as in Eastward Ho, ii. 1, where Touchstone rebukes his dissolute apprentice, "Well said, change your gold-ends for play-ends."
Enter two Murderers.

But soft! here come my executioners.
How now, my hardy, stout, resolved mates! 340
Are you now going to despatch this thing?
First Murd. We are, my lord; and come to have the warrant, That we may be admitted where he is.
Glo. Well thought upon! I have it here about me.

[For the warrant.
When you have done, repair to Crosby Place. 345
But, sirs, be sudden in the execution,
Withal obdurate: do not hear him plead;
For Clarence is well-spoken, and perhaps
May move your hearts to pity, if you mark him.
First Murd. Tut, tut, my lord, we will not stand to prate. 350
Talkers are no good doers: be assur'd
We go to use our hands, and not our tongues.
Glo. Your eyes drop mill-stones, when fools' eyes fall tears;
I like you, lads: about your business straight!
Go, go, dispatch!

First Murd. We will, my noble lord. 355

Enter two Murderers] Ff (murderers); Enter Executioners. Qq (a ft. 339). 339. come] Q 1, Ff; comes Qq 2-8. 341. you now] Qq 1, 2, Ff; ye now Qq 3-5; ye not Q 6; you not Q q 7, 8. thing] Ff; deed Qq. 342, 350. First Murd.] i. M. Capell; Execu. Qq [var.]; Vil. Ff (and 355). 344. Well] Ff; It was well Qq. Gives the warrant.] Capell. 350. Tut, tut] Ff; Tush feare not Qq; Fear not Pope. 352. go] Ff; come Qq. 353. fall] Ff; drop Qq. 354. straight] Ff; omitted Qq. 355. Go, go . . . lord.] Ff; omitted Qq. Exeunt Qq [aft. 354]; omitted Ff.

346. sudden] hasty, immediate. Chapman (1.), Alphonnisus, act v., has "Be therefore sudden lest we die ourselves"); and, almost a repetition of the present line, "I will be sudden in the execution." Compare below, iv. ii. 19.
348. well-spoken] Compare Chapman, All Fools, act i.:—
"I know he is well-spoken, and may much prevail
In satisfying my father."
In Beaumont and Fletcher, Woman-Hater, v. i, one of the intelligencers says of Lucio: "He's excellently spoken."
351. Talkers are no good doers] Probably proverbial. Mr. Craig found "Talking pays no toll" in Grose's collection of proverbs.
353. mill-stones] The expression was proverbial: see Troilus and Cressida, i. ii. 158. Steevens quotes Caesar and Pompey, 1607: "Men's eyes must mill-stones drop, when fools shed tears"; and (on i. iv. 239 below) Massinger, City Madam, 1632, iv. 3:—
"He, good gentleman. Will weep when he hears how we are used.
1 Serf. Yes, mill-stones."
fall tears] let tears fall. Compare stage-direction in Ff, i. i. 182 above: "She falls the Sword"; Measure for Measure, ii. i. 6.
SCENE IV.—London. The Tower.

Enter Clarence and Brakenbury.

Brak. Why looks your grace so heavily to-day?

Clar. O, I have pass’d a miserable night,

So full of fearful dreams, of ugly sights,

That, as I am a Christian faithful man,

I would not spend another such a night,

Though ’twere to buy a world of happy days,

So full of dismal terror was the time!

Brak. What was your dream, my lord? I pray you tell me.

Clar. Methoughts that I had broken from the Tower,

And was embark’d to cross to Burgundy,

And, in my company, my brother Gloucester,


Brakenbury] In Ff Brakenbury does not enter till after line 75, and his part in the dialogue is assigned to a keeper. Possibly, in the original draft of the play, Brakenbury and the keeper were distinct persons, but were united for acting purposes, and so appeared in Qq as one. The editor of F f perhaps restored the double part from his MS. Spedding explained the absence of “Exit Keeper” at line 75 in Ff as an “error of press or pen, the context showing conclusively that the ‘keeper’ is supposed to retire on the entrance of his chief.” The part of the keeper, however, is not necessary. Clarence is more likely to have told his story to Brakenbury than to a casual warder; and he might apply the term “keeper,” as altered by Ff in lines 66, 73, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, in whose custody he was.

9. Methoughts] A corrupt form, evidently “on the false analogy of ‘methinks’” (Aldis Wright). In line 18 below, all the printed copies read “me thought.” In line 58, Q f alone reads “me thoughts,” which the present editor has adopted in harmony with this passage. The form occurs in Winter’s Tale, i. ii. 154, and Merchant of Venice, i. iii. 70 (Q 2 and Ff, not Q i).

10. Burgundy] i.e. the Netherlands, part of the domains of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy. The princes of the house of York found a natural shelter in these provinces. After Wakefield, Clarence, then a child, resided under Burgundian protection in the episcopal city of Utrecht. In 1468, his sister Margaret became the second wife of Charles the Bold, last duke of his line. Edward IV., in 1470, took refuge in Holland from the coalition of Warwick and Clarence with Queen Margaret. Clarence had been a suitor for the hand of Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold by his first wife, and heiress of his duchy. Edward IV. put his veto on Clarence’s suit; this being one of the causes of discontent that led to the imprisonment of Clarence. The year before Clarence was murdered, Burgundy proper was seized by Louis XI. of France, after the death of Charles the Bold; and the dominions of the Duchess were restricted to the Netherlands and the County of Burgundy (Franche Comté).
Who from my cabin tempted me to walk
Upon the hatches: thence we look'd toward England,
And cited up a thousand heavy times,
During the wars of York and Lancaster
That had befall'n us. As we pac'd along
Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,
Methought that Gloucester stumbled, and, in falling,
Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard,
Into the tumbling billows of the main.

Lord, Lord! methought what pain it was to drown!
What dreadful noise of waters in mine ears!
What ugly sights of death within mine eyes!
Methoughts I saw a thousand fearful wracks,
A thousand men that fishes gnaw'd upon,
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
Inestimable stones, unvalu'd jewels,
All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea.
Some lay in dead men's skulls; and, in the holes
Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept,
As 'twere in scorn of eyes, reflecting gems,
That woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep,
And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by.

**Brak.** Had you such leisure in the time of death
To gaze upon these secrets of the deep?

**Clar.** Methought I had: and often did I strive

13. *thence* Qq 1-5; *there* Qq 6-8, Ff. 14. *heavy* Ff; *fearful* Qq. 15. *pac'd* Ff; *past* Qq; *past* Qq 2-8. 16. *falling* Ff; *stumbling* Qq. 17. *Lord, Lord* Qq; *O Lord* Ff. 18. *waters* Qq 1-5; *water* Qq 6-8, Ff. 19. *mine... mine* my... my Q 1. 20. *ugly* Ff; *sights of ugly* Ff. 21. *Methoughts* Ff; *Methought* Qq. 22. *A thousand* Ff; *Ten thousand* Qq. 23. *the holes* Ff; *those holes* Qq. 24. *That* Ff; *Which* Qq. 25. *these* Ff. 26. *the Qq.* 27. *36, 37. and often... ghost* Ff; *omitted* Qq. 28. *All... sea* Ff; *omitted* Qq.

13. *thence* Ff have "there" in common with Q 6. See also line 22 below, where both have "water" for "waters." Such errors may be mere coincidences due to printers; but they may point equally to the use of Q 6 as the printed foundation of the text of Ff.

21. *Lord, Lord* Qq may give the result of a stage alteration; but they have the advantage of emphasis over Ff, which may show an attempt to soften the phrase in accordance with the act of 3 James I. c. 21, "To restraine the abuses of Players."

26. *anchors* Aldis Wright mentions a conjectural emendation to "ingots."

27. *unvalu'd* invaluable, as Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, c. 1587, i. 2, "this success and loss unvalu'd." "Unparagon'd" is used for "incomparable" in *Cymbeline*, i. iv. 87; ii. ii. 17. See note on i. ii. 39 above.
To yield the ghost; but still the envious flood
Stopt in my soul, and would not let it forth
To find the empty, vast, and wandering air,
But smother'd it within my panting bulk,
Which almost burst to belch it in the sea.

_Brak._ Awak'd you not in this sore agony?

_Clar._ No, no, my dream was lengthen'd after life:
O, then began the tempest to my soul,
Who pass'd, methought, the melancholy flood,
With that sour ferryman which poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.
The first that there did greet my stranger-soul
Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick,
Who spake aloud, “What scourge for perjury
Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?”
And so he vanish'd: then came wandering by
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair
Dabbled in blood; and he squeak'd out aloud,

37. _but_ Ff; for Qq. 38. _Stop't_ Ff; _Stop'd_ Ff; _Kept_ Qq. 39. _find_ Ff; _seeke_
Qq i, 2; _keepe_ Qq 3-8. _empty, vast, and_ Ff; _emptie vast and_ Qq 1,
3-5; _empty vast, and_ Malone. 41. _Which_ Qq; _Who_ Ff. 42. _in_ Ff; _with_
Qq. 43. _No, no_ Ff; _O no_ Qq. 45. _Who_ Qq; _I_ Ff. 46. _sour_ Ff; _grim_
Qq. 49. _renowned_ Qq 49. _renowned_ Qq 1-5. 50. _spake_ Ff; _cried_ Qq. 53.
with] Ff; in Qq. 54. _squeak'd_ Ff; _squeak't_ Qq 2-8; _squat_ Q 1; _shriek'd_ Ff.

37. _envious_ malignant. Compare 3
_Henry VI._ iii. ii. 157, where the envy
or malice of Nature is transferred to the
defect which it causes.

39. _empty, vast_ Malone suggested
that “empty vast” means “immense
vacuity,” like Tennyson’s “illimitable
inane” in _Lucretius_, line 40. Shake-
peare uses “vast” as a substantive in
the plays of his later and middle life,
see _Hamlet_, i. ii. 198; _Winter’s Tale_, i.
i. 33; _Tempest_, i. ii. 327. In his earlier
plays it is an adjective, as _King John_,
iv. iii. 152. However, _Lodge_, _Wounds
of Civil War_, printed 1594, but prob-
ably written some years earlier, has
(act i.): “Whose vows have pierc’d and
search’d the deepest _vast_,” and (act
ii.):—

“Those fatal fears
That dwell below amidst the dread-
ful _vast._”

Compare Tennyson, _In Memoriam_,
1850, epilogue, st. 31:—

“A soul shall draw from out the _vast_
And strike his being into bounds.”

40. _bulk_ the frame of the body, as
_Hamlet_, ii. i. 95. Compare first part of
_Jeronimo_ (Dodsley, 1825, iii. 60):—

“I have a miscrief
Within my breast, more than my _bulk_ can hold.”

Chapman (?), _Alphonsus_, act iv.: “Still
looking when his poison’d _bulk_ would
break.”

45. _Who pass’d_ Ff break up the
sentence too much; and Qq have the
better reading. In line 41 above there
is nothing to choose between the read-
ings.

45, 46. Compare the speech of An-
drea’s ghost at the beginning of _Kyd_,
_Spanish Tragedy_, act i.:—

“When I was slain, my soul de-
sceded straight
To pass the flowing stream of
_Acheron_,” etc.

54. _squeak’d_ “Squeak,” applied to
“Clarence is come, false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence, That stabb'd me in the field by Tewkesbury: Seize on him, Furies, take him unto torment!” With that, methoughts, a legion of soul fiends Environ'd me, and howled in mine ears Such hideous cries, that with the very noise I trembling wak'd, and for a season after Could not believe but that I was in hell, Such terrible impression made my dream.

Brak. No marble, my lord, though it affrighted you; I am afraid, methinks, to hear you tell it.

Clar. Ah, keeper, keeper! I have done those things, That now give evidence against my soul, For Edward's sake; and see how he requites me! O God! if my deep prayers cannot appease Thee, But Thou wilt be aveng'd on my misdeeds, Yet execute Thy wrath in me alone; O, spare my guiltless wife and my poor children!—

57. unto torment] Ff; to your torments Qq. 58. methoughts] me thoughts Q t; me thought Qq 2-8, Ff 1-3. 59. me, and] Ff; me about, and Qq. 63. my] Ff; the Qq. 64. my lord] Qq; Lord Ff. 65. I am afraid, methinks] Ff; I promise you, I am afraid Qq. 66. Ah keeper, keeper.] Ff; O Brokenbury Qq. those] Qq; these Ff. 67. That] Ff; Which Qq. give] Ff; bear Qq. 69-72. O God . . . children] Ff; omitted Qq. 71. in me] on me Rowe.

a voice "thin as voices from the grave," is found in Hamlet, i. i. 116 [not in Ff]. Compare "squeal" in Julius Caesar, ii. ii. 24, and Mr. Macmillan's note in Arden ed. In Antony and Cleopatra, v. ii. 220, "'squeaking" is used of a boy-actor's voice. Perhaps, in 1623, the word was losing its application to supernatural sounds; and the editor of F 1 altered it on his own account.

55. fleeting] fickle, deceitful. Steevens refers to Antony and Cleopatra, v. ii. 240, "the fleeting moon," which is the same thing as "the inconstant moon" of Romeo and Juliet, ii. ii. 109. There are two examples in Lyly, Euphues (Arber, 48): "Whom thou maist make . . . partaker of all thy misfortune without mistrust of fleeting"; and (p. 106): "If Lucilla reade this trifle, shee will . . . condemne me of mischiefe in arming young men against fleeting minions." The earliest example in New Eng. Dict. is from Ancren Riwle, c. 1225: "Mid te fleoteinde word, to fleoted he hoerte."

64. marvell] pronounced as a monosyllable, and often so spelt. Compare J. Cook, Green's Ty Quoque (Dodsley, 1725, vii. 94): "I marl'd indeed that all things were so quiet." The alteration in Ff points to a growth of dissyllabic pronunciation. For "no marble . . . though" compare Gammer Gurton's Needle, 1575, act v.: "Was it any marvaille, though the poor woman arose."

71. in me] either "on me," or "in respect of me" (as i. iii. 153 above). Compare Ezekiel v. 10: "I will execute judgments in thee," where, however, the meaning may be "in the midst of thee" (LXX,Ev xvi).

72. my guiltless wife] Clarence's wife, Isabella Neville, died before his imprisonment took place. By that time he had attempted to win Mary of Burgundy for his second wife.
Keeper, I prithee sit by me awhile;  
My soul is heavy, and I fain would sleep.

**Brak.** I will, my lord: God give your grace good rest!  

[Clarence sleeps.

Sorrow breaks seasons and reposing hours,  
Makes the night morning, and the noon-tide night.  
Princes have but their titles for their glories,  
An outward honour for an inward toil;  
And, for unfelt imaginations,  
They often feel a world of restless cares:  
So that, between their titles and low name,  
There's nothing differs but the outward fame.

Enter the two Murderers.

**First Murd.** Ho! who's here?  
**Brak.** What wouldst thou, fellow, and how cam'st thou hither?  

**First Murd.** I would speak with Clarence, and I came hither on my legs.  
**Brak.** What, so brief?

73. Keeper . . . awhile] Ff; I pray thee gentle keeper stay by me Qq; I pray thee, Brakenbury, stay by me Pope.  
Capell adds Retiring to a chair. aft.; 75. Clarence sleeps.] Johnson; Enter Brakenbury the Lieutenant. Ff.  
76. Bra. Ff. 80. imaginations] Ff; imagination Qq. 82. between] Ff; betwixt Qq. their] your Qq 3-8. name] Ff; names Qq. 84, 85. First Murd. Ho! . . Brak.] Ff; omitted Qq. 85. What wouldst . . . hither?] Ff; In God's name what are you and how came you hither? Qq; In God's name, what art thou? how can'st thou hither? Pope.  
86. First Murd.] Execu. Qq; 2. Mur. Ff. 88. What, so brief?] Ff; Yea, are you so briefe Qq 1, 2, 8; Yea, are ye so briefe Qq 3-7.

78. glories] Johnson thought that "troubles" "would more impress the purpose of the speaker, and correspond better with the following lines."

80. for unfelt imaginations] instead of imaginations which cannot be gratified. "Unfelt" is on a par with "unvalu'd," line 27 above.

85. From this point to line 158, the discrepancies between Qq and Ff are more than usually numerous. The bulk of the dialogue originally must have been written as prose. The only lines that scan, with the exception of line 89 (Ff), belong to Brakenbury. Qq arrange the whole passage roughly in lines, without any attempt at scan-sion. Ff print mainly as prose, with one or two exceptions. The chief difference between the two versions is that the style of Ff is more set and literary; while Qq abound in ejaculations and colloquial forms which may have entered the text from the stage. On the other hand, Ff have forms like "there 's," "hee 'l," "'tis," where Qq print "there is," "he will," "it is." See collation.
Sec. Murd. 'Tis better, sir, than to be tedious. Let him see our commission, and talk no more.

[Brak. reads it.]

Brak. I am in this commanded to deliver
The noble Duke of Clarence to your hands. I will not reason what is meant hereby, Because I will be guiltless from the meaning. There lies the duke asleep, and there the keys. I'll to the king, and signify to him That thus I have resign'd to you my charge.

First Murd. You may, sir, 'tis a point of wisdom: fare you well.

[Exit Brak.]

Sec. Murd. What, shall we stab him as he sleeps?

First Murd. No; he'll say 'twas done cowardly, when he wakes.

Sec. Murd. Why, he shall never wake until the great judgment-day.

First Murd. Why, then he'll say we stabb'd him sleeping.

Sec. Murd. The urging of that word "judgment" hath bred a kind of remorse in me.

89. Sec. Murd.] 2. Exe. Qq; 1. Ff. 'Tis . . . tedious] Ff; O sir, it is better to be briefe then tedious Qq 1, 2, 7, 8; O sir, it is better be briefe then tedious Qq 3-6. 90. Let him see] Ff; Shew him Qq. 93. hereby] thereby Qq 3-8. 94. from] Ff; of Qq. 95. There . . . keys] Ff; Here are the keys there sits the Duke asleepe Qq. 96. I'll . . . him] Ff; Ile to his Majesty, and certify his Grace Qq. 97. to you my charge] Ff; my charge to you Qq 1, 2; my place to you Qq 3-8. 99. You may, sir, 'tis] Ff; Doe so, it is Qq fare you well] Ff; omitted Qq. 100. we] I Qq 1, 2. 101. he'll] hee'll Ff; then he will Qq. 103. Why] Ff; When he wakes, Why fool Qq. 105. until the great] Ff; till the Qq. 105. he'll] hee'll Ff; he will Qq.

89. "It is better to be brief than tedious" is possibly proverbial. Mr. Craig calls attention to All's Well that Ends Well, ii. iii. 33, 34.; "that is the brief and the tedious of it."

96. It may be noted, in connection with Q reading here, that Shakespeare, if he was responsible for it, used the terms "majesty" and "grace" with little discrimination. The title of "majesty" was first used by Charles V. as King of Spain, after his election as Emperor, 1521; and was borrowed in imitation by Henry VIII. and other princes. What Brakenbury really would have said in 1478 would have been: "I'll to the king, and certify his grace"; and therefore it would be an improvement to read it here. But for an editor to do so would be to commit himself to a principle of arbitrary selection between Qq and Ff. The whole line in Ff, as it stands, is better than the line in Qq.

101. cowardly] For adverbs of a similar kind, compare Marston, Malcontent, act v.; "she most courtly finds fault with them one after another"; Fletcher, False One, iii. i.; "Let us consider timely what we must do"; Suckling, Upon . . . the Lord Leffington, c. 1637:—

"Describes each thing so lively that we are Concern'd ourselves before we are aware."
First Murd. What, art thou afraid?  
Sec. Murd. Not to kill him, having a warrant; but to be  
damn'd for killing him, from the which no warrant can defend me.  
First Murd. I thought thou hadst been resolute.  
Sec. Murd. So I am, to let him live.  
First Murd. I 'll back to the Duke of Gloucester, and tell  
him so.  
Sec. Murd. Nay, I prithee stay a little: I hope this  
passionate humour of mine will change; it was wont  
to hold me but while one tells twenty.  
First Murd. How dost thou feel thyself now?  
Sec. Murd. Some certain dregs of conscience are yet  
within me.  
First Murd. Remember our reward, when the deed's  
done.  
Sec. Murd. 'Zounds! he dies! I had forgot the reward.  
First Murd. Where's thy conscience now?  
First Murd. When he opens his purse to give us our  
reward, thy conscience flies out.

109. warrant] Ff; warrant for it Qq. 110. the which] Ff; which Qq.  
111. me] Ff; vs Qq. 112, 113. First Murd. I . . . live] Ff; omitted Qq.  
114. I'll back] Ile backe Ff; Backe Qq. and tell] Ff; tell Qq. 116. Nay,  
I prithee] Ff; I pray thee Qq. a little] Ff; a while Qq. 117. this  
passionate . . . mine] Ff; my holy humor Qq; this compassionate humour of  
mine Capell. 117. it was] Ff; twas Qq. 118. tells] Ff; would tel Qq.  
120. Some] Ff; Faith, some Qq. 122. deed's] Ff; deede is Qq. 124.  
Zounds] Qq; Come Ff. 125. Where's] Ff; Where is Qq. 126. O, in] Ff;  
In Qq. 127. When] Ff; So when Qq.

117. passionate] Malone thought that  
the editor of F 1 altered Qq on account  
of the statute of 1605-6, which was  
passed "for the preventing and avoiding  
the great abuse of the holy name  
of God in stage-plays, interludes, may- 
games, shewes and such like." See  
note on line 21 above. The alteration  
at line 85 above may be due to this  
reason, to which may be ascribed the  
 omission of "Zounds" at lines 124, 143,  
and the radical change in lines 188, 189  
below. The omission of "Faith" in line  
120 is another probable instance. No  
change was made in Qq after the passing  
of the act. Collier, Annals of the  
Stage, 1831, ii. 56, 57, quotes a note  
from Sir Henry Herbert's Office-Book,  
relating to D'Avenant's Wits, 1636.  
Charles I., on the author's petition,  
restored several exclamations, which  
the Master of the Revels had crossed  
out from the play. Sir Henry noted:  
"The King is pleased to take faith,  
death, slight, for asseverations and no  
oaths, to which I do humbly submit as  
my master's judgment; but under  
favour conceive them to be oaths, and  
enter them here to declare my opinion  
and submission." In the present case,  
an alteration could hardly have been  
deemed necessary within the terms of  
the statute, even by the most puritani- 
cal critic.
Sec. Murd. 'Tis no matter, let it go: there's few or none will entertain it.

First Murd. What if it come to thee again?

Sec. Murd. I'll not meddle with it: it makes a man a coward: a man cannot steal, but it accuseth him; a man cannot swear, but it checks him; a man cannot lie with his neighbour's wife, but it detects him. 'Tis a blushing shamefast spirit, that mutinies in a man's bosom; it fills a man full of obstacles: it made me once restore a purse of gold that by chance I found; it beggars any man that keeps it; it is turn'd out of towns and cities for a dangerous thing; and every man that means to live well endeavour to trust to himself and to live without it.

First Murd. 'Zounds, 'tis even now at my elbow, persuading me not to kill the duke!

Sec. Murd. Take the devil in thy mind, and believe him not: he would insinuate with thee but to make thee sigh.

First Murd. I am strong-fram'd: he cannot prevail with me.

139. 'Tis no matter] Ff; omitted Qq. 131. What] Ff; How Qq. 132. it: it makes] Ff; it, it is a dangerous thing, It makes Qq. 134. a man . . . a man] Ff; he . . . He Qq. swear] steale Qq 3-8. 136. 'Tis] Ff; It is Qq. 136. shamefast] Qq 1, 3, 6; shamfast Q 2; shamfast Q q 4, 5; shamefaced Ff. 137. a man] Ff; one Qq. 138. purse] piece Qq 3-8. by chance] Ff; omitted Qq. 140. towns] Ff; all Townes Qq. 141. to live] Qq 1-6; live Ff. 143. Zounds] Qq; omitted Ff. 'tis] Ff; it is Qq. 146. but] Ff; omitted Qq. 148. I am strong-fram'd] Ff; Tut, I am strong in fraud Qq. 149. me.] me, I warrant thee. Qq.

136. shamefaced] the correct form of the word. Compare "steadfast." The variations of spelling in successive editions show a transformation in orthography. "Shame-faced" suggests a wrong etymology. Aldis Wright notes a like discrepancy between Qq and Ff in 3 Henry VI. iv. viii. 52; Lyly, Euphues, 1579 (Arber, 69), has "shamefastnes."

145. There are two possible meanings to this line: (1) Take the devil into thy mind, and believe not conscience—the blushing shamefast spirit, for which the devil will be more than a match. This is substantially Warburton's explanation. It involves the use of "in""into," Compare above, i. iii. 89. "Him" also must in this case refer to "conscience," hitherto alluded to as "it." (2) Take hold of, i.e. grapple with conscience, which is the devil in thy mind, and believe him not. This is adopted by Aldis Wright, and is more simple. Capell avoided the difficulty by reading "Shake the devil out of thy mind."
Sec. Murd. Spoke like a tall man that respects thy repu-
tation. Come, shall we fall to work?

First Murd. Take him on the costard with the hilts of thy
sword, and then throw him into the malmsey-butt in
the next room.

Sec. Murd. O excellent device! and make a sop of him. 155

150. Spoke] Soode Q 4; Stood Qq 5-8. man] Ff; fellow Qq. thy] Ff; his Qq. 151. tall to work] Ff; to this geere Qq. 152. on] Ff; our Qq. 152, 153. thy sword] my sword Qq 3-8. 153. throw him into] Ff; we wil chop him in Qq. 155. and] Ff; omitted Qq. sop] scoope Q 3.

150. a tall man] "Tall" is fine, brave; usually in the sense of "swag-
gering," as we speak of "tall talk." Mercutio in Romeo and Juliet, ii. iv. 31, ridicules the fashionable employ-
ment of the word. Chapman, Blind Beggar of Alexandria, 1598 (Shepherd, 7), has "I do hold thee for the most
tall, resolute, and accomplished gentleman on the face of the earth." Qq "tall fellow" is common, e.g. Decker,
Seun Deadly Sinnes of London (Arber, 21): "Though a Lye hae but short legs (like a Dwarfes) yet it goes farre
in a little time, Et crescit eundo, and at last prooves a tall fellow"; Wilkins, Miseries of Inforst Marriage, 1607, act
iv.: "had you kept half a dozen tall fellows." "Tall man" occurs in Lodge and Greene, Looking-Glass for London
(Dyce, 138): "Then may I count myself, I think, a tall man, that am able to kill a devil."

thy] The mixture of persons involved in this sentence is natural in the mouth of a rough and ill-educated man. There
is no necessity to keep Qq "his."

152. Take him] strike him. Mr. Craig gives illustrations in the note to his "Little Quarto" edition of the
play, p. 80, and refers further to Tam-
ing of the Shrew, iii. ii. 165.

costard] A costard is a kind of large apple; hence the word was applied vulgarly to the head. Compare King
Lear, iv. vi. 247, and Moth's jest on Costard in Love's Labour's Lost, iii. i. 71. See Gammer Gurton's Needle, act
v.: "Well, knife, and I had the alone,
I wold surely rap thy costard." The word is common.

hilts] Compare 1 Henry IV, ii. iv. 229; Cook, Green's Tu Quoque, "All while the his money is losing, he swears
by the cross of this silver; and, when
First Murd. Soft, he wakes!
Sec. Murd. Strike!
First Murd. No, we'll reason with him.
Clar. [awakening]. Where art thou, keeper? give me a cup of wine.

First Murd. You shall have wine enough, my lord, anon.
Clar. In God's name, what art thou?
First Murd. A man, as you are.
Clar. But not, as I am, royal.
First Murd. Nor you, as we are, loyal.
Clar. Thy voice is thunder, but thy looks are humble.
First Murd. My voice is now the king's, my looks mine own.
Clar. How darkly and how deadly dost thou speak!
Your eyes do menace me: why look you pale?
Who sent you hither? wherefore do you come?

Both. To, to, to—
Clar. To murder me?
Both. Ay, ay.
Clar. You scarcely have the hearts to tell me so,
And therefore cannot have the hearts to do it.
Wherein, my friends, have I offended you?
First Murd. Offended us you have not, but the king.
Clar. I shall be reconciled to him again.
Sec. Murd. Never, my lord: therefore prepare to die.
Clar. Are you drawn forth, among a world of men,
To slay the innocent? What is my offence?

156. Soft, he wakes] FF; Harke he stirs, shall I strike Qq. 157. Sec. Murd.
Strike] FF; omitted Qq. 158. First Murd.] I FF; 2 Qq (and 163, 167).
we'll] wee'l FF; first lets Qq. 159. awaking] Cla. awaketh Qq 3-8. 165.
First Murd.] I Qq 5-8, FF; 2 Qq 1-4. 169. Your . . . pale] FF; omitted Qq.
170. Who . . . come] FF; Tell me who are you, wherefore come you hither Qq.
FF; cald forth from out Qq.

158. reason] talk, as below, ii. iii. 39, and constantly in the Authorised
Version of the Bible.
180. drawn forth In support of Qq, Steevens quotes Nobody and Somebody,
1598:—
"Art thou call'd forth amongst a thousand men

To minister this soveraine anti-
dote?"
Johnson read "culled"—an unneces-
sary emendation. "Among a world
of men" is put here within commas, in
order to emphasise the stress evidently
laid by Clarence on "you."
Where is the evidence that doth accuse me? What lawful quest have given their verdict up Unto the frowning judge? or who pronounc'd The bitter sentence of poor Clarence' death? Before I be convict by course of law, To threaten me with death is most unlawful, I charge you, as you hope to have redemption By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins, That you depart and lay no hands on me! The deed you undertake is damnable. 

First Murd. What we will do we do upon command. 

Sec. Murd. And he that hath commanded is our king. 

Clar. Erroneous vassals! the great King of kings Hath in the table of His law commanded That thou shalt do no murder. Will you then Spurn at His edict, and fulfil a man's? Take heed; for He holds vengeance in His hand, To hurl upon their heads that break His law. 

Sec. Murd. And that same vengeance doth He hurl on thee, 

For false forsaying, and for murder too. Thou didst receive the holy Sacrament, To fight in quarrel of the house of Lancaster. 

182. is] Ff; are Qq. that doth] Ff; that doe Qq i, 2; to Qq 3-8. 187. threaten] threaten Q. 3; thereaten Qq 4-6. 188, 190. to have ... sins] Qq; for any goodnesse Ff. 193. our] Qq; the Qq. 194. vassals] Ff; vassaile Qq. 195. the table] Ff; the tables Qq i, 2; his tables Qq 3-6. 196. Will you] Ff; and wilt thou Qq. 198. hand] Ff; hands Qq. 200. hurl] Ff; throw Qq. 202, 203. holy ... To ... Lancaster] Qq; Sacrament to fight In ... Lancaster Ff. 

183. Clarence's imprisonment and execution. if hasty, were carried out after trial and condemnation. Gairdner, Richard the Third, new ed. p. 32, comments on the one-sided character of the trial. 188, 189. to have ... sins] See note on line 117 above; Qq would be subject to the fine of £10 inflicted by the statute there mentioned. 194. Erroneous] Compare Fletcher, Monsieur Thomas, i. 2: "Your worship is erroneous." 202, 203. F f appears to have altered the passage either in order to smooth out the Alexandrine in line 202, or to omit "holy" before "Sacrament." This use of "holy" would be far more likely to fall under the statute already referred to than the use in line 117 (Qq). There is no reason why "holy," if not in the original MS., should have been added in Qq; and, consequently, why it should be omitted in Ff. 203. in quarrel] Compare Fletcher. False One, i. 1:— "He pities them whose fortunes are embark'd In his unlucky quarrel."
First Murd. And, like a traitor to the name of God,  
Didst break that vow, and with thy treacherous blade 205  
Unrip’st the bowels of thy sovereign’s son.  
Sec. Murd. Whom thou wast sworn to cherish and defend.  
First Murd. How canst thou urge God’s dreadful law to us,  
When thou hast broke it in such dear degree?  
Clar. Alas! for whose sake did I that ill deed? 210  
For Edward, for my brother, for his sake:  
He sends you not to murder me for this,  
For in that sin he is as deep as I.  
If God will be avenged for the deed,  
O, know you yet, He doth it publicly. 215  
Take not the quarrel from His powerful arm;  
He needs no indirect or lawless course  
To cut off those that have offended Him.  
First Murd. Who made thee then a bloody minister,  
When gallant-springing brave Plantagenet,  
That princely novice, was struck dead by thee?  
Clar. My brother’s love, the devil, and my rage. 220

207. was’t Ff; wert Qq. 209. such] Ff; so Qq. 212. He] Ff; Why  
sirs, he Qq. you] Ff; ye Qq. 213. that] Ff; this Qq. 214. avenged] Ff;  
revenged Qq. the deed] Ff; this deed Qq. 215. O . . . publicly] Ff; omitted  
Qq. you yet] you, that Steevens (Farmer conj.). 217. or] Ff; nor Qq.  
lawless] Q 3; Ff; lawfull Qq 2-8. 220. gallant-springing] Q 1, Ff (hyphened  
Pope); gallant spring Qq 2-8; gallant springall Capell (conj.). 221. That]  
The Qq 6-8.  

209. dear] “A word of mere enforcement” (Steevens). Compare King  
Lear, iv. iii. 53; Troilus and Cressida, v. iii. 9. There is an ironical use in  
Jonson, Cynthia’s Revels, i. 1, where Crites says to Asotus: “Leave it to  
me, I’ll forget none of your dear graces, I warrant you.”  
212. The “Why, sirs” preceding this line in Qq, is printed by Cambridge  
editors as a line by itself. It is probably an ejaculation introduced from  
the colloquial stage-alterations of this dialogue.  
220. gallant-springing] For “springing” compare Spenser, Shepherd’s  
Calendar, 1579, February, 52:—  
“I scorn thy skill,  
That wouldst me my springing  
youngth to spill.”  

The double adjective, of which the first part qualifies the second and takes  
the place of an adverb, is common in this play, and in Elizabethan literature  
generally. Compare Greene, Orlando Furioso (Dyce, 91): “fortune, or some  
deep-inspiring fate”; Fletcher and Massinger, Spanish Curate, iii. 3:  
“an easy-yielding wanton.” There are  
three good examples in Tournier,  
Revenger’s Tragedy, act i.: “And  
thou his son, as impious-steep’d as he”; “Be not so cruel-wise”; and  
“All which and more  
She, foolish chaste, sent back.”  
Compare “childish-foolish” above, i.  
iii. 142; “wrong-incensed” below, ii.  
i. 51; “high-swoll’n,” ii. ii. 117.
First Murd. Thy brother's love, our duty, and thy faults,  
Provoke us hither now to slaughter thee.

Clar. If you do love my brother, hate not me:
I am his brother, and I love him well.
If you are hir'd for meed, go back again,
And I will send you to my brother Gloucester,
Who shall reward you better for my life
Than Edward will for tidings of my death.

Sec. Murd. You are deceiv'd, your brother Gloucester hates you.

Clar. O, no, he loves me, and he holds me dear:
Go you to him from me.

Both. Ay, so we will.

Clar. Tell him, when that our princely father York
Bless'd his three sons with his victorious arm,
And charg'd us from his soul to love each other,
He little thought of this divided friendship:
Bid Gloucester think of this, and he will weep.

First Murd. Ay, millstones; as he lesson'd us to weep.

Clar. O, do not slander him, for he is kind.

First Murd. Right,

As snow in harvest. Come, you deceive yourself:
'Tis he that sends us to destroy you here.

Clar. It cannot be; for he bewept my fortune,
And hugg'd me in his arms, and swore with sobbs
That he would labour my delivery.

223. our duty] Ff; the diuell Qq. faults] Ff; fault Qq. 224. Provoke] Ff; Haue brought Qq. slaughter] Ff; murder Qq. 225. If you do] Ff; Oh if you Qq. my brother] brother Qq 4-6. 227. are] Ff; be Qq. meed] Q r, Ff; neede Qq 2-8. 229. shall] Ff; will Qq. 231. You ... hates you] one line Qq; You are deceiu'd, Your ... hates you (two lines) Ff. 233. Both] Am. Qq; i Ff. 236. And ... each other] Qq; omitted Ff. 238. of this] on this Qq 6-8, Ff. 239. First Murd.] i Ff; Am. Qq. 241, 242. Right, As] Camb.; Right as Qq 1, 2; Right, as Qq 3-8, Ff; As Pope. 242. Come ... yourself] Ff; thou deceiu'st thy selfe Qq. 243. that sends ... here] Ff; hath sent us hither now to slaughter thee Q q; that sent us hither now to murder thee Qq 2-8. 244, 245. he ... fortune, And] Ff; when I parted with him, He Qq.

239. lesson'd] The murderer refers to 240. kind] naturally affectionate, as i. iii. 353 above. Compare Coriolanus, Hamlet, i. ii. 65. The murderer, in n. iii. 185; Spenser, Faerie Queene, iii. vi. 51.

246. labour my delivery] busy him-
First Murd. Why, so he doth, when he delivers you
From this earth's thraldom to the joys of heaven.
Sec. Murd. Make peace with God; for you must die, my lord.
Clar. Have you that holy feeling in your souls,
To counsel me to make my peace with God,
And are you yet to your own souls so blind
That you will war with God by murdering me?
O sirs, consider, they that set you on
To do this deed, will hate you for the deed.
Sec. Murd. What shall we do?
Clar. Relent, and save your souls.
First Murd. Relent! no, 'tis cowardly and womanish.
Clar. Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.
Which of you, if you were a prince's son,
Being pent from liberty, as I am now,
If two such murderers as yourselves came to you,
Would not entreat for life?
My friend, I spy some pity in thy looks;
O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,
Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,
As you would beg, were you in my distress!
A begging prince what beggar pities not?

247. First Murd.] 1 Ff; 2 Qq. when] Ff; now Qq. you] Ft; thee Qq.
248. earth's] Ff; worlds Qq.
250. Have you] Ff; Hast thou
thy soule Qq. 252. are you] your own souls] Ff; art thou... thy own soule Qq.
253. you will] Ff; thou will Qq. by] for Qq 3-8. 254. O] Ff; Ah Qq. they] Ff; he Qq.
255. for the deed] Ff; for this deede Qq.
257-68. First Murd. Relent I no... my lord I] arranged as Steevens (Tyrwhitt conj.), Camb.; Ff. arrange thus, 259, 260, 261, 262, 266, 257, 258, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268; Qq. thus, 257, 258, 263, 264, 265, 267 [omitting 259-62, 266, 268]; Pope as Qq, but omitting 267. 257. no] Ff; omitted Qq. 258. devilish] Q r. Ff; and dishelish Qq 2-8. 262. Would... life] Would... life, as you would begge, Were you in my distresse F; Would... life? Ah I you would beg, Were... distress Theobald.
263. thy] your Qq 6, 8. 264. thine] Ff; thy Qq.
265. As... distress] see line 262 above.

self to procure my delivery. So Kyd, Spanish Tragedy, act iii.:-
"My lord, I write as my extremes require,
That you would labour my delivery ";
and Marlowe, Jew of Malta, c. 1589-90, act iii.:-
"It is not yet long since
That I did labour thy delivery."

Compare Eastward Ho, act v.: "I do wonder... that you, being the keeper of a prison, should labour the release of your prisoners."
257-68. See Appendix I.
267. There is perhaps a reminiscence of this line in Chapman (?), Alphonsonus, v. 2 (Shepherd, 413), where the Emperor says to his murderer, "Think what I am that beg my life of thee."
Sec. Murd. Look behind you, my lord!

First Murd. Take that, and that! [Stabs him] if all this will not do,

I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within. 270

[Exit, with the body.

Sec. Murd. A bloody deed, and desperately dispatch'd!

How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands
Of this most grievous murder—

Re-enter First Murderer.

First Murd. How now! what mean'st thou that thou help'st me not?

By heaven, the duke shall know how slack you have been!

Sec. Murd. I would he knew that I had sav'd his brother!

Take thou the fee, and tell him what I say;

For I repent me that the duke is slain. 275

[Exit.

First Murd. So do not I: go, coward as thou art!

Well, I'll go hide the body in some hole,

Till that the duke give order for his burial:

And, when I have my meed, I will away;

For this will out, and then I must not stay. [Exit.

269. Take that, and that] Ff; I thus, and thus Qq. if all . . . do] Ff; if this will not serve Qq; and, if this will not serve Capell. 270. drown you] Ff; chop thee Qq within] Ff; in the next roome Qq. Exit, with the body] Steevens; Exit. Ff; omitted Qq. 271. dispatch'd] Ff; perform'd Qq. 272. hands] Ff; hand Qq 1-7. 273. grievous murder] Ff; grievous guilty murder done Qq. Re-enter . . . ] Camb.; Enter . . . Ff; omitted Qq. 274. How now . . . not] Ff (as prose); Why doest thou not helpe me Qq. 275. heaven] Qq 6-8, Ff; heavens Qq 1-5. you have been] Ff (as prose); thou art Qq. 280. Well, I'll go] Ff; Now must I Qq. the body] Ff; his body Qq. 281. Till that] Ff; Untill Qq. give] Ff; take Qq. 282. will] Ff; must Qq. 283. then] Ff; here Qq. Exit.] Ff; Exeunt. Qq.

272. Compare Richard II. iv. i. 239.
ACT II

SCENE I.—London. The Palace.

Flourish. Enter King Edward sick, Queen Elizabeth, Dorset, Rivers, Hastings, Buckingham, Grey, and others.

K. Edw. Why, so: now have I done a good day’s work. You peers, continue this united league:
I every day expect an embassage
From my Redeemer, to redeem me hence;
And now in peace my soul shall part to heaven,
Since I have made my friends at peace on earth.
Rivers and Hastings, take each other’s hand;
Dissemble not your hatred, swear your love.

Riv. By heaven, my soul is purg’d from grudging hate;
And with my hand I seal my true heart’s love!

Hast. So thrive I, as I truly swear the like!

K. Edw. Take heed you dally not before your king;

ACT II. SCENE I. Flourish. Ff; omitted Qq. Enter King Edward... others.] Enter the King sicke, the Queene, Lord Marquesse Dorset, Rivers, Hastings, Catesby, Buckingham, Wooduill, Ff; Enter King, Queene, Hastings, Ryuers, Dorcet, &c. Qq (Qq 3-8 omit Dorcet). 1. Why, so] Why so Ff; So Qq have I] Ff; I have Qq. 5. now in peace] Qq; more to peace Ff. part to] Qq 3-8, Ff; part from Qq 1, 2. 6. made] Ff; set Qq. 7. Rivers and Hastings] Qq; Dorset and Rivers Ff. 9. soul] Ff; heart Qq. 11. truly] omitted Qq 3-8.

5. now in peace] Ff have evidently a printer’s error for “more in peace,” which is Steevens’ reading.

7. Rivers and Hastings] Ff here are clearly wrong. The editor was probably misled by some marginal correction in his MS. Rivers and Hastings had been on bad terms. Rivers and Dorset, on the contrary, were uncle and nephew, and the leaders of the Woodville party. It is curious that the editor, who added line 25 below, did not see that the present alteration was inappropriate.

8. Dissemble not your hatred] The meaning is obvious; but the phrase is capable of another interpretation. Malone’s explanation is needlessly elaborate. The line may be paraphrased thus: Do not hide your hatred beneath a mere show of friendship; but swear truly to be friends.
Lest He that is the supreme King of kings
Confound your hidden falsehood, and award
Either of you to be the other's end.

_Hast._ So prosper I, as I swear perfect love!
_Riv._ And I, as I love Hastings with my heart!

_K. Edw._ Madam, yourself is not exempt from this,
   Nor you, son Dorset; Buckingham, nor you:
You have been factious one against the other.
_Wife, love Lord Hastings, let him kiss your hand;
And what you do, do it unfeignedly._

_Q. Eliz._ There, Hastings; I will never more remember
Our former hatred, so thrive I and mine!

_K. Edw._ Dorset, embrace him; Hastings, love lord marquess.

_Dor._ This interchange of love, I here protest
Upon my part, shall be inviolable.

_Hast._ And so swear I. [They embrace.

_K. Edw._ Now, princely Buckingham, seal thou this league
With thy embracements to my wife’s allies,
And make me happy in your unity.

_Buck._ [To the Queen.] Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate
Upon your grace, but with all duteous love
Doth cherish you and yours, God punish me
With hate in those where I expect most love!

18. is] Ff; are Qq. from this] Ff; in this Qq. 19. you,] Ff; your Qq.
   . . him: Hastings . . Marquesse (two lines) Ff; omitted Qq. 26. This] Q1, Ff; Thus Qq 2-8.
27. inviolable] Ff; unviolable Qq. 28. swear I.] Ff; sweare I my Lord. Qq. They embrace] Capell. 32. To the Queen.
   Rowe. 33. Upon your grace] Ff; On you or yours Qq. but with all] and not with Pope.

20. faction] Johnson explains as "active" or "urgent." Mr. Craig
suggests that the meaning here is "in active opposition." Probably the de-
erved meaning "guilty of faction" is really implied.

30. embracements] Used again, Comedy of Errors, 1. i. 44; Troilus and
Cressida, iv. v. 148; Henry VIII. i. i. 10. Decker, Bel-Man of London,
speaks of branches of trees that "in their embracements held so fast together,
that their boughs made a goodlie greene roofe."

32-34. Pope’s emendation of 34, men-
tioned above, avoids the difficulty of
the passage, which seems to arise from
the attempt to combine two strong as-
severations, whose meaning is opposed,
in one connected sentence. The doubt-
ful passage in Winter’s Tale, i. ii.
459, 460, may be explained by a simi-
lar attempt to combine two opposite
thoughts together.
When I have most need to employ a friend,  
And most assured that he is a friend,  
Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,  
Be he unto me! This do I beg of God,  
When I am cold in love to you or yours.  

[They embrace.]

K. Edw. A pleasing cordial, princely Buckingham,  
Is this thy vow unto my sickly heart,  
There wanteth now our brother Gloucester here,  
To make the blessed period of this peace.

Buck. And, in good time, here comes the noble duke.

Enter Gloucester.

Glou. Good morrow to my sovereign king and queen;  
And, princely peers, a happy time of day!

K. Edw. Happy indeed, as we have spent the day.  
Gloucester, we have done deeds of charity,  
Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate,  
Between these swelling wrong-incensed peers.

Glou. A blessed labour, my most sovereign lord.  
Among this princely heap, if any here,  
By false intelligence, or wrong surmise,

39. God] Qq; heaven F.  40. love] Ff; zeale Qq.  44. blessed] Ff;  
perfect Qq.  45. And . . . duke] Qq; And in good time, Heere comes Sir Richard  
Ratcliffe, and the Duke (two lines) Ff.  Enter Gloucester.] Qq (before 45);  
Enter Ratcliffe, and Gloster. Ff.  49. Gloucester] Gloster Ff; Brother Qq.  
52. my] omitted Qq 3-8.  lord] Ff; liege Qq.  53. Among] Ff; Amongst Qq.

37. most assured] i.e. I am most assured. The construction is elliptical.  
45. The alteration in Ff of this line and the stage-direction following seems  
unnecessary. Ratcliff says and does nothing in what follows; nor is it likely  
that his name would be mentioned before Gloucester's, unless the metre made  
it unavoidable. But, since a whole line which was metrically perfect had to be  
altered into a line and a half, in order to introduce Ratcliff's name, the editor  
of Ff must have had some ground to go upon. Probably his MS. contained the  
name of Ratcliff. But Ratcliff's silent part may have been omitted in the stage  
performance, when there were not too many actors to spare; and so the passage  
passed into Qq, metrically emended, and in a more satisfactory form.  
51. swelling] Compare Othello, ii. iii.  
57. But the metaphor in the present case is "swelling with wrath" rather than "swelling with ambition." See  
below, ii. ii. 117.

53. heap] assembly (O.E. hegp, a multitude). Compare Julius Caesar,  
i. iii. 23; Chaucer, Canterbury Tales,  
A. 575: "The wisdom of an heap of  
learned men."  New Eng. Dict. quotes  
Earl Rivers, Dictes and notable Wise  
Sayings of the Philosophers, 1477, p.  
t05: "A great heap of sheep."
Hold me a foe;
If I unwittingly, or in my rage,
Have ought committed that is hardly borne
By any in this presence, I desire
To reconcile me to his friendly peace:
'Tis death to me to be at enmity;
I hate it, and desire all good men's love.
First, madam, I entreat true peace of you,
Which I will purchase with my duteous service;
Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,
If ever any grudge were lodg'd between us;
Of you, Lord Rivers, and Lord Grey, of you,
That all without desert have frown'd on me,
Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen, indeed of all:
I do not know that Englishman alive,
With whom my soul is any jot at odds,
More than the infant that is born to-night:
I thank my God for my humility.

Q. Eliz. A holy day shall this be kept hereafter:

55, 56. Hold ... rage] arranged as Malone (sugg. Capell); one line Qq, Ff. 56. unwittingly] Qq; unwittingly Ff. 58. By] Qq; To Ff. 62. true] omitted Qq 3-8. 65. Of you, Lord ... of you] Qq 1-4; Of you my Lord ... of you Qq 5-8; Of you and you, Lord Rivers and of Dorset Ff. aft. 67. Ff adds Of you Lord Woodvil, and Lord Scales of you.

