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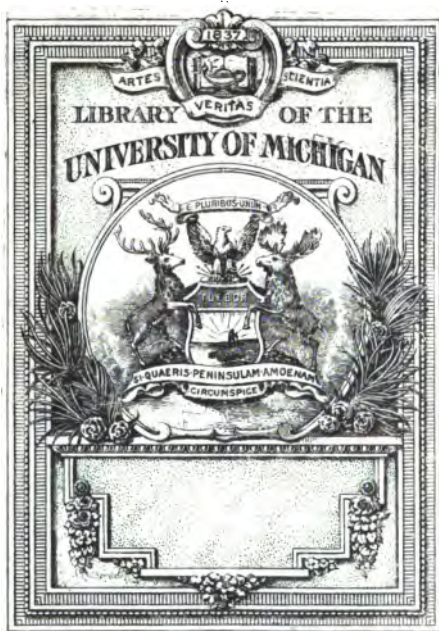
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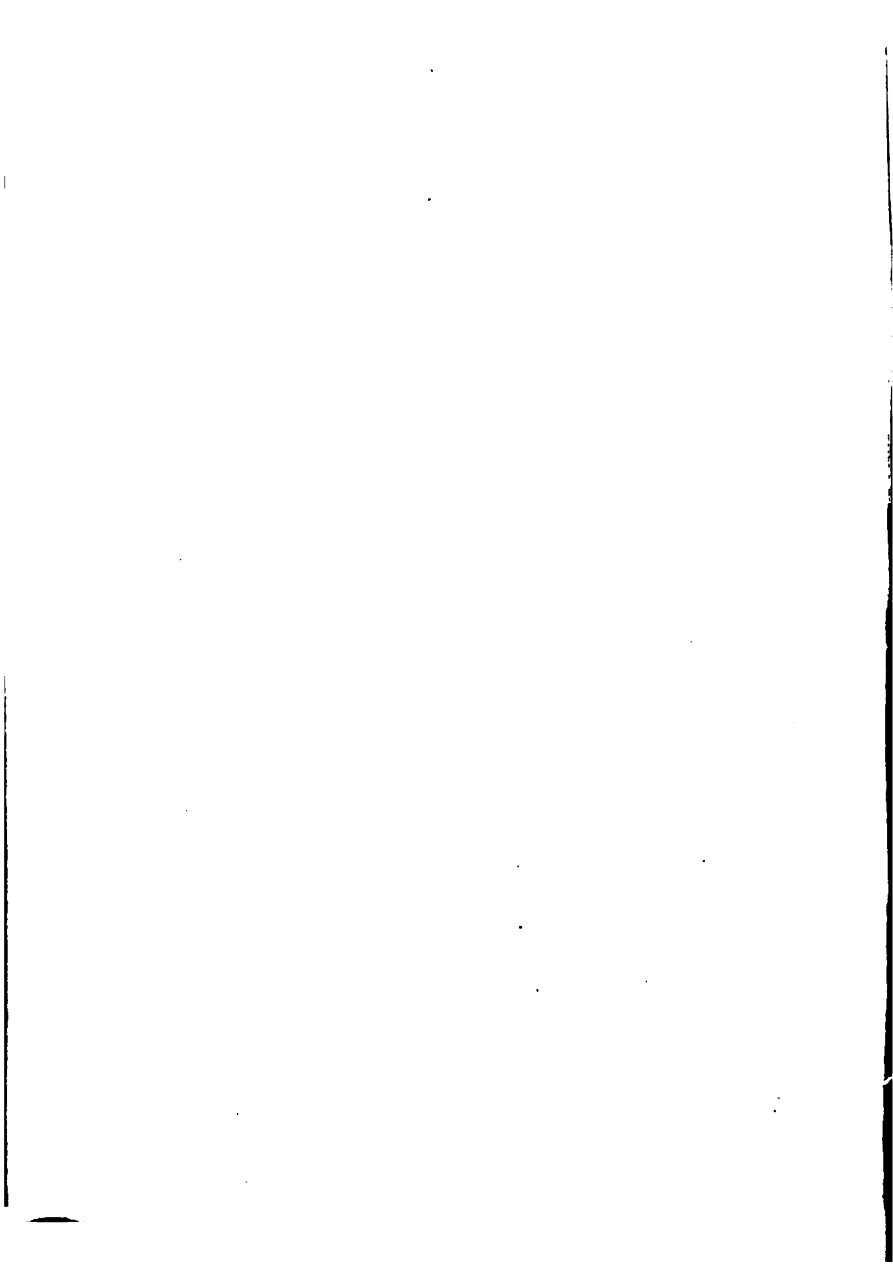


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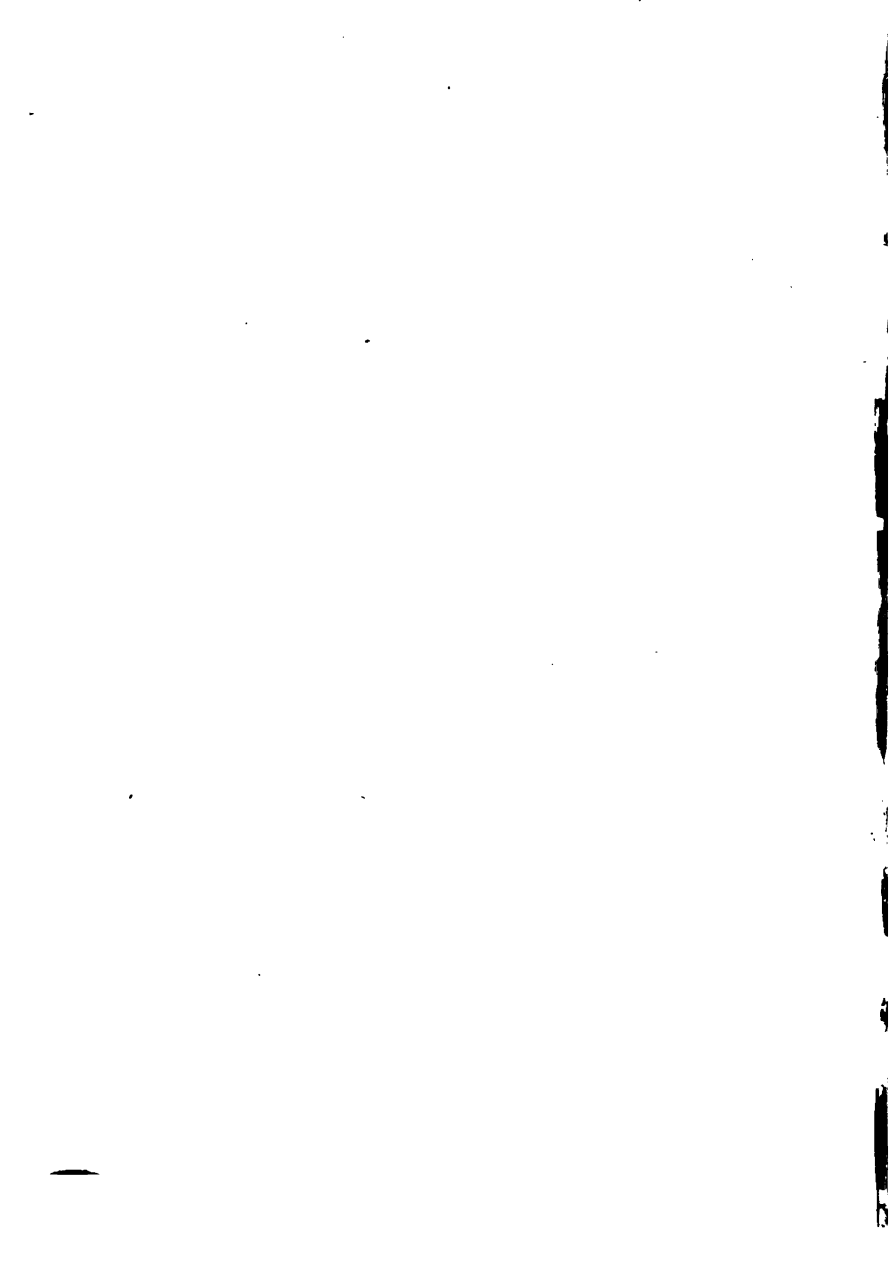
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THE FAMOUS HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF
KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.



SHAKESPEARE

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH

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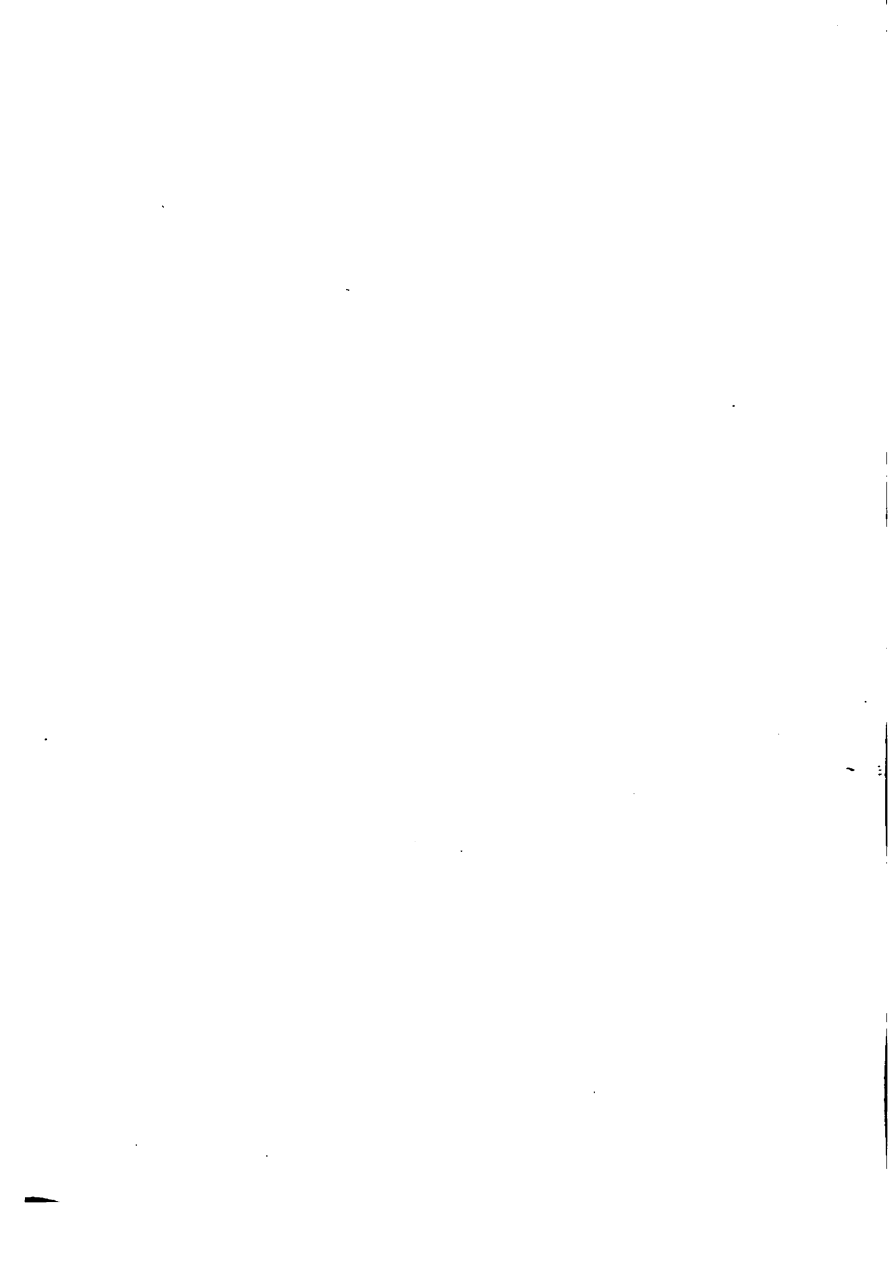
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

K. DEIGHTON

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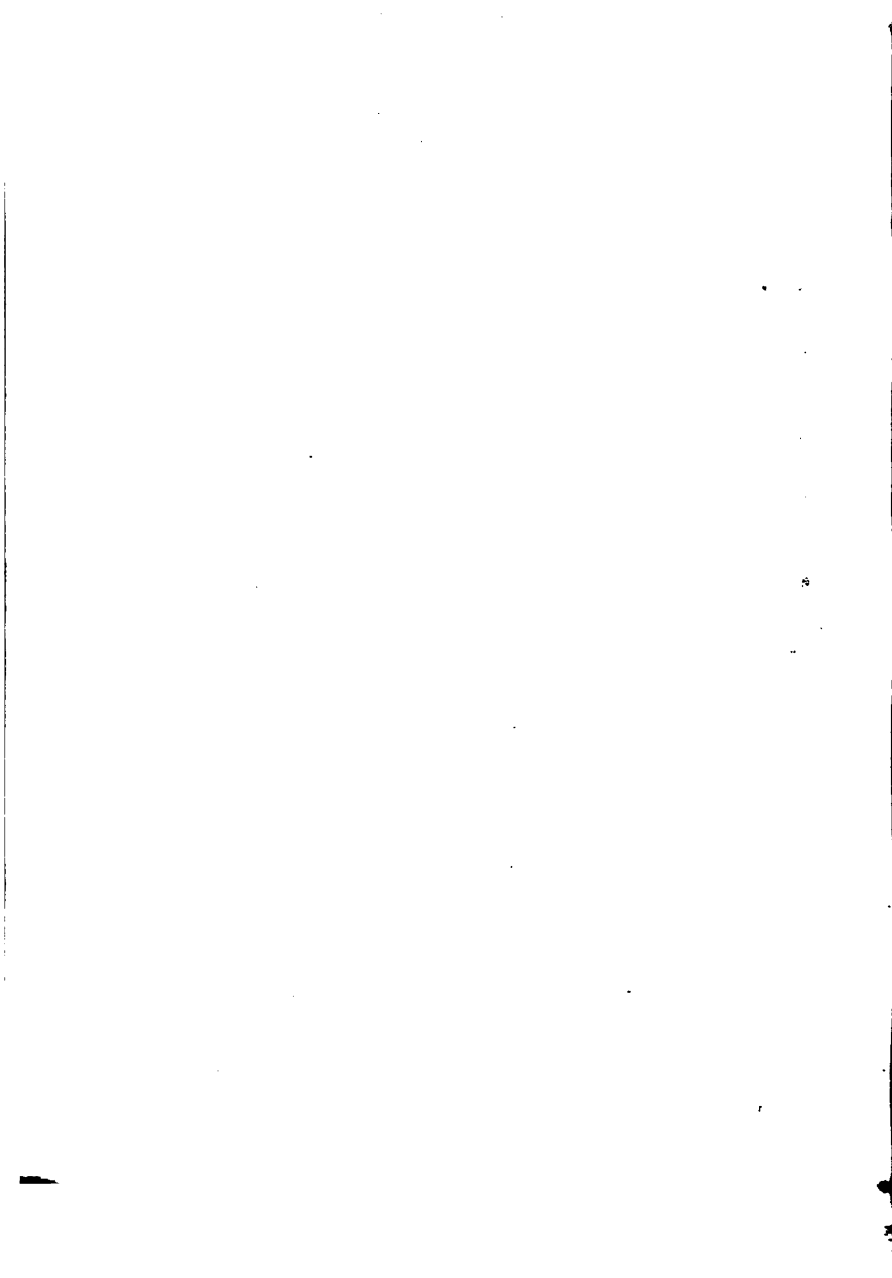


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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION,	vii
KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,	1
NOTES,	101
INDEX TO NOTES,	181

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INTRODUCTION.

AS to the date at which *Henry the Eighth* was written we have no evidence whatever. Even as to the date when it was first acted there is no certain proof; while if that more generally accepted could be settled beyond doubt, it would still remain a question whether the play was then a new one. All that we know is, that a play which seems to have been the one we now have under the title of *Henry the Eighth* was produced at the Globe Theatre on the 29th of June, 1613, and that the theatre was on that occasion accidentally burnt to the ground. Of this event we have three accounts written within a few days of its occurrence. Thus, in the Harleian Manuscripts, a letter from Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, dated "this last day of June, 1613," relates that "No longer since than yesterday, while Bourbage his companie were acting at the Globe the play of Henry viii., and there shooting of certayne chambers in way of triumph, the fire catch'd," etc. Sir H. Wotton, writing on the 6th of July of "a new play called *All Is True*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry viiith," similarly ascribes the accident to "certain cannons shot off at the King's entry to a masque at the Car-

Date of the
Play.

dinal Wolsey's house"; and John Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated July 12th, describes "the burning of the Globe, or playhouse, on the Bank-side, on St. Peter's day, which fell out by a peale of chambers, that I know not on what occasion were to be used in the play." Further, Howes, the continuator of Stowe's "Annales," writing two years later, records that the fire took place, "the house being filled with people, to behold the play, viz., of Henry the 8." From these various accounts, and from the fact that, in *H. VIII.* i. 4, we have the stage direction, "Chambers [*i.e.* small cannon] discharged," it may be taken as pretty well established that the play then represented was our *Henry the Eighth*, and that it originally had a second title, viz., *All Is True*.

Disputed
authorship of
the Play.

If there are doubts as to the date of the play, these are of minor importance when compared with the question of its authorship. Doubts on this point are of long standing. Johnson observed that the genius of Shakespeare comes in and goes out with Katharine; Coleridge, recognizing the strangeness of its structure, spoke of the play as a sort of historical masque; Ulrici regarded it as meant only for a first part, to be followed by a second part, in which what was incomplete would be made complete; Roderick, in Edwards' *Canons of Criticism* drew attention to the metre of the play as being different from anything to be elsewhere found in Shakespeare's undoubted work. But the first person thoroughly to investigate the matter was Mr. Spedding, who in a paper entitled "Who Wrote Shakspeare's Henry VIII.?" published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1850, arrived at the conclusion that two,

if not three, hands are to be found in the play, more than half of which he assigned to Fletcher. This conclusion is based upon two considerations: (1) the incoherence of the general design of the play; (2) metrical peculiarities. Having glanced at the latter, Mr. Spedding writes, "I shall have something further to say on these points presently. I mention them here only to show that critical observers have been long conscious of certain singularities in this play which require to be accounted for. And, leaving the critics, I might probably appeal to the individual consciousness of each reader, and ask him whether he has not always felt that, in spite of some great scenes which have made actors and actresses famous, and many beautiful speeches which adorn our books of extracts (and which, by the way, lose little or nothing by separation from their context, a most rare thing in Shakspeare), the effect of this play *as a whole* is weak and disappointing. The truth is, that the interest, instead of rising towards the end, falls away utterly, and leaves us in the last act among persons whom we scarcely know, and events for which we do not care. | The strongest sympathies that have been awakened in us run opposite to the course of the action. Our sympathy is for the grief and goodness of Queen Katharine, while the course of the action requires us to entertain as a theme of joy and compensatory satisfaction the coronation of Anne Bullen and the birth of her daughter; which are, in fact, a part of Katharine's injury, and amount to little less than the ultimate triumph of wrong. For throughout the play the king's cause is not only felt by us, but represented to us, as a bad one. We

hear, indeed, of conscientious scruples as to the legality of his first marriage ; but we are not made, nor indeed asked, to believe that they are sincere, or to recognize in his new marriage either the hand of Providence, or the consummation of any worthy object, or the victory of any of those more common frailties of humanity with which we can sympathize. The mere caprice of passion drives the king into the commission of what seems a great iniquity ; our compassion for the victim of it is elaborately excited ; no attempt is made to awaken any counter-sympathy for *him* : yet his passion has its way, and is crowned with all felicity, present and to come. The effect is very much like that which would have been produced by the *Winter's Tale*, if Hermione had died in the fourth act, in consequence of the jealous tyranny of Leontes, and the play had ended with the coronation of a new queen and the christening of a new heir, no period of remorse intervening. It is as if Nathan's rebuke to David had ended, not with the doom of death to the child just born, but with a prophetic promise of the felicities of Solomon.

“This main defect is sufficient to mar the effect of the play as a whole. But there is another, which though less vital is not less unaccountable. The greater part of the fifth act, in which the interest ought to be gathering to a head, is occupied with matters in which we have not been prepared to take any interest by what went before, and on which no interest is reflected by what comes after. The scenes in the gallery and council-chamber, though full of life and vigour, and in point of execution not unworthy

of Shakspeare, are utterly irrelevant to the business of the play; for what have we to do with the quarrel between Gardiner and Cranmer? Nothing in the play is explained by it, nothing depends upon it. It is used only (so far as the argument is concerned) as a preface for introducing Cranmer as godfather to Queen Elizabeth, which might have been done as a matter of course without any preface at all. The scenes themselves are indeed both picturesque and characteristic and historical, and might probably have been introduced with excellent effect into a dramatized life of Henry VIII. But, historically, they do not belong to the place where they are introduced here, and poetically, they have in this place no value, but the reverse.

“With the fate of Wolsey, again, in whom our second interest centres, the business of this last act does not connect itself any more than with that of Queen Katharine. The fate of Wolsey would have made a noble subject for a tragedy in itself, and might very well have been combined with the tragedy of Katharine; but, as an introduction to the festive solemnity with which the play concludes, the one seems to me as inappropriate as the other.

“Nor can the existence of these defects be accounted for by any inherent difficulty in the subject. It cannot be said that they were in any way forced upon the dramatist by the facts of the story. The incidents of the reign of Henry VIII. could not, it is true, like those of an ancient tradition or an Italian novel, be altered at pleasure to suit the purposes of the artist; but they admitted of many different com-

binations, by which the effect of the play might have been modified to almost any extent, either at the beginning or the end. By taking in a larger period and carrying the history on to the birth of Anne Bullen's still-born son and her own execution, it would have yielded the argument of a great tragedy and tale of retributive justice. Or, on the other hand, by throwing the sorrows of Katharine more into the background, by bringing into prominence the real scruples which were in fact entertained by learned and religious men and prevalent among the people, by representing the question of the divorce as the battle-ground on which the question between Popery and Protestantism was tried out, by throwing a strong light upon the engaging personal qualities of Anne Bullen herself, and by connecting with the birth of Elizabeth the ultimate triumph of the reformed religion, of which she was to become so distinguished a champion, our sympathies might have been turned that way, and so reconciled to the prosperous consummation. But it is evident that no attempt has been made to do this. The afflictions, the virtue, and the patience of Katharine are elaborately exhibited. To these and to the pathetic penitence of Wolsey our attention is especially commended in the prologue, and with them it is entirely occupied to the end of the fourth act. Anne Bullen is kept almost out of sight. Such reason and religion as there were in Henry's scruples are scarcely touched upon, and hardly a word is introduced to remind us that the dispute with the Pope was the fore-runner of the Reformation.

“I know of no other play in Shakspeare which is

chargeable with a fault like this, none in which the moral sympathy of the spectator is not carried along with the main current of action to the end. . . . The singularity of *Henry VIII.* is that, while four-fifths of the play are occupied in matters which make us incapable of mirth, . . . the remaining fifth is devoted to joy and triumph, and ends with universal festivity." . . . Mr. Spedding then relates the circumstances which led him to a close examination of the versification of the play, the result of which "was a clear conviction that at least two different hands had been employed in the composition of *Henry VIII.*; if not three; and that they had worked, not together, but alternately upon distinct portions of it."

Analysing the play, act by act and scene by scene, with reference to the internal evidence of style and treatment, Mr. Spedding continues:—"The opening of the play,—the conversation between Buckingham, Norfolk, and Abergavenny,—seemed to have the full stamp of Shakspeare, in his latest manner: the same close-packed expression; the same life, and reality, and freshness; the same rapid and abrupt turnings of thought, so quick that language can hardly follow fast enough; the same impatient activity of intellect and fancy, which having once disclosed an idea cannot wait to work it orderly out; the same daring confidence in the resources of language, which plunges headlong into a sentence without knowing how it is to come forth; the same careless metre which disdains to produce its harmonious effects by the ordinary devices, yet is evidently subject to a master of harmony; the same entire freedom from book-language and common-

place ; all the qualities, in short, which distinguish the magical hand which has never yet been successfully imitated.

“In the scene in the council-chamber which follows (Act i. Sc. 2), where the characters of Katharine and Wolsey are brought out, I found the same characteristics equally strong. L

“But the instant I entered upon the third scene, in which the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Sands, and Lord Lovel converse, I was conscious of a total change. I felt as if I had passed suddenly out of the language of nature into the language of the stage, or of some conventional mode of conversation. The structure of the verse was quite different and full of mannerism. The expression became suddenly diffuse and languid. The wit wanted mirth and character. And all this was equally true of the supper scene which closes the first Act.

“The second Act brought me back to the tragic vein, but it was not the tragic vein of Shakspeare. When I compared the eager, impetuous, and fiery language of Buckingham in the first Act with the languid and measured cadences of his farewell speech, I felt that the difference was too great to be accounted for by the mere change of situation, without supposing also a change of writers. The presence of death produces great changes in men, but no such change as we have here.

“When in like manner I compared the Henry and Wolsey of the scene which follows (Act. ii. Sc. 2) with the Henry and Wolsey of the council-chamber (Act i. Sc. 2), I perceived a difference scarcely less striking.

The dialogue, through the whole scene, sounded still slow and artificial.

“The next scene brought another sudden change. And, as in passing from the second to the third scene of the first Act, I had seemed to be passing all at once out of the language of nature into that of convention, so in passing from the second to the third scene of the second Act (in which Anne Bullen appears, I may say for the first time, for in the supper scene she was merely a conventional court lady without any character at all), I seemed to pass not less suddenly from convention back again into nature. And when I considered that this short and otherwise insignificant passage contains all that we ever see of Anne (for it is necessary to forget her former appearance), and yet how clearly the character comes out, how very a woman she is, and yet how distinguishable from any other individual woman, I had no difficulty in acknowledging that the sketch came from the same hand which drew Perdita.

“Next follows the famous trial scene. And here I could as little doubt that I recognized the same hand to which we owe the trial of Hermione. When I compared the language of Henry and of Wolsey throughout this scene to the end of the Act, with their language in the council-chamber (Act i. Sc. 2), I found that it corresponded in all essential features: when I compared it with their language in the second scene of the second Act, I perceived that it was altogether different. Katherine also, as she appears in this scene, was exactly the same person as she was in the council-chamber; but when I went on to the first scene of the

third Act, which represents her interview with Wolsey and Campeius, I found her as much changed as Buckingham was after his sentence, though without any alteration of circumstances to account for an alteration of temper. Indeed the whole of this scene seemed to have all the peculiarities of Fletcher, both in conception, language, and versification, without a single feature that reminded me of Shakspeare; and, since in both passages the true narrative of Cavendish is followed minutely and carefully, and both are therefore copies from the same original and in the same style of art, it was the more easy to compare them with each other.

“In the next scene (Act iii. Sc. 2) I seemed again to get out of Fletcher into Shakspeare; though probably not into Shakspeare pure; a scene by another hand perhaps which Shakspeare had only re-modelled, or a scene by Shakspeare which another hand had worked upon to make it fit the place. The speeches interchanged between Henry and Wolsey seemed to be entirely Shakspeare’s; but in the altercation between Wolsey and the lords which follows, I could recognize little or nothing of his peculiar manner, while many passages were strongly marked with the favourite Fletcherian cadence;¹ and as for the famous “Farewell, a long farewell,” etc., though associated by means of Enfield’s *Speaker* with my earliest notions of Shakspeare, it appeared (now that my mind was opened to entertain the doubt) to belong entirely and unquestionably to Fletcher.

¹In a footnote Mr. Spedding quotes the lines, “Now I feel . . . warrant for them,” etc,

“Of the 4th Act I did not so well know what to think. For the most part it seemed to bear evidence of a more vigorous hand than Fletcher’s, with less mannerism, especially in the description of the coronation, and the character of Wolsey; and yet it had not to my mind the freshness and originality of Shakspeare. It was pathetic and graceful, but one could see how it was done. Katharine’s last speeches, however, smacked strongly again of Fletcher. And altogether it seemed to me that if this Act had occurred in one of the plays written by Beaumont and Fletcher in conjunction, it would probably have been thought that both of them had had a hand in it.”

“The first scene of the 5th Act, and the opening of the second, I should again have confidently ascribed to Shakspeare, were it not that the whole passage seemed so strangely out of place. I could only suppose (what may indeed be supposed well enough if my conjecture with regard to the authorship of the several parts be correct), that the task of putting the whole together had been left to an inferior hand; in which case I should consider this to be a genuine piece of Shakspeare’s work, spoiled by being introduced where it had no business. In the execution of the christening scene, on the other hand (in spite again of the earliest and strongest associations), I could see no evidence of Shakspeare’s hand at all; while in point of *design* it seemed inconceivable that a judgment like his could have been content with a conclusion so little in harmony with the prevailing spirit and purpose of the piece.”

Passing to the exclusive consideration of metrical

peculiarities, Mr. Spedding proposes the following test to any one who should think that the inequality of workmanship in different parts may be accounted for on the supposition that the play was written by Shakespeare at different periods: "Let him read an act in each of the following plays, taking them in succession: *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; *Richard II.*; *Richard III.*; *Romeo and Juliet*; *Henry IV.* (part 2); *As You Like It*; *Twelfth Night*; *Measure for Measure*; *Lear*; *Antony and Cleopatra*; *Coriolanus*; *Winter's Tale*; and then let him say at what period of Shakspeare's life he can be supposed to have written such lines as these—

All good people,

You that thus far have come to pity me,
 Hear what I say, and then go home and lose me.
 I have this day received a traitor's judgment,
 And by that name must die: Yet heaven bear witness,
 And if I have a conscience, let it sink me,
 Even as the axe falls, if I be not faithful.
 The law I bear no malice for my death,
 It has done, on the premises, but justice:
 But those who sought it I could wish more Christians.
 Be what they will, I heartily forgive them:
 Yet let them look they glory not in mischief
 Nor build their evils on the graves of great men;
 For then my guiltless blood must cry against them.
 For further life in this life I ne'er hope,
 Nor will I sue, although the King have mercies,
 More than I dare make faults. You few that loved me,
 And dare be bold to weep for Buckingham,
 His noble friends and fellows, whom to leave
 Is only bitter to him, only dying,
 Go with me like good angels to my end;
 And as the long divorce of steel falls on me,
 Make of your prayers one sweet sacrifice,
 And lift my soul to heaven!

“If I am not much mistaken, he will be convinced that Shakspeare’s style never passed, nor ever could have passed, through this phase. In his earlier plays, when his versification was regular and his language comparatively diffuse, there is none of the studied variety of cadence which we find here; and by the time his versification had acquired more variety, the current of his thought had become more gushing, rapid, and full of eddies; not to add that at no period whatever in the development of his style was the proportion of thought and fancy to words and images so small as it appears in this speech of Buckingham’s. Perhaps there is no passage in Shakspeare which so nearly resembles it as Richard II.’s farewell to his Queen; from which, indeed, it seems to have been imitated; but observe the difference—

Good sometime Queen, prepare thee hence for France;
 Think I am dead: and that even here thou tak’st
 As from my death-bed my last living leave.
 In winter’s tedious nights, sit by the fire
 With good old folks, and let them tell thee tales
 Of woeful ages long ago betid:
 And ere thou bid good-night, to quit their grief,
 Tell thou the lamentable tale of me,
 And send the hearers weeping to their beds.
 For why, the senseless brands will sympathize
 The heavy accent of thy moving tongue,
 And in compassion weep the fire out:
 And some will mourn in ashes, some coal-black,
 For the deposing of a rightful king.

“And if we compare the two entire scenes the difference will appear ten times greater, for Richard’s passion makes a new subject of every passing incident and image, and has as many changes as an Æolian harp.

“To a practised ear the test which I have proposed will, I think, be sufficient, and more conclusive perhaps than any other. Those who are less quick in perceiving the finer rhythmical effects may be more struck with the following consideration. It has been observed, as I said, that lines with a redundant syllable at the end occur in *Henry VIII.* twice as often as in any of Shakspeare’s other plays. Now, it will be found on examination that this observation does not apply to all parts of the play alike, but only to those which I have noticed as, in their general character, un-Shaksperian. In those parts which have the stamp of Shakspeare upon them in other respects, the proportion of lines with the redundant syllable is not greater than in other of his later plays—*Cymbeline*, for instance, and the *Winter’s Tale*. In the opening scene of *Cymbeline*, an unimpassioned conversation, chiefly narrative, we find twenty-five such lines in sixty-seven; in the third scene of the third Act, which is in a higher strain of poetry but still calm, we find twenty-three in one hundred and seven; in the fourth scene, which is full of sudden turns of passion, fifty-three in one hundred and eighty-two. Taking one scene with another, therefore, the lines with the redundant syllable are in the proportion of about two to seven. In the *Winter’s Tale* we may take the second and third scenes of the third Act as including a sufficient variety of styles; and here we find seventy-one in two hundred and forty-eight; the same proportion as nearly as possible, though the scenes were selected at random.

“Let us now see how it is in *Henry VIII.* Here is a table showing the proportion in each successive scene:—

Act.	Scene.	Lines.	Red. Syll.	Prop'n.	Author.
i.	1.	225	63	1 to 3·5	[Shakspere.
	2.	215	74	1 ,, 2·9	,,
	3 and 4.	172	100	1 ,, 1·7	Fletcher.
ii.	1.	164	97	1 ,, 1·6	,,
	2.	129	77	1 ,, 1·6	,,
	3.	107	41	1 ,, 2·6	Shakspere.
	4.	230	72	1 ,, 3·1	,,
iii.	1.	166	119	1 ,, 1·3	Fletcher.
	2.*	193	62	1 ,, 3	Shakspere.
	3.	257	152	1 ,, 1·6	Fletcher.
iv.	1.	116	57	1 ,, 2	,,
	2.	80	51	1 ,, 1·5	,,
	3.	93	51	1 ,, 1·8	,,
v.	1.	176	68	1 ,, 2·5	Shakspere (altered).
	2.	217	115	1 ,, 1·8	Fletcher.
	3.	Almost all prose.			,,
	4.	73	44	1 ,, 1·6	,,]

“Here then we have, out of sixteen separate scenes, six in which the redundant syllable occurs (taking one with another), about as often as in *Cymbeline* and the *Winter's Tale*; the proportion being never higher than two in five, which is the same as in the opening scene of *Cymbeline*; never lower than two in seven, which is the same as in the trial scene in the *Winter's Tale*; and the average being about one in three; while in the remaining ten scenes the proportion of such lines is never less than one in two; in the greater number of them scarcely more than two in three. Nor is there anything in the subject or character of the several scenes by which such a difference can be accounted for. The light and loose conversation at the end of the first Act, the plaintive and laboured

* As far as the exit of King Henry.

oration in the second, the querulous and passionate altercation in the third, the pathetic sorrows of Wolsey, the tragic death of Katharine, the high poetic prophecy of Cranmer, are equally distinguished by this peculiarity. A distinction so broad and uniform, running through so large a portion of the same piece, cannot have been accidental; and the more closely it is examined the more clearly will it appear that the metre in these two sets of scenes is managed upon entirely different principles, and bears evidence of different workmen. To explain all the particular differences would be to analyse the structure first of Shakspeare's metre, then of Fletcher's; a dry and tedious task. But the general difference may easily be made evident by placing any undoubted specimen of Shakspeare's later workmanship by the side of the one, and of Fletcher's middle workmanship by the side of the other; the identity in both cases will be felt at once. . . ."

Mr. Spedding then discusses the question upon what plan the joint labours of Shakespeare and Fletcher were conducted, and conjectures that the former "had conceived the idea of a great historical drama on the subject of Henry VIII. which would have included the divorce of Katharine, the fall of Wolsey, the rise of Cranmer, the coronation of Anne Bullen, and the final separation of the English from the Romish Church, which, being the one great historical event of the reign, would naturally be chosen as the focus of poetic interest; that he had proceeded in the execution of this idea as far perhaps as the third Act, which might have included the establishment of Cranmer in the seat

of the highest ecclesiastical authority (the council-chamber scene in the fifth being designed as an introduction to that); when, finding that his fellows of the Globe were in distress for a new play to honour the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with, he thought that his half-finished work might help them, and accordingly handed them his manuscript to make what they could of it; that they put it into the hands of Fletcher (already in high repute as a popular and expeditious playwright), who finding the original design not very suitable to the occasion and utterly beyond his capacity, expanded the three acts into five, by interspersing scenes of show and magnificence, and passages of description, and long poetical conversations, in which his strength lay; dropped all allusion to the great ecclesiastical revolution, which he could not manage and for which he had no materials supplied him; converted what should have been the middle into the end; and so turned out a splendid 'historical masque, or shew-play,' which no doubt was very popular then, as it has been ever since. ."

Mr. Spedding's hypothesis of this joint authorship, and,—what is more remarkable,—as to the division of parts, was confirmed by the fact that another eminent critic, Mr. Samuel Hickson, had independently arrived at the same conclusions, except that in Act v. 1, he did not recognize any alteration of Shakespeare by a second hand. To the division thus made Mr. Fleay and Mr. Furnivall, in 1874, applied the test of rhyme lines, double endings, stopt and unstopt lines, etc., etc., and found the results to accord with Mr. Spedding's theory. But sceptical criticism was to go still further;

and in 1885 a paper by Mr. Robert Boyle was read at a meeting of the New Shakspeare Society in which the writer denied to Shakespeare all share in the play, ascribing it wholly to Massinger and Fletcher, and assigning with minute precision the portions due to each of the joint labourers. Dr. Aldis Wright, in his edition of the play published by the Clarendon Press in 1891, concurs with Mr. Boyle so far as to doubt the presence of Shakespeare's hand, and "in order to help to some extent to determine the complicated question of the authorship of the play," gives a list of un-Shakespearian words and phrases occurring in the parts usually attributed to Shakespeare, as well as in those which by Mr. Spedding's division are Fletcher's. Strong, however, as seem the arguments in favour of a divided authorship, there are critics of high authority who refuse to be convinced. Chief among these is Mr. Swinburne, whose dissent is mainly based upon a disbelief that Fletcher was capable, even in his highest moods, of writing certain scenes, more especially the death-scene of Katharine—admitting that "much of the play is externally as like the usual style of Fletcher as it is unlike the usual style of Shakespeare," Mr. Swinburne, *A Study of Shakespeare*, p. 83, writes, "The question is whether we can find one scene, one speech, one passage, which in spirit, in scope, in purpose, bears the same or any comparable resemblance to the work of Fletcher"; and after instancing and commenting upon the dying speech of Buckingham, the farewell of Wolsey to his greatness, and his parting scene with Cromwell, he continues (pp. 86, 87), "And yet, if this were all, we might be content to believe that the

dignity of the subject and the high example of his present associate had for once lifted the natural genius of Fletcher above itself. But the fine and subtle criticism of Mr. Spedding has in the main, I think, successfully and clearly indicated the lines of demarcation undeniably discernible in this play—between the severer style of certain scenes or speeches, and the laxer and more fluid style of others; between the graver, solidier, more condensed parts of the apparently composite work, and those which are clearer, thinner, more diffused and diluted in expression. If under the latter head we had to class such passages only as the dying speech of Buckingham and the christening speech of Cranmer, it might after all be almost impossible to resist the internal evidence of Fletcher's handiwork. Certainly we hear the same soft continuous note of easy eloquence, level and limpid as a stream of crystalline transparence, in the plaintive adieu of the condemned statesman and the panegyrical prophecy of the favoured prelate. If this, I say, were all, we might admit that there is nothing—I have already admitted it—in either passage beyond the reach of Fletcher. But on the hypothesis so ably maintained by the editor of Bacon there hangs no less a consequence than this: that we must assign to the same hand the crowning glory of the whole poem, the death-scene of Katharine. Now, if Fletcher could have written that scene—a scene on which the only criticism ever passed, the only commendation ever bestowed, by the verdict of successive centuries, has been that of tears and silence—if Fletcher could have written a scene so far beyond our applause, so far above our

acclamation, then the memory of no great poet has ever been so grossly wronged, so shamefully defrauded of its highest claim to honour. But, with all reverence for that memory, I must confess that I cannot bring myself to believe it. Any explanation appears to me more probable than this." . . . And again (pp. 93, 94), "We admit, then, that this play offers us in some not unimportant passages the single instance of a style not elsewhere precisely or altogether traceable in Shakespeare; that no exact parallel to it can be found among his other plays; and that if it be not the partial work it may certainly be taken as the general model of Fletcher in his tragic poetry. On the other hand, we contend that its exceptional quality might perhaps be explicable as a tentative essay in a new line by one who tried so many styles before settling into his latest; and that, without far stronger, clearer, and completer proof than has yet been or can ever be advanced, the question is not solved but merely evaded by the assumption of a double authorship." . . . Equally emphatic is the protest of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps in his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, p. 304, 2nd ed.; while Professor A. W. Ward in his *History of English Dramatic Literature*, i. 447, regards the metrical peculiarities of *Henry VIII.* as "after all only extreme developments of tendencies which indisputably become stronger in Shakespeare's versification with the progress of time; and as the play (according to the view urged above) was one of the latest, if not the very latest, of Shakespeare's dramatic works, they would here reach their highest point." . . . The same critic points out that as a circumstance which

seems "hardly to favour the hypothesis of Fletcher's co-operation with Shakespeare in this play—that a striking passage in Cranmer's speech is very ludicrously parodied in Fletcher's *The Beggars' Bush* (in Higgen's mock address, ii. 1)." These dissents are, so far as I am aware, the only attempts of importance that have been made to meet Mr. Spedding's arguments; while Professor Dowden and Doctor Abbott agree with Mr. Spedding in denying Shakespeare's authorship either in part or in whole. My own opinion on the subject is of little importance. But I may remark that, while twenty years ago Mr. Spedding's view seemed to me almost irresistible from metrical considerations alone, it is now the dramatic treatment of the subject that to my mind tells most forcibly against single authorship at one and the same period. At the same time a closer study of Fletcher has led me more and more to doubt, with Mr. Swinburne, that poet's power to have written the death-scene of Katharine, and consequently to doubt his share in any part of the play. In Mr. Boyle's theory I can find nothing that invites my agreement. The parallelisms of language, at all events, upon which he strongly relies, seem to me to be fully accounted for as imitations by the pupil of his master,—and Massinger was notoriously given to such imitations. In Mr. Spedding's remarks upon the opening scene of *Henry VIII.* I entirely concur; and throughout the list of Massinger's plays one may search in vain for any scene even faintly resembling that one in the characteristics noted by Mr. Spedding. Of the remaining portions of the play which Messrs. Spedding and Hickson assign to Shakespeare, there is to my

mind no less certainty of proof, and I should be surprised to find Dr. Wright agreeing with Mr. Boyle in his negative proposition, if it were not that the same high authority fails to catch the voice of Shakespeare speaking either to his ear or to his understanding in any part of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

**Historical
sources.**

"*Henry VIII.* is based upon the Chronicle of Holinshed, with occasional use perhaps of that of Halle continued by Grafton. Holinshed had derived much of his account of Wolsey from Cavendish's *Life*, to which probably Shakspeare had access, though it was not printed till 1641, and then in a garbled form . . . The tradition of Wolsey having been the son of a butcher is not in Cavendish. The episode of the accusation and acquittal of Cranmer seems to have been taken by Shakspeare from Fox's *Christian Martyrs*, published in 1563. The transaction is related at length in Strype's *Memorials* of the Archbishop; but Mr. Froude (iv. 5) was unable to discover any contemporary authority which would allow him to place confidence in the details. The order of the events in the play is not in strict accordance with historical accuracy, and as a matter of course the poet has dealt very freely with distances of time. Thus, the play begins with a reference, as to an event not long past, to the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520), which agrees with the main action of the beginning of the play, the fall of Buckingham (1521). But contemporaneously with this is made to take place the reversal of the decree for taxing the people (1526); and Campeggio is made to arrive at the time of Buckingham's fall, whereas he actually arrived eight years afterwards

(1529). There seem similar inaccuracies, not perhaps unintentional (for much depends on dates in this unpleasant question), in the chronology of the beginning and course of Henry's attachment to Anne Bullen. Lastly, the acquittal of Cranmer happened ten years later (1543) than the birth of Elizabeth (1533) with which it is in the play made to coincide. . . . There is also a personal confusion between the Duke of Norfolk (i. 1) who was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and who died in 1524, and was therefore not living at the time of Wolsey's overthrow in 1529, and the Duke of Norfolk who became so in 1524 and was in 1520 deputy in Ireland (iii. 2). The Surrey in 1529 was the poet; and Shakspeare has rolled two Norfolks, and again two Surreys, into one" (Ward, *Hist. of Eng. Dramatic Literature*).

