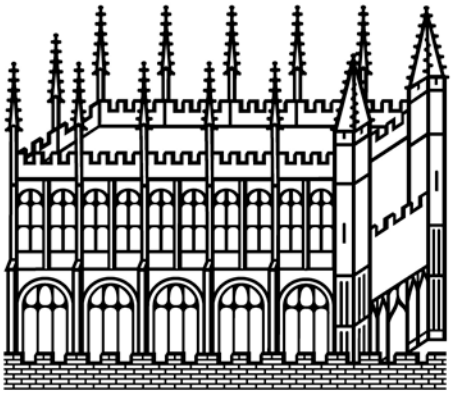

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MARLOWE'S EDWARD II

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PREFATORY NOTE

A GOOD deal of the material embodied in the Introduction to this volume was originally contained in a doctorate thesis submitted by the author to Harvard University in 1900. Much water, however, has run under the bridge since that year, and the Introduction in its present form is quite different from the thesis. Certain ideas that I then flattered myself were more or less new are now commonplace enough; the 'chronicle history' has been carefully studied in the last few years, and hardly any competent scholar who attentively examines the subject can fail to discover for himself the principal features of its development. I cannot then pretend to offer to the world any large fund of new information. Nevertheless, I venture to print this account of the growth of an interesting and important species of the drama in the hope that the reader will find it to be at least a useful collection of material.

The emphasis, for purposes of clear presentation, has been laid upon the development of what is called 'form.' Quite obviously there is no fixed line to be drawn between form and content, and the distinction represents an abstraction from the facts for scientific convenience. This defect, however,

inheres in every attempt to give a rationalized account of an evolutionary and hence non-rational process, and is involved in the basic assumptions of the scientific method. The facts are, then, to a certain extent distorted, but I have tried to distort them as little as possible.

My thanks are due for criticism and assistance of various kinds to Professor A. H. Thorndike, Professor Ewald Flügel, Professor Frederick Tupper, Junr., and to Professor George P. Baker, under whose direction the thesis was originally written. To Professor W. H. Hulme, who was kind enough to collate Quartos 3 and 4, I am especially indebted.

EDWARD II

INTRODUCTION

I

If truth is often stranger than fiction, there is good reason why it should be so. Life is not at all concerned to abide by our standards of the probable and the credible, and outrages them at times with the utmost nonchalance. Art, however, being our creature, must conform to our habits of thought and feeling, and so there arises in æsthetic theory the canon of dramatic credibility. Yet very naturally the canon is variously interpreted at different times, and it may be entirely ignored, so that when something happens, for instance, on the stage, its occurrence will often be accepted by the spectator on grounds quite irrelevant to any considerations of art. The mere fact that it has occurred in real life will often suffice to make it satisfactory or pleasurable, without regard to whether it is in itself plausibly presented. As in the story told by Thomas Leaf in Hardy's novel, the interest does not reside in the logical evolution of the episode, but simply in the bare historical character of it, its existence as a

brute fact irrespective of relation and significance. Even Dryden, in a very well-known passage,[1] showed that he did not escape the heresy. A hundred years before Dryden the problem of artistic or dramatic credibility, when it occurred to critics or readers or spectators at all, was quite completely solved by the Horatian principle of 'decorum'[2] as regards character, and by the unities as regards incident.[3] Even when the Elizabethan drama was at its apogee, one may doubt whether the question presented itself in other terms, so far as formal criticism went, except that Jonson helped to make matters a little more definite perhaps by the sharp line he drew between proper and improper subjects of comedy. Yet when Jonson came to write historical tragedy, he confined himself to the dramatization of recorded fact, and refused to introduce anything for which he did not have some kind of

[1] Neander says in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* that Jonson had been blamed for the character of Morose in the *Epicoene* on the ground that his 'humour' is forced and unnatural. To this reproach Neander himself replies to the effect that we may suppose Morose to have been of a naturally delicate hearing and of a peevish disposition. More especially, "I am assured from divers persons, that Ben Jonson was actually acquainted with such a man, one altogether as ridiculous as he is here represented." It is clear from the tenor of the discussion following that this consideration was thought by Dryden to be decisive.

[2] See, for example, the preface to Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* and Jonson's remark to Drummond (*Conversations*, iii.) "that Sidney did not keep a decorum in making every one speak as well as himself."

[3] When Sidney ridicules contemporary drama in the *Apology for Poetry* he does not mean so much that the incidents it utilized are in themselves absurd or incredible, as that their representation is inconsistent with the unities.

historical warrant. As a result he failed in the case of *Sejanus* to construct anything like a satisfactory plot, and he showed that he saw no essential difference between the respective functions of the historian and the historical dramatist.[1]

In the Elizabethan drama at large there is clearly seen the same general willingness to accept factual basis as in itself a sufficient ground for representation on the stage. No doubt for the Elizabethan many things were of their own nature dramatically credible that to-day are not, as for example witchcraft, and " the grounds of belief " of the Elizabethan audience would have to be extensively studied before we could determine how far dramatic credibility was really disregarded at that time. The broad fact remains, however, that the playwright could hope for a larger audience and the publisher for a larger sale by advertising that the episode dealt with in a particular play was an episode that had actually taken place and was not merely imagined.[2] The interest that many spectators had in witnessing

[1] See Introduction to edition of *Sejanus*, Belles Lettres Series, 1911, XVI, XXIII, XLI, LIV–V.

[2] Thus Truth asserts superior claims to those of Poetry in the Induction to *The True Tragedy of Richard III*. In the Induction to *A Warning for Fair Women*, although Tragedy does drive History and Comedy from the stage, yet she turns immediately to the audience and emphasizes the fact that the play dramatizes an actual happening ; and in the epilogue she says :

> Perhaps it may seem strange unto you all
> That one hath not revenged another's death,
> After the observation of such course :
> The reason is, that now of truth I sing,
> And should I add or else diminish aught,

Arden of Feversham was in kind though doubtless not in degree precisely the interest they would have taken in witnessing the murder itself, and is closely analogous to the interest taken by spectators to-day in seeing on the stage not an imitation but a real fire-engine or cow or old oaken bucket. It is at once clear that such a predisposition will have important bearings on the selection of material, on its treatment, and incidentally upon problems of definition and classification.

Not infrequently in Elizabethan literature we encounter lists of various kinds of dramatic entertainments such as the following: comedies, histories, tragedies, pastorals, morals, shows,[1] in which there seems apparent some attempt at a classification for purposes of convenience. Clearly, however, only for purposes of convenience, since it is plain that no such list is based on any consistent principle of grouping, and often a given play might pass from one to another of these categories according to the

---

Many of these spectators then could say,
I have committed error in my play.
Bear with this true and home-born tragedy,
Yielding so slender argument and scope
To build a matter of importance on,
And in such form as haply you expected,
What now hath failed to-morrow you shall see
Performed by History or Comedy.

Sidney Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, 1910, 407, points out similar claims to truthfulness on the part of French 'domestic tragedies' of the second half of the sixteenth century.

[1] Cf. Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, Sh. Soc. Publ., 1841, pp. 28, 54; patent issued by James to Shakespeare's company in 1603 (printed in Whalley's *Jonson*, 1756, I, lxii); *Hamlet*, II, ii, 414 ff.

taste and fancy of the classifier. The application of these terms by the Elizabethans is often irritatingly vague and apparently illogical. Nevertheless the list corresponds to certain real though blurred distinctions made both by playwright and by audience. A 'history' might contain comic or tragic elements, or both, and according to their relative prominence might be called a comedy or a tragedy; and yet the word 'history' had certain connotations of a more or less well-defined character.

It acquired these connotations, however, gradually, for it did not possess them when it came first to be used [1] in connection with plays, and they never became quite so definite as to preclude entirely the use of the word in a looser way.[2] At times the author or publisher felt a desire to avoid ambiguity

[1] The word occurs first in the Revels Accounts (ed. Feuillerat, 1908, p. 129) for 1571: "The histories plaied & Devises in Maskes this yeare showen at the Coorte." (Cf. also p. 11, 1572–3.) 14 December, 1574, occurs "the history of Phedrastus & Phigon and Lucia." From 1576 on the word is almost the prevailing term, and is applied to all sorts of plays without apparent reference to subject-matter or treatment. For instance, Brotanek, *Englische Maskenspiele*, 1902, pp. 49, 93, thinks that the "Historye of the Cenofalles," 1576 (Feuillerat, 256), was a mask. (The word 'historia' and its derivatives were used on the Continent in the same indiscriminate way, and we are probably to infer foreign influence as regards the English use.) An inspection of printed titles, as in Greg, *A List of English Plays*, etc., 1900, seems to show a gradual though never rigid restriction of the word to dramas based on fact (or supposed fact). Yet Henslowe, I believe, uses the word only in connection with Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and with a play called the *Unfortunate General*, about which nothing is known.