56. in my rage] in unthinking passion. Compare Greene, Orlando Furioso (Dyce, 99):—

"Theseus in his rage
Did never more revenge his wrong'd Hippolytus
Than I will on the false Angelica"

ibid. (108):—

"as cruel death
As fell to Nero's mother in his rage"

See King Lear, iv. vii. 78; Coriolanus, v. vi. 148; and line 106 below.

57. hardly borne] "To bear hard" is to bear a grudge. Compare the Latin aegre ferre. See Julius Caesar, ii. i. 215. Two further instances occur ibid. i. ii. 317; iii. i. 157. New Eng. Dict. quotes Life of Thomas Cromwell, 1602, iv. ii. 112: "You bear me hard about the abbey lands."

66/8. See Appendix II.

67. without desert] i.e. without desert on my part.

69-72. Milton, Eikonoklastes, 1649, chap. i., in support of the thesis that "the deepest policy of a tyrant hath been ever to counterfeit religious," says that the poets "have been in this point so mindful of decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person, than of a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the king [Charles I.] might be less conversant, but one whom we well know was the closest companion of these his solitudes, William Shakespeare; who introduces the person of Richard the Third, speaking in as high a strain of piety and mortification as is uttered in any passage of this book [Eikon Basilitke], and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this place: 'I intended,' saith he, 'not only to oblige my friends, but my enemies.'"
I would to God all strifes were well compounded.
My sovereign lord, I do beseech your highness
To take our brother Clarence to your grace.

Glou. Why, madam, have I offer'd love for this,
To be so flouted in this royal presence?
Who knows not that the gentle duke is dead?

[They all start.

You do him injury to scorn his corse.

K. Edw. Who knows not he is dead! who knows he is?
Q. Eliz. All-seeing heaven, what a world is this!

Buck. Look I so pale, Lord Dorset, as the rest?

Dor. Ay, my good lord; and no man in the presence,
But his red colour hath forsook his cheeks.

K. Edw. Is Clarence dead? the order was revers'd.

Glou. But he, poor soul, by your first order died,
And that a winged Mercury did bear;
Some tardy cripple bare the countermand,
That came too lag to see him buried,

God grant that some, less noble and less loyal,
Nearer in bloody thoughts, and not in blood,
Deserve not worse than wretched Clarence did,
And yet go current from suspicion!

75. lord] Ff; liege Qq. highness] Ff; maiestie Qq. 78. so flouted] Ff; thus scorned Qq (scorne Q 6). 79. gentle] Ff; noble Qq. They all start.] Ff; omitted Qq. 81. K. Edw.] King. Ff; Ri. Qq. Who ... he is] one line as Qq; two lines (Who ... dead? Who ... is?) Ff. 84. no man] Ff; no one Qq. the presence] Ff; this presence Qq. 87. soul] Qq; man Ff. 89. bare] Ff; bare Qq. 92. and not] Ff; but not Qq.

83. See below, line 136. Buckingham's remark on the sudden pallor of Dorset himself and his relations is malicious. They are Buckingham's enemies; and he wishes to fasten the stigma of guilt upon them.

84. in the presence] "Presence" is used in the sense of "noble company," Midsummer-Night's Dream, i. i. 61. In Richard II, i. iii. 289 it means "presence-chamber."

89. Some tardy cripple] Steevens mentions a proverbial expression found in Drayton, Barons' Wars, 1603, ii. st. 28:

"Ill news hath wings, and with the winde doth goe; Comfort's a cripple, and comes ever slow."

90. lag] late. Compare King Lear, i. ii. 6, and see Mr. Craig's note.

92. Steevens cites Macbeth, ii. iii. 146, 147.

94. go current] Compare Decker, Guls Horn-Booke, chap. iii.: "Certaine I am, that when none but the golden age went currant upon earth, it was higher treason to clip haire, then to clip money." See also Machin and Markham, Dumb Knight, act iii.: "My plot is current and it cannot miss."
KING RICHARD III

Enter Derby.

Der. A boon, my sovereign, for my service done!

K. Edw. I prithee, peace: my soul is full of sorrow.

Der. I will not rise, unless your highness hear me.

K. Edw. Then say at once, what is it thou demand'st.

Der. The forfeit, sovereign, of my servant's life,

Who slew to-day a riotous gentleman,

Lately attendant on the Duke of Norfolk.

K. Edw. Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death,

And shall that tongue give pardon to a slave?

My brother kill'd no man: his fault was thought;

And yet his punishment was bitter death.

Who sued to me for him? who, in my rage,

Kneel'd at my feet, and bade me be advis'd?

Who spoke of brotherhood? who spoke of love?

Who told me how the poor soul did forsake

The mighty Warwick, and did fight for me?

Who told me, in the field by Tewkesbury,

When Oxford had me down, he rescued me,

And said "Dear brother, live, and be a king"?

Who told me, when we both lay in the field,

Frozen almost to death, how he did lap me

Even in his garments, and did give himself,

All thin and naked, to the numb cold night?

All this from my remembrance brutish wrath

96. prithee] F 4; prethee Ff 1-3; pray thee Qq.  97. hear me] Ff; grant Qq.  98. say] Ff; speake Qq. demand'st] Qq (demaunderst Q 6); requests Ff.  103. that tongue] Ff; the same Qq. kill'd] Ff; slew Qq. bitter] Ff; cruell Qq. rage] Qq; wrath Ff.  107. at my feet] Qq; and my feet Ff.  108. Who spoke] Ff; Who speake Qq. spoke of love] F 1; spoke in love F 2-4; of love Qq.  111. by] Qq; at Ff.  116. his garments] Ff; his owne garments Qq.  1-5; his owne armes Qq 6-8. did give] Ff; gave Qq.

99. The forfeit] Johnson explains, "the remission of the forfeit."

107. be advis'd] be cautious, as 2 Henry VI. ii. iv. 36; Merchant of Venice, ii. i. 42. See also Measure for Measure, v. i. 469.

112. Oxford] John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford (1443-1513), could not have been present at Tewkesbury, for he escaped to France immediately after the battle of Barnet, where he fought on the side of Warwick.

115. laft] cover, enfold, as Macbeth, i. ii. 54; Cymbeline, v. v. 360. See also song in Gammer Gurton's Needle, act ii. :-

"I am so wrapt, and throwly laft,

Of jolly good ale and old";

Decker, Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London (Arber, 27): "his legges, that are laft round about with peeces of Rugge."
Sinfully pluck'd, and not a man of you
Had so much grace to put it in my mind.
But when your carters or your waiting-vassals
Have done a drunken slaughter, and defac'd
The precious image of our dear Redeemer,
You straight are on your knees for pardon, pardon;
And I, unjustly too, must grant it you:
But for my brother not a man would speak,
Nor I, ungracious, speak unto myself
For him, poor soul! The proudest of you all
Have been beholding to him in his life;
Yet none of you would once beg for his life.
O God, I fear Thy justice will take hold
On me, and you, and mine, and yours for this!
Come, Hastings, help me to my closet. Ah, poor Clarence!

[Exeunt some with King and Queen.

Glou. This is the fruit of rashness. Mark'd you not
How that the guilty kindred of the queen
Look'd pale when they did hear of Clarence' death?
O! they did urge it still unto the king:
God will revenge it. Come, lords, will you go
To comfort Edward with our company?

Buck. We wait upon your grace.


126. Holinshed, iii. 703, following Halle, describes Edward's grief for Clarence's "sudden execution." "When anie person sued to him for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accustomablie saie, & openlie speake: 'Oh infortunate brother, for whose life not one would make sute!'" 137. still continually; a very general usage. Mr. Craig notes that it is common in Ulster.
SCENE II.—The Palace.

Enter the Duchess of York, with the two children of Clarence.

Boy. Good grandam, tell us, is our father dead?

Duch. No, boy.

Girl. Why do you weep so oft, and beat your breast,
And cry "O Clarence, my unhappy son"?

Boy. Why do you look on us, and shake your head,
And call us orphans, wretches, castaways,
If that our noble father were alive?

Duch. My pretty cousins, you mistake me both.
I do lament the sickness of the king.
As loath to lose him, not your father's death:
It were lost sorrow to wail one that 's lost.

Boy. Then you conclude, my grandam, he is dead.
The king mine uncle is to blame for it:
God will revenge it, whom I will importune
With earnest prayers, all to that effect.

Girl. And so will I.

Duch. Peace, children, peace! the king doth love you well.
Incapable and shallow innocents,
You cannot guess who caus'd your father's death.

Boy. Grandam, we can; for my good uncle Gloucester


8. cousins] relations. The usage is not altogether obsolete in our own day. Compare Much Ado About Nothing, i. ii. 2. In Wilkins, Miseries of Inforst Marriage, act i., an uncle says to his nephew: "Thanks, my good coz." Richard speaks below of Edward V. and the Duke of York as his cousins. 15, 16. Pope combined the two lines thus:—

"With daily earnest prayers.
Girl. And so will I."

18. Inca\nable] destitute of capacity, without power of understanding. So Hamlet, iv. vii. 179, and see Prof. Dowden's note in Arden ed. Compare Greene, Friar Bacon (Dyce, 164): "Doctors, whose doting night-caps are not capable of my ingenious dignity."
Told me, the king, provok'd to it by the queen,
Devis'd impeachments to imprison him;
And when my uncle told me so, he wept,
And pitied me, and kindly kiss'd my cheek;
Bade me rely on him, as on my father,
And he would love me dearly as a child.

Duch. Ah! that deceit should steal such gentle shape,
And with a virtuous vizard hide deep vice!
He is my son, ay, and therein my shame;
Yet from my dugs he drew not this deceit.

Boy. Think you my uncle did dissemble, grandam?

Duch. Ay, boy.

Boy. I cannot think it. Hark! what noise is this?

Enter Queen Elizabeth, with her hair about her ears; Rivers and Dorset after her.

Q. Eliz. Ah! who shall hinder me to wail and weep,
To chide my fortune, and torment myself?
I'll join with black despair against my soul,
And to myself become an enemy.

Duch. What means this scene of rude impatience?

Q. Eliz. To make an act of tragic violence.
Edward, my lord, thy son, our king, is dead.
Why grow the branches when the root is gone?
Why wither not the leaves that want their sap?
If you will live, lament: if die, be brief,

21. provok'd to it] Ff; provoked Qq. 23. my uncle] Ff; hee Qq. 24. pitied me] Ff; huggd me in his arms Qq. cheek] cheekes Qq 6-8. 25. Bade] Bad Ff; And bad Qq. on my] in my Q 1. 26. a child] Ff; his child Qq. 27. Ah] Ff; Oh Qq. shape] Ff; shapes Qq. 28. deep vice] Ff; foul e guile Qq. 29. ay] I Ff; yea Qq 1-3, 5-8; omitted Q 4. aft. 33. Enter Queen Elizabeth . . . after her.] Enter the Queene . . . after her. Ff; Enter the Queene. Qq. 34. Ah] Ff; Oh Qq 1, 2, 4; Wh Q 3; omitted Qq 5-8. 36. soul] selfe Qq 5-8. 40. thy] Ff; your Qq. 41. when . . . is gone] Ff; now . . . is witherd Qq. 42. that want their sap] Ff; the sap being gone Qq.

23, 24. Qq are here stronger and more lively than Ff. But the words "And huggd me in his arm," which spoil the metre of line 24, might very well be the result of a happy impromptu on the stage, preserved in an acting copy of the play. Cambridge editors suggest the omission of "kindly" in line 24.

34. hinder me to wail] For "hinder . . . to" compare Acts viii. 36. For a parallel construction, see Chapman, An Humorous Day's Mirth (Shepherd, 30): "The sight thereof doth half dis- may me to make proof."

39. make] make up, complete. Compare Cymbeline, i. iv. 9.
That our swift-winged souls may catch the king's,
Or, like obedient subjects, follow him
To his new kingdom of ne'er-changing night.

Duck. Ah! so much interest have I in thy sorrow,
As I had title in thy noble husband.
I have bewept a worthy husband's death,
And liv'd with looking on his images:
But now two mirrors of his princely semblance
Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death;
And I for comfort have but one false glass,
That grieves me when I see my shame in him.
Thou art a widow; yet thou art a mother,
And hast the comfort of thy children left;
But death hath snatch'd my husband from mine arms,
And pluck'd two crutches from my feeble hands,
Clarence and Edward. O! what cause have I,
Thine being but an moiety of my moan,
To overgo thy woes and drown thy cries!

46. ne'er-changing night] Ff; perpetuall rest Qq. 47. have I] Qq; have
Ff. 50. with] Ff; by Qq. 54. That] Ff; Which Qq. 56. left] Ff;
left thee Qq. 57. husband] Ff; children Qq. 58. hands] Ff; limmes Qq.
59. Clarence and Edward] Ff; Edward and Clarence Qq. 60. Thine . . .
am moiety] Thine . . . a moity Ff; Then, . . . moity Qq 1, 2; Then, . . .
moitie Qq 3-5; Then, . . . motitie Q 6. moan] Ff; griefe Qq 1-5; selfe Qq 6-8.
61. woes] Ff; plaints Qq (plants Q 2). thy cries] the cries Qq 5, 6.

46. ne'er-changing night] This is without doubt the better, and probably
the original, reading. This gloomy and spacious idea of the life after death
is in keeping with the spirit of the tragic writers of Shakespeare's youth.
Pickersgill argued for Qq, on the ground that Elizabeth is not oppressed
by the terrors of death, but that life has lost its value to her; and that "per-
petual rest" is the form in which the idea of death would most naturally
occur to one in her frame of mind. Ff seemed to him to contain "a sort of
stock phrase," lofty, but not appropriate. That it is, in a certain sense, a
stock phrase, is corroborated by i. iv. 47 above. That it represents a very
general and appropriate notion in con-
temporary tragedy, is seen by such
passages as Marlowe, I Tamburlaine,
iv. 4, where Theridamas speaks of
Olympia's soul as wandering, brighter
than the sun, "about the black cir-
cumference" of hell. Compare also
the prologue to Spanish Tragedy, c.
1588, where the ghost of Andrea, on
his way to Pluto's court, passes "thro'
dreadful shades of ever glooming night."
Qq probably perpetuate a stage-corrup-
tion, the result of an attempt to remedy
a possible confusion with i. iv. 47.
50-54. These metaphors are used by
old Lucretius in Lucrece, 1758-64.
60. moiety] In Shakespeare, "moi-
ety" does not necessarily bear its strict
meaning of "half." Compare All's
Well that Ends Well, iii. ii. 69, where
it means, as here, a portion. On the
other hand, see Fletcher and Massinger,
Spanish Curate, 1622, v. 3:—
"Your brother hath deserved well.
Hen. And shall share
The moiety of my state."
Boy. Ah, aunt! you wept not for our father’s death:
   How can we aid you with our kindred tears?

Girl. Our fatherless distress was left unmoan’d;
   Your widow-dolour likewise be unwept!

Q. Eliz. Give me no help in lamentation;
   I am not barren to bring forth complaints:
   All springs reduce their currents to mine eyes,
   That I, being govern’d by the watery moon,
   May send forth plenteous tears to drown the world.
   Ah! for my husband, for my dear lord Edward!

Chil. Ah! for our father, for our dear lord Clarence!

Duch. Alas! for both, both mine, Edward and Clarence!

Q. Eliz. What stay had I but Edward? and he’s gone.

Chil. What stay had we but Clarence? and he’s gone.

Duch. What stays had I but they? and they are gone.

Q. Eliz. Was never widow had so dear a loss!

Chil. Were never orphans had so dear a loss!

Duch. Was never mother had so dear a loss!
   Alas! I am the mother of these griefs:
   Their woes are parcell’d, mine is general.
   She for an Edward weeps, and so do I;
   I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she:

62. Ah] Ff; Good Qq. 63. kindred] Ff; kindreds Qq. 64. Girl.] Girl.
   Qq; Daugh. Ff. 65. widow-dolour] Ff; widows we dolours Qq; widow dolours
   Pope. 67. complaints] Ff; lament Qq. 68-70. Put in margin by Pope.
69. moon] Ff, Qq 7, 8; moane Qq 1-6. 71. Ah] Ff; Oh Qq. (and below, 72).
   dear] Ff; eire Q 1; eyre Q 2; heire Qq 3-8. 72. Chil.] Ff; Ambo. Qq. (and
   below, 78). 74. he’s] Ff; he is Qq 1-5; is he Q 6 (and below, 75). 76.
   stays] stay Qq 6-8. 78. Were] Ff; Was Qq. never] Q 1, Ff; euer Qq 2-8
   (and below, 79). so dear a] Ff, Qq 7, 8; a dearer Qq 1-6. 79. so dear a]
   Ff; a dearer Qq. 80. griefs] Ff; mones Qq. 81. mine is] Ff; mine are Qq.
82. an Edward] Ff; Edward Qq. 83. weeps] weepes F 1.

65. widow-dolour] The hyphen is inserted in Ff, and should be kept as in
   "widow-comfort" (King John, iii. iv. 105). An instance of arbitrary hyphen-
   ing in Ff is found below, line 112, "You clowdy-Princes, & hart-sorowing-
   Peeres."

68. reduce] in the literal sense of "bring back," as below, v. v. 36. Com-
   pare D'Avenant's prologue to The Woman Hater, 1649: "'Twas he re-
   duced Evadne from her scorn."

69, 70. Elizabeth compares her eyes to the sea, receiving back from the
   rivers the moisture which it gives forth, and governed by the influence of the
   moon. When we have accepted the first part of the comparison, it is diffi-
   cult to agree with Johnson that "the introduction of the moon is not very
   natural."

81. parcell’d] Compare Antony and Cleopatra, v. ii. 163.
These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I;  
I for an Edward weep, so do not they.  
Alas! you three on me, threefold distress'd,  
Pour all your tears. I am your sorrow's nurse,  
And I will pamper it with lamentation.  

_Dor._ Comfort, dear mother: God is much displeas'd  
That you take with unthankfulness His doing.  
In common worldly things, 'tis call'd ungrateful,  
With dull unwillingness to repay a debt  
Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent;  
Much more to be thus opposite with heaven,  
For it requires the royal debt it lent you.  

_Riv._ Madam, bethink you, like a careful mother,  
Of the young prince your son: send straight for him;  
Let him be crown'd; in him your comfort lives.  
Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave,  
And plant your joys in living Edward's throne.  

_Enter_ Gloucester, Buckingham, Derby, Hastings,  
_and_ Ratcliff.  

_Glou._ Sister, have comfort: all of us have cause  
To wail the dimming of our shining star;  
But none can help our harms by wailing them.  
Madam, my mother, I do cry you mercy;
I did not see your grace: humbly on my knee
I crave your blessing.

Duch. God bless thee, and put meekness in thy breast,
Love, charity, obedience, and true duty!

Glou. Amen: [Aside] and make me die a good old man!
That is the butt-end of a mother’s blessing;
I marvel that her grace did leave it out.

Buck. You cloudy princes and heart-sorrowing peers,
That bear this heavy mutual load of moan,
Now cheer each other in each other’s love:
Though we have spent our harvest of this king,
We are to reap the harvest of his son.
The broken rancour of your high-swoll’n hates,
But lately splinter’d, knit and join’d together,
Must gently be preserv’d, cherish’d, and kept:
Me seemeth good, that, with some little train,
Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be set
Hither to London, to be crown’d our king.

Riv. Why with some little train, my Lord of Buckingham?

Buck. Marry, my lord, lest, by a multitude,

105. your grace] you Pope. 109. Aside.] Hamner (before Amen). and
make me] make me Q 6; make me to Qq 7, 8. 110. That is] Ff; That, Qq.
a mother’s] Q 1, Ff; my mothers Qq 2-8. 111. that] Ff; why Qq. 113.
heavy mutual] Ff; mutuall heavy Qq. 115. of this] Q 1, Ff; for this Qq
2-8. 117. hates] Ff; hearts Qq. 118. splinter’d] splinted Qq 2-8. 119.

112. cloudy] melancholy, as Lucrece, 1084; Macbeth, iii. vi. 41; The Tempest,
i. i. 142.


117-19. broken rancour . . . kept] Some doubt has been cast upon the text
of this difficult passage; and it has been suggested that “rancour” should be
altered to some other word, such as “concord.” But there can be very
little doubt that the subject of the verbs in line 119 is, not any special word in
the preceding lines, but the general idea contained in them. Paraphrased, the
sense is as follows: Now that your dissensions, which, having swollen
high, had broken out in rancour, have been healed, and the wound has been
splinted and sewn up, the healthy con-
dition, which is the result of that healing, must be preserved. The quotation
from Cymbeline, v. v. 344, 345, given by Abbott to illustrate i. iii. 63-69 above
(see note), is more applicable here.

118. splinter’d] i.e. splinted, bound up with splints. Compare Othello, ii.
iii. 329.

121. Ludlow] See More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 714). At the time of his
father’s death, Edward V. “kept his household at Ludlow in Wales [sic],
which country being farre off from the law and recourse to justice, . . . the
prince was in the life of his father sent thither, to the end that the authoritie
of his presence should refraine euill disposed persons from the boldnesse of
their former outrages.”

124. More (u.s.) gives the reasons,
The new-heal’d wound of malice should break out;
Which would be so much the more dangerous,
By how much the estate is green and yet ungovern’d,
Where every horse bears his commanding rein,
And may direct his course as please himself,
As well the fear of harm, as harm apparent,
In my opinion, ought to be prevented.

Glou. I hope the king made peace with all of us;
And the compact is firm and true in me.

Riv. And so in me; and so, I think, in all:
Yet, since it is but green, it should be put
To no apparent likelihood of breach,
Which haply by much company might be urg’d:
Therefore I say with noble Buckingham,
That it is meet so few should fetch the prince.

Hast. And so say I.

Glou. Then be it so; and go we to determine
Who they shall be that straight shall post to Ludlow.


which Shakespeare attributes to Buckingham, as Richard’s personal conclusions, derived from consultation with Buckingham and Hastings. “Should all the realme fall on a roar,” the guilt of breach of truce would fall upon the queen and her kindred.

127. estate] The risk is the more imminent, in proportion to the novelty of the change in the state, and the absence of any supreme controlling hand. Buckingham emphasises the need of control, and so points obliquely to Gloucester as the man who is fit to exercise it. In line 135 below, Rivers calls the newly-made compact “green.”

134. Malone followed Capell in assigning this speech to Hastings, and line 140 to Stanley. This would only make Gloucester’s party acquiesce in an arrangement favourable to themselves; and for this Hastings’ brief assent in line 140 is sufficient. Shakespeare’s object surely was to bring out the ready agreement of the queen’s partisans, intimidated by their fear of Gloucester, yet willing, against hope, to show their adhesion to the new-made peace, on whose maintenance he and his friends were laying such stress.

139. so few] a certain limited number.
142. Ludlow] Ff reading is indefensible. Speeding attributed the error to the printer; but it occurs twice in thirteen lines. The editor of F seems to have had little knowledge of history (compare ii. i. 66-68 above; ii. iv. 1, 2 below). Probably in the MS. he found “London” written here by mistake for “Ludlow”—a very comprehensible error. He would have altered his Q in consequence, and “Ludlow” again in line 154 to match. Richard was at York about this time, and actually met the king on his way from York to London. The editor of F is hardly likely to have known this. If he did, he was guilty of a misplaced accuracy, for which there was no warrant in the text.
Madam, and you, my mother, will you go
To give your censures in this business?

Q. Eliz. With all our hearts.

Duch. [Exeunt all but Buckingham and Gloucester.]

Buck. My lord, whoever journeys to the prince,
For God's sake, let not us two stay at home:
As index to the story we late talk'd of,
To part the queen's proud kindred from the prince.

Glou. My other self, my counsel's consistory,
My oracle, my prophet!—My dear cousin,
I, as a child, will go by thy direction.
Toward Ludlow then, for we'll not stay behind.

[Exeunt.

143. mother] Qq; Sister Ff. 144. business] Ff; weighty busines Qq.
145. Q. Eliz. Duch. With . . . hearts.] Ans. With . . . hearts Qq; omitted Ff.
147. stay] Q i, Ff; be Qq 2-8. at home] Ff; behinde Qq.
149. late] Q i; Ff 1-3; lately Qq 2-8, F 4. 150. prince] Ff; King Qq.
152. prophet !—My] Theobald (sugg. Warburton); prophet, my Qq, Ff.
153. as] Ff; like Qq.
154. Toward] Ff; Towards Qq. we'll] Ff; we will Qq.
Exeunt.] Ff; Exit. Qq 3-8; omitted Qq 1, 2.

143. mother] Gloucester would naturally add to the queen-dowager before his mother, of whom she took precedence. Qq therefore have the better reading.

144. censures] judgments. So 1 Henry VI. ii. iii. 10; Winter's Tale, ii. i. 37; Fletcher, False One, i. i:—

"my opinion
Is, still committing it to graver
censure,
You pay the debt you owe him."
Compare Chapman (?), Alphonsus, i. i: "as for Mentz, I need not censure him," i.e. give my opinion of him.

148. sort occasion] choose, contrive an opportunity. For "sort" compare 1 Henry VI. ii. iii. 27; 3 Henry VI. v. v. 87; 1 Henry IV. ii. iii. 13: "The purpose you undertake is dangerous . . . the time itself unsorted."

149. index] prelude, preface. "Index" was the name given to the finger printed in the margin of a book, and pointing to its main arguments or other important contents, as they might occur. An abstract or list of these, prefixed to the book, became known in course of time as the index. See Mr. Hart on Othello, ii. i. 263. Compare Troilus and Cressida, i. ii. 343; and iv. iv. 85 below.

Enter two Citizens, meeting.

First Cit. Good morrow, neighbour: whither away so fast?
Sec. Cit. I promise you, I scarcely know myself:
Hear you the news abroad?
First Cit. Yes, that the king is dead.
Sec. Cit. Ill news, by 'r lady, seldom comes the better:
I fear, I fear, 'twill prove a giddy world.

Enter another Citizen.

Third Cit. Neighbours, God speed!
First Cit. Give you good morrow, sir.
Third Cit. Doth the news hold of good king Edward's death?
Sec. Cit. Ay, sir, it is too true, God help the while!
Third Cit. Then, masters, look to see a troublous world.
First Cit. No, no; by God's good grace, his son shall reign. 10
Third Cit. Woe to that land that's govern'd by a child!
Sec. Cit. In him there is a hope of government,
Which, in his nonage, council under him,
And, in his full and ripened years, himself,
No doubt, shall, then and till then, govern well.

First Cit. So stood the state, when Henry the sixth
Was crown'd in Paris but at nine months old.

Third Cit. Stood the state so? No, no, good friends, God wot!
For then this land was famously enrich'd
With politic grave counsel; then the king
Had virtuous uncles to protect his grace.

First Cit. Why, so hath this, both by his father and mother.
Third Cit. Better it were they all came by his father,
Or by his father there were none at all;
For emulation, who shall now be nearest,
Will touch us all too near, if God prevent not.
O! full of danger is the Duke of Gloucester,
And the queen's sons and brothers haughty and proud;


16. Henry] probably a trisyllable. Compare 1 Henry VI. iii. i. 76, and see note on i. i. 67 above.
17. crown'd] Henry VI. was proclamed king of France in Paris, after the death of his grandfather, Charles VI., October, 1422. He was then about a year old. He was not crowned in Paris till December, 1430, when he was nine years, not nine months, old.
19. famously] excellently. Compare Coriolanus, i. i. 37. Miss Austen, The Watsons, p. 326, makes a young man of fashion say: "I shall retreat in so much secrecy as possible to the most remote corner of the house, where I shall order a barrel of oysters, and be famously snug."

27. The popular apprehension of Gloucester is illustrated by an anecdote, told on good authority by More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 712), which Shakespeare must have remarked. "The selfe night, in which king Edward died, one Mistlebrooke, long yer morning, came in great haste to the house of one Pottier dwelling in Redcrosse-strete without Creplegate; and when he was with hastie rapping quickelie letten in, he shewed unto Pottier, that king Edward was departed. 'By my truth man,' quoth Pottier, 'then will my maister the Duke of Glocester be king.'"

28. haughty] Compare 3 Henry VI. ii. i. 169: "the haught Northumberland"; Greene, Orlando Furioso (Dyce, 106): "the pride of haught Latona's son." One of the 1608 Qq of Richard II. reads "haught" in iv. i. 254. In 2 Henry VI. i. iii. 71, where F 1 reads "haughtie," Ff 2-4 read "haught." Dyce reads for "haughtie" in Lodge and Greene, Looking-Glass (p. 117): "If doughty deeds more haught than any done." In the present case, Qq perhaps represent the corruption of the line on the stage.
And, were they to be rul'd, and not to rule,
This sickly land might solace as before.

First Cit. Come, come, we fear the worst; all will be well.

Third Cit. When clouds are seen, wise men put on their cloaks;
When great leaves fall, then winter is at hand;
When the sun sets, who doth not look for night?
Untimely storms make men expect a dearth.
All may be well; but, if God sort it so,
'Tis more than we deserve, or I expect.

Sec. Cit. Truly, the hearts of men are full of fear:
You cannot reason almost with a man,
That looks not heavily and full of dread.

Third Cit. Before the days of change, still is it so:
By a divine instinct, men's minds mistrust
Pursuing danger; as, by proof, we see
The water swell before a boist'rous storm.
But leave it all to God. Whither away?

Sec. Cit. Marry, we were sent for to the justices.

Third Cit. And so was I: I'll bear you company. [Exeunt.

---

30. to rule] rule Qq 6-8. 31. First Cit.] Ff; 2. Qq. will] Ff; shall Qq.
32. are seen] Ff; appeare Qq. 33. then] Ff; the Qq. 35. make] Qq;
makes Ff. 38. Sec. Cit.] Ff; 1. Qq. hearts] Ff; soules Qq. fear] Ff;
bread Qq 1, 2; dread Qq 3-8. 39. You] Ff; Yee Qq. reason almost] reason
(almost) Ff; almost reason Qq. 40. dread] Ff; feare Qq. 41. days] Ff;
times Qq. 43. Pursuing danger] Ff; Ensuing dangers Qq. 44. water]
Ff; waters Qq. 46. Marry, we were] Ff; We are Qq. justices] Ff;
Justice Qq; justice's Anon conj. ap. Camb.

30. solace] Compare Cymbeline, i. vi. 86.
36. sort] appoint, dispose, as Merchant of Venice, v. i. 132. Compare
"sort occasion," above, ii. ii. 148.

41-44. The sentiment is More's (ap. Holinshed, iii. 721): "Before such great
things, mens hearts of a secret instinct
of nature misgibe them; as the sea
without wind swelleth of himselfe some-
time before a tempest."
KING RICHARD III

[ACT II.

SCENE IV.—London. The Palace.

Enter the Archbishop of York, the young Duke of York, Queen Elizabeth, and the Duchess of York.

Arch. Last night, I hear, they lay at Northampton;
At Stony-Stratford will they be to-night:
To-morrow, or next day, they will be here.

Duch. I long with all my heart to see the prince:
I hope he is much grown since last I saw him.

Q. Eliz. But I hear no; they say my son of York
Has almost overta’en him in his growth.

York. Ay, mother; but I would not have it so.

Duch. Why, my young cousin, it is good to grow.

York. Grandam, one night, as we did sit at supper,
My uncle Rivers talk’d how I did grow
More than my brother: “Ay,” quoth my uncle Gloucester,

“Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace:”
And since, methinks, I would not grow so fast,
Because sweet flowers are slow, and weeds make haste.

Duch. Good faith, good faith, the saying did not hold
In him that did object the same to thee.
He was the wretched’st thing when he was young,

Enter the Archbishop . . . ] Enter Arch-bishop, young Yorke, the Queene, and the Dutchesse. Ff; Enter Cardinall, Dutches of Yorke, Quee. [or Qu.]; young Yorke. Qq. 1. Arch.] Ff; Car. Qq (and so in line 36, etc.). hear] Qq; heard Ff. Northampton] Qq; Stony Stratford Ff. 2. At Stony-Stratford will they be] Qq; And at Northampton they do rest, Ff. 6. no] not Pope. 7. Has] Ff; Hath Qq. almost] omitted Qq 6-8. 9. young] Qq; good Ff. 13. do grow] Ff; grow Qq.

Archbishop of York] For this stage-direction and the reading in lines 1, 2, see Appendix III.

6. my son of York] According to Holinshed, iii. 719, York was at this time anything but the healthy, active boy whom Shakespeare pictures. Elizabeth pleads with the Cardinal that, “beside his infancy, that also needeth good looking to;” he “hath a while beene so sore diseased, vexed with sickness, and is so newlie rather a little amended, than well recovered, that I dare put no person earthlie in trust with his keeping, but my selue onelie.”

13. great weeds do grow apace] Aldis Wright quotes Heywood’s Proverbs:—

“Il weed growth fast, that is showynge
In the show of thy fast growynge.”

Compare Chapman, An Humorous Day’s Mirth (Shepherd, 36): “Whatsoever I say to Monsieur Rowl, he shall say, ‘Oh, sir, you may see an ill weed grows apace.’”
KING RICHARD III

So long: a-growing, and so leisurely,
That, i/ his rule were true, he should be gracious. 20

Arch. And so no doubt he is, my gracious madam.
Duch. I hope he is; but yet let mothers doubt.
York. Now, by my troth, if I had been rememb'red,
I could have given my uncle's grace a flout,
To touch his growth nearer than he touch'd mine. 25

Duch. How, my young York? I prithee, let me hear it.
York. Marry, they say my uncle grew so fast,
That he could gnaw a crust at two hours old:
'Twas full two years ere I could get a tooth.
Grandam, this would have been a biting jest. 30

Duch. I prithee, pretty York, who told thee this?
York. Grandam, his nurse.

Duch. His nurse! why, she was dead ere thou wast born.
York. If 'twere not she, I cannot tell who told me.

Q. Eliz. A parlous boy! go to, you are too shrewd.
Arch. Good madam, be not angry with the child.

Q. Eliz. Pitchers have ears.

20. his rule were true] Ff; this were a true rule Qq i. 2; this were a rule Qq 3-8; this rule were true Camb. 21. Arch.] Car. Qq; Yor. Ff. And so . . . Madam] Ff; Why Madame, so no doubt he is Qq. 22. he is] Ff; so too Qq. 25. To touch . . . mine] Ff; That should have neerer toucht his growth then he did mine Qq. 26. How . . . hear it] one line as Qq; How . . . Yorke, I . . . hear it (two lines) Ff. young] Ff; pretty Qq. 27. say my uncle] Q i, Ff; say, that my Vnkle Qq 2-8. 30. biting] Qq i, Ff; pretie Qq 2-8. 31. prithee] Ff; pray thee Qq. this] Ff; so Qq. 33. His nurse] Ff i, Ff; omitted Qq 2-8. wast] Ff; wert Qq. 35. parlous] Ff; perilous Qq.

20. [gracious] Compare Julius Caesar, iii. ii. 198; Hamlet, i. i. 164.
23. had been rememb'red] Compare Measure for Measure, ii. i. 109, 110.
35. parlous] a popular corruption of "perilous." Shakespeare uses it as an emphatic epithet, Midsummer-Night's Dream, iii. i. 14; As You Like It, iii. ii. 45. Compare Tourneur, Ren. Trag. act iv.: "A parlous melancholy"; Beaumont and Fletcher, Elder Brother, ii. ii.: "You are so parlously in love with learning." Here and below, iii. i. 154, the sense is much that in which we speak of a precocious boy or girl as a "terrible child"; but a sarcastic intention in the child's precocity is also implied. Compare Measure for Measure, ii. iv. 172. Milton, Animadversions upon Remonstrant's Defence, 1641, has: "sure some pedagogue stood at your elbow, and made it itch with their parlous criticism." Decker and Middleton, Roaring Girl, 1611, ii. i, refer to "Parlous pond," which Reed conjectured to be Peerless (i.e. Perilous) Pool in Clerkenwell (see Hone, Every-Day Book, i. 485-9), so called from the number of people who lost their lives there.

37. Pitchers have ears] See Taming
Enter a Messenger.

Arch. Here comes a messenger. What news?  
Mess. Such news, my lord, as grieves me to report.  
Q. Eliz. How doth the prince?  
Mess. Well, madam, and in health.  
Duch. What is thy news?  
Mess. Lord Rivers and Lord Grey are sent to Pomfret,  
       With them Sir Thomas Vaughan, prisoners.  
Duch. Who hath committed them?  
Mess.  
       The mighty dukes,  
       Gloucester and Buckingham.  
Arch.  
Mess. The sum of all I can, I have disclos'd:  
       Why or for what the nobles were committed  
       Is all unknown to me, my gracious lord.  
Q. Eliz. Ay me! I see the ruin of my house!  
       The tiger now hath seiz'd the gentle hind;  
       Insulting tyranny begins to jet  

of the Shrew, iv. iv. 52, and Mr. Bond's note. Malone quotes William Bulleyn,  
A Dialogue both plesaunt and pietifull,  
1564, "Small pitchers have great ears."

Enter a Messenger.] The speeches which follow seem to suit an ordinary messenger better than Dorset, who appears here in Qq. In More's account, it is by a messenger from Hastings that Rotherham learns the fatal news.  
42. More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 715) says that "the lord Riueres, and the lord Richard, with Sir Thomas Vaughan" were sent from Northampton "into the north countie, into diverse places to prison; and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in conclusion beheaded." Rivers was at Sheriff Hutton in the interval; Lord Richard Grey was at Gloucester's other Yorkshire castle of Middleton.  
50. The image is used also in Lucrece,  
543. It is reversed in Midsummer-Night's Dream, ii. i. 232, 233.  
51, 52. jet Upon] encroach upon. Compare Titus Andronicus, ii. i. 64, where Ff and later editors adopt the form "jut." "To jet," used absolutely, means "to strut, swagger," as Twelfth Night, ii. v. 36; Decker, Seven Deadly Sinsnes (Arber, 15): "he iets vp and downe in silks woen out of other mens stocks." Mr. Craig ("Little Quarto" Shakespeare) remarks upon the un-
Upon the innocent and aweless throne:
Welcome, destruction, blood, and massacre!
I see, as in a map, the end of all.

Duch. Accursed and unquiet wrangling days,
How many of you have mine eyes beheld!
My husband lost his life to get the crown;
And often up and down my sons were toss'd,
For me to joy and weep their gain and loss:
And being seated, and domestic broils
Clean over-blown, themselves, the conquerors,
Make war upon themselves, brother to brother,
Blood to blood, self against self: O, preposterous
And frantic outrage, end thy damned spleen;
Or let me die, to look on death no more!

Q. Eliz. Come, come, my boy; we will to sanctuary.
Madam, farewell.

Duch. Stay, I will go with you.

Q. Eliz. You have no cause.

Arch. My gracious lady, go;

52. aweless] Ff; lawlesse Qq. 53. blood] Ff; death Qq. 60. seated, and domestic broils] seated and domestike broiles, Q r. 61. over-blown, themselves] ouerblowne themselves, Q r. 62, 63. brother to brother, Blood to blood] Ff; blood against blood Qq. 65. death] Qq; earth Ff. 67. Madam, farewell] Ff; omitted Qq. Stay, I will go with you] Ff; Ile goe along with you Qq. 68. Arch. [To the Queen.] Malone.

commonness of the present usage, of which New Eng. Dict. contains only two instances. He suggests in an unpublished note that r v. iii. 42 below may throw some light on its meaning.

52. aweless] which does not inspire awe. New Eng. Dict. quotes T. Adams, Practical Works, 1614, "It is a lawless school where there is an aweless monitor." Qq "lawlesse" makes doubtful sense, unless it can bear the meaning of "without the power of administering law." But this is a strained interpretation.

63. Spedding thought that F r intended to read "Blood to blood, self 'gainst self; preposterous." Pope emended Qq "most preposterous."

65. death] Spedding attributed Ff reading to a printer's error. It possibly was in the original text, in which case Qq make a distinct emendation. Or, again, it may have been a MS. error peculiar to the copy which F r appears to have followed with such fidelity.

66. sanctuary] More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 715) says that Elizabeth, on hearing of Gloucester's coup d'état, "gat hir selfe in all the hast possible with hir yoonger sonne and hir daughters out of the palace of Westminster (in which she then laie) into the sanctuarie; lodging hir selfe and hir companie there in the abbats place." Halle adds, "and she and all her chyldren and compaignie were regestred for sanctuarye persons." The abbot of Westminster at this period was John Esteny. In 1470, Elizabeth had taken refuge with his predecessor, William Millyng. The "abbats place" stood south of the abbey church: its remains form part of the present Deanery and College Hall.
And thither bear your treasure and your goods.
For my part, I'll resign unto your grace
The seal I keep: and so betide to me
As well I tender you and all of yours!
Come, I'll conduct you to the sanctuary.

[Exeunt.

70. Rotherham's words are thus reported by More (u.s.): "Madame... be yee of good cheere, for I assure you, if they crowne anie other king than your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall on the morow crowne his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in likewise as that noble prince your husband deliuered it vnto me; so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of your sonne."
ACT III


The trumpets sound. Enter the young Prince, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, Cardinal Bourchier, Catesby, and others.

Buck. Welcome, sweet prince, to London, to your chamber!

Glou. Welcome, dear cousin, my thoughts’ sovereign! The weary way hath made you melancholy.

Prince. No, uncle; but our crosses on the way Have made it tedious, wearisome, and heavy: 5 I want more uncles here to welcome me.

Glou. Sweet prince, the untainted virtue of your years Hath not yet div’d into the world’s deceit: No more can you distinguish of a man Than of his outward show; which, God He knows, 10

London.] Pope. A street.] Capell. Cardinal Bourchier] Cardinal Qq; Lord Cardinal Ff. Catesby.] Capell; omitted Qq, Ff. i. Welcome ... chamber] one line as Qq; Welcome ... London, To your Chamber (two lines) Ff. 8. Hath] Have Qq 6-8. 9. No] Q q 8; Nor Q q 1-7.

Cardinal Bourchier] See Appendix III. and notes on dramatis personae.

1. chamber] Camden, Britannia, tr. Holland, 1610, p. 427 B, says that, after the Norman Conquest, London, “through the speciall favour and indulgence of Princes ... beganne to bee called The King’s Chamber.” Compare ibid. p. 421 D: “London, the Epitome or Breviary of all Britain, the seat of the British Empire, and the Kings of Englands Chamber.” So Heywood, If you know not Me, you know Nobody, 1633, part 2 (quoted by Steevens): “This city, our great chamber.” New Eng. Dict. quotes Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments, 1631: “This his Citie of Maldon, then the chamber of his kingdome.” In the pageant devised by Jonson for the coronation procession of King James, an erection in Fenchurch Street, symbolic of London, bore the title “Londinium,” and below, in smaller characters, “Camera Regis” (Jonson, ed. Gifford, 1 vol. ed. p. 527). Giovanni Villani, Cronica, i. 41, says of Florence: “La città di Firenze in quello tempo era camera d’imperio.”

9, 10. No more ... show] You can distinguish nothing more in a man than that which you can distinguish in his outward behaviour. The second “of” confuses the meaning a little, but is not superfluous.
Seldom or never jumpeth with the heart.
Those uncles which you want were dangerous:
Your grace attended to their sug'red words,
But look'd not on the poison of their hearts:
God keep you from them, and from such false friends! 15

Prince. God keep me from false friends! but they were none.
Glou. My lord, the mayor of London comes to greet you.

Enter the Lord Mayor, and his train.

May. God bless your grace with health and happy days!
Prince. I thank you, good my lord, and thank you all.
I thought my mother and my brother York would long ere this have met us on the way:
Fie! what a slug is Hastings, that he comes not to tell us whether they will come or no!

Enter Lord Hastings.

Buck. And, in good time, here comes the sweating lord.
Prince. Welcome, my lord! what, will our mother come?
Hast. On what occasion God He knows, not I,
The queen your mother and your brother York have taken sanctuary: the tender prince would fain have come with me to meet your grace, but by his mother was perforce withheld.
Buck. Fie! what an indirect and peevish course is this of hers! Lord cardinal, will your grace persuade the queen to send the Duke of York unto his princely brother presently?

16. aft. Prince. [Aside.] Camb. conj. God . . . none] one line as Qq; God . . . Friends, But . . . none (two lines) Ff. God . . . none (two lines) Ff. 29. have come] come Qq 3, 5-8. 33. to send] the send Q 3; they send Q 5.

11. jumpeth with] agrees with, as Merchant of Venice, II. ix. 32; 1 Henry IV. i. ii. 78. New Eng. Dict. quotes R. D., Hypnerotomachia, 1592: "The corners of which triangle did jumpe with the sides and lymbus of the subjacent plynth." Compare Lyly, Alexander and Campaspe, i. 3:

"Crates. Thou thinkest it a grace to be opposite with Alexander. Diogenes. And thou to be jdon with Alexander."

31. peevish] See note on 1. iii. 194 above, and compare Hamlet, i. ii. 100 Othello, iv. iii. 90.
If she deny, Lord Hastings, go with him,
And from her jealous arms pluck him perforce.

Card. My Lord of Buckingham, if my weak oratory
Can from his mother win the Duke of York,
Anon expect him here; but, if she be obdurate
To mild entreaties, God in heaven forbid
We should infringe the holy privilege
Of blessed sanctuary! not for all this land
Would I be guilty of so deep a sin.

Buck. You are too senseless-obstinate, my lord,
Too ceremonious and traditional.
Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,
You break not sanctuary in seizing him.

... forbid] Anon ... she be Obdurate to entreaties, God forbid Pope. 40.
in heaven] omitted Qq 3-8, Ff. 42. blessed] omitted Pope. 43. deep] great
Qq 3-8, Ff. 44. senseless-obstinate] hyphened Theobald. 46. grossness of
this] greatness of this Q 6; greatness of his Qq 7, 8; greenness of his Hanmer
(from Warburton).

40-43. More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 717) quotes the Cardinal's words as Arch-
bishop Rotherham's. "And therefore
(quoth the archbishop of Yorke) God
forbid that anie man should, for anie-
thing earthlie, enterprise to breake the
immunitie & libertie of the sacred
sanctuarie, that hath beene the safe-
gard of so manie a good mans life.
And I trust (quoth he) with God's
grace, we shall not need it. But for
anie maner need, I would not we
should doo it." In view of the con-
fusion, due to More, between Bourchier
and Rotherham, it should be noted
that, both in More and Shakespeare,
the Cardinal already has consented to
attempt persuasion, but objects to force.
It is very unlikely that Rotherham
would have undertaken persuasion so
readily, and very improbable that the
opportunity should have been offered
to him. See Appendix III. and the
appendix to Canon Leigh-Bennett's
Archbishop Rotherham, 1901, p. 178.

44. senseless-obstinate] Of the alter-
native conjectures which the vehemence
of the expression has provoked, Staun-
ton's "needless-obstinate" comes
nearest within the bounds of reason.

46. grossness] Literally "coarseness,
want of refinement" (New Eng. Dict.;
Schmidt). The implied meaning seems
to be: Judge the matter by the vulgar,
practical standard of the present age.
"Gross" is applied by Shakespeare to
denote things plain and obvious: com-
pare Othello, i. ii. 72; and so it is used
of unconcealed coarseness of language,
as in Measure for Measure, ii. iv. 82.
Buckingham speaks as a man of the
world, to assuage the scruples of the
cardinal. Warburton argues for
"grossness of his age" on the ground
that "grossness" means superstition;
in which case, Buckingham's appeal,
if obeyed, would have a precisely
opposite effect to its intention. John-
son takes "grossness" as equivalent
to "licentious practices." See note
on iv. i. 79 below.

47. More gives Buckingham a long
speech of which this sentiment is the
hypothesis. While there are many
who deserve the right of sanctuary,
there are thriftless debtors, thieves,
bankrupts, etc., who take advantage
of it. The evil might be amended with-
out prejudice to innocent refugees in
lawful peril of their body. But the
Duke of York is not one of these. He
is innocent before all the world; "and
so sanctuary, neither none he needeth,
nor also none can have." Again, a
The benefit thereof is always granted
To those whose dealings have deserv’d the place,
And those who have the wit to claim the place:
The prince hath neither claimed it nor deserv’d it,
And therefore, in mine opinion, cannot have it;
Then, taking him from thence that is not there,
You break no privilege nor charter there.
Oft have I heard of sanctuary men,
But sanctuary children ne’er till now.

Card. My lord, you shall o’er-rule my mind for once.
Come on, Lord Hastings, will you go with me?

Hast. I go, my lord.

Prince. Good lords, make all the speedy haste you may.

[Exeunt Cardinal and Hastings.

Say, uncle Gloucester, if our brother come,
Where shall we sojourn till our coronation?

Glow. Where it seems best unto your royal self.
If I may counsel you, some day or two
Your highness shall repose you at the Tower;
Then where you please, and shall be thought most fit
For your best health and recreation.

Prince. I do not like the Tower, of any place.

Did Julius Caesar build that place, my lord?