→ Katharine is represented to us in history as proud of her birth as daughter of a Spanish king and of her position as Queen of England, firm even to obstinacy in her convictions, imperious of temper, somewhat cold and reserved in manner, tenacious of her rights; but at the same time as a woman of deep piety, of unstained purity, simple, kind-hearted, a loving mother, a dutiful and affectionate wife. With this picture that set before us in *Henry VIII.* is fully consistent; though ~~the poet with loving hand~~ has softened the traits of character that partook of harshness, and touchingly beautified the patience with which the martyred queen endured her trials and wrongs. Katharine appears in four scenes; i. 2; ii. 4; iii. 1; and iv. 2; ~~the two first being ascribed by Mr. Spedding to Shakespeare, the two last to Fletcher.~~ In i. 2 she

Some of the characters: Katharine.

pleads the cause of the people driven into rebellion by the heavy exactions devised by the unscrupulous Chancellor. She also endeavours to defend Buckingham against Wolsey's charges. Her attitude in the former case is earnest and benevolent, firm in the cause of those she considers injured, while with dignified submission to the king she urges mercy not merely as a kingly virtue, but as kingly policy. In Buckingham's behalf she appeals to motives of charity and justice, courageously facing the imperious cardinal, whose craft she sees through and whose malevolence she knows too well from personal experience. The trial scene, in ii. 4, shows her brought to bay by her persecutors and well assured that her ruin as a wife is the object they pursue. Kneeling before the king she first entreats that pity which an alien to the country, without friends to stand by her, with no assurance of equal justice, might fitly claim. As against the decision which she has so much reason to fear she pleads her wifely duty rendered with no unstinting willingness, the absence of any act deserving her husband's displeasure, her constant endeavours to embrace his will and pleasure, her determination to have no friends that were not also his friends, the strong tie which unites them in the many children born of their bodies, the long years during which she has been loyal to her honour and her wedlock bond. Lastly, urging that the validity of her marriage had been fully weighed by his father and her own, and confirmed by the opinions of a wise council gathered from everywhere in Europe, she asks for nothing more than a respite till she has consulted her friends in

Spain. The king makes no answer, but leaves everything to Wolsey and Campeius. With hypocritical assurances the legates endeavour to soothe her. Estimating their words at their proper value, Katharine turns upon Wolsey, challenges his qualification to be a judge on the score of his malicious hatred and his persuasions of the king to set the marriage aside. She accuses him of self-seeking, falsehood, arrogance, craft, hypocrisy, insolence of power, disregard of his holy profession; and, appealing to the Pope to bring her whole cause before him, resolutely refuses to be tried by other tribunal. As she quits the scene, the king orders her to be recalled; but her imperious determination will listen to no further commands, and she sweeps out of court in the majesty of outraged innocence. This scene has often and naturally been set beside that of the trial of Hermione in the *Winter's Tale*, a play of nearly the same date. Mr. Jameson, for instance, well compares "the magnanimity, the noble simplicity, the purity of heart, the resignation in each,—how perfectly equal in degree! how diametrically opposite in kind!" Mr. Boyle, too, makes the same comparison. But having settled in his mind that the scene is Massinger's, not Shakespeare's, he is at pains to show the inferiority of Katharine's conduct to that of Hermione. He seems, however, to forget that the latter is a dramatic creation, the former an historical character; and in every point in which he specifically condemns Katharine's attitude, he fails to notice that the poet, be he who he may, is closely following the Chronicles. Others, again, find in this close adherence to the language of the poet's

authorities, here and elsewhere in the play, an argument against Shakespeare's hand, though the closeness is not greater than in other plays of Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, for instance, where, had it been needed, a better excuse would have been found for idealization of character. We next see Katharine in the privacy of her own apartments, occupied with domestic pursuits in the company of her women, and seeking in music some relief to her troublous thoughts. Her refusal to plead before any court the king might assemble has baffled his designs, and he now seeks through his tools, the legates, to cajole her into acquiescence. These would persuade her to receive their message in her private chamber; and when answered by her that there's nothing she has done which "deserves a corner," they endeavour to hide from her attendants the nature of their communication by addressing her in Latin. Foiled by her determination that there shall be no concealment from those about her, Wolsey and Campeius alternately endeavour to wind their toils about her. She pleads her inability to answer their demand without time given for deliberation, without counsel for her cause, the cause of "a woman, friendless, hopeless." Her appeal is dignified, patient, and touching. But to such men, on such a mission, useless of course. They *will* wring an answer from her; and when Campeius urges that she should put her "main cause into the king's protection," who "is loving and most gracious," her patience is exhausted and her righteous indignation blazes out in fierce denunciation of their hypocrisy, in passionate defence of her conduct as a wife, in resolute refusal to abandon those

rights which are hers alike by human and divine law. But the tension of the contest is too much for her. Anger gives way to tears, and before the interview is over she prays forgiveness for whatever has not been seemly in her answer, and even sues to her tormentors to help her with their counsels. Of this scene Mr. Spedding remarks that he finds the Queen "as much changed as Buckingham was after his sentence, though without any alteration of circumstances to account for an alteration of temper." Wherein does this change consist? It is true that, overwrought by excitement of the struggle, Katharine gives way to a brief weakness instead of carrying herself throughout with that haughty determination which concludes the trial scene. But surely there is a considerable alteration in her circumstances. She now knows beyond all doubt that there is no justice to be hoped for from the king; she has had full experience of the malignant persistency of the legates; in the interval of time she has been brooding over her sorrows with no one to counsel and comfort her; and it is one thing to appear before the king in solemn trial of her rights, with at all events some show of help in the person of her advisers, another thing to submit to the intrusive persecution of her most subtle enemies, and to feel that no place is sacred from their determined resolve.) In the second scene of the fourth Act we stand beside her death-bed. Here all is peace. Alive, as she shows herself to Wolsey's crimes and sins and cruelty to herself, she will yet listen to Griffith's apology for him, will honour him in his ashes, will wish that peace may be with him. "Her soul," says Gervinus, "had remained

beautiful upon the throne, in her outer degradation it was more beautiful still; she goes to the grave reconciled with her true enemy and destroyer." This self-negation made, this last infirmity overcome, her thoughts and cares are for her husband to whom she has been so loyal, for her daughter in behalf of whose rights she has battled so courageously, for her servants whose fidelity has been so well earned by her loving treatment. For her own wrongs she has no word of reproach; for herself she merely craves such burial as will mark the chastity of her life and commemorate the queenly title which with her it has been a religion to maintain. If this scene be Fletcher's, I am unable to see, with Mr. Boyle, in what way that poet has "made quite a different figure of her" from the Katharine we behold in the scenes usually attributed to Shakespeare. Years of sorrow and humiliation have no doubt taught their chastening lesson; passion and personal resentment have been refined away; the piety that was fervent even to austerity is fervent still, but with a glow that has become mellow; affectionate impulses which a critical position repressed have found expansion in the homely life among her dependents; earthly dignities and claims have shrunk to their right proportions, but the principle which bade her maintain them is not to be extinguished even by the presence of death.

Anne Bullen. Whatever may be the true story of Anne Bullen's life after she became queen, the latest historical researches show her to us in her maiden days as a stranger to the true delicacy of a lady in admitting the addresses of the king and receiving "the homage

of the court as its future sovereign, while the king's wife, her mistress, as yet resided under the same roof, with the title and position of queen, and while the question was still undecided of the validity of the first marriage" (Froude, *Hist. of Eng.*, i. 163): they further show her to us as frivolous, a coquette, indifferent to the obligations of gratitude, and not too careful of the truth. In our play (leaving out the Procession-scene which is but dumb-show) Anne appears only in i. 4, where she utters but half a dozen words, and again in ii. 3. Of the sketch contained in this latter scene, Mrs. Jameson remarks, "How completely, in the few passages appropriated to Anne Bullen, is her character pourtrayed! with what a delicate and yet luxuriant grace is she sketched off, with her gaiety and her beauty, her levity, her extreme mobility, her sweetness of disposition, her tenderness of heart, and, in short, all her *femalities!* How nobly has Shakspeare done justice to the two women, and heightened our interest in both, by placing the praises of Katherine in the mouth of Anne Bullen!" I fear that I cannot see the picture in the same light. Indeed to me it shows her with most of the frailties imputed by history. In her conversation with Lord Sands she evidently relishes the badinage that verges on indelicacy, while the much fuller flavour of the Old Lady's language offends her only inasmuch as she is the mark of its banter. Her sorrow for the queen does not hinder her from sunning herself in the rays of fortune dawning upon her, does not stand in the way of welcoming the king's addresses; but, as Mrs. Jameson admits, betrays the shallow nature to which

the loss of pomp and majesty is everything, the loss of love and wifely rights nothing. Had her sympathy been more than conventional life-service, had her disavowal of ambition been anything but the thinly-veiled hypocrisy which prudence dictated, her "soft cheveril conscience" would not have been so ready to "stretch it" to the acceptance of a position that belied alike gratitude and delicacy. Admitting all this and more, Mr. Boyle, in order to support his hypothesis that ii. 3 is not by Shakespeare, remarks, "That the poet means us to have a high opinion of her is plain from the trouble which he takes to show what an impression she makes on her surroundings": and goes on to quote the eulogistic language of the Lord Chamberlain (ii. 3. 75), of Suffolk (iii. 2. 49), of Wolsey (iii. 2. 97), of the second Gentleman (iv. 1. 43), and of Lovell (v. 1. 24). To this reasoning Mr. Boswell-Stone acutely answers, "No, ii. 3 is a revelation of the true character of Anne Bullen. She cannot conceal the essential vulgarity of her nature from the Old Lady, who is a kindred spirit. But Anne Bullen's beauty, graceful bearing, and modest speech impose upon outsiders, all of whom, observe, are men. I do not believe that we are meant to regard the Anne Bullen of ii. 3 as really deserving the golden opinions which she has won from many, but that we are to be enabled, by this scene, to perceive the falsity of popular judgment." He might have added that in the case of Suffolk, Henry's bosom friend, in courtiers like the Chamberlain, the second Gentleman, and Lovell, creatures equally prompt to ban and to bless as occasion serves, the kingly approval would naturally

find an echo; while even on Wolsey the assiduous court that Anne had paid to him was not likely to be without its effect. He might also have added that if we are to form our opinion from what is *said* of a character, then we ought to attach importance to the conscientious scruples and religious fervour imputed to Henry, though the impression so distinctly given us in the play is that these are but a cloak to cover an unholy passion. Further, whatever Anne's real nature, it is indisputable that she did exercise a wide fascination over those with whom she came in contact, and Shakespeare, while showing us her weaknesses and littlenesses, might not be averse from putting into the mouths of his characters anything that such men would be likely to say in praise of the mother of the queen for whom his reverence was so deep. Mr. Boyle, I must add, has another argument in proof that ii. 3 is not by Shakespeare. "The poet's later creations," he tells us, "differ from his earlier figures in a greater idealization. Yet the process of idealization has not gone so far as to destroy their reality. They are 'spirits, but yet women too.' With all their lofty purity, in the presence of which earthly passion feels itself rebuked, they are 'not too bright and good for human nature's daily food.' It is this mixture of the spirit-world with the world of flesh and blood which gives Imogen, Miranda, Marina, and Perdita their unspeakable charm. To this class, if she be a creation of Shakspeare's, Anne Boleyn must belong." Surely the answer here again, as in the comparison between Katharine and Hermione, is that Imogen, Miranda, Marina, and Perdita were

purely creatures of Shakespeare's imagination, Anne Bullen an historical personage whom even the most complacent of her admirers could not idealize into a likeness to Shakespeare's later heroines.

The King.

For the exhibition of such virtues as Henry really possessed the scheme of the play affords but little scope. Turning, as it does, upon his determination to divorce Katharine in order to leave himself free to marry Anne Bullen, it must necessarily show us the unscrupulous means that he employs to this end, and the hypocritical excuses with which he seeks to blind the eyes of those about him, and perhaps to hoodwink his own. Though a courtier like the Lord Chamberlain may affect to believe that "the marriage with his brother's wife has crept too near" the king's "conscience," even Suffolk, his bosom friend, scouts the pretence with the plain avowal, "No, his conscience has crept too near another lady." His courtship of Anne is undisguised, and the "flowing honour" which makes her Marchioness of Pembroke can have but one significance. For his queen he is absolutely without consideration. A trial of which the result is predetermined is made all the more odious by the affectation of justice, by the employment in it of the queen's most bitter enemy, by a hollow eulogy of her virtues, by a long and unctuous declaration of the scruples by which the kingly conscience has been tortured, by an equally hypocritical declaration of his readiness to "wear our mortal state" with "Katharine our queen,"—a declaration immediately to be followed by an impatient 'aside' in which he girds at the "dilatatory sloth of Rome" in setting him free from

the bonds by which he is tied. Even more odious is his unmanly persecution of "the primest creature that's paragon'd o' the world" when, foiled in the matter of the trial, he endeavours to extort acquiescence in a divorce by means of the private exhortations of such emissaries as Wolsey and Campeius. Of conscience and its troublesome monitions we hear no more when his freedom is obtained. As to Katharine, her claims of love, her rights to respect, they are conveniently dumb. With indecent haste Henry celebrates his marriage with Anne Bullen, consigning "the queen of earthly queens" to seclusion in a remote hamlet, stripping her as far as possible of all outward marks of honour, and contenting himself when she lies a-dying with sending his "princely commendations" and entreating her to "take good comfort."

Of Henry's ruthlessness and selfish terrors we have example in the episode of Buckingham's death, an episode in no wise essential to the development of the play. Upon the unsupported accusation of the Duke's surveyor, a creature ignominiously dismissed from his office, the king is at once ready to pronounce Buckingham "a giant traitor," "a traitor to the height." He of course finds it necessary to send the Duke to trial before executing him; but the trial in such circumstances is nothing better than a farce, nothing better than the farce which follows in the case of Katharine. And if for one reason he is glad to rid himself of Buckingham, no less glad does he seem for other reasons of the opportunity to shake himself free of Wolsey. Doubtless he has long felt himself little else than an instrument to be played upon by the

Cardinal's breath. Doubtless he is awake to the danger which lay in that proud prelate's treatment of the equally proud nobles. But so long as the matter of the divorce is unsettled, he dares not forfeit Wolsey's help. Tyrant as he is, he lacks courage to resist the tyranny of a more imperious and more subtle mind until, his own objects being gained, the fortunate disclosure of Wolsey's treachery compels him to, and furnishes ample excuses for, the dismissal with all dramatic effect of his too powerful auxiliary. His relations with the great nobles are of an autocratic character. Yet these nobles, influenced it may be by a rough *bonhommie* that is perhaps genuine in the king, by his love of magnificence and courtly display, by a strength and boldness of character evident enough when dissimulation is not needed, seem to bear no resentment towards him for his despotic rule, but concur in attributing his worst deeds to the malevolence of the crafty Cardinal. Towards Cranmer alone does Henry behave with generosity and a noble bearing. In the third scene of the fifth Act,—a scene which one would gladly believe to be Shakespeare's,—whether out of gratitude for past services, or that he welcomes an occasion for rebuffing Gardiner, Henry manfully and apparently with sincere esteem defends the Archbishop against his enemies, soundly rates the whole Council, and for ever silences all outward manifestation of their spite. Of this scene Mr. Spedding observes that "nothing in the play is explained by it, nothing depends upon it. It is used only (so far as the argument is concerned) as a preface for introducing Cranmer as godfather to Queen Elizabeth, which might have

been done as a matter of course without any preface at all." "So far as the argument is concerned": certainly. But is it not possible that the scene had another use, that it was felt by the poet that up to this point the king had been pictured in colours which if not too sombre for accordance with historical truth, were at all events so sombre as to offend not merely the kingly susceptibilities of James I., but also the susceptibilities of a nation which, whatever Henry's crimes, forgave him much on account of his struggle for the Protestant religion?

Of Wolsey's character as depicted in our play, ^{Wolsey.} perhaps no more complete analysis could be given than that furnished by Gervinus. "Fortune, favour, and merit," he says, "combined to raise the immoderate ambition of this 'great child of honour,' to advance his pride beyond measure, to quench in him every appearance of restraint and humility, to feed his covetousness and love of pomp, and to spread around him royal splendour. Ambition urges him to strive after ever greater dignities, and greater positions again stir up his ambition into a brighter flame. The means to his ends become indifferent to him; he has never known truth; dissimulation is his slave, behind which he conceals the malice of his heart; munificence without bounds, advancement and favour, chain his servants inviolably to him; bribery gains over to him the confidants of his enemies, whom he pursues with all the cunning of revenge. Half fox, half wolf, he swallows greedily the treasures of the land, oppresses the commons with enormous taxes, and, when the people rebel, he assumes the appearance of having himself diminished

them. With cold arrogance he disregards the blame urged against him on this occasion, and treats it as the envious rancour of the weak and the malicious, who cannot measure his merits. He makes a systematic opposition against the nobles. No peer is uninjured by him; he ruins the class in the mass, when by arbitrary designation of the persons who are to accompany the king to the festive meeting with the King of France, and by the immense splendour which they were to display there, he consumes the fortunes of many families. And when the powerful Buckingham is aimed at, he surrounds him with spies and hirelings, and plans his future fall, while he removes his nearest and most powerful relatives to positions remote from the court. Thus striding with proud head over the highest of the land, he attempts it even with the king. He had become accustomed to rank himself with princes; his servants were audacious enough to declare that their master would sooner be waited on than any other subject, if not than the king; he made use of the formula '*Ego et rex meus,*' when he wrote to foreign courts. To occupy the papal chair, to obtain a rank even superior to his king's, this is the ultimate end of his ambition. He has seized upon the higher ecclesiastical positions in the land; he next strives, without the king's knowledge, to become the papal legate; it is the Pope himself who stirs up his ambition. To obtain the papacy he imprudently accumulates upon himself the treasures of the country. For this object he tries to bring his king into alliance with France. He has in vain sought the archbishopric of Toledo from the emperor, he must thus rest on his adversary France.

To this end that resplendent feast at the meeting of the two kings must be kept in the Vale of Arde, and Buckingham and the opponents to this alliance must be put out of the way. This is not yet the extreme point to which his revenge against the emperor and his wish to unite with France drive him. He undertakes to ruin the queen herself; she is the emperor's aunt, and his enemy moreover already from her character. She has lived twenty years with the king in the happiest concord, but he, taking as wide a range as ever, by means of a French ecclesiastic throws out scruples as to the lawfulness of the marriage, and what these cannot effect, the king's sensuality accomplishes. The separation is effected in order that the king, according to the cardinal's intention, may marry the Duchess of Alençon, the French king's sister. If all these aims had been obtained, if Henry VIII. had entered into so close a connection with France, if Wolsey had ascended the papal chair, we may readily believe that he would have played the part towards Henry VIII. which Thomas à Becket in the see of Canterbury acted towards his king, or that under the influence of this powerful man, who even in his present position fettered the kingdom by his secret dealings, Catholicism would have been anew established in England. But the cardinal had estimated everything except the king's sensual passion. The scruple concerning the legitimacy of his marriage had no sooner been instilled into him, and the prospect of a new marriage presented to him, than he quickly cast his eye on the beautiful Anne Bullen. His conscience now became urgent, the cardinal's delay was insupport-

able to him, the hesitation of the papal church irritating; and this is, thus Wolsey subsequently perceives too late, 'the weight that pulled him down.' When having ventured beyond his depth in a sea of glory, when his high-blown pride has broken under him, and he has sunk, he returns to the true value of the man within him; he acknowledges that too much honour is a heavy burden for a man who aspires to Heaven, and he warns Cromwell of the sin of ambition, by which the angels fell. He casts off at once the burden of the world and of sin, he recovers the strength of his soul in poverty, and true happiness in misery, and in an edifying return to true self-knowledge, which the poet, resting on the testimony of history, bestows upon him, according to which this man of duplicity, severity, and malice was never happy but in his fall, he gains more honour in the hour of his death than by all the pomp of his life."

TIME-ANALYSIS.

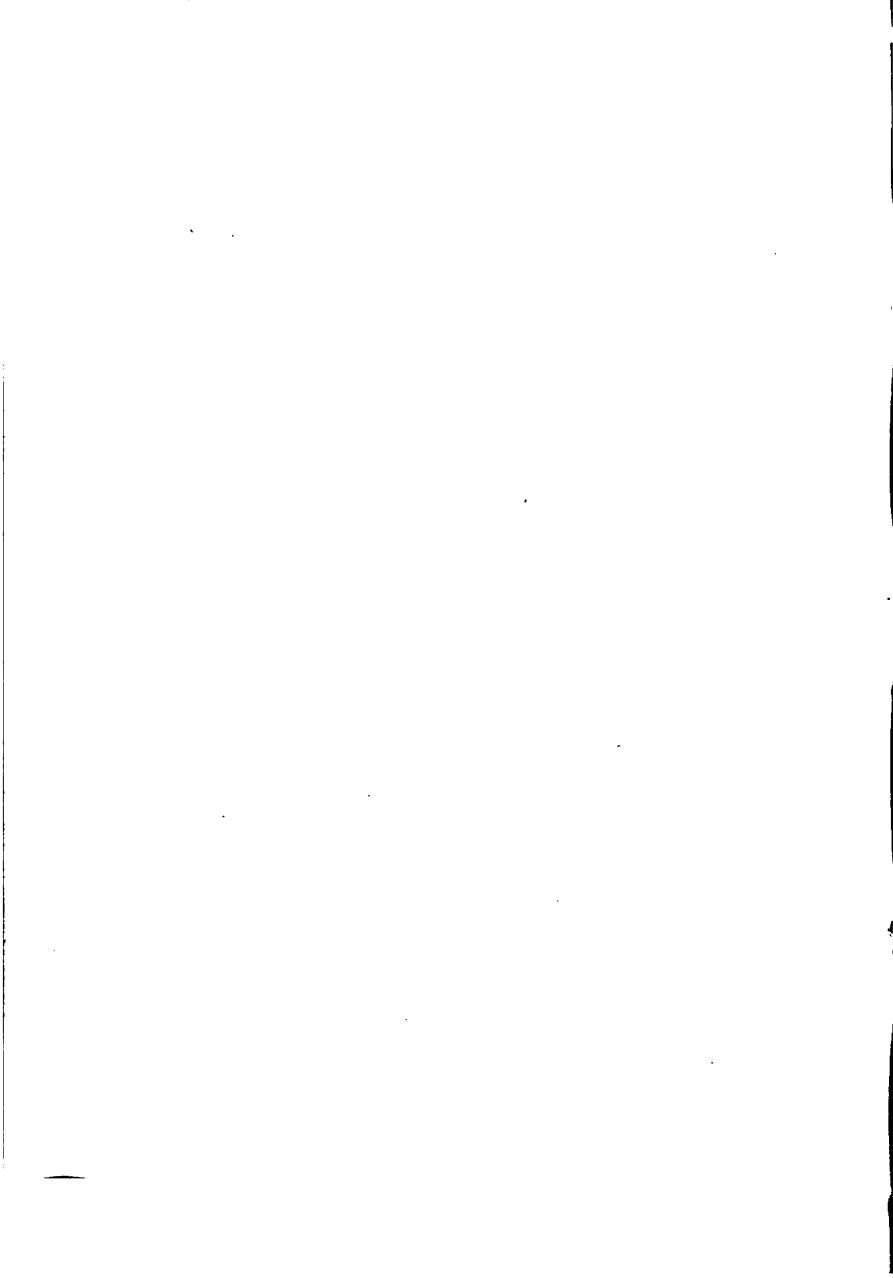
Time-
Analysis.

"The time of this Play," says Mr. P. A. Daniel, "is seven days represented on the stage, with intervals, the length of which it is, perhaps, impossible to determine: see how dates are shuffled in the list below.

Day 1. Act i. Sc. 1-4.	Day 5. Act iii. Sc. 2.
<i>Interval.</i>	<i>Interval.</i>
Day 2. Act ii. Sc. 1-3.	Day 6. Act iv. Sc. 1 and 2.
Day 3. Act ii. Sc. 4.	<i>Interval.</i>
Day 4. Act iii. Sc. 1.	Day 7. Act v. Sc. 1-5.
<i>Interval.</i>	

HISTORIC DATES, ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF THE PLAY.

1520. June. Field of the Cloth of Gold.
1522. March. War declared with France.
- „ May—July. Visit of the Emperor to the English Court
1521. April 16th. Buckingham brought to the Tower.
1527. Henry becomes acquainted with Anne Bullen.
1526. May. Arraignment of Buckingham. May 17. His execution.
1527. August. Commencement of proceedings for the divorce.
1528. October. Cardinal Campeius arrives in London.
1532. Sept. Anne Bullen created Marchioness of Pembroke.
1529. May. Assembly of the Court at Blackfriars to try the case of the divorce.
1529. } Cranmer abroad working for the divorce.
1533. }
1529. Return of Cardinal Campeius to Rome.
1533. January. Marriage of Henry with Anne Bullen.
1529. October. Wolsey deprived of the Great Seal.
- „ October 25th. Sir Thomas More chosen Lord Chancellor.
1533. March 30th. Cranmer consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.
- „ May 23rd. Nullity of the marriage with Katherine declared.
1530. November 29. Death of Cardinal Wolsey.
1533. June 1st. Coronation of Anne.
1536. January 8th. Death of Queen Katherine.
1533. September 7th. Birth of Elizabeth.
1544. Cranmer called before the Council.
1533. September. Christening of Elizabeth.



**THE FAMOUS HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF
KING HENRY THE EIGHTH**

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

KING HENRY the Eighth.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

CARDINAL CAMPEIUS

CAPUCCIUS, Ambassador from the Emperor Charles V.

CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

DUKE OF NORFOLK.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

EARL OF SURREY.

Lord Chamberlain.

Lord Chancellor.

GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester.

Bishop of Lincoln.

LORD ABERGAVENNY.

LORD SANDS.

SIR HENRY GUILDFORD.

SIR THOMAS LOVELL.

SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

SIR NICHOLAS VAUX.

Secretaries to Wolsey

CROMWELL, Servant to Wolsey.

GRIFFITH, Gentleman-usher to Queen Katharine.

Three Gentlemen.

DOCTOR BUTTS, Physician to the King.

Garter King-at-Arms.

Surveyor to the Duke of Buckingham.

BRANDON, and a Sergeant-at-Arms.

Door-keeper of the Council-chamber.

Porter, and his Man. Page to Gardiner. A Crier.

QUEEN KATHARINE, wife to King Henry, afterwards divorced.

ANNE BULLEN, her Maid of Honour, afterwards Queen.

An old Lady, friend to Anne Bullen.

PATIENCE, woman to Queen Katharine.

Several Lords and Ladies in the Dumb Shows; Women attending upon the Queen; Scribes, Officers, Guards, and other Attendants. Spirits.

SCENE: *London; Westminster; Kimbolton.*

THE FAMOUS HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF
KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

THE PROLOGUE.

I COME no more to make you laugh : things now,
That bear a weighty and a serious brow,
Sad, high, and working, full of state and woe,
Such noble scenes as draw the eye to flow,
We now present. Those that can pity, here
May, if they think it well, let fall a tear ;
The subject will deserve it. Such as give
Their money out of hope they may believe,
May here find truth too. Those that come to see
Only a show or two, and so agree 10
The play may pass, if they be still and willing,
I'll undertake may see away their shilling
Richly in two short hours. Only they
That come to hear a merry bawdy play,
A noise of targetts, or to see a fellow
In a long motley coat guarded with yellow,
Will be deceived ; for, gentle hearers, know,
To rank our chosen truth with such a show
As fool and fight is, beside forfeiting
Our own brains, and the opinion that we bring, 20
To make that only true we now intend,

Will leave us never an understanding friend.
 Therefore, for goodness' sake, and as you are known
 The first and happiest hearers of the town,
 Be sad, as we would make ye : think ye see
 The very persons of our noble story
 As they were living ; think you see them great,
 And follow'd with the general throng and sweat
 Of thousand friends ; then in a moment, see
 How soon this mightiness meets misery : 30
 And, if you can be merry then, I'll say
 A man may weep upon his wedding-day.

ACT I.

SCENE I. *London. An ante-chamber in the palace.*

*Enter the DUKE OF NORFOLK at one door ; at the other, the
 DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM and the LORD ABERGAVENNY.*

Buck. Good morrow, and well met. How have ye done
 Since last we saw in France ?

Nor. I thank your grace,
 Healthful ; and ever since a fresh admirer
 Of what I saw there.

Buck. An untimely ague
 Stay'd me a prisoner in my chamber when
 Those suns of glory, those two lights of men,
 Met in the vale of Andren.

Nor. 'Twixt Guynes and Arde :
 I was then present, saw them salute on horseback :
 Beheld them, when they lighted, how they clung
 In their embracement, as they grew together ; 10
 Which had they, what four throned ones could have weigh'd
 Such a compounded one ?

Buck. All the whole time
 I was my chanber's prisoner.

Nor. Then you lost
The view of earthly glory : men might say,
Till this time pomp was single, but now married
To one above itself. Each following day
Became the next day's master, till the last
Made former wonders its. To-day the French,
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English ; and, to-morrow, they 20
Made Britain India : every man that stood
Show'd like a mine. Their dwarfish pages were
As cherubins, all gilt : the madams too,
Not used to toil, did almost sweat to bear
The pride upon them, that their very labour
Was to them as a painting : now this masque
Was cried incomparable ; and the ensuing night
Made it a fool and beggar. The two kings,
Equal in lustre, were now best, now worst,
As presence did present them ; him in eye, 30
Still him in praise : and, being present both
'Twas said they saw but one ; and no discerner
Durst wag his tongue in censure. When these suns—
For so they phrase 'em—by their heralds challenged
The noble spirits to arms, they did perform
Beyond thought's compass ; that former fabulous story,
Being now seen possible enough, got credit,
That Bevis was believed.

Buck. O, you go far.

Nor. As I belong to worship and affect
In honour honesty, the tract of every thing 40
Would by a good discourser lose some life,
Which action's self was tongue to. All was royal ;
To the disposing of it nought rebell'd,
Order gave each thing view ; the office did
Distinctly his full function.

Buck. Who did guide,
I mean, who set the body and the limbs

Of this great sport together, as you guess ?

Nor. One, certes, that promises no element
In such a business.

Buck. I pray you, who, my lord ?

Nor. All this was order'd by the good discretion
Of the right reverend Cardinal of York. 50

Buck. The devil speed him ! no man's pie is freed
From his ambitious finger. What had he
To do in these fierce vanities ? I wonder
That such a keech can with his very bulk
Take up the rays o' the beneficial sun
And keep it from the earth.

Nor. Surely, sir,
There's in him stuff that puts him to these ends ;
For, being not propp'd by ancestry, whose grace
Chalks successors their way, nor call'd upon 60
For high feats done to the crown ; neither allied
To eminent assistants ; but, spider-like,
Out of his self-drawing web, he gives us note,
The force of his own merit makes his way ;
A gift that heaven gives for him, which buys
A place next to the king.

Aber. I cannot tell
What heaven hath given him,—let some graver eye
Pierce into that ; but I can see his pride
Peep through each part of him : whence has he that,
If not from hell ? the devil is a niggard, 70
Or has given all before, and he begins
A new hell in himself.

Buck. Why the devil,
Upon this French going out, took he upon him,
Without the privity o' the king, to appoint
Who should attend on him ? He makes up the file
Of all the gentry ; for the most part such
To whom as great a charge as little honour
He meant to lay upon : and his own letter,

The honourable board of council out,
Must fetch him in he papers.

Aber. I do know
Kinsmen of mine, three at the least, that have
By this so sicken'd their estates, that never
They shall abound as formerly.

80

Buck. O, many
Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em
For this great journey. What did this vanity
But minister communication of
A most poor issue ?

Nor. Grievingly I think,
The peace between the French and us not values
The cost that did conclude it.

Buck. Every man,
After the hideous storm that follow'd, was
A thing inspired ; and, not consulting, broke
Into a general prophecy ; That this tempest,
Dashing the garment of this peace, aboded
The sudden breach on 't.

90

Nor. Which is budded out ;
For France hath flaw'd the league, and hath attach'd
Our merchants' goods at Bourdeaux.

Aber. Is it therefore
The ambassador is silenced ?

Nor. Marry, is 't.

Aber. A proper title of a peace ; and purchased
At a superfluos rate !

Buck. Why, all this business
Our reverend cardinal carried.

Nor. Like it your grace,
The state takes notice of the private difference
Betwixt you and the cardinal. I advise you—
And take it from a heart that wishes towards you
Honour and plenteous safety—that you read
The cardinal's malice and his potency

100

Together ; to consider further that
 What his high hatred would effect wants not
 A minister in his power. You know his nature,
 That he's revengeful, and I know his sword
 Hath a sharp edge : it's long and, 't may be said, 110
 It reaches far, and where 'twill not extend,
 Thither he darts it. Bosom up my counsel,
 You 'll find it wholesome. Lo, where comes that rock
 That I advise your shunning.

Enter CARDINAL WOLSEY, *the purse borne before him, certain of the Guard, and two Secretaries with papers. The CARDINAL in his passage fixeth his eye on BUCKINGHAM, and BUCKINGHAM on him, both full of disdain.*

Wol. The Duke of Buckingham's surveyor, ha ?
 Where's his examination ?

First Sec. Here, so please you.

Wol. Is he in person ready ?

First Sec. Ay, please your grace.

Wol. Well, we shall then know more ; and Buckingham
 Shall lessen this big look. [*Exeunt Wolsey and his Train.*]

Buck. This butcher's cur is venom-mouth'd, and I 120
 Have not the power to muzzle him ; therefore best
 Not wake him in his slumber. A beggar's book
 Outworths a noble's blood.

Nor. What, are you chafed ?
 Ask God for temperance ; that's the appliance only
 Which your disease requires.

Buck. I read in 's looks
 Matter against me ; and his eye reviled
 Me, as his abject object : at this instant
 He bores me with some trick : he's gone to the king ;
 I 'll follow and outstare him.

Nor. Stay, my lord,
 And let your reason with your choler question 130
 What 'tis you go about : to climb steep hills

Requires slow pace at first : anger is like
 A full-hot horse, who being allow'd his way,
 Self-mettle tires him. Not a man in England
 Can advise me like you : be to yourself
 As you would to your friend.

Buck. I'll to the king ;
 And from a mouth of honour quite cry down
 This Ipswich fellow's insolence ; or proclaim
 There's difference in no persons.

Nor. Be advised ;
 Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot 140
 That it do singe yourself : we may outrun,
 By violent swiftness, that which we run at,
 And lose by over-running. Know you not,
 The fire that mounts the liquor till 't run o'er,
 In seeming to augment it wastes it ? Be advised :
 I say again, there is no English soul
 More stronger to direct you than yourself,
 If with the sap of reason you would quench,
 Or but allay, the fire of passion.

Buck. Sir,
 I am thankful to you ; and I'll go along 150
 By your prescription : but this top-proud fellow,
 Whom from the flow of gall I name not but
 From sincere motions, by intelligence,
 And proofs as clear as founts in July when
 We see each grain of gravel, I do know
 To be corrupt and treasonous.

Nor. Say not 'treasonous.'

Buck. To the king I'll say't ; and make my vouch as
 strong
 As shore of rock. Attend. This holy fox,
 Or wolf, or both,—for he is equal ravenous
 As he is subtle, and as prone to mischief 160
 As able to perform 't ; his mind and place
 Infecting one another, yea, reciprocally—

Only to show his pomp as well in France
 As here at home, suggests the king our master
 To this last costly treaty, the interview,
 That swallow'd so much treasure, and like a glass
 Did break i' the rinsing.

Nor. Faith, and so it did.

Buck. Pray, give me favour, sir. This cunning cardinal
 The articles o' the combination drew
 As himself pleased ; and they were ratified 170
 As he cried 'thus let be': to as much end
 As give a crutch to the dead : but our count-cardinal
 Has done this, and 'tis well ; for worthy Wolsey,
 Who cannot err, he did it. Now this follows,—
 Which, as I take it, is a kind of puppy
 To the old dam, treason,—Charles the emperor,
 Under pretence to see the queen his aunt,—
 For 'twas indeed his colour, but he came
 To whisper Wolsey,—here makes visitation :
 His fears were, that the interview betwixt 180
 England and France might, through their amity,
 Breed him some prejudice ; for from this league
 Peep'd harms that menaced him : he privily
 Deals with our cardinal ; and, as I trow,—
 Which I do well ; for I am sure the emperor
 Paid ere he promised ; whereby his suit was granted
 Ere it was ask'd ; but when the way was made,
 And paved with gold, the emperor thus desired,
 That he would please to alter the king's course,
 And break the foresaid peace. Let the king know, 190
 As soon he shall by me, that thus the cardinal
 Does buy and sell his honour as he pleases,
 And for his own advantage.

Nor. I am sorry

To hear this of him ; and could wish he were
 Something mistaken in 't.

Buck. No, not a syllable :

I do pronounce him in that very shape
He shall appear in proof.

Enter BRANDON, a Sergeant-at-arms before him, and two or three of the Guard.

Bran. Your office, sergeant; execute it

Serg.

Sir,

My lord the Duke of Buckingham, and Earl
Of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, I
Arrest thee of high treason, in the name
Of our most sovereign king.

200

Buck. Lo, you, my lord,
The net has fall'n upon me! I shall perish
Under device and practice.

Bran. I am sorry
To see you ta'en from liberty, to look on
The business present: 'tis his highness' pleasure
You shall to the Tower.

Buck. It will help me nothing
To plead mine innocence; for that dye is on me
Which makes my whitest part black. The will of heaven
Be done in this and all things! I obey. 210
O my Lord Abergavenny, fare you well!

Bran. Nay, he must bear you company. The king

[*To Abergavenny.*]

Is pleased you shall to the Tower, till you know
How he determines further.

Aber. As the duke said,
The will of heaven be done, and the king's pleasure
By me obey'd!

Bran. Here is a warrant from
The king to attach Lord Montacute; and the bodies
Of the duke's confessor, John de la Car,
One Gilbert Peck, his chancellor,—

Buck. So, so;
These are the limbs o' the plot: no more, I hope.

220

Bran. A monk o' the Chartreux.

Buck. O, Nicholas Hopkins?

Bran. He.

Buck. My surveyor is false ; the o'er-great cardinal
Hath show'd him gold ; my life is spann'd already :
I am the shadow of poor Buckingham,
Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on,
By darkening my clear sun. My lord, farewell. [Exeunt.]

SCENE II. *The same. The council-chamber.*

Cornets. Enter the KING, leaning on the CARDINAL'S shoulder,
the Nobles, and SIR THOMAS LOVELL ; the CARDINAL places
himself under the KING'S feet on his right side.

King. My life itself, and the best heart of it,
Thanks you for this great care : I stood i' the level
Of a full-charged confederacy, and give thanks
To you that choked it. Let be call'd before us
That gentleman of Buckingham's ; in person
I'll hear him his confessions justify ;
And point by point the treasons of his master
He shall again relate.

A noise within, crying 'Room for the Queen !' Enter QUEEN
KATHARINE, ushered by the DUKE OF NORFOLK, and the
DUKE OF SUFFOLK : she kneels. The KING riseth from his
state, takes her up, kisses and placeth her by him.

Q. Kath. Nay, we must longer kneel : I am a suitor.

King. Arise, and take place by us : half your suit 10
Never name to us : you have half our power :
The other moiety, ere you ask, is given ;
Repeat your will and take it.

Q. Kath. Thank your majesty.
That you would love yourself, and in that love
Not unconsider'd leave your honour, nor

The dignity of your office, is the point
Of my petition.

King. Lady mine, proceed.

Q. Kath. I am solicited, not by a few,
And those of true condition, that your subjects
Are in great grievance : there have been commissions 20
Sent down among 'em, which hath flaw'd the heart
Of all their loyalties : wherein, although,
My good lord cardinal, they vent reproaches
Most bitterly on you, as putter on
Of these exactions, yet the king our master—
Whose honour heaven shield from soil!—even he escapes not
Language unmannerly, yea, such which breaks
The sides of loyalty, and almost appears
In loud rebellion.

Nor. Not almost appears,
It doth appear ; for, upon these taxations, 30
The clothiers all, not able to maintain
The many to them longing, have put off
The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who,
Unfit for other life, compell'd by hunger
And lack of other means, in desperate manner
Daring the event to the teeth, are all in uproar,
And danger serves among them.

King. Taxation !
Wherein ? and what taxation ? My lord cardinal,
You that are blamed for it alike with us,
Know you of this taxation ?

Wol. Please you, sir, 40
I know but of a single part, in aught
Pertains to the state ; and front but in that file
Where others tell steps with me.

Q. Kath. No, my lord,
You know no more than others ; but you fram
Things that are known alike ; which are not wholesome
To those which would not know them, and yet must

Perforce be their acquaintance. These exactions,
Whereof my sovereign would have note, they are
Most pestilent to the hearing ; and, to bear 'em,
The back is sacrifice to the load. They say
They are devised by you ; or else you suffer
Too hard an exclamation.

50

King. Still exaction !
The nature of it ? in what kind, let's know,
Is this exaction ?

Q. Kath. I am much too venturous
In tempting of your patience ; but am bolden'd
Under your promised pardon. The subjects' grief
Comes through commissions, which compel from each
The sixth part of his substance, to be levied
Without delay ; and the pretence for this
Is named, your wars in France : this makes bold mouths : 60
Tongues spit their duties out, and cold hearts freeze
Allegiance in them ; their curses now
Live where their prayers did : and it's come to pass,
This tractable obedience is a slave
To each incensed will. I would your highness
Would give it quick consideration, for
There is no primer business.

King. By my life,
This is against our pleasure.

Wol. And for me,
I have no further gone in this than by
A single voice ; and that not pass'd me but
By learned approbation of the judges. If I am
Traduced by ignorant tongues, which neither know
My faculties nor person, yet will be
The chronicles of my doing, let me say
'Tis but the fate of place, and the rough brake
That virtue must go through. We must not stint
Our necessary actions, in the fear
To cope malicious censurers ; which ever,

70

As ravenous fishes, do a vessel follow
 That is new-trimm'd, but benefit no further 80
 Than vainly longing. What we oft do best,
 By sick interpreters, once weak ones, is
 Not ours, or not allow'd ; what worst, as oft,
 Hitting a grosser quality, is cried up
 For our best act. If we shall stand still,
 In fear our motion will be mock'd or carp'd at,
 We should take root here where we sit, or sit
 State-statues only.

King. Things done well,
 And with a care, exempt themselves from fear ;
 Things done without example, in their issue 90
 Are to be fear'd. Have you a precedent
 Of this commission ? I believe, not any.
 We must not rend our subjects from our laws,
 And stick them in our will. Sixth part of each ?
 A trembling contribution ! Why, we take
 From every tree lop, bark, and part o' the timber ;
 And, though we leave it with a root, thus hack'd,
 The air will drink the sap. To every county
 Where this is question'd send our letters, with
 Free pardon to each man that has denied 100
 The force of this commission : pray, look to 't ;
 I put it to your care.

Wol. A word with you. [*To the Secretary.*
 Let there be letters writ to every shire,
 Of the king's grace and pardon. The griev'd commons
 Hardly conceive of me ; let it be noised
 That through our intercession this revokement
 And pardon comes ; I shall anon advise you
 Further in the proceeding. [*Exit Secretary.*

Enter Surveyor.

Q. Kath. I am sorry that the Duke of Buckingham
 Is run in your displeasure.

King. It grieves many : 110
 The gentleman is learn'd, and a most rare speaker ;
 To nature none more bound ; his training such,
 That he may furnish and instruct great teachers,
 And never seek for aid out of himself. Yet see,
 When these so noble benefits shall prove
 Not well disposed, the mind growing once corrupt,
 They turn to vicious forms, ten times more ugly
 Than ever they were fair. This man so complete,
 Who was enroll'd 'mongst wonders, and when we,
 Almost with ravish'd listening, could not find 120
 His hour of speech a minute ; he, my lady,
 Hath into monstrous habits put the graces
 That once were his, and is become as black
 As if besmear'd in hell. Sit by us ; you shall hear—
 This was his gentleman in trust—of him
 Things to strike honour sad. Bid him recount
 The fore-recited practices ; whereof
 We cannot feel too little, hear too much.

Wol. Stand forth, and with bold spirit relate what you,
 Most like a careful subject, have collected 130
 Out of the Duke of Buckingham.

King. Speak freely.
Surv. First, it was usual with him, every day
 It would infect his speech, that if the king
 Should without issue die, he'll carry it so
 To make the sceptre his : these very words
 I've heard him utter to his son-in-law,
 Lord Abergavenny ; to whom by oath he menaced
 Revenge upon the cardinal.

Wol. Please your highness, note
 This dangerous conception in this point.
 Not friended by his wish, to your high person 140
 His will is most malignant ; and it stretches
 Beyond you, to your friends.

Q. Kath. My learn'd lord cardinal,

Deliver all with charity.

King. Speak on :
How grounded he his title to the crown,
Upon our fail ? to this point hast thou heard him
At any time speak aught ?

Surv. He was brought to this
By a vain prophecy of Nicholas Hopkins.

King. What was that Hopkins ?

Surv. Sir, a Chartreux friar,
His confessor ; who fed him every minute
With words of sovereignty.

King. How know'st thou this ? 150

Surv. Not long before your highness sped to France,
The duke being at the Rose, within the parish
Saint Lawrence Poultney, did of me demand
What was the speech among the Londoners
Concerning the French journey : I replied,
Men fear'd the French would prove perfidious,
To the king's danger. Presently the duke
Said, 'twas the fear, indeed ; and that he doubted
'Twould prove the verity of certain words
Spoke by a holy monk ; ' that oft,' says he, 160
' Hath sent to me, wishing me to permit
John de la Car, my chaplain, a choice hour
To hear from him a matter of some moment :
Whom after under the confession's seal
He solemnly had sworn, that what he spoke
My chaplain to no creature living, but
To me, should utter, with demure confidence
This pausingly ensued : Neither the king nor 's heirs,
Tell you the duke, shall prosper : bid him strive
To gain the love o' the commonalty : the duke 170
Shall govern England.'

Q. Kath. If I know you well,
You were the duke's surveyor, and lost your office
On the complaint o' the tenants : take good heed

You charge not in your spleen a noble person
 And spoil your nobler soul : I say, take heed ;
 Yes, heartily beseech you.

King. Let him on.

Go forward.

Surv. On my soul, I'll speak but truth.
 I told my lord the duke, by the devil's illusions
 The monk might be deceived ; and that 'twas dangerous for
 him

To ruminatè on this so far, until 180
 It forged him some design, which, being believed,
 It was much like to do : he answer'd, 'Tush,
 It can do me no damage ;' adding further,
 That, had the king in his last sickness fail'd,
 The cardinal's and Sir Thomas Lovell's heads
 Should have gone off.

King. Ha ! what, so rank ? Ah ha !
 There's mischief in this man : canst thou say further ?

Surv. I can, my liege.

King. Proceed.

Surv. Being at Greenwich,
 After your highness had reproved the duke
 About Sir William Blomer,—

King. I remember 190
 Of such a time : being my sworn servant,
 The duke retain'd him his. But on ; what hence ?

Surv. 'If,' quoth he, 'I for this had been committed,
 As, to the Tower, I thought, I would have play'd
 The part my father meant to act upon
 The usurper Richard ; who, being at Salisbury,
 Made suit to come in 's presence ; which if granted,
 As he made semblance of his duty, would
 Have put his knife into him.'

King. A giant traitor !

Wol. Now, madam, may his highness live in freedom, 200
 And this man out of prison ?

Q. Kath. God mend all !

King. There's something more would out of thee ; what say'st ?

Surv. After 'the duke his father,' with 'the knife,'
He stretch'd him, and, with one hand on his dagger,
Another spread on 's breast, mounting his eyes,
He did discharge a horrible oath ; whose tenour
Was,—were he evil used, he would outgo
His father by as much as a performance
Does an irresolute purpose.

King. There's his period,
To sheathe his knife in us. He is attach'd ;
Call him to present trial : if he may
Find mercy in the law, 'tis his ; if none,
Let him not seek 't of us : by day and night,
He's traitor to the height.

210

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III. *An ante-chamber in the palace.*

Enter the LORD CHAMBERLAIN and LORD SANDS.

Cham. Is't possible the spells of France should juggle
Men into such strange mysteries ?

Sands. New customs,
Though they be never so ridiculous,
Nay, let 'em be unmanly, yet are follow'd.

Cham. As far as I see, all the good our English
Have got by the late voyage is but merely
A fit or two o' the face ; but they are shrewd ones ;
For when they hold 'em, you would swear directly
Their very noses had been counsellors
To Pepin or Clotharius, they keep state so. 10

Sands. They have all new legs, and lame ones : one
would take it,
That never saw 'em pace before, the spavin
Or springhalt reign'd among 'em.

Cham. Death! my lord,
Their clothes are after such a pagan cut too,
That, sure, they 've worn out Christendom.

Enter SIR THOMAS LOVELL.

How now!

What news, Sir Thomas Lovell?

Lov. Faith, my lord,
I hear of none, but the new proclamation
That 's clapp'd upon the court-gate.

Cham. What is 't for?