[2] *History of Orlando Furioso*, pr. 1594; *History of the two valiant Knights, Sir Clyomon*, etc., pr. 1599; *History of Antonio and Mellida*, pr. 1602. In view of such titles, one might very well ask whether Greene really did intend to impose upon the public by calling his *James IV* a Scottish history; see *post*.

or to emphasize the veridical quality of his play, and then he would substitute for ' history ' a phrase like ' true tragedy '[1] or add a reference to his putative source, as in *The Famous Chronicle of Edward the First*, pr. 1593.[2] Other characteristic titles, designed to emphasize truth at the expense of fiction, are *The Troublesome Reign of Edward the Second, The True and Honorable Historie of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, etc. In other words, by 1600 there had come into existence a large number of plays whose appeal was based mainly on the advertised authenticity of their subject-matter. Such plays, whether the facts they dealt with were drawn from English, Roman, or Oriental sources, would all belong to the general group of histories.

We must beware of the assumption that what the Elizabethan meant by history was necessarily what we mean by the term. Without dwelling at length on the distinction, which will come out more clearly in the course of these pages, let us note the fact that the guarantee of writer or publisher as expressed in the title of a play is by no means always to be trusted. Peele in *Edward I*, in addition to utilizing second-rate Robin Hood ballads, presented Elinor of Castile in a light that he must have known was grossly false. More than one dramatist employed

[1] The first use of this phrase occurs on the title-page of *Arden of Feversham*, pr. 1592. We cannot, of course, always be certain that the printed title was the title originally given by the author, so that all of these dates are dates of publication ; but the phrases themselves were doubtless current much earlier.

[2] Earliest occurrence of ' Chronicle History,' *Stationers' Register*, 1594, *The most famous Chronicle History of Leir*, etc.

tradition or at need his own freely exercised imagination to provide incident or to portray character. In this attitude toward their material, playwrights of 1600 were but continuing, as we shall see, usages and customs of the religious drama itself. How far the Elizabethan public believed in a given play, how far it condoned such uncritical or unscrupulous treatment of historical episodes, how far it protested, are points that will be brought up again. It is clear that we cannot draw a sharp line of demarcation between histories and other plays solely on the basis of their contents, and it is equally clear that to many of the incidents handled the epithet historical cannot be applied in its larger sense. A sensational murder of forty years back is for us an historical fact, but hardly the true subject-matter of historical drama. Such a distinction the Elizabethans did not apparently draw in any explicit fashion, though they felt undoubtedly a profound difference in tone and atmosphere between *Arden* and *Henry VI.* Yet both plays were histories, and for that matter chronicle histories also, differing in dignity and power of inspiration, but not differently classified.

A distinction based on subject-matter, however, does seem to appear when we compare plays dealing with English history and those dealing with the past of other nations. Difference of source and difference of character apparently co-operated to bring about a fairly well-recognized grouping. Nashe says, for example: "Nay, what if I prooue Playes to be no extreame; but a rare exercise of

vertue ? First, for the subiect of them (for the most part) it is borrowed out of our English Chronicles, wherein our forefathers valiant acts (that haue line long buried in rustie brasse and worme-eaten bookes) are reuiued, and they themselves raised from the Graue of Obliuion, and brought to pleade their aged Honours in open presence : than which, what can be a sharper reproofe to these degenerate effeminate dayes of ours ?

" How would it have ioyed braue *Talbot* (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyne two hundred yeares in his Tombe, hee should triumphe againe on the Stage, and haue his bones newe embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least, (at seuerall times), who, in the Tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding. . . .

" Al Artes to them are vanitie : and, if you tell them what a glorious thing it is to haue *Henrie* the fifth represented on the Stage, leading the French King prisoner," etc.[1]

For contemporaries, then, a chronicle history was a play that drew, or purported to draw, its materials from the English chronicles, or from some practically equivalent source. Accordingly, Shakespeare's *Lear* was a chronicle history, and was so called on the title-page of the quarto of 1608, on which also occurs the characteristic phrase, " life and death." *Macbeth* is called merely ' *The Tragedy of*

[1] *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell*, McKerrow's *Nashe*, I, 212 f.

Macbeth,' but is, of course, as much a chronicle history as is *Lear*. At the same time these plays differ greatly in method and purpose from *Edward I* and *Henry VI*, and that difference must be taken into account, though in searching for a stable criterion to incorporate with the Elizabethan definition we must keep in mind several facts. In the first place, the chronicle history, as has already been indicated and as will appear more plainly, shades off with the greatest ease into other types of drama, pure comedy, satirical comedy, tragi-comedy, tragedy. In the second, our criterion must be measurably independent of the unequal poetic gifts of individual writers. Shakespeare's *King John* is full of noble poetry and deep knowledge of human life and character, as the old *King John* is not ; both are chronicle histories. Thirdly, though some chronicle histories are animated by a lofty patriotic fervour, yet in others that mood is absent or at least subdued, and one sees plainly that the playwright uses chronicle material in the way he would use any material of which the public was fond, as a catch-penny. No doubt these facts are never to be lost sight of, but no definition could explicitly recognize all of them. Our criterion must then obviously be based on the organization of material to definite ends. With this must, as suggested, be combined the Elizabethan distinction as to sources, partly because it was the Elizabethan distinction and partly because one cannot, on the basis of ' form ' alone, distinguish fundamentally between chronicle histories and other histories, nor

between histories and at least some other Elizabethan plays that do not have at all an historical character, like *Old Fortunatus*.

Let us look for the moment at Heywood's *Edward IV*,[1] a typical chronicle history of the period during which this kind of play was most popular. The first part contains twenty-seven scenes, which are divided among five distinct lines of interest. The first of these occupies merely the opening scene, and is that of the opposition of the king's mother to his marriage with Elizabeth Woodvile. The treatment of this episode is quite characteristic of the chronicle history method. Such emphasis is laid upon this opposition that we are led to suppose that in the marriage is to be found the key to the entire action of the play. We are confirmed in this inference by what we know from other sources of the history of the period. From this union sprang Warwick's rebellion, the temporary expulsion of Edward from the kingdom, his return, and the internecine conflict that terminated in the bloody battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, all of which form, if not the chief, perhaps the most interesting part of Edward's reign. It is for a drama dealing with these events that the first scene prepares us. Yet in the following pages they are not even referred to, are passed over as though they had never taken place. Between the first scene and the second an interval of seven years is annihilated.

[1] In two parts, printed 1600. *Works of Heywood*, 1874, I. The play is not divided into acts.

The four other lines of interest that are taken up are as follows: the rebellion of Falconbridge, the king's meeting with Hobs, the tanner of Tamworth, the French wars, and the story of Jane Shore. The first and second of these, occupying respectively fourteen and seven scenes, are completely disposed of in the first part of the play, while the third and fourth are continued into the second part.

There is no sort of organic connection between any two of these episodes. The materials for the treatment of some of them are drawn from the chronicles, for others from tales or ballads current among the people, and they are brought together solely through the fact that in all of them the king is concerned. Yet in one of them the part that he plays is slight, for in the Falconbridge rebellion he appears only at the last moment for the distribution of rewards.

The second part displays the same structural features, though we have only three lines of interest to follow. The first and second of these, the French war and the Shore episode, are continued from the previous portion of the drama, and the third is the Gloster plot. Of these the first is finished up out of hand. Between the remaining two there exists again merely another link of personality. In completing his unhistorical treatment of the story of Shore and his wife, Heywood introduced the figure of Gloster, and seems then to have thought that he could not do better than throw in a few scenes dealing with themes of such universal interest as the killing of Clarence and the murder of the princes.

An important fact is that the action of the second part is not brought to a close with the death of the principal personage, for, though Edward dies in the eleventh scene, the play is prolonged for some ten scenes more.[1] Nor is there any decline in interest, as Gloster merely takes the place of Edward. We could desire no better illustration of the essential nature of the type. Heywood might readily have gone on to dramatize the events of Richard's reign, have passed with a similar facility from Richard to Henry VII, and have continued down to his own day. As matters stand the play is broken sharply off in the midst of the interesting, characteristic, and eventful quarrel between Richard and Buckingham.[2]

[1] So in *Arden of Feversham*, in which the action runs on for five scenes after the death of Arden himself. Cf. *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*=3 *Henry VI*, and the second part of *Robert Earl of Huntingdon*.

[2] The attempt of Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, 143–52, to show that the Shore plot is really the central part of the play, and hence serves as its kernel, seems to me only partly successful, if so much. His statement that it is the only one common to the two parts is inaccurate, since the French wars are prepared for in the last scenes of pt. 1, though the actual expedition into France is not taken up until pt. 2. Moreover, the Shore episode is not really entered upon until two-thirds of pt. 1 is over, unless the appearance of Shore in a totally different connection in certain earlier scenes is inconsistent with that statement. The whole of the Falconbridge rebellion, the marriage scene, and the greater part of the episode of Hobs precede it, and in the last third of the play much space is devoted to concluding that episode and to preparing for the French war. In pt. 2 the Shore interest occupies relatively more space, but the French war is fully handled in complete independence of it, and other scenes toward the end serve to dissipate the dramatic interest quite as thoroughly as in pt. 1. Thus as regards method *Edward IV* may still be considered to be as nearly typical as any single play can be, for the process by which the action of the piece is complicated may be illustrated by the arithmetical series 1+1+1 . . ., the series being theoretically limited only by external conditions of time and space.