52. And] omitted Fl 2-4. 53. taking] take Qq 6-8. 56. ne’er] Fl; neuer Qq. 57. o’er-rule] Fl; ouerrule Qq. 60. Exeunt . . .] Camb.; Exit . . .
Qq 3-8, Fl (after 59); omitted Qq 1, 2.

sanctuary man must not claim the right by proxy. The Duke is kept in sanctuary by his mother, perhaps against his will. What scruple of conscience, what breach of privilege, can be urged here? If any be allowed, it follows that no one may be taken out of sanctuary who says he will stay there. A child will be able to claim the right for fear of his schoolmaster. In this case there is not even the excuse of fear. “And verelie,” adds Buckingham in parenthesis, “I have often heard of sanctuarie men, but I never heard earst of sanctuarie children” (see lines 55, 56). A terse summing-up of his argument concludes a speech with successful effect. For the history of sanctuary privileges and illustrations of the above arguments, see Raine’s Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacense (Surtees Society publications, vol. 5), and Rites of Durham, ed. J. T. Fowler, 1903, pp. 41, 42, 226, etc. (ibid. vol. 107).

58. Lord Hastings] According to More, the Cardinal went to the sanctuary “with diuers other lords with him.” Halle names “the lord Haward” as using words to persuade the queen against any idea of danger. This was John, Lord Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk. Hastings is not mentioned.

69. Julius Caesar] “It hath been the common opinion, and some have written—but of none assured ground—that Julius Caesar . . . was the original author and founder as well” of the
**KING RICHARD III**

_Buck._ He did, my gracious lord, begin that place;
Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edified.

_Prince._ Is it upon record, or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it?

_Buck._ Upon record, my gracious lord.

_Prince._ But say, my lord, it were not regist'red,
Methinks the truth should live from age to age,
As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,
Even to the general all-ending day.

**Glou. [Aside.]** So wise, so young, they say, do never live long.

**Prince.** What say you, uncle?

**Glou.** I say, without characters, fame lives long.

[Aside.] Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,

70. _Buck._ Glo. Steevens. 70, 71. _He did... re-edified_ He did, my lord
71. _re-edified_ Steevens conj. 71. _re-edified_ rebuilt
Hamner. 74. _Upon_ It is upon Capell. 78. _general all-ending_ Q 1;
_general all ending_ Qq 2-8, Ff. 79. [Aside.] Johnson (and so 94). _never_ ne'er
Pope. 82. [Aside.] Ff 2-4. _Thus That_ Qq 6-8.

Tower of London, "as also of many other towers, castles, and great buildings within this realm" (Stow, Survey, ed. Morley, p. 73).

73. _Successively_ Mr. Craig sends a parallel from Holland, Pliny, viii. 11 (1634, pt. i. p. 160): "In the race and family of the Lepidi it is said there were three of them (not successively one after another, but out of order after some intermission) who had... at their birth a little pannicle of thin skin growing over their eyes." Compare iii. vii. 135 below.

77. _retail'd_ reported. Compare iv. iv. 338 below, where the meaning is probably the same. Malone quotes Minshew, _Ductor in Linguis_, 1617: "to retail or retell, G. renombrer, à Lat. renumerare." Warburton explains that the story, being thus retailed, "like most other _retailed_ things, became adulterated." He proposed "intail'd" instead, "which is finely and sensibly expressed, as though truth were the natural inheritance of our children; which it is impiety to deprive them of." Johnson supposed that "retail'd" might mean "difus'd, dispersed."

78. _general all-ending_ The reading of all the printed copies save Q 1 may be due to the printer of Q 2, who con-founded "all," on this supposition, with the last syllable of "general." The occurrence of the error in Ff may point, however, to its source in some early MS. of the play. For "all-ending" compare "all-shaking" in _King Lear_, iii. ii. 6.

79. Steevens quotes "Is cadit ante senem, qui sapit ante diem," Reed gives an English form from Timothy Bright, _A Treatise of Melancholy_, 1586: "They be of short life who are of wit so pregnant." Aldis Wright refers to Holland's translation of Pliny, 1601, vii. 51, where the proverb is attributed to Cato the Censor.

81. _characters_ written records. Compare _Winter's Tale_, iii. iii. 47. The word is usually accented on the first syllable; but, in _Hamlet_, i. iii. 59, the verb "character" has the penultimate accent. Compare "charactery" in _Merry Wives of Windsor_, v. v. 77; _Julius Caesar_, ii. i. 308.

82. _the formal vice, Iniquity_ The nearest parallel in Shakespeare to this much-disputed passage is _1 Henry IV_, ii. iv. 499, 500. References to the Vice of the Morality-plays are also found, e.g., _Twelfth Night_, iv. ii. 134; _1 Henry IV_, ii. iv. 151; _Henry V_, iv. iv. 75-77. In Jonson, _The Devil is an Ass_, 1616, i. i, Pug asks Satan to let
I moralise two meanings in one word.

Prince. That Julius Cæsar was a famous man;
With what his valour did enrich his wit,
His wit set down to make his valour live:
Death makes no conquest of this conqueror,

83. moralise] moralize: Warburton; moralize,— Capell. 87. this] Q i; his Qq 2-8, Ff.

him wander about the world for a fortnight, and take a Vice with him. When asked what kind of Vice he wishes, he answers "Why any: Fraud, Or Covetousness, or Lady Vanity, or old Iniquity." Iniquity then introduces himself. This shows (1) that the Vice often represented one special sin, but (2) that he frequently appeared under the general name of Iniquity. This is further indicated by Jonson, Staple of News, 1625, interact ii.: "the old way, when Iniquity came in like Hokos Pokos, in a juggler's jerkin, with false skirts, like the knife of clubs." "Formal" unquestionably means "according to form, usual, regular," as in Antony and Cleopatra, ii. v. 41; compare Merry Devil of Edmonton, sc. i.: "The formal deed 'twixt me and thee." Thus it seems that Iniquity was the customary name under which the Vice appeared. Warburton wished to read "formal-wise antiquity," arguing (1) that the Vice was anything but formal (i.e. sober) in demeanour; (2) that Shakespeare would not allow an exact speaker. Discoursing on antiquity, to wander off to a simile which had so little to do with his theme. He concludes complacently: "Formal-wise is a compound epithet, an extreme fine one, and admirably fitted to the character of the speaker, who thought all wisdom but formality. It must therefore be read for the future with a hyphen." Of course, Warburton takes "formality" in its derived sense: Polonius would be an excellent example of a "formal-wise" statesman. So Lucio, in Beaumont and Fletcher, Woman-Hater, is described as "a weak, formal statesman," i.e. devoted to the formalities of his office. Malone thought that "formal" might mean "shrewd, sensible"; but in his parallels (Comedy of Errors, v. i. 105; Twelfth Night, ii. v. 128) the word simply means "normal.

83. The sense is "I imply a double meaning in one phrase." (1) We may assume that double entendre was part of the Vice's business during his career on the stage. It is the most effective weapon of Mathew Merrygreeke, his direct descendant, in Ralph Roister-Doister. (2) For "moralise" in this sense see As You Like It, ii. i. 44; Lucrece, 103; and compare "moral" in the sense of "hidden meaning," Much Ado About Nothing, iii. iv. 78-80. (3) The "one word" which Richard moralises, as Monck Mason and others explain, is the phrase "lives long," repeating the "live long" of line 79. The Prince has caught the last words of his uncle's aside; and Richard repeats them for his benefit, altering the beginning and meaning of his sentence. For "word" in the sense of a collection of words, like Fr. mot, It. motto, compare Richard II. i. iii. 152. (4) Warburton explains his colon after "moralise" thus: "I moralise as the ancients [see previous note] did. And how was that? the having two meanings to one word." Capell understands "two meanings in one word " as a gloss which Richard adds to "moralise." The sentence as it stands, without alteration, would have been perfectly clear to an audience of Shakespeare's day.

85. With what] i.e. that with which his valour, etc.

87. of this] Later Qq and Ff readings may be defended on the ground that Cæsar, by perpetuating his fame in written history, has conquered the oblivion which Death brings. He is thus Death's conqueror, not Death his. On the other hand, it is equally probable that the printer of Q 2 dropped the "t" of "this," and that his error,
KING RICHARD III

For now he lives in fame, though not in life.
I'll tell you what, my cousin Buckingham,—

Buck. What, my gracious lord?
Prince. An if I live until I be a man,
I'll win our ancient right in France again,
Or die a soldier, as I liv'd a king.

Glou. [Aside.] Short summers lightly have a forward spring.

Enter young York, Hastings, and the Cardinal.

Prince. Richard of York! how fares our loving brother?
York. Well, my dread lord—so must I call you now.
Prince. Ay, brother, to our grief, as it is yours:
Too late he died that might have kept that title,
Which by his death hath lost much majesty.

Glou. How fares our cousin, noble Lord of York?
York. I thank you, gentle uncle. O, my lord,
You said that idle weeds are fast in growth:
The prince my brother hath out-grown me far.

Glou. He hath, my lord.
York. And therefore is he idle?

Glou. O, my fair cousin, I must not say so.
York. Then he is more beholding to you than I.
Glou. He may command me as my sovereign;
But you have power in me as in a kinsman.

York. I pray you, uncle, give me this dagger.

Glou. My dagger, little cousin? with all my heart.

Prince. A beggar, brother?

91. An] Theobald; And Qq, Ff. (and so 148). 94. summers . . . have] summers . . . has Pope (ed. 1); summer . . . has Pope (ed. 2); summer . . . hath Capell (conj.). 96. loving] noble Qq 3-8, Ff. 97. dread] deare Qq 3-8, Ff. 107. beholding] behoden Pope. 110. uncle] uncle then Hanmer. this] this your Warburton.

having some warrant in sense, was adopted by subsequent editions.

94. lightly] usually. Steevens quotes the proverb: "There's lightning lightly before thunder," and Jonson, Cynthia's Revels, ii. 1: "He is not lightly within to his mercer." So Berners' Froissart, i. 38: "Sir John of Hainault and the lord of Fauquemont ever rode lightly together." Perhaps this whole line is proverbial.

99. late] lately. Hanmer altered to "soon," apparently failing to grasp this not uncommon use of the word.

109. in me] with me, as regards me.

Collier's MS. contained the suggestion "o'er me."
York. Of my kind uncle, that I know will give;
    And being but a toy, which is no grief to give.
Glo. A greater gift than that I'll give my cousin.
York. A greater gift? O, that's the sword to it.
Glo. Ay, gentle cousin, were it light enough.
York. O, then, I see, you will part but with light gifts;
    In weightier things you'll say a beggar nay.
Glo. It is too heavy for your grace to wear.
York. I weigh it lightly, were it heavier.
Glo. What, would you have my weapon, little lord?
York. I would that I might thank you as you call me.
Glo. How?
York. Little.
Prince. My Lord of York will still be cross in talk:
    Uncle, your grace knows how to bear with him.
York. You mean to bear me, not to bear with me:
    Uncle, my brother mocks both you and me;
Because that I am little, like an ape,
He thinks that you should bear me on your shoulders.
Buck. With what a sharp-provided wit he reasons!
To mitigate the scorn he gives his uncle,

probable double entendre in "bear,"
understands the allusion as referring to the custom by which the fool in large households carried an ape perched on his back, and quotes Ulpian Fulwel, Ars Adulandi, etc. 1596: "Thou hast an excellent back to carry my lord's ape," and Jonson, Masque of the Gipsies Metamorphosed, 1621: "The fellow with the ape, Or the ape on his shoulder," New Eng. Diet., quotes Overbury, Characters, 1614 [A Rhymer]: "There is nothing in the earth so pitiful—no, not an ape-carrier." Shakespeare alludes to the custom, Winter's Tale, iv. iii. 101.

[1 Henry IV. iii. ii. 64; Othello, iv. i. 63.

[114. but] omitted F. 2-4. which is] it is F. 2-4; omitted, Steevens conj. 
grief] gift Q. 6-8. 120. heavy] Q 1; weightie F. 2-4, F. 121. I] I'd 
Hammer. 123. as] as Q. 3; as, as, F. 132. sharp-provided] 
hyphened Theobald. 133. gives] give Q. 3-7.
He prettily and aptly taunts himself:
So cunning and so young is wonderful.

Glou. My lord, will 't please you pass along?
Myself and my good cousin Buckingham
Will to your mother, to entreat of her
To meet you at the Tower and welcome you.

York. What, will you go unto the Tower, my lord?

Prince. My lord protector needs will have it so.

York. I shall not sleep in quiet at the Tower.

Glou. Why, what should you fear?

York. Marry, my uncle Clarence' angry ghost:
My grandam told me he was murder'd there.

Prince. I fear no uncles dead.

Glou. Nor none that live, I hope.

Prince. An if they live, I hope I need not fear.
But come, my lord; and with a heavy heart,
Thinking on them, go I unto the Tower.

[A Sennet. Exeunt all but Gloucester, Buckingham
and Catesby.

Buck. Think you, my lord, this little prating York
Was not incensed by his subtle mother
To taunt and scorn you thus opprobriously?

Glou. No doubt, no doubt: O, 'tis a perilous boy,
Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable:
He is all the mother's, from the top to toe.


141. needs] Q 1 supplies the syllable missing from the rest of the printed copies. Hanmer conjectured the omitted monosyllable to be "here"; Collier MS. suggested "e'en."

148. fear] The prince has used "fear" in its ordinary sense (line 146). Now his thoughts revert to the uncles whom he has left in such jeopardy, and he uses it as above, i. i. 137.

150. A Sennet] A set flourish of trumpets, used to mark such occasions as the royal progress in this scene. See Mr. Craig on King Lear, 1. i. 34.

152. incensed] instigated, as Much Ado About Nothing, v. i. 242. In Henry VIII. v. i. 43 "incens'd" is not merely equivalent, as New Eng. Dict. takes it, to "insens'd," i.e. informed, but implies that, by his information, Gardiner has instigated the suspicion of the council against Cranmer.

154. perilous] The full form of the word is found in all copies of Qq and Ff except the latest Qq.

155. capable] intelligent. See ii. ii. 18 above, and note. Compare Hamlet, iii. iv. 127; Troilus and Cressida, iii. iii. 310.
Buck. Well, let them rest. Come hither, Catesby.
   Thou art sworn as deeply to effect what we intend,
   As closely to conceal what we impart:
   Thou know'st our reasons urg'd upon the way;
   What think'st thou? is it not an easy matter
   To make William Lord Hastings of our mind,
   For the instalment of this noble duke
   In the seat royal of this famous isle?
   
   Cates. He for his father's sake so loves the prince
   That he will not be won to ought against him.
   
   Buck. What think'st thou then of Stanley? will not he?
   
   Cates. He will do all in all as Hastings doth.
   
   Buck. Well, then, no more but this: go, gentle Catesby,
   And, as it were far off, sound thou Lord Hastings,
   How he doth stand affected to our purpose;
   And summon him to-morrow to the Tower,
   To sit about the coronation.
   If thou dost find him tractable to us,

157-59. Come hither . . . impart] Come, Catesby, thou art sworn As deeply . . . impart Pope; Come hither, gentle Catesby, thou art sworn As deeply . . . impart Capell (Well . . . rest separate line); Camb. edd. conj. Thou art sworn as separate line. 160. thou art sworn As deeply . . . impart Pope; thou art sworn As deeply . . . impart Capell (Well . . . rest separate line); Camb. edd. conj. Thou art sworn as separate line. 161. think'st] FF; knowest Qq. 162. William Lord] lord William Pope. 167. will not] FF; what will Qq. 169-71. Well . . . purpose] arranged as Pope; Well . . . this: Go . . . farre off, Sound . . . Hastings, How . . . purpose FF; Well . . . this: Go . . . a farre off, Sound . . . how he stands affected Vnto our purpose Qq. 170. sound thou] Sound Qq 3-8. 172, 173. And summon . . . coronation] FF; omitted Qq. 174. if thou . . . us] FF; if he be willing Qq.

160. upon the way] Two councils at least had been held upon the journey, the night-council at Northampton before the arrest of Rivers, and another the next day, after the return from Stony Stratford. Shakespeare, condensing history, makes the Protector's designs known to his private friends at a moment when, according to the historians, they were matured only in his own mind.

165. Holinshed and More bear frequent testimony to the friendship between Hastings and Edward IV. When Edward fled to Lynn in 1470, Hastings and Gloucester were his companions. Queen Elizabeth disliked Hastings "for the great favour the king bare him; and also for that she thought him secretlie familiar with the king in wanton companie" (Holinshed, iii. 713). Although "sore inamoured upon" Jane Shore during the lifetime of Edward, "yet he forbore hir; ether for reuerence, or for a certeine friendlie faithfulnesse" (ibid. 724). Gloucester seems to have liked him: his only reason for sacrificing him without hesitation was "feare least his life should haue quailed their purpose" (ibid. 722.)

169-75. Possibly Qq here, as in other cases, represent the passage as it was corrupted, when spoken hastily on the stage.

170. far off] "For which cause he mooued Catesbie to prooue with some words cast out a farre off, whether he could thinke it possible to win the lord Hastings unto their part" (More, ap. Holinshed, iii. 722). Compare below, iii. v. 93 and note.
Encourage him, and tell him all our reasons: If he be leaden, icy-cold, unwilling, Be thou so too, and so break off the talk, And give us notice of his inclination; For we to-morrow hold divided councils, Wherein thyself shalt highly be employ'd.

Glou. Command me to Lord William: tell him, Catesby, His ancient knot of dangerous adversaries To-morrow are let blood at Pomfret castle; And bid my lord, for joy of this good news, Give Mistress Shore one gentle kiss the more.

Buck. Good Catesby, go, effect this business soundly.

Cates. My good lords both, with all the heed I can.

Glou. Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we sleep?

Cates. You shall, my lord.

Glou. At Crosby Place, there shall you find us both.

[Exit Catesby.

Buck. Now, my lord, what shall we do, if we perceive

175. tell] Ff; show Qq. 176. icy-cold] Camb. (from Ingleby’s conj.); icie, cold Qq; ycie, cold Ff. 177. the talk] Ff; your talke Qq. 184. lord] Ff; friend Qq 1-5; friends Qq 6-8. 185. Mistress] gentle Mistresse Qq 3-8. 186. go, effect] Ff; effect Qq. 187. can] Ff; may Qq. 190. Place] Qq; House Ff. Exit Catesby.] Ff; after 189 Qq 3-8; omitted Qq 1, 2. 191. Now...perceive] one line as Qq; Now, my Lord, What...perceive (two lines) Ff. Now] omitted Pope.

179. divided councils] “But the protector and the duke, after that they had sent the lord cardinal, the archbishop of Yorke...” (More, ap. Holinshed, iii. 721). Gairdner (pp. 62, 83) shows that Gloucester allowed every facility to the council which sat at the Tower, to mature their plans, with the king's privy, undisturbed.

182. knot] company, confederacy, as Merry Wives of Windsor, iii. ii. 52, iv. ii. 123; Julius Caesar, iii. i. 117. Among the plays presented by the King's Players at the wedding festivities of Princess Elizabeth, 1613, was one called A Knot of Fools. So Pepys, Diary, 16th Dec. 1662: “...the world says of me; that all do conclude Mr. Coventry, and Pett, and me, to be of a knot; and that we do now carry all things before us.” 185. Mistress Shore] She had become Hastings' mistress after the death of Edward IV. When Hastings was executed, she was deprived of her goods and sent to prison. Gloucester failed to convict her of conspiracy with Hastings, and fell back on the charge of her known incontinence. “And for this cause (as a goodlie continent prince, cleane and faultlesse of himself, sent out of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens maners) he caused the bishop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the crosse in procession vpon a sundae with a taper in hir hand” (More, ap. Holinshed, iii. 724).
Lord Hastings will not yield to our complots?

Glou. Chop off his head: something we will determine:
And look, when I am king, claim thou of me
The earldom of Hereford, and all the moveables
Whereof the king my brother was possess'd.

Buck. I'll claim that promise at your grace's hand.

Glou. And look to have it yielded with all kindness.
Come, let us sup betimes, that afterwards
We may digest our complots in some form.

[Exeunt.

192. Lord] Ff; William Lord Qq. 193. Chop ... determine] Chop ... Head: Something ... determine (two lines) Ff. head] Ff; head, man Qq. something] Ff; somewhat Qq. determine] Ff; do Qq. 195. Hereford] Herford Qq 3-5; Hertford Q 6. all] Ff; omitted Qq. 196. was] Ff; stood Qq. 197. hand] Ff; hands Qq. 198. all kindness] Ff; all willingnesse Q 1; willingnesse Qq 2-8.

192. complots] Below, line 200, the same word is used with the accent changed to the penultimate, which is the customary usage. Compare Titus Andronicus, ii. iii. 256, v. i. 65, v. ii. 147; 2 Henry VI. iii. i. 147. So the verb is accented in Richard II. i. iii. 189.

195. Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, left two daughters. (1) The elder, Eleanor, married the youngest son of Edward III., Thomas, Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Buckingham, who was styled Earl of Essex in right of his wife. They had a daughter Anne, who married Edmund, Earl of Stafford: her son Humphrey was created Duke of Buckingham by Henry VI.; and his grandson, the second Duke of Buckingham, is the Buckingham of this play. (2) The lands of Hereford were conveyed by the younger co-heiress, Mary, to her husband Henry, Earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, afterwards Henry IV. In 1397, three years after his wife's death, he was created Duke of Hereford. The fief continued in his line, and passed, with the other possessions of the crown, to the House of York: at this time it was in the hands of the King. Buckingham's claim to the Earldom of Hereford was thus a claim to the moiety of the Bohun possessions which, by the marriage of a younger co-heiress, had passed to an elder branch of the royal family. The third Duke of Buckingham, who occurs in Henry VIII., was actually styled Earl of Hereford.

200. digest] arrange, give shape to, as Tourneur, Revenger's Tragedy, act iii.: "most dreadfully digested!"
SCENE II.—Before Lord Hastings' house.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My lord, my lord!

Hast. [Within.] Who knocks?

Mess. One from the Lord Stanley.

Enter Lord Hastings.

Hast. What is 't o'clock?

Mess. Upon the stroke of four.

Hast. Cannot thy master sleep these tedious nights?

Mess. So it appears by that I have to say.

First, he commends him to your noble self.

Hast. What then?

Mess. Then certifies your lordship that this night

He dreamt the boar had razed off his helm.

Besides, he says there are two councils kept;

And that may be determin'd at the one

SCENE II.] SCENE III. Pope. Before ... house] Theobald. Enter a Messenger.] Enter a messenger to Lord Hastings. Qq; Enter a Messenger to the doore of Hastings. Ff. 1. My lord, my lord] Ff; What ho my Lord Qq. 2. Who knocks] Ff; Who knocks at the doore Qq. 3. One] Ff; A messenger Qq. Enter Lord Hastings.] Qq; after 5 Ff. 4. What is 't o'clock] Ff; What's a clocke Qq. 6. thy master] Qq; my Lord Stanley Ff. these] Q 1, Ff; the Qq 2-6. 7. appears] Ff; should seeme Qq. 8. self] Ff; Lordship Qq. 9, 10. What ... night] Ff; And then. Mes. And then he sends you word (one line) Qq. 11. He dreamt] Ff; He dreamt to night Qq. boar] Qq 6-8, Ff; beare Qq 1-5. razed off] Ff; raste Qq 1-4; caste Q 5; cast Qq 6-8. 12. kept] Ff; held Qq.

5. Upon the stroke of four] More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 723) says that Stanley sent his messenger at midnight.

6. thy master] Ff, contrary to the usual custom, derange the metre.

The probability, as Spedding suggests, is that the editor of F1 meant to alter "thy master" to "Lord Stanley," but forgot to strike out "thy"; that the printer noticed the weakness of the phrase "thy Lord Stanley," and changed "thy" to "my."

11. razed off] More (u.s.) uses the word: "him thought that a boare with his tuskes so razed them both by the heads, that the bloud ran about both their shoulders." Steevens says that the term "rased or rashed is always given to describe the violence inflicted by a boar." Compare Sir Lancelot du Lake (ap. Percy, Reliques, i. bk. 2, no. 10):—

"They buckled them together so,
Like unto wild boares rashing;"

Qq reading of King Lear, iii. vii. 58; Spenser, Faerie Queene, v. iii. 8, uses it with the simile of a lion: "Rashing off helms, and riving plates asonder." For the word applied in a general sense, see Berners' Froissart, i. 147: "Then the new town and bastide ... was pulled down, and the castle that stood on the haven rashed down," i.e. razed. In Hamlet, iii. ii. 288, "razed shoes" are shoes slashed or cut in patterns.
Which may make you and him to rue at the other.
Therefore he sends to know your lordship’s pleasure,
If you will presently take horse with him,
And with all speed post with him toward the north,
To shun the danger that his soul divines.

_Hast._ Go, fellow, go, return unto thy lord:
Bid him not fear the separated councils;
His honour and myself are at the one,
And at the other is my good friend Catesby,
Where nothing can proceed that toucheth us
Whereof I shall not have intelligence.
Tell him his fears are shallow, wanting instance;
And, for his dreams, I wonder he’s so simple
To trust the mockery of unquiet slumbers.
To fly the boar before the boar pursues,
Were to incense the boar to follow us
And make pursuit, where he did mean no chase.
Go, bid thy master rise and come to me;
And we will both together to the Tower,
Where, he shall see, the boar will use us kindly.

_Mess._ I’ll go, my lord, and tell him what you say.  

[Exit.]

16. _you will presently_ Ff; _presently you will_ Qq.  17. _with him toward_ Ff; _into_ Qq; _hence into_ Capell.  19. _Go, fellow_ Good fellow Qq 3-8.  20. _councils_ Qq; _Councell_ Ff.  22. _good friend_ Ff; _servant_ Qq.  25. _wanting_ Qq; _without_ Ff.  26. _he’s_ 28. _puruses_ Ff; _puruses us_ Qq 1, 2; _puruse us_ Qq 3-6.  30. _no chase_ to _chase_ Q 4.  34. _I’ll go_ . . . _and_ Ff; _My gratious Lord_ _Ile_ Qq.  _Exit._ omitted Qq 1, 2.

21. _His honour_ Stanley. Malone says that this was the usual title by which noblemen were addressed in Shakespeare’s day. It was used indiscriminately with “his lordship.” See Richard Field’s dedication of Puttenham’s (?) _Arte of English Poesie_, 1589, to Lord Burghley, or Bishop Hall’s dedications of _Contemplations_, books 1 and 14, to the Earls of Exeter and Montgomery. The use of “his honour” was not confined to noblemen: for instance, book 13 of _Contemplations_ is dedicated to Sir Thomas Edmonds, a knight and member of the Privy Council, whom Hall addresses as “your Honour.”

25. _instance_ cause, motive, as _Henry V._ _ii._ _ii._ _119_; _Merry Wives of Windsor_, _ii._ _256_; _Hamlet_, _iii._ _192_.

26, 27. _so simple To_ For the omission of “as,” compare Tournier, _Revenger’s Tragedy_, act i:—

“But I had so much wit to keep my thoughts
Up in their built houses.”

33. _kindly_ Hastings means that Richard will use them kindly, _i.e._ gently, courteously. But the audience know that he will use them kindly in another sense, _i.e._ after his boarish nature or kind.
Enter CATESBY.

Cates. Many good morrows to my noble lord! 35

Hast. Good morrow, Catesby; you are early stirring:
What news, what news, in this our tottering state?

Cates. It is a reeling world indeed, my lord;
And I believe 'twill never stand upright
Till Richard wear the garland of the realm. 40

Hast. How! wear the garland! dost thou mean the crown?

Cates. Ay, my good lord.

Hast. I'll have this crown of mine cut from my shoulders,
Before I'll see the crown so foul misplac'd!
But canst thou guess that he doth aim at it?

Cates. Ay, on my life, and hopes to find you forward
Upon his party for the gain thereof;
And thereupon he sends you this good news,
That this same very day your enemies,
The kindred of the queen, must die at Pomfret. 50

Hast. Indeed, I am no mourner for that news,
Because they have been still my adversaries;
But, that I'll give my voice on Richard's side,
To bar my master's heirs in true descent,
God knows I will not do it, to the death.

Cates. God keep your lordship in that gracious mind!

Hast. But I shall laugh at this a twelve-month hence,
That they which brought me in my master's hate,
I live to look upon their tragedy.
Well, Catesby, ere a fortnight make me older, 60
I'll send some packing that yet think not on 't.
Cates. 'Tis a vile thing to die, my gracious lord,
When men are unprepar'd and look not for it.
Hast. O monstrous, monstrous! and so falls it out
With Rivers, Vaughan, Grey; and so 'twill do
With some men else, that think themselves as safe
As thou and I, who, as thou know'st, are dear
To princely Richard and to Buckingham.

Cates. The princes both make high account of you:
[Aside.] For they account his head upon the bridge. 70
Hast. I know they do; and I have well deserv'd it.

Enter Lord Stanley.

Come on, come on; where is your boar-spear, man?
Fear you the boar, and go so unprovided?
Stan. My lord, good morrow; good morrow, Catesby:
You may jest on; but, by the holy rood,
I do not like these several councils, I.

Hast. My lord,
I hold my life as dear as you do yours;

Ere a fortnight make me elder Qq.  6x. on 't] Ff; on it Qq,  66. that] Ff;
who Qq.  70. Aside] Rowe.  72. Come on. come on] Ff; What my Lord Qq,
morrow; good] morrow, and good Pope.  77, 78. My lord, I . . . yours] 
two lines as Johnson; one line Qq; My Lord, I hold my life as deare as yours Ff.

61. packing] Compare above, 1. i. 146; Tourneur, Revenger's Tragedy, act lii.:—
"He being pack'd we'll have some 

To wind our younger brother out of prison."

"To send packing," i.e. to send away, 

dismiss summarily (New Eng. Dict.), 
is still used colloquially, though per-
haps more rarely now than formerly. 
The intransitive "to pack," i.e. to go 
away, bag and baggage, is used by 
Shakespeare, e.g. The Taming of the 
Shrew, ii. I 178. Compare Lodge and 
Greene, Looking-Glass (Dyce, 131): 
"Old dotard, pack, move not my patience."
Mr. Craig calls attention to the Scottish use of "pack," in which, 
according to Jamieson's Dictionary, 
haste is not implied, as in English. 
He also notes "Let the canting liar 
pack" in Tennyson, Vision of Sin, iv. 
st. 12.

70. In their account, his head is as 
good as exposed already on London 
Bridge, with those of other traitors. 
Compare Wilkins, Miseries of Inforst 
Marriage: "A knave's head, shook 
seven years in the weather upon Lon-
don Bridge."

76. I do not . . . I] For the empha-
tic repetition of "I," compare Two 
Gentlemen of Verona, v. iv. 132, and 
Marlowe, Jew of Malta, prol. line 28: 
"I come not, I, to read a lecture here in 
Britain."

78. as you do yours] Qq, in spite of 
Steevens' expressed contempt, introduce 
a great improvement on Ff. Ff reading
And never in my days, I do protest,
Was it so precious to me as 'tis now:
Think you, but that I know our state secure,
I would be so triumphant as I am?

Stan. The lords at Pomfret, when they rode from London,
Were jocund and suppos'd their states were sure,
And they indeed had no cause to mistrust;
But yet, you see, how soon the day o'ercast.
This sudden stab of rancour I misdoubt:
Pray God, I say, I prove a needless coward!
What, shall we toward the Tower? the day is spent.

Hast. Come, come, have with you! Wot you what, my lord? 90
To-day the lords you talk of are beheaded.

Stan. They, for their truth, might better wear their heads,
Than some that have accus'd them wear their hats.
But come, my lord, let us away.

may be an example of Shakespeare's "elliptical mode of expressing himself"; but, if so, it is an example which involves a misunderstanding. Its only obvious meaning is that Hastings sets an equal value on his own life and Stanley's; and this would be a remark without point. Qq give us what we naturally should expect him to say.

83. [London] The reading of all the printed editions. Shakespeare must have meant to write "Ludlow." The lords in question were at Ludlow with the prince, when Edward IV. died; and it was on the ride from Ludlow to London that the sudden overcasting of their happiness took place. Compare Ff at ii. ii. 142, 154, where the error is more conspicuous.

87. misdoubt] Compare Love's Labour's Lost, iv. iii. 108.

89. the day is spent] Ff, here and in line 90, have a great metrical advantage over Qq. It is a little difficult, however, to reconcile these words with the time of the scene as already indicated in line 5 above, or to explain them as meaning "the day is wearing itself away." Shakespeare already had pushed on an hour which the historians gave as midnight to four in the morning, and was condensing the several interviews recorded in the chronicles into one scene, the prelude to the forenoon council at the Tower and the discomfort of Hastings. The phrase is either unusual or due to a lapse of memory.

90. have with you] This and kindred phrases, e.g. have at, after, or among you, are frequently found as announcing the arrival or departure of characters on the stage. For "have with you," compare the title of Nash's pamphlet, Have with you to Saffron Walden. 1596.
Enter a Pursuivant.

Hast. Go on before; I'll talk with this good fellow.

[Exeunt Lord Stanley and Catesby.]

How now, sirrah! how goes the world with thee?

Purs. The better that your lordship please to ask.

Hast. I tell thee, man, 'tis better with me now

Than when thou met'st me last where now we meet:

Then was I going prisoner to the Tower,

By the suggestion of the queen's allies;

But now, I tell thee—keep it to thyself—

This day those enemies are put to death,

And I in better state than e'er I was.

Purs. God hold it, to your honour's good content!

Hast. Gramercy, fellow: there, drink that for me.

[Throws him his purse.]

[Exit.]

aft. 94. Enter a Pursuivant.] Ff; Enter Hast, a Pursuivant Qq 1, 2; Enter Hastings a Pursuivant Qq 3-8 (after 95). 95. Go on . . . fellow] Ff; Go you before, I'le follow presently Qq. Exeunt . . . ] Exit . . . Ff; Exit . . . Qq 3-8 (after 94); omitted Qq 1, 2. 96. How now, sirrah] Ff; Well met Hastings Qq; Sirrah, how now Pope. 97. your lordship please] Ff; it please your Lo: Qq 1, 2; it please your good Lordship Qq 3-8. 98. man] Ff; fellow Qq. 99. thou met'st me] Ff; I met thee Qq. 104. e'er] Ff; ever Qq. 106. fellow . . . me] Ff; Hastings, hold spend thou that Qq. Throws] Ff; He gives Qq. 107. I thank your honour] Ff; God save your lordship Qq. Exit.] Exit Pur. Qq 3-8, Ff; omitted Qq 1, 2.

aft. 94. Enter a Pursuivant] The stage-directions of Qq are in accordance with the historians, as are also the readings at lines 96, 106. The name of the pursuivant was Hastings. Compare More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 723): "Upon the vere Tower wharfe, so near the place where his head was off [so] soon after there met he with one Hastings, a pursuivant of his own name." This detail, in drama, becomes confusing; and Ff reading has rightly been adopted by all editors. A pursuivant is, strictly speaking, an attendant upon a herald. Chaucer, *Hous of Fame*, line 1321, speaks of "pursenautes and heraudes, That cryen riche folkes laudes." The rest of the present passage in Shakespeare is in substantial agreement with More.

100, 101. Hastings' imprisonment has been mentioned above, 1. i. 68, etc. Rivers, according to More, was the chief mover of his disgrace with the king. Shakespeare, 1. i. 67, follows this statement.

104. *By the suggestion* by the crafty instigation. Compare 1 Henry IV. iv. iii. 51; Henry VIII. iv. i. 35.

105. *God hold it*] God continue it. Compare Much Ado About Nothing, 1. i. 91.

106. *Gramercy*] We sometimes find the form "gramercies," e.g. *Taming of the Shrew*, 1. i. 41. A somewhat parallel case is the alternative use of "me-thought" and "methoughts"; see note on 1. iv. 9 above.
Enter a Priest.

Priest. Well met, my lord; I am glad to see your honour.

Hast. I thank thee, good sir John, with all my heart.

I am in your debt for your last exercise;

Come the next Sabbath, and I will content you.

[He whispers in his ear.

Priest. I'll wait upon your lordship.

Enter BUCKINGHAM.

Buck. What, talking with a priest, lord chamberlain?

Your friends at Pomfret, they do need the priest;

Your honour hath no shriving work in hand.

108, 109. Priest. Well met . . . my heart.] Ft; What sir John you are well met Qq. 110. I am . . . exercise] Ft; I am beholding to you for your last dais exercise Qq. 111. Sabbath] saboath Qq x, 2; Sabbath Qq 3-7, Ft 1, 2. He whispers . . . ] Qq; omitted Ft. 112. Priest. I'll . . . lordship] Ft; omitted Qq. 113. What . . . chamberlain] Ft; How now Lo: Chamberlaine, what talking with a priest Qq.

109. Sir John] The title “sir” was habitually applied to a priest in England, even after the Reformation. The parson in the Merry Devil of Edmonton is Sir John; there is Sir Hugh Evans in Merry Wives of Windsor; and, in this play, iv. v., Sir Christopher Urswick was a priest, not a knight. “Sir John” was a common nickname for a priest: compare Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, B. 4010: “This sweete preest, this goodly man, sir John.”

110. exercise] sermon, exposition of Scripture. New Eng. Dict. quotes Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, 1604: “Sermons, commonly tearmed by some Prophesies or Exercises in market-towns, or other places.” Compare J. Udall, Diotrephes, 1588 (ed. Arber, p. 29): “Take heed aboue al things, that the exercises . . . of prophesie come not vp again . . . and you must beware of the exercises that ministers haue at their meetings”; Bishop Hall, Letter sent from the Tower, 1641 (Works, ed. Pratt, 1808, vol. i. p. xlii.): “Can they say . . . that I barred the free course of religious exercises, by the suppression of painful and peaceable preachers.” Malone took “exercise” in the present case to mean “confession.” Buckingham speaks of “shriving work” below; and, in iii. vii. 64, Richard’s exercise with the bishops appears to be meditation, prayer, and confession combined. In Othello, iii. iv. 41, private meditation and prayer are implied.

113. Sabbath] Qq 1, 2 are parallel by Merchant of Venice, iv. i. 36 (Q 2), on which see Mr. C. K. Pooler’s note.

aft. 112. Enter Buckingham] In the historians, a knight, sent by Richard, fetches Hastings to the Tower, “as it were of courtesie.” According to Halle, he was Sir Thomas Howard, a son of John, Lord Howard (see note on iii. 1. 58 above). They met the priest in Tower Street. The knight “brake his [Hastings’] tale, and said merilie to him: ‘What, my lord, I pray you come on, whereto talke you so long with that priest? you have no need of a priest yet’; and therwith he laughed vpon him, as though he would say, ‘Ye shall haue soone.’ But so little wist the tother what he ment, and so little mistrusted, that he was neuer merier, nor neuer so full of good hope in his life; which selfe thing is oft seene a signe of change” (More, ap. Holinshed, iii. 723).

Hast. Good faith, and, when I met this holy man, The men you talk of came into my mind. What, go you toward the Tower? Buck. I do, my lord; but long I cannot stay there: I shall return before your lordship thence.

Hast. Nay, like enough, for I stay dinner there. Buck. [Aside.] And supper too, although thou know'st it not. Come, will you go?

Hast. I'll wait upon your lordship.

[Exeunt.

SCENE III.—Pomfret Castle.

Enter Sir Richard Ratcliff, with halberds, carrying Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan to death.

Rat. Come, bring forth the prisoners.

Riv. Sir Richard Ratcliff, let me tell thee this: To-day shalt thou behold a subject die For truth, for duty, and for loyalty.

Grey. God bless the prince from all the pack of you! A knot you are of damned blood-suckers.

Vaug. You live that shall cry woe for this hereafter.

Rat. Dispatch; the limit of your lives is out.
KING RICHARD III

Riv. O Pompفت, Pompفت! O thou bloody place,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!
Within the guilty closure of thy walls
Richard the second here was hack’d to death;
And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,
We give to thee our guiltless blood to drink.

Grey. Now Margaret’s curse is fall’n upon our heads,
When she exclaim’d on Hastings, you, and I,
For standing by when Richard stabb’d her son.

Riv. Then curs’d she Hastings, then curs’d she Buckingham,
Then curs’d she Richard. O, remember, God,
To hear her prayer for them, as now for us!
And for my sister and her princely sons,
Be satisfied, dear God, with our true blood,
Which, as thou know’st, unjustly must be spilt.

Rat. Make haste; the hour of death is expiate.

Riv. Come, Grey, come, Vaughan, let us here embrace.
Farewell... until we meet again in heaven.

[Exeunt.]

10. ominous] dominious Qq 2, 3; ominous Qq 4, 5. 13. seat] Ff; soule Qq;
soile Capell conj. 14. to three] Ff; thee vp Qq. blood) blouds Qq 1-6. 16.
When... and I] Ff; omitted Qq, Camb. 18, 19. Then... Hastings then
... Buckingham, Then... Richard] Qq; Then... Richard, Then... Buckingham,
Then... Hastings (3 lines) Ff. 18, then] omitted Pope. 20. prayer] Ff; prayers Qq.
21. sons] Ff; some Qq. 24. Make... expiate] Ff; Come come dispatch, the limit of your lives is out Qq. expiate] F 1; expird F 2-4; expirate Singer (from Steevens); expedite Collier conj. 26. Farewell... again] Ff; And take our leave untill we meete Qq.

10. Pontefract Castle had been the scene (19th June, 1322) of the execution of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, for rebellion against his cousin Edward II. Richard II. died there, probably by murder, 14th Feb., 1400. In 1405, Archbishop Scrope was imprisoned there before his execution; and in 1461, after Wakefield, Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, father of the "Kingmaker," was murdered there by order of Margaret of Anjou.

13. seat] Capell’s conjecture "soil" probably explains Qq. For "seat" = site, compare Macbeth, 1. vi. 1.

16. The grammar of this line, in which "I" is used for "me," is the only valid reason for rejecting it. But, in Othello, iv. ii. 3, Shakespeare has "Yes, you have seen Cassio and she together."
SCENE IV.—The Tower of London.

Enter Buckingham, Derby, Hastings, the Bishop of Ely, Ratcliff, Lovel, with others, and take their seats at a table.

Hast. Now, noble peers, the cause why we are met
Is to determine of the coronation.
In God's name, speak! when is the royal day?

Buck. Is all things ready for the royal time?

Der. It is, and wants but nomination.

Ely. To-morrow, then, I judge a happy day.

Buck. Who knows the lord protector's mind herein?

Who is most inward with the noble duke?

Ely. Your grace, we think, should soonest know his mind.

Buck. Who? I, my lord!

We know each other's faces: for our hearts,
He knows no more of mine than I of yours,
Or I of his, my lord, than you of mine.

Lord Hastings, you and he are near in love.

SCENE IV.] SCENE V. Pope. Enter . . . Camb; Enter Buckingham, Derby, Hastings, Bishop of Ely, Norfolke, Ratcliffc, Louell, with others, at a Table. Ff; Enter the Lords to Councell Qq. 1. Now, noble peers] Ff [Peere F 2]; My Lords at once Qq. 3. speak] Ff; say Qq. the royal] Ff; this royll Qq [rayall Q 6]. 4. Is] Ff; Are Qq. ready] Ff; fitting Qq. the royal] Ff; that royll Qq. 5. It is] They are Rowe, Capell. wants but] Qq 1, 2, Ff, Capell; let but Qq 3, 5-7; lack but Q 4; yet in Q 8; want but Rowe. 6. Ely] Ff; Ryu. Qq 1, 2; Bish. Qq 3-8. judge] Ff; guesse Qq. day] Ff; time Qq. 9. Your grace . . . should] Ff; Why you my Lo: me thinks you should Qq. 10. Who . . . lord] Qq; omitted Ff. 11. for] Ff; but for Qq. 13. Or . . . lord] Ff; nor I no more of his Qq.

5. It is] This reading may have arisen from the use of "is" as a plural verb in the preceding line, which Ff retain. It is curious that it should have been kept by Qq when line 4 was altered. Perhaps what Shakespeare wrote in line 4 was: "Is all thing ready for the royal time?" which Qq altered to "Are all things fitting." Thus, when the editor of F 1 altered his copy of Q, he restored "Is" and "ready," but by an oversight left "things" unchanged. The meaning of line 5 thus would be "All thing (i.e. everything) is ready, and all that is wanting is the nomination of the date." "All thing" occurs often for "everything" in early English literature. Compare Romaunt of Rose, Frag. A, 53; and the metrical prayer ascribed to Henry VIII.: "O God, the maker of all things." It is found in Macbeth, iii, i, 13, where the later Ff have "all things"; there, however, Aldis Wright takes it to be an adverb.

8. inward] intimate. Compare Tourn, Revenger's Tragedy, act ii.:—

That is most inward with the duke's son's lust;
Hast. I thank his grace, I know he loves me well;
    But, for his purpose in the coronation,
    I have not sounded him, nor he deliver'd
    His gracious pleasure any way therein.
    But you, my noble lords, may name the time;
    And in the duke's behalf I'll give my voice,
    Which, I presume, he'll take in gentle part.

Enter Gloucester.

Ely. In happy time here comes the duke himself.

Glou. My noble lords and cousins all, good morrow.
    I have been long a sleeper; but, I trust,
    My absence doth neglect no great design,
    Which by my presence might have been concluded.

Buck. Had you not come upon your cue, my lord,
    William Lord Hastings had pronounc'd your part,—
    I mean, your voice,—for crowning of the king.

Glou. Than my Lord Hastings no man might be bolder;
    His lordship knows me well, and loves me well.

Hast. I thank your grace.

Glou. My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,

18. gracious] Ft; Graces Qq. 19. my noble lords] Singer, Camb.; my noble
    Lo : Qq 1, 2; my L. Qq 3-7; my Honorable Lords Ft 1, 4; my Honorable Lord
    Ft 2, 3; my Lord Q 8; my noble lord Pope. 21. he 'll] Ft; he will Qq.
    gentle] good Q 6. aft. 21. Enter Gloucester] Ft; after 22 Qq. 22. In happy
    time] Ft; Now in good time Qq. 24. a sleeper] a sleepe Q 6. but] Q 1, Ft;
    but now Qq 2-8. trust] Ft; hope Qq. 25. design] Ft; designes Qq. 27.
    you not] Ft; not you Qq. cue] kew Qq; Q Ft. 28. had] Ft; had now Qq.
    28, 29. part,— . . . voice,— ] Capell, Camb.; part: . . . voice Qq; part;
    Holborne Qq.

17. deliver'd] expressed, made public. Compare Twelfth Night, i. ii. 42;
    Fletcher and Massinger, Elder Brother, i. 2:—
    "For what concerns tillage
    Who better can deliver it than
    Virgil
    In his Georgicks?"
24. "The lords so sitting together
    communing of this matter, the protector
    came in amongst them, first about nine
    of the clocke, saluting them courteous-
    lie, and excusing himselfe that he had
    beene from them so long; saieng

merilie that he had beene a sleeper
    that daie" (More, ap. Holinshed, iii.
    722).

27. upon your cue] Compare Henry
    V. iii. vi. 130. The theatrical phrase
    "was derived, doubtless, from the
    French, queue; being literally the tail
    of a speech." (Nares, s.v. Cue.) Buck-
    ingham continues this actor's metaphor
    in the next line.
    ii. 144, iii. i. 34, etc.
33. The Qq addition here is one of
    those that may have arisen in the
I saw good strawberries in your garden there:
I do beseech you send for some of them.

_Ely._ Marry, and will, my lord, with all my heart.

_Glou._ Cousin of Buckingham, a word with you.

Drawing him aside.

Catesby hath sounded Hastings in our business,
And finds the testy gentleman so hot,
That he will lose his head, ere give consent
His master's child, as worshipfully he terms it,
Shall lose the royalty of England's throne.

_Buck._ Withdraw yourself awhile; I'll go with you.

[Exit Gloucester, Buckingham following.

_Der._ We have not yet set down this day of triumph.

To-morrow, in my judgment, is too sudden;
For I myself am not so well provided
As else I would be, were the day prolong'd.


custom of the stage, and so have been transferred to print. More has "After a little talking with them, he said unto the Bishop of Ely: My lord, you have very good strawberries at your garden in Holborn, I require you let us have a messe of them. Gladie, my lord (quoth he), would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that! And therewithall in all the hast he sent his servaunt for a messe of strawberries." Gloucester's irrelevant request to the Bishop was obviously intended to throw dust in the eyes of the lords who might suspect him.

33. Holborn] The chapel of Ely House, with its undercroft, remains in Ely Place, on the north side of Holborn. The site of the house was given to his successors by Bishop John of Kirkby (d. 1290). Further additions to the gift were made by Bishop Hotham (d. 1336). At the end of the fourteenth century, Bishop Arundell repaired the house. Some years before this play was produced, the fee-simple had been alienated, under pressure from the Crown, to Sir Christopher Hatton, the memory of whose tenure survives in the name of Hatton Garden. Stow mentions that Ely House, in his time, "for the large and commodious rooms thereof," was used for "divers great and solemn feasts . . . especially by the sergeants at-the-law." The chapel was founded by Bishop William of Louth (d. 1298), and is a beautiful example of the latest type of thirteenth century architecture. In Sir Christopher Hatton's time, half the undercroft was used as a wine-shop; the chapel, in the next reign, was appropriated to the services of the Spanish embassy. Ely House was pulled down in 1772: for many years the chapel was used for Welsh services, but is now occupied by a community of Romanist clergy.