Lov. The reformation of our travell'd gallants,
That fill the court with quarrels, talk, and tailors. 20

Cham. I'm glad 'tis there: now I would pray our
monsieurs

To think an English courtier may be wise,
And never see the Louvre.

Lov. They must either,
For so run the conditions, leave those remnants
Of fool and feather that they got in France,
Wfth all their honourable points of ignorance
Pertaining thereunto, as fights and fireworks,
Abusing better men than they can be,
Out of a foreign wisdom, renouncing clean
The faith they have in tennis, and tall stockings, 30
Short blister'd breeches, and those types of travel,
And understand again like honest men;
Or pack to their old playfellows: there, I take it,
They may, 'cum privilegio,' wear away
The lag end of their lewdness and be laugh'd at.

Sands. 'Tis time to give 'em physic, their diseases
Are grown so catching.

Cham. What a loss our ladies
Will have of these trim vanities!

Lov. Ay, marry,

There will be woe indeed, lords :

A French song and a fiddle has no fellow. 40

Sands. The devil fiddle 'em ! I am glad they are going,
For, sure, there 's no converting of 'em : now
An honest country lord, as I am, beaten
A long time out of play, may bring his plain-song
And have an hour of hearing ; and, by 'r lady,
Held current music too.

Cham. Well said, Lord Sands ;
Your colt's tooth is not cast yet.

Sands. No, my lord ;
Nor shall not, while I have a stump.

Cham. Sir Thomas,
Whither were you a-going ?

Lov. To the cardinal's :
Your lordship is a guest too.

Cham. O, 'tis true : 50
This night he makes a supper, and a great one,
To many lords and ladies ; there will be
The beauty of this kingdom, I 'll assure you.

Lov. That churchman bears a bounteous mind indeed,
A hand as fruitful as the land that feeds us ;
His dews fall every where.

Cham. No doubt he 's noble ;
He had a black mouth that said other of him.

Sands. He may, my lord ; has wherewithal : in him
Sparing would show a worse sin than ill doctrine : 60
Men of his way should be most liberal ;
They are set here for examples.

Cham. True, they are so ;
But few now give so great ones. My barge stays ;
Your lordship shall along. Come, good Sir Thomas,
We shall be late else ; which I would not be,
For I was spoke to, with Sir Henry Guildford
This night to be comptrollers.

Sands. I am your lordship's. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *A Hall in York Place.*

Hautboys. A small table under a state for the CARDINAL, a longer table for the guests. Then enter ANNE BULLEN and divers other Ladies and Gentlemen as guests, at one door ; at another door, enter SIR HENRY GUILDFORD.

Guild. Ladies, a general welcome from his grace
Salutes ye all ; this night he dedicates
To fair content and you : none here, he hopes,
In all this noble bevy, has brought with her
One care abroad ; he would have all as merry
As, first, good company, good wine, good welcome,
Can make good people. O, my lord, you 're tardy :

Enter LORD CHAMBERLAIN, LORD SANDS, and SIR THOMAS
LOVELL.

The very thought of this fair company
Clapp'd wings to me.

Cham. You are young, Sir Harry Guildford.
Sweet ladies, will it please you sit ? Sir Harry, 10
Place you that side ; I 'll take the charge of this :
His grace is entering. Nay, you must not freeze ;
Two women placed together makes cold weather :
My Lord Sands, you are one will keep 'em waking ;
Pray, sit between these ladies.

Sands. By my faith,
And thank your lordship. By your leave, sweet ladies :
If I chance to talk a little wild, forgive me ;
I had it from my father.

Anne. Was he mad, sir ?

Sands. O, very mad, exceeding mad, in love too :
But he would bite none ; just as I do now, 20
He would kiss you twenty with a breath. [*Kisses her.*]

Cham. Well said, my lord.
So, now you 're fairly seated. Gentlemen,
The penance lies on you, if these fair ladies

Pass away frowning.

Sands. For my little cure,
Let me alone.

Hautboys. Enter CARDINAL WOLSEY, and takes his state.

Wol. You're welcome, my fair guests : that noble lady,
Or gentleman, that is not freely merry,
Is not my friend : this, to confirm my welcome ;
And to you all, good health. [Drinks.

Sands. Your grace is noble :
Let me have such a bowl may hold my thanks, 30
And save me so much talking.

Wol. My Lord Sands,
I am beholding to you : cheer your neighbours.
Ladies, you are not merry : gentlemen,
Whose fault is this ?

Sands. The red wine first must rise
In their fair cheeks, my lord ; then we shall have 'em
Talk us to silence.

Anne. You are a merry gamester,
My Lord Sands.

Sands. Yes, if I make my play.
Here's to your ladyship : and pledge it, madam,
For 'tis to such a thing,—

Anne. You cannot show me.

Sands. I told your grace they would talk anon.

[Drum and trumpet, chambers discharged.

Wol. What's that ?

Cham. Look out there, some of ye. [Exit Servant.

Wol. What warlike voice, 41
And to what end, is this ? Nay, ladies, fear not ;
By all the laws of war you're privileged.

Re-enter Servant.

Cham. How now ! what is 't ?

Serv. A noble troop of strangers ;

For so they seem : they've left their barge and landed ;
 And hither make, as great ambassadors
 From foreign princes.

Wol. Good lord chamberlain,
 Go, give 'em welcome ; you can speak the French tongue ;
 And, pray, receive 'em nobly, and conduct 'em
 Into our presence, where this heaven of beauty 50
 Shall shine at full upon them. Some attend him.

[Exit Chamberlain, attended. All rise, and tables removed.]
 You have now a broken banquet ; but we'll mend it.
 A good digestion to you all : and once more
 I shower a welcome on you ; welcome all.

Hautboys. Enter the KING and others, as masquers, habited like shepherds, ushered by the LORD CHAMBERLAIN. They pass directly before the CARDINAL, and gracefully salute him.

A noble company ! what are their pleasures ?

Cham. Because they speak no English, thus they pray'd
 To tell your grace, that, having heard by fame
 Of this so noble and so fair assembly
 This night to meet here, they could do no less,
 Out of the great respect they bear to beauty, 60
 But leave their flocks ; and, under your fair conduct,
 Crave leave to view these ladies and entreat
 An hour of revels with 'em.

Wol. Say, lord chamberlain,
 They have done my poor house grace ; for which I pay 'em
 A thousand thanks, and pray 'em take their pleasures.

*[They choose Ladies for the dance.
 The King chooses Anne Bullen.]*

King. The fairest hand I ever touch'd ! O beauty,
 Till now I never knew thee ! *[Music. Dance.]*

Wol. My lord !

Cham. Your grace ?

Wol. Pray, tell 'em thus much from me :

There should be one amongst 'em, by his person,
 More worthy this place than myself ; to whom, 70
 If I but knew him, with my love and duty
 I would surrender it.

Cham. I will, my lord, [*Whispers the Masquers.*]

Wol. What say they ?

Cham. Such a one, they all confess,
 There is indeed ; which they would have your grace
 Find out, and he will take it.

Wol. Let me see, then.
 By all your good leaves, gentlemen ; here I 'll make
 My royal choice.

King. Ye have found him, cardinal : [*Unmasking.*]
 You hold a fair assembly ; you do well, lord :
 You are a churchman, or I 'll tell you, cardinal,
 I should judge now unhappily.

Wol. I am glad 80
 Your grace is grown so pleasant.

King. My lord chamberlain,
 Prithee, come hither : what fair lady's that ?

Cham. An't please your grace, Sir Thomas Bullen's
 daughter—
 The Viscount Rochford,—one of her highness' women.

King. By heaven, she is a dainty one. Sweetheart,
 I were unmannerly, to take you out,
 And not to kiss you. A health, gentlemen !
 Let it go round.

Wol. Sir Thomas Lovell, is the banquet ready
 P' the privy chamber ?

Lov. Yes, my lord.

Wol. Your grace, 90
 I fear, with dancing is a little heated.

King. I fear, too much.

Wol. There's fresher air, my lord,
 In the next chamber.

King. Lead in your ladies, every one : sweet partner,

I must not yet forsake you : let's be merry :
 Good my lord cardinal, I have half a dozen healths
 To drink to these fair ladies, and a measure
 To lead 'em once again ; and then let's dream
 Who's best in favour. Let the music knock it.

[*Exeunt with trumpets.*]

ACT II.

SCENE I. *Westminster. A street.*

Enter two Gentlemen, meeting.

First Gent. Whither away so fast ?

Sec. Gent. O, God save ye !

Even to the hall, to hear what shall become
 Of the great Duke of Buckingham.

First Gent. I'll save you
 That labour, sir. All's now done, but the ceremony
 Of bringing back the prisoner.

Sec. Gent. Were you there ?

First Gent. Yes, indeed, was I.

Sec. Gent. Pray, speak what has happen'd.

First Gent. You may guess quickly what.

Sec. Gent. Is he found guilty ?

First Gent. Yes, truly is he, and condemn'd upon 't.

Sec. Gent. I am sorry for 't.

First Gent. So are a number more.

Sec. Gent. But, pray, how pass'd it ? 10

First Gent. I'll tell you in a little. The great duke
 Came to the bar ; where to his accusations
 He pleaded still not guilty and alleged
 Many sharp reasons to defeat the law.
 The king's attorney on the contrary
 Urged on the examinations, proofs, confessions
 Of divers witnesses ; which the duke desired

To have brought vivâ voce to his face :
 At which appear'd against him his surveyor ;
 Sir Gilbert Peck his chancellor ; and John Car,
 Confessor to him ; with that devil-monk,
 Hopkins, that made this mischief. 20

Sec. Gent. That was he
 That fed him with his prophecies ?

First Gent. The same.
 All these accused him strongly ; which he fain
 Would have flung from him, but, indeed, he could not :
 And so his peers, upon this evidence,
 Have found him guilty of high treason. Much
 He spoke, and learnedly, for life ; but all
 Was either pitied in him or forgotten.

Sec. Gent. After all this, how did he bear himself ? 30

First Gent. When he was brought again to the bar, to
 hear
 His knell rung out, his judgement, he was stirr'd
 With such an agony, he sweat extremely,
 And something spoke in choler, ill, and hasty :
 But he fell to himself again, and sweetly
 In all the rest show'd a most noble patience.

Sec. Gent. I do not think he fears death.

First Gent. Sure, he does not :
 He never was so womanish ; the cause
 He may a little grieve at.

Sec. Gent. Certainly.
 The cardinal is the end of this.

First Gent. 'Tis likely, 40
 By all conjectures : first, Kildare's attainer,
 Then deputy of Ireland ; who removed,
 Earl Surrey was sent thither, and in haste too,
 Lest he should help his father.

Sec. Gent. That trick of state
 Was a deep envious one.

First Gent. At his return

No doubt he will requite it. This is noted,
 And generally, whoever the king favours,
 The cardinal instantly will find employment,
 And far enough from court too.

Sec. Gent.

All the commons

Hate him perniciously, and, o' my conscience, 50
 Wish him ten fathom deep : this duke as much
 They love and dote on ; call him bounteous Buckingham,
 The mirror of all courtesy ;—

First Gent.

Stay there, sir,

And see the noble ruin'd man you speak of.

*Enter BUCKINGHAM from his arraignment ; tipstaves before
 him ; the axe with the edge towards him ; halberds on each
 side : accompanied with SIR THOMAS LOVELL, SIR NICHOLAS
 VAUX, SIR WILLIAM SANDS, and common people.*

Sec. Gent. Let's stand close, and behold him.

Buck.

All good people,

You that thus far have come to pity me,
 Hear what I say, and then go home and lose me.
 I have this day received a traitor's judgement,
 And by that name must die : yet, heaven bear witness,
 And if I have a conscience, let it sink me, 60
 Even as the axe falls, if I be not faithful !
 The law I bear no malice for my death ;
 'T has done, upon the premises, but justice :
 But those that sought it I could wish more Christians :
 Be what they will, I heartily forgive 'em :
 Yet let 'em look they glory not in mischief,
 Nor build their evils on the graves of great men ;
 For then my guiltless blood must cry against 'em.
 For further life in this world I ne'er hope,
 Nor will I sue, although the king have mercies 70
 More than I dare make faults. You few that loved me,
 And dare be bold to weep for Buckingham,
 His noble friends and fellows, whom to leave

Is only bitter to him, only dying,
 Go with me, like good angels, to my end ;
 And, as the long divorce of steel falls on me,
 Make of your prayers one sweet sacrifice,
 And lift my soul to heaven. Lead on, o' God's name.

Lov. I do beseech your grace, for charity,
 If ever any malice in your heart 80
 Were hid against me, now to forgive me frankly.

Buck. Sir Thomas Lovell, I as free forgive you
 As I would be forgiven : I forgive all ;
 There cannot be those numberless offences
 'Gainst me, that I cannot take peace with : no black envy
 Shall mark my grave. Commend me to his grace ;
 And, if he speak of Buckingham, pray, tell him
 You met him half in heaven : my vows and prayers
 Yet are the king's ; and, till my soul forsake,
 Shall cry for blessings on him : may he live 90
 Longer than I have time to tell his years !
 Ever beloved and loving may his rule be !
 And when old time shall lead him to his end,
 Goodness and he fill up one monument !

Lov. To the water side I must conduct your grace ;
 Then give my charge up to Sir Nicholas Vaux,
 Who undertakes you to your end.

Vaux. Prepare there,
 The duke is coming : see the barge be ready ;
 And fit it with such furniture as suits
 The greatness of his person.

Buck. Nay, Sir Nicholas, 100
 Let it alone ; my state now will but mock me.
 When I came hither, I was lord high constable
 And Duke of Buckingham ; now, poor Edward Bohun :
 Yet I am richer than my base accusers,
 That never knew what truth meant : I now seal it ;
 And with that blood will make 'em one day groan for't.
 My noble father, Henry of Buckingham,

Who first raised head against usurping Richard,
 Flying for succour to his servant Banister,
 Being distress'd, was by that wretch betray'd, 110
 And without trial fell ; God's peace be with him !
 Henry the Seventh succeeding, truly pitying
 My father's loss, like a most royal prince,
 Restored me to my honours, and, out of ruins,
 Made my name once more noble. Now his son,
 Henry the Eighth, life, honour, name and all
 That made me happy at one stroke has taken
 For ever from the world. I had my trial,
 And, must needs say, a noble one ; which makes me
 A little happier than my wretched father : 120
 Yet thus far we are one in fortunes : both
 Fell by our servants, by those men we loved most ;
 A most unnatural and faithless service !
 Heaven has an end in all : yet, you that hear me,
 This from a dying man receive as certain :
 Where you are liberal of your loves and counsels
 Be sure you be not loose ; for those you make friends
 And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
 The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
 Like water from ye, never found again 130
 But where they mean to sink ye. All good people,
 Pray for me ! I must now forsake ye : the last hour
 Of my long weary life is come upon me.
 Farewell :
 And when you would say something that is sad,
 Speak how I fell. I have done ; and God forgive me !

[*Exeunt Duke and Train.*]

First Gent. O, this is full of pity ! Sir, it calls,
 I fear, too many curses on their heads
 That were the authors.

Sec. Gent. If the duke be guiltless,
 'Tis full of woe : yet I can give you inkling 140
 Of an ensuing evil, if it fall,

Greater than this.

First Gent. Good angels keep it from us !

What may it be ? You do not doubt my faith, sir ?

Sec. Gent. This secret is so weighty, 'twill require
A strong faith to conceal it.

First Gent. Let me have it ;

I do not talk much.

Sec. Gent. I am confident ;

You shall, sir : did you not of late days hear

A buzzing of a separation

Between the king and Katharine ?

First Gent. Yes, but it held not :

For when the king once heard it, out of anger 150

He sent command to the lord mayor straight

To stop the rumour, and allay those tongues

That durst disperse it.

Sec. Gent. But that slander, sir,

Is found a truth now : for it grows again

Fresher than e'er it was ; and held for certain

The king will venture at it. Either the cardinal,

Or some about him near, have, out of malice

To the good queen, possess'd him with a scruple

That will undo her : to confirm this too,

Cardinal Campeius is arrived, and lately ; 160

As all think, for this business.

First Gent. 'Tis the cardinal ;

And merely to revenge him on the emperor

For not bestowing on him, at his asking,

The archbishopric of Toledo, this is purposed.

Sec. Gent. I think you have hit the mark : but is't not
cruel

That she should feel the smart of this ? The cardinal

Will have his will, and she must fall.

First Gent. 'Tis woful.

We are too open here to argue this ;

Let's think in private more.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II. *An ante-chamber in the palace.**Enter the LORD CHAMBERLAIN, reading a letter.*

Cham. 'My lord, the horses your lordship sent for, with all the care I had, I saw well chosen, ridden, and furnished. They were young and handsome, and of the best breed in the north. When they were ready to set out for London, a man of my lord cardinal's, by commission and main power, took 'em from me; with this reason: His master would be served before a subject, if not before the king; which stopped our mouths, sir.'

I fear he will indeed: well, let him have them:
He will have all, I think.

10

Enter, to the LORD CHAMBERLAIN, the DUKES OF NORFOLK and SUFFOLK.

Nor. Well met, my lord chamberlain.

Cham. Good day to both your graces.

Suf. How is the king employ'd?

Cham. I left him private,
Full of sad thoughts and troubles.

Nor. What's the cause?

Cham. It seems the marriage with his brother's wife
Has crept too near his conscience.

Suf. No, his conscience
Has crept too near another lady.

Nor. 'Tis so:
This is the cardinal's doing, the king-cardinal:
That blind priest, like the eldest son of fortune,
Turns what he list. The king will know him one day. 20

Suf. Pray God he do! he'll never know himself else.

Nor. How holily he works in all his business!
And with what zeal! for, now he has crack'd the league
Between us and the emperor, the queen's great nephew,
He dives into the king's soul, and there scatters
Dangers, doubts, wringing of the conscience,

Fears, and despairs ; and all these for his marriage :
 And out of all these to restore the king,
 He counsels a divorce ; a loss of her
 That, like a jewel, has hung twenty years 30
 About his neck, yet never lost her lustre ;
 Of her that loves him with that excellence
 That angels love good men with ; even of her
 That, when the greatest stroke of fortune falls,
 Will bless the king : and is not this course pious ?

Cham. Heaven keep me from such counsel ! 'Tis most
 true

These news are every where ; every tongue speaks 'em,
 And every true heart weeps for't : all that dare
 Look into these affairs see this main end,
 The French king's sister. Heaven will one day open 40
 The king's eyes, that so long have slept upon
 This bold bad man.

Suf. And free us from his slavery.

Nor. We had need pray,
 And heartily, for our deliverance ;
 Or this imperious man will work us all
 From princes into pages ; all men's honours
 Lie like one lump before him, to be fashion'd
 Into what pitch he please.

Suf. For me, my lords,
 I love him not, nor fear him ; there's my creed :
 As I am made without him, so I'll stand, 50
 If the king please ; his curses and his blessings
 Touch me alike, they're breath I not believe in.
 I knew him, and I know him ; so I leave him
 To him that made him proud, the pope.

Nor. Let's in ;
 And with some other business put the king
 From these sad thoughts, that work too much upon him .
 My lord, you'll bear us company ?

Cham. Excuse me ;

The king has sent me otherwhere : besides,
 You 'll find a most unfit time to disturb him :
 Health to your lordships.

Nor. Thanks, my good lord chamberlain.

[*Exit Lord Chamberlain ; and the King draws
 the curtain, and sits reading pensively.*]

Suf. How sad he looks ! sure, he is much afflicted. 61

King. Who 's there, ha ?

Nor. Pray God he be not angry.

King. Who 's there, I say ? How dare you thrust your-
 selves

Into my private meditations ?

Who am I ? ha ?

Nor. A gracious king that pardons all offences
 Malice ne'er meant : our breach of duty this way
 Is business of estate ; in which we come
 To know your royal pleasure.

King. Ye are too bold :

Go to ; I'll make ye know your times of business : 70

Is this an hour for temporal affairs, ha ?

Enter WOLSEY and CAMPEIUS, with a commission.

Who 's there ? my good lord cardinal ? O my Wolsey,

The quiet of my wounded conscience ;

Thou art a cure fit for a king. [*To Camp.*] You're wel-
 come,

Most learned reverend sir, into our kingdom :

Use us and it. [*To Wol.*] My good lord, have great care
 I be not found a talker.

Wol. Sir, you cannot.

I would your grace would give us but an hour
 Of private conference.

King. [*To Nor. and Suf.*] We are busy ; go. 79

Nor. [*Aside to Suf.*] This priest has no pride in him ?

Suf. [*Aside to Nor.*] Not to speak of :

I would not be so sick though for his place :

But this cannot continue.

Nor. [*Aside to Suf.*] If it do,

I'll venture one have-at-him.

Suf. [*Aside to Nor.*] I another. [*Exeunt Nor. and Suf.*]

Wol. Your grace has given a precedent of wisdom

Above all princes, in committing freely

Your scruple to the voice of Christendom :

Who can be angry now ? what envy reach you ?

The Spaniard, tied by blood and favour to her,

Must now confess, if they have any goodness,

The trial just and noble. All the clerks, 90

I mean the learned ones, in Christian kingdoms

Have their free voices : Rome, the nurse of judgement,

Invited by your noble self, hath sent

One general tongue unto us, this good man,

This just and learned priest, Cardinal Campeius ;

Whom once more I present unto your highness.

King. And once more in mine arms I bid him welcome,

And thank the holy conclave for their loves :

They have sent me such a man I would have wish'd for.

Cam. Your grace must needs deserve all strangers' loves,

You are so noble. To your highness' hand 101

I tender my commission ; by whose virtue,

The court of Rome commanding, you, my lord

Cardinal of York, are join'd with me their servant

In the impartial judging of this business.

King. Two equal men. The queen shall be acquainted

Forthwith for what you come. Where's Gardiner ?

Wol. I know your majesty has always loved her

So dear in heart, not to deny her that

A woman of less place might ask by law : 110

Scholars allow'd freely to argue for her.

King. Ay, and the best she shall have ; and my favour

To him that does best : God forbid else. Cardinal,

Prithee, call Gardiner to me, my new secretary :

I find him a fit fellow.

[*Exit Wolsey.*]

Re-enter WOLSEY, with GARDINER.

Wol. [*Aside to Gard.*] Give me your hand : much joy and favour to you ;

You are the king's now.

Gard. [*Aside to Wol.*] But to be commanded For ever by your grace, whose hand has raised me.

King. Come hither, Gardiner. [*Walks and whispers.*

Cam. My lord of York, was not one Doctor Pace 120
In this man's place before him ?

Wol. Yes, he was.

Cam. Was he not held a learned man ?

Wol. Yes, surely.

Cam. Believe me, there's an ill opinion spread then Even of yourself, lord cardinal.

Wol. How ! of me ?

Cam. They will not stick to say you envied him,
And fearing he would rise, he was so virtuous,
Kept him a foreign man still ; which so grieved him,
That he ran mad and died.

Wol. Heaven's peace be with him !

That's Christian care enough : for living murmurers
There's places of rebuke. He was a fool ; 130
For he would needs be virtuous : that good fellow,
If I command him, follows my appointment :
I will have none so near else. Learn this, brother,
We live not to be grip'd by meaner persons.

King. Deliver this with modesty to the queen.

[*Exit Gardiner.*

The most convenient place that I can think of
For such receipt of learning is Black-Friars ;
There ye shall meet about this weighty business.
My Wolsey, see it furnish'd. O, my lord,
Would it not grieve an able man to leave 140
So sweet a bedfellow ? But, conscience, conscience !
O, 'tis a tender place ; and I must leave her. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *An ante-chamber of the Queen's apartments.*

Enter ANNE BULLEN and an Old Lady.

Anne. Not for that neither; here's the pang that pinches :

His highness having lived so long with her, and she
So good a lady that no tongue could ever
Pronounce dishonour of her; by my life,
She never knew harm-doing : O, now, after
So many courses of the sun enthroned,
Still growing in a majesty and pomp, the which
To leave 's a thousand-fold more bitter than
'Tis sweet at first to acquire,—after this process,
To give her the avaunt ! it is a pity 10
Would move a monster.

Old L. Hearts of most hard temper
Melt and lament for her.

Anne. O, God's will ! much better
She ne'er had known pomp ; though 't be temporal,
Yet, if that quarrel, fortune, do divorce
It from the bearer, 'tis a sufferance panging
As soul and body's severing.

Old L. Alas, poor lady !
She 's a stranger now again.

Anne. So much the more
Must pity drop upon her. Verily,
I swear, 'tis better to be lowly born,
And range with humble livers in content, 20
Than to be perk'd up in a glistening grief,
And wear a golden sorrow.

Old L. Our content
Is our best having.

Anne. By my troth and maidenhead,
I would not be a queen.

Old L. Beshrew me, I would,
And venture maidenhead for 't ; and so would you,

For all this spice of your hypocrisy :
 You, that have so fair parts of woman on you,
 Have too a woman's heart ; which ever yet
 Affected eminence, wealth, sovereignty ;
 Which, to say sooth, are blessings ; and which gifts, 30
 Saving your mincing, the capacity
 Of your soft cheveril conscience would receive,
 If you might please to stretch it:

Anne. Nay, good troth.

Old L. Yes, troth, and troth ; you would not be a
 queen ?

Anne. No, not for all the riches under heaven.

Old L. 'Tis strange : a three-pence bow'd would hire me,
 Old as I am, to queen it : but, I pray you,
 What think you of a duchess ? have you limbs
 To bear that load of title ?

Anne. No, in truth.

Enter the LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

Cham. Good morrow, ladies. What were 't worth to know
 The secret of your conference ?

Anne. My good lord, 41

Not your demand ; it values not your asking :
 Our mistress' sorrows we were pitying.

Cham. It was a gentle business, and becoming
 The action of good women : there is hope
 All will be well.

Anne. Now, I pray God, amen !

Cham. You bear a gentle mind, and heavenly blessings
 Follow such creatures. That you may, fair lady,
 Perceive I speak sincerely, and high note's
 Ta'en of your many virtues, the king's majesty 50
 Commends his good opinion of you, and
 Does purpose honour to you no less flowing
 Than Marchioness of Pembroke ; to which title
 A thousand pound a year, annual support,

Out of his grace he adds.

Anne. I do not know
 What kind of my obedience I should tender ;
 More than my all is nothing : nor my prayers
 Are not words duly hallow'd, nor my wishes
 More worth than empty vanities ; yet prayers and wishes
 Are all I can return. Beseech your lordship, 60
 Vouchsafe to speak my thanks and my obedience,
 As from a blushing handmaid, to his highness ;
 Whose health and royalty I pray for.

Cham. Lady,
 I shall not fail to approve the fair conceit
 The king hath of you. [*Aside*] I have perused her well ;
 Beauty and honour in her are so mingled
 That they have caught the king : and who knows yet
 But from this lady may proceed a gem
 To lighten all this isle ? I'll to the king,
 And say I spoke with you. [*Exit Lord Chamberlain.*]

Anne. My honour'd lord. 70
Old L. Why, this it is ; see, see !
 I have been begging sixteen years in court,
 Am yet a courtier beggarly, nor could
 Come pat betwixt too early and too late
 For any suit of pounds ; and you, O fate !
 A very fresh-fish here—fie, fie, fie upon
 This compell'd fortune !—have your mouth fill'd up
 Before you open it.

Anne. This is strange to me.
Old L. How tastes it ? is it bitter ? forty pence, no. 80
 There was a lady once, 'tis an old story,
 That would not be a queen, that would she not,
 For all the mud in Egypt : have you heard it ?

Anne. Come, you are pleasant.
Old L. With your theme, I could
 O'er mount the lark. The Marchioness of Pembroke !
 A thousand pounds a year for pure respect !

No other obligation ! By my life,
That promises mee thousands : honour's train
Is longer than his foreskirt. By this time
I know your back will bear a duchess : say,
Are you not stronger than you were ?

Anna. Good lady, 90
Make yourself mirth with your particular fancy,
And leave me out on 't. Would I had no being,
If this salute my blood a jot : it faints me,
To think what follows.
The queen is comfortless, and we forgetful
In our long absence : pray, do not deliver
What here you 've heard to her.

Old L. What do you think me ? [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *A hall in Black-Friars.*

Trumpets, sennet, and cornets. Enter two Vergers, with short silver wands ; next them, two Scribes, in the habit of doctors ; after them, the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY alone ; after him, the BISHOPS OF LINCOLN, ELY, ROCHESTER, and SAINT ASAPH ; next them, with some small distance, follows a Gentleman bearing the purse, with the great seal, and a cardinal's hat ; then two Priests, bearing each a silver cross ; then a Gentleman-usher bare-headed, accompanied with a Sergeant-at-arms bearing a silver mace ; then two Gentlemen bearing two great silver pillars ; after them, side by side, the two CARDINALS ; two Noblemen with the sword and mace. The KING takes place under the cloth of state ; the two CARDINALS sit under him as judges. The QUEEN takes place some distance from the KING. The Bishops place themselves on each side the court, in manner of a consistory ; below them, the Scribes. The Lords sit next the Bishops. The rest of the Attendants stand in convenient order about the stage.

Wol. Whilst our commission from Rome is read,
Let silence be commaunded.

King. What's the need ?
It hath already publicly been read,
And on all sides the authority allow'd ;
You may, then, spare that time.

Vol. Be't so. Proceed.

Scribe. Say, Henry King of England, come into the court.

Crier. Henry King of England, &c.

King. Here.

Scribe. Say, Katharine Queen of England, come into the court. 11

Crier. Katharine Queen of England, &c.

[The Queen makes no answer, rises out of her chair, goes about the court, comes to the King, and kneels at his feet; then speaks.]

Q. Kath. Sir, I desire you do me right and justice ;
And to bestow your pity on me : for
I am a most poor woman, and a stranger,
Born out of your dominions ; having here
No judge indifferent, nor no more assurance
Of equal friendship and proceeding. Alas, sir,
In what have I offended you ? what cause
Hath my behaviour given to your displeasure, 20
That thus you should proceed to put me off,
And take your good grace from me ? Heaven witness,
I have been to you a true and humble wife,
At all times to your will conformable ;
Ever in fear to kindle your dislike,
Yea, subject to your countenance, glad or sorry
As I saw it inclined : when was the hour
I ever contradicted your desire,
Or made it not mine too ? Or which of your friends
Have I not strove to love, although I knew 30
He were mine enemy ? what friend of mine
That had to him derived your anger, did I
Continue in my liking ? nay, gave notice

He was from thence discharged? Sir, call to mind
 That I have been your wife, in this obedience,
 Upward of twenty years, and have been blest
 With many children by you : if, in the course
 And process of this time, you can report,
 And prove it too, against mine honour aught,
 My bond to wedlock, or my love and duty, 40
 Against your sacred person, in God's name,
 Turn me away ; and let the foul'st contempt
 Shut door upon me, and so give me up
 To the sharp'st kind of justice. Please you, sir,
 The king, your father, was reputed for
 A prince most prudent, of an excellent
 And unmatch'd wit and judgement : Ferdinand,
 My father, king of Spain, was reckon'd one
 The wisest prince that there had reign'd by many.
 A year before : it is not to be question'd 50
 That they had gather'd a wise council to them
 Of every realm, that did debate this business,
 Who deem'd our marriage lawful : wherefore I humbly
 Beseech you, sir, to spare me, till I may
 Be by my friends in Spain advised ; whose counsel
 I will implore : if not, i' the name of God,
 Your pleasure be fulfill'd !

Wol. You have here, lady,
 And of your choice, these reverend fathers ; men
 Of singular integrity and learning,
 Yea, the elect o' the land, who are assembled 60
 To plead your cause : it shall be therefore bootless
 That longer you desire the court ; as well
 For your own quiet, as to rectify
 What is unsettled in the king.

Cam. His grace
 Hath spoken well and justly : therefore, madam,
 It's fit this royal session do proceed ;
 And that, without delay, their arguments

Be now produced and heard.

Q. Kath. Lord cardinal,

To you I speak.

Wol. Your pleasure, madam ?

Q. Kath. Sir

I am about to weep ; but, thinking that 90
We are a queen, or long have dream'd so, certain
The daughter of a king, my drops of tears
I'll turn to sparks of fire.

Wol. Be patient yet.

Q. Kath. I will, when you are humble ; nay, before,
Or God will punish me. I do believe,
Induced by potent circumstances, that
You are mine enemy, and make my challenge
You shall not be my judge ; for it is you
Have blown this coal betwixt my lord and me :
Which God's dew quench ! Therefore I say again, 80
I utterly abhor, yea, from my soul
Refuse you for my judge ; whom, yet once more,
I hold my most malicious foe, and think not
At all a friend to truth.

Wol. I do profess

You speak not like yourself ; who ever yet
Have stood to charity, and display'd the effects
Of disposition gentle, and of wisdom
O'ertopping woman's power. Madam, you do me wrong :
I have no spleen against you ; nor injustice
For you or any : how far I have proceeded, 90
Or how far further shall, is warranted
By a commission from the consistory,
Yea, the whole consistory of Rome. You charge me
That I have blown this coal : I do deny it :
The king is present : if it be known to him
That I gainsay my deed, how may he wound,
And worthily, my falsehood ! yea, as much
As you have done my truth. If he know

That I am free of your report, he knows
 I am not of your wrong. Therefore in him 100
 It lies to cure me : and the cure is, to
 Remove these thoughts from you : the which before
 His highness shall speak in, I do beseech
 You, gracious madam, to unthink your speaking
 And to say so no more.

Q. Kath. My lord, my lord,
 I am a simple woman, much too weak
 To oppose your cunning. You're meek and humble-mouth'd ;
 You sign your place and calling, in full seeming,
 With meekness and humility ; but your heart 110
 Is cramm'd with arrogance, spleen, and pride.
 You have, by fortune and his highness' favours,
 Gone slightly o'er low steps and now are mounted
 Where powers are your retainers, and your words,
 Domestic to you, serve your will as 't please
 Yourself pronounce their office. I must tell you,
 You tender more your person's honour than
 Your high profession spiritual : that again
 I do refuse you for my judge ; and here,
 Before you all, appeal unto the pope,
 To bring my whole cause 'fore his holiness, 120
 And to be judged by him.

[*She curtsies to the King, and offers to depart.*]

Cam. The queen is obstinate,
 Stubborn to justice, apt to accuse it, and
 Disdainful to be tried by 't : 'tis not well.
 She's going away.

King. Call her again.

Crier. Katharine Queen of England, come into the court.

Grif. Madam, you are call'd back.

Q. Kath. What need you note it? pray you, keep your
 way :

When you are call'd, return. Now, the Lord help,
 They vex me past my patience ! Pray you, pass on : 130

I will not tarry ; no, nor ever more
 Upon this business my appearance make
 In any of their courts. [*Exeunt Queen, and her Attendants.*]

King. Go thy ways, Kate :
 That man i' the world who shall report he has
 A better wife, let him in nought be trusted,
 For speaking false in that : thou art, alone,
 If thy rare qualities, sweet gentleness,
 Thy meekness saint-like, wife-like government,
 Obeying in commanding, and thy parts
 Sovereign and pious else, could speak thee out, 140
 The queen of earthly queens ; she's noble born ;
 And, like her true nobility, she has
 Carried herself towards me.

Wol. Most gracious sir,
 In humblest manner I require your highness,
 That it shall please you to declare, in hearing
 Of all these ears,—for where I am robb'd and bound,
 There must I be unloosed, although not there
 At once and fully satisfied,—whether ever I
 Did broach this business to your highness ; or
 Laid any scruple in your way, which might 150
 Induce you to the question on 't ? or ever
 Have to you, but with thanks to God for such
 A royal lady, spake one the least word that might
 Be to the prejudice of her present state,
 Or touch of her good person ?

King. My lord cardinal,
 I do excuse you ; yea, upon mine honour,
 I free you from 't. You are not to be taught
 That you have many enemies, that know not
 Why they are so, but, like to village-curs,
 Bark when their fellows do : by some of these 160
 The queen is put in anger. You're excused :
 But will you be more justified ? you ever
 Have wish'd the sleeping of this business ; never desired

It to be stirr'd ; but oft have hinder'd, oft,
 The passages made toward it : on my honour,
 I speak my good lord cardinal to this point,
 And thus far clear him. Now, what moved me to 't,
 I will be bold with time and your attention :
 Then mark the inducement. Thus it came ; give heed to 't :
 My conscience first received a tenderness, 170
 Scruple, and prick, on certain speeches utter'd
 By the Bishop of Bayonne, then French ambassador ;
 Who had been hither sent on the debating
 A marriage 'twixt the Duke of Orleans and
 Our daughter Mary : i' the progress of this business,
 Ere a determinate resolution, he,
 I mean the bishop, did require a respite ;
 Wherein he might the king his lord advertise
 Whether our daughter were legitimate,
 Respecting this our marriage with the dowager, 180
 Sometimes our brother's wife. This respite shook
 The bosom of my conscience, enter'd me,
 Yea, with a splitting power, and made to tremble
 The region of my breast ; which forced such way,
 That many mazed considerings did throng
 And press'd in with this caution. First, methought
 I stood not in the smile of heaven ; who had
 Commanded nature, that my lady's womb,
 If it conceived a male child by me, should
 Do no more offices of life to 't than 190
 The grave does to the dead ; for her male issue
 Or died where they were made, or shortly after
 This world had air'd them : hence I took a thought,
 This was a judgement on me ; that my kingdom,
 Well worthy the best heir o' the world, should not
 Be gladdened in 't by me : then follows, that
 I weigh'd the danger which my realms stood in
 By this my issue's fail ; and that gave to me
 Many a groaning throe. Thus hulling in

The wild sea of my conscience, I did steer 200
 Toward this remedy, whereupon we are
 Now present here together ; that's to say,
 I meant to rectify my conscience,— which
 I then did feel full sick, and yet not well,—
 By all the reverend fathers of the land
 And doctors learn'd : first I began in private
 With you, my Lord of Lincoln ; you remember
 How under my oppression I did reek,
 When I first moved you.

Lin. Very well, my liege.

King. I have spoke long : be pleased yourself to say 210
 How far you satisfied me.

Lin. So please your highness,
 The question did at first so stagger me,
 Bearing a state of mighty moment in 't
 And consequence of dread, that I committed
 The daring'st council which I had to doubt ;
 And did entreat your highness to this course
 Which you are running here.

King. I then moved you,
 My Lord of Canterbury ; and got your leave
 To make this present summons : unsolicited
 I left no reverend person in this court ; 220
 But by particular consent proceeded
 Under your hands and seals : therefore, go on ;
 For no dislike i' the world against the person
 Of the good queen, but the sharp thorny points
 Of my alleged reasons, drive this forward :
 Prove but our marriage lawful, by my life
 And kingly dignity, we are contented
 To wear our mortal state to come with her,
 Katharine our queen, before the primest creature
 That's paragon'd o' the world.

Cam. So please your highness, 230
 The queen being absent, 'tis a needful fitness

That we adjourn this court till further day :
 Meanwhile must be an earnest motion
 Made to the queen, to call back her appeal
 She intends unto his holiness.

King. [Aside] I may perceive
 These cardinals trifle with me : I abhor
 This dilatory sloth and tricks of Rome.
 My learn'd and well-beloved servant, Cranmer,
 Prithee, return : with thy approach, I know,
 My comfort comes along. Break up the court : 240
 I say, set on. [Exeunt in manner as they entered.]

ACT III.

SCENE I. *London. The QUEEN'S apartments.*

Enter the QUEEN and her Women, as at work.

Q. Kath. Take thy lute, wench : my soul grows sad with
 troubles ;
 Sing, and disperse 'em, if thou canst : leave working.

SONG.

Orpheus with his lute made trees,
 And the mountain tops that freeze,
 Bow themselves when he did sing :
 To his music plants and flowers
 Ever sprung ; as sun and showers
 There had made a lasting spring.

Every thing that heard him play,
 Even the billows of the sea,
 Hung their heads, and then lay by.
 In sweet music is such art,
 Killing care and grief of heart
 Fall asleep, or hearing, die.

Enter a Gentleman.

Q. Kath. How now !

Gent. An't please your grace, the two great cardinals
Wait in the presence.

Q. Kath. Would they speak with me ?

Gent. They will'd me say so, madam.

Q. Kath. Pray their graces
To come near. [*Exit Gent.*] What can be their business
With me, a poor weak woman, fall'n from favour ? 20
I do not like their coming. Now I think on't,
They should be good men ; their affairs as righteous :
But all hoods make not monks.

Enter the two Cardinals, WOLSEY and CAMPEIUS.

Wol. Peace to your highness !

Q. Kath. Your graces find me here part of a housewife,
I would be all, against the worst may happen.
What are your pleasures with me, reverend lords ?

Wol. May it please you, noble madam, to withdraw
Into your private chamber, we shall give you
The full cause of our coming.

Q. Kath. Speak it here :
There's nothing I have done yet, o' my conscience, 30
Deserves a corner : would all other women
Could speak this with as free a soul as I do !
My lords, I care not, so much I am happy
Above a number, if my actions
Were tried by every tongue, every eye saw 'em,
Envy and base opinion set against 'em,
I know my life so even. If your business
Seek me out, and that way I am wife in,
Out with it boldly : truth loves open dealing.

Wol. Tanta est erga te mentis integritas, regina seren-
issima,— 41

Q. Kath. O, good my lord, no Latin ;
I am not such a truant since my coming,

As not to know the language I have lived in :
 A strange tongue makes my cause more strange, suspicious ;
 Pray, speak in English : here are some will thank you,
 If you speak truth, for their poor mistress' sake ;
 Believe me, she has had much wrong : lord cardinal,
 The willing'st sin I ever yet committed
 May be absolved in English.

Wol.

Noble lady,

50

I am sorry my integrity should breed,
 And service to his majesty and you,
 So deep suspicion, where all faith was meant.
 We come not by the way of accusation,
 To taint that honour every good tongue blesses,
 Nor to betray you any way to sorrow,
 You have too much, good lady ; but to know
 How you stand minded in the weighty difference
 Between the king and you ; and to deliver,
 Like free and honest men, our just opinions
 And comforts to your cause.

60

Cam.

Most honour'd madam,

My Lord of York, out of his noble nature,
 Zeal and obedience he still bore your grace,
 Forgetting, like a good man, your late censure
 Both of his truth and him, which was too far,
 Offers, as I do, in a sign of peace,
 His service and his counsel.

Q. Kath.

[*Aside*] To betray me.—

My lords, I thank you both for your good wills ;
 Ye speak like honest men ; pray God, ye prove so !
 But how to make ye suddenly an answer,
 In such a point of weight, so near mine honour,—
 More near my life, I fear,—with my weak wit,
 And to such men of gravity and learning,
 In truth, I know not. I was set at work
 Among my maids ; full little, God knows, looking
 Either for such men or such business.

70

For her sake that I have been,—for I feel
 The last fit of my greatness,—good your graces,
 Let me have time and counsel for my cause :
 Alas, I am a woman, friendless, hopeless ! 80

Wol. Madam, you wrong the king's love with these fears :
 Your hopes and friends are infinite.

Q. Kath. In England
 But little for my profit : can you think, lords,
 That any Englishman dare give me counsel ?
 Or be a known friend, 'gainst his highness' pleasure,
 Though he be grown so desperate to be honest,
 And live a subject ? Nay, forsooth, my friends,
 They that must weigh out my afflictions,
 They that my trust must grow to, live not here :
 They are, as all my other comforts, far hence 90
 In mine own country, lords.

Cam. I would your grace
 Would leave your griefs, and take my counsel.

Q. Kath. How, sir ?

Cam. Put your main cause into the king's protection ;
 He's loving and most gracious : 'twill be much
 Both for your honour better and your cause ;
 For if the trial of the law o'ertake ye,
 You 'll part away disgraced.

Wol. He tells you rightly.

Q. Kath. Ye tell me what ye wish for both,—my ruin :
 Is this your Christian counsel ? out upon ye !
 Heaven is above all yet ; there sits a judge 100
 That no king can corrupt.

Cam. Your rage mistakes us.

Q. Kath. The more shame for ye : holy men I thought ye,
 Upon my soul, two reverend cardinal virtues ;
 But cardinal sins and hollow hearts I fear ye :
 Mend 'em, for shame, my lords. Is this your comfort ?
 The cordial that ye bring a wretched lady,
 A woman lost among ye, laugh'd at, scorn'd ?

I will not wish ye half my miseries ;
 I have more charity : but say, I warn'd ye ;
 Take heed, for heaven's sake, take heed, lest at once 110
 The burthen of my sorrows fall upon ye.

Vol. Madam, this is a mere distraction ;
 You turn the good we offer into envy.

Q. Kath. Ye turn me into nothing : woe upon ye
 And all such false professors ! would you have me—
 If you have any justice, any pity ;
 If ye be any thing but churchmen's habits—
 Put my sick cause into his hands that hates me ?
 Alas, has banish'd me his bed already,
 His love, too long ago ! I am old, my lords, 120
 And all the fellowship I hold now with him
 Is only my obedience. What can happen
 To me above this wretchedness ? all your studies
 Make me a curse like this.

Cam. Your fears are worse.

Q. Kath. Have I lived thus long—let me speak myself,
 Since virtue finds no friends—a wife, a true one ?
 A woman, I dare say without vain-glory,
 Never yet branded with suspicion ?
 Have I with all my full affections
 Still met the king ? loved him next heaven ? obey'd him ? 130
 Been, out of fondness, superstitious to him ?
 Almost forgot my prayers to content him ?
 And am I thus rewarded ? 'tis not well, lords.
 Bring me a constant woman to her husband,
 One that ne'er dream'd a joy beyond his pleasure ;
 And to that woman, when she has done most,
 Yet will I add an honour, a great patience.

Vol. Madam, you wander from the good we aim at.

Q. Kath. My lord, I dare not make myself so guilty
 To give up willingly that noble title 140
 Your master wed me to : nothing but death
 Shall e'er divorce my dignities.

Wol.

Pray, hear me.

Q. Kath. Would I had never trod this English earth,
 Or felt the flatteries that grow upon it !
 Ye have angels' faces, but heaven knows your hearts.
 What will become of me now, wretched lady !
 I am the most unhappy woman living.
 Alas, poor wenches, where are now your fortunes !
 Shipwreck'd upon a kingdom, where no pity,
 No friends, no hope ; no kindred weep for me ;
 Almost no grave allow'd me : like the lily,
 That once was mistress of the field and flourish'd,
 I'll hang my head and perish.

150

Wol.

If your grace

Could but be brought to know our ends are honest,
 You 'ld feel more comfort : why should we, good lady,
 Upon what cause, wrong you ? alas, our places,
 The way of our profession is against it :
 We are to cure such sorrows, not to sow 'em.
 For goodness' sake, consider what you do ;
 How you may hurt yourself, ay, utterly
 Grow from the king's acquaintance, by this carriage.
 The hearts of princes kiss obedience,
 So much they love it ; but to stubborn spirits
 They swell, and grow as terrible as storms.
 I know you have a gentle, noble temper,
 A soul as even as a calm : pray, think us
 Those we profess, peace-makers, friends, and servants

160

Cam. Madam, you 'll find it so. You wrong your virtues

With these weak women's fears : a noble spirit,
 As yours was put into you, ever casts
 Such doubts, as false coin, from it. The king loves you ;
 Beware you lose it not : for us, if you please
 To trust us in your business, we are ready
 To use our utmost studies in your service.