Evidently there is not to be discovered in *Edward IV* any attempt to present events otherwise than in their accidental or chronological relations. No doubt there appears to be an attempt to create a kind of pseudo-unity by the use of various tricks that may have easily seemed in the early days of the development of dramatic technique to be more than mere tricks,[1] i.e. the annihilation of time-intervals, the interpolation of scenes from one episode into another, and the interpolation into one incident of figures from another incident. There is, however, no real correlation of material. Each line of interest is independent of every other, save as all are linked together through the personality of Edward.

Let us then define the chronicle history as a dramatic composition purporting to draw its materials from the chro: icles (or from an equivalent source), treating those materials in a way to bring out their accidental (particularly their chronological)

[1] It would be wholly uncritical not to emphasize the fact that the comments above are made from the modern point of view, and not to ask the question how far the *generality* of Elizabethan playwrights down to 1600 and beyond had definite conceptions of unified structure. The only unity of plot spoken of in the formal criticism of the day was the unity of classical drama, and that unity, however much desired by some writers for the popular stage, could be attained only by classical methods. These they could not employ. The conception of the other type of unity was of necessity a growth. It may very well have been that Heywood, and others like him, if they considered the problem at all, really believed that by the use of such devices they had succeeded in attaining unification. A careful and detailed study of the development of the idea of unity in the modern drama is a desideratum. Such discussions as in Friedland, "Dramatic Unities in England," *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, X, 1911, or in Lounsbury's *Shakespearean Wars*, Vol. I, cover only a small portion of the ground.

relations, recognizing as a rule no other principle of connection than that of personality, and having the general character of a survey of a more or less arbitrarily limited period.[1]

Need we contrast this method with that of *Lear?* Certainly at no greater length than to note that, whereas Heywood intended not to develop a plot, but to narrate a series of events, Shakespeare desired not merely to narrate a series of events, but also to develop a plot. The one produced an historical drama, the other a chronicle history. To draw any sharp line of demarcation between the two is perhaps impossible. We may say only that the chronicle history passes into the historical drama when the emphasis is shifted from accidental to organic relations, from *post hoc* to *propter hoc*. It will interest us to see just how the shift came to be made and from just what point of view.

II

It would be a mistake to draw the inference that the method typical of the chronicle drama developed within the chronicle drama itself, and I desire to point out, at the risk of saying some things that are the pure commonplaces of dramatic history, that the 'form' defined in the preceding section, so far at

[1] Professor Gregory Smith says (*Cambridge History of Eng. Lit.*, V, 152): "It is a reasonable question whether there is any such genre as the chronicle or history play, for the term, in its strictest sense, means no more than a play, presumably a tragedy, which draws its subject from the national annals."

any rate as the general arrangement and massing of material were concerned, was in existence and wide use before the chronicle plays were thought of.

In the religious drama the human interest, though it had perhaps existed in a measure from the beginning, was distinctly subordinated, so long as this drama remained under the control of the clergy, to the interest of worship and reverence. Later, however, upon the transference of the conduct of the religious plays to secular hands, it became more and more prominent, and with its development went on the development of characterization. A good touch in characterization brought about an extension of the human interest, and an extension of the human interest afforded additional opportunities for characterization, until at length in more than one play the merely human interest came to overshadow the religious.

Characterization, however, involves in a certain degree action; a figure must express itself partly through what it does. Furthermore, this action is likely to come more and more to exist for its own sake, since religion, in such a state of society and in such a grade of culture as that of the miracle play audience, affects all men in pretty much the same way. At the same time, action proceeds by incidents, and incidents are the raw material of plot. Side by side with the religious plot, if such it may be called, there tended to grow up a secular plot, that was but loosely connected with it.

Of this process as accomplished, the best and most

familiar example is perhaps to be found in the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum,* wherein we have not merely two plots unconnected with each other except through the personalities of the actors, but also actors in each plot that do not appear in the other. In other words, the English drama was at its outset purely religious; later it added the element of realism, and thus the unity of effect was destroyed. This advance, since the religious element could not be discarded, brought about the development of two plots—there was the drama of religion plus the drama of manners.

Looking at the matter from another point of view and somewhat more in detail, we may say that the development of plot in the religious drama proceeded in several ways. Originally we have a simple incident taken from the Bible and told in biblical, at least liturgical language, such as the trope, entitled *Angelica de Resurrectione Christi,*[1] which, it must be emphasized, is a mere incident and not a plot or combination of incidents. Expansion may take place in either of two ways: another incident already dramatized may be added to the first, or one not previously treated may be taken from the biblical text and combined with it. The result will be like the Easter Office as Manly prints it,[2] in which at least two incidents are dramatized, the meeting of the Maries with the angel and their further meeting with the disciples. Thus we begin to get a combination of incidents, a fairly connected and

[1] Manly, *Specimens,* I, xxi. [2] pp. xxii ff.

complete story, as in the fragments of liturgical plays given by Manly from Skeat.

In all these cases, however, there is little or no addition to the material supplied by the biblical narrative. The dialogue is the liturgical dialogue, and the situations and the figures that take part in them are all to be found in the original version of the story. When realism enters into a play in which the development of plot has not proceeded further than this stage, then we get an approximation to real life in the delineation of figures and incidents that are strictly scriptural, as in the *Abraham and Isaac*, which exhibits great tragic power, yet adds little in the way of incident to the original framework.

The desire for realism was satisfied in other ways as well. The inevitable expansion of the dialogue may very well suggest illustrative incidents,[1] without materially altering the main outlines of the story. If we compare the Chester Noah play, in which Noah's wife protests but feebly against the plans of her husband, with the same incident in the Towneley cycle, we shall see how easily and naturally this introduction of new episodes may proceed without changing to any appreciable extent the original form of the situation.

Expansion, however, might proceed along slightly different lines. The biblical narrative might suggest the treatment of incidents only in a remote degree

[1] This tendency to illustrate by incidents what is in the original merely a dialogue is elsewhere exemplified. See latter part of note 1, page xxxii.

connected with it. Thus in Chester VI the scenes in which Octavian figures, although related to the main theme, are not woven into it as are the additions just mentioned.

From such interpolations it is an easy transition to those that are really unrelated to the central theme. These again may very well have as their source perhaps bits of dialogue originally introduced merely for a realistic purpose. In its earlier stage this process is well represented in the first *Shepherds' Play* of the Towneley series, in a later stage in the second *Shepherds' Play* of the same cycle, as well as in the Chester *Shepherds' Play.*

In such plays as these we are to see the starting-point of chronicle history technique, so far as that technique had to do with the handling of masses of material. What we have in the *Secunda Pastorum* is the first and simplest stage of the dramatic form employed by the chronicle history writers, and for that matter by the Elizabethan playwrights generally. Their practice of uniting in one play two or more threads of interest and their pursuit of the chronological method were in other words merely the application to a larger and more varied mass of material of a dramatic form that was the inevitable outcome of the dramatic conditions of the time.[1]

[1] Thus Jacob's statement, in his edition of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1890, I, xxix, that the Elizabethan drama would have been subject to the unities but for the influence of the Italian *novella*, would seem to be without foundation. The influence of the *novella* seems to have made for one type of unity in the drama, instead of against it; see pp. lxxviii ff.