47. prolong'd] postponed, as Much Abo About Nothing, iv. i. 2.6.
KING RICHARD III

Re-enter the BISHOP OF ELY.

Ely. Where is my lord the Duke of Gloucester?
I have sent for these strawberries.

Hast. His grace looks cheerfully and smooth this morning; 50
There’s some conceit or other likes him well,
When that he bids good-morrow with such spirit.
I think there’s never a man in Christendom
Can lesser hide his love or hate than he;
For by his face straight shall you know his heart. 55

Der. What of his heart perceive you in his face
By any livelihood he show’d to-day?

Hast. Marry, that with no man here he is offended;
For, were he he, he had shown it in his looks.

Der. I pray God he be not, I say! 60

Re-enter GLOUCESTER and BUCKINGHAM.

Glou. I pray you all, tell me, what they deserve
That do conspire my death with devilish plots
Of damned witchcraft, and that have prevail’d
Upon my body with their hellish charms?

Hast. The tender love I bear your grace, my lord,
Makes me most forward in this princely presence

[Prov. 47. Re-enter] Enter Qq, Ff. 48, 49. Where...strawberries] arranged
as Ff; one line Qq; as prose Camb. 48. the Duke of Gloucester] Ff; protector
Qq. 49. sent] sent straitway Hanmer. these] these same Capell. 50.
this morning] Ff; to day Qq. 52. that he bids] Ff; he doth bid Qq. such]
Ff; such a Qq. 53. there’s never] Ff; there is never Qq; there’s ne’er Pope.
54. Can lesser] Ff; That can lesser Qq 1-7; That can less Q 8; Camb. 57.
livelihood] Ff; likelihood Qq. 58. he is] he’s Pope. 59. were he...
shown] Ff; if he were, he would have shewen Qq. looks] Q 1, Ff; face Qq 2-8.
60. Der. I...say] Qq; omitted Ff. aft. 60. Re-enter...] Enter Richard,
and Buckingham. Ff; Enter Glo. Qq. 61. tell me, what they] Ff; what do
they Qq. 66. princely] Ff; noble Qq.

51. conceit] ingenious notion. Compare Taming of the Shrew, iv. iii. 162,
163. "Conceit," used absolutely by Shakespeare, means "fancy," as
Romeo and Juliet, ii. vi. 30.

52. like him well] So Hamlet, ii. ii.
80, and numerous other passages in
Shakespeare.

57. livelihood] All’s Well that Ends Well, 1. i. s8, supplies a parallel for Ff.
Qq, however, have "likelihood" (i.e.
apparent sign), for which there is
something to be said. Aldis Wright
refers to All’s Well that Ends Well,
1. iii. 128.

61-81. The whole of this passage is
closely condensed from More. More’s
account of the arrest, the entry of the
men-at-arms, and the turmoil in which
Stanley was wounded, are omitted by
Shakespeare, doubtless to concentrate
our attention on the real victim of the
scene. In lines 78, 79 he reproduces
More almost literally: "by St. Paul
(quot he) I will not to dinner till I see
thy head off."
To doom the offenders, whosoever they be:
I say, my lord, they have deserved death.

Glon. Then be your eyes the witness of their evil!
Look, how I am bewitch'd! behold! mine arm
Is like a blasted sapling wither'd up:
And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous witch,
Consorted with that harlot, strumpet Shore,
That by their witchcraft thus have marked me.

Hast. If they have done this deed, my noble lord,—

Glon. If! thou protector of this damned strumpet,
Talk'st thou to me of "ifs"? Thou art a traitor.
Off with his head! now by Saint Paul I swear,
I will not dine until I see the same!

Lovell and Ratcliff, look that it be done:
The rest that love me, rise, and follow me.

[Exeunt all but Hastings, Ratcliff, and Lovell.

Hast. Woe, woe for England! not a whit for me;
For I, too fond, might have prevented this.
Stanley did dream the boar did raze his helm;
And I did scorn it, and disdain'd to fly:

Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,

67. whosoever] Ff; whatsoever Qq. 69. their evil] Ff; this ill Qq. 70.
Look] Ff; See Qq. 72. And this is] Ff; This is that Qq. 74. witchcraft] Q 1, Ff; witchcrafts Q 2-6. 75. deed] Ff; thing Qq. noble] Ff; gracious Qq. lord,—] Rowe, Camb. 77. Talk'st thou to me] Telst thou me Qq; Tellest thou me Camb. 78-80. Off... done] Ff; Off with his head. Now by Saint Paul, I will not dine to day I swear, Vntill I see the same, some see it done Qq. 81. rise] Ff; come Qq. Exeunt... ] Camb.; Exeunt. Manet Louell and Ratcliffe, with the Lord Hastings. Ff (Manent Ff 2, 4); Exeunt. manet Cat. with Ha. Qq; Exeunt. Manent Lovell and Catesby, with the Lord Hastings. Theobald. 84. raise his helm] race his helme Qq; rouse our Helmes Ff; rase our helms Rowe. 85. And I... disdain'd] Ff; But I disdain'd it, and did scorn Qq.

71. blasted sapling] Compare 3 Henry VI. iii. ii. 156. 84. raise his helm] See note on ii. ii. 11 above. Ff "our Helmes" is in keeping with Stanley's dream as recorded by the chroniclers. But "rowse" must be a printer's error.

86. foot-cloth horse] More says that, as Hastings went to the Tower, his "horsewise or thrise stumbled with him, almost to the falling." A "foot-cloth horse" is a horse equipped with foot-cloths, i.e. trappings hanging over the horse's sides and covering the rider's feet. In 2 Henry VI. iv. vii. 51, Cade asks Lord Say: "Thou dost ride in a foot-cloth, dost thou not?" and rebukes him for letting his "horse wear a cloak, when honester men... go in their hose and doublets." In the same play, iv. i. 54, Suffolk reminds his murderer that in times past he has "bare-headed plodded by my foot-cloth mule." The social importance of the "foot-cloth riders," classed among the "valiant stomachs of the court," by Fletcher,
And started, when he look'd upon the Tower,
As loath to bear me to the slaughter-house.
O, now I need the priest that spake to me:
I now repent I told the pursuivant,
As too triumphing, how mine enemies
To-day at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd,
And myself secure in grace and favour.
O Margaret, Margaret! now thy heavy curse
Is lighted on poor Hastings' wretched head.

Rat. Come, come, dispatch; the duke would be at dinner:
Make a short shrift; he longs to see your head.

Hast. O momentary grace of mortal men,
Which we more hunt for than the grace of God!
Who builds his hope in air of your good looks,
Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast,
Ready with every nod to tumble down
Into the fatal bowels of the deep.

Lov. Come, come, dispatch; 'tis bootless to exclaim.

Hast. O, bloody Richard! miserable England!

Woman-Hater, i. 2, is alluded to by Machin and Markham, Dumb Knight, act iii., in reference to a pleader who has made his fortune:

"his father was
An honest proiner of our country vines;
Yet he's shot to his foot-cloth."

Steevens made the mistake of supposing "foot-cloth" in such passages to be a mere synonym for the horse. Mr. Craig supplies a reference from Shirley, The Brothers, c. 1626, i. 1—

"I am a gentleman
With as much sense of honour as the proudest,
One that doth ride on's foot-cloth."

87. started] Aldis Wright quotes As You Like It, iv. iii. 13, in support of Qq.
97. short shrift] More says of Hastings: "heauilie he tooke a priest at aduenture, and made a short shrift."
101. The figure of the sailor on the mast is used again in 2 Henry IV. iii. i. 18-25.

rotten armour] rusty armour. Halliwell, s. v. Rotten, cites Richard of Hampole: "When I am roty, rub of the rust." More says that Gloucester "with the Duke of Buckingham stood harnessed in old ill faring brigandiers." The brigandier or brigandine was a jacket, composed of small plates of metal between leather or quilted canvas coverings, over which on the outside velvet, silk, or satin was laid, the rivets being visible on the outer covering. See Fairholt, Costume in England (4th ed. 1896), ii. 91, 92.
I prophesy the fearfull'st time to thee
That ever wretched age hath look'd upon.
Come, lead me to the block; bear him my head:
They smile at me who shortly shall be dead.

[Exeunt.

SCENE V.—The Tower-walls.

Enter Gloucester and Buckingham in rotten armour,
marvellous ill-favoured.

Glou. Come, cousin, canst thou quake and change thy colour,
Murder thy breath in middle of a word,
And then again begin, and stop again,
As if thou were distraught and mad with terror?

Buck. Tut! I can counterfeit the deep tragedian,
Speak and look back, and pry on every side,
Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
Intending deep suspicion: ghastly looks
Are at my service, like enforced smiles;
And both are ready in their offices,

Scene v.
KING RICHARD III

sc. v.

At any time to grace my stratagems.
But what, is Catesby gone?

Glou. He is; and see, he brings the mayor along.

Enter the Lord Mayor and Catesby.

Buck. Lord mayor,—

Glou. Look to the drawbridge there!

Buck. Hark! a drum.

Glou. Catesby, o'erlook the walls.

Buck. Lord mayor, the reason we have sent—

Glou. Look back, defend thee, here are enemies.

Buck. God and our innocency defend and guard us!

Glou. Be patient, they are friends, Ratcliff and Lovel.

Enter Lovel and Ratcliff, with Hastings' head.

Lov. Here is the head of that ignoble traitor,
The dangerous and unsuspected Hastings.

Glou. So dear I lov'd the man, that I must weep.

I took him for the plainest harmless creature

That breath'd upon the earth a Christian;
Made him my book, wherein my soul recorded

The history of all her secret thoughts.

So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue,

That, his apparent open guilt omitted—


25. plainest harmless] Steevens altered to "plainest harmless't," citing the latter word as a common contraction in Leicestershire and Warwickshire, and referring to "covert'st" in line 33 immediately below. But "covert'st shelter'd" is exactly parallel to "plainest harmless," and, to be consistent, he should have read the phrase "covert'st shelter'd'st." One superlative is quite sufficient in each case. For "plain," compare i. ii. 237 above.

29. daub'd...virtue] New Eng. Dict. explains "to daub" as "to cover with a specious exterior, to whitewash, cloak, gloss."

30. open] evident, as Twelfth Night, ii. v. 175.
I mean, his conversation with Shore's wife—
   He liv'd from all attainder of suspects.

_Buck._ Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd traitor
That ever liv'd.
Would you imagine, or almost believe,
Were't not that, by great preservation,
We live to tell it, that the subtle traitor
This day had plotted, in the council-house
To murder me and my good Lord of Gloucester?

_May._ Had he done so?

_Glou._ What, think you we are Turks or infidels?
   Or that we would, against the form of law,
Proceed thus rashly in the villain's death,
But that the extreme peril of the case,
The peace of England, and our persons' safety,
Enforc'd us to this execution?

_May._ Now, fair befall you! he deserv'd his death;
   And your good graces both have well proceeded,
To warn false traitors from the like attempts.

32. _liv'd]_ Ff; _laid Qq._  _suspects]_ Ff; _suspect Qq._  34
   _That ever . . .
   _preservation]_ Ff; _That euer liv'd, would you have imagined, Or almost believee,
   wert not by great preservation Qq._  37. _tell it, that]_ Ff; _tell it you? the Qq;
   _tell it you, the Camb._  38. _This day had]_ Ff; _Had this day Qq._  40.
   _Had . . . so]_ Ff; _What, had he so Qq; Ay, had he so Capell (conj)._  41.
   _you]_ ye Qq 3-8.  42. _form]_ course Qq 3-8.  43. _in]_ Ff; _to Qq._  44.
   _extreme]_ very extreame Q. 4.  48. _your good graces]_ Ff; _you my good Lords Qq._

32. _from]_ free from, without. Compare _Othello,_ i. i. 132. In the passage from More, cited above in the note on _iii._ iv. 24, "he had beene _from_ them"
   = he had been away from them.
   _attainder of suspects]_ Compare _Love's Labour's Lost,_ i. i. 158.

34. Capell, followed by Steevens, gave an imperfect finish to this imperfect line by transferring the words "Look you, my lord mayor" from after line 26 in Qq, where they obviously are out of place. It is difficult to see where they were intended to stand; and Ff dismiss them altogether.

36. _by great preservation]_ "And so had God holpen them, that the mischiefes turned upon them that would haue doone it" (More).

38, 39. It would have been impossible to disprove this accusation, since

the lords who were present at the council were either Gloucester's creatures, or were imprisoned as suspect of complicity with Hastings.

41. _Turks or infidels]_ Compare _Merchant of Venice,_ iv. i. 32, where the "infidel" Shylock is reminded that Antonio's misfortunes are enough to
   "pluck commiseration of his state . . .
   From stubborn Turks and Tartars never train'd
   To offices of tender courtesy."

Compare also the famous phrase in the third Collect for Good Friday: "Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks."

47. _fair befall you]_ Compare i. iii 282 above; _Taming of the Shrew,_ v. ii 111.
Buck. I never look'd for better at his hands,
After he once fell in with Mistress Shore.
Yet had we not determin'd he should die,
Until your lordship came to see his end;
Which now the loving haste of these our friends,
Something against our meanings, have prevented:
Because, my lord, I would have had you heard
The traitor speak, and timorously confess
The manner and the purpose of his treasons,
That you might well have signified the same
Unto the citizens, who haply may
Misconster us in him and wail his death.

May. But, my good lord, your grace's words shall serve,
As well as I had seen and heard him speak:
And do not doubt, right noble princes both,
But I'll acquaint our duteous citizens
With all your just proceedings in this case.

Glou. And to that end we wish'd your lordship here,

50. Buck.] Ff; omitted Qq.  52-61. Qq 4, 6-8 give to Glo.; Dut. Qq 1, 2; Clo. Qq 3, 5.  52. we not] Ff; not we Qq.  53. end] Ff; death Qq.  54. loving] Ff; longing Qq.  55. Something] Ff, Pope; Some-
what Qq.  meanings] Ff; meaning Qq, Pope.  have] hath Pope.  56. I] Ff; we Qq. heard] hear Keightley (conj.).  58. treasons] Ff; treason Qq.  60. happy] Ff; happily Qq.  61. Misconster] Qq 1-5, Ff 1-3; Misconstrue Q 6, F 4.  62. But] omitted Qq 3-8; Tut Hanmer. words] Ff; word Qq.  63. and heard] Ff; or heard Qq.  64. do not doubt] Ff; doubt you not Qq.  65. our] Ff; your Qq.  66. case] Ff, Qq 7, 8; cause Q q 1-5; ease Q 6.  67. wish'd] wish Qq 6-8.

50, 51. Qq assign these lines to the Mayor, by whom they might have been spoken. The whole case of Jane Shore was a disgrace in citizenship which would have touched the Londoner deeply. However, the words "I never look'd for better at his hands" seem to point either to Gloucester or Buckingham as the speaker; for the Mayor had nothing to look for at the hands of Hastings. That the words are Buckingham's is most probable: Gloucester already, in line 31, had brought in the mention of Shore's wife to raise the Mayor's prejudice against Hastings. It was now Buckingham's turn to underline the insinuation.

52-61. These words are clearly a continuation of Buckingham's speech. Gloucester adds his further improvement in lines 67, 68. Probably "Dut," before line 52 in Qq 1, 2 is a misprint for "Buc."

55. have] The verb apparently has been attracted into the plural after "friends" in the previous line.

61. Misconster us in him] misconstrue our behaviour towards him. "Miscon-
ster" is the form common to the early Qq and three of the folios. On Mr. Daniel's hypothesis as to the text, the editor of F 1 restored it in place of the new reading "Misconstrue" in Q 6. F 1 has "misconsers" in As You Like It, i. ii. 277; "conster," Twelfth Night, iii. i. 63; but "construe," Merry Wives of Windsor, i. iii. 50: Julius Caesar, i. iii. 34, ii. i. 307.
To avoid the censures of the carping world.

_Buck._ But, since you come too late of your intent, Yet witness what you hear we did intend: And so, my good lord mayor, we bid farewell.

[Exit Mayor.

_Glou._ Go after, after, cousin Buckingham! The mayor towards Guildhall hies him in all post: There, at your meetest vantage of the time, Infer the bastardy of Edward’s children: Tell them how Edward put to death a citizen, Only for saying he would make his son Heir to the crown—meaning indeed his house, Which, by the sign thereof, was termed so. Moreover, urge his hateful luxury And bestial appetite in change of lust, Which stretcht unto their servants, daughters, wives, Even where his raging eye or savage heart, Without control, listed to make a prey.

68. censures of the carping] Ff; carping censures of the Qq. 69. But] Qq; Which Ff. come] came Qq 3-8. too late of] too late for Capell. intent] Ff; intents Qq. 70, 71. Yet . . . farewell] Ff; Yet witnesse what we did intend, and so my Lord adue (one line) Qq. 72. Go] Ff; omitted Qq. 74. meetest] Qq 6-8, Ff; meetst Qq 1-5. vantage] Ff; advantage Qq. 82. stretcht unto] Ff; stretched to Qq. 83. raging] Ff; lustful Qq; ranging Pope. a prey] Ff; his prey Qq.

68. censures] Here, if Ff be adopted, in the usual sense of “adverse judgments,” as in Othello, v. ii. 368; Henry VIII. i. i. 33, iii. i. 64. Qq, transferring to it the epithet “carping,” give it the simple sense of “judgments,” as ii. ii. 144 above.

69. too late of] For the preposition compare King Lear, i. ii. 6.

73. in all post] For this phrase compare i. i. 146 above. See also Richard II. ii. i. 296; and compare “haste-post-haste,” Othello, i. ii. 37. Mr. Craig notes three instances from Henry VI. vis. i. ii. 48, iii. iii. 222, v. v. 84.

74. vantage of the time] Compare Troilus and Cressida, iii. iii. 2.

75. Infer] See iii. vii. 12 below, in Buckingham’s account of the speech which Gloucester here advises him to make. Compare Timon of Athens, iii. v. 73, and Mr. Deighton’s note. The sense in the present case is “bring in as evidence.”

76-79. The story of one Burdet, “a marchaunt dwelling in Chepesyd at ye signe of ye crowne . . . ouer agaynst soper lane,” was foisted into More’s narrative by Halle, to explain an allusion to Burdet’s execution in the text. Halle seems to have confused two separate incidents; for Burdet, punished in 1476, was a squire of Arrow in Worcestershire, and “the word spoken in hast” for which he suffered had nothing to do with the crown. The citizen’s name is given otherwise as Walker. See Boswell-Stone, Shakspere’s Holinshed, p. 375, note 2.

80. luxury] lechery, as Hamlet, i. v. 83; Measure for Measure, v. i. 506; King Lear, iv. vi. 119. Compare “luxurious,” Macbeth, iv. iii. 58. Tournier, Reven- ger’s Tragedy, twice uses the substantive “luxur” as a term of opprobrium.
Nay, for a need, thus far come near my person: Tell them, when that my mother went with child Of that insatiate Edward, noble York, My princely father, then had wars in France, And, by true computation of the time, Found that the issue was not his begot; Which well appeared in his lineaments, Being nothing like the noble duke my father. Yet touch this sparingly, as 'twere far off; Because, my lord, you know my mother lives.

Buck. Doubt not, my lord, I'll play the orator, As if the golden fee for which I plead Were for myself; and so, my lord, adieu.

Glou. If you thrive well, bring them to Baynard's Castle; Where you shall find me well accompanied With reverend fathers and well-learned bishops.

Buck. I go; and towards three or four o'clock Look for the news that the Guildhall affords.

85. come] comes Q 4. 87. insatiate] Ff; unsatiate Qq. 88. wars] wares Q 6. 89. true] Ff; just Qq. 93. Yet] Ff; But Qq. 'twere] Ff; it were Qq. far] a farre Q 4. 94. my lord, you know] Ff; you know, my Lord Qq. my mother] my brother Qq 5, 7, 8; me brother Q 6. 95. Doubt] Ff; Fear Qq. 97. and so ... adieu] Ff; omitted Qq. 101, 102. I go ... affords.] Ff; About three or four a clocke look to heare What news Guildhall affordeth, and so my Lord farewel. Exit.] Exx. Buck. and Catesby severally. Pope.

85, for a need] if necessary. So Chapman, All Fools, act iv.:—

"If tears, which so abundantly distil Out of my inward eyes, and for a need Can drown these outward."

87. insatiate] Qq have "unsatiate," as they have "unviolable" in ii. i. 27 above. Compare Fletcher, Woman-Hater, iii. i. "woman, unsatiate woman." The distinction between the prefixes "un." and "in." was not thoroughly recognised in Shakespeare's day, although, during his later years, it becomes more marked. Marston's Insatiate Countess was printed in 1613. In Richard II, ii. ii. 126, Ff have "impossible" for Qq "unpossible"; but they have "uncapable" in Merchant of Venice, iv. i. 5; Othello, iv. ii. 235. See note on iii. vii. 7 below.

93. touch ... far off] touch hintingly. Compare Merry Wives of Windsor, i. i. 216; iii. i. 170 above.

98. Baynard's Castle] This castle, which gives its name to a ward of the city of London, was on the Thames, between Blackfriars and London Bridge. It was founded after the Conquest by one Baynard, and eventually passed to the Crown through the hands of the Clares, Fitzwalters, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. From Henry VI. it passed to Richard, Duke of York, and remained in the possession of his family till the death of Richard III. In 1483 it was the residence of the Dowager Duchess of York. In Shakespeare's time it belonged to William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke whose name is familiar to all Shakespearean students.

99, 100. accompanied With] So Coriolanus, iii. iii. 6, 7.
KING RICHARD III

Glou. Go, Lovel, with all speed to Doctor Shaw;
[To Cates.] Go thou to Friar Penker; bid them both
Meet me within this hour at Baynard’s Castle.

[Exeunt all but Gloucester.

Now will I go to take some privy order
To draw the brats of Clarence out of sight,
And to give order, that no manner person
Have any time recourse unto the princes.

[Exit.

SCENE VI.—The same. A street.

Enter a Scrivener with a paper in his hand.

Scriv. Here is the indictment of the good Lord Hastings;
Which in a set hand fairly is engross’d,
That it may be to-day read o’er in Paul's.
And mark how well the sequel hangs together:

Exeunt . . . ] Exit Ff; Exeunt Lov. and Cates. severally. Theobald. 106.
go] Ff; in Qq. 108. order] Ff; notice Qq. manner] Qq 3, 4. Ff; manner of
Qq 1, 2, 5-8. 109. Have any time] Ff; At any time have Qq. Exit.

Scene vi.

SCENE VI.] omitted Ff; scene continued Pope. The same. A street.] Capell.
with . . . hand.] Qq; omitted Ff. 1. Here] Ff; This Qq. 3. to-day]
Ff; this day Qq. o’er] Ff; ouer Qq.

103. Doctor Shaw] “John Shaw, clearke, brother to the maior” (More, ap.
Holinshed, iii. 725).

104. Friar Penker] Among the learned men of Richard’s reign enumerated by Bale, Holinshed (iii. 761) mentions “John Penketh an Augustine frier of Warington in Lancashire, a right subtill fellow in disputacion.” More calls him “provinciall of the Augustine friers.” The name Penketh or Penker is derived, no doubt, from the village of Penketh on the Mersey, about four and a half miles south-west of Warrington. Of Shaw and Penker More says that they were “both doctors of diuinitie, both great preachers, both of more learning than virtue, of more fame than learning.”

106. take . . . order] make some arrangement. Qq read “take order” at i. iv. 283 above.

108. no manner person] It is interesting to find Ff coinciding here with a reading peculiar to Qq 3, 4. Compare Spenser, Faerie Queene, iv. x. 7: “all manner wights.”

Scene vi.

The material for this scene is gathered from a passage in More (ap.
Holinshed, iii. 724). “Now was this proclamation made within two hours after that he was beheaded, and it was so curiouslie indicted, & so faire written in parchment, in so well a set hand (line 2), and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euerie child might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the time, betweene his death and the proclaiming, could scant have sufficed into the bare writing alone, all had it bene but in paper, and scribbled forth in hast at adventure.” In the prose narrative the reflections are given to “one that was schole-
maister of Powles,” and to a merchant that talked with him.
Eleven hours I have spent to write it over, 5
For yesternight by Catesby was it sent me;
The precedent was full as long a-doing: 
And yet within these five hours Hastings liv’d, Untainted, unexamin’d, free, at liberty.
Here’s a good world the while! Who is so gross, 10
That cannot see this palpable device?
Yet who so bold, but says he sees it not?
Bad is the world; and all will come to nought,
When such ill dealing must be seen in thought.  
[Exit.

SCENE VII.—Baynard’s Castle.

Enter Gloucester and Buckingham, at several doors.

Glou. How now, how now, what say the citizens?
Buck. Now, by the holy mother of our Lord,
The citizens are mum, say not a word!
Glou. Touch’d you the bastardy of Edward’s children?

5. I have spent] Ff; I spent Qq; I’ve spent Pope. 6. sent] Ff; brought Qq.
7. precedent] Ff; president Qq. 8. Hastings liv’d] Ff; lined Lord Hastings
Qq. 10. ill. Here’s . . . device] Here’s . . . while. Who is . . . device
Ff; Heeres . . . while, Why whoes so grosse That sees not . . . device Qq;
Here’s . . . while! Why, who’s so gross, That seeth not . . . device Camb.
12. who] Qq 3-7, Ff; whoes Q 1; whose Q 2; who’s Q 8. bold] Ff; blinde
Qq. 13. nought] naught Qq 1, 2. 14. ill] Ff; bad Qq. dealing]
dealings Q 4.

SCENE VII.

Scene VII. Baynard’s Castle.] Theobald. Enter Gloucester . . .] Enter
Richard . . .] Ff; Enter Gloucester at one doore, Buckingham at another Qq.
1. How now, how now] Ff; How now my Lord Qq. 3. say] Ff; and speak Qq.

7. precedent] the rough copy of the document, as King John, v. ii. 3. Ff
spell the word as we spell it now, in
the present instance; but in the pass-
age just referred to, and in Merchant
of Venice, iv. i. 220, Richard II. ii. i.
130, Henry VIII. 1. ii. 91, the form in
Ff is “president,” as in Qq here.
“President” occurs again in all the
early editions of Suckling’s Sessions of
the Poets, st. 12, in Fragmenta Aurea
(1st ed. 1646).

9. untainted] without suspicion of
guilt. Compare iii. v. 32 above. See
Griffith’s description of Wolsey’s fall,
Henry VIII. iv. ii. 14, “a man sorely
tainted.”

10. gross] dull of perception. Com-
pare Othello, iii. iii. 404.

Scene VII.

3. mum] silent. Shakespeare ordi-
narily uses the word as an interjection, e.g. 2 Henry VI. 1. ii. 89; Measure for
Measure, v. i. 288. Compare Lodge
and Greene, Looking-Glass for Lon-
don (Dyce, 133):—

“Strike up the drum,
And say no words but mum”;
Wilkins, Miseries of Inforst Marriage,
act ii.: “But mum: they have felt
thy cheek, Clare, let them hear thy
tongue.”
Buck. I did; with his contract with Lady Lucy, and his contract by deputy in France; The unsatiate greediness of his desire, And his enforcement of the city wives; His tyranny for trifles; his own bastardy, As being got, your father then in France; And his resemblance, being not like the duke: Withal I did infer your lineaments, Being the right idea of your father, Both in your form and nobleness of mind; Laid open all your victories in Scotland, Your discipline in war, wisdom in peace, Your bounty, virtue, fair humility; Indeed, left nothing fitting for your purpose Untouch'd or slightly handled in discourse: And, when my oratory drew toward end,
I bid them that did love their country's good
Cry "God save Richard, England's royal king!"

Glow. And did they so?

Buck. No, so God help me! they spake not a word;
But, like dumb statues or breathing stones,
Star'd each on other, and look'd deadly pale.

Which when I saw, I reprehended them,
And ask'd the mayor, what meant this wilful silence?
His answer was, the people were not used
To be spake to, but by the recorder.

Then he was urg'd to tell my tale again:
"Thus saith the duke, thus hath the duke inferr'd;"
But nothing spake in warrant from himself.
When he had done, some followers of mine own,
At lower end of the hall, hurl'd up their caps,
And some ten voices cried "God save King Richard!"
And thus I took the vantage of those few;
"Thanks, gentle citizens and friends!" quoth I,
"This general applause and cheerful shout
Argues your wisdom and your love to Richard:"
And even here brake off, and came away.

24. they . . . word] Ff; omitted Qq. 25. statues] illegible misprint Q 1;
statuas Steevens, Reed, Camb. 26. Star'd] Ff; Gazde Qq. 28. meant]
means Qq 6-8. 29. used] Ff; wont Qq. 30. but] except Pope. by the]
by their own Capell. 33. spoke] Ff; spake Qq 1-5, 7, 8; speake Q 6.
35. At . . . of the] Ff; At the . . . of the Qq; At . . . o' th' Pope; At lower end
the Capell. 37. And thus . . . few] Ff; omitted Qq. 38. gentle] Ff;
louing Qq 1-6; noble Qq 7, 8. 39. cheerful] Ff; louing Qq. 40. wisdom]
wisedomes Qq 1, 2. love] loues Qq 3-6. 41. even here] Ff; so Qq.

25. statues] a trisyllable, as *Julius Caesar*, ii. ii. 76 (see Mr. Macmillan's
note), iii. ii. 192. In all these cases, later editors, following the advice of
Reed, have printed the hybrid forms "statua, statuas." The plural "sta-
tuases" is used by Bacon. In Greene, *Orlando Furioso* (Dyce, 89), "statuas"
(Q 1 "statues") is a dissyllable. Similarly in Lodge and Greene,
*Looking-Glass for London* (Dyce, 137), "statues" is a dissyllable in the line
"The statues of our gods are thrown
down," where Qq 1-3 print "statutes,"
and "thrown" must be read as a
dissyllable (thrown).

30. recorder] The accent is on the
first syllable, as in "record." Such
emendations as those of Pope and
Capell are therefore unnecessary. The
recorder's name was Fitzwilliam, "a
sad man, and an honest" (More).

37. the vantage of those few] the
opportunity offered by those few. Com-
pare iii. v. 74 above. Halle gives the
name of the ringleader of those who
shouted for Gloucester as Nash-
field.
Glou. What tongueless blocks were they! would they not speak?

Buck. No, by my troth, my lord.

Glou. Will not the mayor then and his brethren come?

Buck. The mayor is here at hand: intend some fear;
   Be not you spoke with, but by mighty suit:
   And look you get a prayer-book in your hand,
   And stand between two churchmen, good my lord;
   For on that ground I'll make a holy descant:
   And be not easily won to our requests;
   Play the maid's part, still answer nay, and take it.

Glou. I go; and if you plead as well for them
As I can say nay to thee for myself,
No doubt we'll bring it to a happy issue.

Buck. Go, go up to the leads! the lord mayor knocks.

[Exit Gloucester]

Enter the Lord Mayor and Citizens.

Welcome, my lord! I dance attendance here;
I think the duke will not be spoke withal.

42. What ... speak] one line as Qq; What ... were they, Would ...
speake (two lines) Ff. 43. Buck. No ... lord] Qq; omitted Ff. 45. at ...
hand] omitted Qq 3-8. intend] Ff; and intend Qq. 46. you spoke with] Ff;
spoken withall Qq. 48. between] Ff; betwixt Qq. 49. make] Ff; build Qq.
50. And] Ff; omitted Qq. easily] Q r. Ff; easie Qq 2-8. requests] Ff,
request Qq. 51. still answer nay, and] Ff; say no, but Qq. 52. I go; and
if you] Ff; Feare not me, if thou canst Qq. 53. can say ... thee] must say ...
them Johnson conj. 54. we'll] Qq; we Ff. 55. Go, go ... knocks] Ff;
You shall see what I can do, get you up to the leads. Qq. 55. Exit Gloucester.

Camb.; Exit. Qq; omitted Ff. aft. 55. Enter the Lord Mayor ...] Enter
the Maior ... Ff; omitted Qq. 56. Welcome, my lord] Ff; Now my L.
Maior Qq. 57. spoke] spoken Qq 3-8.

46. by mighty suit] by earnest entreaty.
51. still ... take it] The expression is proverbial. Compare Lodge and
Greene, Looking-Glass for London (Dyce, 123):—
"Tut, my Remilia, be not thou so
coy;
Say nay, and take it."

See Two Gentlemen of Verona, 1. ii. 55. Mr. Bond, in his note on the above
passage (Arden ed. 1906, p. 13), quotes from Steevens the original proverb,
"Maids say nay, and take it." Mr.
Craig finds in Middleton, A Trick to
Catch the Old One, 1608, iii. i. : "You
do so ravish me with kindness, that I
am constrained to play the maid, and
take it."

53. to thee] It is to Buckingham, as
introducer and spokesman of the citi-
zens, that Richard will have to play
"the maid's part."
Enter Catesby.

Now, Catesby, what says your lord to my request?

Cates. He doth entreat your grace, my noble lord,
To visit him to-morrow or next day:
He is within with two right reverend fathers,
Divinely bent to meditation;
And in no worldly suits would he be mov'd,
To draw him from his holy exercise.

Buck. Return, good Catesby, to the gracious duke;
Tell him, myself, the mayor and aldermen,
In deep designs, in matter of great moment,
No less importing than our general good,
Are come to have some conference with his grace.

Cates. I'll signify so much unto him straight. [Exit. 70

Buck. Ah, ha, my lord! this prince is not an Edward:
He is not lolling on a lewd love-bed,
But on his knees at meditation;
Not dallying with a brace of courtesans,
But meditating with two deep divines;
Not sleeping, to engross his idle body,

58. Now Catesby . . . request] Ff; Here coms his servant: how now Catesby what saies he Qq; Catesby . . . request Pope; Here comes his servant: how now, Catesby, What says he (two lines) Camb. 59. He doth . . . lord] Ff; My Lord, he doth intreat your grace Qq. 61. right] omitted Qq 3-8. 63. suits] Ff; suite Qq. 65. the gracious duke] Ff; thy lord again Qq. 66. aldermen] Ff; Citizens Qq. 67. in matter] Ff; and matters Qq. 68. than] them then Qq 6-8. 70. I'll . . . straight] Ff; Ie tell him what you say my Lord. Qq. 72. lolling] Pope; lulling Qq, Ff. love-bed] Ff; day-bed Qq.

72. lolling] For “lolling,” the form common to Qq and Ff, compare the description of Covetyse in Piers the Plowman, A-text (Vernon MS.), v. 110: “And like a leperne pors. lullede his chokes.”

love-bed] Qq have “day-bed,” i.e. a couch or sofa, as in Twelfth Night, ii. v. 54, 55. New Eng. Dict. quotes Overbury’s Characters, 1613 (An Ordinary Fencer): “Three large bavins set up his trade, with a bench, which, in the vacation of the afternoons, he uses as his day-bed.” Compare Fletcher, Rule a Wife and have a Wife, 1640, iii. i (quoted by Nares), where Margarita asks her servant Altea whether there are “day-beds in all chambers,” in preparation for company.

76. engross] fatten. New Eng. Dict. cites W. Harrison, Description of England, 1577: “They (i.e. the Scotch) so ingross their bodies.” Compare Bishop Hall, Contemplations, book ix. (Works, ed. Pratt, i. 186): “It is a marvel, that neither any noise in his dying, nor the fall of so gross a body, called in some of his attendants.” Spenser, Faerie Queene, ii. vi. 46, uses “engrostre” in a kindred sense:—

“The waves thereof so slow and sluggish were,
Engrostre with mud which did them fowle agrise.”
But praying, to enrich his watchful soul:
Happy were England, would this virtuous prince
Take on his grace the sovereignty thereof!
But, sure, I fear, we shall not win him to it.

_May._ Marry, God defend his grace should say us nay!
_Buck._ I fear he will. Here Catesby comes again:

_Re-enter Catesby._

Now, Catesby, what says his grace?

_Cates._ He wonders to what end you have assembled
Such troops of citizens to come to him,
His grace not being warn'd thereof before:
He fears, my lord, you mean no good to him.

_Buck._ Sorry I am, my noble cousin should
Suspect me, that I mean no good to him:
By heaven, we come to him in perfect love!
And so once more return and tell his grace.

[Exit Catesby.

When holy and devout religious men
Are at their beads, 'tis much to draw them thence,
So sweet is zealous contemplation.

_Enter Gloucester aloft, between two Bishops._

_Catesby returns._

_May._ See, where his grace stands 'tween two clergymen!

78. _virtuous_ Ff; _gracious_ Qq.  79. _his grace_ Ff; _himselfe_ Qq. _thereof_ Ff; _thereon_ Qq.  80. _not_ Ff; _neuer_ Qq; _ne'er_ Capell, Camb.  81. _defend_ Ff; _forbid_ Qq; _shield_ Pope.  82. _here_ . . . _again_ Ff; _omitted_ Qq. _Re-enter_ ]
_Enter Qq, Ff.  83. _Now_ . . . _grace_ Ff; _how now_ Catesby, _What saies your Lord Qq_.  84. _He_ Ff; _My Lo. he Qq_; _My lord, He Camb_.  85. _come to_ Ff; _speake with Qq_.  87. _He fears, my lord_ Ff; _My Lord, he feares Qq.  90. _we come_ . . . _love_ Ff; _I come in perfect love to him Qq_. _perfect_ _perfyt_ Ff.  91. _Exit Catesby._ ] _Qq 1-6; Exit_ Ff.  93. _much_ Ff; _hard_ Qq. _thence_ _Qq 5-8_.  94. _Enter Gloucester_ . . . _Enter Richard_ . . . _Ff; Enter Rich. with two Bishops a loste_ Q q; _Enter Rich. with_ . . . _aloft_ Q q; _Enter Rich. and_ . . . _aloft_ Q q. _Catesby returns_ ] Theobald; _Catesby again, below_. Capell.  _aft. 94. SCENE VIII._ Pope.  95. _his grace_ Ff; _he Qq. 'tween_ _tweene_ Ff; _between Qq._

80. _win_ persuade, as _Richard II_. 11. iii. 163.

83-95. This passage is a close following of the chroniclers. Shakespeare introduces Catesby as the messenger employed by Richard, and makes Buckingham, for brevity's sake, take on himself the responsibility of the message, which, in the prose chroniclers, is sent back to the Protector by the mayor and aldermen.

_aft. 94. Enter Gloucester aloft, etc._] More's words, "with a byshop on euery hand of him," are omitted by
KING RICHARD III

Buck. Two props of virtue for a Christian prince,
   To stay him from the fall of vanity:
   And see, a book of prayer in his hand!—
   True ornaments to know a holy man.
   Famous Plantagenet, most gracious prince,
   Lend favourable ear to our requests;
   And pardon us the interruption
   Of thy devotion and right Christian zeal.

Glou. My lord, there needs no such apology:
   I do beseech your grace to pardon me,
   Who, earnest in the service of my God,
   Deferr'd the visitation of my friends.
   But, leaving this, what is your grace's pleasure?

Buck. Even that, I hope, which pleaseth God above,
   And all good men of this ungovern'd isle.

Glou. I do suspect I have done some offence
   That seems disgracious in the city's eye,
   And that you come to repreheend my ignorance.

Buck. You have, my lord: would it might please your grace,
   On our entreaties, to amend your fault.

Glou. Else wherefore breathe I in a Christian land?

Buck. Know, then, it is your fault that you resign

   The supreme seat, the throne majestical,
   The sceptred office of your ancestors,

   Your state of fortune and your due of birth,

101. *ear*] Ff; *eares* Qq. *our*] Q 1, Ff; my Qq 2-8. requests Ff; request
Qq. 105. *do beseech your grace to*] Ff; *I rather do beseech you* Qq. 106.
my God] God F 2; *th' high* God F 3, 4. 107. Deferr'd] Ff; *Neglect* Qq.
112. *eye*] Ff; *eyes* Q q. 114. You... grace] one line as Qq; *You...*
Lord: Would... Grace (two lines) Ff. might] Ff; omitted Qq. 115.
Onl] Ff; *At Qq. your*] Ff; that Qq. 117. Know then] Ff; Then know
Qq. 120. *Your... birth*] Ff; omitted Qq. due] Deaw Ff 1, 2.

Holinshed, but adopted by Halle.
From this point to the end of the scene, Shakespeare expands his authorities freely.

99. ornaments] refers to the bishops as well as the prayer-book. This line
   is the mayor's criticism of the whole scene in the gallery above.

   Speed, *Hist. Great Britaine*, 1611:

   "As for these causes he was in highest
   grace with the king, so hee was the more
   disgracious or hated of the people." For "disgrace" used in this
   sense, compare Puttenham (?), *Arie of English Poesie*, iii. 12 (Arber, 181):
   "This insertion... is no disgrace
   but rather a bEWTiE and to very good
   purpose."

118. majestical] Compare Henry V.
   iv. i. 284.
The lineal glory of your royal house,
To the corruption of a blemish'd stock;
While, in the midstness of your sleepy thoughts,
Which here we waken to our country's good,
This noble isle doth want his proper limbs;
His face defac'd with scars of infamy,
His royal stock graff'd with ignoble plants,
And almost shoul'd red in the swallowing gulf
Of dark forgetfulness and deep oblivion.
Which to recure, we heartily solicit
Your gracious selfe to take on you the charge
And kingly government of this your land—
Not as protector, steward, substitute,
Or lowly factor for another's gain;
But as successively, from blood to blood,
Your right of birth, your empery, your own. For this, consorted with the citizens, Your very worshipful and loving friends, And by their vehement instigation, In this just cause come I to move your grace.  

Glo. I cannot tell, if to depart in silence, Or bitterly to speak in your reproof, Best fitteth my degree or your condition; If not to answer, you might haply think Tongue-tied ambition, not replying, yielded To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty, Which fondly you would here impose on me: If to reprove you for this suit of yours, So season'd with your faithful love to me, Then, on the other side, I check'd my friends. Therefore, to speak, and to avoid the first, And then, in speaking, not to incur the last, Definitively thus I answer you. Your love deserves my thanks; but my desert Unmeritable shuns your high request. First, if all obstacles were cut away, And that my path were even to the crown, As the ripe revenue and due of birth;  

138. very . . . loving] worshipful and very loving Qq 3-8. 140. cause] Ff; sute Qq. 141. cannot tell, if] Ff; know not whether Qq i-4; know not whither Qq 5-8. 144-53. If not . . . answer you] Ff; omitted Qq. 144. If not] For not Ff 2-4. 152. not to] not Pope. 158. As the] Ff; As my Qq. ripe] Q r, Ff; right Qq 2-8. of birth] Ff; by birth Qq.  

See also note on iii. i. 73 above. Mr. Craig quotes Peele, Anglorum Perie (Bullen, ii. 347):—  "In her hereditarie royal right Successfully to sit enthronized."  

136. empery] empire. Compare Cymbeline, i. vi. 120:—  "A lady So fair, and fasten'd to an empery."  

(see Prof. Dowden's note); Chapman (?), Alphonsus, act ii. :—  "How far is Richard now unlike the man That cross'd the seas to win an empery."  

In these passages the word implies territorial sovereignty. In Titus Andronicus, i. i. 22, we find "the Roman empery"; but, three lines before, the word has the more general sense of sovereign power. Marlowe, in the two parts of Tamburlaine, gives it the specific sense of "empire" three times, and the more general sense once. 143. degree . . . condition] Compare 2 Henry IV. iv. iii. 1-6. 150. I check'd] i.e. I should check. 155. Unmeritable] used again in Julius Caesar, iv. i. 12. 158. revenue] The accent, until a comparatively recent date, was usually on the second syllable. Compare Troilus and Cressida, ii. ii. 206. But
Yet so much is my poverty of spirit,  
So mighty and so many my defects,  
That I would rather hide me from my greatness,  
Being a bark to brook no mighty sea,  
Than in my greatness covet to be hid,  
And in the vapour of my glory smother'd.  
But, God be thank'd! there is no need of me;  
And much I need to help you, were there need:  
The royal tree hath left us royal fruit,  
Which, mellow'd by the stealing hours of time,  
Will well become the seat of majesty,  
And make, no doubt, us happy by his reign.  
On him I lay that you would lay on me,  
The right and fortune of his happy stars,  
Which God defend that I should wring from him!

**Buck.** My lord, this argues conscience in your grace;  
But the respects thereof are nice and trivial,  
All circumstances well considered.

You say that Edward is your brother's son:  
So say we too, but not by Edward's wife;  
For first was he contract to Lady Lucy—

161. *That I would* [Ff; As I had Qq. 165. *thank'd I there is* [Ff; thanked there's Qq. of me] for me Qq 3-8. 166. *were there need* [Ff; if need were Qq. 170. *no doubt, us* [us (no doubt) Ff 2-4; us doubtless Pope. 171. *that you* [Ff; what you Qq. 179. *was he* [Ff; he was Qq. contract] contracted Q 6.

Shakespeare also accentuates the first syllable, as here and in Richard II. ii. i. 226.

173. *wring*] Compare 3 Henry VI. ii. i. 154.

175. *the respects thereof*] the considerations on which your arguments are founded. Compare Much Ado About Nothing, ii. iii. 176; King Lear, i. i. 251; and "unrespective boys" at iv. ii. 29 below.

*nice*] scrupulous, fastidious, as 3 Henry VI. iv. vii. 58; Taming of the Shrew, iii. i. 80.

179-82. Shakespeare followed More in the details of Edward IV.'s supposed marriage or contract. In the petition ratified by the Parliament of January, 1484, when the crown was settled upon Richard, it was stated that Lady Eleanor Butler, a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was Edward's trothplight wife at the time of his marriage with Elizabeth. The statement rested on the evidence of only one witness; and, at Henry VII.'s accession, every copy of the scandalous petition was destroyed, and an alternative legend grew up. Holinshed's story is that, just before Edward had fallen in love with Lady Grey, there had been talk of his marriage with Bona of Savoy, sister to the Queen of France; and Warwick had been sent to Louis XI. at Tours, to arrange such a treaty. The Comte de Dammartin was about to come to England and there conclude preliminaries, when Edward pledged his honour to Lady Grey. His mother was so annoyed that, "under pretext of hir
Your mother lives a witness to his vow—
And afterward by substitute betroth'd
To Bona, sister to the king of France.
These both put off, a poor petitioner,
A care-craz'd mother to a many sons,
A beauty-waning and distressed widow,
Even in the afternoon of her best days,
Made prize and purchase of his wanton eye,
Seduc'd the pitch and height of his degree
To base declension and loath'd bigamy:
By her, in his unlawful bed, he got
This Edward, whom our manners call the prince.
More bitterly could I expostulate,
Save that, for reverence to some alive,
I give a sparing limit to my tongue.
Then, good my lord, take to your royal self
This proffer'd benefit of dignity;
If not to bless us and the land withal,
Yet to draw forth your noble ancestry
From the corruption of abusing times,
Unto a lineal true-derived course.

180. his] Ff; that Qq. 183. put off] Ff; put by Qq. 184. mother to] Ff; mother of Qq. a many] Q 1, Ff; many Qq 2-8. sons] Ff; children Qq. 187. wanton] Ff; lustful Qq. 188. his degree] Ff; all his thoughts Qq. 191. call] Ff; term Qq. 193. forth . . . ancestry] Ff; out your royall stocke Qq. 199. abusing times] Ff; abusing time Qq 1-5; a busing time Qq 6; a busie time Qq 7, 8. 200. true-derived] Theobald; true, derived Pope.

"Down with your dust, our morning's purchase."

185. pitch] a metaphor from falconry. Compare Richard II. i. i. 109; Julius Caesar, i. i. 78.

189. declension] Compare Hamlet, ii. ii. 149, where the word is used of a gradual change to the worse. Here it implies a sudden apostasy from the duties of station.

192. expostulate] expound, discuss the matter. Compare Hamlet, ii. ii. 86.

199. the corruption of abusing times]
May. Do, good my lord! your citizens entreat you.

Buck. Refuse not, mighty lord, this proffer'd love.

Cates. O! make them joyful, grant their lawful suit.

Glou. Alas! why would you heap this care on me?

I am unfit for state and majesty.
I do beseech you, take it not amiss;
I cannot nor I will not yield to you.

Buck. If you refuse it, as, in love and zeal,
Loath to depose the child, your brother's son—
As well we know your tenderness of heart,
And gentle, kind, effeminate remorse,
Which we have noted in you to your kindred,
And equally, indeed, to all estates—
Yet know, whether you accept our suit or no,
Your brother's son shall never reign our king;
But we will plant some other in the throne,
To the disgrace and downfall of your house;
And in this resolution here we leave you.

Come, citizens: 'zounds! I'll entreat no more.

Glou. O! do not swear, my Lord of Buckingham.

[Exit Buckingham with the Citizens.

Cates. Call him again, sweet prince; accept their suit:
If you deny them, all the land will rue it.

Glou. Will you enforce me to a world of cares?

the corruption which it has suffered by periods of abuse. "Abusing time" of the earlier Qq would imply that the abuse came in the natural course of time: the "abusing times" of Ff are the years following Edward's marriage to Elizabeth.

207. nor I will not] Compare the double negative below, iv. iv. 496.