170

Q. Kath. Do what ye will, my lords : and, pray, forgive me,
 If I have used myself unmannerly ;

You know I am a woman, lacking wit
 To make a seemly answer to such persons.
 Pray, do my service to his majesty :
 He has my heart yet ; and shall have my prayers 180
 While I shall have my life. Come, reverend fathers,
 Bestow your counsels on me : she now begs,
 That little thought, when she set footing here,
 She should have bought her dignities so dear. [Exeunt.]

SCENE II. *Ante-chamber to the KING's apartment.*

*Enter the DUKE OF NORFOLK, the DUKE OF SUFFOLK, the
 EARL OF SURREY, and the LORD CHAMBERLAIN.*

Nor. If you will now unite in your complaints,
 And force them with a constancy, the cardinal
 Cannot stand under them : if you omit
 The offer of this time, I cannot promise
 But that you shall sustain moe new disgraces,
 With these you bear already.

Sur. I am joyful
 To meet the least occasion that may give me
 Remembrance of my father-in-law, the duke,
 To be revenged on him.

Suf. Which of the peers
 Have uncontemn'd gone by him, or at least 10
 Strangely neglected ? when did he regard
 The stamp of nobleness in any person
 Out of himself ?

Cham. My lords, you speak your pleasures :
 What he deserves of you and me I know ;
 What we can do to him, though now the time
 Gives way to us, I much fear. If you cannot
 Bar his access to the king, never attempt
 Any thing on him ; for he hath a witchcraft
 Over the king in 's tongue.

Nor. O, fear him not ;
 His spell in that is out : the king hath found
 Matter against him that for ever mars
 The honey of his language. No, he's settled,
 Not to come off, in his displeasure. 20

Sur. Sir,
 I should be glad to hear such news as this
 Once every hour.

Nor. Believe it, this is true :
 In the divorce his contrary proceedings
 Are all unfolded ; wherein he appears
 As I would wish mine enemy.

Sur. How came
 His practices to light ?

Suf. Most strangely.

Sur. O, how, how ?

Suf. The cardinal's letters to the pope miscarried,
 And came to the eye o' the king : wherein was read,
 How that the cardinal did entreat his holiness
 To stay the judgement o' the divorce ; for if
 It did take place, 'I do,' quoth he, 'perceive
 My king is tangled in affection to
 A creature of the queen's, Lady Anne Bullen.' 30

Sur. Has the king this ?

Suf. Believe it.

Sur. Will this work ?

Cham. The king in this perceives him, how he coasts
 And hedges his own way. But in this point
 All his tricks founder, and he brings his physic
 After his patient's death : the king already
 Hath married the fair lady. 40

Sur. Would he had !

Suf. May you be happy in your wish, my lord !
 For, I profess, you have it.

Sur. Now, all my joy
 Trace the conjunction !

Suf. My amen to't!

Nor. All men's!

Suf. There's order given for her coronation :
Marry, this is yet but young, and may be left
To some ears unrecounted. But, my lords,
She is a gallant creature, and complete
In mind and feature : I persuade me, from her
Will fall some blessing to this land, which shall
In it be memorized.

50

Sur. But, will the king
Digest this letter of the cardinal's ?
The Lord forbid !

Nor. Marry, amen !

Suf. No, no ;
There be moe wasps that buzz about his nose
Will make this sting the sooner. Cardinal Campeius
Is stol'n away to Rome ; hath ta'en no leave ;
Has left the cause o' the king unhandled ; and
Is posted, as the agent of our cardinal,
To second all his plot. I do assure you
The king cried Ha ! at this.

60

Cham. Now, God incense him,
And let him cry Ha ! louder !

Nor. But, my lord,
When returns Cranmer ?

Suf. He is return'd in his opinions ; which
Have satisfied the king for his divorce,
Together with all famous colleges
Almost in Christendom : shortly, I believe,
His second marriage shall be publish'd, and
Her coronation. Katharine no more
Shall be call'd queen, but princess dowager
And widow to Prince Arthur.

70

Nor. This same Cranmer's
A worthy fellow, and hath ta'en much pain
In the king's business.

Suf. He has ; and we shall see him
For it an archbishop.

Nor. So I hear.

Suf. 'Tis so.

The cardinal !

Enter WOLSEY and CROMWELL.

Nor. Observe, observe, he 's moody.

Wol. The packet, Cromwell,
Gave 't you the king ?

Crom. To his own hand, in 's bedchamber.

Wol. Look'd he o' the inside of the paper ?

Crom. Presently

He did unseal them : and the first he view'd,
He did it with a serious mind ; a heed
Was in his countenance. You he bade
Attend him here this morning.

80

Wol. Is he ready
To come abroad ?

Crom. I think, by this he is.

Wol. Leave me awhile. [*Exit Cromwell.*]

[*Aside*] It shall be to the Duchess of Alençon,
The French king's sister : he shall marry her.
Anne Bullen ! No ; I 'll no Anne Bullens for him
There 's more in 't than fair visage. Bullen !
No, we 'll no Bullens. Speedily I wish

To hear from Rome. The Marchioness of Pembroke ! 90

Nor. He 's discontented.

Suf. May be, he hears the king
Does whet his anger to him.

Sur. Sharp enough,
Lord, for thy justice !

Wol. [*Aside*] The late queen's gentlewoman, a knight's
daughter,

To be her mistress' mistress ! the queen's queen !
This candle burns not clear : 'tis I must snuff it ;

Then out it goes. What though I know her virtuous
 And well deserving ? yet I know her for
 A spleeny Lutheran ; and not wholesome to
 Our cause, that she should lie i' the bosom of 100
 Our hard-ruled king. Again, there is sprung up
 An heretic, an arch one, Cranmer ; one
 Hath crawl'd into the favour of the king,
 And is his oracle.

Nor. He is vex'd at something.

Sur. I would 'twere something that would fret the string,
 The master-cord on 's heart !

Enter the KING, reading of a schedule, and LOVELL.

Suf. The king, the king !

King. What piles of wealth hath he accumulated
 To his own portion ! and what expense by the hour
 Seems to flow from him ! How, i' the name of thrift,
 Does he rake this together ! Now, my lords, 110
 Saw you the cardinal ?

Nor. My lord, we have
 Stood here observing him : some strange commotion
 Is in his brain : he bites his lip, and starts ;
 Stops on a sudden, looks upon the ground,
 Then lays his finger on his temple ; straight
 Springs out into fast gait ; then stops again,
 Strikes his breast hard, and anon he casts
 His eye against the moon : in most strange postures
 We have seen him set himself.

King. It may well be ;
 There is a mutiny in 's mind. This morning 120
 Papers of state he sent me to peruse,
 As I required : and wot you what I found
 There,—on my conscience, put unwittingly ?
 Forsooth, an inventory, thus importing ;
 The several parcels of his plate, his treasure,
 Rich stuffs, and ornaments of household ; which

I find at such proud rate, that it out-speaks
Possession of a subject.

Nor. It's heaven's will :
Some spirit put this paper in the packet,
To bless your eye withal.

King. If we did think 130
His contemplation were above the earth,
And fix'd on spiritual object, he should still
Dwell in his musings : but I am afraid
His thinkings are below the moon, not worth
His serious considering.

[*King takes his seat ; whispers Lovell,
who goes to the Cardinal.*]

Wol. Heaven forgive me !
Ever God bless your highness !

King. Good my lord,
You are full of heavenly stuff, and bear the inventory
Of your best graces in your mind ; the which
You were now running o'er : you have scarce time
To steal from spiritual leisure a brief span 140
To keep your earthly audit ; sure, in that
I deem you an ill husband, and am glad
To have you therein my companion.

Wol. Sir,
For holy offices I have a time ; a time
To think upon the part of business which
I bear i' the state ; and nature does require
Her times of preservation, which perforce
I, her frail son, amongst my brethren mortal,
Must give my tendance to.

King. You have said well.

Wol. And ever may your highness yoke together, 150
As I will lend you cause, my doing well
With my well saying !

King. 'Tis well said again ;
And 'tis a kind of good deed to say well :

And yet words are no deeds. My father loved you :
 He said he did ; and with his deed did crown
 His word upon you. Since I had my office,
 I have kept you next my heart ; have not alone
 Employ'd you where high profits might come home,
 But pared my present havings, to bestow
 My bounties upon you.

Wol. [*Aside*] What should this mean ? 160

Sur. [*Aside*] The Lord increase this business !

King. Have I not made you

The prime man of the state ? I pray you, tell me,
 If what I now pronounce you have found true :
 And, if you may confess it, say withal,
 If you are bound to us or no. What say you ?

Wol. My sovereign, I confess your royal graces,
 Shower'd on me daily, have been more than could
 My studied purposes requite ; which went
 Beyond all man's endeavours : my endeavours
 Have ever come too short of my desires, 170
 Yet filed with my abilities : mine own ends
 Have been mine so that evermore they pointed
 To the good of your most sacred person and
 The profit of the state. For your great graces
 Heap'd upon me, poor undeserver, I
 Can nothing render but allegiant thanks,
 My prayers to heaven for you, my loyalty,
 Which ever has and ever shall be growing,
 Till death, that winter, kill it.

King. Fairly answered ;

A loyal and obedient subject is 180
 Therein illustrated : the honour of it
 Does pay the act of it ; as, i' the contrary,
 The foulness is the punishment. I presume
 That, as my hand has open'd bounty to you,
 My heart dropp'd love, my power rain'd honour, more
 On you than any ; so your hand and heart,

Your brain, and every function of your power,
Should, notwithstanding that your bond of duty,
As 'twere in love's particular, be more
To me, your friend, than any.

Wol.

I do profess

190

That for you highness' good I ever labour'd
More than mine own ; that I am true and will be,
Though all the world should crack their duty to you,
And throw it from their soul ; though perils did
Abound, as thick as thought could make 'em, and
Appear in forms more horrid,—yet my duty,
As doth a rock against the chiding flood,
Should the approach of this wild river break,
And stand unshaken yours.

King.

'Tis nobly spoken :

Take notice, lords, he has a loyal breast,
For you have seen him open 't. Read o'er this ;

200

[Giving him papers.

And after, this : and then to breakfast with
What appetite you have.

*[Exit King, frowning upon Cardinal Wolsey: the Nobles
throng after him, smiling and whispering.*

Wol.

What should this mean ?

What sudden anger's this ? How have I reap'd it ?
He parted frowning from me, as if ruin
Leap'd from his eyes : so looks the chafed lion
Upon the daring huntsman that has gall'd him ;
Then makes him nothing. I must read this paper ;
I fear, the story of his anger. 'Tis so ;
This paper has undone me : 'tis the account
Of all that world of wealth I have drawn together
For mine own ends ; indeed, to gain the popedom,
And fee my friends in Rome. O negligence !
Fit for a fool to fall by : what cross devil
Made me put this main secret in the packet
I sent the king ? Is there no way to cure this ?

210

No new device to beat this from his brains?
 I know 'twill stir him strongly; yet I know
 A way, if it take right, in spite of fortune
 Will bring me off again. What's this? 'To the Pope!' 220
 The letter, as I live, with all the business
 I writ to's holiness. Nay then, farewell!
 I have touch'd the highest point of all my greatness;
 And, from that full meridian of my glory,
 I haste now to my setting: I shall fall
 Like a bright exhalation in the evening,
 And no man see me more.

*Re-enter to WOLSEY, the DUKES OF NORFOLK and SUFFOLK, the
 EARL OF SURREY, and the LORD CHAMBERLAIN.*

Nor. Hear the king's pleasure, cardinal; who commands
 you

To render up the great seal presently
 Into our hands; and to confine yourself 230
 To Asher House, my Lord of Winchester's,
 Till you hear further from his highness.

Wol. Stay:

Where's your commission, lords? Words cannot carry
 Authority so weighty.

Suf. Who dare cross 'em,
 Bearing the king's will from his mouth expressly?

Wol. Till I find more than will or words to do it,
 I mean your malice, know, officious lords,
 I dare and must deny it. Now I feel
 Of what coarse metal ye are moulded, envy:
 How eagerly ye follow my disgraces, 240
 As if it fed ye! and how sleek and wanton
 Ye appear in every thing may bring my ruin!
 Follow your envious courses, men of malice;
 You have Christian warrant for 'em, and, no doubt,
 In time will find their fit rewards. That seal,
 You ask with such a violence, the king,

Mine and your master, with his own hand gave me ;
 Bade me enjoy it, with the place and honours,
 During my life ; and, to confirm his goodness,
 Tied it by letters-patents : now, who 'll take it ? 250

Sur. The king, that gave it.

Wol. It must be himself, then.

Sur. Thou art a proud traitor, priest.

Wol. Proud lord, thou liest :

Within these forty hours Surrey durst better
 Have burnt that tongue than said so.

Sur. Thy ambition,

Thou scarlet sin, robb'd this bewailing land
 Of noble Buckingham, my father-in-law :
 The heads of all thy brother cardinals,
 With thee and all thy best parts bound together,
 Weigh'd not a hair of his. Plague of your policy !
 You sent me deputy for Ireland ; 260

Far from his succour, from the king, from all
 That might have mercy on the fault thou gavest him ;
 Whilst your great goodness, out of holy pity,
 Absolved him with an axe.

Wol. This, and all else
 This talking lord can lay upon my credit,
 I answer is most false. The duke by law
 Found his deserts : how innocent I was
 From any private malice in his end,
 His noble jury and foul cause can witness.
 If I loved many words, lord, I should tell you 270

You have as little honesty as honour,
 That in the way of loyalty and truth
 Toward the king, my ever royal master,
 Dare mate a sounder man than Surrey can be,
 And all that love his follies.

Sur. By my soul,
 Your long coat, priest, protects you ; thou shouldst feel
 My sword i' the life-blood of thee else. My lords,

Can ye endure to hear this arrogance ?
 And from this fellow ? If we live thus tamely,
 To be thus jaded by a piece of scarlet, 280
 Farewell nobility ; let his grace go forward,
 And dare us with his cap like larks.

Wol. All goodness
 Is poison to thy stomach.

Sur. Yes, that goodness
 Of gleaning all the land's wealth into one,
 Into your own hands, cardinal, by extortion ;
 The goodness of your intercepted packets
 You writ to the pope against the king : your goodness,
 Since you provoke me, shall be most notorious.
 My Lord of Norfolk, as you are truly noble,
 As you respect the common good, the state 290
 Of our despised nobility, our issues,
 Who, if he live, will scarce be gentlemen,
 Produce the grand sum of his sins, the articles
 Collected from his life.

Wol. How much, methinks, I could despise this man,
 But that I am bound in charity against it !

Nor. Those articles, my lord, are in the king's hand :
 But, thus much, they are foul ones.

Wol. So much fairer
 And spotless shall mine innocence arise,
 When the king knows my truth.

Sur. This cannot save you : 300
 I thank my memory, I yet remember
 Some of these articles ; and out they shall
 Now, if you can blush and cry ' guilty,' cardinal,
 You'll show a little honesty.

Wol. Speak on, sir ;
 I dare your worst objections : if I blush,
 It is to see a nobleman want manners.

Sur. I had rather want those than my head. Have at
 you !

First, that, without the king's assent or knowledge,
 You wrought to be a legate ; by which power
 You maim'd the jurisdiction of all bishops. 310

Nor. Then, that in all you writ to Rome, or else
 To foreign princes, 'Ego et Rex meus'
 Was still inscribed ; in which you brought the king
 To be your servant.

Suf. Then that, without the knowledge
 Either of king or council, when you went
 Ambassador to the emperor, you made bold
 To carry into Flanders the great seal.

Sur. Item, you sent a large commission
 To Gregory de Cassado, to conclude,
 Without the king's will or the state's allowance, 320
 A league between his highness and Ferrara.

Suf. That, out of mere ambition, you have caused
 Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the king's coin.

Sur. Then that you have sent innumerable substance—
 By what means got, I leave to your own conscience—
 To furnish Rome, and to prepare the ways
 You have for dignities ; to the mere undoing
 Of all the kingdom. Many more there are ;
 Which, since they are of you, and odious,
 I will not taint my mouth with.

Cham. O my lord, 330
 Press not a falling man too far ! 'tis virtue ;
 His faults lie open to the laws ; let them,
 Not you, correct him. My heart weeps to see him
 So little of his great self.

Sur. I forgive him.

Suf. Lord cardinal, the king's further pleasure is,
 Because all those things you have done of late,
 By your power legatine, within this kingdom,
 Fall into the compass of a præmunire,
 That therefore such a writ be sued against you ;
 To forfeit all your goods, lands, tenements, 340

Chattels, and whatsoever, and to be
Out of the king's protection. This is my charge.

Nor. And so we'll leave you to your meditations
How to live better. For your stubborn answer
About the giving back the great seal to us,
The king shall know it, and, no doubt, shall thank you.
So fare you well, my little good lord cardinal.

[*Exeunt all but Wolsey.*]

Wol. So farewell to the little good you bear me.
Farewell ! a long farewell, to all my greatness !
This is the state of man : to-day he puts forth 350
The tender leaves of hopes ; to-morrow blossoms,
And bears his blushing honours thick upon him ;
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
And, when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
His greatness is a-ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls, as I do. I have ventured,
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
This many summers in a sea of glory,
But far beyond my depth : my high-blown pride
At length broke under me and now has left me, 360
Weary and old with service, to the mercy
Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.
Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye :
I feel my heart new open'd. O, how wretched
Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours !
There is, betwixt that smile we would aspire to,
That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,
More pangs and fears than wars or women have :
And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,
Never to hope again.

Enter CROMWELL, and stands amazed.

Why, how now, Cromwell ! 370

Crom. I have no power to speak, sir.

Wol. What, amazed

At my misfortunes? can thy spirit wonder
A great man should decline? Nay, an you weep,
I am fall'n indeed.

Crom. How does your grace?

Wol. Why, well;

Never so truly happy, my good Cromwell.
I know myself now; and I feel within me
A peace above all earthly dignities,
A still and quiet conscience. The king has cured me,
I humbly thank his grace; and from these shoulders,
These ruin'd pillars, out of pity, taken 380
A load would sink a navy, too much honour:
O, 'tis a burthen, Cromwell, 'tis a burthen
Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven!

Crom. I am glad your grace has made that right use of it.

Wol. I hope I have: I am able now, methinks,
Out of a fortitude of soul I feel,
To endure more miseries and greater far
Than my weak-hearted enemies dare offer.
What news abroad?

Crom. The heaviest and the worst
Is your displeasure with the king.

Wol. God bless him! 390

Crom. The next is, that Sir Thomas More is chosen
Lord chancellor in your place.

Wol. That's somewhat sudden:
But he's a learned man. May he continue
Long in his highness' favour, and do justice
For truth's sake and his conscience; that his bones,
When he has run his course and sleeps in blessings,
May have a tomb of orphans' tears wept on 'em!
What more?

Crom. That Cranmer is return'd with welcome
Install'd lord archbishop of Canterbury.

Wol. That's news, indeed.

Crom. Last, that the Lady Anne, 400

Whom the king hath in secrecy long married,
 This day was view'd in open as his queen,
 Going to chapel ; and the voice is now
 Only about her coronation.

Wol. There was the weight that pull'd me down. O
 Cromwell,

The king has gone beyond me : all my glories
 In that one woman I have lost for ever :
 No sun shall ever usher forth mine honours,
 Or gild again the noble troops that waited
 Upon my smiles. Go, get thee from me, Cromwell ; 410
 I am a poor fall'n man, unworthy now
 To be thy lord and master : seek the king ;
 That sun, I pray, may never set ! I have told him
 What and how true thou art : he will advance thee ;
 Some little memory of me will stir him—
 I know his noble nature—not to let
 Thy hopeful service perish too : good Cromwell,
 Neglect him not ; make use now, and provide
 For thine own future safety.

Crom. O my lord,
 Must I, then, leave you ? must I needs forego 420
 So good, so noble and so true a master ?
 Bear witness, all that have not hearts of iron,
 With what a sorrow Cromwell leaves his lord.
 The king shall have my service ; but my prayers
 For ever and for ever shall be yours.

Wol. Cromwell, I did not think to shed a tear
 In all my miseries ; but thou hast forced me,
 Out of thy honest truth, to play the woman.
 Let's dry our eyes : and thus far hear me, Cromwell ;
 And, when I am forgotten, as I shall be, 430
 And sleep in dull cold marble, where no mention
 Of me more must be heard of, say, I taught thee,
 Say, Wolsey, that once trod the ways of glory,
 And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour,

Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in ;
 A sure and safe one, though thy master miss'd it.
 Mark but my fall, and that that ruin'd me.
 Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition :
 By that sin fell the angels ; how can man, then,
 The image of his Maker, hope to win by it ? 440
 Love thyself last : cherish those hearts that hate thee ;
 Corruption wins not more than honesty.
 Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,
 To silence envious tongues. Be just, and fear not :
 Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
 Thy God's, and truth's ; then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,
 Thou fall'st a blessed martyr ! Serve the king ;
 And,—prithee, lead me in :
 There take an inventory of all I have,
 To the last penny ; 'tis the king's : my robe, 450
 And my integrity to heaven, is all
 I dare now call mine own. O Cromwell, Cromwell !
 Had I but served my God with half the zeal
 I served my king, he would not in mine age
 Have left me naked to mine enemies.
Crom. Good sir, have patience.
Wol. So I have. Farewell
 The hopes of court ! my hopes in heaven do dwell. [*Exeunt.*

ACT IV.

SCENE I. *A street in Westminster.*

Enter two Gentlemen, meeting one another.

First Gent. You 're well met once again.

Sec. Gent. So are you.

First Gent. You come to take your stand here, and behold
 The Lady Anne pass from her coronation ?

Sec. Gent. 'Tis all my business. At our last encounter,
The Duke of Buckingham came from his trial.

First. Gent. 'Tis very true : but that time offer'd sorrow ;
This, general joy.

Sec. Gent. 'Tis well : the citizens,
I am sure, have shown at full their royal minds—
As, let 'em have their rights, they are ever forward—
In celebration of this day with shows, 10
Pageants and sights of honour.

First. Gent. Never greater,
Nor, I'll assure you, better taken, sir.

Sec. Gent. May I be bold to ask what that contains,
That paper in your hand ?

First. Gent. Yes ; 'tis the list
Of those that claim their offices this day
By custom of the coronation.
The Duke of Suffolk is the first, and claims
To be high-steward ; next, the Duke of Norfolk,
He to be earl marshal : you may read the rest.

Sec. Gent. I thank you, sir : had I not known those
customs, 20

I should have been beholding to your paper.
But, I beseech you, what 's become of Katharine,
The princess dowager ? how goes her business ?

First. Gent. That I can tell you too. The Archbishop
Of Canterbury, accompanied with other
Learned and reverend fathers of his order,
Held a late court at Dunstable, six miles off
From Ampthill where the princess lay ; to which
She was often cited by them, but appear'd not :
And, to be short, for not appearance and 30
The king's late scruple, by the main assent
Of all these learned men she was divorced,
And the late marriage made of none effect :
Since which she was removed to Kimbolton
Where she remains now sick.

Sec. Gent. Alas, good lady ! [*Trumpets.*
The trumpets sound : stand close, the queen is coming.
[Hautboys.

THE ORDER OF THE PROCESSION.

1. *A lively flourish of Trumpets.*
2. *Then, two Judges.*
3. *Lord Chancellor, with the purse and mace before him.*
4. *Choristers, singing.* [*Music.*
5. *Mayor of London, bearing the mace. Then Garter, in his coat of arms, and on his head a gilt copper crown.*
6. *Marquess DORSET, bearing a sceptre of gold, on his head a demi-coronal of gold. With him, the Earl of SURREY, bearing the rod of silver with the dove, crowned with an earl's coronet. Collars of SS.*
7. *Duke of SUFFOLK, in his robe of estate, his coronet on his head, bearing a long white wand, as high-steward. With him, the Duke of NORFOLK, with the rod of marshalship, a coronet on his head. Collars of SS.*
8. *A canopy borne by four of the Cinque-ports ; under it, the Queen in her robe ; in her hair richly adorned with pearl, crowned. On each side her, the Bishops of London and Winchester.*
9. *The old Duchess of NORFOLK, in a coronal of gold wrought with flowers, bearing the Queen's train.*
10. *Certain Ladies or Countesses, with plain circlets of gold without flowers.*

They pass over the stage in order and state.

Sec. Gent. A royal train, believe me. These I know :
Who's that that bears the sceptre ?

First Gent. Marquess Dorset :
And that the Earl of Surrey, with the rod.

Sec. Gent. A bold brave gentleman. That should be 40
The Duke of Suffolk ?

First Gent. 'Tis the same : high-steward.

Sec. Gent. And that my lord of Norfolk ?

First Gent.

Yes.

Sec. Gent.

Heaven bless thee !

[*Looking on the Queen.*]

Thou hast the sweetest face I ever look'd on.

Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel ;

Our king has all the Indies in his arms,

And more and richer, when he strains that lady :

I cannot blame his conscience.

First Gent.

They that bear

The cloth of honour over her, are four barons

Of the Cinque-ports.

Sec. Gent. Those men are happy ; and so are all are near
her. 50

I take it, she that carries up the train

Is that old noble lady, Duchess of Norfolk.

First Gent. It is ; and all the rest are countesses.

Sec. Gent. Their coronets say so. These are stars indeed ;
And sometimes falling ones.

First Gent.

No more of that.

[*Exit procession, and then a great flourish of trumpets.*]

Enter a third Gentleman.

First Gent. God save you, sir ! where have you been
broiling ?

Third Gent. Among the crowd i' the Abbey ; where a
finger

Could not be wedged in more : I am stifled
With the mere rankness of their joy.

Sec. Gent.

You saw

The ceremony ?

Third Gent. That I did.

First Gent.

How was it ?

60

Third Gent. Well worth the seeing.

Sec. Gent.

Good sir, speak it to us.

Third Gent. As well as I am able. The rich stream

Of lords and ladies, having brought the queen
 To a prepared place in the choir, fell off
 A distance from her ; while her grace sat down
 To rest awhile, some half an hour or so,
 In a rich chair of state, opposing freely
 The beauty of her person to the people.

Believe me, sir, she is the goodliest woman
 That ever lay by man : which when the people 70
 Had the full view of, such a noise arose
 As the shrouds make at sea in a stiff tempest,
 As loud, and to as many tunes : hats, cloaks,—
 Doublets, I think,—flew up ; and had their faces
 Been loose, this day they had been lost. Such joy
 I never saw before. Great-bellied women,
 That had not half a week to go, like rams
 In the old time of war, would shake the press,
 And make 'em reel before 'em. No man living
 Could say 'This is my wife' there ; all were woven 80
 So strangely in one piece.

Sec. Gent.

But what follow'd ?

Third Gent. At length her grace rose, and with modest
 paces

Came to the altar ; where she kneel'd, and saint-like
 Cast her fair eyes to heaven and pray'd devoutly.
 Then rose again and bow'd her to the people :
 When by the Archbishop of Canterbury
 She had all the royal makings of a queen ;
 As holy oil, Edward Confessor's crown,
 The rod, and bird of peace, and all such emblems
 Laid nobly on her : which perform'd, the choir, 90
 With all the choicest music of the kingdom,
 Together sung 'Te Deum.' So she parted,
 And with the same full state paced back again
 To York-place, where the feast is held.

First Gent.

Sir,

You must no more call it York-place, that's past ;

For, since the cardinal fell, that title's lost :
'Tis now the king's, and call'd Whitehall.

Third Gent. I know it ;
But 'tis so lately alter'd, that the old name
Is fresh about me.

Sec. Gent. What two reverend bishops
Were those that went on each side of the queen ? 100

Third Gent. Stokesly and Gardiner ; the one of Winchester,
Newly preferr'd from the king's secretary,
The other, London.

Sec. Gent. He of Winchester
Is held no great good lover of the archbishop's,
The virtuous Cranmer.

Third Gent. All the land knows that :
However, yet there is no great breach ; when it comes,
Cranmer will find a friend will not shrink from him.

Sec. Gent. Who may that be, I pray you ?

Third Gent. Thomas Cromwell ;
A man in much esteem with the king, and truly
A worthy friend. The king has made him master 110
O' the jewel house,
And one, already, of the privy council.

Sec. Gent. He will deserve more.

Third Gent. Yes, without all doubt.
Come, gentlemen, ye shall go my way, which
Is to the court, and there ye shall be my guests :
Something I can command. As I walk thither,
I'll tell ye more.

Both. You may command us, sir. [Exeunt.]

SCENE II. *Kimbolton.*

*Enter KATHARINE, Dowager, sick ; led between GRIFFITH, her
gentleman usher, and PATIENCE, her woman.*

Grif. How does your grace ?

Kath. O Griffith, sick to death !

My legs, like loaden branches, bow to the earth,
 Willing to leave their burthen. Reach a chair :
 So ; now, methinks, I feel a little ease.
 Didst thou not tell me, Griffith, as thou led'st me,
 That the great child of honour, Cardinal Wolsey,
 Was dead ?

Grif. Yes, madam ; but I think your grace,
 Out of the pain you suffer'd, gave no ear to 't.

Kath. Prithee, good Griffith, tell me how he died :
 If well, he stepp'd before me, happily 10
 For my example.

Grif. Well, the voice goes, madam :
 For after the stout Earl Northumberland
 Arrested him at York, and brought him forward,
 As a man sorely tainted, to his answer,
 He fell sick suddenly, and grew so ill
 He could not sit his mule.

Kath. Alas, poor man !

Grif. At last, with easy roads, he came to Leicester,
 Lodged in the abbey ; where the reverend abbot,
 With all his covent, honourably received him ;
 To whom he gave these words, 'O, father abbot, 20
 An old man, broken with the storms of state,
 Is come to lay his weary bones among ye ;
 Give him a little earth for charity !'
 So went to bed ; where eagerly his sickness
 Pursued him still : and, three nights after this,
 About the hour of eight, which he himself
 Foretold should be his last, full of repentance,
 Continual meditations, tears, and sorrows,
 He gave his honours to the world again,
 His blessed part to heaven, and slept in peace. 30

Kath. So may he rest ; his faults lie gently on him !
 Yet thus far, Griffith, give me leave to speak him,
 And yet with charity. He was a man
 Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking

Himself with princes ; one that, by suggestion,
 Tith'd all the kingdom : simony was fair-play ;
 His own opinion was his law : i' the presence
 He would say untruths ; and be ever double
 Both in his words and meaning : he was never,
 But where he meant to ruin, pitiful : 40
 His promises were, as he then was, mighty ;
 But his performance, as he is now, nothing :
 Of his own body he was ill, and gave
 The clergy ill example.

Grif. Noble madam,
 Men's evil manners live in brass ; their virtues
 We write in water. May it please your highness
 To hear me speak his good now ?

Kath. Yes, good Griffith ;
 I were malicious else.

Grif. This cardinal,
 Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
 Was fashion'd to much honour from his cradle. 50
 He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one ;
 Exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading :
 Lofty and sour to them that loved him not ;
 But to those men that sought him sweet as summer.
 And though he were unsatisfied in getting,
 Which was a sin, yet in bestowing, madam,
 He was most princely : ever witness for him
 Those twins of learning that he raised in you,
 Ipswich and Oxford ! one of which fell with him,
 Unwilling to outlive the good that did it ; 60
 The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous,
 So excellent in art, and still so rising,
 That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
 His overthrow heap'd happiness upon him ;
 For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
 And found the blessedness of being little :
 And, to add greater honours to his age

Than man could give him, he died fearing God.

Kath. After my death I wish no other herald,

No other speaker of my living actions,

To keep mine honour from corruption,

But such an honest chronicler as Griffith.

Whom I most hated living, thou hast made me,

With thy religious truth and modesty,

Now in his ashes honour : peace be with him !

Patience, be near me still ; and set me lower :

I have not long to trouble thee. Good Griffith,

Cause the musicians play me that sad note

I named my knell, whilst I sit meditating

On that celestial harmony I go to. [*Sad and solemn music.*]

Grif. She is asleep : good wench, let's sit down quiet, 81

For fear we wake her : softly, gentle Patience.

The vision. Enter, solemnly tripping one after another, six personages, clad in white robes, wearing on their heads garlands of bays, and golden vizards on their faces ; branches of bays or palm in their hands. They first congee unto her, then dance ; and, at certain changes, the first two hold a spare garland over her head ; at which the other four make reverent curtsies ; then the two that held the garland deliver the same to the other next two, who observe the same order in their changes, and holding the garland over her head : which done, they deliver the same garland to the last two, who likewise observe the same order : at which, as it were by inspiration, she makes in her sleep signs of rejoicing, and holdeth up her hands to heaven : and so in their dancing vanish, carrying the garland with them. The music continues.

Kath. Spirits of peace, where are ye ? are ye all gone,
And leave me here in wretchedness behind ye ?

Grif. Madam, we are here.

Kath.

It is not you I call for :

Saw ye none enter since I slept ?

Grif.

None, madam.

Kath. No? Saw you not, even now, a blessed troop
 Invite me to a banquet; whose bright faces
 Cast thousand beams upon me, like the sun?
 They promised me eternal happiness; 90
 And brought me garlands, Griffith, which I feel
 I am not worthy yet to wear: I shall, assuredly.

Grif. I am most joyful, madam, such good dreams
 Possess your fancy.

Kath. Bid the music leave,
 They are harsh and heavy to me. [Music ceases.

Pat. Do you note
 How much her grace is alter'd on the sudden?
 How long her face is drawn? how pale she looks,
 And of an earthy cold? Mark her eyes!

Grif. She is going, wench: pray, pray.

Pat. Heaven comfort her!

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. An't like your grace,—

Kath. You are a saucy fellow: 100
 Deserve we no more reverence?

Grif. You are to blame,
 Knowing she will not lose her wonted greatness,
 To use so rude behaviour; go to, kneel.

Mess. I humbly do entreat your highness' pardon;
 My haste made me unmannerly. There is staying
 A gentleman, sent from the king, to see you.

Kath. Admit him entrance, Griffith: but this fellow
 Let me ne'er see again. [Exeunt Griffith and Messenger.

Re-enter GRIFFITH, with CAPUCIUS.

If my sight fail not,
 You should be lord ambassador from the emperor;
 My royal nephew, and your name Capucius. 110

Cap. Madam, the same; your servant.

Kath. O, my lord,

The times and titles now are alter'd strangely
 With me since first you knew me. But, I pray you,
 What is your pleasure with me ?

Cap. Noble lady,
 First, mine own service to your grace ; the next,
 The king's request that I would visit you ;
 Who grieves much for your weakness, and by me
 Sends you his princely commendations,
 And heartily entreats you take good comfort.

Kath. O my good lord, that comfort comes too late ; 120
 'Tis like a pardon after execution :
 That gentle physic, given in time, had cured me ;
 But now I am past all comforts here, but prayers.
 How does his highness ?

Cap. Madam, in good health.
Kath. So may he ever do ! and ever flourish,
 When I shall dwell with worms, and my poor name
 Banish'd the kingdom ! Patience, is that letter,
 I caused you write, yet sent away ?

Pat. No, madam.
 [*Giving it to Katharine.*]

Kath. Sir, I most humbly pray you to deliver
 This to my lord the king.

Cap. Most willing, madam. 130
Kath. In which I have commended to his goodness
 The model of our chaste loves, his young daughter :
 The dews of heaven fall thick in blessings on her !
 Beseeching him to give her virtuous breeding,—
 She is young, and of a noble modest nature,
 I hope she will deserve well,—and a little
 To love her for her mother's sake, that loved him,
 Heaven knows how dearly. My next poor petition
 Is, that his noble grace would have some pity
 Upon my wretched women, that so long 140
 Have follow'd both my fortunes faithfully :
 Of which there is not one, I dare avow,

And now I should not lie, but will deserve,
 For virtue and true beauty of the soul,
 For honesty and decent carriage,
 A right good husband, let him be a noble :
 And, sure, those men are happy that shall have 'em.
 The last is, for my men ; they are the poorest,
 But poverty could never draw 'em from me ;
 That they may have their wages duly paid 'em, 150
 And something over to remember me by :
 If heaven had pleased to have given me longer life
 And able means, we had not parted thus.
 These are the whole contents : and, good my lord,
 By that you love the dearest in this world,
 As you wish Christian peace to souls departed,
 Stand these poor people's friend, and urge the king
 To do me this last right.

Cap. By heaven, I will,
 Or let me lose the fashion of a man !
Kath. I thank you, honest lord. Remember me 160
 In all humility unto his highness :
 Say his long trouble now is passing
 Out of this world ; tell him, in death I bless'd him
 For so I will. Mine eyes grow dim. Farewell,
 My lord. Griffith, farewell. Nay, Patience,
 You must not leave me yet : I must to bed ;
 Call in more women. When I am dead, good wench,
 Let me be used with honour : strew me over
 With maiden flowers, that all the world may know
 I was a chaste wife to my grave : embalm me, 170
 Then lay me forth : although unqueen'd, yet like
 A queen, and daughter to a king, inter me.
 I can no more. [*Exeunt, leading Katharine.*]

ACT V.

SCENE I. *London. A gallery in the palace.*

Enter GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester, a Page with a torch
before him, met by SIR THOMAS LOVELL.

Gar. It's one o'clock, boy, is 't not ?

Boy. It hath struck.

Gar. These should be hours for necessities,
Not for delights ; times to repair our nature
With comforting repose, and not for us
To waste these times. Good hour of night, Sir Thomas !
Whither so late ?

Lov. Came you from the king, my lord ?

Gar. I did, Sir Thomas ; and left him at primero
With the Duke of Suffolk.

Lov. I must to him too,
Before he go to bed. I'll take my leave.

Gar. Not yet, Sir Thomas Lovell. What's the matter ? 10
It seems you are in haste : an if there be
No great offence belongs to 't, give your friend
Some touch of your late business : affairs, that walk,
As they say spirits do, at midnight, have
In them a wilder nature than the business
That seeks dispatch by day.

Lov. My lord, I love you ;
And durst commend a secret to your ear
Much weightier than this work. The queen's in labour,
They say, in great extremity ; and fear'd
She'll with the labour end.

Gar. The fruit she goes with 20
I pray for heartily, that it may find
Good time, and live : but for the stock, Sir Thomas,
I wish it grubb'd up now.

Lov. Methinks I could

Cry the amen ; and yet my conscience says
 She 's a good creature, and, sweet lady, does
 Deserve our better wishes.

Gar. But, sir, sir,
 Hear me, Sir Thomas : you 're a gentleman
 Of mine own way ; I know you wise, religious ;
 And, let me tell you, it will ne'er be well,
 'Twill not, Sir Thomas Lovell, take 't of me, 30
 Till Cranmer, Cromwell, her two hands, and she,
 Sleep in their graves.

Lov. Now, sir, you speak of two
 The most remark'd i' the kingdom. As for Cromwell,
 Beside that of the jewel house, is made master
 O' the rolls, and the king's secretary ; further, sir,
 Stands in the gap and trade of moe preferments,
 With which the time will load him. The archbishop
 Is the king's hand and tongue ; and who dare speak
 One syllable against him ?

Gar. Yes, yes, Sir Thomas,
 There are that dare ; and I myself have ventured 40
 To speak my mind of him : and indeed this day,
 Sir, I may tell it you, I think I have
 Incensed the lords o' the council, that he is,
 For so I know he is, they know he is,
 A most arch heretic, a pestilence
 That does infect the laud : with which they moved
 Have broken with the king ; who hath so far
 Given ear to our complaint, of his great grace
 And princely care foreseeing those fell mischiefs
 Our reasons laid before him, hath commanded 50
 To-morrow morning to the council-board
 He be convented. He 's a rank weed, Sir Thomas,
 And we must root him out. From your affairs
 I hinder you too long : good night, Sir Thomas.

Lov. Many good nights, my lord : I rest your servant.

[*Exeunt Gardiner and Page.*]

Enter the KING and SUFFOLK.

King. Charles, I will play no more to-night ;
My mind 's not on 't ; you are too hard for me.

Suf. Sir, I did never win of you before.

King. But little, Charles ;
Nor shall not, when my fancy 's on my play. 60
Now, Lovell, from the queen what is the news ?

Lov. I could not personally deliver to her
What you commanded me, but by her woman
I sent your message ; who return'd her thanks
In the great'st humbleness, and desired your highness
Most heartily to pray for her.

King. What say'st thou, ha ?
To pray for her ? what, is she crying out ?

Lov. So said her woman ; and that her sufferance made
Almost each pang a death.

King. Alas, good lady !

Suf. God safely quit her of her burthen, and 70
With gentle travail, to the gladding of
Your highness with an heir !

King. 'Tis midnight, Charles ;
Prithee, to bed ; and in thy prayers remember
The estate of my poor queen. Leave me alone ;
For I must think of that which company
Would not be friendly to.

Suf. I wish your highness
A quiet night ; and my good mistress will
Remember in my prayers.

King. Charles, good night. [*Exit Suffolk.*]

Enter SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

Well, sir, what follows ?

Den. Sir, I have brought my lord the archbishop, 80
As you commanded me.

King. Ha ! Canterbury ?

Den. Ay, my good lord.

King. 'Tis true : where is he, Denny ?

Den. He attends your highness' pleasure.

King. Bring him to us.

[*Exit Denny.*]

Lov. [*Aside*] This is about that which the bishop spake :
I am happily come hither.

Re-enter DENNY, with CRANMER.

King. Avoid the gallery. [*Lovell seems to stay.*] Ha ! I
have said. Be gone.

What ! [*Exeunt Lovell and Denny.*]

Cran. [*Aside*] I am fearful : wherefore frowns he thus ?
'Tis his aspect of terror. All's not well.

King. How now, my lord ! you do desire to know
Wherefore I sent for you.

Cran. [*Kneeling*] It is my duty 90
To attend your highness' pleasure.

King. Pray you, arise,
My good and gracious Lord of Canterbury.
Come, you and I must walk a turn together ;
I have news to tell you : come, come, give me your hand.
Ah, my good lord, I grieve at what I speak,
And am right sorry to repeat what follows :
I have, and most unwillingly, of late
Heard many grievous, I do say, my lord,
Grievous complaints of you ; which, being consider'd,
Have moved us and our council, that you shall 100
This morning come before us ; where, I know,
You cannot with such freedom purge yourself,
But that, till further trial in those charges
Which will require your answer, you must take
Your patience to you, and be well contented
To make your house our Tower : you a brother of us,
It fits we thus proceed, or else no witness

Would come against you.

Cran. [Kneeling] I humbly thank your highness ;
And am right glad to catch this good occasion
Most thoroughly to be winnow'd, where my chaff 110
And corn shall fly asunder : for, I know,
There's none stands under more calumnious tongues
Than I myself, poor man.

King. Stand up, good Canterbury :
Thy truth and thy integrity is rooted
In us, thy friend : give me thy hand, stand up :
Prithee, let's walk. Now, by my holiday,
What manner of man are you ? My lord, I look'd
You would have given me your petition, that
I should have ta'en some pains to bring together
Yourself and your accusers ; and to have heard you, 120
Without indurance, further.

Cran. Most dread liege,
The good I stand on is my truth and honesty :
If they shall fail, I, with mine enemies,
Will triumph o'er my person ; which I weigh not,
Being of those virtues vacant. I fear nothing
What can be said against me.

King. Know you not
How your state stands i' the world, with the whole world ?
Your enemies are many, and not small ; their practices
Must bear the same proportion ; and not ever 130
The justice and the truth o' the question carries
The due o' the verdict with it : at what ease
Might corrupt minds procure knaves as corrupt
To swear againt you ? such things have been done.
You are potently opposed ; and with a malice
Of as great size. Ween you of better luck,
I mean, in perjured witness, than your master,
Whose minister you are, whiles here he lived
Upon this naughty earth ? Go to, go to ;
You take a precipice for no leap of danger,

And woo your own destruction.

Cran. God and your majesty 140

Protect mine innocence, or I fall into

The trap is laid for me !

King. Be of good cheer ;

They shall no more prevail than we give way to.

Keep comfort to you ; and this morning see

You do appear before them : if they shall chance,

In charging you with matters, to commit you,

The best persuasions to the contrary

Fail not to use, and with what vehemency

The occasion shall instruct you : if entreaties

Will render you no remedy, this ring 150

Deliver them, and your appeal to us

There make before them. Look, the good man weeps !

He's honest, on mine honour. God's blest mother !

I swear he is true-hearted ; and a soul

None better in my kingdom. Get you gone,

And do as I have bid you. [*Exit Cranmer.*] He has
strangled

His language in his tears.

Enter Old Lady, Lovell following.

Gent. [*Within*] Come back : what mean you ?

Old L. I'll not come back ; the tidings that I bring

Will make my boldness manners. Now, good angels

Fly o'er thy royal head, and shade thy person 160

Under their blessed wings !

King. Now, by thy looks

I guess thy message. Is the queen deliver'd ?

Say, ay ; and of a boy.

Old L. Ay, ay, my liege ;

And of a lovely boy : the God of heaven

Both now and ever bless her ! 'tis a girl,

Promises boys hereafter. Sir, your queen

Desires your visitation, and to be
 Acquainted with this stranger : 'tis as like you
 As cherry is to cherry.

King. Lovell !

Lov. Sir ?

King. Give her an hundred marks. I'll to the queen. 170

[*Exit.*]

Old L. An hundred marks ! By this light, I'll ha' more.
 An ordinary groom is for such payment.

I will have more, or scold it out of him.

Said I for this, the girl was like to him ?

I will have more, or else unsay 't ; and now,

While it is hot, I'll put it to the issue.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II. *Before the council-chamber.*

Pursuivants, Pages, etc., attending.

Enter CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Cran. I hope I am not too late ; and yet the gentleman,
 That was sent to me from the council, pray'd me
 To make great haste. All fast ? what means this ? Ho !
 Who waits there ? Sure, you know me ?

Enter Keeper.

Keep.
 But yet I cannot help you.

Yes, my lord ;

Cran. Why ?

Enter DOCTOR BUTTS.

Keep. Your grace must wait till you be call'd for.

Cran.

So.

Butts. [*Aside*] This is a piece of malice. I am glad
 I came this way so happily : the king

Shall understand it presently.

[*Exit.*

Cran.

[*Aside*] 'Tis Butts,

10

The king's physician : as he pass'd along,
How earnestly he cast his eyes upon me !
Pray heaven, he sound not my disgrace ! For certain,
This is of purpose laid by some that hate me—
God turn their hearts ! I never sought their malice—
To quench mine honour : they would shame to make me
Wait else at door, a fellow-counsellor,
'Mong boys, grooms, and lackeys. But their pleasures
Must be fulfill'd, and I attend with patience.