Yet even within the religious drama we get a further development than the one just treated, to be seen, for instance, in the Digby play of *Mary Magdalen*.[1] Incident, as I have previously said, suggests incident, and the result is that we have in the play a sort of chronicle history of Mary's life. It will repay a slightly longer analysis. In all it comprises fifty-two scenes, is divided into two parts, and deals with Mary's life from her early youth to her death. In it are depicted scenes in the Castle of Maudleyn, wherein her father, her sister Martha, and her brother Lazarus take part, her seduction by a gallant, her repentance and pardon by Christ, her pilgrimage to the land of Marcyle, with the conversion of the king and queen of that country, and finally her death. Interspersing these are scenes dealing with the Emperor Tiberius, the raising of Lazarus, the pilgrimage of the king of Marcyle to Jerusalem to be baptized, and the miraculous preservation of his wife and child. In short, the play conforms in every respect save that of source to our definition of the chronicle history. Mary forms the unifying element, but the dramatist has not limited the scope of his piece to incidents dealing with her alone, and has not hesitated to include episodes with which she was only distantly concerned. Yet the play is in despite of that fact a biographical play, and is to be placed in the same category, aside from the extreme crudeness of the workmanship and the religious character of the subject-matter,

[1] Edited by Furnivall, New Sh. Soc. Publ., 1892.

with such dramas as *Oldcastle, More,* and *Cromwell.*[1]

Two Cornish plays, the *Origo Mundi*[2] and the *Creation of the World,*[3] illustrate an important aspect of this process of growth. The first, for instance, beginning with the creation, includes Cain and Abel, Death of Adam, Noah and the Flood, Abraham, Moses, David and Bathsheba, Building of the Temple, and the Bridge over Cedron; thus it constitutes a survey of a good part of Old Testament history in preparation for two plays dealing directly with the life of Christ. The *Creation* covers similarly the period from the Creation to the Flood. Perhaps it is worth emphasizing that the practice, reprobated by Sidney, for example, and Jonson, of dealing with great lapses of time in a single play had its roots in the religious drama, and that in the habits of mind, the predispositions of one generation of play-goers are we to

[1] A somewhat similar development is to be noted in the Digby *Burial and Resurrection of Christ.* Various views as to the exact classification of the *Mary Magdalen* and as to its relation to the miracle play cycle need not detain us (cf. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama,* 1908, I, 12; Chambers, *Medieval Stage,* 1903, II, 156; Eckhardt, *Die Lustige Person,* etc., 1902, 78). There seem to have existed a number of saints' plays (Chambers, II, 338, 342, 362, 374, 380, 436), but as none of these have been preserved, we cannot tell how far they resembled the *Mary Magdalen* structurally. The extant *Conversion of St. Paul* is not so striking as the *Mary Magdalen,* but exhibits similar tendencies. (There is also a Cornish *St. Meriasek,* which I know nothing about.) Other religious plays showing elaborated and interwoven threads of interest are the *Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant* and *Weavers' Pageant* (Coventry; ed. H. Craig, Early English Text Society, 1902).

[2] Chambers, II, 433.

[3] Chambers, II, 435; apparently founded on the *Origo Mundi.*

look for the chief explanation of the æsthetic standards of the next. Often well-marked tastes and preferences on the part of the Elizabethan audience, like certain facts of Elizabethan staging and scenery, can be understood only by finding out just what earlier spectators were accustomed to see.[1]

No matter what the extent to which realistic or traditional material may have forced its way into the miracle play in its various stages, the writer could not, even in the second *Shepherds' Play*, omit his biblical incidents entirely, nor as a rule of course did he wish to do so.[2] He had to do with a situation more or less fixed, and when he wished to introduce any other incidents than the traditional ones, he was in many instances forced to give them their own setting. In the morality, however, as every student says in turn, the author had comparatively a free hand. He was not dealing with a fixed situation, and could consequently contract or expend his central action as he chose, At the same time, he had a fixed theme to expound, the relation of man to the world, the flesh, and the devil. Hence

[1] It is the popular drama to which attention has been given in the pages above, but perhaps reference should be made to the fact that Creizenach calls Foxe's *Christus Triumphans* "ein weltgeschichtliches Bild," and that the *Pammachius* had a similar character (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, II, 87, 142 ; cf. also 108–9).

[2] Very strange material did sometimes make its appearance. "The Dublin plays can hardly be called a cycle ; they represented, to be sure, the stories of Adam and Eve, of Joseph and Mary, of the passion, and of the deaths of the apostles ; but they included, with a somewhat ludicrous catholicity of æsthetic appeal, the story of Crispin and Crispinianus, the adventures of Bacchus and of Vulcan, and the Comedy of Ceres." (Gayley, *Plays of our Forefathers*, 1907, 141).

the interest was from the beginning centred in man, or the figure that stood for man ; through him the incidents found their connection. Accordingly, many of the moralities are distinctly ' biographical ' in character, and a perfectly definite contribution of the morality to the development of English dramatic technique was the unity of personality.[1]

The morality form thus tended to a certain unity, and in so far as the element of conflict received stress seemed on the highway to the development of plot in the stricter sense, since perhaps we may roughly define plot for our present purposes as a series of episodes exhibiting the process by which there is attained a state either of quiescence or of stable equilibrium on the part of conflicting forces. Disintegrating influences were, however, still active, and their effects are observable. The exploitation of the comic interest introduced extraneous episodes.[2] The intrusion of new themes, polemic, pedagogical, political,[3] into a drama of primarily ethical purpose had occasionally similar results. It has been suggested [4] that the limited number of actors in the typical professional troop of about 1550 was partly responsible for imperfect plotting. We should also

[1] No doubt the *Mary Magdalen* observes the unity of personality. Yet we do not know, after all, that there were many plays of that type (see note, p. xxviii), and it is certainly better to regard this unity as the contribution of a large class of plays in which it was naturally developed.

[2] Eckhardt, *ibid.*, 71–2, 116.

[3] Schelling, *El. Drama*, I, 57 ff.

[4] Brandl, *Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas*, etc., 1898, lxvii–lxviii ; cf. Creizenach, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, III, 575.

take into account the naïve interest of the Elizabethans in accessary and illustrative detail, sometimes realistic in character.[1] To draw a sharp line between what would tend to heighten and concentrate the dramatic interest and what would tend to dissipate it and so loosen dramatic structure is impossible, but the distinction should be noted as bearing on the episodic nature of Elizabethan plays. And, furthermore, we must recognize the disorganizing influence of the miracle play cycle as a whole. Many of the plays in these great cycles were not longer than many of the scenes in later drama. To the spectator they served but as scenes in that larger play, that world-drama, what we might call perhaps fancifully the chronicle history of the universe, in course of evolution before him. Yet these separate scenes had no special connection with one another, save through their common dependence upon the central theme. Why, then, when the same spectator came to view any other performance, should he demand that it be characterized by a stricter unity ?

Into a minute appraisal of these various influences we cannot go. What stands out pretty clearly is that native tradition ran in favour of organizing the action on the basis of the survey of a period : of a series of years covering the religious history of the

[1] Cf. the ' cry of hounds ' in Edwardes' *Palamon and Arcyte*, Schelling, II, 57 ; an important note on this performance is in Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*, 1912, 112, n. 4. Moreover, the dumb shows are important in this connection, see note below, p. lvi.

race (miracle cycle), covering the life of an individual symbolizing the race (morality), covering a fairly well marked off portion of history, mythical or religious (Chester *Creation;* cf., later, Heywood's *Four Ages*), covering the life of an historical personage (*Mary Magdalen, Tamburlaine, Cromwell, Sir Thomas More*). These plays hardly represent different ideals of structure, and are hardly to be classified on such a basis.

Stated in more definite, and hence probably more disputable terms, the conclusion just reached amounts to this: Upon the morality form, of which the ideal was a certain type of unity, but which contained, nevertheless, disruptive elements, there acted possibly the disintegrating influence of the miracle play, reinforced by the disintegrating influence of the miracle play cycle,[1] and there developed a form like that of *Damon and Pythias*, in which the interest attaching to a central personality served as a thread upon which to hang what might be called scene-pendants. This form was that employed by the chronicle history.

[1] A similar disintegrating influence was experienced by the classical form when it came into contact with the popular drama. Schücking, *Studien über die stofflichen Beziehungen der englischen Komödie zur Italischen*, 1901, 38, notes the fact that the translator and adapter of *La Spiritata* added a number of scenes that do not assist the action. The mixture of styles in *Locrine* will at once occur to the reader, and Fischer, *Kunstentwicklung der englischen Tragödie*, 1893, 25, reminds us that in the translations of Seneca are sometimes added scenes that bring on the stage incidents only mentioned in the original.

III

The study of the way in which the dramatic form thus evolved came to be applied to a larger and more complex mass of material in the shape of English history is itself a study not of form but of the transformation of content. When, for example, did the chronicle history itself come definitely into existence, and in virtue of what forces did it acquire its predominant position in the drama of 1590–1600?

For the first appearance of history in the direct line of dramatic development we are to hold the didacticism of the moralities[1] responsible. A moral lesson is best enforced through concrete examples, and the concrete examples that would most strongly appeal to the people of the time, as we know from their conception of tragedy,[2] were those having to do with the high in station—kings, princes, and nobles. In the very nature of things 'historical moralities' would come into existence as one of the first stages in the de-moralization of a didactic drama. No doubt we have no information absolutely determining the ethical purpose of the earliest play mentioned as having an historical subject, *King Robert of*

[1] The expansive character of the miracle cycle did result in the introduction of a few historical figures not in the Bible, like Octavian and Tiberius, but they are not numerous (cf. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, 1899, I, 169), and I do not see that we need to consider them.

[2] Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, etc., 1890, I, 28 ff.; Creizenach, I, 9, 12.

Sicily,[1] but to assume that it was other than a moral play dealing with the well-known legend would be gratuitously absurd. Of extant plays, Preston's *Cambyses*, printed 1569, will serve to exemplify historical moralities of purely ethical purpose. It is made up of a number of incidents relating to Cambyses, illustrating some the good, others the bad side of the king's nature, and finding their connection solely through him. For the purposes of comic relief are thrust in matters with which he has nothing to do, as the episode of Huf, Ruf, Snuf, and Meretrix.