211. remorse] in the common Shakespearean sense of "pity," as Macbeth, 1. v. 45.

213. equally] Nares notes that in Puttenham (?), Arte of English Poesie, i. 20, the forms "egall" and "equal" occur within a few lines of each other. In the same passage "egal" and "uneqall" are also employed. Shakespeare uses "egal," Titus Andronicus, iv. iv. 4. Mr. Craig, among other references, gives one from Surrey in Tottel's Miscellany, 1557 (ed. Arber, p. 27): "The egall frend, no grudge, no strife."
Call them again: I am not made of stones,
But penetrable to your kind entreaties,
Albeit against my conscience and my soul.

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM and the rest.

Cousin of Buckingham, and sage, grave men,
Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
To bear her burthen, whether I will or no,
I must have patience to endure the load:
But, if black scandal or foul-fac'd reproach
Attend the sequel of your imposition,
Your mere enforcement shall acquaint me
From all the impure blots and stains thereof;
For God doth know, and you may partly see,
How far I am from the desire of this.

May. God bless your grace! we see it, and will say it.
Glou. In saying so, you shall but say the truth.
Buck. Then I salute you with this royal title—
Long live King Richard, England's worthy king!

All. Amen.

Buck. To-morrow may it please you to be crown'd?
Glou. Even when you please, for you will have it so.

Re-enter . . . ] Enter . . . Ff; omitted Qq. 227. sage] Ff; you sage Qq.
her] the Qq 3-8. whether] where F x; who'er Steevens (conj.). 231.
foul-fac'd] soule-fac't Q 2; so foule-fac't Qq 3-8; four-fac'd F 3. 235. doth
know] Ff; he knows Qq. 236. of this] Ff; thereof Qq. 239. royal]
Ff; kingly Qq. 240. King] omitted Qq 1, 2. worthy] Ff; royall Qq.
241. All] Ff; Mai. Qq; May. and Cft. Camb. 242. may] Ff; will Qq.
please, for] Ff; will, since Qq.

225. entreaties] For other substantives of this kind, compare "suspects," for
"suspicions," i. iii. 89 above; "ex-
claims" for "exclamations," iv. iv. 135
below; "relen" for "relement" in
Lodge, Wounds of Civil War, act ii.
"repet" for "repentance" in Greene,
Orlando Furioso (Dyce, 106).
232. your imposition] the charge
which you lay upon me. Compare
All’s Well that Ends Well, iv. iv. 29.
242. To-morrow] The interview
with the Mayor and citizens took place
on 25th June, 1483, the day follow-
ing Buckingham’s ill-omened speech at
the Guildhall. Richard was crowned
eleven days later, on 6th July. His ac-
cession was dated from 26th June, when
he went publicly to Westminster Hall
and there took on him the government of
the realm.
Buck. To-morrow, then, we will attend your grace;
    And so most joyfully we take our leave. 245

Glou. Come, let us to our holy work again.
    Farewell, my cousin; farewell, gentle friends.

[Exeunt.

245. And so . . . leave] Ff; omitted Qq. 246. Glou.] Johnson adds To the Clergymen. work] Ff; taske Qq. 247. my cousin] Pope; my Cousins Ff; good coosine Qq.
ACT IV

SCENE I.—Before the Tower.

Enter, on one side, Queen Elizabeth, the Duchess of York, and the Marquess of Dorset; on the other, Anne, Duchess of Gloucester, leading Lady Margaret Plantagenet, Clarence's young daughter.

Duch. Who meets us here? my niece Plantagenet, Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloucester? Now, for my life! she's wandering to the Tower, On pure heart's love to greet the tender princes. Daughter, well met!

Anne. God give your graces both
A happy and a joyful time of day!
Q. Elis. As much to you, good sister! Whither away?
Anne. No farther than the Tower, and, as I guess,

ACT IV. SCENE I.] ACT III. SCENE VIII. Rann (Johnson conj.) Before the Tower.] Theobald. Enter . . . daughter.] Malone, Camb. (after Theobald); Enter Quee. mother, Duchesse of Yorke, Marques Dorset, at one doore, Duchesse of Glocest. at another doore. Qq; Enter the Queene, Anne Duchess of Gloucester, the Duchesse of Yorke, and Marquesse Dorset. Ff. 1. Who . . . Plantagenet] one line as Qq; Who . . . heere? My Niece Plantagenet (two lines) Ff. 2-5. Led . . . time of day.] Ff; omitted Qq. 4. princes] Theobald; Prince Ff. 8, 6. God give . . . time of day] arranged as Pope, Camb.; God give . . . a happie And . . . time of day Ff. 7. As much . . . away] Ff; Sister well met, whether awaie so fast Qq 8. Anne.] Ff; Duch. Q i; Du. Q 2; Dut. Glo. Qq 3-8.

1. niece] Compare "cousins," ii. ii. 8 above; and "niece" in King John, ii. i. 469.
2. in the hand] Compare Coriolanus, v. iii. 23; Titus Andronicus, v. iii. 138.
3. On pure heart's love] Compare Measure for Measure, iv. i. 37; "on your knowledge"; Antony and Cleopatra, iii. vi. 57, "on my free will."
Upon the like devotion as yourselves,
To gratulate the gentle princes there.

Q. Eliz. Kind sister, thanks: we'll enter all together.

Enter Brakenbury.

And, in good time, here the lieutenant comes.
Master lieutenant, pray you, by your leave,
How doth the prince, and my young son of York?

Brak. Right well, dear madam—by your patience,
I may not suffer you to visit them:
The king hath strictly charg'd the contrary.

Q. Eliz. The king? who's that?

Brak. I mean the lord protector.

Q. Eliz. The Lord protect him from that kingly title!
Hath he set bounds between their love and me?
I am their mother: who shall bar me from them?

Duch. I am their father's mother: I will see them.

Anne. Their aunt I am in law, in love their mother:
Then bring me to their sights; I'll bear thy blame,
And take thy office from thee, on my peril.

Brak. No, madam, no, I may not leave it so:
I am bound by oath; and theretofore pardon me. [Exit.
KING RICHARD III

sc. 1.]

Enter Lord Stanley.

Stan. Let me but meet you, ladies, one hour hence,  
And I'll salute your grace of York as mother  
And reverend looker-on of two fair queens.

[To Anne.] Come, madam, you must straight to West-
minster,
There to be crowned Richard's royal queen
Q. Eliz. Ah! cut my lace asunder,
That my pent heart may have some scope to beat,
Or else I swoon with this dead-killing news!

Anne. Despiteful tidings! O unpleasing news!
Dor. Be of good cheer: mother, how fares your grace?
Q. Eliz. O Dorset, speak not to me, get thee gone!
Death and destruction dog thee at thy heels;
Thy mother's name is ominous to children.
If thou wilt outstrip death, go, cross the seas,
And live with Richmond, from the reach of hell:
Go, hie thee, hie thee from this slaughter-house,
Lest thou increase the number of the dead,
And make me die the thrall of Margaret's curse,
Nor mother, wife, nor England's counted queen!

Stan. Full of wise care is this your counsel, madam.
Take all the swift advantage of the hours:

28. one hour] Ff; an houre Qq 1-4; at an houre Qq 5-8. 30. reverend] Ff, Q 8; reverente Q 1; reverent Qq 2-7. 31. To Anne] Capell, Camb. straight] Ff; go with me Qq. 33-35. Ah... news] arranged as Ff; O... heart, May... else I sound With... newses Qq. 33. Ah] Ff; O Qq. asunder] Ff; in sunder Qq. 35. swoon] Ff; sound Qq. dead-killing] Ff; dead killing Qq 1-4; dead liking Qq 5-8; dead-striking Capell conj. 36. Despiteful... news] omitted Qq. 37. Be... mother] Ff; Madame, haue comfort Qq. 38. gone] Ff; hence Qq. 39. dog] Qq. Ff 3, 4; dogges Ff 1, 2. thy heels] Ff; the heelees Qq. 41. outstrip] overstrip Qq 6-8. 42. reach] race Qq 6-8. 48. hours] Ff; time Qq.

33. cut my lace] See Prof. Case's note on Antony and Cleopatra, i. iii. 71, and compare Winter's Tale, iii. ii. 174. 35. dead-killing] The first part of the compound is merely intensive. In this play, the ordinary type of compound epithet is that of which the first part qualifies the second, and may be expressed as an adverb, e.g., "childish-foolish," i. iii. 142, "deep-revolving," iv. ii. 42. "Ill-dispersing," in line 52 below, is formed rather exceptionally, for this play. Mr. Craig notes the occurrence of the Irishism "kill her dead" in Midsummer-Night's Dream, iii. ii. 269, and "kill'd me dead" in Titus Andronicus, iii. i. 92. 48-50. Stanley, of course, is speaking to Dorset. "My son" is Rich mond, whose mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, Stanley had married about 1482.
You shall have letters from me to my son,
In your behalf, to meet you on the way:
Be not ta'en tardy by unwise delay.

Duch. O ill-dispersing wind of misery!
O my accursed womb, the bed of death!
A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world,
Whose unavoided eye is murderous.

Stan. Come, madam, come; I in all haste was sent.
Anne. And I in all unwillingness will go.

O! would to God that the inclusive verge
Of golden metal, that must round my brow,
Were red-hot steel, to sear me to the brains!
Anointed let me be with deadly venom,
And die ere men can say, God save the queen!

Q. Eliz. Go, go, poor soul, I envy not thy glory;
To feed my humour, wish thyself no harm.

Anne. No! why? When he that is my husband now
Came to me, as I follow'd Henry's corse,
When scarce the blood was well wash'd from his hands,
Which issued from my other angel husband,
And that dear saint which then I weeping follow'd—
O! when, I say, I look'd on Richard's face,
This was my wish: "Be thou," quoth I, "accurs'd,

50. In your ... way] Ff; To meete you on the way, and welcome you Qq.
51. ta'en] tane Ff; tane Q i; taken Qq 2-8. 52. ill-dispersing] hyphened

54. cockatrice] See note on "basi-
lisks," i. ii. 150 above. The cockatrice
and the basilisk were synonymous in
vulgar tradition. Compare Chapman,
All Fools, act iii.: "Is this the cocka-
trice that kills with sight"; Romeo
and Juliet, iii. ii. 47; Twelfth Night,
iii. iv. 215. Sir Thomas Browne
quotes Scaliger on the confusion be-
tween the basilisk (a real serpent) and
the purely imaginary cockatrice: "Basi-
lisci formam mentiti sunt vulgo gallin-
acao similem, et pedibus binis," etc.

55. unavoided] unavoidable. Chap-
man, All Fools, act ii. has
"youth and love
Were th' unresisted (i.e. irresist-
ible) organs to seduce you";
Eastward Ho, act iv.: "this your un-
believed (i.e. incredible) absence." See
also note on i. ii. 39 above.

58. verge] Used again of the rim
of the crown, Richard II. ii. i. 102;
of a magic circle, 2 Henry VI. i. iv.
25.
For making me, so young, so old a widow!
And, when thou wed'st, let sorrow haunt thy bed;
And be thy wife, if any be so mad,
More miserable by the life of thee
Than thou hast made me by my dear lord's death!"
Lo, ere I can repeat this curse again,
Within so small a time, my woman's heart
Grossly grew captive to his honey words,
And prov'd the subject of mine own soul's curse,
Which hitherto hath held mine eyes from rest;
For never yet one hour in his bed
Did I enjoy the golden dew of sleep,
But with his timorous dreams was still awak'd.

74. mad] Qq 1, 2, Ff; badde Qq 3-8. 75. More] Ff; As Qq. life] Ff;
dearth Qq. 76. Than] Ff; As Qq. 77. ere] Ff; eare Q 1; euen Qq 2-8.
78. Within . . . time] Ft; Euen in so short a space Qq. 79. Grossly] Q q 1,
Ff; Crosselie Q 2; Crossy Qq 3-8. 80. subject] Qq 1, 8, Ff; subjectes Qq
2-7 (subsects Q 3). mine] Ff, Qq 7, 8; my Qq i-6. 81. hitherto] Ff; ever
since Qq. held] Ff; kept Qq. mine] Qq 6-8, Ff; my Qq i-5. rest] Ff;
sleepe Qq. 83. Did I enjoy] Ff; Haue I enjoyed Qq. dew] deaw Qq 3-5,
Ff i, 2. 84. with his . . . awak'd] Ff; haue bene waked by his timorous
dreames Qq.

74-76. Anne's curse in its original form, i. ii. 26-28 above, is delivered
before Gloucester comes on the scene. She there wishes that his wife may be
made more miserable by his death than
she is made by the deaths of those he
has murdered. Qq in both passages
have "as . . . as" instead of "more
. . . than"—a variation which, on its
own merits, is merely a matter of taste.
Qq also have "death" in both cases,
which Ff alter here into "life" (line
75). Ff are clearly right, as the rest of
the passage, emphasising the fulfilment
of the curse, shows; and probably the
editors retained "death" in i. ii. 27 by
an oversight. The clause "if any be
so mad" (line 74) does not occur in i.
i.; while it is rather curious that two
of the later Qq, which here accept the
mistaken reading "badde" for "mad," read "mad" for "made" in i. ii. 26.

"Gross," "grossly," and kindred words, are used by Shakespeare in two
derived senses: (1) the subjective sense,"without fineness of perception," as
here and in the parallel instance (compare "grossness," iii. i. 46 above); (2)
the objective sense, implying anything which it needs no fineness of perception
to recognise, i.e. anything plain and obvious. For the latter use, see King
Lear, i. i. 295. There is also the third
and concrete sense, implying size or extent, as King Lear, iv. vi. 14: compare
"engross," iii. vii. 76 above.
honey] See note on i. iii. 291 above.

83. golden dew of sleep] Mr. Craig
cites "golden sleep," Romeo and Juliet,
i. ii. 38; "the honey-heavy dew of
slumber," Julius Cæsar, ii. i. 230, and
several passages from other authors.
The occurrence of the phrase "golden
sleep" in Bacon has been cited on
behalf of the Baconian authorship of
the plays. Equally improbable traces
of Baconian authorship are to be found
in Holinshed (ed. 1809, ii. iv. 32): "So
that he needed now no more for that
cause either to wake or to break his
golden sleep"; Fletcher, Women
Pleased, 1647: "Sweet rest about thee,
sweet and golden sleep," etc.
Besides, he hates me for my father Warwick,
And will, no doubt, shortly be rid of me.

Q. Eliz. Poor heart, adieu! I pity thy complaining.
Anne. No more than with my soul I mourn for yours.

Dor. Farewell, thou woful welcomer of glory!
Anne. Adieu, poor soul, that tak'st thy leave of it!

Duch. [To Dorset.] Go thou to Richmond, and good fortune
guide thee!

[To Anne.] Go thou to Richard, and good angels tend thee!
[To Q. Eliz.] Go thou to sanctuary, and good thoughts
possess thee!

I to my grave, where peace and rest lie with me!
Eighty odd years of sorrow have I seen,
And each hour's joy wrack'd with a week of teen.

Q. Eliz. Stay! yet look back with me unto the Tower.
Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes,
Whom envy hath immur'd within your walls!

Rude ragged nurse, old sullen playfellow
For tender princes, use my babies well!
So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell.

[Exeunt.

SCENE II.—London. The Palace.

Sennet. Enter Richard, in pomp, crowned; Buckingham, Catesby, a Page, and others.

K. Rich. Stand all apart! Cousin of Buckingham!
Buck. My gracious sovereign!
K. Rich. Give me thy hand. [Here he ascendeth the throne.

Thus high, by thy advice
And thy assistance, is king Richard seated:
But shall we wear these glories for a day?
Or shall they last, and we rejoice in them?
Buck. Still live they, and for ever let them last!
K. Rich. Ah, Buckingham, now do I play the touch,
To try if thou be current gold indeed.
Young Edward lives: think now what I would speak.

Buck. Say on, my loving lord.

103. sorrow bids] Rowe, Camb.; Sorrowes bids Ff 1-3; sorrows bid F 4.
Buck. Why, so you are, my thrice-renowned lord.


Buck. True, noble prince.

K. Rich. O bitter consequence,

That Edward still should live! “True, noble prince!”

Cousin, thou wast not wont to be so dull:
Shall I be plain? I wish the bastards dead,
And I would have it suddenly perform’d.
What say’st thou now? speak suddenly; be brief.

Buck. Your grace may do your pleasure.

K. Rich. Tut, tut! thou art all ice, thy kindness freezes:
Say, have I thy consent that they shall die?

Buck. Give me some little breath, some pause, dear lord,

Before I positively speak in this:

I will resolve you herein presently.

[Exit.

Cates. [Aside to a stander-by.] The king is angry: see, he

gnaws his lip.

K. Rich. I will converse with iron-witted fools

And unrespective boys; none are for me

13. lord] Ff; liege Qq. 14. king] a king Pope. 16. live! “True,

Camb.; live true Qq, Ff; live, True Rowe; live—true Theobald. 17. wast

Ff; wert Qq. 20. say’st thou now] Ff; saist thou Qq 1-5; saiest thou Qq 6-8.

22. freezes] Ff; freezeseth Qq. 24. little breath, some pause] Ff; breath, some

little pause Qq 1-6; breath Qq 7, 8. dear lord] Ff; my lord Qq. 25. in

this] Ff; herein Qq. 26. you herein presently] Ff; your grace immediately

Qq. Exit.] Q 1; Exit Buck. Ff; omitted Qq 2-8. 27. Aside . . . ]

Capell, Camb.; Aside. Hanmer. gnaws his] Ff; bites the Qq 1-6; bites

his Qq 7, 8. 28. K. Rich.] Malone adds Descends from his throne.

15. consequence] Compare Romeo and Juliet, i. iv. 107.

26. resolve you] give you a definite answer, assure you, as 3 Henry VI.

iii. ii. 19.

27. gnaws his lip] This personal trait was derived by Holinshed (iii. 760)

from Polydore Vergil through Halle: “When he stood musing, he would

bite and chaw busilie his nether lip; as who said, that his fierce nature in

his cruel bodie alwaies stirred, chafed, and was euer unquiet.” More (ap.

Holinshed, iii. 722) says that, when Richard returned to the council before

Hastings’ arrest, he was “all changed, with a wonderfull soure angrie coun-
tenance, knitting the brows, frowning, and fretting and gnawing his lips.”

28. iron-witted] Compare Romeo and Juliet, iv. v. 126; Nash, Un-

fortunate Traveller, 1594 (Gosse, 103): “only iron wits are not wonne

without a long siege of intretatie.”

29. unrespective] thoughtless, inconsiderate (compare “considerate” in

next line). See “respects,” iii. vii. 175 above. In Troilus and Cressida,

ii. ii. 71, this epithet is applied by metaphor to a sieve. For the antithesis

“respective,” see Romeo and Juliet, iii. i. 128; Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity,

v. 1: “wary and respective men”; Chapman, All Fools, act ii.:—

“The bold and careless servant still obtains;

The modest and respective nothing gains.”
KING RICHARD III

That look into me with considerate eyes:
High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect,
Boy!

Page. My lord?

K. Rich. Know'st thou not any whom corrupting gold
Will tempt unto a close exploit of death?

Page. I know a discontented gentleman,
Whose humble means match not his haughty spirit:
Gold were as good as twenty orators,
And will, no doubt, tempt him to anything.

K. Rich. What is his name?

Page. His name, my lord, is Tyrrel.


[Exit Page.]

The deep-revolving witty Buckingham
No more shall be the neighbour to my counsels:

31-33. High-reaching . . . lord] Ff; Boy, high reaching . . . circumspect.
Boy. My Lord Q q 1-7; Boy. High reaching . . . circumspect. Boy. My
Lord Q 8. 35. Will] Ff; Would Qq. 36. I] Ff; My lord, I Qq. 37.
spirit] Ff; mind Q q. 41. hither [Exit Page] Camb.; hither [Exit Boy]
Pope; hither, Boy. Exit Ff; hither presentlie Qq. 42. deep-revolving]
hyphened Pope. 43. counsels] Ff; counsell Qq.

31. High-reaching] For the idea involved compare Two Gentlemen of
Verona, iii. i. 156. Mr. Craig refers to
2 Henry VI. iii. i. 158, and Pericles, ii. ii. 20.
36. The conversation with the page,
in More's account, took place at War-
crick, during Richard's journey to
Gloucester after his coronation. He
had sent his servant John Greene to
Brakenbury; and Brakenbury had
refused to kill the children. In his
impatience, Richard complained to "a
secret page of his" that he could trust
nobody. ""Sir' (quoth his page)
'there lieth one on your pallet without,
that I dare well saie, to doo your grace
pleasure, the thing were right hard
that he would refuse." Meaning this
by Sir James Tyrrell, which was a man
of right goodlie personage, and for
natures gifts worthie to haue serued
a much better prince; if he had well
serued God, and by grace obtained as
much truth and good will as he had
strength and wit. The man had an
high heart, & sore longed vpward, not
rising yet so fast as he had hoped,
being hindered & kept vnder by the
means of Sir Richard Ratcliffie, and
Sir William Catesbie, which . . . kept
him by secret drifts out of all secret
trust." The page, being Tyrrel's
special friend, took this opportunity
to advance him. The king obeyed the
him, broke the business immediately
to Tyrrel, and "found him nothing
strange" in the matter. One weak
point in this story is its implications
as to Richard's unfamiliarity with
Tyrrel. Gairdner shows (pp. 23, 24,
121) that Tyrrel had been used in
offices of trust by Richard at a much
earlier date.

42. deep-revolving] deeply ponder-
ing. For "revolving" compare
Cymbeline, iii. iii. 14.

witty] cunning, as Much Ado
About Nothing, iv. ii. 27; Tourneur,
Revenger's Tragedy, act v. "'Twas
somewhat witty carried, tho' we say
it."
Hath he so long held out with me untir'd,  
And stops he now for breath? Well, be it so!  

Enter Stanley.

How now, Lord Stanley, what's the news?  
Stan. Know, my loving lord,  
The Marquess Dorset, as I hear, is fled  
To Richmond, in the parts where he abides.

[Stands apart.

K. Rich. Come hither, Catesby! rumour it abroad  
That Anne my wife is very grievous sick:  
I will take order for her keeping close.  
Inquire me out some mean poor gentleman,  
Whom I will marry straight to Clarence' daughter:  
The boy is foolish, and I fear not him.  
Look, how thou dream'st! I say again, give out  
That Anne, my queen, is sick and like to die.  
About it! for it stands me much upon

45. Well, be it so] Ff; omitted Qq.  
aft. 45. Enter Stanley.] Ff; Enter Darby. Qq.  
46. How now . . . news] Ff; How now, what newes with you Qq.  
47-49. Know . . . abides] arranged as Craig; Know . . . Dorset As  
. . . Richmond, In . . . abides Ff; My Lord, I heare the Marques Dorset Is  
fled to Richmond, in those partes beyond the seas where he abides Qq; My lord,  
I hear . . . fled To Richmond . . . sea Where he abides Camb.  
51. very grievous sick] Ff; sicke and like to die Qq.  
53. poor] Ff; borne Qq.  
57. queen] Ff; wife Qq.

47-50. Spedding suggested the  
estistence of interlinear alterations in the  
MS., which may have misled the  
printer of F r. If Ff represent a  
return to an original version of the play,  
Qq reading may be the result of an  
effort to improve the defective metre  
of that original. This latter reading,  
however, was evidently disarranged  
in printing: the Cambridge reading,  
perhaps, represents the real intention  
of the reviser. The call for Catesby  
and the answer which follows, corres-  
sponding in Qq to line 50, are probably  
stage amplifications of the original  
text.

51. Halle and Holinshed (iii. 751)  
say that Richard ordered the queen's  
death to be reported, "to the intent  
that she, taking some conceit of this  
strange fame, should fall into some  
sudden sicknesse or greuous maladie:  
and to prove, if afterwords she should  
fortune by that or anie other waies to  
lease her life, whether the people would  
impute hir death to the thought or  
sicknesse, or thereof would laie the  
blame to him." When this report  
came to Anne's ears, she sought an  
terview with Richard, and was  
answered with fair words. But "how-  
ssoever that it fortuned, either by in-  
ward thought and pensiuenesse of hart,  
or by infection of poison (which is  
affirmed to be most likelie), within few  
daiies after the queene departed out of  
this transitorie life." Anne's death  
really happened on 16th March, 1485.

58. it stands me much upon] it con-  
cerns me, depends upon me, greatly.  
Compare Antony and Cleopatra, ii. i.  
50, 51; Milton, Of Prelat. Episcopacy,
KING RICHARD III

To stop all hopes whose growth may damage me.

[Exit Catesby.

I must be married to my brother's daughter,
Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass.
Murder her brothers, and then marry her!
Uncertain way of gain! But I am in
So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin:
Tear-falling pity dwells not in this eye.

Re-enter Page with Tyrrel.

Is thy name Tyrrel?

Tyr. James Tyrrel, and your most obedient subject.

K. Rich. Art thou indeed?

Tyr. Prove me, my gracious lord.

K. Rich. Dar'st thou resolve to kill a friend of mine?

Tyr. Please you, but I had rather kill two enemies.

K. Rich. Why, there thou hast it; two deep enemies,
Foes to my rest and my sweet sleep's disturbers
Are they that I would have thee deal upon:
Tyrrel, I mean those bastards in the Tower.

Tyr. Let me have open means to come to them,
And soon I'll rid you from the fear of them.


59. Exit Catesby] Capell. 64. will pluck] Q i, Ff; pluckle Qq 2-5; plucks Qq 6-8. 65. Tear-falling] Ff; Teare falling Qq 1-5; Teares falling Qq 6-8. aft. 65. Re-enter . . . ] Capell; Enter Tyrrel Qq; Enter Tyrrel Ff. 68. indeed?] Pope adds He takes him aside. lord] Ff; soueraigne Qq. 70. Please you] Ff; I my lord Qq, two] Q i, Ff; two deepe Qq 2-8. 71. there] Qq; then Ff. 72. disturbers] Ff; disturbs Qq. 77. Thou sing'st . . . Tyrrel] one line as Qq; Thou sing'st sweet Musique: Hearke . . . Tyrrel (two lines) Ff. 75. Hark] Ff; omitted Qq.

1641: “it stood them much upon long ere this to uphold their now well tasted hierarchy.” See also Lyly, Euphues, 1579 (Arber, 94): “if thy reuenge stand onlye upon thy wish, thou shalt never lye to see my woe”; and Mr. Craig refers to Golding's Caesar, 1565: “Caesar thought that it stood him upon to beware.”

64. pluck on] draw on, as Measure for Measure, ii. iv. 147, etc.

65. Tear-falling] that lets fall tears. For the transitive use of “fall,” compare Ff stage direction at i. ii. 182 above, “She fals the sword.” As to Richard's description of his temperament, see note on i. ii. 157 above.

70. two enemies] The reading of Q 2 and its successors is an obvious printer's error. The epithet “deepe” has been taken up from the next line and repeated to the detriment of sense and metre.

72. disturbers] Qq “disturbs” is a substantive of the formation noticed at iii. vii. 225 above. New Eng. Dict. quotes Daniel, Civil Wars, 1601-2, vi. st. 47: “From all disturbs to be so long kept free.”

77, Thou sing'st sweet music] Aldis
Go, by this token: rise, and lend thine ear: [Whispers.]
There is no more but so: say it is done,
And I will love thee, and prefer thee for it.
Tyr. I will despatch it straight.

Re-enter Buckingham.

Buck. My lord, I have considered in my mind
The late request that you did sound me in.
K. Rich. Well, let that rest. Dorset is fled to Richmond.
Buck. I hear the news, my lord.
K. Rich. Stanley, he is your wife's son; well, look to it.
Buck. My lord, I claim the gift, my due by promise,
For which your honour and your faith is pawn'd—
The earldom of Hereford and the moveables,
Which you have promised I shall possess.
K. Rich. Stanley, look to your wife! if she convey
Letters to Richmond, you shall answer it.
Buck. What says your highness to my just request?
K. Rich. I do remember me, Henry the sixth
Did prophesy that Richmond should be king,
When Richmond was a little peevish boy:
A king! perhaps, perhaps,—

78. this] Ff; that Qq. Whispers] Ff; He whispers in his eare. Qq.
79. There is] Ff; Tis Qq. it] Qq 3-5, Ff; is it Qq 1, 2, 6-8. 81.
I . . . straight] Ff; Tis done my gracious lord. King. Shall we heare from thee
Tirrel ere we sleep? Enter Buc. Tir. Ye shall my lord. Qq (Yea, my good lord
Qq 6-8). Exit.] Ff; omitted Qq. aft. 81. Re-enter Buckingham.] Camb.;
Enter Buckingham Ff; Enter Buc. Qq (see preceding note). 83. request
Ff; demand Qq. 84. rest] Ff; pass Qq. 85. the news] Ff; that newes
Qq. 86. son] sonnes Qq 1-3 to it] Qq; unto it Ff. 87. the gift] Ff; your
gift Qq. 89. Hereford] Herford Qq 1-3, 5-8; Herfort Q 4; Herford Ff. 90.
Which you have promised] Ff; The which you promised Qq. shall] Ff;
should Qq. 93. request] Ff; demand Qq. 94. I do remember me] Ff;
As I remember Qq. 97. perhaps, perhaps—] Camb.; perhaps perhaps. Qq
1-3, 5, 6, 8; perhaps, Q 4; perhaps, perhaps, Q 7; perhaps, Ff.

Wright, in a note on i. i. 27, alludes to
Richard's well-known love of music.
Various allusions scattered through the
play, as in this passage, may have a
reference to this love; but there is no
authority for it in the chief sources from
which Shakespeare derived his know-
ledge.

79. no more but so] So Chapman (?),
Alphonsus, act ii.: "nay, tell her more
than so."
89, 90. See iii. i. 195 above, and note.
The "moveables" are the appurten-
ances of the earldom not attached to the
soil; see Richard II. ii. i. 161; Taming
of the Shrew, ii. i. 198; Fletcher and
Massinger, Spanish Curate, iv. 5: "My
sheep and oxen, and my moveables."
KING RICHARD III

Buck. My lord!

K. Rich. How chance the prophet could not at that time
Have told me, I being by, that I should kill him?

Buck. My lord, your promise for the earldom,—

K. Rich. Richmond! When last I was at Exeter,
The mayor in courtesy show'd me the castle,
And call'd it Rougemont; at which name I started,

104. Rougemont] Rugemount Qq.

98-115. The reason for the omission of these lines from Ff is obscure. That it was deliberate appears probable from the alteration in the Ff version of line 116, which has been retained here. On the other hand, Ff reading may be equally well the original form of line 116, afterwards altered to suit the purpose of Qq. Speeding, while classing this among the alterations in F f not intended by Shakespeare, leans noticeably to the conclusion that it may have been due to Shakespeare's feeling that the action was delayed by the intermediate matter. No such feeling, however, seems to have crossed Shakespeare's or his editors' mind, when the long rhetorical speeches in iv. iv., serious impediments to the action, were retained in F f. Mr. Daniel can account for the omission only on the supposition that the passage was a theatrical insertion, not in the original draught of the play, introduced for the benefit of the chief actor, and so struck out by the editor in the Q from which F f was prepared. He further accounts for the omission by Ff of the second "perhaps" in line 97, by suggesting that the word was struck out by accident, when the editor of F f drew his line through the succeeding passage. Pickersgill suggests that the metre of lines 107-112 may have proved a bar to the smoothing hand of the editor of F f. It is also possible that the editor of F f, for some reason which we can only conjecture, decided to omit the passage, even though it was original: perhaps he felt it to be irrelevant, or thought the double play on words which it contains far-fetched. Even if the passage is a later insertion, at any rate the resort which its author made to Shakespeare's own historical sources, and his selection of this striking anecdote, make it highly probable that the author who inserted it was Shakespeare himself.

102-106. This anecdote, "interlaced" into Holinshed's text by his posthumous editors, came from John Hooker or Vowell, the chamberlain and historian of Exeter. Richard paid a visit to Exeter in November, 1483, after the failure of Buckingham's rebellion and Richmond's first expedition, and was received by the mayor. "He came to the castell; and, when he understood that it was called Rougemont, suddenly he fell into a dumpe, and (as one astonished) said: 'Well, I see my daies be not long,'" etc. (Holinshed, iii. 746).

104. Rougemont] The castle of Exeter, the building of which was ordered by William I. after the taking of the city in 1067, and committed by him to Baldwin of Brionne. The name comes from the natural formation of the site, "rubus mons extra portam aquilonarem civitatis Exonie." Richmond was the name given to the castle built by Alan of Brittany at the mouth of Swaledale after 1072, and either was derived from a castle of Richemont in Brittany, or was a gallicised form of the English Rices-munt (hill of sovereignty). The vast Earldom of Richmond was vested in Henry VII.: his title, derived from his Yorkshire estates, merely lent its name to the Surrey Richmond when Shene Palace became his favourite residence. The popular pronunciation of "Rougemont" and "Richmond" may have been so nearly alike as to make the play on the words tolerable.
Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

_Buck._ My lord!

_K. Rich._ Ay, what's o'clock?

_Buck._ I am thus bold to put your grace in mind
Of what you promis'd me.

_K. Rich._ Well, but what's o'clock?

_Buck._ Upon the stroke of ten.

_K. Rich._ Well, let it strike.

_Buck._ Why let it strike?

_K. Rich._ Because that, like a Jack, thou keep'st the stroke
Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.
I am not in the giving vein to-day.

_Buck._ May it please you to resolve me in my suit?

_K. Rich._ Thou troublest me; I am not in the vein.

[Exeunt all but Buckingham.

_Buck._ And is it thus? repays he my deep service
With such contempt? made I him king for this?

O, let me think on Hastings, and be gone
To Brecknock, while my fearful head is on!

_[Exit._

---

105. a bard of Ireland] There is no authority for this description in Holinshed.

113. Jack] The Jack of the clock was the figure which struck the hours on the bell of an old clock. Compare Richard II. v. v. 60. Steevens quotes Decker, Lanthorne and Candle-Light: "The jacke of a Clocke-house goes uppon Screws, and his office is to do nothing but strike," and Guls Hornbooke, where the Jacks of the clock in old St. Paul's are mentioned. New Eng. Dict. quotes from the accounts of St. Lawrence's Church, Reading, in 1498-9: "It. payed for the settyng of Jak with the hangyng of his bell and mending his hond, iijd." Two wooden Jacks in armour strike the quarters on the clock which is now in the north transept of York Minster. A sitting Jack, locally known as Jack Blandiver, strikes the quarters with his heels on the bell of the clock, once in Glastonbury Abbey, now in the north transept of Wells Cathedral. Other examples are at Southwold and Blythburgh in Suffolk: at Rye in Sussex two gilded cherubs perform the office of Jacks. The expression probably is connected with the rather slighting use of the name, alluded to at i. iii. 53 above. Richard likens Buckingham's hesitation to a Jack suspending his stroke on the clock-bell, and bids him strike at once.

121. Brecknock] The lordship of Brecon, and the castle founded by Bernard of Neufmarché about 1092, came through the Braoses to the
SCENE III.—The same.

Enter Tyrrel.

Tyr. The tyrannous and bloody act is done,
The most arch deed of piteous massacre
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this piece of ruthless butchery,
Albeit they were fleshd villains, bloody dogs,
Melted with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like to children in their deaths' sad story.
"O! thus," quoth Dighton, "lay the gentle babes:
"Thus, thus," quoth Forrest, "girdling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms:

Bohuns, Earls of Hereford; from whom
it passed by marriage to Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III., and so
to the house of Stafford. See note on
III. i. 195 above.

2. arch deed] Compare Othello, iv. i.
71, where FF have the hyphen, apparent-
lly rejected in the present case. So
"arch-enemy (3 Henry VI. ii. ii. 2)
and "arch-villain" (Measure for
Measure, v. i. 57) are hyphenated in FF.

4. More tells us that Dighton, "a
big, broad, square, and strong knave,"
was Tyrrel's "horssekeeper." Forrest,
"a fellow fleshed (see below) in murder
before his time," was one of the
warders of the Princes in the Tower.

6. flesh'd] Hounds were said to be
fleshed when they ate of the first
game which they killed. So Fletcher and
Massinger, Elder Brother, iv. 3, of
one using a sword for the first time:
"This is my grief, I shall be flesh'd on
cowards." Compare King John, v. i.
71. The word is also applied, at any
rate in the eighteenth century, without
distinction, to the custom of giving the
hounds a portion of the killed game, as
in Smollett, Peregrine Pickle, 1751,
chapter viii. Metaphorically, it is used
of one who has tasted slaughter and is
become accustomed to it. Compare
Henry V. iii. iii. 11. Fletcher and
Massinger, Spanish Curate, iv. 2, use
the word in the transferred sense of a
hardened knave:—
"Tush, he's flesh'd,
And knows what vein to strike for
his own credit."

II. alabaster] The form in most of
the early editions, "alabaster," is a very
common corruption. For the various
spellings current in the fifteenth and
sixteenth centuries, see the extracts
from the Nottingham Records, etc., in
W. H. St. John Hope, On the Early
Working of Alabaster in England
In Leland's Itinerary and Holland's
version of Camden's Britannia, "ala-
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
And in their summer beauty kiss'd each other.
A book of prayers on their pillow lay;
Which once, quoth Forrest, "almost chang'd my mind; 15
But O! the devil!"—there the villain stopp'd,
Whilst Dighton thus told on: "We smothered
The most replenished sweet work of nature
That from the prime creation e'er she fram'd."
Hence both are gone with conscience and remorse:
They could not speak; and so I left them both,
To bear this tidings to the bloody king.
And here he comes.

Enter King Richard.

All health, my sovereign lord!

K. Rich. Kind Tyrrel, am I happy in thy news?

Tyr. If to have done the thing you gave in charge
Beget your happiness, be happy then;
For it is done.

K. Rich. But didst thou see them dead?

Tyr. I did, my lord.

K. Rich. And buried, gentle Tyrrel?

Tyr. The chaplain of the Tower hath buried them;
But where, to say the truth, I do not know.

baster" is the form used. Leland, i. fol. 42 (ed. Hearne, 1710-12, i. 40), mentions a popular corruption current in the Isle of Axholme: "The upper part of the Isle hath plentiful Quarres of Alabaster, communely there caullid Plaster." The same form is apparent in the term "plaster of Paris."

18. replenished sweet] The first epithet qualifies the second, and the two might be hyphenated together. "Replenish'd," in the sense of "complete, fully furnished," occurs in Winter's Tale, ii. i. 79.

30. where, to say the truth] Shakespeare departs from his authority, which expressly says that Tyrrel ordered the murderers "to bury them at the staire foot, meetly deepse in the ground, vsnder a great heape of stones."
K. Rich. Come to me, Tyrrel, soon, at after-supper,
When thou shalt tell the process of their death.
Meantime, but think how I may do thee good,
And be inheritor of thy desire.
Farewell till then.

Tyr.

I humbly take my leave.

[Exit Tyrrel.]

K. Rich. The son of Clarence have I pent up close;
His daughter meanly have I match’d in marriage;
The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham’s bosom;
And Anne my wife hath bid this world good night.
Now, for I know the Breton Richmond aims

At young Elizabeth, my brother’s daughter,
And, by that knot, looks proudly on the crown,
To her go I, a jolly thriving wooer.

31. K. Rich.] King Qq 3-8; Rich. Ff; Tir. Qq 1, 2. soon, at] soone at Qq 1-6; soone, and Ff; soone Qq 7, 8; soon, soon Rowe. after-supper] hyphened Staunton, Craig. 32. When] Ff; And Qq. thou shalt] thou there shall Ff 2-4. 35. then] Ff; soone Qq. Tyr. I ... leave.] F x; Tyr. I humbly take leave Ff 2-4; omitted Qq. Exit Tyrrel] Qq; omitted Ff. 36. K. Rich.] Rich. Ff; omitted Qq. 39. this world] Ff; the world Qq. good night] godnight Qq 1, 2. 40. Breton] Capell; Britaine Qq; Britaine Ff x, 2; Britain F 3; Britain F 4; Briton Rowe. 42. on] Ff; or Qq. 43. go I] Ff; I go Qq.

31. soon, at after-supper] Probably Ff reading, which makes no great sense, is founded on a misunderstanding of the phrase. The comma after “soon,” which Mr. Craig inserts in his “Little Quarto” edition, makes the meaning clear. For “after-supper,” the “rere-supper” or dessert taken after supper and served in another room, see Mr. Cunningham’s note on Midsummer-Night’s Dream, v. i. 34. In that case, where the meaning is unmistakable, the Cambridge editors allow the hyphen: here they read “soon at after supper” within commas. “Soon at night” commonly means “this very night,” as Othello, iii. iv. 198. “Soon at supper-time” occurs in Comedy of Errors, iii. ii. 179; and “soon at supper” in Merchant of Venice, ii. iii. 5. This reading presumes either (1) that “at after” is a preposition meaning “after,” as in Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, B. 1455, etc., or (2) that “soon at “soon,” which seems improbable.

34. inheritor] possessor. Compare “inherit,” Richard II. i. i. 85; The Tempest, iv. i. 154, etc.

40. Breton] Richmond was in exile in Brittany, and was welcome, Richard implies, to his place of retreat.

42. by that knot] i.e. by virtue of that proposed alliance. The marriage of Richmond and Elizabeth had been arranged at Brecon by Buckingham and the Bishop of Ely, during Ely’s semi-captivity there. It was communicated to the Countess of Richmond by means of her confidential secretary Reginald Bray, and by her, through her physician Lewis, to the Queen-Dowager. Richmond accepted the proposition, and swore at Rennes on Christmas Day, 1483, to observe this necessary condition of his enterprise. It was not till 1485 that the rumour of Richard III’s intention to marry Elizabeth was spread abroad (Boswell Stone, Shakspeare’s Holinshed, p 338).
Enter CATESBY.

Cates. My lord!

K. Rich. Good or bad news, that thou com'st in so bluntly? 45

Cates. Bad news, my lord: Morton is fled to Richmond; And Buckingham, back'd with the hardy Welshmen, Is in the field, and still his power increaseth.

K. Rich. Ely with Richmond troubles me more near Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength. 50

Come, I have learn'd that fearful commenting Is leaden servitor to dull delay; Delay leads impotent and snail-pac'd beggary: Then fiery expedition be my wing, Jove's Mercury, and herald for a king! 55

Go, muster men! my counsel is my shield; We must be brief, when traitors brave the field. [Exeunt.

SCENE IV.—Before the Palace.

Enter Queen MARGARET.

Q. Mar. So! now prosperity begins to mellow And drop into the rotten mouth of death. Here in these confines sily have I lurk'd,

aft. 43. Enter Catesby.] Qq; Enter Ratcliffe Ff. 44. Cates.] Cate. Qq; Rat. Ff (and 46). 45. or bad news] FF; newes or bad Qq. 46. Morton] Morton Ff; Ely Qq. 50. rash-levied] hyphened Pope. strength] Ff; army Qq. 51. learn'd] FF; heard Qq. 55. Jove's] Ioues Qq 1, 2, Ff; Ioue, Qq 3, 5-8; Lune, Q 4. 56. Go] Ff; Come Qq.

Scene iv.

SCENE IV.] Scena Tertia. Ff. Before the Palace] Capell. Enter Queen Margaret.] Enter Queene Margaret sola. Qq; Enter old Queene Margaret. Ff.

46. The Bishop of Ely escaped secretly from Brecon, "and came to his see of Elie; where he found monie and friends; and so sailed into Flanders." For Buckingham's expedition and its fate, see the note of the next scene.

50. rash-levied] hastily raised. Compare King John, ii. 1. 67.

55. Jove's Mercury] "Fiery expedition" is to herald Richard's entry into the field, and be the Mercury to his Jove. The second half of the line explains the allusion. Theobald wished to read "Jove's Mercury's an herald for a king."

Scene iv.

1, 2. Steevens quotes what is probably a reminiscence of this passage from Marston, Antonio and Mellida, 1602:—

"now is his fate grown mellow,
Instant to fall into the rotten jaws
Of chap-fall'n death."
To watch the waning of mine enemies,
A dire induction am I witness to,
And will to France, hoping the consequence
Will prove as bitter, black, and tragical.
Withdraw thee, wretched Margaret! who comes here?

Enter Queen Elizabeth and the Duchess of York.

Q. Eliz. Ah! my poor princes! ah! my tender babes!
   My unblown flowers, new-appearing sweets!
   If yet your gentle souls fly in the air,
   And be not fix'd in doom perpetual,
   Hover about me with your airy wings,
   And hear your mother's lamentation!

Q. Mar. Hover about her! say, that right for right
   Hath dimm'd your infant morn to aged night!

Duch. So many miseries have craz'd my voice,
   That my woe-wearied tongue is still and mute.

Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead?

Q. Mar. Plantagenet doth quit Plantagenet;
   Edward for Edward pays a dying debt.

Q. Eliz. Wilt thou, O God, fly from such gentle lambs,
   And throw them in the entrails of the wolf?
   When didst thou sleep, when such a deed was done?

Q. Mar. When holy Harry died, and my sweet son.


6. As a matter of fact, Margaret's departure to France took place in 1476, after which time she never returned to England.

15. right for right] Johnson explains, "justice answering to justice." Heaven has given the house of York its just revenge for the atrocities which the house of Lancaster has committed on it; and now the sins of the house of York are to be visited upon its own head.

17. care-craz'd] broken, cracked, as Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, G. 934: "I am right siker that the pot was crazed"; Milton, Paradise Lost, 2nd ed. 1674, xii. 210:— "God looking forth will trouble all his host And crazes their chariot wheels." Mr. Craig quotes a parallel from Comedy of Errors, v. i. 307-10. See note on "care-craz'd," III. vii. 184 above.
Duch. Dead life, blind sight, poor mortal living ghost,
Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life usurp'd,
Brief abstract and record of tedious days,
Rest thy unrest on England's lawful earth, [Sitting down.
Unlawfully made drunk with innocent blood!

Q. Eliz. Ah, that thou wouldst as soon afford a grave,
As thou canst yield a melancholy seat!
Then would I hide my bones, not rest them here.
Ah! who hath any cause to mourn but we?

[Sitting down by her.

Q. Mar. If ancient sorrow be most reverend,
Give mine the benefit of seniory,
And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.
If sorrow can admit society,
Tell o'er your woes again by viewing mine.
I had an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him;
I had a Henry, till a Richard kill'd him:

26. Dead life, blind sight] Ff; Blind sight, dead life Qq. 28. Brief . . . days] Ff; omitted Qq. 29. thy] they Q. 5; their Q. 6-8. 30. Sitting down in it. Capell. 31. Ah] Ff; O Qq. we] Ff; I Qq. 32. Sitting down by her.] Camb.; Throwing herself down upon the earth. Hanmer (at 31). 33. If ancient] If any ancient Pope. reverend] reverent Qq. 34. Ah] Ff; O Qq. we] Ff; I Qq. 35. If ancient] If any ancient Pope. reverend] reverent Qq. 36. seniory] signorie Q. 1-5; signorie Q. 6, 7; signeurie F 1; signiorie Q. 8; signeurie F f 2-4; seigneurie Rowe; seniority Pope. 37. griefs] Ff; woes Qq. hand.] Warburton; hand, Qq. hand Ff. 38. Sitting down with them.] Camb.; joining, and taking seat between them. Capell. 39. Tell . . . mine] Qq; omitted Ff. o'er] Warburton; o'er Qq. 40. I had a Henry] Rann (Capell conj.), Craig; I had a Harry Camb.; I had a Richard Qq; I had a Husband Ff.

25-30. Pope put this speech of strained paradoxes into his margin. No doubt, in writing Constance's lamentations in King John, III. i., Shakespeare remembered this earlier and more stilted attempt.

30. thou] Elizabeth addresses the earth. The transition is rather abrupt.
36. seniory] This is the spelling adopted by most modern editions. The word, in the present passage, implies both superior age (line 35) and superior cause for sorrow (line 37).
40-46. Margaret makes her sorrows common with those of her Yorkist rivals. Richard has murdered, not only Prince Edward and Henry VI., but also his own nephews, Edward V. and Richard of York. The Duchess retorts by reminding Margaret of her responsibility for the deaths of York and Rutland at Wakefield. Margaret answers her by adding the death of Clarence to the list of Richard's crimes, and upbraids her with being the mother of the arch-criminal.

41. Henry] Qq are obviously wrong: it is difficult to imagine that the reading in Ff was derived from an original source, as it breaks a sequence of proper names to which the lines owe their point.
Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard kill’d him; 
Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard kill’d him.

**Duch.** I had a Richard too, and thou didst kill him; 
I had a Rutland too, thou holp’s to kill him.

**Q. Mar.** Thou hadst a Clarence too, and Richard kill’d him. 
From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept 
A hell-hound that doth hunt us all to death: 
That dog that had his teeth before his eyes, 
To worry lambs and lap their gentle blood, 
That foul defacer of God’s handiwork, 
That excellent grand tyrant of the earth, 
That reigns in galled eyes of weeping souls, 
Thy womb let loose to chase us to our graves. 
O upright, just, and true-disposing God, 
How do I thank thee, that this carnal cur 
Preys on the issue of his mother’s body, 
And makes her pue-fellow with other’s moan!