Enter the KING and BUTTS at a window above.

Butts. I'll show your grace the strangest sight—

King.

What's that, Butts ? 20

Butts. I think your highness saw this many a day.

King. Body o' me, where is it ?

Butts.

There, my lord :

The high promotion of his grace of Canterbury ;
Who holds his state at door, 'mongst pursuivants,
Pages, and footboys.

King.

Ha ! 'tis he, indeed :

Is this the honour they do one another ?

'Tis well there's one above 'em yet. I had thought

They had parted so much honesty among 'em,

At least, good manners, as not thus to suffer

A man of his place, and so near our favour,

30

To dance attendance on their lordships' pleasures,

And at the door too, like a post with packets.

By holy Mary, Butts, there's knavery :

Let 'em alone, and draw the curtain close :

We shall hear more anon.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *The Council-Chamber.*

Enter LORD CHANCELLOR ; *places himself at the upper end of the table on the left hand ; a seat being left void above him, as for CANTERBURY'S seat.* DUKE OF SUFFOLK, DUKE OF NORFOLK, SURREY, LORD CHAMBERLAIN, GARDINER, *seat themselves in order on each side.* CROMWELL *at lower end, as secretary.* Keeper *at the door.*

Chan. Speak to the business, master secretary :

Why are we met in council ?

Crom. Please your honours,

The chief cause concerns his grace of Canterbury.

Gar. Has he had knowledge of it ?

Crom. Yes.

Nor. Who waits there ?

Keep. Without, my noble lords ?

Gar. Yes.

Keep. My lord archbishop ;

And has done half an hour, to know your pleasures.

Chan. Let him come in.

Keep. Your grace may enter now.

[Cranmer enters and approaches the council-table.

Chan. My good lord archbishop, I'm very sorry

To sit here at this present, and behold

That chair stand empty : but we all are men, 10

In our own natures frail, and capable

Of our flesh ; few are angels : out of which frailty

And want of wisdom, you, that best should teach us,

Have misdemean'd yourself, and not a little,

Toward the king first, then his laws, in filling

The whole realm, by your teaching and your chaplains ;

For so we are inform'd, with new opinions,

Divers and dangerous ; which are heresies,

And, not reform'd, may prove pernicious.

Gar. Which reformation must be sudden too, 20

My noble lords ; for those that tame wild horses
 Face 'em not in their hands to make 'em gentle,
 But stop their mouths with stubborn bits, and spur 'em,
 Till they obey the manage. If we suffer,
 Out of our easiness and childish pity
 To one man's honour, this contagious sickness,
 Farewell all physic: and what follows then ?
 Commotions, uproars, with a general taint
 Of the whole state: as, of late days, our neighbours,
 The upper Germany, can dearly witness, 30
 Yet freshly pitied in our memories.

Cran. My good lords, hitherto, in all the progress
 Both of my life and office, I have labour'd,
 And with no little study, that my teaching
 And the strong course of my authority
 Might go one way, and safely ; and the end
 Was ever, to do well: nor is there living,
 I speak it with a single heart, my lords,
 A man that more detests, more stirs against,
 Both in his private conscience and his place, 40
 Defacers of a public peace, than I do.
 Pray heaven, the king may never find a heart
 With less allegiance in it ! Men that make
 Envy and crooked malice nourishment
 Dare bite the best. I do beseech your lordships,
 That, in this case of justice, my accusers,
 Be what they will, may stand forth face to face,
 And freely urge against me.

Suf. Nay, my lord,
 That cannot be : you are a counsellor,
 And, by that virtue, no man dare accuse you. 50

Gar. My lord, because we have business of more moment,
 We will be short with you. 'Tis his highness' pleasure,
 And our consent, for better trial of you,
 From hence you be committed to the Tower ;
 Where, being but a private man again,

You shall know many dare accuse you boldly,
More than, I fear, you are provided for.

Cran. Ah, my good Lord of Winchester, I thank you ;
You are always my good friend ; if you will pass,
I shall both find your lordship judge and juror, 60
You are so merciful : I see your end ;
'Tis my undoing : love and meekness, lord,
Become a churchman better than ambition :
Win straying souls with modesty again,
Cast none away. That I shall clear myself,
Lay all the weight ye can upon my patience,
I make as little doubt, as you do conscience
In doing daily wrongs. I could say more,
But reverence to your calling makes me modest.

Gar. My lord, my lord, you are a sectary, 70
That's the plain truth : your painted gloss discovers,
To men that understaund you, words and weakness.

Crom. My Lord of Winchester, you are a little,
By your good favour, too sharp ; men so noble,
However faulty, yet should find respect
For what they have been : 'tis a cruelty
To load a falling man.

Gar. Good master secretary,
I cry your honour mercy ; you may, worst
Of all this table, say so.

Crom. Why, my lord ?

Gar. Do not I know you for a favourer 80
Of this new sect ? ye are not sound.

Crom. Not sound ?

Gar. Not sound, I say.

Crom. Would you were half so honest !
Men's prayers then would seek you, not their fears.

Gar. I shall remember this bold language.

Crom. Do.

Remember your bold life too.

Chan. This is too much ;

Forbear, for shame, my lords.

Gar. I have done.

Crom. And I.

Chan. Then thus for you, my lord : it stands agreed,
I take it, by all voices, that forthwith
You be convey'd to the Tower a prisoner ;
There to remain till the king's further pleasure 90
Be known unto us : are you all agreed, lords ?

All. We are.

Cran. Is there no other way of mercy,
But I must needs to the Tower, my lords ?

Gar. What other
Would you expect ? you are strangely troublesome.
Let some o' the guard be ready there.

Enter Guard.

Cran. For me ?
Must I go like a traitor thither ?

Gar. Receive him,
And see him safe i' the Tower.

Cran. Stay, good my lords,
I have a little yet to say. Look there, my lords ;
By virtue of that ring, I take my cause
Out of the gripes of cruel men, and give it 100
To a most noble judge, the king my master.

Cham. This is the king's ring.

Sur. 'Tis no counterfeit.

Suf. 'Tis the right ring, by heaven : I-told ye all,
When we first put this dangerous stone a-rolling,
'Twould fall upon ourselves.

Nor. Do you think, my lords
The king will suffer but the little finger
Of this man to be vex'd ?

Chan. 'Tis now too certain :
How much more is his life in value with him !
Would I were fairly out on 't !

Crom. My mind gave me,
 In seeking tales and informations 110
 Against this man, whose honesty the devil
 And his disciples only envy at,
 Ye blew the fire that burns ye : now have at ye !

Enter KING, frowning on them ; takes his seat.

Gar. Dread sovereign, how much are we bound to heaven
 In daily thanks, that gave us such a prince ;
 Not only good and wise, but most religious :
 One that, in all obedience, makes the church
 The chief aim of his honour ; and, to strengthen
 That holy duty, out of dear respect,
 His royal self in judgement comes to hear 120
 The cause betwixt her and this great offender.

King. You were ever good at sudden commendations,
 Bishop of Winchester. But know, I come not
 To hear such flattery now, and in my presence
 They are too thin and bare to hide offences.
 To me, you cannot reach, you play the spaniel,
 And think with wagging of your tongue to win me ;
 But, whatso'er thou takest me for, I'm sure
 Thou hast a cruel nature and a bloody.
 [*To Cranmer*] Good man, sit down. Now let me see the
 proudest 130

He, that dares most, but wag his finger at thee :
 By all that's holy, he had better starve
 Than but once think this place becomes thee not.

Sur. May it please your grace,—

King. No, sir, it does not please me.
 I had thought I had had men of some understanding
 And wisdom of my council ; but I find none.
 Was it discretion, lords, to let this man,
 This good man,—few of you deserve that title,—
 This honest man, wait like a lousy footboy
 At chamber-door ? and one as great as you are ? 140

Why, what a shame was this ! Did my commission
 Bid ye so far forget yourselves ? I gave ye
 Power as he was a counsellor to try him,
 Not as a groom : there 's some of ye, I see,
 More out of malice than integrity,
 Would try him to the utmost, had ye mean ;
 Which ye shall never have while I live.

Chan. Thus far,
 My most dread sovereign, may it like your grace
 To let my tongue excuse all. What was purposed
 Concerning his imprisonment, was rather, 150
 If there be faith in men, meant for his trial,
 And fair purgation to the world, than malice,
 I 'm sure, in me.

King. Well, well, my lords, respect him ;
 Take him, and use him well, he 's worthy of it.
 I will say thus much for him, if a prince
 May be beholding to a subject, I
 Am, for his love and service, so to him.
 Make me no more ado, but all embrace him :
 Be friends, for shame my lords ! My Lord of Canterbury,
 I have a suit which you must not deny me ; 161
 That is, a fair young maid that yet wants baptism,
 You must be godfather, and answer for her.

Cran. The greatest monarch now alive may glory
 In such an honour : how may I deserve it,
 That am a poor and humble subject to you ?

King. Come, come, my lord, you 'd spare your spoons :
 you shall have two noble partners with you ; the old
 Duchess of Norfolk, and Lady Marquess Dorset : will these
 please you ? 170
 Once more, my Lord of Winchester, I charge you,
 Embrace and love this man.

Gar. With a true heart
 And brother-love I do it.

Cran. And let heaven

Witness, how dear I hold this confirmation.

King. Good man, those joyful tears show thy true heart :
The common voice, I see, is verified
Of thee, which says thus, 'Do my Lord of Canterbury
A shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever.'
Come, lords, we trifle time away ; I long
To have this young one made a Christian. 180
As I have made ye one, lords, one remain ;
So I grow stronger, you more honour gain. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *The palace yard.*

Noise and tumult within. Enter Porter and his Man.

Port. You 'll leave your noise anon, ye rascals : do you take
the court for Paris-garden ? ye rude slaves, leave your gaping.

[*Within*] Good master porter, I belong to the larder.

Port. Belong to the gallows, and be hanged, ye rogue ! is
this a place to roar in ? Fetch me a dozen crab-tree staves,
and strong ones : these are but switches to 'em. I 'll scratch
your heads : you must be seeing christenings ? do you look
for ale and cakes here, you rude rascals ?

Man. Pray, sir, be patient : 'tis as much impossible—
Unless we sweep 'em from the door with cannons— 10
To scatter 'em, as 'tis to make 'em sleep
On May-day morning ; which will never be :
We may as well push against Powle's, as stir 'em.

Port. How got they in, and be hang'd ?

Man. Alas, I know not ; how gets the tide in ?
As much as one sound cudgel of four foot—
You see the poor remainder—could distribute,
I made no spare, sir.

Port. You did nothing, sir.

Man. I am not Samson, nor Sir Guy, nor Colbrand,
To mow 'em down before me : but if I spared any 20
That had a head to hit, either young or old,

Let me ne'er hope to see a chine again ;
 And that I would not for a cow, God save her !

[*Within*] Do you hear, master porter ?

Port. I shall be with you presently, good master puppy.
 Keep the door close, sirrah.

Man. What would you have me do ?

Port. What should you do, but knock 'em down by the
 dozens ? Is this Moorfields to muster in ? 29

Man. There is a fellow somewhat near the door, he should
 be a brazier by his face, for, o' my conscience, twenty of the
 dog-days now reign in 's nose ; all that stand about him are
 under the line, they need no other penance · that fire-drake
 did I hit three times on the head, and three times was his
 nose discharged against me ; he stands there, like a mortar-
 piece, to blow us. There was a haberdasher's wife of small
 wit near him, that railed upon me till her pinked porringer
 fell off her head, for kindling such a combustion in the
 state. I missed the meteor once, and hit that woman ; who
 cried out 'Clubs !' when I might see from far some forty
 truncheoners draw to her succour, which were the hope o' the
 Strand, where she was quartered. They fell on ; I made
 good my place : at length they came to the broom-staff to
 me ; I defied 'em still : when suddenly a file of boys behind
 'em, loose shot, delivered such a shower of pebbles, that I
 was fain to draw mine honour in, and let 'em win the work :
 the devil was amongst 'em, I think, surely. 47

Port. These are the youths that thunder at a playhouse,
 and fight for bitten apples ; that no audience, but the tribu-
 lation of Tower-hill, or the limbs of Limehouse, their dear
 brothers, are able to endure. I have some of 'em in Limbo
 Patrum, and there they are like to dance these three days ;
 besides the running banquet of two beadles that is to come.

Enter LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

Cham. Mercy o' me, what a multitude are here !
 They grow still too ; from all parts they are coming,

As if we kept a fair here ! Where are these porters,
 These lazy knaves ? Ye have made a fine hand, fellows :
 There 's a trim rabble let in : are all these
 Your faithful friends o' the suburbs ? We shall have
 Great store of room, no doubt, left for the ladies, 60
 When they pass back from the christening.

Port. An 't please your honour,
 We are but men ; and what so many may do,
 Not being torn a-pieces, we have done :
 An army cannot rule 'em.

Cham. As I live,
 If the king blame me for 't, I 'll lay ye all
 By the heels, and suddenly ; and on your heads
 Clap round fines for neglect : ye are lazy knaves ;
 And here ye lie baiting of bombards, when
 Ye should do service. Hark ! the trumpets sound ;
 They 're come already from the christening : 70
 Go, break among the press, and find a way out
 To let the troop pass fairly ; or I 'll find
 A Marshalsea shall hold ye play these two months.

Port. Make way there for the princess.

Man. You great fellow,
 Stand close up, or I 'll make your head ache.

Port. You i' the camlet, get up o' the rail ;
 I 'll peck you o'er the pales else. [Exeunt.

SCENE V. *The palace.*

Enter trumpets, sounding ; then two Aldermen, LORD MAYOR, GARTER, CRANMER, DUKE OF NORFOLK with his marshal's staff, DUKE OF SUFFOLK, two Noblemen bearing great standing-bowls for the christening-gifts ; then four Noblemen bearing a canopy, under which the DUCHESS OF NORFOLK, godmother, bearing the child richly habited in a mantle, etc., train borne by a Lady ; then follows the MARCHIONESS

DORSET, *the other godmother, and Ladies.* *The troop pass once about the stage, and GARTER speaks.*

Gart. Heaven, from thy endless goodness, send prosperous life, long, and ever happy, to the high and mighty princess of England, Elizabeth!

Flourish. Enter KING and Guard.

Cran. [*Kneeling*] And to your royal grace, and the good queen,

My noble partners, and myself, thus pray :
All comfort, joy, in this most gracious lady,
Heaven ever laid up to make parents happy,
May hourly fall upon ye !

King. Thank you, good lord archbishop :
What is her name ?

Cran. Elizabeth.

King. Stand up, lord.

[*The King kisses the child.*]

With this kiss take my blessing : God protect thee ! 10
Into whose hand I give thy life.

Cran. Amen.

King. My noble gossips, ye have been too prodigal :
I thank ye heartily ; so shall this lady,
When she has so much English.

Cran. Let me speak, sir,
For heaven now bids me ; and the words I utter
Let none think flattery, for they 'll find 'em truth.
This royal infant—heaven still move about her !—
Though in her cradle, yet now promises
Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings,
Which time shall bring to ripeness : she shall be— 20
But few now living can behold that goodness—
A pattern to all princes living with her,
And all that shall succeed : Saba was never
More covetous of wisdom and fair virtue

Than this pure soul should be : all princely graces,
 That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,
 With all the virtues that attend the good,
 Shall still be doubled on her : truth shall nurse her,
 Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her :
 She shall be loved and fear'd : her own shall bless her ; 30
 Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
 And hang their heads with sorrow : good grows with her :
 In her days every man shall eat in safety,
 Under his own vine, what he plants ; and sing
 The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours :
 God shall be truly known ; and those about her
 From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
 And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.
 Nor shall this peace sleep with her : but as when
 The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix, 40
 Her ashes new create another heir,
 As great in admiration as herself ;
 So shall she leave her blessedness to one,
 When heaven shall call her from this cloud of darkness,
 Who from the sacred ashes of her honour
 Shall star-like rise, as great in fame as she was,
 And so stand fix'd : peace, plenty, love, truth, terror,
 That were the servants to this chosen infant,
 Shall then be his, and like a vine grow to him :
 Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine, 50
 His honour and the greatness of his name
 Shall be, and make new nations : he shall flourish,
 And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
 To all the plains about him : our children's children
 Shall see this, and bless heaven.

King.

Thou speakest wonders.

Cran. She shall be, to the happiness of England,
 An aged princess ; many days shall see her,
 And yet no day without a deed to crown it.
 Would I had known no more ! but she must die,

She must, the saints must have her ; yet a virgin, 60
 A most unspotted lily shall she pass
 To the ground, and all the world shall mourn her.

King. O lord archbishop,
 Thou hast made me now a man ! never, before
 This happy child, did I get any thing :
 This oracle of comfort has so pleased me,
 That when I am in heaven I shall desire
 To see what this child does, and praise my Maker.
 I thank ye all. To you, my good lord mayor,
 And your good brethren, I am much beholding ; 70
 I have received much honour by your presence,
 And ye shall find me thankful. Lead the way, lords :
 Ye must all see the queen, and she must thank ye,
 She will be sick else. This day, no man think
 Has business at his house ; for all shall stay :
 This little one shall make it holiday. [Exeunt.]

EPILOGUE.

'Tis ten to one this play can never please
 All that are here : some come to take their ease,
 And sleep an act or two ; but those, we fear,
 We have frighted with our trumpets ; so, 'tis clear,
 They'll say 'tis naught : others, to hear the city
 Abused extremely, and to cry 'That's witty !'
 Which we have not done neither : that, I fear,
 All the expected good we're like to hear
 For this play at this time, is only in
 The merciful construction of good women ; 10
 For such a one we show'd 'em : if they smile,
 And say 'twill do, I know, within a while
 All the best men are ours ; for 'tis ill hap,
 If they hold when their ladies bid 'em clap.

NOTES.

PROLOGUE.

1. **I come ... laugh.** According to Wright, this play in all probability followed a comedy. This of course is possible, but not necessary: the speaker of the Prologue may last have appeared at this theatre in a comedy.

3. **Sad ... working,** of a serious, lofty, and moving character; *sad* = serious, and *sadness* = seriousness, are very frequent in Shakespeare; Staunton reads "*Sad and high-working,*" comparing *Epistle Dedicatorie to Chapman's "Iliads of Homer"*: "Then let not this Divinitie in Earth (Deare Prince) be sleighted, as she were the birth Of idle Fancie; *since she workes so hie*": full ... woe, little more than an explanation of the foregoing words.

5. **now,** redundant, owing to the parenthetical lines intervening.

8. **out of hope ... believe,** in the hope that they may be able to believe in the truth of the events they see dramatized here.

9. **May ... too.** From this expression, coupled with ll. 18, 21, it has been supposed that we have an allusion here to the double title of the Play, "All is True." See Introduction.

9-13. **Those that come ... hours,** those who come expecting to see nothing more than some stage spectacles, and on such terms would think that they had had their money's worth, if they will sit still and show themselves ready to be pleased, I will promise them that in the two short hours they will have to give their attention they shall have full value for their shilling: **a show or two,** mere 'spectacle,' as apart from real dramatic representation of a story: **pass,** *sc.* current, be accepted as sufficient; cp. *W. T.* iv. I. 9, "Let me *pass* The same I am," *i.e.* receive me for what I am: **their shilling.** The price of admission varied then as

now with the place occupied in the theatre, and perhaps with the character of the theatre; thus admission to the pit or "ground" (whence the term "groundlings," *Haml.* iii. 2. 12) was a penny, to the galleries twopence, to the "rooms" or boxes threepence, to the stage sixpence, a shilling, and sometimes as much as half-a-crown. It must of course be remembered that the value of money was much greater in those days than at present: **two short hours.** From the various prologues and epilogues of the old dramatists we learn that between two and three hours was the average length of the performance; but two seems, as Littledale remarks on *T. N. K.* Prol. l. 29, "to have been oftener promised, perhaps as a sop to the 'understanding gentlemen of the ground' (v. Prol. *Humorous Lieutenant*, 'and short enough, we hope'; and to *The Coxcomb*); here in the words "if they be still and willing" and in "short" there seems to be the same appeal to the patience of the audience.

15. **A noise of targets,** a mere medley of noisy hand to hand combats. So the First Part of *Henry VI.* has been called "that drum and trumpet thing," from the number of combats in it.

16. **In a long ... yellow,** i.e. in such a dress as that worn by fools on the stage: **motley,** from O. F. *matellé*, clotted, knotted, curdled, and so spotted, means pied, variegated in colour as was the garb of fools: **guarded,** trimmed, as frequently in Shakespeare; so too *guards* = trimmings.

18-22. **To rank ... friend,** if we were to place our authentic and well-chosen story on a level with a mere spectacle of buffoonery and horse-play, we should not only be abandoning all claims to intelligence and the assurance with which we come armed of making our purposed entertainment an exact representation of actual facts, but we should forfeit the goodwill of all intelligent persons. Malone regards l. 21 as parenthetical, and refers **that to opinion**; while he and others take **opinion** in the sense of reputation, character.

23. **for goodness' sake,** out of your good-nature, from complacence with our undertaking.

24. **The first ... town,** the most cultivated and best disposed of all audiences. The sense of **happiest** here, one frequent in the Latin *felix*, is, according to Steevens, an argument in favour of the Prologue having been written by Jonson. But Shakespeare elsewhere uses *happy* in another Latin sense of *felicitous*, well-chosen; and if there were no stronger argument on the point, this would carry but little weight.

25. **sad,** see note on l. 3.

27. **As ... living,** as you would see them if they were living; see Abb. § 107.

28. sweat, i.e. caused by their anxiety to show themselves in attendance upon these great personages.

30. meets, comes into contact with, is made acquainted with.

ACT I. SCENE I.

STAGE DIRECTION. the Duke of Norfolk. Thomas Howard, the Earl of Surrey, "Jockey of Norfolk" in *Richard the Third*, became second Duke of Norfolk in 1514. He commanded at the Battle of Flodden, his son leading the vanguard; died in 1524: the Duke of Buckingham. Edward Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham in *Richard the Third*, who was put to death by that king. Henry the Eighth restored to the son the dukedom forfeited by his father, made him Lord High Constable and a Knight of the Garter. Incurring the enmity of Wolsey, he was arraigned for high treason and beheaded on Tower Hill, May 17th, 1521. Lord Abergavenny. George Nevill, grandson of Sir Edward, first Lord Abergavenny in 1450; was Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports; also a K.G.; died 1535.

1. *morrow*, morning: done, fared.

2. *saw*, met; so *Cymb.* i. l. 124, "When shall we *see* again?" and very similarly *A. C.* ii. 6. 86, "You and I have *known*, sir."

3. a *fresh admirer*, one filled with ever fresh wonder at the recollection of what I there beheld.

4, 5. An *untimely ague*... *chamber*. As a matter of fact Buckingham attended Henry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold; and on the other hand Norfolk was in England at the time.

6. *Those suns of glory*, those glorious earthly suns; cp. l. 33.

7. *Andren*. "In the second folio *Andren* is altered to *Arde*, but Shakespeare gave the word as he found it in Holinshed's *Chronicle*"... (Dyce): *Guynes* and *Arde*, two towns in Picardy, the former belonging to the English, the latter to the French.

9. *lighted*, alighted. "The sense is to relieve a horse of his burden, and the word is identical with the M. E. *lighten*, in the sense of to relieve of a burden... When a man *alights* from a horse, he not only relieves the horse of his burden, but completes the action by descending or *alighting* on the earth; hence *light* came to be used in the sense of to descend, settle, often with the prep. *on*"... (Skeat, *Ety. Dict.*)

10. *In their... together*, in the act of their embracing, as though they were becoming incorporated.

11, 2. *Which had they... one?* And if they had so become, no four other kings could together have weighed with them in the scale of worth and glory.

14. **The view**, the view *par excellence*, the view above all other views ; for *the* implying notoriety, see Abb. § 92.

15, 6. **but now ... itself**, not merely doubled by union, but raised to a height never known before by being combined with what was more pompous, splendid, than itself. The idea of marriage here suggests to the poet not only the importance accruing to a woman from that state, but also the increase to that importance when she marries a man of higher rank than herself. But there is of course no allusion to the superior pomp of the one king over the other.

16-8. **Each following ... its**, each successive day taught something to that which came next, till the last day of the whole pageant united in itself all the glories of its predecessors ; for *its*, see Abb. § 228.

19. **All clinquant**, one mass of glittering splendour : *clinquant*, properly the present participle of the Fr. verb *cliquer*, to tinkle, to clink ; "found in 15th century in *or clinquant*, gold in thin plates, leaf-gold" ... (Murray, *Eng. Dict.*). Chapman, *The Masque of the Inner Temple*, etc., represents the god of wealth, Plutus, as having "his head and beard sprinkled with showers of gold ; his buskins *clinquant*." No doubt as used here there is the idea both of glitter and of the tinkling sound made by the armour, etc., of those at the tournament : **All**, adverbial here as in i. *H. IV.* iv. 1. 97, "*All* furnish'd, *all* in arms" : **like heathen gods**, in images of which the wooden, earthen, stone, substratum is often covered with leaf-gold or with thin plates of that metal.

20. **Shone down**, outshone, caused to look mean by their superior splendour.

20, 1. **they ... India**, they, the English, as though exhibiting all "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind," outvied the French.

22, 3. **Their dwarfish ... gilt**, even their little pages were a mass of gold, like figures of cherubins ; cp. *Exodus*, xxxvii. 7, "And he made two cherubims of gold, beaten out of one piece made he them" : cherubins, "*cherubin*, *cherubins*, are the original English forms, as still in French. But, in the process of Biblical translation, *cherubin* has been supplanted by *cherub* ; and *cherubins* has been 'improved' successively to *cherubims*, *cherubim* ; while concurrently, *cherub* has been popularly fitted with a new plural *cherubs*" ... (Murray, *Eng. Dict.*). The popular modern use of a 'cherub' is a rosy-cheeked, chubby infant, the idea coming from the resemblance of such children to infant angels as depicted on grave-stones, in painted windows, etc., *cherubin* in early English being the proper name of an individual angel, then a company or order of angels.

23. **the madams**, the ladies who were spectators of the tournament; **madam**, Fr. *ma dame*, my lady, run into one word in French *madame*, as in Eng. *madam*. In such expressions as "Dear my lord," *J. C.* ii. 1. 255, "Good my brother," *Ham.* i. 3. 48, and others of a like kind, there is a like tendency to agglutination, and similarly the French often write *milord*, *miladi*, as though each was a single word.

25. **The pride ... them**, the proud, gorgeous, clothes in which they were decked: for **pride**, the abstract for the concrete, cp. *Sonn.* xcix. 3, "The purple *pride* Which on thy (the violet's) soft cheek for complexion dwells."

25, 6. **that their very ... painting**, so that the very labour of wearing this weight of finery caused their cheeks to glow with colour: **now**, on one night.

28. **Made ... beggar**, so far outshone it as to make it contemptible.

30. **As presence ... them**, according as each in his turn displayed his splendour: in **presence** there seems besides the idea of showing themselves, appearing, that of their lordly air, mien, as in *M. V.* iii. 2. 54, "Now he goes With no less *presence*, but with much more love, Than young Alcides."

30, 1. **him in eye, ... praise**, the one who happened to show himself being the one who for the time was the subject of all praise: **Still, ever: him**, for *he*, is probably due to attraction to **them** governed by **present**.

32. **'Twas said ... one**, they were so alike in splendour that the beholders, it was said, could see but one object before them.

32, 3. **and no discerner ... censure**, and no one, however keen his eye and judgment, ventured to prefer one to the other: **wag** is generally used with **tongue** of groundless and often of depreciatory comment, as in *Ham.* iii. 4. 39, "What have I done, that thou dar'st *wag thy tongue* In noise so rude against me?", but here there is nothing more than the idea of much talk: **censure**, judgment, opinion; the original neutral sense of the word; that of depreciation, condemnation, which the word has now acquired, being due to the fact that our judgment of others is so often unfavourable.

34. **challenged**. "The two kings, each with seven assistants, challenged all comers, and the jousting lasted, with an interval of two days, from June 11 to June 22" (Wright).

36-8. **that former ... believed**, that the stories of old days, hitherto thought mere fables, being shown, by the feats of arms displayed, to be things easily possible, were now received as truth, so far that even the marvellous exploits of Bevis no longer excited incredulity. Bevis of Southampton, a famous Saxon

knight, mentioned in Camden's *Britannia*. He is the subject of an old English metrical romance, and his marvellous exploits are related in the second book of Drayton's *Polyolbion*. He is said to have conquered the giant Ascapart, and to have been made Earl of Southampton by William the Conqueror.

38. **you go far, you are surely exaggerating**; cp. *Cymb.* i. 1. 24, "*Sec. Gent.* You *speak him far.* *First Gent.* I do extend him, sir, within himself, Crush him together rather than unfold His measure duly."

39-42. **As I belong ... tongue to, I swear by my nobility and by the love of truth which as a man of rank and honour I cherish, the course of the various events would even in the relation of a skilled narrator lose some of that vividness and spirit which the reality displayed: worship, dignity, honour, here of the order to which he belonged**; cp. *W. T.* i. 2. 303, "whom I from meaner form Have bench'd and rear'd to *worship.*"

42. **royal, worthy of the kingly personages who took part in the proceedings.**

43. **To the disposing ... rebell'd, nothing occurred to interfere with the arrangements originally made; there was not the slightest hitch in the proceedings.**

44. **Order ... view, the proceedings were so well ordered, arranged, that every event was clearly seen by the spectators.**

44, 5. **the office ... function, those entrusted with the management of the jousting performed each his duty with admirable completeness: for office = officers, the abstract for the concrete, cp. *Haml.* iii. 1. 73, "the insolence of *office.*" In the three first folios "All was royal ... together" is given to Buckingham. The arrangement in the text is Theobald's, and has been adopted by most modern editors.**

45-7. **Who did guide ... guess? Who, so far as you can guess, was the guiding spirit in everything, who, in other words, pieced together the various details of this great sport so as to make it a perfect whole?**

48, 9. **One, certes ... business, "one assuredly of whom it could not be expected that he would find his proper sphere in such a business" (Schmidt): certes, here and in *Oth.* i. 1. 16, a monosyllable; in *Temp.* iii. 3. 30, and *C. E.* iv. 4. 78, a dissyllable. The word is properly Old French and in that language was formerly written more fully *a certes, i.e.* from certain (grounds).**

50. **order'd, arranged, set in order.**

52, 3. **no man's pie ... finger. To have a finger in another's pie is a proverbial saying for being a meddler.**

53, 4. **What had he ... vanities? What business had he, a man whose life should be devoted to religion, to take part in frivolities**

of this kind, and frivolities moreover of so warlike a character? Schmidt and others explain *fierce* as immoderate, excessive, extravagant; Johnson as proud.

55-7. *That such ... earth*, that such a lump of fat should by his very size intercept the kindly rays of the sun and prevent them reaching the earth; *i.e.* in plain language, should engross all the favour of the sovereign: *keech* means the fat of an ox or a cow rolled up by the butcher in a round lump, and is here applied to Wolsey as being reputed the son of a butcher, though in reality his father was a wealthy burges and landholder in Ipswich. So in ii. *H. IV.* ii. 1. 101, the word is used for the name of a butcher's wife, and in i. *H. IV.* ii. 4. 252, Falstaff is called "thou obscure, greasy tallow-*keech*," according to Steevens's correction of the old reading "tallow-*catch*."

58. *There's in him ... ends*, there is innate in him a vigour of purpose that urges him forwards to the carrying out of such undertakings.

59. *propp'd by ancestry*, fortified by "the claims of long descent."

59, 60. *whose grace ... way*, the high merits of which ancestry (ancestors) marks out the path in which its descendants are bound to walk.

60, 1. *nor call'd upon ... crown*, nor stimulated by eminent services already rendered to the crown, services which in themselves are an incitement to further efforts.

61, 2. *neither ... assistants*, nor even owing anything to the co-operation of men in high place.

62, 3. *but, spider-like, ... web*, but out of the web which he draws from himself, as the spider draws its web from its own entrails. Rowe and Capell read "*self-drawn*," but *drawing* may perhaps be here used in a passive sense, as, in *A. C.* iii. 13. 77, "his *all-obeying* breath" means his breath that is obeyed by all; see Abb. § 372.

63, 4. *he gives ... way*, he proclaims to us (*sc.* by his actions) that he owes his success to his own merits. The first folio reads "Web. O gives vs note"; the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, "Web. O! gives us note," but "O," as Capell observes, is probably a press-corruption of *A*, or 'a, *i.e.* He. The sense will be "but, he gives us note that, like the spider who draws his web from his own entrails, he owes everything to himself."

65, 6. *that heaven ... king*, a free gift from heaven which he in his turn employs to purchase the highest good graces of the king. Rolfe takes for him as = for his own use; Wright explains "as he had nothing of his own"; and there is evidently an antithesis between the favour of heaven freely given and the favour of the

king which has to be purchased. Warburton conjectures "A gift that heaven gives; which buys for him"; a reading adopted by Dyce and Walker.

68, 9. but I can see ... him. Steevens compares *T. C.* iv. 5. 56, 7, "her wanton spirits look out At every joint and motive of her body."

70-2. the devil ... himself, if he does not derive his pride from hell, then all I can say is that the devil has become a niggard, or has already given away his whole store of that commodity, and Wolsey, for want of help from the devil, is the author of a new hell in himself.

72. Why the devil, why, in the name of the devil.

73. going out, expedition, outing.

75. the file, the list, catalogue; cp. *Macb.* v. 2. 8, "I have a file Of all the gentry."

76-8. for the most ... upon, consisting for the most part of those upon whom he designed to impose expense as great as the honour they would gain would be small, i.e. men whom he selected not because he wished that they should win honour but because he wished that they should be involved in great outlay. Various efforts have been made to emend the faulty construction; but the text is probably genuine, there being a confusion of constructions between 'those to whom he meant to give as great,' etc., and 'those on whom he meant to lay,' etc. For *such* followed by *who*, see Abb. § 278.

78-80. and his own ... papers, if the text is genuine, must mean, as Pope says, "his own letter, by his own single authority, and without the concurrence of the council, must fetch him in whom he papers down." Rolfe quotes from Warner's *Albion's England* an instance of *paper* used as a verb, "Set is the soveraigne Sunne did shine when *paper'd* last our penne." Staunton proposes *he paupers*.

82. sicken'd, impoverished, impaired.

84. Have broke ... 'em, have ruined themselves by spending the value of whole estates upon clothes to wear in this expedition. Steevens compares *K. J.* ii. 1. 70; Malone, Camden's Remains, "There was a nobleman merrily conceited, and riotously given, that having lately sold a manor of an hundred tenements, came ruffling into the court, saying, am not I a mighty man that beare an hundred houses on my backe?" Whalley adds from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, "'Tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand oakes, or an hundred oxen, into a sute of apparell, to weare a whole manor on his back."

85-7. What did ... issue? Wright's explanation here clearly seems to be the correct one:—what did all this pompous show

do "but furnish occasion for a conference which led to a poor result." He quotes from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, where Buckingham is reported to have said "that he knew not for what cause so much monie should be spent about the sight of a vaine talke to be had, and *communication to be ministered of things of no importance.*" The poor result is the peace entered into.

90. the hideous storm, that of the 18th of June, related by Holinshed.

91. not consulting, independently of each other.

92-4. That this tempest ... on't, that this storm which had come down upon and drenched the garment of this peace, forboded that that garment would shortly be rent asunder; for on = of, see Abb. § 182.

94. Which ... out, and this result has followed; the prophecy then in its bud has now blossomed into the full flower.

95. flaw'd, broken, cracked: attach'd, seized upon.

96. at Bourdeaux. Hall's *Chronicle* mentions the French king's command, given on the 6th of March, 1522, that all Englishmen's goods should be "attached and put under a reste."

97. is silenced. "The Ambassador was commanded to keepe his house in silence" (Hall, p. 634). His name was Denis Poillot or Poullot" (Wright). Marry, a corruption of (by the Virgin) Mary, a petty form of asseveration.

98. A proper ... peace, a pretty thing to have the name of a peace!

100. carried, managed, arranged: Like ... grace, if your grace will allow me to make the remark; a polite way of introducing an unpleasant subject.

101. The state, the king.

103, 4. And take it ... safety, and be assured that the advice comes from one who wishes you all honour and the fullest safety: take it may perhaps be an instance of the indefinite use of it; see Abb. § 226.

104-6. that you read ... Together, I advise you to remember that the Cardinal has not merely the ill will but also the power to injure you; in order to understand the full drift of his meaning you must read the context with the text.

107, 8. What ... power, in his power he has a weapon that will carry into effect what his hatred designs; little more than an amplification of the foregoing sentence.

111, 2. where 'twill not ... it, where he cannot himself effect his purpose he will employ others rather than come short of it.

112. *Bosom up my counsel, treasure up my advice in your inmost thoughts*; cp. *Lear*, iv. 5. 26, "you are of her *bosom*," i.e. you are in all her secrets.

115. *surveyor*. "Grafton speaks of him as Charles Knivet, Esquier, Cozyn to the Duke of Buckingham" ... (French).

116. *his examination*, i.e. the record of it: *so please you*, if it *so please you*, if I may be allowed to say so; cp. l. 100, above.

120. *This butcher's cur*. Gray observes that when the death of the Duke of Buckingham was told to the Emperor Charles V., he said "The first buck of England was worried to death by a *butcher's dog*."

122. *Not wake ... slumber*. An allusion to the proverbial saying, "Let sleeping dogs lie." *book, learning*; cp. ii. *H. VI.* iv. 7. 77.

123. *Outworths ... blood*, is thought of more worth than high birth: *chafed, inflamed to anger*; heated into an outburst of your wrath.

124. *temperance, moderation, self-restraint: the appliance only*, the only lenitive that can be applied with effect. Cp. *Hamlet*, iv. 3. 10, "diseases desperate grown By desperate *appliance* are relieved."

126. *Matter against me, evil that he plots against me*.

127. *his sject object*, "the object of his contempt" (Schmidt).

128. *bores me, gulls me, overreaches me*. That this is the sense of the phrase is clear, but the origin is doubtful. Staunton suggests that the radical idea is that of undermining. Steevens compares *The Life and Death of Thomas Cromwell*, "one that hath gulled you, that hath bor'd you, sir." There was also an old phrase "His, my, etc., nose is bored," with the same sense; and possibly the original idea may have been that of putting a string through the nose of an animal to lead it wherever one liked.

129. *outstare, face him with so angry a look that his eyes will fall before mine*.

130. *question, debate, argue*.

131. *What ... about*, what it is you meditate doing, i.e. how foolish it will be to provoke him.

133. *A full-hot horse, a spirited horse with its blood roused*, Steevens compares Massinger, *The Unnatural Combat*, iv. 2. 6, 7, "Let passion work, and, like a hot-rein'd horse, 'Twill quickly tire itself."

133, 4. *who being ... him*, who if he be allowed to go his own pace is soon wearied by his high-spirited efforts: there is a confusion of constructions between "who being, etc., is tired by his

self-mettle," and "whom, if he is allowed, etc., his self-mettle tires."

135, 6. **be to yourself ... friend**, as cautious and circumspect, and therefore as truly a friend to yourself as you would be to one whom you desired to befriend in any matter.

137. **from a mouth of honour**, with such outspoken language as befits a man of rank. He contrasts his mouth of honour with the insolent lies of this upstart Wolsey.

138, 9. **or proclaim ... persons**, or proclaim it abroad that no more regard is paid to men of high birth and position than to one who belongs to the dregs of the populace.

139. **Be advised**, be cautious, prudent; do not act without reflection.

140, 1. **Heat not ... yourself**. Steevens thinks there is probably an allusion to *Daniel*, iii. 22, "Therefore because the kings commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego."

144. **mounts ... o'er**, causes the liquor to boil over.

147. **More stronger, better capable**; for the double comparative, see Abb. § 11.

148. **the sap of reason ... quench**. In regard to **reason** the idea of **sap** is that of the pith, marrow, vital principle of anything; in regard to **quench**, the idea is that of juice, moisture. Steevens compares *Hamlet*, iii. 4. 124, "Upon the heat and flame of thy distemper Sprinkle cool patience."

149. **Or but allay**, or even qualify, moderate, if not altogether quench.

150, 1. **I'll go ... prescription**, I will guide my steps by your directions.

151-3. **this top-proud ... intelligence**, this low wretch whose pride knows no limit and whom I am led to mention not from the bitterness of my feelings against him but from upright, honest, motives, I know by intelligence I have received, etc. With **top-proud** cp. below, i. 2. 214, "He's traitor to the height."

156. **treasonous**, treasonable.

157. **my vouch**, my attestation, warrant of what I say: to **vouch** is from O. F. *voucher*, to cite, to call into aid in a suit; from Lat. *vocare*, to summon.

158. **As shore of rock**, as the foundations of a rock; the original sense of *shore* = prop, is something *shorn* or cut off of a required length, so as to serve as a support. Schmidt explains

"as a rock standing the rage of the waves." But cp. *H. V.* iii. 1. 13, "As fearfully as doth a galled rock O'erhang and jutty his confounded base." For the omission here of the definite and indefinite articles, see Abb. § 82: **Attend**, listen.

159. **equal**, equally; see Abb. § 1.

161, 2. **his mind** ... **reciprocally**, his naturally corrupt mind infecting his position as first minister, and that position in its turn infecting his mind.

164. **suggests**, incites, prompts. In Shakespeare to *suggest* and *suggestion* have more often than not a bad sense,—the latter almost always so.

166, 7. **and like** ... **rinsing**, and like a drinking glass was of so brittle a nature that it could stand no rough usage, broke at the least strain put upon it.

168. **give me favour**, do me the kindness to hear me out.

169. **The articles** ... **combination**, the details of the alliance. Wright says that the articles "regulating all the details of the interview are given fully both by Hall and Holinshed"; but mere details of the *interview* would hardly be spoken of as being *ratified* (l. 170).

171, 2. **to as much** ... **dead**, with just as useful a result as that of giving a crutch to a dead man: **count-cardinal**, as Archbishop of York, Wolsey was a Count-Palatine. Pope reads "Court-Cardinal."

173, 4. **Has done** ... **it**, repeating ironically what the king and the admirers of Wolsey may be supposed to have said seriously.

175, 6. **a kind** ... **dam**, as we say, a chip of the old block.

177. **his aunt**. Charles V., Emperor of Germany, was son to Joanna of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and so nephew to Catherine of Arragon, Henry's queen, Joanna's sister.

178. **colour**, pretext.

179. **To whisper Wolsey**, to have private communication with Wolsey, whom he looked upon as all powerful with the king. For the omission of the preposition *to*, see Abb. § 200: **makes visitation**, pays a visit.

182. **Breed** ... **prejudice**, give birth to something that would be prejudicial, injurious, to his interests; a "prejudice" is a judgment formed before any defence can be heard, and so a judgment that is likely to be unfavourable, or at least unfair.

183. **Peep'd**, i.e. he could not clearly see them, but could guess something as to their nature.

184. **trow**, believe, suppose to be true: from A.S. *tréowe*, true.

186. **Paid ... promised**, had to bribe him well before he could get a promise out of him, a promise to look after his interests.

186, 7. **whereby ... ask'd**, i. e. such was Wolsey's greed that he was ready to promise anything asked of him as soon as he got the money into his hands, without even waiting to know what the request might be: **when ... made**, when the path had been smoothed by this bribe.

193. **And ... advantage**, that Wolsey not merely has the audacity to traffic in the king's honour, but does so to make his own profit out of the transaction.

195. **Something mistaken**, somewhat misjudged by you; cp. *A. Y. L.* i. 3. 66, "*mistake* me not so much To think my poverty is treacherous."

197. **in proof**, when put to the proof. For the ellipsis of the relative, see *Abb.* § 394.

STAGE DIRECTION. **Brandon.** This is a mistake. Brandon's name is not mentioned in the Chronicles, and the arrest was really made by Sir Henry Marne, or Marney, captain of the king's guard, who on the attainder of the Duke obtained a grant of some of his forfeited estates.

198. **Your office**, you see before you your office, the duty you have to perform.

199, 200. **the Duke ... Northampton.** In all legal and official proceedings it is customary to rehearse the full style and title of the person concerned. From the de Bohuns he inherited the Earldoms of Hereford and Northampton.

201. **Arrest thee of.** Shakespeare generally uses *of* to express the cause of seizure, as here; but in *M. M.* i. 4. 66, *C. E.* iv. 2. 49, and *Lear*, v. 3. 82, the preposition is *on*.

202. **Lo**, generally considered as an equivalent to *look*; but Skeat points out that *A. S. lā*, lo! has nothing in common with the *A. S. lōcian*, to look, except the initial letter. "The fact is, rather, that *lā* is a natural interjection, to call attention."

204. **practice**, plot, underhand dealing; as most frequently in Shakespeare.

205, 6. **To see ... present**, to see you deprived of your liberty, to be a witness of the present unhappy business. The latter clause seems merely to emphasize the former; but Staunton explains, "I am sorry, since it is to see you deprived of liberty, that I am a witness to this business"; a preferable explanation if only the words will bear the sense.

207. **You shall.** For the ellipsis of the verb of motion, see *Abb.* § 405.

208. *dye*. Rolfe remarks that "the literal meaning of *attainder* is *staining*." This is not etymologically true, the word really coming from *attain*; but the belief in the connection between *taint* and *attaint* is of so old a date that possibly Shakespeare may have had the idea in his mind.

217. *Lord Montacute*. Henry Pole, grandson of George, Duke of Clarence, created Lord Montagu. He was pardoned at this time, but afterwards beheaded for another act of treason.

218. 9. *John ... Peck*. "The name is given as Perke both in Hall and Holinshed. Both are apparently wrong. In the papers connected with the trial of the Duke of Buckingham, now in the Record Office, the name of the Duke's chaplain and confessor appears as John Delacourt, and his chancellor is called Robert Gilbert, clerk. Possibly Perke and Pecke are corruptions of 'clerk' ... (Wright).

220. *the limbs*, he himself being the head and body

221. *A monk ... Chartreux*. "Nicholas Hopkins, a monk of an house of the Chartreux order [*i.e.* the Cistercians], beside Bristow, called Henton" (Holinshed, *Chronicle*).

223. *is spann'd*, is measured, has its term fixed: probably, as Reed suggests, with an allusion to the saying in scripture that man's life is but a span long.