If we may consider religious controversy as at bottom ethical, it was likewise an ethical purpose that inspired Bale to the writing of *Kynge Johan*. He had a definite moral and political end in view. The burning question was whether England should be under the domination of Rome. He conceived that he could not better ensure her continuance in the present struggle for freedom than by showing what had been the evil results of a previous submission. The controversial drama of the succeeding decades, the plays like *Albion Knight* and *Respublica*, had behind them a similar desire, to further in one way or another the social and political development of England. In this way English history and matters relating to the existence of England as a nation, in other words, the national existence of England, came

[1] Chambers, II, 356; played 1529, but dating back to the reign of Henry VII. There was apparently a *Ludus de Kyng Robert of Cesill* played at Lincoln, 1452–3, *ibid.*, 378.

to play a part in the English drama.[1] *Kynge Johan*, however, differed from other extant polemical plays in that it utilized a particular historical situation and a particular historical figure. It is important, not on account of its merit or its influence, but because it illustrates a preliminary stage through which, under the conditions of the time, English history necessarily passed before it could become an independent and self-sufficient dramatic theme.

Gorboduc, though a product of the learned drama from one point of view, yet through its neglect of the unities and its didactic purpose[2] allies itself with the contemporary popular drama in important respects, and may very properly be considered as illustrating a stage of the treatment of English history following upon that of *Kynge Johan*. The allegorical figures have disappeared, and the action admits of statement in the form of a narrative rather than in that of a thesis. But the *raison d'être* of the piece is still political. English history is not yet presented for its own sake or for the sake of its intrinsic dramatic interest. A distinct step, however, has been taken toward freeing that kind of subject-matter from entangling political and religious alliances.

[1] " And amongst the rest, in one play, they represented King Philip, the late Queen of England, and Cardinal Pole, reasoning together about such things, as they imagined might have been said by them in the matter of religion." (*Calendar of State Papers*, Venetian, 1559, May 4).

[2] The fullest discussion of the play's admonitory aim is in H. A. Watt, *Gorboduc; or, Ferrex and Porrex*, University of Wisconsin Bulletin, 1910, 33 ff.

During the period following *Gorboduc* the course of the drama lay towards the expulsion of alien moral and political elements. Plays of a definitely controversial cast were still forbidden by the Government; no dramatist was permitted to meddle with politics, and the substitution of human for allegorical figures, of real life for abstract symbolism, proceeded rapidly, assisted as it was by the concomitant absorption of classical and Italian subjects and ideals. It was inevitable that English history should share in the general progress of dramatic motives, and should come within the next few years to be treated for its own sake.

The course of this process it is not easy to trace with precision, because of the lack of definite evidence. The subject is not recognized in contemporary criticism, and the plays of the time, even their names, are no longer preserved in any number. Yet there are one or two considerations that may be of use to us in arriving at more solid results.

It is true that the element of social and political morality was not entirely expelled by 1579, for we find that Gosson, the determined enemy of plays and players, is willing to allow a certain praise to a drama called *Ptolome*, "very lively descrybing howe seditious estates, with their owne devises, false friendes, with their owne swoordes, and rebellious commons in their owne snares are overthrowne."[1] Clearly this was a play somewhat, if not altogether, in the didactic style of *Cambyses*—a conclusion borne

[1] *School of Abuse*, ed. Arber, p. 40.

out by the fact that Gosson is willing to have such plays presented under certain conditions. His own drama of *Catilins Conspiracies* was probably of the same character. Nevertheless, it is sufficiently clear that there were in existence at this time historical plays that approached more nearly to our own conception. They seem to be first mentioned in Lodge's *Play of Plays.*[1]

Prynne tells us that *The Play of Plays* defends histories on the ground that they instruct the people in history and are thus useful. Now *The Play of Plays* was produced in 1580, and in answer to Gosson's *School of Abuse.* The plays that are defended then can hardly be those that Gosson is willing to allow, namely, historical plays with a specifically moral aim. Rather Lodge must be trying to justify on didactic grounds historical plays of which the didactic character was not at first sight apparent.

If, however, this inference be not conclusive as to the point, let us see what Gosson says in *Plays Confuted :* " If a true Historie be taken in hand, it is made like our shadows, longest at the rising and

[1] 1580. Non-extant, but cf. Gosson's *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, Action 4, and Prynne, *Histriomastix*, 1632–3, pp. 719, 733, and particularly 940–1. I do not see why Symmes, *Les Debuts de la Critique Dramatique en Angleterre*, etc., 1903, 94, should refuse to accept, at least provisionally, Prynne's attribution of the play to Lodge. Prynne's statement is explicit ; his marginal note, p. 940, is : " See Thomas Lodge, his Play of Plays." Writing 1630, he could hardly have referred in that way to the mere performance of a play in 1580. The logical inference is that there was a printed copy, to which he referred his readers, and which attributed the play to Lodge.

falling of the Sunne, shortest of all at hie noone. For the Poets drive it most commonly unto such pointes, as may best showe the majestie of their pen, in Tragicall speaches; or set the hearers agogge, with discourses of love; or painte a fewe antickes, to fitt their owne humors, with scoffes & tauntes; or wring in a shewe, to furnish the Stage, when it is to bare; when the matter of it selfe comes shorte of this, they followe the practise of the cobler, and set their teeth to the leather to pull it out."[1] In illustration, he points to the "history of Cæsar and Pompey, and the Playe of the Fabii" as having been written in this fashion. Are not such histories as these very different from those of the earlier period of Elizabeth's reign, *Cambyses*, for instance?[2] Is it to be presumed that English history did not follow in this respect the course apparently taken by history in general? Knowing that English history formed an element in the earlier controversial drama, believing that history in general came to be treated in and for itself, without perhaps any ulterior aim on the part of the playwright, may

[1] *Plays Confuted*, sig. D 4–5. Gosson's use of the term 'true history' is perfectly clear. But when Sidney says (*Apologie*, ed. Arber, 64), "lastly, if they will represent an history," it is not clear what he means. The context preceding suggests that history means historical truth or fact. The illustration is the story of Polidorus in Euripides, which Sidney probably, but not certainly, considered historical.

[2] As perhaps significant in this connection should be noted the occasional appearance of historical themes in the development of the masque, Brotanek, *Englische Maskenspiele*, 56–8, and perhaps also the substitution for the Coventry miracles in 1584 of *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (Chambers, II, 113, 361).

we not with justice conclude that so early as 1580 the chronicle history had appeared on the stage ?[1]

Though this conclusion would seem to be logical, we must admit, as above suggested, that it is not to be dogmatically asserted. We cannot produce many titles to support it. Professor Schelling, in the list of plays on English subjects that he has supplied to his work on the chronicle history, mentions several as having been written before 1580. Of these, *Kynge Johan* and *Gorboduc* have been touched upon. Others are at best somewhat doubtful as regards their place in the dramatic category under discussion. Thus one wonders whether Gosson's play of *The Blacksmith's Daughter* belongs in this list, for Gosson expressly tells us that it contained " the trechery of *Turkes*, the honourable bountye of a noble minde,

[1] " And it is impossible to resist the conjecture that English history must have received crude presentation in the public theatres much earlier than we have any record of." (Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 1908, 74.) Collier, II, 455, dates the old *Henry V* " not long after 1580," and Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, 1902, 276, places it in 1580, though in *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 257, he conjectures 1586–7. Baeske, *Oldcastle : Falstaff*, Palaestra L, 1905, 75, says : " Durch den Einfluss des ' Tamerlan ' und der komplizierten Historientechnik des Marlowe beschränkt sich die Abfassung weiter auf die Zeit von 1587–88." He gives no evidence of this supposititious Marlowe influence and would doubtless be puzzled to point out in what it consisted. Proof of it would be interesting. Kabel, *Die Sage von Heinrich V*, Palaestra LXIX, 1908, 65–6, is more precise and dates the play July-September, 1588. He says nothing of Marlowe, but thinks, with Baeske, that " die grosse Kraft und Frische " shown in the handling of the plot must have had something to do in some way with the Armada. (Ward, I, 223, had unfortunately remarked of this play that " its general vigour and freshness are considerable," but had wisely refrained from committing himself to a particular date.)

and the shining of vertue in distresse." [1] Can we be certain that the play of *Alucius* had a subject taken from English history? The same thing is to be said of *The Irish Knight*, whether or not identical with *Cutwell*.[2] So far as we are aware, the material treated in it might have been utterly unhistorical. The Robin Hood plays, too, though they seem to indicate the existence of a widespread popular drama that may have very remotely prepared the way for the chronicle history, need not be specifically considered here.[3]

There remain, then, two non-extant English plays,

[1] *School*, p. 40.