**Duch.** O Harry’s wife, triumph not in my woes! 
God witness with me! I have wept for thine.

**Q. Mar.** Bear with me; I am hungry for revenge, 
And now I cloy me with beholding it. 
Thy Edward he is dead, that kill’d my Edward; 
Thy other Edward dead, to quit my Edward; 

---

45. holp’s] FF 2-4; hopst F 1; hopst Qq. 46. Thou ... him] one line as Qq; Thou ... too, And ... him (two lines) Ff. and Q 1, Ff; till Qq 2-8. 
50. blood] FF, Q 8, blouds Qq r-7. 52, 53. That excellent ... souls] arranged as Capell; transposed Ff; omitted Qq. 55. true-disposing] hyphenated Ff. 
58. And ... moan] omitted Pope. pue-fellow] Qq 3-7, Ff; puefellow Qq 1, 2. 
59. wife] wives Q 1, 60. thine] Q 1, Ff; thee Qq 2-8. 63. kill’d] Ff; stab’d 
Qq. 64. Thy] Qq; The Ff. 

52, 53. The reversal of these lines in Ff is, no doubt, the result of a crowded interlineation or marginal insertion—probably both combined—in the margin of a printed copy of Q. 
52. excellent] merely in a superlative sense, like Sir Andrew’s “Excellent good, i’ faith” in Twelfth Night, ii. iii. 46. 
53. galled eyes] Compare Hamlet, i. ii. 155. 
56. carnal] used with much the same significance as “flesh’d,” iv. iii. 6 above. Richard has tasted flesh, and now hunts after it persistently. 
58. pue-fellow] companion. Nares quotes, without a reference: “When I was a treuanty scholar in the noble university of Cambridge, though I hope I had as good a conscience as other of my pue-fellows.” See also Decker, Bel-Man of London (Smeaton, 146): “The Foist and the Nip are pue-fellows together and of one religion.” Shakespeare uses the word “pue,” King Lear, iii. iv. 55.
Young York he is but boot, because both they
Match'd not the high perfection of my loss,
Thy Clarence he is dead, that stabb'd my Edward;
And the beholders of this frantic play,
The adulterate Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, Grey,
Untimely smother'd in their dusky graves.
Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer,
Only reserv'd their factor, to buy souls
And send them thither: but at hand, at hand,
Ensues his piteous and unpitied end:
Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray,
To have him suddenly convey'd from hence.
Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray,
That I may live and say, The dog is dead!

Q. Eliz. O! thou didst prophesy the time would come

66. Match'd] Ff 3, 4; Matcht Ff 1, 2; Match Qq. 67. stabb'd] Ff; kild Qq. 68. frantic play] Ff; tragick play Qq; tragick scene Capell (conj.). 69. adulterate] adulterer Warburton. 72. their] the Hamner. 73. at hand, at hand] at hand at handes Q 1; at hand Qq 7, 8. 75. Earth gapes] Earth gapes, heaven lowers Seymour (conj.). Walker. roar] roar for him Capell. To have . . . hence] omitted Pope. say] Ff; to say Qq.

65. boot] the additional item thrown in to equalise a bargain, as Winter's Tale, iv. iv. 650. See also Measure for Measure, ii. iv. 11; Troilus and Cressida, iv. v. 40. Margaret reckons that the death of young York is thrown in to equalise the sorrows of herself and her enemies.

69. adulterate] Shakespeare uses this form in Comedy of Errors, ii. ii. 142; Hamlet, i. v. 42, and three times in the poems. See also Machin and Markham, Dumb Knight, act v. Steevens understands the epithet in a double sense. Hastings was not only an adulterer; he was also adulterate, base metal, to Margaret, who had made experience of his treachery.

71. intelligencer] agent, go-between, as 2 Henry IV, iv. ii. 20. Compare Winter's Tale, ii. iii. 68. Mr. Craig notes two instances from Nash: one from The Unfortunate Traveller, "never anie discredited the trade of intelligencers but Judas"; the other from Pierce Penilesse (Grosart, ii. 19), "throwing himself abruptly into my company like an intelligencer," See also Webster, Duchess of Malfi, 1623, i. 1: "flatterers, panders, intelligencers, atheists, and a thousand such political monsters."

72. their factor] the agent of the powers of hell. Alisd Wright remarks that the "plural of respect" is used by Shakespeare after the mention of heaven and hell alike, and refers to Othello, iv. ii. 48, on which see Mr. Hart's note. The term "factor" repeats and emphasizes "intelligencer" in the foregoing line. Compare Fletcher and Massinger, Spanish Curate, iii. 2:—"a young factor"

They call Leandro, that has rob'd his master."

75. In a line of heavily stressed monosyllables, containing four short sentences, nothing is more likely than that a foot should have been missed out by the author. The necessary pauses in the line make the omission almost unnoticeable.
That I should wish for thee to help me curse
That bottled spider, that foul bunch-back'd toad!

Q. Mar. I call'd thee then vain flourish of my fortune:
I call'd thee then poor shadow, painted queen;
The presentation of but what I was;
The flattering index of a direful pageant;
One heav'd a-high, to be hurl'd down below;
A mother only mock'd with two fair babes;
A dream of what thou wast; a garish flag,
To be the aim of every dangerous shot;
A sign of dignity, a breath, a bubble;
A queen in jest, only to fill the scene.
Where is thy husband now? where be thy brothers?
Where be thy two sons? wherein dost thou joy?
Who says and kneels and says "God save the queen"?
Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee?
Where be the thronging troops that follow'd thee?
Decline all this, and see what now thou art:
For happy wife, a most distressed widow;
For joyful mother, one that wails the name;
For one being sued to, one that humbly sues;
For queen, a very caitiff crown'd with care;

81. bunch-back'd] Q 1, Ff; bunch-backt Qq 2-8. 85. pageant] page Warburton. 86. a-high] hyphened Camb.; on high Pope. 87. only mock'd] Ff, Q 8; oneilie, mockt Qq 1-7. fair] Ff; sweete Qq. 88. what thou wast] Ff; which thou wert Qq. 88-90. a garish flag . . . bubble] Ff; a breath, a bubble, A signe of dignitie, a garish flag, To be . . . shot Qq. 93. be] are Qq 1, 2. two sons] Ff; children Qq. 94. and kneels and says] Ff; to thee (me Q 7), and cries Qq. 100, 101. For one . . . care] Ff; transposed Qq.

86. a-high] on high. So Berners' Froissart, (ed. Macaulay), i. 164: "he [Chandos] said to the prince: 'Sir, it were good that you rested here and set your banner a-high in this bush, that your people may draw hither'"; ibid. i. 160: "the king was on a white courser and said a-high to his men." "An hye" occurs in Chaucer, Hous of Fame, 215. Compare "on loft," where we say "aloft" in Parliament of Foules, 683. Compare "an end" above, i. iii. 304; and "a-height" in King Lear, iv. vi. 58.

88-90. The arrangement of these phrases in Qq may have been derived from a stage misquotation of the original text.

88. garish] Mr. Craig quotes several instances. Familiar examples are from Milton, Il Penseroso, line 141: "Hide me from Day's garish eie," and "I lov'd the garish day" from Newman's hymn, "Lead, kindly Light."

97. Decline all this] So Troilus and Cressida, ii. iii. 55.

101. caitiff] literally, a "captive." Hence the word comes to mean a "poor wretch," and is used with a compassionate sense by Shakespeare in this
For she that scorn'd at me, now scorn'd of me;
For she being fear'd of all, now fearing one;
For she commanding all, obey'd of none:
Thus hath the course of justice whirl'd about,
And left thee but a very prey to time,
Having no more but thought of what thou wast,
To torture thee the more, being what thou art.
Thou didst usurp my place, and dost thou not
Usurp the just proportion of my sorrow?
Now thy proud neck bears half my burthen'd yoke;
From which even here I slip my wearied head,
And leave the burthen of it all on thee.
Farewell, York's wife, and queen of sad mischance!
These English woes shall make me smile in France.

Q. Eliz. O thou well-skill'd in curses, stay awhile,
And teach me how to curse mine enemies!

Q. Mar. Forbear to sleep the night, and fast the day;
Compare dead happiness with living woe;
Think that thy babes were sweeter than they were,
And he that slew them fouler than he is.
Bettering thy loss makes the bad causer worse:
Revolving this will teach thee how to curse.

Q. Eliz. My words are dull; O! quicken them with thine!
Q. Mar. Thy woes will make them sharp and pierce like

and other passages. Compare Romeo and Juliet, v. i. 52; Othello, iv. i. 109; and see Mr. Hart's note on the latter passage.

Compare Love's Labour's Lost, iv. iii. 384.

burthen'd] burdensome, as "unmanner'd," i. ii. 39 above. It may be, however, that the epithet may be used in its ordinary sense, and be merely transferred from "neck" to "yoke"; or, again, that it may agree with the possessive case of the personal pronoun implied in "my."
Duch. Why should calamity be full of words?
Q. Eliz. Windy attornies to their client woes,
Airy successors of intestate joys,
Poor breathing orators of miseries!
Let them have scope: though what they will impart
Help nothing else, yet do they ease the heart.
Duch. If so, then be not tongue-tied: go with me,
And in the breath of bitter words let’s smother
My damned son, that thy two sweet sons smother’d.
The trumpet sounds: be copious in exclaims.

Enter King Richard, marching, with drums and trumpets.

K. Rich. Who intercepts me in my expedition?
Duch. O! she that might have intercepted thee,
By strangling thee in her accursed womb,
From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou hast done!
Q. Eliz. Hid’st thou that forehead with a golden crown,
Where should be branded, if that right were right,
The slaughter of the prince that ow’d that crown,
And the dire death of my poor sons and brothers?
Tell me, thou villain slave, where are my children?
Duch. Thou toad, thou toad, where is thy brother Clarence?
And little Ned Plantagenet, his son?
Q. Eliz. Where is the gentle Rivers, Vaughan, Grey?

127. their client] Hanmer, Camb.; their Clients Ff; your Client Qq 1-3, 5-8; your clients Q 4; your client’s Pope. 128. intestate] Qq; intestine Ff. 130. will] Ff; do Qq. 132. nothing else] Ff; not at all Qq 1-6; not all Qq 7, 8. 134. that] Ff; which Qq. 135. The trumpet sounds] Ff; I heare his drum Qq. aft. 135. SCENE v. Pope. Enter ... trumpets.] Qq; Enter King Richard, and his Traine. Ff. 136. me in] Ff; omitted Qq. 137. O! she] Ff; A she Qq. 141. Where] Qq; Where’t Ff. should] would Q 4. branded] Ff; grauen Qq. right] Qq; right? Ff. 143. poor] Ff; two Qq. 144. villain slave] Qq; hyphened Ff. 145. Thou ... Clarence] one line as Qq; Thou Toad, thou Toade, Where ... Clarence (two lines) Ff. 147. the gentle] Ff; kind Hastings, Qq.

127. client] This is evidently the right reading. Woes are the clients to whom words are but windy attornies. The misreading in the next line seems to point to the F i editor’s misunderstanding of the text at this point, and to an attempt at altering it on his own account. If “clients” is the right reading, it must be in apposition to “woes,” and not in the genitive, qualifying it.

142. ow’d] owned. Compare, among many other instances, Macbeth, 1. iv. 10.

147, 148. Aldis Wright, while retaining Qq reading, points out its inherent improbability. Elizabeth would not be likely to speak of her enemy as “kind
Duch. Where is kind Hastings?
K. Rich. A flourish, trumpets! strike alarum, drums!

Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women
Rail on the Lord’s anointed! strike, I say!

[Flourish. Alarums.]

Either be patient, and intreat me fair,
Or with the clamorous report of war
Thus will I drown your exclamations.

Duch. Art thou my son?
K. Rich. Ay, I thank God, my father, and yourself.

Duch. Then patiently hear my impiance.
K. Rich. Madam, I have a touch of your condition,
That cannot brook the accent of reproof.

Duch. O! let me speak.
K. Rich. Do, then; but I’ll not hear.

Duch. I will be mild and gentle in my words,
K. Rich. And brief, good mother; for I am in haste.

Duch. Art thou so hasty? I have stay’d for thee,
God knows, in torment and in agony.

K. Rich. And came I not at last to comfort you?

Duch. No, by the holy rood! thou know’st it well,
Thou cam’st on earth to make the earth my hell.

A grievous burthen was thy birth to me;

Ff; The trumpets Q r; The trumpets sound. Qq 2, 8; The trumpets sounds. Qq 3-7. 159. That] Ff; Which Qq. 160. Duch. O . . . hear] Ff; omitted Qq, 161. words] Ff; speech Qq. 164. torment and in] Ff; anguish, paine and Qq.

Hastings.” The tragedy of her own family would also be too present in her mind to admit the memory of any kindred crime; and, even if it occurred to her, she hardly would give it the first place in her reproaches. It is natural that the Duchess, on the other hand, recalling the loyalty of Hastings to her eldest son and his family, should add his name to those of the members of the Woodville family and faction.

151. the Lord’s anointed] The strength, such as it is, of Shakespeare’s Richard II., proceeds from his high sense of his dignity as “the deputy elected by the Lord” (Richard II. iii. ii. 57). Richard III., on the other hand, to whom such a belief is superstitious, uses it to awe his adversaries into silence.

152. intreat me fair] Compare Richard II. iii. i. 37.

158. condition] temperament, disposition, as Henry V. v. ii. 314; Othello, ii. i. 255.

168. See note on ii. iv. 27, 28 above. For Richard’s character at the various periods of his life, Shakespeare merely draws inferences from the general description given by More.
Tetchy and wayward was thy infancy;
Thy school-days frightful, desperate, wild, and furious; Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and venturous;
Thy age confirm'd, proud, subtle, sly, and bloody,
More mild, but yet more harmful, kind in hatred:
What comfortable hour canst thou name,
That ever grac'd me with thy company? 175

K. Rich. Faith! none but Humphrey Hour, that call'd your
grace


169. Tetchy] Compare Romeo and Juliet, i. iii. 32; Troilus and Cressida, i. i. 99. The word has been explained as equivalent to "touchy," e.g. by Halliwell, Nares, etc. Skeat, however, defines it as "full of tetches or teches, i.e. full of bad habits, freaks, whims, vices." In Romeo and Juliet (u.s.) it is used perhaps instead of "tettish": compare Fletcher's Wit without Money, 1639, v. 2: "He's the most tettish knave!"

172. age confirm'd] Aldis Wright explains, "in the full vigour of manhood." More, perhaps, than this is implied in "confirm'd," which means "fixed, resolved," as in Coriolanus, i. iii. 65, etc. "Age confirm'd" would thus denote the time of life at which early tendencies and character become fixed and settled.

173. harmful, kind] Ff have "harmfull; Kinde," and S. Walker suggested "harmful kind," which, if accepted, should be hyphenated. However, the meaning of the paradox "kind in hatred" is clear enough. It exactly describes Richard's attitude towards Clarence at the beginning of the play.

176. Humphrey Hour] The only satisfactory explanation of this play upon words is that suggested by Steevens, and adopted by Malone. "Shakespeare might indeed by this strange phrase have designed to mark the hour at which the good Duchess was as hungry as the followers of Duke Humphrey." Q 8 reads "Humphreys houre," which may be intended to make the phrase clearer. Loiterers who could not buy or beg a dinner, and spent the dinner-interval in lounging about the nave of St. Paul's, were said to "dine with Duke Humphrey." Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, son of Henry IV., died in 1447, and was buried at St. Albans Abbey; but "a proper chapel and fair monument" on the south side of St. Paul's nave, marking the burial-place of Sir John Beauchamp (d. 1358), were supposed vulgarly to mark that of Duke Humphrey. Decker, Guls Horn-Booke, ch. iv., speaks of this part of the nave of St. Paul's as "Duke Humphryes Walke." Gabriel Harvey, Foure Letters and certain Sonnets, 1592, has "to seeke his dinner in Poules with Duke Humphry: to lice dishes, to be a beggar." For other references, see Steevens' note; Nares s.v. Duke Humphrey; Brand, Popular Antiquities, iii. 384-7. Shakespeare thus may have intended to make Richard answer his mother's question literally with a far-fetched pun: the only hour he can name is Duke Humphrey's hour, and that called her away from his company to eat her breakfast. The mention of breakfast instead of dinner is immaterial. Besides this explanation, the only other that seems reasonable is that the "comfortable hour" was a certain Humphrey Hour, for whom there is no historical authority. Shakespeare may have invented the name for a serving-man, merely for the sake of the pun. The idea that Humphrey Hour was a gallant of the Duchess is not warrantable.
To breakfast once forth of my company.
If I be so disgracious in your eye,
Let me march on, and not offend you, madam,
Strike up the drum!

Duch.  
I prithee, hear me speak.


Duch.  

For I shall never speak to thee again.


Duch. Either thou wilt die, by God's just ordinance,
Ere from this war thou turn a conqueror;
Or I with grief and extreme age shall perish,
And never more behold thy face again.
Therefore take with thee my most grievous curse,
Which, in the day of battle, tire thee more
Than all the complete armour that thou wear'st!

My prayers on the adverse party fight;
And there the little souls of Edward's children
Whisper the spirits of thine enemies,
And promise them success and victory.

Bloody thou art, bloody will be thy end;
Shame serves thy life, and doth thy death attend. [Exit.

Q. Elis. Though far more cause, yet much less spirit to curse
Abides in me, I say amen to her.

K. Rich. Stay, madam; I must talk a word with you.

Q. Elis. I have no more sons of the royal blood
For thee to slaughter: for my daughters, Richard,
They shall be praying nuns, not weeping queens;
And therefore level not to hit their lives.
K. Rich. You have a daughter call'd Elizabeth,  
Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious?  
Q. Eliz. And must she die for this? O! let her live,  
And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her beauty,  
Slander myself as false to Edward's bed,  
Throw over her the veil of infamy:  
So she may live unscarr'd of bleeding slaughter,  
I will confess she was not Edward's daughter.  
K. Rich. Wrong not her birth; she is a royal princess.  
Q. Eliz. To save her life, I'll say she is not so.  
K. Rich. Her life is safest only in her birth.  
Q. Eliz. And only in that safety died her brothers.  
K. Rich. Lo, at their birth good stars were opposite.  
Q. Eliz. No, to their lives ill friends were contrary.  
K. Rich. All unavoidable is the doom of destiny.  
Q. Eliz. True; when avoided grace makes destiny:  
My babes were destin'd to a fairer death,  
If grace had bless'd thee with a fairer life.  
K. Rich. You speak as if that I had slain my cousins.  
Q. Eliz. Cousins indeed, and by their uncle cozen'd  
Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life!  
Whose hand soever lanch'd their tender hearts,  
Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction:  
No doubt the murderous knife was dull and blunt  
Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,  
To revel in the entrails of my lambs.  
But that still use of grief makes wild grief tame,  

209. veil] vaile Qq 6-8, Ff; vale Qq 1-5.  
210. unscarr'd of] Ff; unskard  
(or unscarde, etc.) from Qq.  
212. a royal princess] Ff; of roiall bloud Qq.  
214. safest only] Ff; onlie safest Qq.  
216. Lo] No Pope. birth] Ff;  
births Qq.  
217. ill] Ff; bad Qq.  
222-35. K. Rich. You ... bosom] Ff;  
omitted Qq.  
224, 225. Of comfort ... hearts] omitted Pope.  
225. lanch'd] lanced Camb.  

218. unavoidable] unavoidable: see notes on 1. ii. 39, 1. iv. 27 above.  
223. The same pun occurs in Fletcher, Monsieur Thomas, i. 3:  
"cousin, Cozen thyself no more."  
225. lanch'd] Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, Faithful Shepherdess, iv. 3:—  
"while he,  
Directed by his fury, bloodily  
Lanch'd up her breast."  
226. Steevens refers to Hamlet, ii. i. 66. He criticises the jingle as one "in which Shakespeare found more delight than his readers." It is thoroughly in keeping with the elaborate word-splitting of the whole dialogue.  
230. still use] constant use. Compare "still practice" in Titus Andronicus, iii. ii. 45, where "still," however may mean "silent."
KING RICHARD III [ACT IV.

My tongue should to thy ears not name my boys,
Till that my nails were anchor'd in thine eyes;
And I, in such a desperate bay of death,
Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,
Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.

K. Rich. Madam, so thrive I in my enterprise
And dangerous success of bloody wars,
As I intend more good to you and yours
Than ever you and yours by me were harm'd!

Q. Eliz. What good is cover'd with the face of heaven,
To be discover'd, that can do me good?

Q. Eliz. Up to some scaffold, there to lose their heads?
K. Rich. Unto the dignity and height of fortune,
The high imperial type of this earth's glory.

Q. Eliz. Flatter my sorrow with report of it!
Tell me, what state, what dignity, what honour,
Canst thou demise to any child of mine?

K. Rich. Even all I have; ay, and myself and all,
Will I withal endow a child of thine;

So in the Lethe of thy angry soul

236, 237. Madam . . . wars] two lines as Ff; Madam, so thrive I in my
dangerous attempt of hostile armes (one line) Qq.
238. and yours] Qq 6-8.
239. by me were harm'd] Ff; were by me wrong'd Qq,
242. gentle] Ff; mightie Qq.
244. Unto] Ff; No to Qq.
245. high] Q 1, Ff; height Qq 2-8.
248. demise] devise Fi 2-4.
249. ay] Ff; yea Qq.

237. success [sequel, result, as
Othello, iii. iii. 222.

245. type] emblem, badge. The phrase is explained by another in
Halle's Chronicle, p. 414, cited by
Aldis Wright, where Richard, in his
speech to his soldiers before Bosworth,
says: "I have obeyed the crowne
type of this famous realm & noble
region." See Henry VIII. i. iii. 31,
where "types of travel" = emblems of
travel. In 3 Henry VI. i. iv. 121,
"the type of King of Naples" prob-
ably means the style or semblance of
king, though Schmidt takes it to mean
the crown. A more unrestricted use,
again, is found in Chapman (?), Al-
phonsus, 1654, i. 2:—

Unco is a thousand

248. demise] Aldis Wright notes this
law-term as an ἀναξ λεγόμενον in
Shakespeare, like "pleasing" in i. 1.
13 above. A "demise" is a convey-
ance or transfer of an estate or other
real property. Thus, Blackstone defines
"the demise of the crown" as meaning
"that, in consequence of the disunion of
the King's natural body from his body
politic, the kingdom is transferred or de-
mised to his successor; and so the royal
dignity remains perpetual." Perhaps the
word was suggested here by the men-
tion, immediately preceding, of "the
high imperial type of this earth's glory."
Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs,  
Which thou supposest I have done to thee.

Q. Eliz. Be brief, lest that the process of thy kindness  
Last longer telling than thy kindness’ date.

K. Rich. Then know, that from my soul I love thy daughter.

Q. Eliz. My daughter’s mother thinks it with her soul.

K. Rich. What do you think?

Q. Eliz. That thou dost love my daughter from thy soul:  
So from thy soul’s love didst thou love her brothers;  260  
And from my heart’s love I do thank thee for it.

K. Rich. Be not so hasty to confound my meaning:  
I mean, that with my soul I love thy daughter,  
And do intend to make her queen of England.

Q. Eliz. Well then, who dost thou mean shall be her king?  265  
K. Rich. Even he that makes her queen: who else should be?

Q. Eliz. What, thou?

K. Rich. Even so: how think you of it?

Q. Eliz. How canst thou woo her?

K. Rich. That I would learn of you,  
As one being best acquainted with her humour.

Q. Eliz. And wilt thou learn of me?

K. Rich. Madam, with all my heart.

Q. Eliz. Send to her, by the man that slew her brothers,  
A pair of bleeding hearts; thereon engrave  275  
Edward and York; then haply will she weep:  
Therefore present to her—as sometime Margaret

255. kindness’ date] Ff; kindnes doe Qq.  256. Then . . . daughter] one line as Qq; Then know, That . . . Daughter (two lines) Ff.  260. soul’s love didst thou love] Q r, Ff; soules love didst thou Qq 2-5; soule didst thou love Qq 6-8.  264. do intend] Ff; meane Qq.  265. Well then] Ff; Saie then Qq.  266. Even . . . be] one line as Qq; Even . . . Queene: Who . . . bee (two lines) Ff. else should be] Ff; should be else Q r; should else Qq 2-8.  268. Even so] Ff; I even I Qq; Even I Capell; Ay, even I Malone. how] Ff; what Qq. of it] Ff; of it, madam Qq.  270. That] omitted Pope. I would] would I Qq 1, 2.  271. being] Ff; that are Qq 1, 2; that were Qq 3-8.  273. Madam] omitted Pope.  275. engrave] engraved Collier MS.  276. will she] Ff; she will Qq.  277. sometime] sometimes Qq 1, 2, 7, 8.

271. humour] disposition, as Love’s word is used in its common sense of Labour’s Lost, v. i. 10; & Henry VI. v. i. 132. Above, iv. i. 64, the natural character.
Did to thy father, steep'd in Rutland's blood—
A handkerchief; which, say to her, did drain
The purple sap from her sweet brother's body,
And bid her wipe her weeping eyes withal.
If this inducement move her not to love,
Send her a letter of thy noble deeds;
Tell her thou mad'st away her uncle Clarence,
Her uncle Rivers; ay, and, for her sake,
Mad'st quick conveyance with her good Aunt Anne.

K. Rich. You mock me, madam; this is not the way
To win your daughter.

Q. Eliz. There is no other way;
Unless thou could'st put on some other shape,
And not be Richard that hath done all this.

K. Rich. Say that I did all this for love of her.

Q. Eliz. Nay, then indeed she cannot choose but hate thee,
Having bought love with such a bloody spoil.

K. Rich. Look, what is done, cannot be now amended:
Men shall deal unadvisedly sometimes,
Which after-hours gives leisure to repent.
If I did take the kingdom from your sons;
To make amends, I'll give it to your daughter:

278, 279. Did . . . handkerchief] Ff; Did to thy father, a handkercher (handkercheffe Qq 2-8] steept in Rutlands blood (one line) Qq. 279, 280. which . . . body] Ff; omitted Qq. 280. sap] tide Pope. brother's body] brothers bodies Rowe; brothers' bodies Warburton. 281. wife] Ff; drie Qq. withal] Ff; therewith Qq. 282. move] Ff; force Qq. 283. letter] Ff; storie Qq. deeds] Ff; acts Qq. 285. ay] Ff; yea Qq. 287. You mock me, madam] Ff; Come, come, you mocke me Qq 1, 2; Come, come, ye mocke me Qq 3-8. this is] this F 1. 288. There is] There's Pope. 291-345. K. Rich. Say . . . years.] Ff; omitted Qq. 291. her.] her? Capell. 292. hate] have Steevens (Mason conj.); love Grant White (Tyrwhitt conj.). 293. bought] brought Pope. 296. repent] repent of Rowe.

286. conveyance] For the sense of dishonest dealing implied here in this word, compare 1 Henry VI. 1. iii. 2, 3 Henry VI. iii. iii. 160.

291. Richard makes use of the argument with which he had tempted Anne, 1. ii. 115-24 above. Dr. A. W. Ward (History of English Dramatic Literature, new ed. 1899, ii. 99) calls this part of the scene "a weak sort of repetition of the powerful scene between Richard and Anne." Johnson remarked that "part of the dialogue is ridiculous, and the whole improbable." An opposite, but paradoxically expressed opinion is that of Dr. Brandes (William Shakespeare, English translation, 1898, ii. 159): "The scene has the air of a repetition, . . . Shakespeare has lavished his whole art on the passage." The last sentence is surely extravagant.

293. spoil] waste, havoc (Johnson). Compare 1 Henry IV. iii. iii. 11; Henry V. v. ii. 249.
If I have kill'd the issue of your womb;
To quicken your increase, I will beget
Mine issue of your blood upon your daughter;
A grandam's name is little less in love
Than is the doting title of a mother;
They are as children but one step below,
Even of your mettle, of your very blood;
Of all one pain, save for a night of groans
Endur'd of her, for whom you bid like sorrow.
Your children were vexation to your youth;
But mine shall be a comfort to your age.
The loss you have is but a son being king;
And by that loss your daughter is made queen.
I cannot make you what amends I would;
Therefore accept such kindness as I can.
Dorset your son, that with a fearful soul
Leads discontented steps in foreign soil,
This fair alliance quickly shall call home
To high promotions and great dignity:
The king that calls your beauteous daughter wife,
Familiarly shall call thy Dorset brother:

315. Leads] Treads Collier (Capell conj.).

305. mettle] temper, disposition.
The same word as "metal." See Mr. Macmillan on *Julius Caesar*, i. i. 66, and Mr. Hart on *Measure for Measure*, ii. iv. 48. Here the spelling in Ff is "mettall," as in *Troilus and Cressida*, i. iii. 22; *Henry IV.* ii. iv. 383, iv. iii. 22, and v. iv. 24; and in line 385 below. "Metal" occurs in *Measure for Measure*, i. i. 49, where a play is intended on the double meaning of the word. The spelling in *Henry V*. iii. v. 15 is "mettell." "Mettle," however, is the form used in the large majority of Shakespearean instances, whether the meaning be that of "metal," "disposition," or, as is very common, be applied in the double sense.

307. bid] endured; a past tense formed from "bide." Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, E. 1388, uses a past participle "biden" from "bide," with the intransitive sense of "waited." But the past tense used here is uncommon, if not unique. Capell read "'bid."

314-17. Dorset your son] On Shakespeare's confusion of historical time in this scene, see note on line 447 below. Dorset, on leaving sanctuary (see iv. i. 38 above), had "gathered together a great band of men in Yorkshire" to help Buckingham. It was after the failure of Buckingham's expedition that he went abroad and joined Richmond. See also iv. ii. 48, 49. According to More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 750), one of the chief inducements by which Richard won over the Queen Dowager was his offer of promotion to Dorset. She actually was so "blinded by avaricious affection, & seduced by flattering words" that she sent letters to her son, "willing him in anie wise to leave the earle, and without delaie to repaire into England." The whole passage in More is epitomised in this speech.

315. Leads] used in the sense of "drags; draws along his steps."
Again shall you be mother to a king;
And all the ruins of distressful times
Repair'd with double riches of content.
What! we have many goodly days to see:
The liquid drops of tears that you have shed
Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl,
Advantaging their loan with interest
Of ten times double gain of happiness.
Go then, my mother, to thy daughter go;
Make bold her bashful years with your experience;
Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale;
Put in her tender heart the aspiring flame
Of golden sovereignty; acquaint the princess
With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys:
And when this arm of mine hath chastised
The petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham,
Bound with triumphant garlands will I come,
And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed;
To whom I will retail my conquest won,
And she shall be sole victress, Cæsar's Cæsar.

Q. Eliz. What were I best to say? her father's brother
Would be her lord? or shall I say, her uncle?

326. loan] Theobald; Loue Ff. victress] F 4; Victoresse Ff i-3.
325. orient pearl] See Prof. Case's note on Antony and Cleopatra, i. v. 41,
for the two possible derivations of "orient," viz. (1) oriental, eastern; (2) from
the resemblance of the colour of a pearl to the clearness of the air before
rising. A passage in Decker, Bel-Man of London (Smeaton, 112), speaks for
the second of these: "So are these Villanies . . . paynted over with fresh
orient cullers, because their looks may be more pleasing." For another ex-
ample of "orient" see the passage from Drayton quoted at v. iii. 251 below.
326. Advantaging] "Advantage" is
the name given to the favourable terms
on which a lender receives back more
than the amount of his loan: see Mer-
chant of Venice, i. iii. 71; 1 Henry IV.
ii. iv. 599.
336. garlands] laurels Capell.
339.

upside down. He explains the pas-
sage thus: "The tears that you have
lent to your afflictions, shall be turned
into gems, and requite you by way of
interest."
335. dull-brain'd Buckingham] Richard,
almost secure in the hope of
his new marriage, speaks slightlying of
Buckingham. However, the "deep-
revolving witty Buckingham" (iv. ii.
42), while aiding him, had never been
his dupe. In iv. ii. 28-31, Richard
reckons "high-reaching" Buckingham
as one of those who look into him
"with considerate eyes," and con-
trasts him with "iron-witted fools"
like Tyrrel, and "unrespective boys"
like Tyrrel's friend, the page.
338. retail] "Richard means to say
that he will transmit the benefit of his
victories to Elizabeth" (Steevens).
Probably the real meaning is simply
"tell," as at iii. i. 77 above.
KING RICHARD III

Or, he that slew his brothers and her uncles?
Under what title shall I woo for thee,
That God, the law, my honour, and her love,
Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?

**K. Rich.** Infer fair England's peace by this alliance.

**Q. Eliz.** Which she shall purchase with still lasting war.

**K. Rich.** Tell her the king, that may command, entreats.

**Q. Eliz.** That at her hands which the king's King forbids.

**K. Rich.** Say, she shall be a high and mighty queen.

**Q. Eliz.** To wail the title, as her mother doth.

**K. Rich.** Say, I will love her everlastingly.

**Q. Eliz.** But how long shall that title, ever, last?

**K. Rich.** Sweetly in force unto her fair life's end.

**Q. Eliz.** But how long fairly shall her sweet life last?

**K. Rich.** As long as heaven and nature lengthens it.

**Q. Eliz.** As long as hell and Richard likes of it.

**K. Rich.** Say, I, her sovereign, am her subject low.

**Q. Eliz.** But she, your subject, loathes such sovereignty.

**K. Rich.** Be eloquent in my behalf to her.

**Q. Eliz.** An honest tale speeds best, being plainly told.

**K. Rich.** Then plainly to her tell my loving tale.

**Q. Eliz.** Plain and not honest is too harsh a style.

**K. Rich.** Your reasons are too shallow and too quick.—

**Q. Eliz.** O no! my reasons are too deep and dead;

Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

**K. Rich.** Harp not on that string, madam; that is past.

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346. Infer] in the literal sense, "bring on." See also III. v. 75; III. vii. 12 above.

364. quick] Richard means "hasty." Elizabeth, in her answer, plays upon the other meaning, "full of life," to point her taunt.

366. Too deep] Pope's reading "Two deep" carries the play on words unnecessarily far.

367. The editor of F 1, reinserting this line in the margin of one of the later Qq, must have misled the printer into transposing it with line 368.

Harp not on that string] Compare Measure for Measure, v. i. 64 (and
Q. Eliz. Harp on it still shall I till heart-strings break.

K. Rich. Now, by my George, my garter, and my crown,—

Q. Eliz. Profan’d, dishonour’d, and the third usurp’d.

K. Rich. I swear—

Q. Eliz. By nothing; for this is no oath:
Thy George, profan’d, hath lost his lordly honour;
Thy garter, blemish’d, pawn’d his knightly virtue;
Thy crown, usurp’d, disgrac’d his kingly glory.

If something thou would’st swear to be believ’d,
Swear then by something that thou hast not wrong’d.

K. Rich. Then, by myself—

Q. Eliz. Thyself is self-misus’d.

K. Rich. Now, by the world—

Q. Eliz. ’Tis full of thy foul wrongs.

K. Rich. My father’s death—

Q. Eliz. Thy life hath it dishonour’d.

K. Rich. Why then, by God—

Q. Eliz. God’s wrong is most of all.

If thou didst fear to break an oath with Him,
The unity the king my husband made

see Mr. Hart’s note); Coriolanus, ii. iii. 260, etc. A similar metaphor is used by Fletcher, Monsieur Thomas, i. 1:
"Touch no more that string, 'tis too harsh and jarring"; Span. Curate, i. 2:—
"Touch not that string,
'Twill but increase your sorrow."
Among instances supplied by Mr. Craig may be noted one from Speed’s Chronicle, p. 909: “The Cardinall made a countenance to the other lord that he should harpe no more on that string.”

368. heart-strings Mr. Craig notes that Cotgrave has “Precordiaux: the heart-strings or filme of the heart,” and that in the old anatomy the heart-strings are nerves supposed to brace and sustain the heart: compare W. Hamor, Vulgaria, 1517: “The hert strynges do minister the pulse.” So Heywood, Faire Maide of the West, 1631, iii. 4:—
"if she still love him, I’ll break her heart-strings with some false report Of his unkindness."

369. George] The figure of St. George and the dragon, which is the pendent of the collar of the Garter. The George, as Aldis Wright notes, was not added till the reign of Henry VII.

377. The re-arrangement of lines in Ff makes no great difference, but the order in which Richard’s oaths come is perhaps more natural.

380. God] For Ff reading, compare i. iv. 21, 117, 188, 189, etc., and notes on those passages.
KING RICHARD III

sc. iv.] 171

Thou hadst not broken, nor my brothers died:
If thou hadst fear'd to break an oath by Him,
The imperial metal, circling now thy head,
Had grac'd the tender temples of my child,
And both the princes had been breathing here,
Which now, two tender bedfellows for dust,
Thy broken faith hath made the prey for worms.
What canst thou swear by now?

K. Rich. The time to come. 390

Q. Eliz. That thou hast wronged in the time o'erpast;
For I myself have many tears to wash
Hereafter time, for time past wrong'd by thee.
The children live, whose fathers thou hast slaughter'd,
Ungovern'd youth, to wail it with their age;
The parents live, whose children thou hast butcher'd,
Old barren plants, to wail it with their age.
Swear not by time to come; for that thou hast
Misus'd ere us'd, by times ill-us'd o'erpast.

K. Rich. As I intend to prosper and repent,
So thrive I in my dangerous affairs
Of hostile arms! myself myself confound!
Heaven and fortune bar me happy hours!
Day, yield me not thy light; nor, night, thy rest!
Be opposite, all planets of good luck,
To my proceeding, if with dear heart's love,
Immaculate devotion, holy thoughts,
I tender not thy beauteous princely daughter!

383. Thou hadst not] Ff; Had not bene Qq. brothers died] Ff; brother slaine Qq. 385. head] Ff; brow Qq. 386. grac'd] Ff; grast Qq 1-5; grac't Qq 6-8. 388. two] too Capell. bedfellows] Ff; plaie fellowes Qq. 389. the prey for] Ff; a prey for Qq; a prey to Pope. 390. What ] now] Ff; omitted Qq, Pope. The time] Ff; By the time Qq; By time Pope. 391. wronged in the time] Ff; wrongd in time Qq. 393. past wrong'd by thee] Ff; by the past wrongd Qq. 394. fathers] Ff; parents Qq. 395. with their] Q 5, Ff; in their Qq 1-4; with her Qq 6-8. 397. barren] Ff; withered Qq. with] in Pope. 398, 399. Swear . . . o'erpast] Pope put in margin. 399. ere] eare Qq 1-3, 5; nere Q 4. times ill-us'd] Ff; time misused Qq. o'erpast] o'repast Qq; repast Ff. 401. affairs] Ff; attempt Qq. 403. Heaven . . . hours] Ff; omitted Qq; So Heaven . . . hours Keightley (conj.). 406. proceeding] Ff; proceedings Qq. dear] Ff; pure Qq. 407. Immaculate] Q 1, Ff; Immaculatd Q 2; Immaculatd Qq 3-8. 408. tender] render Qq 3-7.

393. Hereafter time] after this. The two words should perhaps be hyphenated. 408. tender] The word is used exactly in the present sense by Horace Walpole,
In her consists my happiness and thine;
Without her, follows to myself and thee,
Herself, the land, and many a Christian soul,
Death, desolation, ruin, and decay:
It cannot be avoided but by this;
It will not be avoided but by this.
Therefore, dear mother,—I must call you so—
Be the attorney of my love to her:
Plead what I will be, not what I have been;
Not my deserts, but what I will deserve:
Urge the necessity and state of times.
And be not peevish found in great designs.

Q. Eliz. Shall I be tempted of the devil thus?
K. Rich. Ay, if the devil tempt you to do good.
Q. Eliz. Shall I forget myself to be myself?
K. Rich. Ay, if yourself's remembrance wrong yourself.
K. Rich. But in your daughter's womb I bury them;
Where, in that nest of spicery, they will breed
Selves of themselves, to your recomforture.
Q. Eliz. Shall I go win my daughter to your will?
K. Rich. And be a happy mother by the deed.

writing to Sir Horace Mann, 15th December, 1748: "Somerset tendered his pride even beyond his hate."

416. Be the attorney] The metaphor is common in Shakespeare. See line 127 above, v. iii. 83 below.

420. peevish found] For "peevish"
see i. iii. 194, III. i. 31 above. The plausible reading "peevish-fond" is probably the result of the omission of a letter in Qq. "Peevish-fond" is equivalent to "childish-foolish"; not in the sense of childish simplicity, as in i. iii. 142 above, but of childish waywardness.

Steevens defended Ff, quoting Henry VIII. II. ii. 79.

423, 424. Elizabeth asks "Shall I forget myself, the wronged mother, to be myself, the royal queen-mother?" Richard's answer, as usual, is double-edged, and is delivered with an appearance of sincerity, as though Elizabeth's words had only their surface-meaning.

427, 428. Richard, as Steevens notes, refers to the fable of the phoenix. 428. to your recomforture] to the recovery of your comfort. For the form "recomforture" compare "recure" in III. vii. 130 above.
Q. Eliz. I go. Write to me very shortly,  
And you shall understand from me her mind.  
K. Rich. Bear her my true love's kiss; and so, farewell.  

[Exit Queen Elizabeth.  

Relenting fool, and shallow-changing woman!  

Enter Ratcliff; Catesby following.  

How now, what news?  

Rat. Most mighty sovereign, on the western coast  
Rideth a puissant navy; to our shores  
Throng many doubtful hollow-hearted friends,  
Unarm'd and unresolv'd to beat them back:  
'Tis thought that Richmond is their admiral;  
And there they hull, expecting but the aid  
Of Buckingham to welcome them ashore.  
K. Rich. Some light-foot friend post to the Duke of Norfolk:  
Ratcliff, thyself, or Catesby; where is he?

431. to me] to me, Richard Collier MS.  
432. And . . . mind] Ff; omitted Qq.  
433. and so] Ff; omitted Qq.; Johnson adds Kissing her. Exit Queen Elizabeth.] Exit. Qq 1, 2; Exit Qu. Qq 3-8;  
Exit Q. Ff (aft. 432).  
434. shallow-changing woman] Ff; shallow changing—woman Capell. aft. 434. Enter . . . following] Capell, Camb.; Enter Rat. Qq.; Enter Ratcliffe. Ff (aft. 435.)  
435. How . . . news] Ff; omitted Qq.  
436. Most mighty] Ff; My gracious Qq.  

431. Steevens reads “shortly” as a trisyllable, which removes the metrical irregularity. Possibly, however, there is an intentional break in the line after “I go.”

434. More’s account of Elizabeth’s behaviour is most unfavourable to her strength of character. Her conduct in the present scene is the result of Shakespeare’s imagination; but it is highly probable that she succumbed to personal overtures by Richard, after her departure from sanctuary.

shallow-changing woman] Whatever knowledge Shakespeare had of the Latin classics, he hardly can have forgotten Virgil, Aeneid, iv. 569, 570.

443. hull] drift; float at the mercy of the wind, which drives the hull of the boat along without the aid of sails.

For examples, see Nares s.v., and Mr. Luce’s note on Twelfth Night, i. v. 217. New Eng. Dict. quotes Smith, Seaman’s Grammar, “hull, which is to beare no saile. . . . They call it hulling also in a calme swelling sea, which is commonly before a storme, when they strike their sailes lest she should beat them against the mast by rolling.” Mr. Craig notes from Frobisher, Voyage, 1578, p. 121: “being then becalmed, and lying a-hull openly upon the great bay.”

443. light-foot] light-footed, as “venom” for “venomed,” i. iii. 291 above. New Eng. Dict. quotes Spenser, Shepheard’s Calendar, June, line 26:—

“And light-foote Nymphes, can chace the lingring night.”
Cates. Here, my good lord.

K. Rich. Catesby, fly to the duke! 445

Cates. I will, my lord, with all convenient haste.

K. Rich. Ratcliff, come hither! post to Salisbury:

When thou com'st thither,—[To Catesby] Dull, unmindful villain!

Why stay'st thou here, and go'st not to the duke?

Cates. First, mighty liege, tell me your highness' pleasure, 450

What from your grace I shall deliver to him.

K. Rich. O, true, good Catesby: bid him levy straight

The greatest strength and power that he can make,

And meet me suddenly at Salisbury.

Cates. I go. 455

[Exit.

Rat. What, may it please you, shall I do at Salisbury?

K. Rich. Why, what wouldst thou do there before I go?

Rat. Your highness told me I should post before.

K. Rich. My mind is chang'd.

445. good] Ff; omitted Qq. Catesby, fly] Ff; Flie (new line) Qq. 446. 447. Cates. I will . . . hither] Ff; omitted Qq. 447. Ratcliff] Catesby Ff. post] Ff; post thou Qq (continuing 445); [To Ratcliff] Post thou Camb. 448. thither] Ff; there Qq. [To Catesby.] Rowe, Camb. 449. stay'st] Ff; standst Qq 1-3, 5, 6, 8; stands Qq 4, 7. here] Ff; still Qq. 450. liege . . . pleasure] Ff; Soueraigne, let me know your minde Qq. 451. to him] Ff; them Qq x, z; him Qq 3-8. 453. that] Ff; omitted Qq. 454. suddenly] Ff; presentlie Qq. 455. Cates. I go. Exit.] Ff; omitted Qq. 456. What . . . shall I] Ff; What is it your highnes pleasure, I shall Qq x-4; What it is your . . . shall Qq 5; What is your . . . shall Qq 6-8. at Salisbury] new line Camb. (adopting Qq in 456). 459. My . . . chang'd] Ff; My mind is chang'd, sir, my minde is changd Qq; My mind is changed, sir, my mind is changed Camb.

445-49. The omissions in Qq, although, without stage-directions involving the presence of Ratcliff, they make imperfect sense, may have been due to the possible fact that, in this scene, at any rate, the parts of Ratcliff and Catesby were doubled by one player. Qq direction at line 435 seems to point to this. When Catesby went out at line 455, the same player might enter again as Ratcliff, or even go on with Ratcliff's part without retiring. Ff make Richard call for Catesby in line 447: this is probably an oversight, or a too faithful following of an oversight in the original MS.

447. Salisbury] Richmond was off the south-western coast, close to Dorset. Richard hastened to Salisbury to prevent his junction with Buckingham's forces from the Welsh borders. Shakespeare makes nothing of the interval which elapsed between the failure of Buckingham and the ultimate success of Richmond. Buckingham's rebellion and Richmond's first attempt failed in October, 1483: it was not until August, 1485, that Richmond set out on his successful voyage.
Enter Lord Stanley.

Stanley, what news with you?

Stan. None good, my liege, to please you with the hearing; 460
Nor none so bad, but well may be reported.

K. Rich. Hoyday! a riddle! neither good nor bad!
What need'st thou run so many miles about,
When thou may'st tell thy tale the nearest way?
Once more, what news?

Stan. Richmond is on the seas. 465

K. Rich. There let him sink, and be the seas on him!
White-liver'd runagate, what doth he there?

Stan. I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guess.

K. Rich. Well, as you guess?

Stan. Stir'd up by Dorset, Buckingham, and Morton, 470
He makes for England, here to claim the crown.

Enter Lord Stanley] Ff; Enter Darbie [aft. 459] Qq. 460. None . . . liege] Theobald; None, good my liege Ff; None
good my Lord Qq; None good, my lord Camb. 461. well . . . reported] Ff; may well be told Qq. 462. Hoyday] Heyday Pope. 463. What need'st] Ff; Why doest Qq. miles] Ff, Qq 7, 8; mile Qq 1-6. 464. the nearest] Ff; a neerer Qq. 469. Well, as you guess] Ff; Well sir, as you guess, as you
guess Qq 1-6; Well, sir, as you guess Qq 7, 8. 470. Morton] Ff; Elie Qq. 471. here] Ff; there Qq.

460. None good, my liege] Theobald's punctuation is probably right. An
antithesis is needed to "bad" in the next line.

462. Hoyday] Aldis Wright refers to Traillus and Cressida, v. i. 73. See
also Timon of Athens, i. ii. 137. Mr. Craig furnishes an example from R.
Brome, Covent Garden Weeded, 1639 (ed. Pearson, 1873, p. 33): "Hoyday,
here's a din."

467. White-liver'd] cowardly. Compare Merchant of Venice, iii. ii. 86, and
see Mr. Poole's note.

runagate] A corruption of "renegade," from renegatus: not a vari-
ant on "runaway." See Cymbeline, 1. vi. 137. Aldis Wright explains it
here as "vagabond"; and it looks very much as if Shakespeare had used it here
in the sense which does not belong to it etymologically. But Richmond
would be also, in Richard's mind, a renegade to his true sovereign.

469. as you guess] The impatient
repetition in Qq probably originated on
the stage.