224-6. *I am ... sun*, I am but the shadow of what I once was, and that shadowy figure this impending cloud of misfortune assumes by coming between me and the sun of my prosperity, thus obscuring its rays. Wright explains, "As Buckingham is thus but the shadow of his former self, the impending cloud of calamity assumes his figure and resembles him, being the shadow which darkens the brightness of his prosperity"; an explanation which hardly seems to express the meaning of *By*, *i.e.* hardly shows how the cloud came to assume the figure. Grant White's version is very similar: "The speaker says that his life is cut short already, and that what they see is but the shadow of the real Buckingham, whose figure is assumed by the instant [the present, the passing] cloud which darkens the sun of his prosperity." In all these explanations *shadow* is used in two different senses, (1) as that which is unsubstantial, unreal, impalpable, and (2) as that which is dark, gloomy. Johnson avoided this ambiguity by taking this *instant cloud* to refer to Wolsey—an explanation that few will accept.

SCENE II.

STAGE DIRECTION. Sir Thomas Lovell, esquire of the body to Henry VII., who made him Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1485, later on became Marshall of the House to Henry VIII. and Con-

stable of the Tower. Wright shows that the preliminary examination of Buckingham took place not in London but at Greenwich. He adds that "The chronology of the scene is very much confused. The investigation of the charges against Buckingham took place in April, 1521, and the rebellion on account of the commission was four years later."

1. **best heart of it**, most precious, most vital part of it, the very core.

2. **I' the level**, facing the plot point-blank: cp. *W. T.* ii. 3. 6, "out of the blank And *level* of my brain"; *Oth.* iii. 4. 128, "within the blank of his displeasure." The figure is kept up in the next line.

4. **choked it**, strangled it at its birth.

6. **justify**, confirm, establish the truth of.

STAGE DIRECTION. **Duke of Suffolk**. Charles Brandon, the son of Sir William Brandon, slain at the Battle of Bosworth, was brought up with Henry VIII., with whom he was a great favourite. He was created Duke of Suffolk in 1514, and in 1515 married Mary, the king's sister, and widow of Louis XII. of France; died August, 1545: **his state**, his chair of state, throne.

12. **moiety**, half, from Lat. *medietas*; often used by Shakespeare for a part whether more or less than a half.

13. **Repeat your will**, state what it is you wish of us; in Shakespeare's use of *repeat* the simple meaning of telling, mentioning, is more common than that of speaking or telling again.

14-6. **and in that... office**, and that you should manifest that love in one way by carefully considering, being jealous of, your honour, etc.

18. **I am solicited**, it has been urgently represented to me: **not... few**, by many; a figure of speech in which emphasis is obtained by the appearance of moderation. For the transposition of **not**, see Abb. § 420.

19. **of true condition**, of loyal disposition; **condition** in the sense of character, temper, disposition, is very frequent in Shakespeare, e.g. *M. V.* i. 2. 143, "the *condition* of a saint, and the complexion of a devil."

20. **grievance**, affliction, trouble: now only in the sense of cause of complaint, a sense not uncommon in Shakespeare.

21. **hath flaw'd the heart**, has broken the spirit, the spontaneous and deeply-seated feeling.

22. **loyalties**. We should not now use this plural of an abstract noun.

24. **putter on**, instigator: cp. *W. T.* ii. 1. 141, "You are abused, and by some *putter-on*."

27, 8. *such which ... loyalty*, such as utterly destroys all loyalty; the figure is taken from violent bodily paroxysms, as in *W. T.* ii. 1. 44, "he cracks his gorge, his sides, With violent hefts": for *such which*, see Abb. § 278.

28, 9. *and almost ... rebellion*, and is manifested in all but open rebellion.

32. *The many ... longing*, the crowd of artizans that depend upon them for employment; the abbreviated form *long = belong* is frequent in Shakespeare: put off, dismissed.

34. *Unfit ... life*, i.e. knowing no other trade than their own by which to earn a livelihood.

36. *Daring ... teeth*, recklessly facing the peril of rebellion.

37. *And danger ... them*, and you will find their desperation very dangerous: danger is here almost personified.

38. *Wherein? ... taxation?* On what commodities are these taxes laid, and what is the amount imposed?

41-3. *I know ... me*, in matters that pertain to the state my knowledge is but that of an individual (i.e. the same as that of others), and I do but march in the same line with others: in front there does not seem to be any idea of priority or of boldness, but merely that of facing in the same direction like soldiers in a line: *tell ... me*, count steps with me, i.e. keep step with me.

44, 5. *but you frame ... alike*, "but you are the person who frame those things that are afterwards proposed, and known equally by all" (Monck Mason).

45-7. *which are not ... acquaintance*, which are far from pleasant to those who are compelled to become acquainted with them against their will.

48. *would have note*, desires information: they, a redundancy owing to the parenthesis.

50. *The back ... load*, i.e. is more than human endurance is capable of.

51, 2. *or else ... exclamation*, which if not true, the outcry against you is undeserved: *Still exaction!* Again that word "exaction"!

55. *tempting of*. See Abb. § 178.

56. *grief*, here cause of complaint, grievance.

59, 60. *and the pretence ... France*. We should now reverse subject and predicate and say 'your wars in France are named as the excuse for this': bold, audacious in their language.

61, 2. *Tongues ... them*, your subjects repudiate with disgust all obligations to their king, and their once-warm allegiance has become icy cold.

64, 5. *This tractable ... will.* Rowe changed *This* to *That*, i.e. so that, and Dyce follows him. The sense would certainly be clearer, but the reading in the text may mean 'this obedience which was once so readily yielded has now become the slave of the resentment so universally felt.'

67. *There is ... business,* there is nothing that calls more urgently for your consideration.

69, 70. *I have ... voice,* I am no further responsible than for having given my vote in council.

70, 1. *and that ... judges,* and even that vote I should not have given if I had not had on my side the approval of those learned in the law, whose judgment I might well suppose to be trustworthy.

73, 4. *yet will be ... doing,* and yet, in spite of that ignorance, are determined to be the chroniclers of my actions, as though they were competent to play that part.

75. *brake, thicket, tangled and prickly coppice.*

76, 7. *We must ... actions,* we must not put a limit to those actions of ours which our position demands of us.

78. *To cope ... censurers,* of encountering men of malicious tongue; for *cope*, cp. *A. Y. L.* ii. l. 67, "I love to *cope* him in these sullen fits."

81-3. *What we oft ... allow'd,* what are often our most praiseworthy actions are by jaundiced judges, occasionally weak ones, declared not to be our own, or, if admitted to be ours, are not applauded. This seems to be the meaning if *once weak ones* is genuine, which I do not believe. Wright gives "by interpreters who were in the first instance incapable of judging his motives, and have since become morbidly prejudiced against him." The proposition is, however, a general one, and this application of it seems to me too particular and special: *allow'd*, in this use from Lat. *allaudare*, to applaud.

83-5. *what worst, ... act,* while our worst acts, suiting the taste, fitting in with the ideas, of the baser sort, are cried up as being our masterpieces.

85-8. *If we shall ... only,* if we are determined to remain inactive simply from fear that our actions may be ridiculed or cavilled at, we should become mere stocks or lifeless images of state: in *shall* there is the idea of obligation, fixed determination, and in the consequent clause, as Abbott points out, § 371, there is a change of thought, the sentence being equivalent to "if we shall stand still (or rather, if we *should*, for *we shall not*) we should," etc.

89. *with a care,* with proper deliberation, forethought.

90. *without example,* with no precedent for a guide: *issue, result.*

93, 4. **We must not ... will**, we must not, in dealing with our subjects, substitute arbitrary will for the regular course of the law. This is the general sense, but the figure is that of plucking up a flower from the soil in which it thrives and sticking it in one's dress for mere personal gratification.

95. **A trembling contribution!** "i.e. a contribution attended by trembling (-ing being the gerund); cf. *all-obeying breath, unrecalling crime, feeling sorrows*" (Schmidt). The trembling is perhaps not merely that of those who are obliged to contribute, but of those who exact the contribution knowing how dangerous it is to drive the people to extremities.

96. **lop**, the branches, that which is lopped off: **the timber**, that part of the tree which affords material for building, the main stem, or portions of it.

98. **will ... sap**, and so cause it to wither.

99. **Where ... question'd**, where this matter is being debated, where the people are protesting against such an exaction.

103. **writ**. For the curtailed form of past participles, see Abb. § 343.

104. **Of**, i.e. bearing tidings of.

105. **Hardly ... me**, have hard thoughts about me: **noised** made publicly known.

106. **revokement**, revocation.

108. **Further ... proceeding**, what further steps are to be taken in the matter.

110. **Is run ... displeasure**, has incurred your anger: on **Is**, see Abb. § 295.

112. **To nature ... bound**, no one owes more to the gifts of nature; no one has been more lavishly endowed with talents by nature.

113. **furnish**, sc. with those things a teacher needs, his stock in trade of learning.

114. **And never ... himself**, without having recourse to any treasures but those of his own mind, any store, or magazine, of learning but his own.

115. **benefits**, good gifts.

116. **Not well disposed**, not turned to a good purpose, not made the best of.

117, 8. **ten times ... fair**, an allusion to the saying *corruptio optimi pessima*, no corruption is so bad as that of what was once very good: **complete**. "The form *complete* always [in Shakespeare] precedes a noun accented on the first syllable, *complète* is always in the predicate.... One verse [i.e. the present one] seems

to make an exception. But in consideration of the many metrical irregularities caused by a full stop in the middle of a verse, there can be no serious difficulty found in this seeming anomaly" (Schmidt, *Appendix*, i. 1).

119. Who was ... wonders, who was looked upon as one of the wonders of creation.

120. Almost ... listening, with an attention that was almost carried away by its intensity ; with an almost ecstatic attention.

120, 1. could not ... minute, could not bring ourselves to believe that so much as a minute had passed even when in reality he had been talking for a whole hour. The sentence is involved, but is equivalent to 'This man who was enrolled, etc., and whose hour of speech we, listening with rapt attention, could not find,' etc.

122. habits, dress.

125. in trust, in his confidence, thoroughly trusted by him.

126. Things ... sad, things that no man of honour could listen to without pain.

127. practices, plots ; see note on i. 1. 204.

127, 8. whereof ... much, of the details of which we cannot be, for our safety, too fully informed, and the effects of which we trust we may never feel.

130. careful, i.e. of the welfare of your sovereign.

130, 1. collected ... Buckingham, gathered and put together from your acquaintance with the life and actions of the Duke.

132, 3. every day ... speech, it was a thing ever in his mouth and one that, so to speak, poisoned his language.

134, 5. he'll carry ... his, he would so manage matters as to secure his succession to the crown : he'll, another instance of irregularity of sequence of tenses, and a sort of confusion between the direct and the oblique narration, i.e. between "He said, 'if the king should die, etc., I will carry it,'" etc., and "He said that if the king should die, etc., he would carry it," etc.

137, 8. to whom ... cardinal, speaking to whom he swore that he would take revenge upon the cardinal.

138, 9. note ... point, "note this particular part of this dangerous design" (Johnson).

140, 1. Not friended ... malignant, if his wish, that you should die, is not realized and he cannot in this way attain his ends, he cherishes evil thoughts against your life, i.e. in default of his wish coming true, he is certain to employ violent means to remove you from his path.

144. How grounded ... crown, upon what did he base his claim to the throne ?

145. Upon our fall, if we should die without issue: to this point, bearing upon, having relation to, this point.

149, 50. who fed him ... sovereignty, who was for ever feeding his pride by talking of his claims to the throne and his chances of succeeding you.

152. the Rose, a manor belonging to the Duke which about 1561 was bought by Richard Hill, sometime master of the Merchant Tailors Company and converted into Merchant Tailors School.

157. To the king's danger, with the result of the king's life being put in danger.

158. the fear, that which was especially to be feared, or perhaps what was generally feared.

162. a choice hour, a picked hour, one specially fixed upon.

164. under ... seal. The priest in the Catholic Church is bound by oath when receiving the confession of penitents not to reveal any information then entrusted to them, and here the monk before making his revelation binds the chaplain by that oath.

167, 8. with demure ... ensued, with solemn manner and not without hesitation he confided to him this prophecy: demure is from O. Fr. *de murs*, i.e. *de bons murs*, of good manners, and so sober, staid, grave.

174. spleen, spite; the spleen being considered as the seat of strong passions, whether, as here, of malice, hatred, or merely of caprice, impetuosity, anger.

175. And spoil ... soul, and in this way imperil your soul's welfare: your nobler soul may mean either your soul which will be the nobler if you do not thus give way to malice, or the nobler part of your nature, your soul.

175, 6. I say ... you, I not only warn you, but from my heart entreat you.

178, 9. I told... deceived, I told the duke that very possibly the monk's prophecy might be due to nothing else than some illusion the devil had cast upon him.

180-2. until ... do, until by trusting in it he was led to form some design (against the king), which was likely to be the result of such trust.

184. fall'd, died; a euphemism.

186. so rank? was his guilt of so gross and foul a nature? The figure is from grass, weeds, etc., growing to a great height and becoming offensive in smell.

190. Sir William Blomer "was reprimanded by the king in the star-chamber, for that, being his sworn servant, he had left the

king's service for the Duke of Buckingham's. *Edwards's MSS.*" (Steevens).

194. *thought, sc.* that I should be committed.

197-9. *which if granted ... him*, and had this request been granted, he would, while pretending to tender his allegiance (*sc.* by approaching his person to kneel before him), have stabbed him to the heart. For the ellipsis of the nominative, see Abb. § 399.

199. *A giant traitor!* *i.e.* his treasons have swelled to gigantic proportions.

200. *may, is it possible?* see Abb. § 307.

201. *And this ... prison*, while this man is at liberty.

202. *There's something ... thee*, there is something more you are desirous of revealing; something that is trying to force itself into utterance.

204. *He stretch'd him*, he threw out his arms: *him*, reflexive.

205. *mounting*, raising aloft; cp. above, i. l. 144.

206. *did discharge*, gave vent to; as though it were something with which his breast was loaded.

207. *evil used*, badly treated (*sc.* by the king).

209. *There's his period*. there (*sc.* in my murder) is the furthest limit, the end, to which his steps are directed; cp. *R. III.* ii. l. 44, "There wanteth now our brother Gloucester here To make the perfect *period* of this peace."

210. *attach'd*, arrested.

213. *by day and night*, probably a form of asseveration, though Steevens takes it as = at all times, a sense that the phrase certainly has in *Lear*, i. 3. 4.

214. *He's traitor ... height*, his treason could not soar higher than it does.

SCENE III.

STAGE DIRECTION. the Lord Chamberlain, Sir Charles Somerset, created Earl of Worcester in 1515; died 1526. Lord Sands, "or Sandys, was at this time Sir William Sandys, who was not created Baron Sandys of the Vine, near Basingstoke, till 1523. The chronology of this scene and the one which follows is hopelessly confused. Sir Thomas Bullen, who is mentioned in i. 4. 92, 93, was not created Viscount Rochford till 18th of June, 1525, and yet the dancing scene is placed before the trial of Buckingham, which began on Monday the 13th of May, 1521. The first interview of Henry and Anne Bullen could not have taken place till after 1526, for in the description of the entertainment at which it is supposed to have occurred, as given in Cavendish's

Life of Wolsey ... Lord Sands is represented as Lord Chamberlain, and he did not succeed to this office till the death of the Earl of Worcester in that year. For this reason the dramatist here makes the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Sands distinct persons" (Wright).

2. **mysteries**, incomprehensible fashions.

3. **Though ... ridiculous**, however ridiculous they may be ; the construction really is 'though they be so ridiculous as customs never were.'

6. **but merely**, redundant.

7. **A fit ... face**, some few new and violent grimaces. Wright well compares *Lear*, ii. 2. 87, "A plague upon your epileptic visage!" where the steward Oswald is contorting his face into horrible smiles : **shrewd ones**, downright villanous ones.

8. **hold 'em**, put them on, dress themselves in them : **directly**, without hesitation, emphatically.

9, 10. **Their very ... so**, those identical noses had belonged to the stately courtiers who gave advice to Pepin or Clotharius, such lordly arrogance did they express. There were several Pepins and several Clothaires, the former belonging to the Carolingian dynasty of French kings which lasted from 752 to 987, the latter to the Merovingian dynasty, which preceded it, 418 to 752. The dramatist of course means only kings of such a type, kings of ancient days and stately fashion.

11. **lame ones**, i.e. they affected a fashionable strut which made them appear as though they were lame. So, in ii. *H. IV.* ii. 2. 23, the youth of England are spoken of as trying to catch the very trick of Hotspur's walk : "He had no legs that practised not his gait."

12. **That never ... before**, who had never seen them walk before they adopted this new fashion, and therefore knew that they could walk upright enough if they chose.

12, 3. **the spavin Or springhalt**, two diseases of horses, producing lameness, the former being either an enlargement of the little bag, containing a mucous substance, on the inside of the hock at the bending, a *bog-spavin* ; or a distention by accumulated blood of the vein which passes over that bag, a *blood-spavin* : the latter an affection causing the animal to twitch up his legs when in motion.

15. **That, sure, ... Christendom**, that clearly they must have exhausted every Christian fashion.

18. **clapp'd upon**, suddenly stuck up upon.

20. **talk, and tallors**, may perhaps be a hendiadys for talk of tailors.

21. **our monsieurs**, our gallants who affect French fashions.

23. **And never ... Louvre**, without ever visiting the French court. The Louvre was originally a prison-tower, constructed by Philippe Augustus in 1204. It afterwards became a library, and Charles VI. made it his palace about 1634. Francis I. began the new buildings in 1528, and these were enlarged by successive kings, particularly Louis XIV. Napoleon turned it into a museum.

24, 5. **leave those remnants ... France**, abandon such of the foolish fopperies acquired in France as they still cling to in their own country. The enormous size of the feathers worn in hats and caps was due to imitation of French fashions, though without such imitation they were large enough. Douce thinks that the allusion is rather to the feathers formerly worn by professional fools in their caps.

26, 7. **With all their ... fireworks**. Instead of "honourable points of knowledge," we come upon the bathos, "honourable points of ignorance," knowlege on such points being ignorance in the eyes of the wise. In **fireworks** Steevens sees an allusion to the extraordinary fireworks which concluded the last day of the interview between the two kings; the **fighths** being the joustings at the tournament.

28, 9. **Abusing ... wisdom**, the practice of abusing better men than they can ever hope to be, a practice due to their foreign-learnt wisdom. This is one of the things they must abandon.

29, 30. **renouncing ... stockings**, and further they must utterly abjure their passionate devotion to tennis, etc. With the French tennis was a particularly favourite game. Beaumont and Fletcher speak of being in France and playing tennis as almost synonymous: *The Scornful Lady*, i. 1 (where the elder Loveless is commanded to go to France for a year), "And after your whole year spent in *tennis* and broken speech," etc. The tall **stockings** reached high above the knee, and were there joined to short breeches.

31. **blister'd breeches**. "This word 'blister'd' describes with picturesque humour the appearance of the slashed breeches, covered as they were with little puffs of satin lining which thrust themselves out through the slashes" (Grant White). So in Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush*, iv. 5. 45, "That ape had paid it ... In his French doublet, with his *blister'd* bullions, In a *long stock* tied up," where Dyce takes *bullions* to mean "some sort of hose or breeches, which were *bolled* or *bulled*, i.e. swelled, puffed out."

32. **And understand**, a pun, as in *T. N.* iii. 1. 89, "My legs do better *understand* me, sir, than I understand what you mean by bidding me taste my legs"; and a reference to their "ignorance."

33. Or pack ... playfellows, or be off to join their companions in France who taught them these fashions.

34. 'cum privilegio,' with privilege, i.e. with no one to interfere with them in their enjoyment of such fancies.

34, 5. wear away ... at, continue to practise what is left to them of their dissolute habits, only to be laughed at for their folly.

38. of these ... vanities, in being deprived of these dainty follies.

40. A French ... fellow, in their estimation there is nothing like, nothing to equal, a French, etc.

41. The devil fiddle 'em ! may the devil make them dance with his fiddlestick ! may the devil deal with them !

43, 4. beaten ... play, no longer as active as I once was, not up to the pleasing tricks I once could play : plain-song, the simple melody as the fundamental part of music, in opposition to *prick-song*, or variegated music sung by note.

45, 6. And have ... too, and be listened to for an hour, and my music be regarded as good music : by 'r lady, by our lady, i.e. by the Virgin Mary.

47. colt's tooth, youthful spirits, gamesomeness. Cp. Mas-singer, *The Guardian*, i. l. 144, "The colt's tooth still in your mouth !"

48. Nor ... not. For the emphatic double negative, see Abb. § 406.

49. a-going, i.e. on going, about to go ; see Abb. § 24.

53. The beauty ... kingdom, the most lovely women to be found in the country.

54. churchman, ecclesiastic.

56. His dews, his bounties.

57. a black mouth, a scandalous tongue.

58. has wherewithal, he has the means of doing so ; for the ellipsis of the nominative, see Abb. § 400.

60. of his way, so circumstanced as he is.

62. so great ones, examples of such great munificence : My barge stays. "The speaker is now [supposed to be] in the king's palace at *Bridewell*, from which he is proceeding by water to York-place (Cardinal Wolsey's house), now Whitehall" (Malone).

63. shall along. For the omission of the verb of motion, see Abb. § 405.

65, 6. For I was ... comptrollers, for I and Sir Henry Guildford were directed by the Cardinal to act as managers of the masque

to be performed to-night. Sir Henry Guildford, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII., Standard-Bearer for England, and a K.G.

66. I am your lordship's, I am at your command, ready to do whatever you wish.

SCENE IV.

STAGE DIRECTION. Hautboys, a kind of musical instrument; from O. F. *haut*, later *haut*, high ... and F. *bois* ... a bush ... Thus the literal sense is 'high wood'; the *hautboy* being a wooden instrument of a high tone" (Skeat, *Ety. Dict.*): *state*, a seat of dignity, a canopied chair: Anne Bullen, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a descendant of Edward I

1. his grace, *sc.* the Cardinal.
3. To fair content and you, to the delight which your presence must surely give to all.
4. bevy. "Derivation and early history unknown ... 1. The proper term for a company of maidens or ladies, of roes, of quails, or of larks. 2. A company of any kind; rarely, a collection of objects" ... (Murray, *Eng. Dict.*).
6. As, first, good company. Theobald would read *first-good*, *i.e.* the best company in the land; Hanmer, "As first, good company, then good wine," etc. Dyce reads, "As far's good," etc., *i.e.* as far as, suggested to him by Halliwell's conjecture, "As far good company."
11. Place, arrange in order.
12. freeze, be chilled by not having the company of men to keep you lively.
13. Two women ... makes, here Two women placed together is equivalent to 'the fact of two women being placed together,' and consequently we have makes, not make; cp. *T. C.* iv. 5. 93, "The combatants being kin Half stints their strife," *i.e.* the fact of the combatants being kin; so, *Hamlet*. iii. 1. 182, "Whereon his brains still beating puts him thus From fashion of himself," *i.e.* the beating of his brains on this puts, etc.
14. keep 'em waking, prevent their being dull.
18. it, the habit of talking a little wildly.
21. kiss ... breath, kiss twenty women in no time; for the pleonastic you, see Abb. § 220: Well said, well done, bravo!
- 24, 5. For my little ... alone, leave me alone for avoiding such penance, you may trust me not to allow these ladies to be dull. Or possibly cure may here have the sense of curacy, spiritual charge or oversight, said jestingly.
28. this, *i.e.* I drink this toast.

30. **Let me ... thanks**, I should be glad to have such a bowl of wine to drink off in expression of my thanks.

32. **beholding**, obliged, grateful; the sense "evidently originated in an error for *beholden*, either from a confusion of the endings ... or, more probably, after *beholden* was shortened to *beholde*, *behold*, and its grammatical character obscured; the general acceptance of 'beholding' may have been due to a notion that it meant 'looking (*e.g.* with respect, or dependence),' or to association with the idea of 'holding of' or 'from a feudal superior'" (Murray, *Eng. Dict.*).

36. **gamester**, in Anne's mouth means frolicsome fellow, but Sands pretends to take it in the special sense of gambler.

37. **if I make my play**, if I am allowed to play my game in my own way.

STAGE DIRECTION. **chambers**, small pieces of ordnance without a carriage, standing on their breech, used to fire salutes; so called from a detached charge-piece in old ordnance to put into the breech of a gun.

46. **make**, are making their way.

52. **a broken banquet**, interrupted; the tables having been removed; **mend**, improve (as by the banquet that follows), but with a play upon broken.

STAGE DIRECTION. **directly before**, right in front.

61. **under ... conduct**, being graciously introduced by you.

69. **should be**, is if I am not mistaken.

75. **take it**, *sc.* the place of honour.

76. **By all ... leaves**, if you will all pardon me for examining your appearance in order to find out him of whom I am in search.

76, 7. **her ... choice**, I will choose out this one among you for my king.

77. **Ye have ... him**. "Holinshed says the Cardinal mistook, and pitched upon Sir Edward Neville; upon which the king laughed, and pulled off both his own mask and Sir Edward's" (Steevens).

80. **unhappily**, unfavourably; putting a bad construction upon such wild revelry.

81. **pleasant**, facetious, merry at my expense.

84. **The Viscount Rochford**. See note on stage direction at opening of Scene III.

86. **to take you out**, to ask you to dance, to lead you forth to where the dancing is going on.

87. **And not ... you**, without giving you the usual kiss. A kiss was formerly the recognized fee of a lady's partner at the end of a dance.

89. **banquet**, here supper, but sometimes used for dessert.

94. **your ladies**, *i.e.* those that had been their partners in the dance.

97. **a measure** was a grave and stately dance with slow measured steps, "full of state and ancients" (*M. A.* ii. l. 80), and something like the later minuet, but the word is sometimes used to express a dance in general.

99. **knock it, strike up: it**, used indefinitely; see *Abb.* § 226.

ACT II. SCENE I.

2. **the hall**, *sc.* Westminster Hall, where Buckingham's trial began on Monday, May 13th, 1521.

8. **upon't**, as the consequence of the verdict.

11. **in a little**, in few words.

13, 4. **alleged ... law**, brought forward in his defence many clever arguments to rebut the accusations and so to disappoint the law of its prey, escape the clutches of the law; *cp. H. V.* iv. l. 175, "Now, if these men have *defeated* the law and outrun native punishment, though they can outstrip men, they have no wings to fly from God."

15. **The king's attorney** "at this time was John Fitz-James who was appointed 26 Jan., 1519. He became Chief Baron of the Exchequer 8 Feb., 1522, and Chief Justice of the King's Bench 23 Jan., 1526 (*Foss, Judges of England*, v. 96, 98, 100)" (*Wright*).

16. **Urged on**, pressed against with all possible force.

19. **At which**, whereupon, upon his making this demand.

23. **That fed ... prophecies**, see above, i. 2. 149, 50.

24. **which**, *sc.* accusations, implied in **accused**.

28. **learnedly**, "like a counsel 'learned in the law,' not merely skilfully like a practised orator" (*Wright*).

28, 9. **but all ... forgotten**, but whatever he might say, it only elicited a feeling of pity in those who heard him or was passed over unheeded.

33. **he sweat extremely**, a circumstance mentioned by Holinshed; on *-ed* omitted in the past indicative of verbs ending in *-t*, see *Abb.* § 341.

35. **fell ... again**, recovered his self-possession.

40. is the end of this, is at the bottom of all this.

41. Kildare's attainder. Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, was recalled from Ireland, of which he was Deputy, in 1520, and the Earl of Surrey sent over in his place, on the suggestion, it was believed, of Cardinal Wolsey.

42. who removed, for the participle used with a nominative absolute, see Abb. § 376.

44. his father, i. e. his father-in-law, Surrey having married as his second wife Buckingham's daughter, Katherine Stafford: That trick of state, that stroke of policy.

45. envious, malicious.

46. requite it, pay him out for it; cry quits with him.

48. will find employment, sc. for; see Abb. § 201.

50. perniciously, with a bitter hatred.

STAGE DIRECTION: tipstaves, bailiffs: with the edge towards him, as was the custom when the prisoner had been condemned to death: Sir Nicholas Vaux, knighted for his conduct at the battle of Stoke, and by Henry VIII. created Lord Vaux of Harrowden in 1524.

57. lose me, dismiss me from your thoughts.

59-61. yet, heaven ... faithful, yet, if I am not a loyal subject, let heaven bear witness against me, and my conscience, if I have one, sink me to perdition at the moment of my death.

63. upon the premises, supposing the evidence against me to be true.

64. more Christians, more Christian-like.

66. look, be careful.

67. their evils. "Steevens observes, '*Evils* in the present instance [as Dr. Grey has remarked], undoubtedly stands for *foricæ* [latrines]'; and Henley, 'The desecration of edifices devoted to religion, by converting them to the most abject purposes of nature, was an eastern method of expressing contempt. See 2 *Kings*, x. 27'" (Dyce, *Gloss.*). The word is used in the same sense in *M. M.* ii. 2. 172.

68. For then ... 'em. Cp. *Genesis*, iv. 10, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground," said to God by Cain after he had slain Abel.

70. have, though it should be that the king has; the subjunctive indicating more doubt than *has*.

71. More than ... faults, more in number than the faults I dare to commit; but dare, which occurs in the next line, is suspicious,

and Delius conjectures *could*, or *durst*; Vaughan, *'ld e'er*; and Wordsworth, *can*.

74. *Is only ... dying*, makes to him the sole bitterness of death.

76. *the long divorce of steel*, the eternal separation of body and soul made by the axe.

77, 8. *Make ... heaven*, offer up the sweet incense of your prayers and let it waft my soul to heaven; an allusion to the Jewish burning of incense on the altar: o' God's name, on, i.e. in, God's name.

79. *for charity*, out of kindly feeling.

81. *frankly*, without reservation.

82. *free*, freely, frankly.

83. *would be*, desire to be.

84, 5. *There cannot ... with*, the offences against me cannot be so numberless as to be beyond my forgiveness: *envy*, hatred.

86. *Commend ... grace*, give my good wishes to the Cardinal.

89. *forsake*, sc. my body; not elsewhere in Shakespeare in this absolute sense.

91. *tell count*

93. *And when .. end*, and when in the fulness of years he shall pass away.

97. *undertakes you*, has charge of you.

101. *my state ... me*, to treat me with the state to which I have hitherto been accustomed would be a mockery.

103. *Edward Bohun*. Though Buckingham was descended from the de Bohuns, his family name was Stafford, not Bohun. The mistake here is due to Holinshed.

105, 6. *I now seal ... for 't*, I now seal my truth, i.e. my loyalty, with my blood, and that blood thus unjustly shed shall one day make my accusers rue their deed.

108. *head*, an armed force; as very frequently in Shakespeare.

110. *distress'd*, in the greatest peril.

114. *out of ruins*, out of my ruined state building me up anew.

119. *needs*, of necessity; it would not be just of him not to admit that; the old genitive used adverbially, as in *whiles*, *twice* (*twies*), etc.

124. *has ... all*, has some good purpose in allowing such things.

127. *loose*, too liberal, unrestrained; cp. *Oth.* iii. 3. 416, "There are a kind of men so *loose* of soul, That in their sleeps will mutter their affairs.

129. *rub*, check, obstacle; a technical term in the game of bowls when the bowl was diverted from its course by any impediment; cp. *K. J.* iii. 4. 128, "For even the breath of what I mean to speak Shall blow each dust, each straw, each little *rub*, Out of the path": *R. II.* iii. 4. 4, "Twill make me think the world is full of *rubs*."

130. 1. *never found ... ye*, and never show themselves again except when the opportunity comes of ruining you; on the use of *you* and *ye* in Shakespeare, see Abb. § 236.

133. *Of my ... life*. Wright points out that the Duke was only forty-three years old when executed.

140-2. *yet I can give ... this*, yet I can give you a hint of a calamity now threatening us, which if it really falls will be a greater one than the Duke's death.

143. *faith*, good faith, trustworthiness.

144. 5. *'twill require ... it*, it will put a great strain upon a man's good faith not to reveal it; will try his powers of keeping a secret to the utmost, so great will be the temptation to tell it to others: *have it*, be entrusted with it.

146. *I do ... much*, I am not a mere chatterer, babbler.

146. 7. *I am ... sir*, I am sure of your discretion; and therefore I will confide the secret to you.

148. *A buzzing*, a rumour.

149. *it held not*, it was soon dissipated, was but of a short life.

152. *allay*, put a curb upon, mitigate the chattering of.

155. 6. *and held ... it*, and it is confidently believed that the king will run the risk which such a proceeding will invite: for the ellipsis, see Abb. § 382.

157. *some ... near*, some closely allied to him and deep in his confidence.

158. *possess'd him ... scruple*, filled his mind full of a doubt, suggested a doubt which has taken complete possession of his mind; cp. *K. J.* iv. 2. 145, "I find the people strangely fantasied; *Possess'd* with rumours, full of idle dreams."

159. *to confirm this too*, and in support of what I say.

161. *'Tis the cardinal*, *sc.* who is at bottom of all this.

164. *The archbishopric of Toledo*. "The richest see in Europe, regarded as a stepping-stone to the Papacy" (Rolfe).

168. *too open*, in too public a place, too liable to be overheard.

169. *think*, deliberate

SCENE II.

1, 2. with all ... had, with my utmost care.

2. furnished, equipped; *sc.* with harness, trappings, etc.

4, 5. a man, a servant.

5. by commission ... power, commissioned by him to do so, and using main force.

6, 7. His master ... king, his master, he said, must have his needs supplied before a subject at all events, if not before the king: would implies the cardinal's determination, will, and the servant hints that, if need were, his master would hardly hesitate to treat the king in the same way with the Lord Chamberlain.

11. Well met, I am glad to see you; good day to you.

13. private, in privacy, all alone.

16. Has crept ... conscience, has found its way to his conscience and touched it acutely. In Suffolk's answer conscience is used with irony.

18. the king-cardinal, this fellow who is called cardinal, but who is in reality king. Possibly there is a play upon the word cardinal in the sense of that on which everything hinges; another play upon the word occurs in iii. 1. 103.

19. That blind priest. Here again there is a play upon the word blind in allusion to Fortune who "is painted blind, with a muffler before her eyes, to signify to you that Fortune is blind," *H. V.* iii. 6. 33, 4.

20. Turns what he list, turns matters in any way he may choose; with an allusion to Fortune's wheel: list, subjunctive.

21. Pray God he do! God grant that he may do so, *sc.* know him.

22. holly, of course ironical.

24. the queen's great nephew. "Charles was Katharine's nephew, being the son of her sister Joanna" (Wright).

28. to restore the king, to bring the king again to that peace of mind which was his before he began to have doubts as to the legality of his marriage.

37. These news. Shakespeare uses *news* both as a singular and as a plural.

39, 40. see this main ... sister, are convinced that the one object in view is that the king may be free to marry the French king's sister.

41, 2. that so long ... man, have so long been wilfully blind to the real character of this bold bad man.

43. **had need pray**, we should do well to pray : **had** is here conditional, and there is an ellipsis of **to**.

48. **Into ... please**, to such a height of dignity or such a depth of abasement as he may choose ; but **pitch** in connection with **lump** is suspicious, and Theobald conjectures *batch* as though the figure were from baking : **please**, subjunctive.

50. **As I ... him**, as I owe nothing of my position to him.

52. **they're breath ... in**, perhaps an allusion to *Psalms*, xxxiii. 6, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made ; and all the host of them by the *breath* of his mouth" ; or to *Job*, xxxiii. 4, "the *breath* of the Almighty hath made me" ; for the omission of *do* before **not**, see Abb. § 305.

59. **You'll find ... him**, you'll find *this* a most, etc.

STAGE DIRECTION. **draws the curtain**. "When a person was to be discovered in a different apartment from that in which the original speakers in the scene are exhibited, the artless mode of our author's time was to place such person in the back part of the stage, behind the curtains, which were occasionally suspended across it. These the person who was to be discovered (as Henry, in the present case), drew back just at the proper time" ... (Malone).

67. **Malice ne'er meant**, when no evil purpose was intended ; when, as in our case, the offence was from inadvertence.

68. **estate, state** ; as often in Shakespeare.

70. **Go to**, an expression sometimes, as here, of rebuke, sometimes of encouragement.

STAGE DIRECTION. **Campeius, or Campeggio, Laurence**, "a native of Bologna, was Professor of Law in the famous University of Padua, Bishop of Feltrio in 1512, a Cardinal in 1517, and appointed Bishop of Salisbury in 1524. Being sent as papal legate to England, he was named co-adjutor to Wolsey to try the case of divorce between Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine. The trial began May 31, 1529, and lasted to July 23, 1530, when the court was prorogued by Campeius" ... (French, *Shakespeareana Genealogica*) : a **commission, sc.** from the Pope.

76. 7. **My good ... talker**, see to it that "my professions of welcome be not found empty talk" (Johnson).

80. **no pride**, said ironically and equivalent to 'a great deal' ; cp. *T. S.* i. 2. 138, "Here's no knavery !" : 1 *H. IV.* v. 3. 33, "here's no vanity !"

81. **so sick**, of his disease, *sc.* pride : for his place, even to get the position he holds.

83. **one have-at-him**, one stroke, blow, at him ; *have at him, you*, etc., is an elliptical phrase common in the dramatists and

meaning Let me, us, etc., attack him, you, etc.; a sort of warning like the *En garde* / of fencers.

85. freely, without reservation.

88. The Spaniard, the Spanish people, as is shown by they in the next line.

90. the clerks, the clergy.

92. Have their free voices, if this is the genuine reading must mean 'are at liberty to express their opinion freely'; but it is not easy to see how in any case they should not have had this liberty, or why only the *learned* clerks (which is emphasized) should have this liberty. Malone would understand the word *sent*, from the next line. More plausibly Grant White reads *gave*, for "we know that nearly all the learned clerks in Christian kingdoms gave 'their free voices' for Henry's divorce (the decisions of eight continental faculties of law and divinity to that effect are given in Hall's Chronicle); and therefore Wolsey may well say, 'Who can be angry now?'" The objection to this reading is that we should expect 'Have given': the nurse of judgement, who suckles, rears up, sound judgment; a Latinism.

94. One general ... man, this good man, the mouthpiece of the priesthood at large.

98. the holy conclave, the college of cardinals.

99. such a man I. On the ellipsis of *as*, see Abb. § 281.

103. The court ... commanding, at the bidding of the papal court.

105. impartial, impartial; see Abb. § 442.

106. equal, just.

107. Gardiner, Stephen, was sent by Henry to Rome to obtain the Pope's consent to the divorce, and on his return in 1527 was made Secretary. He became Bishop of Winchester in 1531, in Edward the Sixth's reign was sent to prison as an enemy to the Reformed faith, but was released by Mary, and in 1533 was by her appointed Lord Chancellor. He died in 1555.

109. So dear ... that, with such heartfelt affection as not, etc.

110. of less place, of lower rank.

111. Scholars, men learned in controversial matters of the kind.

113. does best, shows the greatest skill in argument.

115. a fit fellow, a fellow convenient to my purposes.

117. You are ... now, you belong to the king now, are his servant not mine.

120. Dr. Pace "was Vicar of Stepney, and died there at the age of about forty, in the year 1532, if the inscription on his

monument, which is given by Weaver, .. but which has long since disappeared, is to be trusted. He succeeded Colet as Dean of St. Paul's in 1519" (Wright).

125. *stick*, hesitate.

127. *Kept ... still*, kept him employed in missions out of the country.

129. *That's ... enough*, you can't expect of me greater Christian charity than to wish him that.

130. *There's ... rebuke*, I shall find means of punishing them ; on the inflexion in *-s* preceding a plural noun, see Abb. § 335.

131. 2. *that good fellow ... appointment*, he, Gardiner, readily obeys my instructions if I think fit to give him any ; *good fellow* is said with contemptuous good nature.

133. *I will ... else*, I will not allow anyone to be on such intimate terms unless he is prepared so to follow my directions.

134. *We live ... persons*, I do not allow intimacy with men of low rank.

135. *Deliver ... queen*, inform the queen with all respect of what I have said to you. See stage direction to l. 121.

137. *For such ... learning*, for hearing such learned disputations, *sc.* upon the question of divorce ; on transpositions in noun-clauses containing two nouns connected by *of*, see Abb. § 423.

139. *furnish'd*, got ready for the debate.

141. *bedfellow, wife* ; of course this is said with hypocrisy.

SCENE III.

1. *Not for that neither*. Anne and the old Lady enter continuing a conversation in which we may suppose they have discussed the question why Katharine feels so bitterly on her divorce.

6. *courses of the sun, years* ; cp. *Oth.* iii. 3. 71, "A sibyl, that had number'd in the world *The sun to course* two hundred compasses."

7. *in a majesty and pomp*, in a state of majesty, etc. : the which, see Abb. § 270.

8. *To leave 's, to leave 'is* : I have followed Dyce in inserting '*s*' ; for though the ellipsis of *is* is frequent in Shakespeare it seems very improbable here. According to Dyce the folio has a comma after *leave* which may easily be a misprint for '*s*'.

9. *process*, continued course of life.

10. To give ... *avaunt*, contemptuously to bid her stand out of his path, i.e. turn her away; a somewhat similiar expression is 'to give one the *go-by*,' i.e. to outstrip one.

11. a monster, one who had no feelings of humanity.

13. though 't be temporal, though it be a thing that must pass away sooner or later.

14. that quarrel, fortune. Warburton explained *quarrel* as an arrow to which Fortune is likened from her striking so deep and suddenly. This explanation is in a measure supported by "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," *Hamlet*. iii. 1. 58; "Your shafts of fortune," *Per.* iii. 3. 6; the "dart of chance," *Oth.* iv. 1. 278 (all quoted by Clarke), and perhaps, as Dyce suggests, "by an earlier passage of the play where mention is made of the divorce occasioned by the axe, 'And, as the long divorce of steel falls on me' [iii. 1. 76]." Staunton calls such an explanation "portentous," Grant White "almost puerile," yet many modern editors adopt it. Others take *quarrel* as the abstract for the concrete; Steevens conjectured "fortune *to*," taking "fortune" as a verb; Collier, "*cruel* fortune"; Lettsom, "fortune's quarrel"; Staunton, "that *squirrel*, fortune," "squirrel" being used of old for a loose woman; Kinneer, "*queasy* fortune."

15, 6. 'tis a sufferance ... severing, it is an agony as great as that of the parting of body and soul; cp. *A. C.* iv. 13. 5, 6, "The soul and body rive not more in parting Than greatness going off": for *pang* = causing a pang, cp. *Cymb.* iii. 4. 98, "how thy memory will then be *pang'd* by me." For the ellipsis in soul and body's, see Abb. § 397.

17. a stranger, an alien.

20. range with, be on a level with, rank with.

21. perk'd up, perched up: a glistening grief, the splendour of the throne which brings with it so much grief.

22. a golden sorrow, a crown which is as often as not a crown of thorns.

23. having, possession; cp. *M. W.* iii. 2. 73, "the gentleman is of no *having*"; and below, iii. 2. 159: maidenhead, maidenhood, virginity.

24. Beshrew me, I would, curses on me if I would not.

26. For all ... hypocrisy, in spite of this smack of hypocrisy you now manifest.

28. ever, always.

29. Affected, was fond of, coveted.

30. to say sooth, to tell the truth.

31. Saving your mincing, in spite of your affectation.

31-3. the capacity ... it, your elastic conscience would find itself capable of receiving, if only you should make trial of its powers; *cheveril*, here used as an adjective, is kid leather; cp. *R. J.* ii. 4. 87, "O, here 's a wit of *cheveril*, that stretches from an inch narrow to an ell broad"; and Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*, 1600, "as if the innocency of those leather prisons should dispense with the *cheveril consciences* of the iron-hearted jailers. The word is from O. F. *chevrele*, diminutive of *chevre*, from Lat. *capra*, a she-goat.

34. *troth*, and *troth*, assuredly.

36. a three-pence bow'd, a bent three-penny bit. Fairholt, who sees here an allusion to the old custom of ratifying an agreement by a bent coin, points out that three-pences were not known in England till the close of the reign of Edward VI. Perhaps by a bow'd three-pence we should rather understand one that was worthless in point of currency: *hire*, a dissyllable.

37. *queen it*, play the part of queen; for the indefinite *it*, see Abb. § 226.

38, 9. *limbs To bear*, limbs strong enough to bear.

40, 1. *What were't ... conference?* How much should I give you to be told the secret of which you are gossiping? So we say, "A penny for your thoughts!"

42. *Not your demand ... asking*, our secret is not worth even your question; *demand*, as frequently in Shakespeare, means nothing more than "question," and the second half of the line here is but a repetition of the first; for *values not*, = is not worth, cp. i. 1. 88.

48-50. *That you may ... virtues*, in proof of the fact that I mean what I say and that your many excellences have been richly appreciated.

51. *Commends ... you*, conveys through me an expression of his good opinion.

52. *no less flowing*, no less abundant, in measure nothing less, than the title of Marchioness of Pembroke.

56. *What kind ... tender*, in what shape I should make profession of my loyalty; *tender*, offer; Fr. *tendre*, to hold out.

57. *More ... nothing*, all that I can offer, and more than all I can offer, is as nothing.

57, 8. *nor my prayers .. hallow'd*, even my prayers are not holy enough to express my gratitude. For the double negative, see Abb. § 406.

60. *Beseech*, I beseech; so often "pray" for "I pray," "prythee" for "I pray thee."

63. *royalty*, kingly dignity.

64. I shall not ... conceit, I shall not when reporting your answer to the king fail to confirm the high opinion, etc. : *conceit*, literally, what is conceived, conception ; the bad sense the word now commonly has when meaning a man's conception of his own merits being due to the fact that that conception is usually higher than it should be.

67. caught, as in a net, trammelled, fascinated.

68, 9. But from ... isle ? A prophecy of the birth of Elizabeth. "Perhaps [certainly]" says Johnson, alluding to the carbuncle, a gem supposed to have intrinsic light, and to shine in the dark : "any other gem may reflect light, but cannot give it." Steevens compares *T. A.* ii. 3. 227, "A precious ring that *lightens* all the hole."

71. this it is, this is how matters stand with me.

74. Come pat ... late, could manage to come just at the right moment.

76. A very ... here, who have only just now begun to swim in these waters.

77. compell'd fortune, good fortune forced upon you.

79. forty pence, i.e. I wager forty pence ; Steevens quotes from old writers several instances of this as a proverbial expression for a small wager. "Forty" was also often used for an indefinite number.

82. For all ... Egypt, i.e. for all the wealth of Egypt, the fertility of the country being due to the mud or ooze of the Nile overflowing the land.

83. pleasant, facetious.

83, 4. With your theme ... lark, if I had the same subject for my pleasant thoughts that you have, viz., the Marchioness-ship of Pembroke, I could soar above the lark in the expression of my joy.

86. No other obligation ! the king's "pure respect" being the only consideration that compelled him to offer you this honour ! Of course the old lady means to insinuate that the king's reasons were of a far more selfish nature.

87. moe, or mo, according to Skeat, was in early times used only of number, *more* of size.

89. bear a duchess, bear the weighty honour of being a duchess.

91, 2. Make ... on 't, jest upon any subject that is congenial to your fancy so long as you do not make me the subject of your witticisms.