[2] Feuillerat, *Revels*, *u.s.*, 461.

[3] Relations of such plays to the 'regular' drama are considered by Ordish, *Folk-Lore*, Vols. II, IV. Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, 6 ff., discusses these and considers them as preparatory of the historical drama. It is doubtful whether they should be so considered. No question the people believed that Robin Hood and Saint George had actually existed and that in the plays and the ballads dealing with them was to be found a more or less trustworthy account of their doings. But it seems clear that they were not so much interested in Robin Hood, for example, as a definitely historical personage as they were in him as somehow the mouthpiece and expression of their ideals and emotions. Thus the ballads of Robin Hood may be thought of as quite different in tone and atmosphere from the consciously and purposefully historical ballads of which Aubrey tells us (see *post*), and it is among these that we should seek for the analogues and preparatory antecedents of the chronicle play, so far as content at least is concerned.

The *Hok Tuesday Play* stands, of course, in a class by itself. As is clear from Laneham's letter, its definitely historical interest and character had by the middle of the sixteenth century, and perhaps much earlier, come prominently into the foreground. Whatever its origin, it had come to be associated with a particular historical event and to symbolize the struggle of the English nation with a foreign invader, and it was on the ground of its historical and national significance that its presentation before the queen was urged. "The thing, said they, iz grounded on story, and for pastime woont too bee plaid in oour Citee yeerely." "As containing," says Schelling,

The Tragedy of the King of Scots (1567) and *The Siege of Edinburgh* (1573), and two extant Latin plays, *Byrsa Basilica* (1570) and *Richardus Tertius* (1579). Of the first two we know practically nothing definite. Probably *The King of Scots* contained allegorical elements.[1] Of the Latin plays it is difficult to speak briefly. *Byrsa Basilica* seems not to have freed itself from the morality.[2] To *Richardus Tertius* Professor Churchill attributes a great influence on later historical drama. This I have myself been unable to discern,[3] and from my point of view

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p. 16, " the representation of an historical event in action by means of dialogue, of a character altogether secular and animated by a purpose free from didactic intent, *The Hock Tuesday Play* must be regarded as the earliest dramatic production fulfilling, if rudely, the conditions of a national historical drama."

Madden's conjecture as to the existence in the thirteenth century of a semi-historical Haveloc Play (Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 50) may be passed over.

[1] See warrant, June 11, 1568, Feuillerat, *Revels*, *u.s.*, 119, in which " the Pallace of prosperitie Scotlande and a gret Castell one thothere side " occur as apparently belonging to the furniture for the *King of Scots* mentioned a few lines previously. For speculation as to the subject-matter, see Feuillerat's note, 449.

[2] Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, 21 ; Churchill, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxiv, 281 ; in any case, there does not seem to be much that is historical in it.

[3] See also Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, 21 ; *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 255 ; Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 60, where it is very pertinently suggested that " its adherence to sources and its looseness of structure may have been reflections from the public stage." It might further be said that Watt, *Gorboduc*, *u.s.*, 89, has quite as much ground for calling *Gorboduc* " the first of the Chronicle Plays " as has Churchill for applying a similar term to *Richardus Tertius* (*Richard the Third up to Shakespeare*, 1900, 270). Lack of space prevents adequate discussion of Churchill's position, but I cannot forbear pointing out that the influence of the popular drama upon the humanistic or learned drama, both continental and insular, is a quite patent and unmistakable thing. (Creizenach's second volume, Buch I, bristles with evidences, and the note at the bottom of p. 60 of Thorndike is

Richardus Tertius is chiefly valuable as helping us to believe that by 1580 English history had become an independent and self-sufficient dramatic theme.[1]

IV

One may or may not believe that chronicle histories were being written by 1580; one cannot ignore the fact that by the early nineties they were more numerous and more popular than plays of any other kind. There was by that time in existence a national historical drama, national, that is, not alone by virtue of its subject-matter, but because it embodied in plays of no doubt unequal merit and often of trivial character, the profoundest sentiments by which the English people were collectively inspired—pride in a great past, exultation in a great present, superb confidence in a great future. Such a drama, one feels, could pass through a development so luxuriant only when certain conditions had been fulfilled—when the people, nationalized, homogeneous, feeling and acting pretty much as one, had become capable of taking a deep and active interest in its own past; when it had become

quite in point. Nor would anyone for a moment think of asserting that the treatment of plot in *Gorboduc* was anything but a reflection of the dramatic conditions of the time. That was just what Sidney disliked in it). That the author of *The True Tragedy of Richard III* did, however, borrow in some degree from *Richardus Tertius* is clearly shown by Churchill and should not be lost sight of.

[1] Sarrazin, *William Shakespeares Lehrjahre*, 1897, 19, says that it is improbable that there should have been a foundation-piece for pt. 1 of *Henry VI* "weil es überhaupt erst um 1588 üblich wurde Historien zu schreiben."

awakened to a sense of its own greatness; when there had come into being a dramatic form by which historical material could be presented in such a way as to reveal just those aspects of it of which the public felt most deeply the inspiration. The problem of ascertaining how these conditions were met in the years between 1580 and 1600 becomes much simpler than it would otherwise be when we perceive that after all we are not so much concerned with England as a whole as we are with London, not so much with the English people as with the London populace, except, of course, in so far as the mood of the London populace was the national mood, intensified, heightened, articulate.[1] All Englishmen, for example, hated foreigners, but it was London that had its evil May-day. It becomes, too, a little simpler yet when we realize that this homogeneity did not arise out of identity of economic conditions, of political belief, or of religious creed, but was the product of the common participation, individually

[1] In London, remarks Creizenach, IV, 193–4, "jede Gasse, jede Kirche, jedes öffentliche Gebäude wurde durch grosse Erinnerungen verklärt. Hier erstreckte sich noch der Strassenzug, durch den einst der Rebellenhaufen, von Jack Cade geführt, sich herbeiwälzte, dort erhob sich das alte Gebäude mit dem Jerusalem-Zimmer, worin Heinrich IV. verschied, dort Baynard's Castle, wo die Londoner Bürger Richard dem Dritten die Krone anboten. . . . Aber mehr als in allen den Fällen, die hier sonst noch erwähnt werden könnten, gilt die Wahrheit des Gesagten für den Ort, an dem uns noch heute wie vielleicht an keinem andern dieser Welt der Schauer der Vergangenheit überkommt: in dem Halbdunkel des Gewölbes der Westminster-Kathedrale, wo die Helden und Herrscher der Vorzeit, die in ihrer Liebe und in ihrem Hass, in ihren Grosstaten und ihren Verbrechen von den Dichtern neubelebt waren, auf den mächtigen steinernen Sarkophagen ausgestreckt liegen."

various as it might be, in those large and generous emotions, the pride, the exultation, the superb confidence. These, for a brief, glorious moment, were shared by Catholic and Puritan, courtier and citizen, master and man. And so we can speak of a national unanimity of thought and action, and of a national historical drama.

It is no doubt the duty of the historian to describe in detail how such a unanimity was eventually achieved, but the process as a whole cannot be entirely ignored in a serious study of the chronicle play, and there are phases of it upon which we may even dwell for a moment, owing to the peculiar interest they possess. Certainly Henry VIII did not leave behind him a united people, and during the two following reigns the forces of dissension became ever stronger and more threatening. Religious persecution, political discord, economic upheaval, an exhausted exchequer, a debased currency, military defeat, these were some of the factors that brought England into a state of sullen despondency, lightened only by the hope of Elizabeth's succession. Under such circumstances controversial plays like *Kynge Johan* and *Respublica* may be composed, but quite obviously a great change in the state of the nation must come about before the people will take that exultant interest in their own past which is the necessary condition of a flourishing patriotic drama.

During the first half of Elizabeth's reign the change took place. The political exigencies that forced Philip of Spain, ambitious to realize the vast

projects of his father, to maintain peace with England at almost any price, lest she be thrown into the arms of France, his hereditary rival, together with the obstinacy of the Pope in demanding restitution of confiscated Church property to the uttermost farthing, assisted Elizabeth's own wise and moderate policy in substantially harmonizing religious opinion throughout England. For on the one hand Philip made no opposition to such changes in the ritual and practice of the Church as Elizabeth thought needful; on the other, the Pope brought about, through ill-judged bulls of deposition and continual incitements to revolt, a practical identification of patriotism and the Protestant religion, to which economic rivalry with Spain contributed its due share. Through the operation of these social forces, England, which from the point of view of its political sympathies was already Protestant, became actually such, and when the Armada appeared off the coast, even the remaining Catholics rose in a body to defend their country.[1]

This movement toward unity was forwarded by other influences, notably that exerted by the great development of popular historical writing during the sixteenth century. Of course English histories had been earlier written, and many of them. The thread of historical composition, from the time of the Saxon Chronicle, though divided into a thousand minute filaments, had been perfectly continuous.