470, 471. The Bishop of Ely, after
the fall of Richard at the Tower (iii. iv.), was
sent to Buckingham's castle at Brecon
(see note on iv. ii. 121). There Buck-
ingham found him, on his return from
court. Buckingham was already dis-
posed to rebellion by Richard's cavalier
treatment of his deserts. The historians
tell us the story of his journey. At
Tewkesbury he came to the conclusion
that he was "indubitate heire of the
house of Lancaster." But, between
Worcester and Bridgnorth, he met the
Countess of Richmond herself, on her
way to the shrine of Our Lady at
Worcester. He then remembered, that
she and his mother were first cousins,
and that the Countess was a daughter
of the elder branch of the house of
Beaufort. Thus his "earnest title"
was "turned to a tittell not so good as
Est Amen"; and he was prepared,
under the influence of his prisoner at
Brecon, to support the claim of Rich-
mond to the throne. Morton heard
his complaints with sympathy, and
threw out plausible suggestions on his
K. Rich. Is the chair empty? is the sword unsway'd?
Is the king dead? the empire unpossess'd?
What heir of York is there alive but we?
And who is England's king but great York's heir? 475
Then tell me, what makes he upon the seas?

Stan. Unless for that, my liege, I cannot guess.

K. Rich. Unless for that he comes to be your liege,
You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman comes.
Thou wilt revolt and fly to him, I fear. 480

Stan. No, my good lord; therefore mistrust me not.

K. Rich. Where is thy power, then, to beat him back?
Where be thy tenants and thy followers?
Are they not now upon the western shore,
Safe-conducting the rebels from their ships? 485

Stan. No, my good lord, my friends are in the north.

K. Rich. Cold friends to me! what do they in the north,
When they should serve their sovereign in the west?

Stan. They have not been commanded, mighty king:
Pleaseth your majesty to give me leave,
I'll must up my friends and meet your grace,
Where and what time your majesty shall please.

K. Rich. Ay, ay, thou would'st be gone to join with Richmond;
But I'll not trust thee.

Stan. Most mighty sovereign,

own side, so that "he rather seemed to follow him, than to lead him." The end of their conference was an agreement to further the marriage of Richmond with Elizabeth of York.

479. Welshman] On his father's side. Edmund of Hadham, Earl of Richmond, was the eldest son of Owen Tudor and Katharine, widow of Henry V.

494-96. In spite of Stanley's asseverations, Richard's suspicions were fully justified. "When the said lord Stanleie would have departed into his countrie to visit his familie, and to recreate and refresh his spirits (as he openlie said, but the truth was, to the intent to be in a perfect readinesse to receiue the earle of Richmond at his first arrivall in England), the king in no wise would suffer him to depart, before he had left as an hostage in the court George Stanleie, lord Strange, his first begotten sonne and heire."
You have no cause to hold my friendship doubtful: I never was, nor never will be false.

K. Rich. Go then, and muster men; but leave behind Your son George Stanley: look your heart be firm, Or else his head's assurance is but frail.

Stan. So deal with him, as I prove true to you! [Exit. 500

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My gracious sovereign, now in Devonshire, As I by friends am well advertised, Sir Edward Courtenay, and the haughty prelate, Bishop of Exeter, his elder brother, With many moe confederates, are in arms.

496. nor never] nor ever Pope. 497. Go then, and] Ff; Well, go Qq; Camb. puts Well in separate line. but] Ff; but hear you Qq. 498. heart] Ff; faith] Qq. 500. Exit] Qq 6-8; omitted Qq 1, 2; Exit Dar. Qq 3-5; Exit Stanley Ff. 503. Edward] Ff; William Qq; Edmond Pope. 504. elder brother] Ff; brother there Qq. 505. moe] more Qq 7, 8, Ff 2-4.

498. George Stanley] Ferdinando, Lord Strange, was patron of the company by whom this play was produced, from 1588 to his death in 1594, two years after he had succeeded, as fifth earl, to the earldom of Derby. The repeated mention of his ancestor (see IV. v. 3; v. iii. 62, 96, 345-47; v. v. 9, 10 below), by whose preservation after Bosworth the unbroken succession of the house of Stanley was secured, was probably intended as a compliment to Lord Derby. "Young George Stanley" married the heiress of Lord Strange of Knocking, and thus brought the title of Strange into the family. He predeceased his father; and his son, the second Earl of Derby, was great-grandfather of the fifth earl, who left no male issue, and was succeeded by his brother William in 1594. After the death of the fifth earl, his company of players attached themselves to the service of the Lord Chamberlain, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon.

503, 504. Sir Edward Courtenay of Haccombe, descended from a younger son of the second Earl of Devon, was the head of the house of Courtenay. The direct line had failed in the three brothers, Thomas, sixth Earl of Devon, Hugh, and John, who all fell victims to the house of York. Thomas was beheaded at York after Towton (1461); Hugh was beheaded at Salisbury (1466); and John fell at Tewkesbury (1471). Their kinsman Edward was created Earl of Devon on Henry VII.'s accession; and his son William married Katharine, daughter of Edward IV. Shakespeare followed More in the error of calling Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter 1478-87, brother of Sir Edward: that he was not his elder brother is obvious, as the Bishop did not die till 1492, when Edward was already earl. Peter Courtenay was son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, whose grandfather was sixth son of the second Earl. He was attainted by Richard III. and fled to Brittany. Henry VII. created him Lord Keeper; and, from 1487 to his death, he was Bishop of Winchester.

505. moe] Compare Q i, line 200 above. "Moe" is usually taken as a comparative of number, "more" as a comparative of size. Here and in other passages, e.g. Richard II. ii. i. 239, Merchant of Venice, i. i. 108, etc., it implies number. But Nares remarks that, in the sixteenth century, "mo, and more, were both used, and it does
Enter another Messenger.

Sec. Mess. In Kent, my liege, the Guildfords are in arms; And every hour more competitors Flock to the rebels, and their power grows strong.

Enter another Messenger.

Third Mess. My lord, the army of great Buckingham—
There, take thou that, till thou bring better news!

Third Mess. The news I have to tell your majesty Is, that by sudden floods and fall of waters,

506. In Kent, my liege] Ff; My Liege, in Kent Qq. 507. more] still more Pope. 508. the rebels . . . strong] Ff; their aide, and still their power increaseath Qq. 509. great] Ff; the Duke of Qq. 510. ye] Qq 6-8, Ff; you Qq i-5. He striketh him] Ff; aft. 509 Qq. 511. There . . . till thou] Ff; Take that untill thou Qq 1-5; Take that untill you Qq 6-8. bring] Ff; bring me Qq. 512, 513. The news . . . majesty Is] Ff; Your grace mistakes, the news I bring is good, My newes is (two lines) Qq. 513. floods] Ff; flood Qq. waters] Ff; water Qq.

not appear why one or other was preferred in any particular passage, unless when it favoured a rhyme.” Ff reading in line 200 countenances this statement; and compare line 507 below. See Mr. Deighton’s note on Timon of Athens, i. i. 41 [44].

506. the Guildfords] Sir Richard Guildford of Hempstead, near Cranbrook, was son of Sir John Guildford, Comptroller of the Household to Edward IV. Henry VII. made him Comptroller of his Household. His grand-daughter became Duchess of Northumberland, and mother of Lord Guildford Dudley, the husband of Lady Jane Grey.

507. competitors] associates, confederates. Mr. Luce quotes this passage in illustration of Twelfth Night, iv. ii. 12. The meaning is double in Two Gentlemen of Verona, ii. vi. 35. See also Antony and Cleopatra, i. iv. 3; ii. vii. 76.

512-16. Buckingham’s expedition was without fortunate omens. His fellow-conspirator, Morton, took advantage of his semi-liberty to escape to Flanders, before the Duke had got his company together. The enrolment of the "great power of wild Welshmen " was effected by compulsion, “which thing was the verie occasion why they left him desolate, & cowardlie forsooke him.” In spite of the great storm which flooded the West of England the day before he set up his standard at Brecon, he made his way to Weobley, and thence marched through the Forest of Dean towards Gloucester, where he intended to cross the Severn and join the Courtenays in the West. But the river was in flood, and his passage cut off. The flood, remembered long afterwards as “the duke of Buckingham’s great water,” lasted ten days; and, on a march attended by delay, the Welshmen deserted their leader. Buckingham fled up the west bank of the Severn to Shrewsbury, near which he took refuge with his trusted servant, Humphrey or Ralph Banaster. His allies gave way to panic; and their leaders escaped into Brittany. Richard’s proclamation for the apprehension of Buckingham was dated from Leicester; and Banaster betrayed his master, for the reward of a thousand pounds, a few days after, to the sheriff of Shropshire.
Buckingham's army is dispers'd and scatter'd; And he himself wander'd away alone, No man knows whither.

K. Rich. I cry thee mercy: There is my purse to cure that blow of thine. Hath any well-advised friend proclaim'd Reward to him that brings the traitor in?

Third Mess. Such proclamation hath been made, my lord. Unto the shore, to ask those on the banks If they were his assistants, yea or no; Who answer'd him, they came from Buckingham.

Enter another Messenger.

Fourth Mess. Sir Thomas Lovel and Lord Marquess Dorset, 'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in arms. But this good comfort bring I to your highness: The Breton navy is dispers'd by tempest; Richmond in Dorsetshire sent out a boat Unto the shore, to ask those on the banks If they were his assistants, yea or no; Who answer'd him, they came from Buckingham.

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514. Buckingham's] Ff; The Duke of Buckinghams Qq 515, 516. wander'd away alone, No] Ff; fled, no Qq. 516. I . . . mercy] Ff; O I cry you mercy, I did mistake Qq. 517. There . . . thine] Ff; Ratcliffe reward him, for the blow I gave him Qq. 518. proclaim'd] Ff; given out Qq. 519. Reward to him] F; Rewardes for him Qq. the traitor in] Ff; in Buckingham Qq. 520. lord] Ff; liege Qq. 522. in Yorkshire are in arms] Ff; are up in armes Qq. 523. But] Ff; Yet Qq. highness] Ff; grace Qq. 524. Breton] Capell; Britaine Qq, Ff 3, 4; Britain Ff 3, 4; Bretnge Theobald. 524-26. dispers'd by tempest . . . banks] Ff; dispers'd, Richmond in Dorsetshire Sent out a boate to ask them on the shore (two lines) Qq.

518. well-advised] This may mean (1) prudent: compare "be advis'd," ii. i. 107; or (2) with satisfactory information, as Henry V. ii. prol. 12.

521. See note on lines 314-17 above as to the historic order of Dorset's movements. His life "by the onelie helpe of sir Thomas Louell was preserved from all danger & peril in this troublous world." He probably led his Yorkshiremen to the rendezvous appointed by Buckingham and the Courtenays.

524-30. Richmond's navy of forty ships, bearing "an armie of five thousand manifie Britons," set sail on 12th October, 1483. Towards night, a tempest—the storm so fatal to Buckingham on shore—arose. "The ships were disparked, seuered & separated asunder": some were driven back to Brittany, some to Normandy. Richmond's ship, "associat onelie with one other barke," found itself next morning off Poole Harbour. The whole shore was garrisoned by soldiers, who told Richmond's messengers that they were an advance-guard deputed by Buckingham, the Duke himself being, with the bulk of his army, not far off. Richmond was not deceived; and, seeing none of his fleet in the neighbourhood, returned, with a favourable breeze, to France. He landed in Normandy, stayed there for three days; and then, under safe-conduct from Charles VIII., made his way overland into Brittany.

526. banks] shore. So Merchant of Venice, v. i. 11; and see for a parallel Mr. Pooler's note.
Upon his party: he, mistrusting them, 
Hoist'd sail, and made his course again for Bretagne. 530
K. Rich. March on, march on, since we are up in arms!
If not to fight with foreign enemies, 
Yet to beat down these rebels here at home.

Re-enter Catesby.

Cates. My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is taken;
That is the best news: that the Earl of Richmond
Is with a mighty power landed at Milford,
Is colder news; but yet they must be told.
K. Rich. Away towards Salisbury! while we reason here,
A royal battle might be won and lost:
Some one take order Buckingham be brought
To Salisbury; the rest march on with me.

[Flourish. Exeunt.

530. his course . . . Bretagne] his course . . . Brittaine Ff; away for Brittaine Qq; away for Brittanique Camb. 535. That is] Ff; Thats Qq. 537. news] Qq 6-8, Ff; tidings Qq 1-5. but yet] Ff; yet Qq. they must] it must Rowe. 541. Flourish.] F i; omitted Qq, Ff 2-4. Exeunt.] Q i, Ff; omitted Qq 2-8.

530. Hois'd] "Halsed" is the word employed by the chroniclers. "To hoise" = to lift, hoist, heave away. Compare The Tempest, i. ii. 148; Greene, Menaphon, 1589 (Arber, 58): "Eurilochus... awaited no farther parley, but willed his men perforse to hoyse him a shipboard "; Hall, Virgidiemiarum. 1598, iv. iv. 58:—

"Or hoyseth sail up to a forraime shore,

That he may live a lawlesse conqueror." 534-37. See notes on lines 447, 471 above. Buckingham was taken at Shrewsbury in October, 1483. Richmond set sail from Harfleur early in August, 1485, and landed at Milford Haven about a week later. His "mighty power" this time consisted of only two thousand men.

536. Milford] See Cymbeline, iii. ii. 61,
SCENE V.—Lord Derby's house.

Enter Derby and Sir Christopher Urswick.

Der. Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me;  
That in the sty of the most deadly boar  
My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold:  
If I revolt, off goes young George's head;  
The fear of that holds off my present aid.  
So, get thee gone: commend me to thy lord.  
Withal say that the queen hath heartily consented  
He should espouse Elizabeth her daughter.  
But tell me, where is princely Richmond now?  

Chris. At Pembroke, or at Ha'rford-west, in Wales.

Scene v.] Capell; Scena Quarta. Ff; Scene vii. Pope. Lord Derby's house.] Lord Stanley's House. Hanmer. Enter Derby] Enter Lord Stanley. Pope, Theobald. Urswick.] Theobald. 2. the most deadly] Ff; this most bloudie Qq; the most bloody Collier. 5. holds off] Ff; with holds Qq. 6-8. So, get ... daughter] Ff; substantially in Qq aft. 18. 6. So, get ... lord] Ff; Retourne unto thy Lord, commend me to him Qq; Well, hie thee to thy lord, commend me to him Capell. 7. Withal say that] Ff; Tell him Qq; Say, too, Pope. 8. should] Ff; shall Qq. 10. Pembroke] Pembroke Ff 1, 2; Penbrook F 3. Ha'rford-west] Capell; Harford-west Q 1; Herford-west Qq 2, 5; Hertford-west Qq 3, 4; Herfford west Qq 6, 7; Hertford West Ff; Hertford, west Q 8.

1. Sir Christopher] For "SIR" applied to a priest, compare iii. ii. 109 above. Urswick was sent into Brittany by the Countess of Richmond in 1483. He seems to have been recalled at the last moment; and Hugh Conway sent instead, as a "personage of more estimation than her chapleine." Richard Guildford sent an envoy from Kent with the same instructions, in case Conway were taken captive at Plymouth. Here Shakespeare continues to weld together the events of 1483 and 1485. George Stanley's detention belongs also to 1483.

2. 3. For the metaphor, see notes on "rooting hog," I. iii. 228, and "frank'd up," I. iii. 314.

6-8. These lines are misplaced in Qq, probably owing to the care of an editor, who thought that the words of farewell came prematurely, before the bulk of the conversation.

10-18. Richmond landed at Dale, at the north-west corner of Milford Haven; and, at sunrise the next day, marched to Haverfordwest, where he was received with joy. Here he heard that the men of Pembroke were ready to follow his uncle, Jasper of Hatfield, "their naturall and immediate lord"; but also that his expected ally, Rhys ap Thomas, was going to join Richard's party. With increased forces, he went on to Cardigan, not without fear of Sir Walter Herbert, who was said to be at Carmarthen "with a great crue of men," and with doubtful intentions. As he advanced through Wales to the passage of the Severn at Shrewsbury, these fears proved groundless. Welsh gentlemen joined him; and Rhys ap Thomas, who probably had dallied between the two parties, swore fealty to him, if he had not sworn it before, in return for a promise of the governorship of Wales. At Newport in Shropshire, he was joined by Sir Gilbert Talbot; at Stafford, by Sir William Stanley, his step-father's brother; and so, "his power increasing," he marched forward to Lichfield. Stanley, with
Der. What men of name resort to him?

Chris. Sir Walter Herbert, a renowned soldier;
        Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir William Stanley;
        Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, Sir James Blunt,
        And Rice ap Thomas, with a valiant crew,
        And many other of great name and worth;
        And towards London do they bend their power,
        If by the way they be not fought withal.

Der. Well, hie thee to thy lord; I kiss his hand:
        My letter will resolve him of my mind.

Farewell.

[Exeunt.]

15. And Rice ap Thomas] Ff; Rice up Thomas Qq 1-5; Rice ap Thomas Q 6.
16. And] Ff; With Qq. other] Ff; noe Qq 1-6; more Qq 7, 8; others Warburton.
great name] Ff; noble fame Qq. 17. do they] Ff; they do Qq.  power] Ff;
course Qq. 19. Well . . . hand] Ff; Qq substantially as 6-8 above (see notes thereon).
20. My letter] Ff; These letters Qq; Those letters Capell.

nearly five thousand men, had been at
Lichfield; but, on Richmond's arrival,
"to avoid all suspicion on king
Richard's part," moved further up the
London road to Atherstone. Oxford
and Sir James Blunt had come from
France with Richmond: Sir James
had been Oxford's gaoler at the castle
of Hammes, since, in Edward IV.'s
reign, the Earl had rebelled, and had
been taken at St. Michael's Mount by
Sir John Fortescue. Now Oxford,
Fortescue, and Blunt found them-
selves all on the same side. Stanley's
close, though not ingenuous, was
naturally guided by his fear for his son
George's life; and it was not till the
day of Bosworth that he openly
declared himself, although, at a private
interview with Richmond "in a little
close" at Atherstone, he consulted
with him as to the means of giving
battle to Richard.
ACT V

SCENE I.—Salisbury. An open place.

Enter the Sheriff, and Buckingham, with halberds, led to execution.

Buck. Will not King Richard let me speak with him?
Sher. No, my good lord; therefore be patient.
Buck. Hastings, and Edward's children, Grey, and Rivers, Holy king Henry, and thy fair son Edward, Vaughan, and all that have miscarried By under-hand corrupted foul injustice, If that your moody discontented souls Do through the clouds behold this present hour, Even for revenge mock my destruction!
This is All-Souls' day, fellow, is it not?
Sher. It is.
Buck. Why then, All-Souls' day is my body's doomsday:
This is the day which, in King Edward's time, I wish'd might fall on me, when I was found


1. Buckingham was brought to Salisbury after his capture at Shrewsbury. There he confessed the whole conspiracy, "trusting, because he had truelie and plainelie reveale and confessed all things that were of him required, that he should haue licence to speake to the king: which (whether it were to sue for pardon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence, would haue stucked him with a dagger as men then judged) he sore desired and required." His request was in vain; and "vpon All soules daie, without arreigment or judgement, he was at Salisburie, in the open market place, on a new scaffold, beheaded and put to death." Of Buckingham's possible intention of killing Richard, Shakespeare speaks in Henry VIII. i. ii. 193-99.
False to his children and his wife's allies:

This is the day wherein I wish'd to fall
By the false faith of him whom most I trusted.
This, this All-Souls' day to my fearful soul
Is the determin'd respite of my wrongs:
That high All-seer, which I dallied with,
Hath turn'd my feigned prayer on my head,
And giv'n in earnest what I begg'd in jest.
Thus doth he force the swords of wicked men
To turn their own points in their masters' bosoms.
Thus Margaret's curse falls heavy on my neck:
"When he," quoth she, "shall split thy heart with sorrow,
Remember Margaret was a prophetess."

Come, lead me, officers, to the block of shame;
A&rong

Enter RICHMOND, OXFORD, BLUNT, HERBERT, and others, with drum and colours.

Richm. Fellows in arms, and my most loving friends,
Bruis'd underneath the yoke of tyranny,

Scene II.—The camp near Tamworth.

Enter Richmond, Oxford, Blunt, Herbert, and others, with drum and colours.

Richm. Fellows in arms, and my most loving friends,
Thus far into the bowels of the land
Have we march'd on without impediment;
And here receive we from our father Stanley
Lines of fair comfort and encouragement.
The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,
That spoil'd your summer fields and fruitful vines,
Swills your warm blood like wash, and makes his trough
In your embowell'd bosoms—this foul swine
Is now even in the centre of this isle,
Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn:

8. summer fields] Ff; somer-fields Q 1; summer-fields Q 2; summer-field Qq
3-8. 10. embowell'd] Ff; inboweld or imboweld Qq. 11. Is] Ff; Lies Qq.

flight, lay in front of them at Atherstone. Richard was at this time in Nottingham or at the royal park of Bestwood, close by. Between Lichfield and Tamworth, Richmond was joined by Sir Walter Hungerford and Sir Thomas Bourchier, who had deserted from Brakenbury's forces at Stony Stratford. The army arrived at Tamworth without Richmond, who had lingered behind them, distressed by moody doubts; and, losing his way as evening fell, had spent the night in nervous anxiety at a small village. He rejoined his troops next morning, characteristically explaining his absence as designed "to receive some glad message from certeine of his priuie friends and secret allies." The next day he made another lonely journey to Atherstone, where he met his step-father (see note on iv. v. 10-18 above).

3. bowels] centre. Mr. Craig notes Gilbert, *Voyage*, 1583 (Payn, *English Voyagers*, p. 175): "Many voyages have been pretended, yet hitherto never any throughout accomplished by our nation of exact discovery into the bowels of those ample and vast nations."

5, 6. Probably an allusion to the "glad message," which (see note on line 1) Richmond had made the excuse for his separation from his army near Tamworth. The chroniclers make no mention of a definite communication from -Stanley; but Sir William Stanley, on joining Richmond at Stafford, must have made his brother's plans clear.

6, 7. Shakespeare may have remem-
bered the figure of the vine in Psalm lxxx.: "The wild boar out of the field doth root it up: and the wild beasts of the field devour it."

9. Swills] Malone and Aldis Wright remark on the change of tense from past to present, "not uncommon in animated description." But the sense of the passage requires the change. What Richmond says is: the boar, who in time past destroyed your summer fields and fruitful vines (i.e. the young princes and the whole royal stock), is now turning against you yourselves, and is swilling your own blood in the very bowels of the land. Lines 10, 11 further explain the metaphor. The past tense of "spoil'd" in line 8 requires that "summer fields and fruitful vines" should refer to that royal "harvest" (ii. ii. 116) which Richard had laid waste, and not to the material crops which his march from Nottingham was endangering. See another metaphor drawn from the harvest in line 15 below.

wash] Mr. Craig notes from Cotgrave, "Lavailles: swillings, hog's wash, washings for swine."


12. Leicester] Richard arrived in Leicester from Nottingham, where he had resided much during 1484 and 1485. On 20th August he (inured with his gard), with a frowning countenance and cruel visage, mounted on a great white courser, and followed with his
From Tamworth thither is but one day’s march.
In God’s name, cheerly on, courageous friends,
To reap the harvest of perpetual peace
By this one bloody trial of sharp war!

Oxf. Every man’s conscience is a thousand men,
To fight against this guilty homicide.

Herb. I doubt not but his friends will turn to us.

Blunt. He hath no friends but what are friends for fear,
Which in his dearest need will fly from him.

Richm. All for our vantage. Then, in God’s name, march!
True hope is swift, and flies with swallow’s wings;
Kings it makes Gods, and meaner creatures kings.

[Exeunt.

SCENE III.—Bosworth Field.

Enter King Richard in arms, with Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, and others.

K. Rich. Here pitch our tent, even here in Bosworth field.
My Lord of Surrey, why look you so sad?

footmen, the wings of horsemen coasting and ranging on every side; and keeping this arraie, he with great pomp entered the town of Leicester after the sunne set.”

Scene III.

Bosworth Field] Richard marched westward from Leicester “to a place meet for two battells to encounter, by a village called Bosworth, and there he pitched his field on a hill called Anne Beame [Ambien], refreshed his soldiers, and tooke his rest.” Richard's camp seems actually to have been pitched about three miles south of Market Bosworth. Ambien Hill lay between him and Richmond, who, marching eastwards from Atherstone, had encamped at White Moors, about the same distance S.W. of Bosworth. Lord Stanley lay south of the ground between the armies, while Sir William Stanley was opposite him, on the north. “Thus there were four hosts placed as regards one another not unlike whist players” (Gairdner, p. 235).

2. My Lord of Surrey] The explanation of Qq reading lies probably in the
KING RICHARD III

Sur. My heart is ten times lighter than my looks.
K. Rich. My Lord of Norfolk!

Nor. Here, most gracious liege.
K. Rich. Norfolk, we must have knocks: ha! must we not? 5
Nor. We must both give and take, my loving lord.
K. Rich. Up with my tent! here will I lie to-night.

But where to-morrow? Well all's one for that.
Who hath descried the number of the traitors?
Nor. Six or seven thousand is their utmost power.
K. Rich. Why, our battalia trebles that account:
Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength,
Which they upon the adverse faction want.
Up with the tent! Come, noble gentlemen,
Let us survey the vantage of the ground.
Call for some men of sound direction:
Let's lack no discipline, make no delay;
For, lords, to-morrow is a busy day.

[Exeunt.

scarcity of actors, and the consequent suppression of this immaterial part in the stage version of the play.
5. knocks] Compare Henry V. iii. ii. 3, 8.
8. This line probably ought to be marked "aside."
11. battalia] There is no reason for altering this word to "battalion." It is the same word as "battle," of which we have noted a possible example in I. iii. 130 above; and see below, line 24, with which compare the passage quoted in the note on "Bosworth Field" at the beginning of this scene. "Battalion" is, strictly speaking, the more correct term for an army in order of battle. Machiavelli, Arte della Guerra, lib. ii., uses battaglione as equivalent to the Roman legion, and battaglia to the subdivision of the legion, the cohort: "Io voglio che noi dividiamo il nostro battaglione in dieci battaglie." Compare Berners' Froissart, i. 18: "There was ordained three great battles afoot, and to every battle two wings of five hundred men of arms," etc.
16. men of sound direction] men, as Mr. Craig ("Little Quarto" ed., p. 265) explains it, of sound capacity in direction. Compare Henry V. iii. ii. 68, 76, etc.; Othello, i. iii. 300, ii. iii. 128, for "direction" in the sense of military command. New Eng. Dict. quotes Massinger, Bashful Lover, 1655, ii. 4:

"The enemy must say we were not wanting
In courage or direction."
Compare I Henry IV. iv. iii. 17.
Enter, on the other side of the field, Richmond, Sir William Brandon, Oxford, and others. / Some of the soldiers pitch Richmond's tent.

Richm. The weary sun hath made a golden set,
And by the bright tract of his fiery car
Gives token of a goodly day to-morrow.
Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard.
Give me some ink and paper in my tent:
I'll draw the form and model of our battle,
Limit each leader to his several charge,
And part in just proportion our small power.
My Lord of Oxford, you, Sir William Brandon,
And you, Sir Walter Herbert, stay with me.
The Earl of Pembroke keeps his regiment:
Good Captain Blunt, bear my good-night to him,


20. tract] trace. Compare Timon of Athens, i. i. 50, on which Mr. Deighton remarks that there is no etymological connection between "tract" and "track." The verb "to
tract" is not uncommon. See Greene, Orlando Furioso (Dyce, 90):—
"when bright Phoebus mounteth up
his coach,
And tracts Aurora in her silver steps";
Spenser, Faerie Queene, ii. vi. 39:—
"As Shepheards curre, that in darke
eveninges shade
Hath tracted forth some salvage
beastes trade."
Spenser also uses the substantive, ibid. vii. xii. 22.
fiery car] Shakespeare's references to the car of Phoebus were doubtless
derived from the description in Golding's Ovid, book 2. See Cymbeline, v. v. 190; Antony and Cleopatra, iv. viii. 29.

29. The Earl of Pembroke] Richmond's uncle, Jasper of Hatfield, second son of Owen Tudor and Queen Katherine. He was created Earl of Pembroke in 1453, and, on Henry VII's accession, Duke of Bedford. Always faithful to the house of Lancaster, he had presented his nephew Richmond, when a boy of ten, to Henry VI., and, after Tewkesbury, had taken him to
Britanny. He aided his nephew in his earlier attempt on England; and it was in his country that Henry made his successful landing at Milford. There seems to be no account of his conduct at Bosworth in any of the primary authorities for the story of the battle.

keeps] Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, Woman-Hater, iv. 2: "I will retire henceforth, and keep my chamber, live privately, and die forgotten"; Fletcher, Wit without Money, i. 1: "And tho' I have no state, I keep the streets still." Shakespeare several times uses the verb intransitively, e.g. Troilus and Cressida, iv. v. 278.
And by the second hour in the morning
Desire the earl to see me in my tent:
Yet one thing more, good captain, do for me—
Where is Lord Stanley quarter'd, do you know?

Blunt. Unless I have mista'en his colours much,
Which well I am assur'd I have not done,
His regiment lies half a mile at least
South from the mighty power of the king.

Richm. If without peril it be possible,
Sweet Blunt, make some good means to speak with him, 40
And give him from me this most needful note.

Blunt. Upon my life, my lord, I'll undertake it;
And so God give you quiet rest to-night!

Richm. Good night, good Captain Blunt. Come, gentlemen,
Let us consult upon to-morrow's business:
Into my tent! the dew is raw and cold.

[They withdraw into the tent.]

Enter to his tent, King Richard, Norfolk, Ratcliff, Catesby, and others.

K. Rich. What is't o'clock?

Cat. It's supper-time, my lord; it's nine o'clock.

33. captain . . . me] Ff; Blunt before thou goest Qq. 34. do you] Ff; doest thou Qq. 35. colours] quarters Warburton. 37. lies] liet Qq 3, 5; lieth Qq 4, 6-8. 40. Sweet . . . him] Ff; Good capitaine Blunt bear my good night to him Qq. 41. note] Ff; scrowle Qq. 42. life] selfe Ff 2-4. 43. And . . . to-night] Ff; omitted Qq. 44. Good . . . gentlemen] Good . . . Blunt: Come Gentlemen (two lines) Ff; Farewell good Blunt. Qq. alt. 44. Qq insert 23-26, omitted above. 45. Let us] Ff; Come, let us Qq. 46. my] Ff; our Qq. 47. They withdraw . . . ] Ff; omitted Qq. alt. 46. Scene changes back to King Richard's tent. Theobald. to his tent.] Capell, Camb. and others] &c. Qq 1, 2; omitted Qq 3-8. Ff. 47. is't o'clock] is 't a Clocke Ff; is a clocke Qq. 48. It's . . . o'clock] Ff; It is sixe of [of the Qq 3-8] clocke, full supper time Qq; It's . . . lord; It's . . . o'clock Pope (continuing 47).

40. make some good means] contrive some good opportunity. So All's Well that Ends Well, v. i. 35; and see Two Gentlemen of Verona, ii. vii. 5; Merry Wives of Windsor, ii. ii. 189.

48. nine o'clock] Steevens preferred Qq reading with the just criticism that "a supper at so late an hour as nine o'clock, in the year 1485, would have been a prodigy." Aldis Wright recognises, however, that the time is after sunset on 21st August, and adopts Ff reading. Nares quotes Harrison, Description of England, 1577: "With us, the nobilitie, gentrie, and students doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleven before noone, and to supper at five, or between five and sixe at afternoone." It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that, after a day's march and the subsequent encampment, supper would probably be deferred considerably.
K. Rich. I will not sup to-night.
   Give me some ink and paper.
   What, is my beaver easier than it was?
   And all my armour laid into my tent?
Cat. It is, my liege; and all things are in readiness.
K. Rich. Good Norfolk, hie thee to thy charge;
   Use careful watch, choose trusty sentinels.

Nor. I go, my lord.
K. Rich. Stir with the lark to-morrow, gentle Norfolk.
Nor. I warrant you, my lord.

K. Rich. Catesby!

Cates. My lord?
K. Rich. Send out a pursuivant at arms

To Stanley's regiment: bid him bring his power
Before sun-rising, lest his son George fall

Into the blind cave of eternal night.

Fill me a bowl of wine. Give me a watch.

51. beaver] properly the face-guard
of the helmet, as Hamlet, i. ii. 230; 2 Henry IV. iv. i. 120. Knight, and, after him, Fairholt, Costume in England, (ed Dillon, ii. 45), figure an armet, or helmet with removable beaver, of the time of Philip and Mary. "In ordinary helmets, the beaver, when up, displays the face; but to do that, it falls down to the chin" (Fairholt). The earliest example in England is said to be the beaver in the effigy of Thomas, Duke of Clarence (d. 1421), in St. Michael's Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral. In this passage the beaver is probably used for the whole helmet. Compare 1 Henry IV. iv. i. 104.

63. Compare the phrase used by Queen Elizabeth, ii. ii. 46 above. The occurrence of this Marlowe-like and grandiloquent image in the midst of so much action and plainness of speech is rather noticeable. Both passages recall similar phrases in the Senecan plays—e.g. Medea. 740: Et Chaos cæcum, atque opacam Ditis umbrosi domum [precor]; ibid. 9: Noctis æternæ chaos Adversa superis regna; Herc. Fur. 610: noctis æternæ chaos. 64. watch] a watch-light or candle. Steevens says, in answer to a doubt of Johnson's as to whether line 77 does not contain a repetition of this order: "A watch, i.e. guard, would certainly be placed about the royal tent, without any request of the king concerning it. I believe, therefore, that particular kind of candle is here meant, which was anciently called a watch, because, being marked out into sections, each of which was a certain portion of time in burning, it supplied the place of the more modern instrument by which we measure the hours." Mr. Craig gives a reference ("Little Quarto" ed. p. 268) to an example from Decker, Bel-Man of London (Smeaton, 90): "I that all this while had stood in a corner (like a watching candle) to see all their villainies."
KING RICHARD III

Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.
Look that my staves be sound, and not too heavy.
Ratcliff!

Rat. My lord?
K. Rich. Saw'st thou the melancholy Lord Northumberland?
Rat. Thomas the Earl of Surrey, and himself,
Much about cock-shut time, from troop to troop
Went through the army, cheering up the soldiers.
K. Rich. So, I am satisfied. Give me a bowl of wine:
I have not that alacrity of spirit

65. white. Surrey] The name is Shakespeare's invention. He took the hint, no doubt, from the "great white courser" on which, according to the chroniclers, Richard had entered Leicester.
66. staves] i.e. the staves, or wooden shafts of the lances. See below, line 342; and compare the metaphor in Much Ado About Nothing, v. i. 138.
69. melancholy] Malone explains this epithet by the inactivity of Northumberland, "which...stood still with a great company, and intermitted not in the battell." Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland, had been an adherent of Richard. It is probable, however, that he came to an understanding with Richmond not long before Bosworth: his wife was a sister of Richmond's supporter, Sir Walter Herbert. At any rate, he submitted himself to the conqueror after the battle, and "was incontinently received into favour and made of the counsell." There are indications that, after his death near Thirsk in 1489, Northumberland's conduct at Bosworth was regarded in the North with scant respect. Richard, noticing his follower's moodiness and thoughtfulness before the critical moment of treachery, might well apply to him the epithet "melancholy.

71. cock-shut time] twilight. The old explanation was that a cock-shut was a large net, used to snare woodcocks. Nares says that it was "stretched across a glade, and so suspended upon poles as to be easily drawn together" by a cord, called by Dame Juliana Berners, Treatyse on Pysshynge, 1496, a "cockeshote corde." It was generally spread in the evening twilight, when woodcocks came out to feed; and thus "cock-shut time" became a synonym for twilight. New Eng. Dict., however, rejects this derivation, and explains the word as "perhaps the time when poultry go to rest and are shut up." Schmidt also suggests this sense. New Eng. Dict. quotes Florio, 1598: "Cane e lupo Cock-shut, or twilight, as when a man cannot discerne a dog from a wolfe." Steevens quotes several examples, e.g., Jonson, The Satyr:—

"Mistress, this is only spite:
For you would not yesternight
Kiss him in the cock-shut light";
Middleton, The Widow, iii. 1: "Come, come away then: a fine cock shoot evening." Tollet, while recognising that there was a net known as a "cock-shut," regarded "cock-shoot" as implying the flight of the woodcock, and "cock-shoot time" as the time of evening at which that flight took place. New Eng. Dict. defines "cock shoot" as "a broad way or glade in a wood, through which woodcocks, etc., might dart or shoot so as to be caught by nets stretched across the opening," and admits this as an alternative derivation of the phrase. Probably the older dictionary makers applied the term for the glade to the net stretched across it.
Nor cheer of mind that I was wont to have.

Set it down. Is ink and paper ready?

**Rat.** It is, my lord.

**K. Rich.** 

Bid my guard watch. Leave me.

Ratcliff, about the mid of night come to my tent
And help to arm me. Leave me, I say.

[Exeunt Ratcliff and the other attendants.

---

**Enter Derby to Richmond in his tent, Lords and others attending.**

**Der.** Fortune and victory sit on thy helm!

**Richm.** All comfort that the dark night can afford

Be to thy person, noble father-in-law!

Tell me, how fares our loving mother?

**Der.** I, by attorney, bless thee from thy mother,

Who prays continually for Richmond's good:

So much for that. The silent hours steal on,

And flaky darkness breaks within the east.

In brief, for so the season bids us be,

Prepare thy battle early in the morning,

And put thy fortune to the arbitrament

Of bloody strokes and mortal-staring war.

---

76. 77-78. Leave me. Ratcliff] and leave me Pope. 78. mid] midst Qq 6-8. 79.arme me] arm me, Ratcliffe; Capell. me] omitted Ff 3, 4. Leave me] Leave me now Pope. Exeunt . . .] Camb.; King Richard retires into his tent. Exeunt Ratcliffe and Catesby. Malone; Exit Ratcliffe. Qq; Exit Ratcliff. Ff. aft. 79. SCENE IV. Pope (ed. 2). Lords . . . attending.] Camb. 80. sit] set Q 1. 83. Tell me] Tell me, I pray Collier. fases] fases it with Hanmer. loving] Qq 1, 2; noble Qq 3-8, Ff. mother] mother now Keightley conj. 86. that. The] Ff; that the Qq 1, 2. 91. mortal-staring] hyphenated Steevens; mortal-siring Capell; mortal-siring Malone conj.; mortal-stabbing Staunton conj.

80. Pope's subdivision of this scene into separate little scenes is noted above, here and at the other dividing-points. In his first edition his scenes are numbered wrong. Scene iii. occurs twice, at v. iii. 1 and here; and the subsequent scenes are numbered according accordingly (Scene iv. line 119; Scene v. line 224; Scene vi. line 272; Scene vii. v. iv. 1 and v. 5). The scene, however, in spite of its double character, is indivisible. The tents of the rivals are on either side of the stage; and the interest shifts from one to the other. When the ghosts appear, they obvi-ously take their position between the two tents, which are thrown open in front to display the sleeping generals, and they address their remarks to each in turn.

87. flaky darkness breaks] i.e., darkness breaks into flakes of cloud, as the dawn rises. New Eng. Dict. quotes Sidney, Psalm cxxv. 3: "In flaky mists, the reeking vapors rise." Mr. Craig thinks that Shakespeare may have derived the epithet from Golding's Ovid, iii. fol. 34 (b): "The flakie clouds all griesie black."

91. mortal-staring war] Steevens
I, as I may—that which I would I cannot—
With best advantage will deceive the time,
And aid thee in this doubtful shock of arms:
But on thy side I may not be too forward,
Lest, being seen, thy brother, tender George,
Be executed in his father’s sight.
Farewell: the leisure and the fearful time
Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love
And ample interchange of sweet discourse,
Which so long sund’red friends should dwell upon:
God give us leisure for these rites of love!
Once more, adieu: be valiant, and speed well!

Richm. Good lords, conduct him to his regiment:
I’ll strive with troubled noise to take a nap,
Lest leaden slumber peise me down to-morrow,

96. brother, tender] tender brother Q 6. 97. his] thy Q 4. 98. leisure]
lack of leisure Anon ap. Camb. 101. sund’red] sundried Qq 1, 2; sundried
Qq 3, 4; sundered Qq 5, 6. 102. rites] Ff; rights Qq. 105. with troubled
noise] Ff; with troubled thoughts Qq; troubled with noise Grant White.

explains “war that looks big, or stares
fataly on its victim.” Compare
“grim-visag’d war,” i. i. 9. The
present epithet is rather harsh; but
none of the many alternative readings
is as simple and effective. Schmidt
takes “mortal living” at iv. iv. 26
above as a similar epithet, and hyphens
the two words. Mr. Craig (“Little
Quarto” ed. p. 271) says “the idea is of
War personified with a fierce, savage
look in his eye,” and gives several in-
stances of the Elizabethan use of
“stare.” He parallels from Shake-
speare “wall-ey’d wrath” (King John,
iv. iii. 49) and Othello, v. ii. 37, 38.

93. More (ap. Holinshed, iii. 753)
calls Stanley “this wilie fox.” The
reason which he here gives to Rich-
mond is recognised by the chroniclers
as the true motive of his actions.

96. tender George] Aldis Wright
notes that George Stanley was a grown
man. The epithet “tender” seems to
be derived from the chroniclers’ ac-
count of the end of the battle. Richard
had given over Lord Strange in custody
to the keepers of his tents, “which,
when the field was doone, and their
maister slaine, and proclamation made
to know where the child was, they sub-
mitted themselves as prisoners to the
lord Strange, and he gentilie received
them, and brought them to the new pro-
claimed king.” But the passage seems
to indicate that “child” here is equi-
valent to “young nobleman,” as in
Spenser and the ballad quoted in King
Lear, iii. iv. 187, and that Shakespeare
did not catch this meaning.

98. leisure] Compare line 239 below.
The word means, here and in many
other passages of Shakespeare, not
“time to spare,” but “the time at a
man’s disposal.” Johnson’s explana-
tion, “want of leisure,” is hardly
necessary. For “leisure” in the
special sense, see line 102 below.

105. with troubled noise] This seems
to be the right reading. “Thoughts”
may have arisen through an error in a
stage MS. or on the stage itself.
“Troubled” is for “troublesome.”
Compare i. ii. 39, iii. vii. 189.

106. leaden slumber] Malone quotes
Lucrece, i. 24. Compare Julius Caesar,
iv. iii. 268.

peise] weigh. The same word as
“poise,” Compare French peser, and
see King John, ii. i. 575. Compare
When I should mount with wings of victory.
Once more, good night, kind lords and gentlemen.

[Exeunt all but Richmond.

O Thou, whose captain I account myself, Look on my forces with a gracious eye: Put in their hands thy bruising irons of wrath, That they may crush down with a heavy fall
The usurping helmets of our adversaries: Make us thy ministers of chastisement, That we may praise thee in thy victory!
To thee I do commend my watchful soul, Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes: Sleeping and waking, O, defend me still!

[Sleeps.

Enter the Ghost of Prince Edward, son to Henry the Sixth.

Ghost. [To K. Rich.] Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow! Think how thou stab'dst me in my prime of youth At Tewkesbury: despair therefore, and die! [To Richm.] Be cheerful, Richmond; for the wronged souls Of butcher'd princes fight in thy behalf:
King Henry's issue, Richmond, comforts thee.

108. Exeunt . . . ] Exeunt. Manet Richmond ff; Exeunt or Exeunt. Qq. 113. helmets] helmet Qq 6-8. 115. thy] Qq 3-5, Ff; the Qq 1, 2, 6-8. 118. Sleeps.] Ff; omitted Qq. aft. 118. SCENE V. Between the Tents of Richard and Richmond : They sleeping. Pope. Prince] Ff; young Prince Qq. [Henry] Harry Q 1. Sixth] sixt, to Ri. Qq 1, 2. 120. stab'ddst] Camb.; stabst Qq; stabst Ff 1, 2; stabbdst Ff 3, 4; stabbd'dst Rowe. 121. despair therefore] therefore despair Pope. 122. Be . . . souls] one line as Qq; Be . . . Rich- mond, For . . . Soules (two lines) Ff.

Merchant of Venice, iii. ii, 22, and Mr. Pooler's note. Steevens quotes parallels from late sixteenth century authors; among them Christopher Middleton, Legend of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 1600: "Nor was her schooles pesid down with golden weightes." The substantive "peise" is used to mean a weight. Compare Pecock, Repressor, 1455, i. 19: "certis neure saue in late daies was eny clok telling pe hours of pe dai & nyzt bi peise & bi stroke"; and see Nares, s.v.

III. bruising irons] i.e. maces, which were usually made of iron.
115. thy victory] the victory which is in truth thine. This seems the preferable reading.
118. The forms which Richard's visions took are not specified by the chroniclers. According to them, "it seemed to him being asleep, that he did see diverse images like terrible duels, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take anie quiet or rest."
Enter the Ghost of Henry the Sixth.

Ghost. [To K. Rich.] When I was mortal, my anointed body

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By thee was punched full of deadly holes:
Think on the Tower, and me: despair, and die!
Harry the Sixth bids thee despair and die!

[To Richm.] Virtuous and holy, be thou conqueror!
Harry, that prophesied thou shouldst be king,

Doth comfort thee in thy sleep: live and flourish!

Enter the Ghost of Clarence.

Ghost. [To K. Rich.] Let me sit heavy in thy soul to-morrow!
I, that was wash'd to death with fulsome wine:
Poor Clarence, by thy guile betray'd to death—
To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword: despair, and die!

[To Richm.] Thou offspring of the house of Lancaster,
The wronged heirs of York do pray for thee:
Good angels guard thy battle! live, and flourish!

Enter the Ghosts of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan.

Ghost of Riv. [To K. Rich.] Let me sit heavy in thy soul to-morrow—
Rivers, that died at Pomfret! despair, and die!

Ghost of Grey. [To K. Rich.] Think upon Grey, and let thy soul despair!

Ghost of Vaughan. [To K. Rich.] Think upon Vaughan, and,
with guilty fear,
Let fall thy lance: despair, and die!

126. costly] Q 1 ; omitted Qq 2-8, Ff
133. with] in Qq 3, 4.
140. Ghost of Riv. [To K. Rich.] Riv. Qq 3-8, Ff; King. Qq 1, 2.
144. lance] hurtless lance Capell; pointless lance Collier MS.
132. in thy soul] Compare Richard II. i. ii. 50.
133. fulsome] cloying, especially applicable to the thick, sweet wine in which Clarence's body was thrown.
New Eng. Dict. cites Harrison, Description of England, ii. 6: "Our ale is more thicke, fulsome, and of no continuance." Steevens objected that Clarence was dead before he was thrown into the wine, so that he could hardly be said to find the wine "fulsome," or to be "washed to death."
136. fall] let fall, drop. See note on i. iii. 353 above. The line is repeated at line 164.
144. lance] Perhaps some epithet has dropped out, like those suggested by Capell and Collier.
All. [To Richmond.] Awake, and think our wrongs in Richard's bosom:
Will conquer him! Awake, and win the day!

Enter the Ghost of Hastings.

Ghost. [To K. Rich.] Bloody and guilty, guiltily awake,
And in a bloody battle end thy days!
Think on Lord Hastings: despair, and die!
[To Richm.] Quiet untroubled soul, awake, awake!
Arm, fight, and conquer, for fair England's sake!

Enter the Ghosts of the two young Princes.

Ghosts. [To K. Rich.] Dream on thy cousins smothered in the Tower:
Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard,
And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death!
Thy nephews' souls bid thee despair and die!
[To Richm.] Sleep, Richmond, sleep in peace, and wake in joy:
Good angels guard thee from the boar's annoy!
Live, and beget a happy race of kings!
Edward's unhappy sons do bid thee flourish.

Enter the Ghost of Lady Anne.

Ghost. [To K. Rich.] Richard, thy wife, that wretched Anne thy wife,
That never slept a quiet hour with thee,
Now fills thee sleep with perturbations:
To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword: despair, and die!
[To Richm.] Thou quiet soul, sleep thou a quiet sleep: 165
Dream of success and happy victory!
Thy adversary's wife doth pray for thee.

Enter the Ghost of Buckingham.

Ghost. [To K. Rich.] The first was I that help'd thee to the
crown;
The last was I that felt thy tyranny:
O! in the battle think on Buckingham,
And die in terror of thy guiltiness!
Dream on, dream on, of bloody deeds and death:
Fainting, despair: despairing, yield thy breath!
[To Richm.] I died for hope ere I could lend thee aid:
But cheer thy heart, and be not thou dismay'd!
God and good angels fight on Richmond's side;
And Richard fall in height of all his pride!

The Ghosts vanish. King Richard starts out of his dream.

K. Rich. Give me another horse! bind up my wounds!
Have mercy, Jesu!—Soft! I did but dream.
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflic me!

165. Thou ... sleep] one line as Qq; Thou ... soule, Sleepe ... sleepe (two lines) Ff. 168. The first ... crown] one line as Qq; The first was I That ... Crowne (two lines) Ff. 174. I died ... aid] one line as Qq; I dyed ... hope Ere ... Ayde (two lines) Ff. for hope] for hophe Theobald conj.; forsoke Hanmer; for holpe Steevens conj.; fore-done Tyrwhitt conj. 177. fall] Ff; fals Qq. aft. 177. The Ghosts vanish.] Rowe, Camb.