93. salute my blood, cause my cheeks to glow, cause the blood to bound within my veins, with any sense of exultation. The

word *salute* being from the Lat. *salus*, health, the idea is that of a healthy exhilaration being given to the blood. Walker compares *Sonn.* cxxi. 6, "For why should others' false-adulterate eyes Give *salutation to my sportive blood?*": it faints me, it causes me to feel faint, to have a sinking at the heart.

96. In our long absence, in being so long absent from attendance upon her.

SCENE IV.

STAGE DIRECTION. *sennet*, a particular set of notes on a trumpet: *Scribes*, writers to take down the proceedings: *Archbishop of Canterbury*, Dr. William Warham, Bishop of London in 1502, appointed to the primacy in 1504, died 1532: *Lincoln*, Dr. John Longland, b. 1476, canon of Windsor 1519, bishop of Lincoln 1528-1547, the date of his death: *Ely*, Dr. Nicholas West, 1513-1533: *Rochester*, Dr. John Fisher, 1509-1535: *St. Asaph*, Dr. Henry Standish, 1518-1535 (French, *S. G.*): with some small distance, see Abb. § 194: *silver pillars*, "some of the ensigns of dignity carried before cardinals" ... (Johnson): *a consistory* primarily a council-chamber; then, as here, a court for ecclesiastical causes.

1. our commission, the commission appointing us to try the case.

13, 4. *Sir, I desire ... on me.* For the omission and subsequent insertion of *to*, see Abb. § 250.

17. *indifferent, impartial.*

18. *equal friendship and proceeding*, goodwill and justice in the decision of the case.

21. *put me off*, divorce me.

22. *good grace*, affection as shown in acts.

26. *subject ... countenance*, obedient to your looks, fashioning my looks in conformity with yours.

30. *strove.* On the curtailed forms of participles, see Abb. § 343.

31. *were.* On this word used in dependent sentences after the verb to *know*, see Abb. § 301.

32. *That had ... anger*, who had drawn your anger upon him; from Lat. *derivare*, to drain, draw off water. Cp. *A. W.* v. 3. 265, "things which would *derive* me ill will to speak of."

33. *nay, gave notice*, nay, did *not* give notice; Johnson would insert *not* before *notice*, but that word may be supplied from l. 30. Steevens conjectures "*nor* gave notice."

35. in this obedience, with this complete obedience of which I have just spoken.

37-41. if, in the course ... person, if during all those long years you can report anything done contrary to my honour, to the pledges I made when marrying you, to my love and duty, or anything hostile to your sacred person, and substantiate such charge.

42, 3. let the foul'st ... me, let me be driven forth loaded with the foulest terms of disgrace. For the omission of the definite article before door, see Abb. § 82.

45. was reputed for, had the reputation of being.

47. wit, intelligence.

48, 9. one The wisest, the wisest above all; cp. *Cymb.* i. 6. 164, "he is one *The truest* manner'd"; and below, l. 153, "one the least word."

49, 50. by many .. before, that has reigned for many preceding years. We should not now express superiority or inferiority by by unless two things or persons of the same kind were compared, since by originally means *near*. Thus we might say, 'He is the wisest man *by* many,' i.e. he is the wisest man other men being near, or 'this is the brightest day we have had *by* many,' i.e. the brightest day, many others being put in comparison with it.

58. And of your choice, and those of your own choosing. These were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Rochester, St. Asaph, and others.

62. That you ... court, if the reading is genuine, must mean, 'desire a more distant trial,' 'pray for a longer day.' Dyce, who ridicules such a meaning, reads, with the fourth folio, *defer*, but that expression would also be an unusual one, and Katharine could hardly of her own will put off the day.

63, 4. to rectify ... king, to quiet the scruples felt by the king.

70. I am ... weep, I am, or rather *I was*, about to weep.

71. certain, certainly.

76. potent circumstances, i.e. circumstances that powerfully affected his own interests.

77, 8. make ... judge, assert my legal claim not to be judged by you; challenge, a legal phrase still retained in challenging jurors.

79. Have blown ... me, have done your best to fan the fire of this dispute between, etc.

80. dew, *sc.* of mercy.

81, 2. I utterly ... Refuse. "These are not mere words of passion, but technical terms in the canon law. *Detestor* and *Recuso*. The former, in the language of canonists, signifies no

more than—I *protest against*” (Blackstone). The words, however, are from Holinshed.

86. **Have stood to charity**, have taken your stand by, have sided with, been firm in the cause of; cp. *Cor.* iii. 1. 208, “Or let us *stand* to our authority Or let us lose it.”

90. **For you, to apply to you, to use against you.**

92. **the consistory**, here the ecclesiastical senate in which the Pope, presiding over the whole body of cardinals, deliberates upon the affairs of the church.

96. **That I ... deed**, that I deny what I have really done; to *gainsay* is to speak against, from A.S. *gegn*, against, and E. *say*.

96, 7. **how may he ... falsehood!** how easily and how well may he expose my falsehood and injure my character!

98-100. **If he know ... wrong**, if it be that he knows I do not come within the scope of your report, he consequently knows that I do come within the scope of your wrong, i.e. that I have good reason to complain of being calumniated.

102. **Remove ... you, sc.** by showing that there is no truth in your assertions.

102-5. **the which ... more**, but before he shall speak upon this point, I beg of you to reconsider what you have said, and for the future not to repeat such charges.

108, 9. **You sign ... humility**, you proclaim your holy calling by an ostentation of meekness and humility. Meekness and humility are the outward and visible mask, but beneath that mask is a mass of arrogance, etc.

112. **Gone alightly o'er**, easily and rapidly surmounted.

113-5. **Where powers ... office**, where the powers you have acquired are the vassals of your pleasure, and your words, humble servants to your will, perform what duty you may set them. She seems to be referring specially to his “cunning” in argument, and in making things take any shape he pleases. This use of **powers** is perhaps supported by iii. 2. 187, below, “Your brain and every function of your *power*.” Steevens and others explain **powers** as = powerful persons, the abstract for the concrete, but this does away with the correspondency evidently intended in **retainers** and **domestics**. Tyrwhitt conjectures **wards** for **words**, giving the whole passage a literal sense, the wards being the young noblemen and gentlemen under his guardianship as Chancellor.

116. **tender**, hold in regard, hold dear; from F. *tendre*, Lat. *tener*, tender, delicate. In *Hamlet* i. 3. 107, 9, Polonius plays upon the two senses, or in reality uses two different words of the same spelling, “*Tender* yourself more dearly; Or ... you’ll *tender* me a fool.” See note on ii. 2. 104, above.

120. **his holiness**, here the title of the Pope ; so in *A. C.* i. 2. 20, "his prescience" is jestingly used as the title of a soothsayer.

122. **apt to accuse**, given to accusing. Something more than the mere tendency seems here implied.

128. **keep your way**, keep *on* your way, do not pause or loiter.

130. **patience**, endurance.

133. **thy ways**, here **ways** is the old genitive, used adverbially, of *i. e.* on your way. Cp. *needs*, etc.

138. **government, self-control** ; cp. iii. *H. VI.* i. 4. 132, "'Tis *government* that makes them [women] seem divine."

139. **Obedying in commanding**, obeying the dictates of self-restraint even when giving commands.

139, 40. **thy parts ... else**, your other supremely excellent and pious gifts ; **parts**, those qualities apportioned to a person by nature : **could ... out**, could fully show what you really are ; so in *M. A.* iii. 2. 112, "to paint *out* her wickedness," and in *Cor.* iv. 5. 127, "thou hast beat me *out* Twelve several times," there is the same idea of thoroughness, completeness.

143. **Carried herself**, behaved.

144. **I require your highness**, I ask of your highness ; **require**, like *demand*, was of old used in a much less imperative sense than at present.

145, 6. **in hearing ... ears**. For omission of the definite article, see *Abb.* § 90.

146-8. **for where ... satisfied**, *I say in the hearing of all present*, for in no other place than that in which I was robbed and bound must I be set free, even though the complete satisfaction of my wrongs be not there tendered. In *robb'd and bound* *Wolsey* is using Biblical language to express the injury done to him by the queen, full satisfaction for which he hints will not be given even by the king's disavowal of her charges.

150. **Laid ... way**. Here there is an allusion to the literal sense of *scruple*, which is that of a small stone getting into one's shoe.

151. **Induce you ... on't**, lead you to the debating of it.

152, 3. **such ... lady**, a lady so worthy of her royal rank.

153. **one the least word**, even so much as a single word of the slightest kind ; cp. above, ll. 48, 9, "one The wisest prince."

155. **Or touch ... person**, or injurious comment on her as a woman.

162, 3. **But will you ... business**, but if you desire further justification than this, I will further add that you always wished that this matter should be allowed to rest.

165. The passages ... it, the approaches made towards it, everything that at all led up to its being entered upon.

166. I speak ... point, thus far I describe him as he is; so below, iii. 1. 125, "let me *speak myself*," and iv. 2. 32, "Yet thus far, Griffith, give me leave to *speak him*."

167. what moved me, in regard to what influenced me.

168. I will be ... attention, I will venture to ask your attention, even though I shall have to speak at some length.

172. the Bishop of Bayonne. "Not Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, but Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes. The error was made by Cavendish, and copied by Holinshed" ... (Wright).

173. on the debating, for the purpose of discussing; on the preceding a verbal that is followed by an object, see Abb. § 93.

176. Ere, here a preposition.

178. advertise, authoritatively inform; accented on the second syllable, as always in Shakespeare.

180. Respecting, taking into consideration.

181. Sometimes and *sometime* are used indifferently by Shakespeare in the sense of *formerly*.

181. 2. This respite ... conscience, the delay during which he occupied himself in determining this point, shook my conscience to its very depths, *sc.* with doubts as to whether he had not been living in adultery. In the passage of Holinshed, from which this is taken, we have "Which words, once conceived within the secret *bottom* of my conscience," etc. Theobald therefore adopted Thirlby's conjecture *bottom*, and is followed by Dyce.

184-6. which forced ... caution, which opened the door to many other bewildered thoughts that in company with this doubt forcibly made their way into my conscience.

189-91. should ... dead, should be but as a living tomb to them.

193. had air'd them, literally, had exposed them to the air, *i. e.* since they had come into the world.

196. Be gladdened in't by me, be gladdened by me in the matter of an heir.

199. hulling, tossed about first in one direction and then in another by my stormy reflections. To *hull* is to drive hither and thither when masts and sails are gone, or when the sails are all taken in during a calm, and the hull or body of the vessel is almost all that is seen above water; in such circumstances no steering is possible. For the figurative use of the verb, *cp.* Marston, *Sophonisba*, i. 2. 193, "since the billow (*sc.* of war) is risen so high we may not *hull*."

201, 2. **whereupon ... together**, the consideration of which is the purpose of our meeting here.

203. **to rectify**, to clear of all scruples.

203, 4. **which I then ... well**, which I then felt to be sorely out of health, and which even now is by no means at ease.

208. **my oppression**, the scruples that troubled me: **did reek**, the idea is that of a body smoking under a weight of clothes, etc.

209. **Very well**, i.e. I remember very well.

212-7. **The question ... here**, so greatly was I at first bewildered by the question submitted to me, involving as it did circumstances of the greatest importance, and issues terrible to contemplate, that I dared not do more than give, with hesitation, the advice that you should adopt the course of action which you are now following in this conference. Schmidt explains **consequence of dread** as "dreadful importance," which taken with **mighty moment**, seems tautological.

221, 2. **But by particular ... seals**, i.e. he was not contented to have their oral assent, but took care to have a signed and sealed expression of their views.

228. **our mortal ... come**, the remainder of our life.

230. **That's paragon'd ... world**, who is by the world allowed to be without her equal.

231. **'tis ... fitness**, it is necessary and fit.

235. **I may perceive**, I can perceive; see Abb. § 307.

236. **These cardinals ... me**. Whether out of impatience at the delay, or for other reasons, Henry deprived Campeius of his English bishopric.

238, 9. **My learn'd ... return**. Cranmer, as will be seen from iii. 2. 401, was at this time absent from court on an embassy.

241. **set on**, set out on the way to the palace.

ACT III. SCENE I.

STAGE DIRECTION. **The Queen's apartments**, in the palace at Bridewell, on the site of which was afterwards founded the well-known prison (originally a reformatory), pulled down in 1863-4. The whole of this Act passes in this palace.

3. **Orpheus**, a mythical personage who was regarded by the Greeks as the most celebrated of the poets before the time of Homer. Among the many stories about him the one most commonly received was that he was presented with the lyre by Apollo and instructed in its use by the Muses, that he enchanted with its music not only the wild beasts, but the trees and rocks

upon Mount Olympus, so that they moved from their places to follow the sound of his golden harp.

4. freeze, from being so high up in the air.

7. Ever, constantly: as, as though, as they would have done if the sun, etc. See Abb. § 107.

11. lay by, ceased to swell.

13. Killing care, that care which wears a man to death, etc.

17. the presence, the presence chamber, the state room for receptions.

22. should be, ought to be, from their profession: as righteous, sc. as they from their profession should be good.

23. But all ... monks, but many wear the monk's cowl without living the monk's life, i.e. a pious life; an allusion to the old Latin proverb, *Cucullus non facit monachum*, it is not the cowl that makes the monk.

24. part of a housewife, engaged in some of the duties of the mistress of a household. Cavendish says she entered "having a skein of red silke about her neck, being at work with her maidens."

25. I would ... happen, in anticipation of the worst that may happen, bearing in mind that I may be cast out into the world without a friend to help, I wish I were not only partly but wholly qualified for such duties.

26. What are ... me, what is it that you wish to say to me?

28, 9. we shall give ... coming, we will tell you at full length what it was brought us here.

31. Deserves a corner, needs to be spoken of in secrecy.

32. free, innocent, guiltless.

33, 4. so much ... number to that extent I am happier than many of my sex.

36. Envy, hatred, malice.

37. I know ... even, so consistent in its integrity I know my life to have been; for even, cp. *J. C.* ii. 1. 133, "The even virtue of our enterprise."

37, 8. If your business ... in, if the business on which you come bid you inquire into matters connected with my behaviour as a wife. Rowe gave *wise* for *wife*, i.e. matters in which I have knowledge; but certainly not with any improvement in sense.

41, 1. Tanta ... serenissima, so great, most mighty queen, is our loyalty of purpose towards you.

43. truant, sc. in the study of English.

44. the language ... in, the language I have spoken for so many years of my life.

45. A strange ... suspicious, to use a strange (i.e. foreign) language will only give my cause an air of mystery and suspicion which it need not have. She is anxious that her women should not suppose that there was some charge against her which would not bear to be spoken in English. Dyce and Abbott read "strange-suspicious," the latter remarking that there are some passages, this being among them, which are only fully intelligible when this combination is remembered."

49, 50. The willing'st ... English, no sin of mine, even the most besetting, is so heinous that absolution of it may not be given in the English language.

51-3. I am sorry ~~for me~~, I am sorry that my sincerity of purpose, and my loyal service alike to his majesty and to you, should give birth to such suspicion, where all was intended in good faith. There seems no necessity to transpose ll. 52, 3, as Edwards suggested. Grant White remarks that "integrity cannot alone breed suspicion; it must be joined with misunderstood service to produce such an effect"; but this is perhaps hyper-criticism.

58. How ... minded, what your sentiments, feelings, are.

60. free, unbiased.

63. still bore, always bore and still bears.

64. censure, expressed opinion.

65. which ... far, which went farther in its unfavourable character than it should.

71. so near mine honour, so closely affecting my honour.

72. wit, intelligence, judgment.

74. was set, was sitting; as often in Shakespeare.

77. For her ... been, for the sake of what I once was, viz., a queen.

77, 8. for I feel ... greatness, for I feel my greatness passing from me like an ague fit that is shaken off at last. good your graces, for the transposition, see Abb. § 13.

82, 3. In England ... profit, if I have any friends in England, their friendship can be of little use to me.

83-7. can you think ... subject? Is it possible for you to believe that any Englishman would dare to give me advice, or, if he were so reckless of consequences as to be honest, would venture to be known as my friend, in the teeth of the king's displeasure, and yet be allowed to live in England?

88. weigh out, outweigh, counterbalance, make up for.

89. They that ... to, they to whom I must now learn to cling.

94, 5. 'twill be ... cause, it will be much better for, etc.

96, 7. For if ... disgraced, for if you allow trial by law to come upon you, you will lose your cause and as a consequence will go away a disgraced woman, *sc.* for obstinately maintaining your rights against the opinion of all fitted to judge in the matter.

102. The more ... ye, "if I mistake you, it is by your fault, not mine; for I thought you good" (Johnson).

107. lost among ye, an outcast among you.

113. envy, malice, hatred; as above, l. 36, and generally in Shakespeare.

117. churchmen's habits, mere priestly vestments; Rolfe well compares *H. V.* ii. 2. 117, "glistening semblances of piety."

118. my sick cause, my cause that is so feeble of itself.

119. has banish'd, *i.e.* the love of him *who* has banished. "For two years before October 1528" (Wright).

120. I am old. Though only in her forty-fourth year, she was six or seven years older than Henry, and relatively a good deal more.

123, 4. all your studies ... this, the result of all your endeavours, schemes, is to bring upon me not the good you profess to offer (l. 113) but the bitterest misery.

125. speak myself. See note on ii. 4. 166.

129, 30. Have I ... king? Have I always given him the fullest love for love?

131. Been ... superstitious to him, served him with idolatrous devotion.

132. to content him, in order to pleasure him.

134. a constant ... husband. For the transposition, see Abb. § 419a.

136, 7. And to that ... patience, and in my own person I will give example of one who has excelled her at her best by the further virtue of great patience.

140. To give up, as to give up.

145. Ye have angels' faces, an allusion, no doubt, to the old pun attributed to Gregory the Great, *Non Angli sed Angeli*.

151, 2. like ... field, Holt White compares the *Faery Queene*, ii. 6. 16, "The lily, lady of the flow'ring field."

156. Upon what cause? For what reason, with what object?

156, 7. our places ... it, our position and sacred calling are against our acting in such a way.

160, 1. utterly ... carriage, completely estrange yourself from the king's love by behaving in this way.

162. kiss obedience, welcome with the greatest warmth.

166. *even*, equable, placid.
 172. *lose it not*, *sc.* the king's love, implied in the verb *loves*.
 176. *used myself*, behaved myself.
 179. *do my service*, express my duty; little more than a phrase of compliment.
 184. *she should ... dear*, *i.e.* as to stoop to beg the favour of any one.

SCENE II.

STAGE DIRECTION. *the Earl of Surrey*. Wright points out that this personage was really the Duke of Norfolk, he having succeeded his father in 1524, and that the appearance here of the Duke of the earlier scenes is an anachronism.

2. *And force ... constancy*, and persistently press them.
 3, 4. *if you omit ... time*, if you let slip the opportunity that now presents itself; cp. *Temp.* ii. 1. 194, "Do not omit the heavy offer of it"; and Bacon, *Essay* xxi., "For Occasion [*i.e.* Time] ... turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken."
 6. *With*, together with, in addition to.
 7-9. *that may give ... him*, that may put me in mind of my duty to be revenged upon the Cardinal for the death of my father-in-law, the Duke (of Buckingham).
 9-11. *Which of the peers ... neglected?* Who among the peerage is there whom he has failed to treat with scorn, or at least with strange neglect? *i.e.* there is not one of the peerage whom, etc. The negative in *uncontemn'd* has to be supplied with *neglected*. Cp. *Cymb.* iv. 2. 59, "And let the stinking elder, grief, *untwine* His perishing root with the increasing vine!" *i.e.* let grief *cease to twine* his destructive root with, etc.
 13. *Out of himself*, except in his own person.
 15, 6. *What we can ... fear*, how we shall be able to avenge our injuries upon him, even though the time is favourable to us, I greatly doubt; *Gives way to us*, does not stand in our way, allow us free passage; cp. *Cor.* iv. 4. 25, "if he *give me way*, I'll do his country service."
 20. *His spell ... out*, the charm of his tongue no longer works upon the king.
 22, 3. *No, he's settled, ... displeasure*, no, there's no fear of his being able to influence the king; he is plunged in his (the king's) disgrace beyond the hope of extrication. The idea is that of a morass into which a man has sunk.

26. **his contrary proceedings**, his actions that were so opposed to his words; he, while professing eagerness to hurry on the divorce, doing his best to delay the Pope's decision.

34-6. 'I do,'... 'Bullen,' I see clearly that the king is caught by the fascinations of Anne Bullen, and will at once marry her instead of the French king's sister. The fact of his being fascinated by Anne would not interfere with Wolsey's projects so far as to make him wish to delay the Pope's judgment, if it were not for the result which was sure to follow.

37. **Has the king this?** does the king know of this?

38, 9. **The king... way**, this shows the king clearly "how he creeps stealthily along his own path, like a vessel which follows all the windings of the coast, or like one who skulks under shelter of the hedgerows" (Wright). For the redundant object, him, see Abb. § 414.

40. **founder**, perish in the waters, go to the bottom; from *F. fond*, bottom; a continuation, as Wright says, of the nautical part only of the metaphor.

40, 1. **brings... death**, or according to the common proverb, 'shuts the stable door after the steed is stolen.'

44. **you have it**, your wish is an actual fact.

44, 5. **Now, all my joy... conjunction!** may all the joy I can wish follow their union; with all my joy Grant White compares *The Coxcomb*, iv. 4, "Now, all my blessing on thee!" **trace**, follow in the footsteps, track; cp. 1 *H. IV.* iii. 1. 48, "Can trace me in the tedious way of art"; for **conjunction**, cp. *R. III.* v. 5. 20, "Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction!" Wright sees here an allusion to astrology; if so, it was "Saturn and Venus... in conjunction!", as Prince Hal says of Falstaff and Doll in 2 *H. IV.* ii. 4. 286.

47. **this is... young**, this news is but fresh.

50. **I persuade me**, I am assured, confident

51, 2. **which shall... memorized**, which in that blessing shall be made memorable; another prophecy of Elizabeth's birth. Cp. *Macb.* i. 2. 40, "Or memorize another Golgotha."

53. **Digest**, take it down into his stomach as food he can assimilate, i.e. endure it without revolting against it, be so complacent as to pass it by without anger.

57. **hath ta'en no leave**. "According to Cavendish, Cardinal Campeggio took leave of the king at Grafton in Northamptonshire, and crossed from Dover 26th October, 1529" (Wright).

58. **Has left... unhandled**, has abandoned the king's cause without bringing it to any conclusion.

61. **cried Ha!** uttered an exclamation of angry surprise.
64. **He is ... opinions**, i.e. not in person, but in the opinions he has collected abroad and sent home to represent him.
67. **Almost**, for the transposition, see Abb. § 420.
68. **publish'd**, made publicly known.
71. **This same**, a phrase almost always used with a suspicion of sarcasm, and even here with patronizing good nature.
75. **moody**, sullen, in a bad mood.
76. **The packet**, sc. of papers.
78. **Presently**, at once, without delay; as more usually in Shakespeare.
80. **a heed**, an expression of attentive thought.
83. **abroad**, out of his bedchamber: by this, sc. time.
85. **Duchess of Alençon**, Margaret of Valois, daughter of Charles of Orleans, Count of Angoulême, married to Charles, Duke of Alençon, who died in 1525. Wright points out that if any negotiations for her hand ever took place, it must have been in 1526, for in 1527 she was already married to Henry of Navarre.
87. **I'll no ... him**, I will have nobody such as Anne Bullen for him; I will take care he does not marry any one such as, etc.
88. **There's more ... visage**, we need something more than a pretty face in the woman he is to marry.
- 89, 90. **speedily ... Rome**, I hope that news from Rome may quickly arrive.
92. **Does whet ... him**, is sharpening the anger he already feels against him.
- 92, 3. **Sharp enough ... justice!** may it be whetted sharp enough to satisfy God's justice!
94. **a knight's daughter**, of no higher rank than the daughter of a knight.
96. **This candle ... it**. Staunton remarks, "There may be a play intended on the word *Bullen*, which is said to have been an ancient provincial name for a candle"; Ray, Phillips, Halliwell, and other Dictionaries of provincial words give 'hemp-stalks peeled' as the meaning of the word, and Wright suggests that "if these were used for wicks, as rushes were, they might give their name to a candle." For a similar figure, though there of the light of life, cp. *Oth.* v. 2. 10-13.
97. **what though**, what does it matter though, etc. ?
99. **spleeny**, headstrong, violent: **not wholesome to**, injurious to the health of. Delius explains "and it is not wholesome," but possibly the construction may be "one not wholesome to lie," etc.

101. **hard-ruled**, difficult to be guided, not easily managed.
103. **Hath crawl'd**, *who* hath crawled; for the omission of the relative, see Abb. § 244.
106. **The master-cord ... heart**, that cord in his heart the snapping of which, by constant rubbing, would be fatal to him.
108. **by the hour**, perpetually.
- 115, 6. **straight ... gait**, forthwith begins to stride up and down the room with rapid steps.
120. **There is ... mind**, his mind is in a state of convulsion; cp. *J. C.* ii. l. 87-9, "the state of man, Like to a little kingdom, suffers then The nature of an insurrection."
- 122, 3. **and wot you ... unwittingly?** and what do you suppose I found inadvertently placed among them?
124. **an inventory ... importing**, an inventory to this purport. "That the Cardinal," says Steevens, "gave the king an inventory of his own private wealth, by mistake, and thereby ruined himself, is a known variation from the truth of history. Shakespeare, however, has not injudiciously represented the fall of that great man as owing to an incident which he had once improved to the destruction of another." He then gives at length the story of Thomas Ruthall, bishop of Durham, as told in *Holinshed*.
125. **parcels**, particulars, details.
- 126-8. **which I find ... subject**, which articles I find to be of a value far beyond what a subject ought to possess; **it**, used indefinitely.
129. **Some spirit**, some good angel.
- 130-3. **If we did think ... musings**, if I thought his mind were at this moment contemplating things higher than those of earth, and were fixed on some object of spiritual gaze, I would not interrupt his musings; **were** indicates improbability; for **object**, Dyce and Walker read, with the fourth folio, "objects," the latter observing that that must surely be the right reading, "unless, indeed, *object* had then some meaning with which we are not now acquainted."
134. **are below the moon**, are upon mere mundane matters.
135. **Heaven ... me!** said as though in thinking of heavenly matters he had failed to notice the king's presence.
- 137, 8. **You are full ... mind**, you are full of heavenly matters, and bear in your mind the list of those virtues which do you most grace, *i.e.* and are ever mindful of those holy thoughts that so well become you. In his ironical compliment the king by mentioning **stuff** and **inventory** leads up to the subject of the schedule which he presently springs upon him. For **stuff** in this figurative sense, cp. above, i. l. 58.

139-41. **you have ... audit**, you scarcely have time to steal from that portion which is devoted to spiritual affairs a few moments to attend to business of an earthly character. "Leisure," says Grant White, "seems to be opposed, not to occupation, but to toilsome and compulsory or necessary occupation." He compares *R. III. v. 3. 97*, "The *leisure* and the fearful time Cuts off the ceremonious love, And ample interchange of sweet discourse." Strictly speaking, the word means 'that which is permitted.'

142. **an ill husband**, a poor economist; cp. *Macb. ii. 1. 4*, "There's *husbandry* in heaven; their candles are all out," i.e. the heavens are in an economical mood.

142, 3. **am glad ... companion**, am glad to find that there are others besides myself who are careless in matters of economy.

144. **offices, duties**.

147. **Her times of preservation**, periods in which the bodily powers must be conserved, recreated.

149. **tendance**, attention.

150-2. **And ever ... saying!** And ever may you find my good deeds going in couples with my good words, which will be the case if my endeavours are of any avail.

155, 6. **and with his deed ... you**, and by his action towards you gave completeness to his words, or, to vary the figure, put the coping stone on the edifice; Steevens compares *Macb. iv. 1. 149*, "To *crown* my *thoughts* with *acts*, be it thought and done": my office, that of king.

159. **But pared ... havings**, but stinted myself; **havings**, possessions, income.

160. **What should this mean?** what can possibly be the meaning of this? See Abb. § 325.

161. **The Lord ... business!** I pray God that the matter may not end here.

162. **prime man**, first in importance; cp. *Temp. i. 2. 72*, "Prospero the *prime* duke."

164. **if you ... it**, if you find yourself able to confess that it is true.

168, 9. **which went ... endeavours**. Johnson refers **which** to **purposes**, Malone to **graces**. In the former case the sense will be 'which exceeded all human efforts'; in the latter, 'which no human efforts could requite'; and, supposing the text to be correct, the latter explanation seems to me preferable since Wolsey would hardly say that his purposes exceeded all human efforts and immediately afterwards that they were commensurate with his abilities. But, looking at the abruptness of the next clause, my

endeavours, etc., I have not the least doubt that the first endeavours has been caught from the second. Hanmer conjectured man's ambition; but this, though it suits the context well enough, can only be regarded as a guess.

171. filed ... abilities, marched in a line, kept step, with my abilities.

172. Have been ... that, have only so far been mine as they, etc.

176. allegiant, loyal; according to Murray's Dictionary, not elsewhere found till late in the present century, and then obviously copied from this passage.

178. Which ever ... he. For the ellipsis of *been*, see Abb. § 395.

181. illustrated, exemplified, manifested.

181-3. the honour ... punishment, the honour of being such is in itself a sufficient reward, as on the contrary the dishonour of not being such is its own proper punishment; *the punishment*, the well-known, notorious, appropriate; see Abb. § 92.

187-90. every function ... any, every capacity that belongs to you, setting aside, independently of, that duty by which you are bound to me, should as a matter of personal love, be dedicated to the service of me, your friend, above all others; as in l. 186 On you than any means on you than on any, so here To me ... than any means to me than to any; notwithstanding has not here its commoner sense of 'in spite of,' but of 'besides,' 'independently of'; for in love's particular cp. *Cor. v. l. 3*, 'who loved him In a most dear particular.'

192. that I am true and will be. This is Singer's conjecture. The old copies give "that am, have, and will be," to which it has been endeavoured to give some sense by marking an aposiopesis, or an anacoluthon, as though Wolsey's excitement was too great for coherent language. Conjectures in plenty have been made, and some editors suppose a line to have been lost. Singer's reading involves nothing more than the insertion of *I*, which however is not absolutely necessary, and a change from *have* to *true*; and those who are familiar with the misprints of compositors will be aware how often *tr* is converted into *h*. It gives excellent sense, for Wolsey is to the end of the speech emphasizing his truth, *i.e.* his loyalty.

197. the chiding flood, the resounding flood-tides; cp. l. *H. IV.* iii. l. 45, "the sea That *chides* the banks of England."

204. how have I reap'd it, what seeds have I sown that I should reap such a harvest? *i.e.* what have I done to deserve this?

205. chafed, irritated, provoked.

207. gall'd, slightly wounded.

208. Then ... nothing, then reduces him to nothing, tears him to pieces.

209. I fear ... anger, in which I fear that I shall find what will explain his anger.

211. world of wealth, immensity, heap, of wealth.

214. what cross devil, what perverse devil, what devil intent upon thwarting me.

215. main secret, secret of more importance than any other one.

216. to cure, to remedy.

219. if it take right, if it act upon him as I hope it may.

220. bring ... again, bring me safe out of the difficulty.

221. as I live, by my life ; a petty form of oath.

226. exhalation, meteor ; so called from the idea that they were vapours which the sun had drawn up from the earth and condensed ; cp. *R. J.* iii. 5. 13, "It is some meteor that the sun exhales."

229. the great seal, which he bore as Lord Chancellor.

231. Asher House, or Esher House, as it was later called, near Hampton Court, was one of the houses belonging to the Bishopric of Winchester, which Wolsey since the death of Fox, Bishop of that See, in 1528, had held *in commendam*, i.e. as a benefice he was permitted to hold along with his own preferment. It has therefore been proposed to read "Winchester" for "Winchester's," but the reading in the text may mean only to mark that the house was that of the See, not Wolsey's own, especially as a little later on the king condemns him (l. 342) "To forfeit all your goods, lands, tenements."

234. cross, thwart, run contrary to.

235. Bearing, seeing that they bear.

237, 8. Till I find ... malice, till I am shown "more authority for rendering up the seal than a verbal expression of your malicious will" (Wright): officious, literally, ready to do a duty, task, is almost always used in a bad sense of over-eagerness to undertake it.

238. deny, refuse to give up.

241. As if ... ye, as if to do so was meat and drink to you.

241, 2. how sleek ... ruin, what a lusty and well-fed look everything that helps towards my ruin gives you.

244. You have ... 'em, said of course ironically.

250. Tied it by letters-patents, assured it by the issue of letters-patents to that effect ; letters-patents, official documents, conferring a privilege, which are open to the inspection of all men ;

the form of the word is a literal translation of the Latin, and was the one in use in Shakespeare's day; cp. *R. II.* ii. 1. 202, ii. 3. 130.

253. *Within ... hours*, only a few hours ago; forty was often used for an indefinite number.

255. *Thou scarlet sin*, "alluding to the red soutaine of the cardinal" (Schmidt); as in *1 H. VI.* i. 3. 56, "out *scarlet* hypocrite."

259. *Weigh'd not*, were not worth.

260. *You sent me deputy*, it was at your instance that I was sent as deputy; see above, ii. 1. 43.

262. *gavest him*, attributed to him.

264. *Absolved ... axe*. Wright aptly compares ii. *H. VI.* iv. 7. 96, "Ye shall have a hempen caudle then and the help of hatchet," where "help" means "cure."

265. *talking*, chattering; fond of hearing his own tongue wag: *lay ... credit*, bring against my good name.

267, 8. *innocent ... From*, cp. 2 *H. VI.* iii. 1. 69, "*innocent* *From* meaning treason."

271. *honesty*, truth.

272. *That*, i.e. I that, I who; the personal pronoun being supplied from l. 269, above.

274. *mate*, cope with: *sounder*, more honest; cp. below, v. 3. 81.

275. *all that ... follies*, all of his kidney.

279. *And ... fellow*, arrogance that would be unbearable in any one, and that is doubly unbearable in such a wretch as this.

280. *Jaded*, treated like jades, spurned with contempt: a piece of *scarlet*, the allusion is to the cardinal's cap, which like his dress was of a scarlet colour, and also to a common method of snaring larks by means of small mirrors fastened on scarlet cloth which *dared* them, i.e. caused them to cower upon the ground and so enabled the fowler to draw his net over them. Birds were also *dared* when by a falcon in the air they were terrified from rising and so could be taken by the hand. Cp. *H. V.* iv. 2. 36, "For our approach shall so much *dare* the field That England shall crouch down in fear and yield."

281. *go forward*, keep on in his insolent way.

284. *into one* may mean either 'into one heap' or possibly 'into one grasp,' or that of your own hands.

286. *The goodness ... packets*, the goodness manifested in your bundles of papers.

291. *issues*, sons.

293. 4. **the articles ... life**, the particulars of his crimes as shown in the story of his life.

297. **are ... hand**, have been placed in the king's hands.

298. **thus much**, I will say thus much of them.

299. **And spotless**, probably means 'and more spotless'; for the ellipsis of the inflection, see Abb. § 398.

302. **out they shall**, and I will now make them known.

304. **honesty, goodness, decent shame**.

305. **objections, charges**.

306. **want, lack, be without**.

307. **Have at you**, as we say colloquially 'here goes,' for my accusation; see note on ii. 2. 85, above.

309. 10. **You wrought ... bishops**, you schemed to have yourself appointed the Pope's legate in England, thus curtailing the authority of all bishops in the country by the precedence which the appointment gave you.

312. **Ego et Rex meus**, I and my king; good Latinity but bad courtiership.

313. **still, ever**.

318. **Item**, likewise; Lat. *item*, in like manner: **large**, giving him great latitude of action.

319. **Cassado**, properly "Cassalis," which Dyce substitutes, but Shakespeare found **Cassado** in Hall's *Chronicle*.

320. **allowance, permission**.

321. **Ferrara, i.e.** the Duke of Ferrara, in Italy.

323. **Your holy ... coin**. "This was certainly one of the articles exhibited against Wolsey, but rather with a view to swell the catalogue, than from any serious cause of accusation; inasmuch as the Archbishops Cranmer, Bainbrigge, and Warham, were indulged with the same privilege" (Douce). But, Wright points out, the offence lay in the cardinal's hat being "the emblem of a foreign title."

324. **innumerable substance, untold treasure, an immense amount of money**.

326. 7. **To furnish ... dignities, to supply the wants of the Pope, and to pave the ways you take in acquiring dignities: mere, absolute; the word literally means 'pure,' 'undiluted.'**

329. **they are ... odious, they concern you, and are therefore hateful**.

331. **Press not, do not be too hard upon: 'tis virtue, sc. not to press too heavily upon a man so circumstanced**.

332. **He ... laws, are exposed to the correction of the laws**.

337. **power legatine**, power as the Pope's legate.

338. **Fall ... præmunire**, come within the scope of a præmunire; a præmunire, a statute framed to check the encroachments of the Papal power in matters of jurisdiction, the bestowal of bishoprics, etc., before they became void. There were several statutes of this name enacted by Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., but the one commonly referred to is that by Richard II., passed in 1392. The name is said to be from the two first words *Præmoneri*, or *Præmuniri*, *facias* = cause to be warned.

339. **be sued against you**, be sought for in law.

340. **tenements**, literally holdings by a tenant or vassal, especially houses, as here.

342. **Out ... protection**, an outlaw: my charge, that which I was bidden to announce to you.

334. **For**, as regards.

347. **my little ... cardinal**, my lord cardinal, in whom there is so little good; the ordinary address would be "my good lord," etc., and Norfolk takes advantage of this for a taunt, Wolsey in the next line throwing back the words in his teeth.

349. **Farewell!** The folios put a note of interrogation after the word, and this punctuation Hunter would retain, explaining "'Farewell,'—did I say 'Farewell?'" did I repeat the word after the man?—Yes, it is too surely so—a long farewell to all my greatness." But such a subtlety is very improbable.

351. **hopes**. Grant White remarks, "The *s* may be a scribe's or printer's superfluity. ... But there is an appreciable, though a delicate, distinction between 'the tender leaves of hope' and 'the tender leaves of hopes'; and the idea conveyed to me by the latter, of many desires blooming into promise of fruition, is the more beautiful, and is certainly less commonplace"; **blossoms** seems certainly to be a verb here, though some take it as a substantive.

354. **good easy man**, i. e. in his complacent self-assurance.

355. **a-ripening**, on ripening, about to ripen.

357. **wanton**, frolicsome, light-hearted.

358. **This many summers**, this period extending over many years; cp. *M. M.* i. 3. 21, "*this nineteen years*"; and see *Abb.* § 87.

360. **broke under me**, burst like a bladder supporting me.

362. **rude**, rough, violent.

364. **new open'd**, ready to welcome thoughts such as have hitherto been strangers to my mind; **new**, an adverb.

366. **aspire to**, mount to, soar to ; more commonly now of the *desire* to rise, not the accomplishment.

367. **their ruin**, the ruin they cause ; **their** used subjectively.

369. **like Lucifer**, an allusion to *Isaiah*, xiv. 12, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" **Lucifer**, the light-bringer, the day-star, a name applied to Satan.

370. **how now, Cromwell!** what is the matter with you that you stand there as though thunder-struck?

373. **decline**, fall from his high estate ; literally to bend aside from.

380. **pillars**. Adee, quoted by Rolfe, sees an allusion to the insignia of his office mentioned in the Stage Direction to ii. 4, but this seems over-subtlety.

381. **too much honour**, in apposition with **load**.

383. **that hopes for heaven!** Since it diverts his thoughts from heavenly matters.

384. **of it**, of the misfortune that has befallen him.

388. **weak-hearted**, pusillanimous.

396. **sleeps in blessings**, sleeps in death, blessed by all who knew him.

397. **a tomb ... 'em**, that is, a tomb which, in addition to the benedictions of all who knew him, will be watered by orphans' tears. For the conceit, Steevens compares Drummond of Hawthornden's *Tears for the death of Moeliades*, "The Muses, Phœbus, Love, have raised of their *teares* *A crystal tomb* to him, through which his worth appears." Johnson points out that the chancellor is the general guardian of orphans.

402. **in open**, openly ; "a Latinism [*in aperto*] perhaps introduced by Ben Jonson, who is said to have tampered with the play" ... (Steevens).

403. **the voice**, the common rumour.

404. **Only about**, about that to the exclusion of all other subjects.

406. **has gone beyond me**, has overreached and so disappointed me ; somewhat similarly in 2 *H. IV.* iv. 4. 67, "you look *beyond* him," means 'you misconstrue him.'

407. **In that one woman**, *i.e.* in consequence of the king's marrying her.

409. **the noble troops**, perhaps especially referring to the well-born gentlemen who were among his retainers. The number of persons who composed Wolsey's household was something like two hundred, but was sometimes exaggerated to five, and even eight hundred.

415-7. **Some little ... too**, he will not so entirely forget me as to let your meritorious services to me go altogether unrewarded.

318. **make use now**, do not let the present advantage slip, seek his service while his heart is softened by my downfall. By some, **use** is taken in the sense of *interest*, a sense which it often has as applied to money.

428. **Out ... truth**, as a consequence of your loyalty: **to play the woman**, to weep; cp. *Macb.* iv. 3. 230, "O, I could *play the woman* with mine eyes."

431, 2. **where no mention ... of**, where I am certain to be forgotten; for the reduplication and the transposition of the preposition, see Abb. §§ 409, 424.

437. **that that**, that which.

448. **And,—prithce ... in**. Here his emotion is too much for him, and he breaks off in his admonitions.

449. **an inventory**. "This inventory Wolsey actually caused to be taken upon his disgrace, and the particulars may be seen at large in Stowe's *Chronicle*" ... (Johnson).

453-5. **Had I ... enemies**. Wolsey's words uttered to Sir William Kingston were, "if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

ACT IV. SCENE I.

1. **You're well met**, see note on ii. 2. 13.

8. **have shown ... minds**, have fully shown their devotion to the king; with **royal minds**, cp. "*royal choice*," i. 4. 86.

9. **As, let 'em ... forward**, as, to do them justice, they are ever eager to do.

11. **Pageants**, gorgeous spectacles; the word originally meant a movable scaffold, such as was used in the representation of the old mystery plays.

11, 2. **Never greater ... taken**, these shows were never more magnificent nor ever more acceptable to those in whose honour they are displayed.

19. **earl marshal**. This dignity is hereditary in the family of the Duke of Norfolk.

21. **beholding**. See note on i. iv. 32, above.

27. **Dunstable**, in Bedfordshire, now a great seat of straw-plaiting industry. "Cranmer held his court at Dunstable Priory, and the divorce was pronounced in the Lady Chapel" (Wright).

28. **Ampthill.** Ampthill Castle, built in the fifteenth century, was demolished early in the seventeenth century; a cross with an inscription in memory of Katharine now marks the site of the castle: *lay*, resided; cp. *M. W.* ii. 2. 63, "when the court *lay* at Windsor." The term is still used of regiments encamped.

29. *cited*, summoned by legal process.

30. 1. for *not ... scruple*, for refusing to appear before the court, and in consequence of the scruple as to the legality of his marriage which the king of late has felt; we should now say either for 'non-appearance,' or 'for not appearing': the *main assent*, the general assent.

33. *late marriage.* Steevens takes this to mean "the marriage *lately* considered as a valid one"; but there seems no reason why *late* should not mean simply 'former'; in iii. 2. 94, Katharine is called "The *late* queen."

34. **Kimbolton** Castle in Huntingdonshire, now the seat of the Duke of Manchester, where many relics of the queen are still preserved.

STAGE DIRECTION. **Garter**, i.e. Garter King-at-Arms, or chief herald; here Thomas Wriothesley, appointed by Henry in 1529. In English heraldry there are three such officers, the first in rank Garter, the second Clarencieux, and the third Norroy: **his coat of arms**, his official dress, emblazoned with the royal arms: **Collars of SS.**, a collar adopted by Henry IV., the letters being supposed by some to stand for "souveraigne," in reference to his claim to the crown, by others to be in honour of St. Simplicius, a martyr: **four of the Cinque-ports**, i.e. four of the wardens of the Cinque-ports, viz., Dover, Hastings, Sandwich, Hythe, and Romney, ports on the southern coast of England which, lying opposite to France, were entrusted to special guardians. So, in Dekker's *King's Entertainment*, etc., the king comes in "richly mounted on a white jennet, under a rich canopy sustained by eight barons of the Cinque-ports." The wardenships of the Five Ports (to which were afterwards added Rye and Winchelsea) were constituted by William I. and succeeding kings, who required the wardens to supply ships to defend the coast. The peculiar jurisdiction of the wardens was abolished in 1855: **in her hair richly adorned**, Walker and Dyce omit **in**, but the expression appears to mean with her hair down, hanging loose about her shoulders, as was the custom with brides in those days: **pearl**, used collectively for *pearls*, as in *H. V.* iv. 1. 280, "The intertissued robe of gold and *pearl*"; and Marlowe, *Edward the Second*, iv. 1. 414, "He wears a short Italian hooded cloak, Larded with *pearl*": **On each side her**, so in *A. C.* ii. 2. 206, "on each *side her* stood pretty boys": a **coronal**, what we should now call a 'coronet.'

45. **all the Indies**, all the wealth of the East, as we might say.
46. **strains**, holds tightly in his arms.
47. **blame his conscience**, *sc.* for having scruples about the legality of his marriage with Katharine.
50. **all are near her**, all *who* are near her.
55. **And ... ones**, and not always as virtuous as they might be.
56. **where ... broiling?** where have you been that you are in such a state of heat?
57. **Abbey**, Westminster Abbey, where the coronation, from which the procession is returning, took place.
- 57, 8. **where a finger ... more**, where the crowd was so great that you could not have wedged in another finger.
- 58, 9. **I am stifled ... joy**, *cp. J. C. i. 2. 245-9*, "the rabblement ... uttered such a deal of stinking breath because Cæsar refused the crown that it had almost choked Cæsar."
64. **the choir**, that part of a church, cathedral, abbey, *etc.*, in which the service is sung, the *choir*, or band of singers (from Lat. *chorus*), being placed in opposite rows along the length of the building.
- 64, 5. **fell off ... her**, retired to a distance from her.
- 67, 8. **opposing ... people**, facing them so that her beauty could be seen by all; *cp. ii. H. VI. iv. 10, 48*, "*Oppose thy steadfast-gazing eyes to mine.*"
72. **the shrouds**, the standing rigging of a vessel, from A.S. *scrūd*, a garment, clothing, hence that in which a vessel is dressed.
74. **Doublets**, an inner garment answering pretty much to the waistcoat of to-day; literally, a little double, *i.e.* of the outer garment.
75. **they ... lost**, they would have flung them up too in their joy.
77. **rams**, battering-rams.
- 78, 9. **would shake ... 'em**, constantly forced their way through the crowds; a thing which would be possible for women in their condition only under the greatest excitement.
- 80, 1. **all were ... piece**, *i.e.* so complete was the confusion that it was quite impossible for husbands and wives to keep together.
85. **bow'd her**, bowed herself, made her bow.
87. **all the royal ... queen**, all those things which go to the completion of the coronation ceremony.
88. **holy oil**, with which the sovereign is still consecrated at coronation; called in *H. V. iv. 1. 277*, "the balm": **Edward ... crown**, the crown of Edward, called, from his piety, the Confessor, was of old used at coronations.