[1] Compare Heywood's *If You Know not me*, etc., Works, 1874, I, 338.

The line of descent was at once direct and collateral. Chronicler borrowed from annalist, annalist continued chronicler, and no Renaissance atmosphere was needed for the domestication of the Muse of History in Great Britain. Her habitation, however, had been a religious cell, her customary garb conventual. She had spoken usually a foreign tongue, and her walks abroad had been confined to the paths that united abbey with abbey, monastery with monastery. Hardly had she deigned to tarry at the squire's hall or the yeoman's cottage. The inventory of Sir John Paston's library contains no work of history, though law books and romances are numerous.[1]

In the later fifteenth century, then, the study of history was hardly an active social force, hardly more an active intellectual one. In the sixteenth century the situation changes, and it becomes necessary for us to take account of the unifying influence of the chronicles themselves during the period between the publication of Caxton's *Chronicle of Brute* and the second edition of Holinshed. The great outburst of chronicle plays in the last part of the century is in very great measure to be explained by the interest which the people at large took in the history of England, the feelings with which that interest inspired them, and the harmony of thought and emotion that resulted from it.

The Chronicle of Brute was first published in 1480. The second edition of Holinshed appeared in 1586.

[1] Morley's *English Writers*, VI, 263 f.

Between these two dates, there were printed more than forty works, principally in English, bearing directly upon English history. Many of these, like Fabyan, Grafton, Stowe's *Summary*, underwent several editions. It is of course a question how far such compilations as Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ* were looked upon as historical. I have included the *Nova Legenda* in the number given above, but have omitted Malory and the romances generally.[1] Yet it cannot be doubted that even these helped to make sixteenth-century Englishmen conscious of the great body of history and legend that was their inheritance, whether or not history and legend were properly differentiated by them.[2]

It is the chronicles themselves that are at this moment of special interest. One chronicler, Polydore Vergil, had a position that was at least semi-official, for he had been expressly invited by Henry VII to write the history of England, and all the national and local records were to be thrown open to him. He wrote, to be sure, in Latin, but his work had a significance quite independent of its language. A great stage in the historical writing of a nation has

[1] I have omitted the romances because educated Englishmen did not consider them historical, though they must have passed current among a good many readers, and so have to be taken into account in a measure. See Ascham, *Toxophilus*, ed. Arber, p. 19, *Schoolmaster*, p. 80. Meres' enumeration and reprobation of romances, *Palladis Tamia*, Arber's Garner, II, 106, may be referred to. The romances were frequently dramatized.

[2] Cf. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, 1906, 158. And Whitlock, *Zootomia*, 1654, 215, speaks scornfully of those men "of easie soules, with whom Romants are Chronicle."

been completed when its government commands that its annals be compiled and given to the public. May it not be said to mark the recognition of history as a social and intellectual agency capable of producing definite results, and worthy of being utilized by a government in the attempt to rally the national forces and cultivate a national attitude ? [1]

Common to the chronicles, at least to those written in English and hence appealing to a wide circle of readers, were the point of view and the spirit of their composition—a point of view of intense patriotism, a spirit of heroical celebration. Both find perhaps their completest expression in the accounts of the life and deeds of Henry V, who was not merely an English king, but held the higher rank of a national hero. It was his reign that was looked back to as that under which England had been at her best and greatest. The superb characterization of Henry in Hall's chronicle and the soul-animating strains of Shakespeare's play find alike their direct inspiration in the belief that in Henry V was the national ideal at once realized and for ever fixed.

Dissociated then from political storm and religious stress, there was at work upon the minds of Englishmen an influence that made for peace and unity. The past had become a ground upon which all Englishmen might take their stand, not as partisans, but as patriots, as common inheritors of a national spirit. The history of England had been glorified in

[1] Henry's immediate object was of course to cultivate Lancastrian sympathies.

prose, and it was inevitable that the drama should seize with enthusiasm its ample opportunity.

Effective in the same way was the sentiment of personal devotion to Elizabeth. John Stubbes did not in many things represent the point of view of the people at large; but at one moment in his otherwise harsh and narrow life he rose above himself and gave memorable utterance to a national emotion. Posterity has not forgotten that the instant his right hand was struck off by the public executioner, with his left he swung his cap and shouted, "God save the Queen." Indeed, beneath the absurd flatteries of which Elizabeth was the object we may read clear a deep and genuine feeling that formed not the least important element in the life of the people. Nor can the essential justness of the popular instinct be impugned. It was her policy that brought order out of disorder, her hand that disthroned chaos and old night. She rendered possible the exultant description of England that Shakespeare puts into the mouth of John of Gaunt. With her life were identified the Protestant religion and the national independence, and when the execution of Mary put practically an end to the conspiracies against Elizabeth's person, all England breathed a sigh of relief, for all England realized that her own struggle for existence would be the easier thenceforward.

The unifying influence exercised by the wise rule of Elizabeth and by this sentiment of personal devotion to her extended to a class that could not be directly reached by historical study or by the

chronicles, namely, to those that could not read. They were not less patriotic than their superiors, but their knowledge of history was of necessity derived mainly from tradition, from what of historic truth had been able to survive in ballad and legend. Chappell tells us that " from very early times down to the end of the seventeenth century, the common people knew history chiefly from ballads. Aubrey mentions that his nurse could repeat the history of England, from the conquest down to the time of Charles I, in ballads."[1] These productions are not all to be regarded as 'echt volksmässig.' By the term 'ballad' is in this instance comprised, in addition to true folk-poetry, all that popular verse that is engendered in cities and may with safety be denied a 'communal' origin, broadsides, satirical songs, and all such metrical flotsam and jetsam as has to do with political or historical events. Many of these productions were founded on the chronicles, and indeed in verse of a more strictly popular character we meet occasionally with epic formulæ, by the use of which the writer shifted the responsibility from his own shoulders to those of another.[2] The spirit of these metrical effusions was in an exaggerated degree the spirit of the chronicles. They at once stimulated the people's curiosity,

[1] Percy Soc. edition of *Crown Garland*, Publications, VI, 1842' pp. vii, viii.

[2] Cf. *Battle of Otterbourne*, 35 (2), Child, No. 161. *Rose of England*, 17 (2), 22 (4), Child, No. 166. *Flodden Field* (Appendix), 121 (4), Child, No. 168. Note also the title of the B.M. copy of No. 154, and compare the introductions to Nos. 163 and 164.

appealed to their patriotism and insular pride, and reinforced the appeal by the celebration of particular deeds and exploits.

In short, such was the interest in English history aroused as the result of the various social and political agencies whose operation I have attempted in slight measure to indicate, that the London audiences drew eagerly upon whatever sources of information were open to them. Much of the popularity enjoyed by the chronicle history was due to the fact that it answered this demand. We are accustomed to speak of the educational influence exercised by this dramatic species, but after all we hardly realize its extent; we hardly realize the fondness of the Elizabethan for details that to us are comparatively unimportant, or at any rate are foreign to the purpose the dramatist should entertain. If we examine, for instance, the old *True Tragedy of Richard III*, we shall find that several scenes consist merely of brief summaries of large parts of the action which the dramatist was unable to present on the stage, but which he apparently felt should not be omitted. Richard's page is often used for this purpose, but other characters also serve. We can find many passages illustrative of this didactic function of the chronicle play in dramas more advanced than this one.[1]

[1] *Edward III.* (ed. Moore Smith, 1897), I, i, ll. 1–40:

K. Ed. Robert of Artois, banish'd though thou be
From France, thy native country, yet with us
Thou shalt retain as great a signiory;
For we create thee Earl of Richmond here.

Many of these passages are essentially undramatic in character and do little more than supply historical information. In some cases this information is necessary to an understanding of the situation, but in others it is not. The people liked that sort of thing, and were desirous of hearing how many were killed in the battle and who were the leaders on either side, what events preceded and what succeeded a certain campaign, and so on. The notion of the selection of material for a dramatic as clearly distinct from a narrative purpose, the difference between a plot and

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And now go forward with our pedigree ;
Who next succeeded Philip Le Beau ?
Art. Three sons of his ; which all, successively,
Did sit upon their father's regal throne,
Yet died and left no issue of their loins.
K. Ed. But was my mother sister unto those ?
Art. She was, my lord ; and only Isabel
Was all the daughters that this Philip had :
Whom afterward your father took to wife ;
And, from the fragrant garden of her womb,
Your gracious self, the flower of Europe's hope,
Derived is inheritor to France.
But note the rancour of rebellious minds.
When thus the lineage of Le Beau was out,
The French obscur'd your mother's privilege ;
And, though she were the next of blood, proclaim'd
John, of the house of Valois, now their king :
The reason was, they say, the realm of France,
Replete with princes of great parentage,
Ought not admit a governor to rule
Except he be descended of the male ;
And that's the special ground of their contempt
Wherewith they study to exclude your grace, *etc.*

A long list of similar passages might be given. As regards Shakespeare, see *Henry V*, I, ii, ll. 32–95 ; IV, viii, 80–110. Other passages occur in the *Henry VI* plays. A good illustration is one found in the anonymous *Richard II* (see p. cxi, note 3), p. 61 ; and there are some very curious instances in the second part of Heywood's *If you know not me, you know Nobody*.

a mere series of episodes, had not as yet become apparent. Like children, they asked, What did he do? What did he say? What did the other man do then? If we bear in mind that the Elizabethans were now for the first time listening to such stories scenically presented, and that they were interested in them as are children in the earliest tales that reach their ears, we shall have the key to much in the drama of the period that might otherwise fail of proper interpretation.[1]

That the chronicle play had this specifically didactic function, particularly with reference to the illiterate class, was recognized by contemporary writers. Nashe has been quoted in another part of this study.[2] Heywood, in a passage worth giving at length, makes the educational value of the historical play an argument in his defence of the stage, while, as will be later seen, the Puritans attacked the stage partly because it abused the confidence of its auditors. Heywood says: "Playes have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot reade in the discovery of all our English chronicles; and what man have you now of that weake capacity that cannot discourse of any notable thing recorded even from William the Conquerour, nay, from the landing of Brute, untill this day?