174. for hope] The meaning may be, "I died for hoping to give you aid, before I could actually give it." This is the interpretation suggested by Steevens. Aldis Wright's explanation, "I died as regards hope," is equally good, if not better. In that case the passage means, "Before I could give thee aid, I was dead so far as hope was concerned; but be not thou without hope." There is also much to be said for Steevens' conjecture "for holpe," and for the whole idea that "for" is here a privative prefix. The passage cited by Dyce from Greene, James IV, r598, v. 6. (Dyce, 217): "Some then will yield when I am dead for hope," is, however, in favour of the received text and of Wright's explanation.

178. The speech, full of self-questioning argument, which follows, is perhaps the weakest passage in the play. It seems to mark a stage in Shakespeare's development at which he was unequal to the psychological skill which such a speech required; and it may stand out as a conspicuous failure, because it demanded more from him than any other speech in the play. The attempt to portray the king's mingled emotions is thoroughly in keeping with the statement of the chronicles, that the "strange vision not so suddenly strake his heart with a sudden feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his mind with manie busie and dreadful imaginings." The phrase "coward conscience" (line 180) recalls Hamlet, III, i. 83, part of a speech which is a triumph in the very field in which this is a first effort.
The lights burn blue. It is now dead midnight.
Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.
What do I fear? myself? there's none else by:
Richard loves Richard; that is, I am I.
Is there a murderer here? No. Yes, I am.
Then fly. What, from myself? Great reason: why?
Lest I revenge. What, myself upon myself?
Alack, I love myself. Wherefore? for any good
That I myself have done unto myself?
O, no! alas, I rather hate myself
For hateful deeds committed by myself.
I am a villain: yet I lie, I am not.
Fool, of thyself speak well: fool, do not flatter.
My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain.
Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree;
Murder, stern murder, in the dir'st degree;
All several sins, all us'd in each degree,

181. The lights burn blue] Brand, Popular Antiquities, iii. 69, quotes Grose: "If, during the time of an apparition, there is a lighted candle in the room, it will burn extremely blue: this is so universally acknowledged, that many eminent philosophers have busied themselves in accounting for it, without once doubting the truth of the fact." Steevens quotes Lyly, Galatea, 1592: "I thought there was some spirit in it because it burnt so blue; for my mother would often tell me when the candle burnt blue, there was some ill spirit in the house." Compare Julius Caesar, iv. iii. 275.
now] This is one of several cases where the editor of F r seems, at this point in the play, to have been without MS. guidance, and to have relied on the later Qq alone. Another example follows at line 183. In these cases Q r supplies us with the right reading. 184. Pope was perhaps justified in rejecting this feeble line to the margin. But the words "I am I" bring out, in Richard's extremity, his unfailing belief in the doctrine "I am myself alone," already enunciated at 3 Henry VI. v. vi. 83.

186. Great reason: why?] Ff, whose emendation at line 183 was less successful, seem here to have hit upon the right reading. For another emendation of Ff, in default of MS. authority, see line 200 below.
Throng to the bar, crying all, "Guilty! guilty!"
I shall despair. There is no creature loves me;
And, if I die, no soul will pity me:
Nay, wherefore should they, since that I myself
Find in myself no pity to myself?
Methought the souls of all that I had murder'd
Came to my tent, and every one did threat
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.

Enter Ratcliff.

Rat. My lord!
K. Rich. 'Zounds! who is there?
Rat. My lord, 'tis I. The early village-cock
Hath twice done salutation to the morn;
Your friends are up, and buckle on their armour.
K. Rich. O Ratcliff, I have dream'd a fearful dream.
What thinkest thou? will our friends prove all true?
Rat. No doubt, my lord.
K. Rich. O Ratcliff, I fear, I fear!
Rat. Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows.
K. Rich. By the apostle Paul, shadows to-night
Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard
Than can the substance of ten thousand soldiers
Armed in proof, and led by shal low Richmond!

200. Throng] Qq 1, 2; Throng all Qq 3-8, Ff. crying all] all crying Pope. 201. shall] will Pope. 202. will] Qq 1, 2; shall Qq 3-8, Ff. 203, 204. Nay . . . to myself?] Pope put in margin. 205. had] Q r, Ff; omitted Qq 2-6; have Qq 7, 8. 206. Came] Came all Qq 3-6. 209. 'Zounds! who is] Qq; Who's Ff. 210. My lord] Qq 7, 8; Ratcliff, my Lord Qq 1-6, Ff. 213-15. O Ratcliff . . . my lord] Qq; omitted Ff. 214. thinkst] Capell, Camb.; thinkst Qq 215. O] omitted Pope. O . . . fear.] Collier replaces by 213.

200. 'Zounds] For Ff reading compare note on 1. iv. 117 above.
210. My lord] I have ventured to leave out the unnecessary "Ratcliff" at the beginning of the line, which was most likely a printer's error, originating in Q r and emended in no following edition until Q 7. Had any MS. been to hand at this point, the editor of F r would probably have made this correction.
213. The chroniclers say that, to avoid any appearance of fear of his enemies (see lines 217-220), the king "recited and declared to his familiar freends in the morning his wonderfull vision and fearfull dream." The omission of lines 213, 214 in Ff is obviously due to the printer, who mistook the "O Ratcliff" in the latter half of line 215 for that at the beginning of line 213, and proceeded accordingly. As the passage stands in Ff, Ratcliff has not sufficient information to justify his words in line 216.
KING RICHARD III [ACT V.

'Tis not yet near day. Come, go with me; Under our tents I'll play the eaves-dropper, To hear if any mean to shrink from me. [Exeunt.

Enter the Lords to RICHMOND, sitting in his tent.

Lords. Good morrow, Richmond!

Richm. Cry mercy, lords and watchful gentlemen, That you have ta'en a tardy sluggard here.

Lords. How have you slept, my lord?

Richm. The sweetest sleep and fairest-boding dreams That ever enter'd in a drowsy head, Have I since your departure had, my lords. Methought their souls, whose bodies Richard murder'd, Came to my tent and cried on victory: I promise you, my heart is very jocund In the remembrance of so fair a dream. How far into the morning is it, lords?

Lords. Upon the stroke of four.

Richm. Why, then 'tis time to arm and give direction.

His Oration to his Soldiers.

More than I have said, loving countrymen, The leisure and enforcement of the time

221. 'Tis] Qq, Ff; It is Pope. 222. eaves-dropper] F 4; ease dropper Q 1; ewse dropper Q 2; eawe-dropper Q 3; eawe-dropper Q 4; ewese-dropper Qq 5-8; Ease-dropper Ff i-3. 223. hear] Qq 3-8, Ff; see Qq 1, 2. mean to shrink] means to shrinke Q 4; man shrinks Ff 3, 4. aft. 223. Scene VI. Warburton. Pope (ed. 1) misprinted SCENE V.; (ed. 2) misprinted SCENE IV. sitting ... tent] Ff; omitted Qq. 224. Lords.] Qq; Richm. Ff. 225. Cry mercy] Cry you mercy Ff 2-4; I cry you mercy Pope. 228. The ... dreams] one line as Qq; The ... sleepe, And ... Dreams (two lines) Ff. fairest-boding] hyphened Theobald. 232. cried on victory] cried out, Victory Pope; cried On! Victory Warburton. 233. heart] Ff; soule Qq. 237. Arms and comes forth, Capell. aft. 237. His ... Soldiers.] To his Troops; who now gather about the Tent. Capell.

226. Cry mercy] The full form is "I cry you mercy"; see i. iii. 235 above. The pronoun is omitted, as when we say "Thank you."

231, 232. Richmond's dreams are a dramatic interpolation which find no warrant in the chroniclers' accounts.

238. "When the earle of Richmond knew by his foreriders that the king was so neere imbatelled, he rode about his armie from ranke to ranke, & from wing to wing, giuing comfortable words to all men, and that finished (being armed at all pecces, sauing his helmet) mounted on a little hill, so that all his people might see and behold him perfectlie, to their great rejoicing" (Holinshied, iii. 757).
Forbids to dwell upon: yet remember this.

God and our good cause fight upon our side;
The prayers of holy saints and wronged souls,
Like high-rear'd bulwarks, stand before our faces.

Richard except, those whom we fight against
Had rather have us win than him they follow:
For what is he they follow? truly, gentlemen,
A bloody tyrant and a homicide;
One rais'd in blood, and one in blood establish'd;
One that made means to come by what he hath,
And slaughter'd those that were the means to help him;
A base foul stone, made precious by the foil
Of England's chair, where he is falsely set;
One that hath ever been God's enemy.

Then, if you fight against God's enemy,
God will in justice ward you as his soldiers;
If you do sweat to put a tyrant down,
You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain;
If you do fight against your country's foes,
Your country's fat shall pay your pains the hire;
If you do fight in safeguard of your wives,
Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors;
If you do free your children from the sword,

240. upon] on Pope.
244. Richard except,] Qq 3-8, Ff; Richard, except
Qq 1, 2. 250. slaughter'd] slandered Q 4. 251. foil] Qq 1, 2; soyl Fq
soyle Qq 6-8, Ff 1-3; soyl F 4. 256. sweat] Qq 1, 2; sweare Qq 3-8, Ff.

247. homicide] The word is taken from Holinshed: "an homicide and
murtherer of his owne bloud or pro-
genie."
249. made means] Compare line 40
above. Here a sinister meaning is
given to the phrase.
251. foil] A thin leaf of metal placed
under a precious stone to relieve its
brilliancy. See Drayton, Eng. Her.
Epp., Mary to Brandon:—
"Which [a precious stone] then
appears more orient and more
bright,
Having a foil whereon to show its
light."
Metaphors from the jewel and its foil
are common. Compare Richard II.

1. iii. 265-67; Beaumont and Fletcher,
Faithful Shepherdess, i. 3:—
"Yet, if I may believe what others
say,
My face has foile enough";
Chapman, etc., Eastward Ho, act iv.: "I will charge 'hem and recharge 'hem,
rather than authority should want foil
to set it off." The history of the reading
here is obvious. See note on
"now," line 181 above.
255. ward] protect. Q 8 mistakenly
printed "reward."
256. sweat] Holinshed has "Therefore labour for your gaine, & sweat for
your right," which is fairly conclusive
as to the right reading.
Your children's children quits it in your age.
Then, in the name of God and all these rights,
Advance your standards, draw your willing swords! 265
For me, the ransom of my bold attempt
Shall be this cold corpse on the earth's cold face;
But, if I thrive, the gain of my attempt
The least of you shall share his part thereof.
Sound drums and trumpets boldly and cheerfully;
God and Saint George! Richmond and victory!

[Exeunt.

Re-enter King Richard, Ratcliff, Attendants and Forces.

K. Rich. What said Northumberland as touching Richmond?
Rat. That he was never trained up in arms.
K. Rich. He said the truth. And what said Surrey then?
Rat. He smil'd and said "The better for our purpose." 275
K. Rich. He was in the right; and so indeed it is.

[The clock striketh.]
Tell the clock there. Give me a calendar.
Who saw the sun to-day?
Rat. Not I, my lord.
K. Rich. Then he disdains to shine; for, by the book,
He should have brav'd the east an hour ago:

263. quits] Qq, Ff; quit Pope. 270. boldly] bold Staunton. and]
omitted Pope. 271. Exeunt.] Shouts &c., and Exeunt. Capell; omitted Qq, Ff.
aft. 271. SCENE VII. Pope. Re-enter ... ] Camb.; Enter King Richard, Rat.
&c. Qq; Enter King Richard, Ratcliffe, and Catesby. Ff. 276. in the] 'th' Pope.
The clock striketh.] after there in 277 Qq, Ff. 277, 278. Tell ... my lord] arranged as Pope, Camb.; Tell ... there. Give ... to day? Rat.
Not I my lord. (3 lines) Qq, Ff.

263. quits] There is no reason for altering the old plural, which occurs in
all the printed copies.
265. Advance] raise. Compare i. ii. 40 above. Holinshed has, "And therefore,
in the name of God and St. George, let euereie man courageouslie advance foorth his standard!" Compare Milton, Paradise Lost, v. 588: "Ten thousand thousand Ensignes high advance'd."

267. Richmond's words in Holinshed are: "You shall find me this dale rather a dead carrion vpon the cold ground, than a free prisoner on a carpet in a ladies chamber."
277. Tell the clock] Count the strokes of the clock. Compare "as one tells twenty," i. iv. 118 above, and see The Tempest, ii. i. 289.
279. the book] the calendar which he has just consulted.
A black day will it be to somebody.  

Ratcliff!

Rat. My lord?

K. Rich. The sun will not be seen to-day;  
The sky doth frown and lour upon our army.
I would these dewy tears were from the ground.  

Not shine to-day?  Why, what is that to me

More than to Richmond?  for the self-same heaven
That frowns on me looks sadly upon him.

Enter NORFOLK.

Nor. Arm, arm, my lord! the foe vaunts in the field.


Call up Lord Stanley, bid him bring his power.
I will lead forth my soldiers to the plain,
And thus my battle shall be ordered:
My foreward shall be drawn out all in length,
Consisting equally of horse and foot;

Our archers shall be placed in the midst:
John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl of Surrey,
Shall have the leading of this foot and horse.

They thus directed, we will follow

281, 282. A black . . . somebody. Ratcliff] arranged as Johnson, etc.; A blacke . . . some bodie Rat. (one line) Qq 1-5; A blacke . . . somebody. Ratcliff. (one line) Ff; A black . . . somebody—Ratcliff,— (one line) Capell.  


289. Enter NORFOLK.] Re-enter NORFOLK. Camb.

294. shall be drawn out all] Q 1; shall be drawne Q 2-8, Ff; battel shall be drawn Hanmer.  

299. we] we ourself Pope. follow] follow them Collier MS.

281. A black day . . . somebody] Mr. Craig points out that this seems to be a proverbial expression, and compares 2 Henry IV. v. iv. 14. See also 3 Henry VI. v. vi. 85: "I will sort a pitchy day for thee."

285. from] away from, off. Compare Antony and Cleopatra, II. vi. 30, and see note on III. v. 32 above.

290. Caparison] The caparison of a horse was, strictly speaking, the rich covering or housing which was worn by the spare horse at a battle or tournament (Demmin, Arms and Armour, English translation, 1894, p. 349). The armed horse was often covered with a caparison of cloth.

292-301. Shakespeare follows Holinshed closely. Richard, "bringing all his men out of their camp into the plaine, ordered his fore-ward in a marvellous length, in which he appointed both horsmen and footmen . . . and in the fore-front he placed the archers like a strong fortified trench or bul-worke. Ouer this battell was capteine, Iohn, duke of Norffolke, with whom was Thomas earle of Surrie, his sonne. After this long vant-gard, followed king Richard himselfe with a strong company of chosen and approued men of warre, hauing horsemen for wings on both sides of his battell."
In the main battle, whose puissance on either side
Shall be well winged with our chiefest horse.
This, and Saint George to boot! What think'st thou,
Norfolk?
Nor. A good direction, warlike sovereign.
This found I on my tent this morning.

[He showeth him a paper.]

K. Rich. [Reads.] "Jockey of Norfolk, be not so bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold."
A thing devised by the enemy!
Go, gentlemen, every man unto his charge.
Let not our babbling dreams affright our souls:
Conscience is but a word that cowards use,
Devis'd at first to keep the strong in awe;
Our strong arms be our conscience; swords our law!
March on, join bravely, let us to 't pell-mell,
If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell!

His Oration to his Army.

What shall I say more than I have inferr'd?
Remember whom you are to cope withal;
A sort of vagabonds, rascals, and runaways,

300. whose puissance] which Pope. 301. well winged] hyphened Ff.
302. This ... Norfolk] one line as Qq; This ... boote. What ... Norfolk;
(two lines) Ff. boot bootes Qq 1, 2. think'st thou, Norfolk] Ff; thinkst
thou Norfolk? Qq 2; thinkst thou not Qq 6-8.
304. This] This paper Pope. He ... paper] Qq; omitted Ff; Giving a
307. A thing] King. A thing Qq, Ff. 308. every man unto] Qq; every man
to Ff; go each man to Pope.
310. Conscience is but] Qq 1, 2; Conscience is
Qq 3-8; For Conscience is Ff. aft. 313. His ... Army] Qq; omitted Ff; turning
him to his Troops. Capell. 317. rascals, and] rascals Ff 2-4; of rascals Pope.

302. Saint George to boot!] Saint George to aid us as well. On "boot"
see note at 1v. iv. 65 above.
303. direction] order of battle. Compare line 16 above.
304. morning] probably a trisyllable,
like the older form "morweninge."
305. so bold] The line in the chroniclers runs: "Lacke of Norfolk
be not too bold"; and Q 6, perhaps in
accordance with this version (which is
certainly the better), or, which is quite
as likely, by a press error, altered from
"so" to "to."
313. pell-mell] So King Lear, iv. vi.
119, and see Mr. Craig's note (Arden
ed. 1901, p. 198).
315. I have inferr'd] i.e. the arguments
I have stated already.
317. sort] number, company. "Ye see
further how a companie of traitors,
theeues, outlawes, and runnagates
of our owne nation, be aiders and par-
takers of his feat and enterprise." See
A scum of Bretons, and base lackey peasants,
Whom their o'er-cloyed country vomits forth
To desperate adventures and assur'd destruction.
You sleeping safe, they bring to you unrest;
You having lands and blest with beauteous wives,
They would restrain the one, distain the other.
And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow,
Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost?

A milk-sop, one that never in his life
Felt so much cold as over shoes in snow!
Let's whip these stragglers o'er the seas again,
Lash hence these overweening rags of France,
These famish'd beggars, weary of their lives,
Who, but for dreaming on this fond exploit,
For want of means, poor rats, had hang'd themselves!
If we be conquer'd, let men conquer us,
And not these bastard Bretons, whom our fathers

Richard II. iv. i. 246. Compare Berners' Froissart, i. 146: "We are here within, a small sort of knights and squires"; A. M., Captivity of John Fox, ap. Hakluyt (Arber, Eng. Garner, i. 206): "Which the same John Fox seeing, delivered unto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose."

318. Bretons] Capell, Camb; Britains or Brittaines Qq, Ff. 320. adventures] ventures Capell. assur'd] omitted Pope. 321. to you] Q 1; you to Qq 2-8, Ff. 323. restrain] distrain Hanmer (fr. Warburton). 325. Bretagne] Hanmer, Camb; Britaine Qq; Britaine Ff 2; Britain Ff 3, 4. our mother's] his mother's Theobald conj., Pope; our brother's Capell. 326. milk-sop] Ff 3, 4; milkesop Qq 1-5; milkesope Q 6; milke-sop Ff 2, Qq 7, 8. 334. these] those Rowe. bastard Bretons] Capell; bastard Britains (or Brittaines, etc.) Qq, Ff 1, 2; bastard-Britains Ff 3, 4; bastard-Britons Pope.

Richard II. iv. i. 246. Compare Berners' Froissart, i. 146: "We are here within, a small sort of knights and squires"; A. M., Captivity of John Fox, ap. Hakluyt (Arber, Eng. Garner, i. 206): "Which the same John Fox seeing, delivered unto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose."

318. Holinshed has "What a number of beggarlie Britains and faint-hearted Frenchmen be with him arrived to destroie us, our wifes and children." The epithet "lackey" may be intended to convey an Englishman's contempt for Frenchmen.

323. restrain] i.e. hold back from us.

325. our mother's] Holinshed (ed. 2) has: "brought up by my moomthers meanes, and mine, like a captiue in a close cage, in the court of Francis duke of Britaine." Halle and Holinshed (ed. 1) have "my brothers meanes," which is nearer the truth. Malone explains "our brother" as Charles the Bold of Burgundy, who was Richard's brother-in-law. Here Shakespeare has copied his original too closely. The phrase which follows, "and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in martaill affaires: by reason whereof he neither can, nor is able by his owne will or experience to guide or rule an hoast," was probably the origin of the statement (line 273) which Shakespeare quotes as coming from Northumberland. "Milk-sop" in line 326 is the term of contempt in Holinshed: compare "homicide," line 247. Aldis Wright compares Iago's contempt for Cassio, Othello, i. i. 20-27.

326. milk-sop] Compare 1 Henry IV. ii. iii. 35, 36.
Have in their own land beaten, bobb'd, and thump'd, 335
And in record left them the heirs of shame.
Shall these enjoy our lands? lie with our wives?
Ravish our daughters? [Drum afar off.] Hark! I hear
their drum.
Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeomen!
Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head!
Spur your proud horses hard, and ride in blood!
Amaze the welkin with your broken staves!

Enter a Messenger.

What says Lord Stanley? will he bring his power?

Mess. My lord, he doth deny to come.

K. Rich. Off with his son George's head!

335. bobb'd] As Aldis Wright points out, to “bob” is much the same as to
beat or thump, with an additional spice of contempt in the word. See Mr.
Deighton’s note on Troilus and Cressida, ii. i. 76, and Mr. Craig’s note
in “Little Quarto” ed. of this play, pp. 289, 290. A very common meaning
of the word is “to cheat or fool”: compare Othello, v. i. 16; Troilus and Cressida,
iii. i. 75; Fletcher and Massinger, Spanish Curate, 1622, v. 2:—

“Though I were angry yesterday
with you all,
And very angry, for methought ye
bobb’d me”,

and “Ye shall be bobb’d, gentlemen.”

For the substantive “bob” and the
phrase “to give the bob” see As You
Like It, ii. vii. 55; Greene, Menaphon
(Arber, 85): “He smiled in his sleeve to
see how kindely hee had given her the
bobbe”; Fletcher, Wit without Money,
v. i: “These are fine bobs, I’faith!”

342. Amaze the welkin] Frighten the
sky, i.e. lest it be hit by the broken
splinters of the lance shafts. The
conceit is explained by Malone’s
quotation from W. Smith, The Hector
of Germany, or The Palsgrave, 1615:

“Spears flew in splinters half the way
to heaven,” and by Coriolanus, iv. v.
115. Compare King John, v. ii. 172.
343-47. Richard had sent a pursu-
vant to Stanley, bidding him bring his
company forward, “which thing if he
refused to doo, he swears, by Christes
passion, that he would strike off his
sonnes head before he dined. The lord
Stanleie answered the pursuivant that,
if the king did so, he had more sonnes
alive; and, as to come to him, he was
not then so determined. When king
Richard heard this answer, he com-
manded the lord Strange incontinent
to be beheaded: which was at that
verie same season, when both the
armies had sight ech of other.”

Richard’s councillors, however, advised
him to spare Lord Strange till after
the battle. “So as God would” king
Richard brake his holie oth, and the
lord was delivered to the keepers of the
kings tents, to be kept as prisoner.”

The abrupt order in line 345 may have
suggested Cibber’s famous addition after
iv. iv. 534 above, “Off with his head,
So much for Buckingham.”
KING RICHARD III

Nor. My lord, the enemy is past the marsh:
After the battle let George Stanley die.
K. Rich. A thousand hearts are great within my bosom.
Advance our standards, set upon our foes;
Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons!
Upon them! Victory sits on our helms.

[Exeunt.

SCENE IV.—Another part of the field.

Alarum: excursions. Enter NORFOLK and forces fighting; to him CATESBY.

Cates. Rescue, my lord of Norfolk, rescue, rescue!
The king enacts more wonders than a man,
Daring an opposite to every danger:
His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,
Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death.
Rescue, fair lord, or else the day is lost!

350. spleen Qs Qq 1, 2, 4, 8; helps Qq 3, 5, 6, 7, Ff. Exeunt] Rowe; Drums, and Exeunt. Capell; omitted Qq, Ff.

Scene iv. SCENE IV.] Capell; SCENE VIII. Pope; scene continued Ff. Another...

field.] Capell, Camb. Enter Norfolk . . . ] Capell, Camb.; Enter Catesbie. Qq, Ff. x. Rescue . . . rescue] one line as Qq; Rescue . . . Norfolke, Rescue, rescue (two lines) Ff.

346. A "great marish" separated both armies. Richmond, in his advance, left this on his right; and thus put the sun at his back, and in the faces of his enemies. This statement of the chroniclers seems to imply that the subject of lines 278-88 above is due to the invention of the dramatist. "When king Richard saw the earles companie was passed the marish, he did command with all hast to set upon them."

351. spleen of fiery dragons] Compare King John, ii. 1. 68. Mr. Craig remarks that the expression "to fight like a dragon" seems to have been proverbial, and refers to Coriolanus, iv. vii. 23. 352. helms] The variation in Ff is worth noticing. Apart from the fact that first-hand MS. authority was evidently wanting, and that copies of

neither of the earliest quartos were available, it is clear that Q 4 was not referred to by the editor. Q 3 or Q 5 was thus the alternative copy of the play which he must have used in seeking earlier authority for the readings of Q 6.

Scene iv. 3. Daring an opposite] Malone quotes Marston, Antonio and Mellida: "Myself, myself, will dare all opposites." An "opposite" is an enemy, adversary, as Twelfth Night, iii. iv. 293; King Lear, v. iii. 42. Tyrwhitt, who proposed to read "Daring and opposite," probably regarded the phrase as meaning "daring in his opposition to every danger." Wherever Richard meets an opposite on the field, he dares him à poultrance.
Alarums. Enter King Richard.

K. Rich. A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!

Cates. Withdraw, my lord; I'll help you to a horse.

K. Rich. Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,

And I will stand the hazard of the die!

I think there be six Richmonds in the field;

Five have I slain to-day instead of him.

A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!

[Exeunt.

Scene V.—Another part of the field.

Alarum. Enter King Richard and Richmond; they fight.

King Richard is slain. Retreat and flourish. Re-enter Richmond, Derby bearing the crown, with divers other lords.

Richm. God and your arms be prais'd, victorious friends!

The day is ours; the bloody dog is dead.

Der. Courageous Richmond, well hast thou acquit thee.

7. Alarums.] Ff; omitted Qq. 13. Exeunt.] Theobald; omitted Qq, Ff.

Scene v.

Scene v.] Dyce; Ff, Pope, Capell, etc., continue scene. Another . . . field.] Dyce, Camb. Retreat and flourish.] Ff; then retreat being sounded Qq. Re-enter Richmond] Camb.; Enter Richmond Qq, Ff. 1, God . . . friends] one line as Qq; God . . . Armes Be . . . Friends (two lines) Ff. 3. Der.] Stan. Pope. 3, 4. Courageous . . . royalty] two lines as Qq; Courageous Rich- mond, Well . . . Loe Heere . . . Royalties (three lines) Ff.

13. The chronicles contain no mention of the loss of Richard's horse. This famous line was possibly suggested by the statement that "when the losse of the battell was imminent and apperant, they brought to him a swift and a light horse, to conueie him awaie." The "six Richmonds in the field" are also without authority. Richard knew the earl at once "by certeine demonstrations and tokens, which he had learned and knowen of others that were able to give him full information." He put spurs to his horse, and, riding out of his part of the host, "like a hungric lion ran with speare in rest toward him." To make his way to his enemy, he killed Sir William Brandon and overthrew Sir John Cheney. The single combat which followed was stopped by the arrival of Sir William Stanley's reinforcements. These surrounded and overpowered Richard, isolating him from his army; and "he himself, manfullie fighting in the middle of his enimies, was slaine." Steevens mentions various imitations of Richard's cry for a horse, and quotes Heywood, Iron Age:—

"a horse, a horse!

Ten kingdoms for a horse to enter Troy!"

The line is reproduced by Marston, What you Will, act ii. (quoted by Reed).
Lo, here this long usurped royalty
From the dead temples of this bloody wretch:
Have I pluck'd off, to grace thy brows withal:
Wear it, enjoy it, and make much of it.

Richm. Great God of Heaven, say amen to all!
But, tell me, is young George Stanley living?

Der. He is, my lord, and safe in Leicester town;
Whither, if it please you, we may now withdraw us.

Richm. What men of name are slain on either side?

Der. John Duke of Norfolk, Walter Lord Ferrers,
Sir Robert Brakenbury, and Sir William Brandon.

Richm. Inter their bodies as become their births:
Proclaim a pardon to the soldiers fled,
That in submission will return to us;
And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament,
We will unite the white rose and the red.

Smile Heaven upon this fair conjunction,
That long have frowned upon their enmity!

What traitor hears me, and says not amen?
England hath long been mad, and scarr'd herself;
The brother blindly shed the brother's blood;
The father rashly slaughter'd his own son;
The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire:

4. royalty] Q 1; royalties Q 2-8, Ff. 7. enjoy it] Q 1, 2; omitted Q 3-8, Ff. 11. if it please you] Q 2-8; it is please you Q 1; (if you please) Ff; if you so please Pope. That in... withdraw us now Keightley conj. 13. 14. John... Brandon.] Q print in italics. 13. Der.] Ff; omitted Q. Lord] the Lord Pope. Ferrers] Capell; Ferris Qq, Ff. 14. Brakenbury] Brookenbury Q 1, 2; Brokenbury Q 3-8, Ff. and] omitted Pope. 15. become] Qq, Ff; becomes Rowe, Camb. 25. rashly] madly Capell.

4. royalty] So 1 Henry IV, iv. iii. 55. Holinshed has: "When the lord Stanleie saw the good will and gladnesse of the people, he tooke the crowne of king Richard (which was found amongst the spoile in the field), and set it on the earles head; as though he had beene elected king by the voice of the people." 10, 11. Lord Strange was on the field, with the keepers of the king's tents. "The same night, in the evening, king Henrie with great pompe came to the town of Leicester."

12. men of name] Compare Much Ado About Nothing, 1. i. 7. 13, 14. Qq print these lines in italics and assign them to no speaker. In addition to those slain Holinshed gives the name of "Sir Richard Radcliffe." Sir William Brandon was Richmond's standard-bearer. See note on v. iv. 13 above. 15. become] If this is not a misprint of the early editions, it is a case of an impersonal verb being attracted into the number of its object.
All this divided York and Lancaster,
Divided in their dire division,
O, now let Richmond and Elizabeth,
The true succeeders of each royal house,
By God’s fair ordinance conjoin together!
And let their heirs, God, if Thy will be so,
Enrich the time to come with smooth-fac’d peace,
With smiling plenty and fair prosperous days!
Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord,
That would reduce these bloody days again
And make poor England weep in streams of blood!
Let them not live to taste this land’s increase,
That would with treason wound this fair land’s peace!
Now civil wounds are stopp’d, peace lives again:
That she may live long here, God say amen!

[Exeunt.

32. their] Qq 1, 2, 8; thy Qq 3-7, Ff. 33. smooth-fac’d] Ff; smooth-faste
Qq 1-3, 5; smooth fast Q 4; smooth-fac’t Qq 6-8. 41. here] heare Qq 1-3,
5-7. Exeunt.] Ff; omitted Qq.

27. this] Johnson wished to change
to the relative “that.” But it is the objects divided, and not the causes of division, which can be conjoined togeth-
er.

117, where the metaphor is very com-
plete. The more usual word is “re-
bate.” See Measure for Measure, 1. iv.
60; Lodge and Greene, Looking-Glass for London (Dyce, 117): “Could not rebate the strength that Rasni brought.”
APPENDIX I

I. iv. 257-68. Ff admit six lines which are not in Qq, five of which (or, rather, four and a half) are inserted between Clarence's appeal in line 256, "Relent, and save your souls," and the first murderer's repetition of the word "Relent." (1) It is quite obvious that the force of the repetition, and of Clarence's subsequent comments upon it, is thus destroyed. (2) The reading

Would not intreat for life, as you would begge
Were you in my distresse.

is awkward, as it makes Clarence say over again what he already has said. In his extremity, however, he might be excused for repeating himself, as Queen Elizabeth already has been excused for her grammar, i. iii. 62-9 above. The advantage of Ff reading is that Clarence, attempting to work on the feelings of both murderers, is repulsed by the first, and then turns to the second for compassion, with such effect that, when the fatal blow is about to descend, the second murderer warns the victim. The reading adopted in the text has these drawbacks: (1) it places Clarence's appeal to both murderers after the first murderer's refusal to relent; (2) it pieces together the two appeals; and (3) separates the words "as you would beg . . . distress" in a way for which there is no warrant in the original text. On the other hand, (1) the refusal of the first murderer is not absolute, and Clarence might still attempt to soften him; (2) the appeal, producing no effect upon him, might be broken off, and a special appeal be begun to the second murderer. (3) brings us to the root of the whole matter. We assume that the editor of F used a copy of Q, probably Q 6; that he checked it by comparison with a MS. of the play; that he noted down in the margin or between the lines of the printed book the variations which he preferred from the MS.; and that, having done so, he sent his corrected copy of Q to the printer. In the present case, he would have crowded his margin with a number of lines which are not in Qq; and it is easy to see that
the printer would have found some difficulty in gathering the method of their arrangement and insertion. He would have taken the course which seemed to him most probable; and, as the editor probably never saw a printer's proof of the text, the arrangement retained in Ff is, on this hypothesis, that of the printer. If this does not actually vindicate Tyrwhitt's conjecture, it at any rate vindicates his right to make it; and the sense, as it stands, is excellent. In addition to the arrangements mentioned in the collation, we may notice that Theobald followed Ff, proposing the emendation "Ah! you would beg," which was accepted by Warburton and Johnson. Johnson, however, wished to transfer "Which of you . . . distress" to the end of the passage. After the words "what beggar pities not?" one of the murderers should repeat "A begging prince!"; and then Clarence should amplify his illustration with the new lines. "Upon which provocation," adds Johnson, "the villain naturally strikes him." The provocation seems very slight. Spedding agrees with Johnson as to the place of the lines, but observes that the murderer's cry, "A begging prince!" is not wanted, and would read the end of the new lines thus: "Would not entreat for life? As you would beg Were you in my distress—— 2. Look behind," etc. Collier eked out the imperfect line from his MS. thus: "Would not entreat for life? As you would beg, Were you in my distress, so pity me."
APPENDIX II

II. i. 66-68. Two difficulties are involved: (1) The word "all" in line 67, apparently referring to two people only, so that we should expect "both"; (2) the omission of the extra line inserted in Ff. With regard to (1), a judicious re-arrangement of stops surmounts the difficulty thus:

Of you, Lord Rivers and Lord Grey; of you
That all without desert have frown'd on me,
Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen; indeed of all.

Spedding proposed to read line 66 in Ff thus: "Of you [to Grey] and you, Lord Rivers,—and of Dorset, That all," etc. Pickersgill took "all" as an adverb, and "all without desert" as meaning "altogether without desert": cf. II. iv. 48. If "all" be taken in this sense, the flatness of its repetition at the end of line 68 is somewhat lessened. (2) Spedding was ready to accept the line, "Of you Lord Wooduill, and Lord Scales of you", as Shakespeare's, but without any cogent reason apart from its appearance in Ff. Pickersgill thought that it was original, but was omitted in Qq, because it repeated the form of line 66, so that the editor of F in restoring it, felt it necessary to change the form in the latter case. Malone, however, long ago pointed out that there was no such person as Lord Woodville: if the title refers to anybody, it can refer only to Rivers. Rivers also, as Malone might have added, was the only person who could have been addressed as Lord Scales; since this actually was his style, from the time of his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the seventh Lord Scales, and Baroness Scales and Neucelles in her own right, until he succeeded to his father's earldom in 1469. If we accept the line, then, we have to imagine Gloucester begging the pardon of a man whom he already has addressed by his proper title, not only under a second style, but also under a third which does not belong to him. This may be in keeping with Richard's usual irony; but, on this occasion, if he had used his opportunity to taunt his enemy so obviously with his many
great preferments, he could hardly have achieved his object of lulling his suspicions and effecting, as he did, an apparent reconciliation. This Shakespeare must have seen. It is not impossible that he made a mistake about the titles: “Lord Grey” in Qq is, of course, an inaccuracy. But it is difficult to think that the line, whose point, if it has any, must defeat the intention of Gloucester’s speech, can have appeared in Shakespeare’s original MS.—at any rate, in such a form that the editor of F i, if he had access to that MS., would have been able to reproduce it correctly. The position of the line is awkward, whether we take it as it stands, or assume that the printer has transposed it with the line before. Its meaning and point are doubtful and unsatisfactory. My own conclusion is that the editor of F i found, in the margin of the MS. which he used, some notes intended as the beginning of an alteration of line 66; that the words “Woodville” and “Scales” were among them; and that, wishing to preserve as much of Shakespeare’s text as could be recovered, he assumed that a line had been dropped and so worked in a new line composed of these fragments. The difficulty of “all” was thus settled; but the printer, working with the interlined copy of Q, made a mistake as to the order of the lines, and so perpetuated the state of things which the new line was intended to remove.
APPENDIX III

READINGS OF THE FOLIO IN ACT II. SCENE IV

The stage-direction at the opening of II. iv. and the first three lines of the scene are of high importance with respect to the methods adopted by the editor of F I.

(a) Ff read "Enter Arch-bishop." Qq read "Enter Cardinall." In III. i. Qq again read "Enter Cardinall." Ff read "Enter . . . Lord Cardinall." The impression which these passages leave is that the archbishop, introduced by Ff in II. iv. was not a cardinal, but a distinct person from the Cardinal of III. i. and Qq. In III. i. it is unquestionable that the prelate employed to persuade Elizabeth to give up the Duke of York was Thomas Bourchier, Cardinal of San Ciriac and Archbishop of Canterbury. But the prelate who, as in this scene, delivered up the great seal to the queen-dowager, was Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, and not a cardinal. He fell into disgrace with Richard on account of his conduct about the seal. The fact that he and Bourchier bore the same Christian name caused some confusion among the historians. More, by an oversight, made "the archbishop of Yorke" the prelate who advised Elizabeth, as in III. i., to give up the Duke of York, and speaks of him as "our reuerend father here present, the lord cardinall." Halle saw the error, and substituted "Cauntorburye" and "the reuerend father my lord Cardinall archebishop of Cauntorbury," in the places mentioned above. However, Holinshed followed More's account. It is clear that, in the present passage, either Shakespeare himself, or the editor of F I, intended the Archbishop and the Cardinal to be, as they were, different persons. Probably Shakespeare is responsible for this. Scarcity of actors may have led to the union of the two parts, which thus may have passed into Qq as one. The editor of F I probably restored them from his MS. copy of the play.

(b) The opposed readings are:

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APPENDIX III

Qq. *Car.* Last night I heare they lay at Northampton.
At Stonistratford will they be to night,
To morrow or next day, they will be here.

Ff. *Arch.* Last night I heard they lay at Stony Stratford,
And at Northampton they do rest to night:
To morrow, or next day they will be heere.

Ff reading, while improving the defective metre, is generally supposed to be in harmony with history. Edward V., after sleeping a night at Stony Stratford, was actually taken back by Gloucester to Northampton. If we can satisfy ourselves that Ff reading is (1) a distinct metrical improvement; (2) intentionally consonant with the true details of time and place in the historical account of the affair; and (3) the original reading of the passage, it should no doubt be adopted in preference to Qq.

(1) The metrical improvement is obvious. If we lay stress on the first syllable of "Northampton," it is just possible to make Qq reading scan. We still speak of Berkhamstead, Wenhaston, where the second syllable might seem to demand the chief accent. But I can find no instance in Shakespeare's time in which the accent of Northampton is thrown so far back. Pope read the passage, "I heard they lay the last night at Northampton"; Capell, "Last night, I hear, they rested at Northampton." Reed followed Ff; and Steevens, recognising the historical difficulty, wrote, "Where sense cannot claim a preference, a casting vote may be safely given in favour of sound."

(2) The historical facts of Edward V.'s journey to London are as follows: On his way from Ludlow, he passed through Northampton, and went on with his train to Stony Stratford. Gairdner (p. 49) says that Rivers and Lord Richard Grey rode back to Northampton to salute Gloucester, who was expected there the same day (April 29). More's statement is that Rivers stayed behind, perhaps for the above reason, and probably because the whole train could not have been accommodated at Stony Stratford. Gloucester, having joined forces with Buckingham, as he came south from York, arrived at Northampton soon after the king had left. More's account is that they were very friendly with Rivers; but, after he was gone to bed, they held a long council with some of their most privy friends. They got hold of the keys of the inn, picketed the road to Stony Stratford, and anticipated Rivers' household in getting to horse, explaining that they were anxious to be the first to greet the king that day. When Rivers in person asked for an explanation of their movements, they accused him of
wishing to estrange them from the king and compass their downfall, and, without more ado, put him in ward. When they reached Stony Stratford, the king was about to depart. He received them graciously and without suspicion; but, in his presence, they picked a quarrel with Grey and cast reflections on his absent brother Dorset, accusing them of conspiracy with Rivers to rule the king and realm. In spite of Edward's readiness to uphold the honesty of his relations, the dukes there and then arrested Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte, and took the whole party back to Northampton, in order to bring the prisoners together and take further counsel. They dined at Northampton, where Gloucester behaved encouragingly. But, before he set out again for London, he either directed or provided for the despatch of the prisoners to various strongholds in the north of England.

It does not appear that the king, with his new guardian, stopped another night at Northampton. The arrest of the lords took place on 30th April. It was on 4th May that Gloucester and the king arrived in London, which is sixty-six miles from Northampton.

In London the news became common property about midnight of 30th April. The tidings were announced to Archbishop Rotherham by a messenger from the Lord Chamberlain Hastings. He immediately went to the queen, whom he found preparing to go into sanctuary, and committed the great seal to her charge. When he returned to York House in the dawn of 1st May, he "might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boates of the Duke of Gloucester's servants, watching that no man should go to sanctuarie, nor none could pass unsearched." In the course of the day, the Archbishop, fearing that he had acted precipitately, sent to the sanctuary at Westminster for the great seal, and so recovered it. The day was one of disquiet. Hastings did his best to quiet the rising tumult; and the common people were satisfied by the arrival of some of Gloucester's servants with the baggage of the arrested lords, in which arms and armour were included. The duke's men explained, "Lo, here be the barrels of harness that these traitors had priuillie conueied in their carriage to destroie the noble lorde withall." The intelligence of the mob could draw no other inference from this palpable testimony.

(3) We must not expect Shakespeare, of course, to be in complete accordance with the details of history. The interview in II. iv. clearly is derived from that which took place early on 1st May between Rotherham and the queen. If the chroniclers' accounts are correct, (1) Rotherham knew all before he
went to the queen; (2) a messenger from Hastings had reached him at York House; (3) the queen had received the news at least as soon, and was preparing to go to Westminster when Rotherham arrived. But in Shakespeare, (1) Rotherham knows nothing: all he can do is to calculate the point on the road which the party has reached; (2) the news arrives during the interview; and (3) the queen thereupon decides to go to sanctuary, and takes the great seal with her.

Shakespeare, therefore, makes it impossible for Rotherham to know of any change of route on the king's journey. Qq reading represents exactly the natural calculations of a man who knew the ordinary halting-places on the road from the north, and had no reason to suppose that they had been changed in this case. So far as Rotherham knew, the coronation was to take place on 4th May. The king would therefore arrive in London on 2nd May or 3rd May. On 29th April he would naturally spend the night at Northampton. What actually had happened was that he had passed through Northampton without stopping, probably because Rivers wished to keep ahead of Gloucester. Of this movement, as of its sequel, Rotherham was unaware. Ff, on the other hand, assume that Rotherham knew of the unusual change of route, but without feeling any curiosity about it, or awaking any interest in his hearers. They assume that, while aware of the fact, he had no idea of the division of the party which made Rivers' arrest an easy matter, or of the junction of the dukes with the king. In short, he says, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, that the party has stopped a night at one place, and then has gone thirteen miles back to spend a night at another, which it had passed through the day before. Ff reading is thus dramatically inaccurate, even if its accuracy as to the king's real movements be allowed.

We need not suppose, of course, that Shakespeare troubled himself about the actual hour of the scene as it took place in history. He simply compressed into one scene a sequence of necessary events, giving them their true dramatic relief. An imaginary meeting between the queen and Rotherham is made the occasion for the discovery of Gloucester's action. Before the messenger arrives with his startling news, Rotherham is ignorant that anything has happened. It is utterly impossible, therefore, unless we assume a slip of the tongue, that he can put Stony Stratford before Northampton.

Shakespeare may have written the passage in Ff. That, in this instance, he made a careless comparison of his authorities with the dramatic exigencies of the passage, is not unlikely.
That the editor of F I found the more metrical reading in the MS. which he used is highly probable. But Qq already had altered it, at the expense of regular metre, it is true, but with advantage to the truth of drama. The variation in Qq was probably used on the stage; and, whether it was made by Shakespeare himself or by the actors, it is the only reading which has any consistency with the facts of the scene.

My conclusion, then, is that, while Ff have a metrical advantage over Qq, and their reading may have been originally written by Shakespeare, it does not represent a reading to which Shakespeare could or would have adhered consistently. And this because it is at variance with the probabilities of the drama, and is not quite free in itself from historical error.

I may add a summary of previous editors' conclusions. Malone very justly says, "By neither reading can the truth of history be preserved, and therefore we may be sure that Shakespeare did not mean in this instance to adhere to it." At the opposite pole is Grant White's unqualified praise of Ff reading: it has, he says, "on its side authority, rhythm, and—according to the chronicles which Shakespeare followed—historical truth." Equally short-sighted is Delius' defence of Ff as the result of Shakespeare's work with "the authorities open before him": on his theory, Qq would introduce a piratical emendation. The Cambridge editors adopt Qq reading, assuming the supposed coincidence between Ff and history to be accidental, but discovering an inconsistency between lines 1, 2 and line 3. Speeding refuted the latter notion; but upheld Ff on the usual historical assumption, estimating Qq reading as a correction "by some one whose topographical knowledge was superior to his historical." Pickersgill's view is closely allied, though with a slight difference in detail, to the view which I have taken.
APPENDIX IV

ON THE READINGS AT III. IV. 80 AND III. V. 12-21

(1) At III. iv. 80 Qq read "some see it done" at the end of a line. Ff introduce a new line: "Louell and Ratcliffe, looke that it be done."

(2) In III. v. 12-21 I have adopted Ff reading substantially. For the variations in Qq, see collation ad loc. The difficulty which Qq introduce is in their stage-directions, corresponding to that after line 21, "Enter Catesby with Hastings' head." The conspirators, according to Theobald, are standing on the walls of the Tower; and Catesby is told to "overlook" the walls, i.e. to look down and see whether any one is coming. Only four lines later, Gloucester calms Buckingham's pretended agitation at the sound of a drum, with the words "O, O, be quiet, it is Catesby"; and Catesby thereupon enters with Hastings' head. The supposition on which this entry of Catesby, inconsistent even with dramatic probability, can be defended, is that Catesby, overlooking the walls and seeing Hastings' executioners approaching, hastens from the scene, receives the head from them, and reappears bearing it. Even so, the interval is very short indeed between his disappearance and return.

Ff make Catesby introduce the mayor, and remain on the scene. Buckingham hears the drum; Gloucester tells Catesby to overlook the walls, and Ratcliff and Lovel, the executioners deputed in III. iv. 80, enter with the head of Hastings.

The probable explanation of the difference lies in the circumstance that Qq require only one actor on the stage to fill the parts which Ff allot to three. A scarcity of actors very conceivably may have led to a grouping of the parts in the stage version. And here is one of many signs that the original of the Qq text of the play is to be found in such a version and re-arrangement for stage purposes of Shakespeare's text.

However, by the introduction of Ratcliff, Ff reading involves a fresh difficulty. Following the chroniclers, it puts Ratcliff (III. iii.) in charge of the execution of the lords at
Pontefract, on the same day that Hastings suffers in London (III. iv. 49, 50, etc.) Ratcliff is thus in two widely distant places at once, Pontefract being 179 miles by road from London. The discrepancy would not be noticed by a casual spectator of the play, who would see each scene complete in itself, and would not remember details of place and time. But we cannot imagine Shakespeare making the mistake wilfully. If he did it involuntarily, he would have found it out on revising the play.

Theobald retained Catesby, as Qq had laid down the part, in III. v. In III. iv. he read "Lovel and Catesby, look that it be done." This is in accordance with the stage-directions of Qq, which assign III. iv. 96, 97 to Catesby and III. iv. 104 to Lovel. But in Ff, III. iv. 96, 97 are given to Ratcliff.

To alter Ff reading substantially would be, as the Cambridge editors point out, to take liberties with the text. It is a great improvement on Qq in the point of metre and rhythm. Thus, in the absence of any indication of a satisfactory alternative, Ratcliff must be kept in both passages. It is noticeable that, in III. iv., he speaks only two lines, which might well be given to Lovel; while, in III. v., he says nothing, and is not included in Gloucester's instructions at the end of the scene. Both in Qq and Ff, Lovel alone is necessary to Hastings' execution. The chroniclers make no specific mention of the ministers employed to carry out this sentence. It is not likely that Catesby would have taken an active part in it. He had been Hastings' trusted servant; and, in a play so rhetorical as this, he hardly would have been allowed to die without some word of reproach to the traitor who bids him make haste that the duke may have his dinner.

The only possible conclusion seems to be that, at III. iv. 80, Shakespeare wrote "Ratcliffe" in a moment of forgetfulness, and continued the error in III. v.; that, on the stage, the mistake in III. iv. was recognised, and, in III. v., the parts were cut down from motives of economy; that Qq reproduced his alteration; and that Ff, correcting the misplacement of the lines and the rough prose of Qq, returned, in this case also, to the earlier reading, in spite of its drawbacks.
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