89. **rod**, a kind of sceptre ; **bird of peace**, the wand headed by a dove as an emblem of peace.

91. **the choicest music**, the best musicians.

92. **Te Deum**, a psalm of thanksgiving in the Church Service, so called from its first words, *Te Deum laudamus*, "We praise thee, O Lord" : **parted**, departed.

94. **where ... held**, in reality the feast was held in Westminster Hall.

99. **Is fresh about me**, still stays in my memory, so that I cannot easily bring myself to use the new name.

102. **Newly ... secretary**, recently promoted from being secretary to the king to the bishopric of Winchester.

113. **without all doubt**, beyond all doubt, doubtlessly.

116. **Something ... command**, my position there will enable me to offer you some entertainment.

SCENE II.

STAGE DIRECTION. **Griffith**, "here Katharine's gentleman usher was Griffin Richardes, her receiver-general" ... (Wright).

3. **Willing ... burthen**, unwilling to bear their load (*sc.* of the body) any longer.

6. **the great ... honour**, whom honour loved to pet as a favourite child ; cp. l. 50, below. Wright points out that Wolsey died more than five years before Katharine, on the 29th November, 1530.

10. **happily**, haply, perhaps ; so conversely *haply* is used as = *happily* in *T. G.* i. l. 32, "If *haply* won, perhaps a hapless gain."

11. **the voice**, the common talk.

12. **the stout ... Northumberland**, Henry Percy, who in early life was betrothed to Anne Bullen, the match being broken off by Wolsey in the king's interests.

13. **at York**, where he was residing in Cawood Castle : **brought him forward**, brought him on his way.

14. **sorely tainted**, in deep disgrace as a traitor : **to his answer**, in order that he might meet the charges to be brought against him.

15. **He fell ... suddenly**, "at Sheffield Park, a seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, where he stayed eighteen days" ... (Wright).

17. **with easy roads**, by easy stages.

19. **covent**, convent; a form of the word which still survives in Covent Garden.

23. **Give him ... charity!** be charitable enough to give him burial.

24. **eagerly**, sharply, violently; cp. *Ham.* i. 4. 2, "It is a nipping and an *eager* air."

30. **His blessed part**, his penitent soul.

32. **to speak him**, see note on ii. 4. 140.

34. **Of ... stomach**, of boundless arrogance.

35, 6. **one that ... kingdom**, one who by underhand practices plundered the whole land of immense treasure. With Dyce, Grant White, and others, I have adopted Hanmer's correction of *Ty'de* or *Ty'd* of the folios. Those who retain *T'ied* explain it as "brought into a condition of bondage by his exactions and commissions," "infringed the liberties," etc. The words are a counterpart of Holinshed's narrative, "This cardinal was of a great stomach, for he computed himself equal with princes, and by craftie suggestions gat into his hands innumerable treasure," etc. **Tith'd**, which it is not of course necessary to take in its literal sense of taking a tenth part, is in keeping with **simony**, another ecclesiastical term.

36. **simony was fair-play**, in his eyes simony was no offence but a perfectly fair practice; simony is the crime of trafficking in ecclesiastical preferment, and is so called from Simon Magus, who wished to purchase the gift of the Holy Ghost with money.

37. **i' the presence**, even before the king.

38. **double**, given to duplicity, insincerity.

39, 40. **he was never ... pitiful**, if ever he showed himself compassionate, it was towards those whom he intended to ruin; i.e. his appearance of kindness was only a blind to hoodwink those against whom he had the worst designs.

43. **Of his ... ill**, in matters of morality he was a great sinner.

45, 6. **Men's evil ... water**, cp. *J. C.* iii. 2, 80, 1, "The evil that men do lives after them, The good is oft interred with their bones."

50. **Was fashion'd ... cradle**, from his earliest days was destined to much honour. The folios have a full stop after **honour**; with the sense that from his cradle he was a ripe scholar. The correction is Theobald's and is generally accepted. The speech is a close transcript from Holinshed, where we are told that Wolsey "was a man undoubtedly born to honour."

52. **Exceeding**, exceedingly; so Shakespeare uses *passing* = surpassingly.

58. **in you**, apostrophizing Ipswich and Oxford.

59, 60. **Ipswich ... it.** Wolsey was founder of a college at Ipswich that did not long survive him, and of Christchurch College, at Oxford, originally called Cardinal College: **the good** is variously explained as "the wealth and munificence of the founder," "the good man," and "the goodness," which last seems to me the most probable meaning. Various conjectures also have been made to emend the line, as "the good he did it," "the good that rear'd it," "the hand that fed it," etc.

62. **So excellent in art,** so eminent for learning.

65. **he felt himself,** he came to a true knowledge of himself

71. **from corruption,** from decaying as the body does after death.

74. **modesty,** moderation.

76. **set me lower,** *i.e.* in a more recumbent position.

78. **note,** musical air.

STAGE DIRECTION. **vizards, masks : as it were by inspiration** as though inspired from above.

84. **And leave ... ye ?** without taking me, as I had hoped you would, up to heaven with you ?

92. **I shall, assuredly,** but assuredly I shall wear them before long.

94. **the music,** the musicians : **leave,** cease playing.

95. **They are harsh ... me,** instead of soothing me, they vex me.

98. **And of an earthy cold,** and cold as a dead body ; Singer conjectured *colour*, which Dyce and others adopt, but without improvement, as it seems to me, for the ash colour does not come on till some time after death.

100. **An't ... grace,** if it pleases your grace.

102. **Knowing ... greatness,** Knowing, as you ought to do, that she refuses to be treated in any other way than as a queen, in spite of her being divorced. Her pertinacity on this point is said to have been largely due to the feeling that any abatement of her claims would compromise the legitimacy of her daughter.

105. **staying,** waiting for admission.

107. **Admit him entrance,** give him entrance.

110. **Capucius,** Eustachius, ambassador from Charles V., in whose presence Katharine expired.

112. **The times ... strangely,** so changed are the times with me that I no longer can claim to be addressed by the same titles that were mine when last we met.

122. **had cured,** would have cured.

127. **Banish'd,** *i.e.* shall be banished, the ellipsis being supplied from shall in the previous line.

131. **commended** ... goodness, recommended her to his good care.

132. **model**, copy, image; used by Shakespeare (1) as the pattern of something to be made, (2) as the thing shaped after the likeness of such pattern.

141. **both my fortunes**, me in adversity as well as in prosperity.

143. **And now ... lie**, and now that I am on my death-bed, it would be doubly sinful for me to lie, i.e. you may be sure that I am not likely to lie.

146. **let him be a noble**, even though he should be a nobleman; cp. *R. II.* i. 1. 59, "Setting aside his high blood's royalty, And let him be no kinsman to my liege."

159. **Or let me ... man!** or let me no longer be thought worthy of the name of a man.

162. **his long trouble**, she who so long has been a trouble to him.

168, 9. **strew me ... flowers**, cp. *Hamlet*. v. 1. 255, 6, "Yet here she is allow'd her *virgin crants*, Her *maiden strewments*," where *crants* means a coronet of flowers worn by maidens till they are married.

ACT V. SCENE I.

2, 3. **These should ... delights**, we should look upon these late hours as meant for necessary sleep, not for revelry.

5. **Good ... night**, I wish you a good night.

7. **primero**, a fashionable game at cards then, and long after, introduced from Spain or from Italy.

11, 2. **an if ... to't**, if there is no great objection to your doing so.

13. **Some touch**, some hint, inkling: **that walk**, that have not been allowed to rest, are still in active progress.

15. **wilder**, more tumultuous.

17. **commend**, deliver, commit; cp. *L. L. L.* iii. 1. 169, "And to her white hand see thou do *commend* This seal'd-up counsel." The word is a doublet of *command*; the former being the Latin the latter the French form.

18. **work**, matter, business, which you call so wild.

19, 20. **and fear'd ... end**, and it is feared that she will die in childbirth; for the ellipsis, see Abb. § 403.

20. **The fruit ... with**, the child with whom she is in labour.

22. **Good time**, a happy birth.

22, 3. **but for ... how**, but for the parent stock, I wish it could be rooted up at once, *i.e.* that Anne might die. Gardiner, like Wolsey, hated her as "a spleeny Lutheran."

24. **the amen**, the so-be-it that should complete your prayer.

28. **Of mine own way** of thinking in matters of religion.

30. **take't of me**, rely upon what I say.

34. **is made**, he is made.

34, 5. **master ... rolls**, an equity judge, deriving his title from having the custody of all charters, patents, commissions, etc., entered upon rolls of parchment.

36. **Stands ... preferments**, stands where promotion must of necessity come to him, cannot pass him by; **gap**, "the opening through which preferments pass" (Wright); **trade**, trodden path; of the word so used in a literal sense, Skeat quotes an instance from Surrey's translation of Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 593, "A common *trade*, to pass through Priam's house." Steevens compares *R. II.* iii. 3. 156, "Some way of common *trade*," *i.e.* commonly trodden.

38. **dare**, would dare; subjunctive.

43. **Incensed**, stirred up to believe, heated their minds with the belief. Nares, *Gloss. s.v. incense*, says "more properly *insense*, To put sense into, to instruct, inform. A provincial expression still quite current in Staffordshire, and probably Warwickshire, whence we may suppose Shakespeare had it"; and he so explains *R. III.* iii. 1. 152, and *M. A.* v. 1. 242. If Nares be right, there would, I think, be additional reason for reading, with Dyce, in the previous line, "Sir, I may tell it you, I think, —I have," *i.e.* linking "I think" with "I may tell you," instead of with "I have."

44. **For so ... he is**, with the present punctuation the sense will be both they and I know him to be; but the line may, I think be made more forcible and more in character with Gardiner's arrogance if a comma be put after **For**. The meaning will then be, **For**, provided I know him to be so, they also know him to be so, "they'll tell the clock to any business that" I "say befits the hour," *Temp.* ii. 1. 289, 90.

46. **moved**, stirred up; which seems to support **incensed** in l. 43.

47. **Have broken ... king**, made a disclosure to the king; cp. *T. G.* iii. 1. 59, "I am to *break with thee* of some affairs."

48. **of his great grace**, out of his gracious consideration.

50. **hath commanded**, that he has commanded; the construction is, "hath so far given ear to our complaint" that, etc.

52. **convented**, summoned.

57. **My mind's not on't**, my thoughts are wandering, I cannot keep my attention fixed upon the game : **too hard for me**, too much for me, more than a match for me.

60. **when my fancy's ... play**, when I am in the humour for play.

67. **is she crying out ?** *sc.* with the pangs of labour.

68, 9. **and that ... death**, and that her agony was so great that each throe was almost a death in itself.

71. **travall** and *travel* are doublets of each other, the sense of both being toil, labour ; but the former (except in figurative language) is now reserved for the special toil, labour, of a woman in childbirth, the latter for the toil, labour of a journey. In Shakespeare the two forms are used indiscriminately.

71, 2. **to the gladding ... heir**, so that your highness may be gladdened by the birth of an heir.

74. **estate**, state, condition.

75, 6. **For I must ... to**, for my thoughts must be upon subjects to which company would not be favourable, with which the presence of another would but interfere. The king is thinking of his coming interview with Cranmer.

STAGE DIRECTION. **Sir Anthony Denny**, groom of the state to Henry, and one of his Privy Council.

79. **what follows ?** *sc.* upon your appearance. What have you come to tell me ?

83. **attends**, waits.

85. **Avoid**, quit ; cp. *Cor.* iv. 5. 25, "Pray you, *avoid* the house" : **Ha ! ... said**, an exclamation of surprised irritation at his not leaving at once ; I have given you my orders and yet you are still there. "**Ha !**" says Wright, "appears to have been an exclamation characteristic of Henry, for in Rowley's *When you see me you know me ... we find*, 'Am I not Harry ? am I not England's king ? Ha !' On which the king's jester, Will Somers, comments : 'So la ! Now the watchword's given, nay, an he once cry Ha ! ne'er a man in the court dare for his head speak again.'"

87. **'Tis his ... terror**, it is the look he puts on when he wishes to strike terror into any one.

93. **walk ... together**, take a turn, walk up and down, together for a while.

96. **right sorry**, thoroughly sorry.

100, 1. **Have moved ... us**, have prompted us to summon you before us.

102. **with such freedom**, so completely.

103-6. **But that ... Tower**, so as to prevent the necessity of your patiently retiring to the Tower until those charges to which

your answer will be required have been further examined; **take ... to you**, fortify yourself with patience, take it as an ally; cp. *Philaster*, i. 1, "Shrink not, worthy sir, But *add your father to you*," i.e. all manly resolution.

106-8. **you a brother ... you**, you being one of our number (i.e. a member of the Privy Council), it is necessary to proceed in this way, as otherwise no one would venture to bear witness against you.

109. **to catch**, to seize, take advantage of.

110. **thoroughly**, thoroughly: **where**, in which process.

114, 5. **Thy truth ... friend**, I, your friend, am firmly convinced of your thorough sincerity; **is** because **truth and integrity** is one idea, as in l. 122, "my truth and honesty."

116. **holidame**, halidom, sacred oath; from A.S. *hālig*, holy, with suffix *-dom*.

117. **I look'd**, I fully expected.

121. **in durance**, durance in the Tower, confinement.

122. **The good I stand on**, the goodness on which I rely as my safe defence.

123. **with mine enemies**, like my enemies, just as much as they.

124. **weigh not**, think of no value, care nothing for.

125. **Being ... vacant**, if it is devoid of those virtues.

127. **How your state ... world?** how the whole world regards the position in which you are placed?

128. **practices**, plots, stratagems.

129. **Must ... proportion**, are sure to be in proportion to their number and greatness.

129-31. **and not ever ... it**, and it is not always that a just cause secures the verdict it deserves; here again the verb is in the singular, the idea being one.

131-3. **at what ... you?** Do you consider how easily men of corrupt minds might suborn knaves as corrupt as themselves to give false evidence against you? Dyce puts a note of admiration instead of one of interrogation after you; for the varying accent on **corrupt**, see note on **complete**, i. 2. 118, above.

134, 5. **You ... size**, you have powerful enemies whose malice is equal to their power.

135-8. **Ween you ... earth?** Do you expect to be more fortunate in respect to perjured evidence than your Master, Christ, was when He was upon this wicked world? **naughty**, literally, 'of naught,' 'worthless,' then 'wicked': **whiles**, the old genitive of *while*, time, used adverbially.

139. You take ... danger, you look upon a precipice as though it were a leap easily taken.

142. is laid, *which* is laid.

143. give way to, allow.

144. Keep comfort to you, be not dismayed : see, take care.

146. to commit, *sc.* to prison.

147-9. The best ... you, do not fail to employ the most persuasive arguments against such treatment with all the strength of language that the occasion prompts.

149-50. if entreaties ... remedy, if it turns out, if it is destined, that, entreaties shall not, etc. See Abb. § 321.

153. God's ... mother! I swear by the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ.

154, 5. and a soul ... kingdom, and a soul whose better there is not in, etc. Get you gone, "an idiom; that is to say, a peculiar form of expression, the principle of which cannot be carried out beyond the particular instance. Thus we cannot say either *Make thee gone*, or *He got him* (or *himself*) *gone*. Phraseologies, on the contrary, which are not idiomatic are paradigmatic, or may serve as models or moulds for others to any extent. All expression is divided into these two kinds"... (Craik on *J. C.* ii. 4. 2).

156, 7. He has ... tears, his tears choke his utterance.

159. Will make ... manners, will excuse my forcing my way here.

164. And ... boy, in her eagerness to please the king the old lady declares that it is a boy, a statement which she directly qualifies by saying "at least, if not a boy, a girl who promises to be the mother of many boys." Boswell thinks that "the humour of the passage consists in the talkative old lady, who had in her hurry said it was a boy, adding *bless her* before she corrects her mistake"; but *her* with equal likelihood refers to the queen.

167. Desires your visitation, is anxious that you should pay her a visit, go to her.

170. marks, a mark was worth thirteen shillings and fourpence.

171. By this light, a petty oath.

172. is for such payment, "is fit to receive. We might invert the expression without changing it and say 'such payment is for an ordinary person'" (Wright).

175. unsay't, recall my words.

175, 6. and now ... issue, and I will strike when the iron is hot; make my demand before his generosity has time to cool.

SCENE II.

STAGE DIRECTION. Pursuivants, attendants on heralds, literally, those who are following; F. *poursuivre*, to follow.

3. All fast? what, are all the doors closed?

5. cannot help you, i.e. by giving you admission.

STAGE DIRECTION. Doctor Butts, Sir William Butts, chief physician to the king, who knighted him, and bestowed upon him the manor of Thornage, in Norfolk, his native county. He died November, 1745, and was buried in Fulham church.

8. happily, fortunately.

9. shall ... presently, shall be told of it without delay.

13. Pray heaven ... disgrace! Delius takes sound to mean diagnose the nature of my disease, i.e. my disgrace, as a physician does; Schmidt as = fathom, search with a plummet; Rolfe and Wright as = proclaim. To me Schmidt's explanation seems the most probable; Butts was a firm friend to Cranmer, and would hardly be thought likely to proclaim his disgrace abroad. He has just said "the king Shall understand it presently," which at all events shows what his intention was.

15. turn their hearts, incline their hearts to greater charity: I never ... malice, I never did anything to provoke their ill-will.

16. To quench mine honour, the construction is "This is of purpose laid to quench," etc.

21. I think ... day, the construction is here again interrupted by the king's question.

22. Body o' me, a petty oath, softened from 's body, i.e. by God's body, a very common form of imprecation.

23. The high promotion, of course ironical.

27. one above 'em, sc. himself.

28. parted, shared.

31. To dance ... pleasures, to let him kick his heels outside until they are pleased to admit him.

32. a post, a letter-carrier.

34. Let 'em alone, i.e. do not give them any warning of my being near at hand, but let me be a secret spectator of their doings.

SCENE III.

STAGE DIRECTION. The Lord Chancellor. "If the date of Cranmer's appearance before the Council was 1544 or 1545, the Chancellor was Sir Thomas Wriothesley, afterwards Earl of

Southampton, the grandfather of Shakespeare's friend. It is probable that the dramatist supposed it was Sir Thomas More; but, as Theobald pointed out, he had surrendered the seals on May 16, 1532, a year and more before the birth of Elizabeth, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Audley, who resigned April 21, 1544, and died on April 30 following. ... Cromwell, who is supposed to act as Secretary to the Council, was beheaded July 28, 1540. He became a member of the Privy Council in 1531 after the death of Wolsey" (Wright).

1. **Speak to the business**, open the business by telling us its nature.

9. **at this present**, now used in legal phraseology only.

11, 12. **and capable ... flesh**, "subject to the temptations of our fleshly nature" (Schmidt); cp. *K. J.* iii. 1. 12, "For I am sick and *capable* of fears." Various emendations have been proposed, but seemingly without reason.

19. **not reform'd**, if not corrected.

20. **Which**, and this.

22. **Face ... hands**, do not school them, teach them their paces, simply by leading them by the bridle; cp. *Per.* iv. 6. 68-70, "My lord, she's not *paced* yet; you must take some pains to work her to our *manage*."

23. **But stop ... bits**, but thrust heavy and powerful bits into their mouths. It must be remembered that the bits of those days were of a much more mouth-filling make than those of modern use, and so the word **stop**, *i.e.* fill up, is appropriate.

24. **the manage**, the handling, the control, of the rider; a technical term in horsemanship; cp. 1 *H. IV.* ii. 3. 52, "Speak terms of *manage* to thy bounding steed."

25. **our easiness**, our easy temper.

30. **The upper Germany**, referring, says Grey, "to the heresy of Thomas Muntzer, which sprang up in Saxony in the years 1521 and 1522," or, adds Wright, "to the sedition of the Anabaptists of Münster in 1535."

31. **Yet freshly ... memories**, pity for which is still fresh in our memories; the construction is "as our neighbours, the upper Germany, yet freshly, etc., can witness."

34. **study**, anxious effort.

34-6. **that my teaching ... safely**, that my teaching and the power which my authority gives me should go hand in hand in the same direction, and that direction a safe one; *i.e.* that he had endeavoured to guide those under his spiritual care in the safe path alike by the persuasions of his teaching and, where it was necessary, by the exercise of his power as a prelate.

38. **with a single heart**, with all sincerity ; singleness of purpose is the opposite of duplicity.

39. **more stirs against**, is more actively opposed to.

40. **place**, office.

43-5. **Men that make ... best**, men who feed upon hatred and treacherous ill-will, will not scruple to strike their fangs into even the noblest.

47. **Be what they will**, be they who they may ; whoever they are.

48. **freely ... me**, openly state their charges against me ; **urge**, used intransitively in this absolute sense, is not elsewhere found in Shakespeare.

50. **by that virtue**, by virtue, in consequence, of that position.

53. **And our consent**, with which we are in accord, harmony : **for better ... you**, so that your examination may be more conveniently conducted.

57. **are provided for**, are prepared to meet and answer.

59. **pass**, is accepted by the Council.

60. **I shall ... juror**, *i.e.* I shall find you both judge and juror.

64. **modesty**, humility.

65-8. **That I shall ... wrongs**, that I shall be able to prove my innocence, however great be the load you put upon my endurance, —I have as little doubt as you have scruple in doing evil deeds every day of your life.

69. **calling**, profession : **modest**, moderate.

70. **a sectary**, a heretic.

71, 2. **your painted ... weakness**, beneath the fair but false complexion you put upon matters, those who know your nature detect mere feeble verbiage ; **words and weakness** are a hendiadys ; **discovers**, reveals.

74. **too sharp**, too eager in your hostility.

75, 6. **yet should ... been**, should yet be treated with respect if only on account of what they once were.

77. **To load ... man**, *cp.* above, *iii.* 2. 331, "Press not a falling man too far."

78. **I cry ... mercy**, I beg your worship's pardon ; said of course ironically.

78, 9. **you may ... so**, you are the last person here who should say so.

81. **sound**, orthodox.

83. **Men's prayers ... fears**, you would then be followed by men's prayers, not by their curses.

86. **for shame**, if you have any regard for decency.

88. **I take it**, *sc.* for granted.

92. **Is there ... mercy**, is there no other way, and a merciful one?

93. **But I ... Tower**, without the necessity of my being sent to the Tower.

96. **Receive him**, *i.e.* into your custody.

100. **the gripes**, the vicious clutch; we should now use the singular.

108. **How much ... him**, if he would not suffer the little finger of this man to be injured, we may judge in how much higher estimation he holds his life.

109. **out on't**, *sc.* this business: **My mind gave me**, I had a misgiving, I was troubled with the feeling that, etc. Cp. *Cor.* iv. 5. 157, "and yet *my mind gave me* his clothes made a false report of him"; in Fletcher's *Chances*, iv. 1. 49, the phrase is used of anticipation without any suspicion, "my mind *gives me*, Before night yet she is yours." When it went out of use I do not know, but Dryden has it in *Sir Martin Marfall*.

110. **In seeking ... informations**, in hunting up vague stories such as informers are ever ready to supply.

111. 2. **whose honesty ... at**, of whose truth none but the devil and his followers are jealous.

113. **Ye blew ... ye**, dependent on "My mind gave me": **now ... ye**, now arm yourselves for the issue, for the king is upon you.

117. **in all obedience**, with all due deference to the church. He was soon to show this obedience with a vengeance.

118-21. **and, to strengthen ... offender**, and to emphasize that holy duty, out of the heartfelt reverence he bears her, is present in person to hear and pass sentence in the cause, etc.; **dear** is used as an intensive in a variety of senses.

122. **You were ... commendations**, you were never at a loss for flattering speeches to meet a sudden occasion.

123-5. **But know, ... offences**, but understand that I do not come to listen to such flattery now; moreover such flattery uttered in my presence is too transparent to hide offences. The reading in the text is that of the first folio; most modern editors follow Capell in putting a semicolon or a colon after **presence**,

but, as Wright points out "to hear in my presence" is tautological: Rowe altered **flattery** to *flatteries* to agree with **They**, which Dyce accepts; but **They** may refer, as some think, to commendations, or, as it seems to me, may be inherent in **flattery** = flattering terms.

126. **To me, ... spaniel**, to me, whom your teeth cannot reach, you play the spaniel. The folios read "To me you cannot reach. You play," etc., a reading retained by Delius and others; the punctuation in the text is Mason's conjecture.

131. **He**, see Abb. § 216: **but wag**, do so much as wag.

133. **Than but ... not**, than so much as once think that you are out of place in this seat in Council. The king has just bidden Cranmer to the vacant seat at the Council table which rightly belonged to him.

136. **of my council**, among the members of, etc.

140. **At chamber-door**, see Abb. § 90.

146. **mean**, the means; frequent in Shakespeare in the singular.

151. **If there ... men**, if men are ever to be trusted.

152. **fair purgation, ... world**, complete exculpation in the eyes of the world.

153. **I'm sure, in me**, I am sure of this, at all events for my own part.

156. **beholding**, see note on i. 4. 32.

159. **Make me ... ado**, do not let me see any more hesitation about this; **ado**, trouble, bother; "properly *verb infinitive* = at do, which was the fuller form ... (1) pres. inf. To do; ... (2) In doing, being done; at work, astir ... Hence through such phrases as *much ado*, etc., by taking the adverbs as adjectives qualifying *ado*, the latter was viewed as a substantive" ... (Murray, *Eng. Dict.*).

162. **That is**, altered by Rowe to "there is"; but the construction probably is, "That (*sc.* my suit) is, you must be godfather to and answer for a fair young maid, etc.; **her** being the redundant object.

163. **answer for her**, as a godfather does in baptism by taking the sins of the child upon his head until such time as it is able to answer for them itself.

167. **you 'ld spare your spoons**, you wish to excuse yourself in order to escape having to give the customary present at the christening. "It seems to have been an old custom for sponsors at christenings to give one or more such spoons [*i.e.* Apostle

spoons] to the child for whom they answered ; usually the spoon would bear the figure of the saint in honour of whom the child was named, or the patron saint of the donor, each apostle being distinguished by his own particular emblem" (Cripps, *College and Corporation Plate*, quoted by Wright). The custom of giving Apostle spoons has revived of late years.

169. **Lady Marquess Dorset**, Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Watton, second wife, and at this period widow, of Thomas Grey, second Marquess of Dorset. We should now write Marchioness for Marquess, which is a doublet of Marquis, the male title, literally meaning a prefect of the marches.

172. **true**, sincere.

173. **brother-love**, love such as that of a brother.

174. **this confirmation**, this assurance, given by his embrace.

178. **shrewd**, ill-natured ; properly pp. of to *shrew*, to curse.

179. **trifle ... away**, waste time over trifles.

180. **made a Christian**, baptized, christened.

181. **made ye one**, reconciled you ; *atoned* you, as Shakespeare often writes.

182. **So**, in that way by your union.

SCENE IV.

1. **leave, cease** : **You 'll**, used imperatively ; see Abb. § 320.

2. **Paris-garden**, sometimes miscalled " Parish-garden," was a celebrated bear-garden, i.e. garden for the baiting of bears, long a favourite sport, deriving its name from Robert de Paris who had a house there in the time of Richard the Second : **gaping**, shouting.

3. **I belong to the larder**, I am one of the servants of the king's larder.

6. **these are ... 'em**, these make no impression on their hides.

6, 7. **I'll scratch your heads**, a jocular way of saying " I'll thrash you well," perhaps said as he sees one of the crowd scratching his head. Cp. 2 *H. IV.* ii. 1. 66, " I'll tickle your catastrophe."

8. **ale and cakes**, part of the usual fare at weddings, feasts, etc. Cp. *T. N.* ii. 3. 124, 5, " Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more *cakes and ale* ?"

9. **much impossible**, see Abb. § 51.

12. **May-day morning**. " Bounce tells us how the young people were in the habit of rising a little after midnight and walking to

some neighbouring wood, accompanied with music and the blowing of horns, where they broke down branches from the trees, which, decorated with nosegays and garlands of flowers, were brought home soon after sunrise, and placed at their doors and windows ... In Chaucer's 'Court of Love' we read that early on May-day 'Fourth goth al the Court, both most and lest, To fetch the flow'rs fresh and blome.' In the reign of Henry the Eighth, it is on record that the heads of the Corporation of London went out into the high grounds of Kent to gather the May, and were met on Shooter's Hill by the king and his queen, Catherine of Arragon, as they were coming from the palace of Greenwich" (Dyer, *Folklore of Shakespeare*, pp. 287, etc.).

13. **We may ... 'em**, we may just as well hope to knock down St. Paul's Cathedral by pushing against it, as try to move them.

14. **and be hang'd**, curses on you.

15. **how gets the tide in?** when you tell me how the tide gets in, I will tell you how they got in; the one question is as sensible as the other.

17. **You see ... remainder**, you see how much is left of it after my use of it on their heads and shoulders: **could distribute**, was able to disperse them.

18. **I made no spare**, I used it freely enough.

19. **Sir Guy**, of Warwick, who slew Colbrand the Giant, the Danish champion, in the presence of Athelstan, as described by Drayton in his *Polyolbion*.

22. **Let me ... again**. "Spoken like a beefeater. The gentleness of Mr. Collier's MS. Corrector led him to substitute 'queen' for 'chine'" (Wright). The **chine** is the backbone of an animal, here of an ox; Wright's "beefeater" is particularly happy since the yeomen of the guard were called "beefeaters."

24. **And that ... cow**. Staunton, who would read "*my cow*," says, "The expression 'my cow, God save her!' or, 'my mare, God save her!' or, 'my sow, God bless her!' appears to have been proverbial" ... And Dyce adds from a writer in the *Literary Gazette* for January 25, 1862 ... "Plausible as the alteration seems" [viz. that of *crown* for *cow* proposed by Collier's MS. Corrector], "its value is annihilated by the fact ... that a phrase evidently identical with that used by Shakespeare (or Fletcher), in the passage in question, exists and is in use to this day in the south of England. 'Oh! I would not do that for a cow, save her tail,' may still be heard in the mouths of the vulgar in Devonshire" ...

29. **Moorfields**, where the trainbands, the militia of the day, were exercised in their drill, and of course attended by a vast concourse of the rabble.

31. a **brazier** "was both a worker in brass and a portable fire-place" (Wright): by **his face**, to judge by his fiery complexion.

31, 2. **the dog-days**, the hottest days in the year; so called because Canicula, or Sirius, the dog star, then reigned in the ascendant.

33. **the line**, the equinoctial line, where the heat is intense: **fire-drake**, used for "a fiery dragon, a meteor, and a sort of fire-work" (Dyce, *Gloss.*). Here, as is seen from l. 45, the second of these senses is intended.

35. **discharged against me**, let fly at me, as a fire-arm would do; *i.e.* each time I struck him I gave him a bloody nose.

35, 6. a **mortar-piece**, what we should now call a *mortar*, a wide-mouthed piece of ordnance for discharging shells, originally so named from its resemblance to a mortar for pounding substances in: **to blow us, sc.** into the air.

36. a **haberdasher's ... wit**. Malone quotes from Jonson's *Magnetic Lady*, "and all haberdashers of small wit," where the meaning no doubt is petty traders in wit, as just before, in reference to poets, we are told "we have divers that drive that trade," *sc.* poetry. But this does not seem to me to justify Wright's explanation here, "who dealt in small wit, and had a ready tongue."

37. **pinked porringer**, cap "moulded on a porringer," *i.e.* porridge bowl, as Petruchio says in *T. S.* iv. 3. 64, and with its edges stamped or cut out in notches. Schmidt, followed by Skeat, explains **pinked** as "reticulated and pierced with small holes"; Wright as "pinked with eyelet holes."

38, 9. **for kindling ... state**, for being such a political fire-brand.

40. '**Clubs!**' the usual cry by which the prentices of the city were rallied to a disturbance in the streets with a view to their parting the rioters, though their clubs, or truncheons, were often used to raise a fray.

41. **draw to her succour**, come together to help her; probably with a pun on **draw**, in the sense of drawing a weapon.

41, 2. **the hope ... Strand**, the *élite*, the picked prentices, of the Strand.

42. **where ... quartered**, in which quarter of the city she lived: **fell on**, attacked me.

42, 3. **I made ... place**, I was not to be beaten back.

43, 4. **at length ... to me**, at last they got within the length of a broomstaff (*i.e.* the handle of a broom) of me.

45. **loose shot**, random marksmen, young scamps ready to pelt anyone; a **shot** was of old a foot- or horse-soldier armed with a gun in distinction from one armed with a pike; cp. 1 *H. VI.* i. 4. 53, "Wherefore a guard of chosen *shot* I had"; and Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, iv. 1. 57, "Hamet, my brother, with a thousand *shot* On horseback."

45, 6. **that I was ... in**, that I was glad to retire without further assertion of my honour: **win the work**, carry the fortification.

49. **bitten apples**, apples that had already been gnawed and thrown away.

49-51. **that no audience ... endure**. "The allusion," says Dyce, "is, I believe, to certain puritanical congregations: one of the characters in Jonson's *Alchemist* is named 'Tribulation Wholesome, a pastor of Amsterdam'; and Mr. Grant White notices that 'within the memory of men now living "Tribulation" was a common name among New-England families of Puritan descent.' Steevens observes; 'I can easily conceive that the turbulence of the most clamorous theatre has been exceeded by the bellowings of puritanism against surplices and farthingales. ... The phrase *dear brothers* is very plainly used to point out some fraternity of canters allied to the *Tribulation* both in pursuits and manners, by tempestuous zeal and consummate ignorance.' ... This idea of an allusion to puritanical congregations, originally due to Johnson, is ridiculed by some editors; but no other explanation of the passage at all satisfactory has yet been given; **limbs of Limehouse**, young imps from Limehouse, a low quarter of London; the full phrase is "limbs of the devil."

51, 2. **in Limbo Patrum**, in prison. "The *limbus patrum*, in the language of churchmen, was the place bordering on hell, where the saints of the Old Testament remained till Christ's descent into hell" (Schmidt). The word *limbus* means border, and the original phrase was *in limbo*; "the word *limbo*," says Skeat, "came to be used as a nominative all the more readily, because the Italian word is *limbo*."

53. **besides ... come**, besides the flogging which is in store for them; a **running banquet**, in its literal sense, is either a hasty banquet in contrast with a regular or protracted meal, or, as here, what we now call 'dessert,' and "in this case," as Rolfe remarks, "a whipping was to be the *dessert* of the rioters after their regular course of *Limbo*."

54. **Mercy o' me**, a petty oath, originally 'God have mercy on me.'

55. **grow**, increase in number.

57. **Ye have ... hand**, a pretty piece of business you have made of this ! So we say a man is a good hand at a thing. Cp. *Cor.* iv. 6. 117, "You have *made fair hands*, ... you have crafted fair !"

58. **a trim rabble**, a nice lot of roughs.

59. **the suburbs**, where the dregs of the populace lived.

60. **Great store**, abundance.

63. **Not ... a-pieces**, without being torn to pieces ; we still use the phrase *a-piece*, but not *a-pieces*.

64. **rule**, control, keep in order.

65. **I'll lay ... heels**, I'll bundle you off to prison ; cp. ii. *H. IV.* i. 2. 141, "To punish you *by the heels* would amend the attention of your ears."

67. **round**, heavy, rigorous.

68. **batting of bombards** may mean either 'broaching hogsheads (of liquor),' or 'drinking heavily from hogsheads'; in the former, the sense will be that of worrying, as dogs worry bears, etc., in the latter that of taking refreshment ; the word in either case being the causal of *bite* ; **bombards** were large leathern vessels for carrying liquors ; so in 1 *H. IV.* ii. 2. 497, the Prince calls Falstaff "that huge *bombard* of sack."

72. **the troop**, the procession.

73. **A Marshalsea ... months**, a prison that shall keep you well employed for the next two months. The Marshalsea prison was in Southwark.

74. **great**, fat.

76. **camlet**, a light stuff in which wool is the principal material ; "the ultimate origin [of the word] is obscure ; at the earliest known date the word was associated (by Europeans) with *camel*, as if the stuff was made of camel's hair" ... (Murray, *Eng. Dict.*) : get up ... **rall**, get down from the railing.

77. **peck**, or **pick**, *i.e.* pitch ; cp. *Cor.* i. 1. 204, "as high As I could *pick* my lance."

SCENE V.

STAGE DIRECTION. **standing-bowls**, bowls elevated on pedestals.

5. **My noble partners**, *i.e.* the other two sponsors.

7. **laid up**, stored up.

12. **gossips, sponsors**; the word literally means 'related in God,' i.e. by the ceremony of christening; **prodigal, sc.** in their gifts. The Archbishop gave a standing cup of gold; the Duchess of Norfolk a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearl; the Marchioness of Dorset three gilt bowls, pounced (i.e. perforated) with a cover, and the Marchioness of Exeter three standing-bowls, graven, all gilt, with a cover.

14. **When she ... English**, when she knows enough English to do so.

17. **still, ever.**

21. **can ... goodness**, can expect to live long enough to behold, etc.

23. **Saba**, the queen of Sheba, who came to test the wisdom of Solomon, of which she had heard so much; see 1 *Kings*, I., etc.

26. **That mould up**, that go to the completion of.

27. **attend**, belong to, wait upon like handmaids.

31. **beaten, sc.** by the tempest.

34. **Under his own vine**, from *Micah*, iv. 4, "But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid."

37. **shall read, shall learn.**

38. **And by those ... blood**, and rest their claim to greatness upon following those ways, not upon being of high descent.

40. **the maiden phoenix**, that knows no mate, and that is born again out of her own ashes; cp. *Samson Agonistes*, 1703-5, "Like that self-begotten bird In the Arabian woods embost, That no second knows nor third."

42. **admiration, wonder.**

43. **one, sc.** James I.

44. **this cloud of darkness**, this world in which we wander for a time in darkness until made sharers in the light of heaven.

49. **grow to him**, cling to him as the vine clings to the elm.

52. **new nations**. Malone thinks that these lines probably allude to the settlement of the colony of Virginia in 1607.

53. **reach, spread forth.**

56. **to the happiness**, with the result of happiness to, etc.

59, 60. **but she ... virgin**. Dyce and Delius punctuate thus, "but she must die,—She must, the saints must have her,—yet a virgin; A most," etc., which is perhaps an improvement.

65. **any thing**, *i.e.* so well worth getting.
69. **lord mayor**, "Sir Stephen Pecoocke" (Wright)
70. **your good brethren**, the aldermen and Court of Common Council.
74. **no man think**, let no man think.
75. **Has business**, that he has business.

EPILOGUE

1. **ten to one**, *i.e.* long odds.
5. **naught**, worthless.
8. **All ... hear**, all the fondly anticipated kind words that we are likely to hear.
10. **construction**, interpretation, verdict.
11. **For such .. 'em**, for the play we have shown them is one that deserves this.
13. **are ours**, will be won over to applaud us.
14. **hold, sc. back**.

INDEX TO NOTES.

A

Ado, v. 3. 159.
Advertise, ii. 4. 178.
Allegiant, iii. 2. 176.
Allow'd, i. 2. 83.
Andren, i. 1. 7.
Attached, i. 2. 210.

B

Baiting, v. 4. 68.
Banquet, a running, v. 4. 53.
Beholding, i. 4. 32.
Bevy, i. 4. 4.
Bombards, v. 4. 68.
Book = learning, i. 1. 122.
Bores (vb.), i. 1. 128.
Bosom (vb.), i. 1. 112.
Brazier, v. 4. 31.
Breeches, blistered, i. 3. 31.

C

Camlet, v. 4. 76.
Capable, v. 3. 11.
Certes, i. 1. 48.
Chambers, st. dir., i. 4. 37.
Cherubins, i. 1. 23.

Cheveril, ii. 3. 32.
Chiding, iii. 2. 197.
Chine, v. 4. 22.
Clinquant, i. 1. 19.
Clubs, v. 4. 40.
Commend, v. 1. 17.
Complete, i. 2. 118.
Condition, i. 2. 19.
Conjunction, iii. 2. 45.
Consistory, ii. 4. 92.
Covent, iv. 2. 19.

D

Day and night, by, i. 2. 213.
Demure, i. 2. 167.

E

Eagerly, iv. 2. 24.
Envy, iii. 1. 113.
Exhalation, iii. 2. 226.

F

Fire-drake, v. 4. 33.
Forty, ii. 3. 79.

G

Gave me, my mind, v. 3. 109.
 Gossips, v. 5. 12.
 Government, ii. 4. 138.
 Grievance, i. 2. 20.
 Guarded, Prol. 16.

H

Habits, iii. 1. 117.
 Happily = haply, iv. 2. 10.
 Hard-ruled, iii. 2. 101.
 Hautboys, st. dir., i. 4.
 Holidame, v. 1. 116.
 Hulling, ii. 4. 199.
 Husband, iii. 2. 142.

I

Incensed, v. 1. 43.
 Indurance, v. 1. 121.

K

Keech, i. 1. 55.

L

Letters-patents, iii. 2. 250.
 Level (sb.), i. 2. 2.
 Limbs of Limehouse, v. 4. 50.
 Loose, ii. 1. 127.
 Lop (sb.), i. 2. 96.
 Louvre, the, i. 3. 23.

M

Madams, the, i. 1. 23.
 Manage, the, v. 3. 24.
 Memorized, iii. 2. 52.

Model, iv. 2. 132.
 Moiety, i. 2. 12.
 Motley, Prol. 16.

N

No = much, ii. 2. 80.

O

Office, i. 1. 44.
 Orpheus, iii. 1. 3.

P

Pageants, iv. 1. 11.
 Panging (trs. vb.), ii. 3. 15.
 Papers (vb.), i. 1. 79.
 Paris-garden, v. 4. 2.
 Parted, iv. 1. 92.
 Passages, ii. 4. 165.
 Peck, v. 4. 77.
 Phoenix, v. 5. 40.
 Pinked porringer, v. 4. 37.
 Primero, v. 1. 7.
 Præmunire, iii. 2. 338.

Q

Quarrel, ii. 3. 14.

R

Refuse, ii. 4. 82.
 Repeat, i. 2. 13.
 Require, ii. 4. 144.
 Rub (sb.), ii. 1. 129.

S

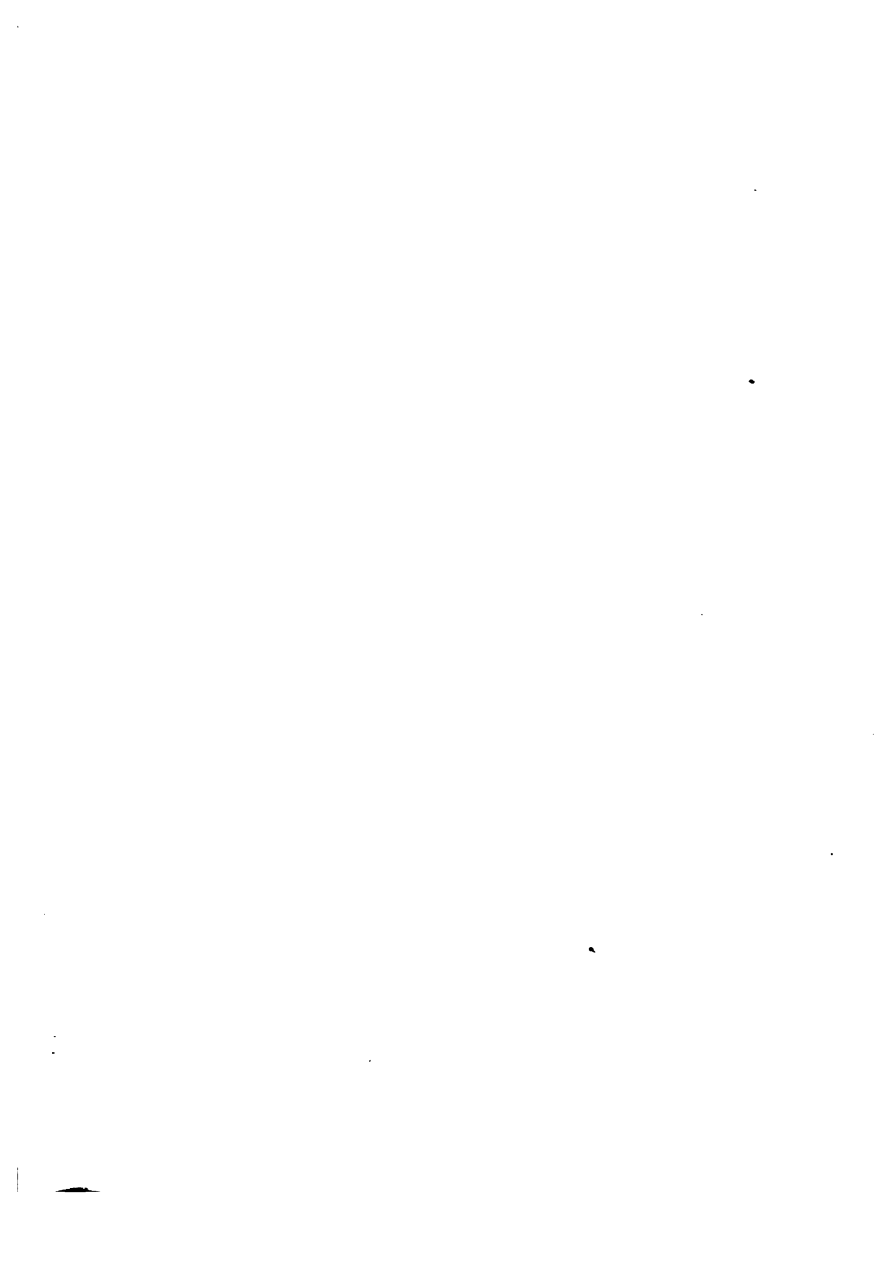
Saba, v. 3. 23.
 Sad, Prol. 3.
 Salute, ii. 3. 93.
 Shot, v. 4. 45.
 Shrouds, iv. 1. 72.
 Simony, iv. 2. 36.
 Sound (vb.), v. 2. 13.
 Spavin, i. 3. 12.
 Spoons, v. 3. 167.
 Springhalt, i. 3. 13.
 Standing-bowls, v. 5. 1.
 Stockings, tall, i. 3. 30.
 Suggests, i. 1. 164.

T

Tender (sb.), ii. 3. 56.
 Tender (vb.), ii. 4. 116.
 Tenements, iii. 2. 340.
 Tennis, i. 3. 20.
 Touch, v. 1. 13.
 Trade, v. 1. 36.
 Travail, v. 1. 71.
 Tribulation, v. 4. 49.

W

Worship, i. 1. 39.



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