[1] It is interesting to compare with the passages cited in the previous note, which have no dramatic colouring, other passages which likewise supply information, but are distinctly dramatic. For instance, 3 *Henry VI*, I, i, 104 ff., *Richard II*, I, iv, 42 ff.

[2] See p. xv.

beeing possest of their true use, for or because playes are writ with this ayme, and carryed with this methode, to teach their subjects obedience to their king, to shew the people the untimely ends of such as have moved tumults, commotions, and insurrections, to present them with the flourishing estate of such as live in obedience, exhorting them to allegeance, dehorting them from all trayterous and fellonious stratagems."[1]

Two other 'testimonies' may be quoted. One is from the *Iter Boreale* :[2]

Mine host was full of ale and history ;

* * * * *

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

The other is from Act II, Scene 1, of *The Devil is an Ass* :

Meer. That you say right in. Spenser, I think the younger,
Had his last honour thence. But he was but earl.
Fitz. I know not that, sir. But Thomas of Woodstock,
I'm sure was duke, and he was made away
At Calice, as Duke Humphrey was at Bury :
And Richard the Third, you know what end he came to.
Meer. By my faith, you are cunning in the chronicle, sir.
Fitz. No, I confess I have it from the playbooks,
And think they are more authentic.
Eng. That is sure, sir.

[1] *Apology*, p. 52.
[2] *Poems of Bishop Corbet*, ed. Gilchrist, 1807, 193.

In other words, the dramatist catered to the desire of the people for historical information, and in return the uneducated accepted him as an historical authority.[1]

The dramatic form earlier developed permitted the presentation of historical material in a way to gratify this keen and lively interest.

This form possessed as the result of its structure the characteristics of indefinite expansibility and epic quality. For these reasons it was especially well-suited to answer the demands of an Elizabethan audience, since the interest of such an audience was not fundamentally critical, but simply an interest of curiosity. It cared not so much to know what was the logic of events as it did to see the events themselves staged, and the question that it asked was not why, but rather what ?

No drama of the classical or pseudo-classical type could have answered this question satisfactorily.

[1] ' To be in a play ' had apparently something of the authority for that generation that ' to be in print ' has for the uneducated now. Cf. Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 358 : " The *C. Mery Tales* (1526) has a story of a preacher, who wound up a sermon on the Creed with ' Yf you beleve not me then for a more suerte & suffycyent auctoryte go your way to Coventre and there ye shall se them all playd in Corpus Christi playe.' " And see Gayley, *Plays of our Forefathers*, 112–13 : " One cannot read the Canterbury Tales without suspecting that the familiarity displayed by the simpler characters with scriptural event and legend is supposed to be derived from plays rather than directly from the services of the church."

With what Heywood says it is interesting to compare Gosson's remarks on the value of the play of *Ptolome*, *School*, p. 40. There was once a tradition that Shakespeare composed his chronicle plays for the purpose of instructing the people in history. See Halliwell, *The First Sketches of the Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI*, Old Shakespeare Society Publ., 1843, xxxv.

Comparatively speaking, the plot of such a play is simple, the incidents presented are few and not perhaps as a rule sensational or even exciting. Much is done off the stage, away from the eyes of the onlookers, and thus the spectacular value of the play is lessened.[1] The artificially restricted field renders impossible the survey of a period, and the form is one well adapted to the portrayal of a character, but not so well to the telling of a story. The Elizabethan, however, was not primarily interested in the portrayal of character, except possibly in satiric comedy. Interesting incident was what he mainly wanted, and no dramatic form unsuited to the development of a series of episodes would have found favour in his eyes. The crowded Elizabethan plot had its roots in the tastes and preferences of the Elizabethan audience.

In other words, a more highly developed dramatic form would have been too restricted in scope for this

[1] Here might be emphasized a point merely suggested above, namely, the distinctly theatrical interest of the chronicle history. The spectacular element is strongly brought out in it, armies, embassies, coronations, processions, battles (cf. the prologue to *Every Man in His Humour*) ; the figures in them are distinctly theatrical figures, kings, queens, and so on. See Gosson (above, p. xxxviii), who says that the poets in histories are fond of penning declamatory speeches and of bringing in a "show to furnish the stage when it is too bare." The historical play in general is full of tableaux. Tamburlaine's chariot drawn by kings, the army of Amazons in *Alphonsus* (having perhaps the interest of a modern ballet), the brazen head and descent of Venus (cf. again the prologue above mentioned) in the same play, the riots in *Sir Thomas More*, the dumbshows in *Gorboduc*, are cases in point. A close union of the chronicle play and the masque is to be seen in *Henry VIII*. That this characteristic of the chronicle history contributed in no small measure to its popularity is a fact that might well have been urged. See n. 4, p. lxxxviii.

early period. What the spectator wanted was something at once more formless and more inclusive. He was for the first time listening to stories dramatically told. He desired not so much a drama in our modern sense of the word, as an epic staged and acted out before him, and in answer to this demand the chronicle history came into existence. It was informed with the epic spirit, which regards Dido merely as a milestone in the course of Æneas's existence. The Trojan hero is not affected as to character or subsequent adventures by his encounter with the Queen of Carthage. His deeds on the Lavinian shore are what they would have been had he never seen her, and the Æneas that gives Turnus the fatal blow is in nothing changed from the Æneas that bore Anchises safely through the flaming city. Freytag's statement, "Schilderung fesselnder Begebenheiten ist Aufgabe des Epos,"[1] is no less true of the chronicle history, the purpose of which is objective rather than subjective, the representation rather of what takes place in a man's environment than of his mental or spiritual growth, or from another point of view, the narration of a series of events instead of the development of a plot. Thence sprang its epic spirit, and in that lay in no small measure the secret of its popularity.

The chronicle history, then, must be marked off from those plays that are dramatic in a higher and more sophisticated sense. "Dramatisch . . . [sind] das Werden einer That und ihre Folgen auf das

[1] *Technik des Dramas* (1898), p. 18.

Gemüth."[1] This reaction of events upon character is not emphasized in this branch of the Elizabethan drama, is indeed, on comparison with other species of that drama, conspicuously absent. In comedy, for instance, your prodigal repents and is received back into the good graces of his family or mistress after he has run his course. The reformation is often, nay usually, accomplished violently and in an unnatural manner, and we have no great faith in its lastingness. Yet it does represent on the part of the dramatist a certain realization of the fact that a man cannot go through a series of important events and come out unaltered in character.[2] In the chronicle histories generally this relation of character to environment received little attention. Even Shakespeare in his earlier plays does not bring it out, and we can hardly find character-progression in *Richard III* or *King John*. Either of these monarchs would have lived his life over, had it been possible, in much the same way. He would have corrected certain mistakes in policy, doubtless, but he would have had the same ends in view, and have been actuated by the same motives. In the chronicle history it is the event that is supreme, the fact.[3]

[1] *Technik des Dramas* (1898), p. 18.

[2] We do not object to the conversions of these prodigals that they are sudden (cf. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, pp. 175–9), but that they are not adequately represented. The failure was not in the conception, but in the lack of vividness in dramatizing it, in the absence of sufficient cause as actually accomplished. Lisideius in Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* emphasizes the superiority of the French plays in regard to this point.

[3] For relations of the national play to contemporary narrative poetry dealing with the same subject-matter, see Fleay, *Biog.*

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None will expect to find in so brief a study as this a discussion of every play that might conceivably be called a chronicle history. Those plays which contain a small amount of historical material employed chiefly to give a local habitation and a name to figures that belong properly in other dramatic fields, like Greene's *Friar Bacon*, may well be neglected by us, as may also those that use such material merely as padding, like Dekker's *Satiromastix*, or in which it serves as a vehicle for satire upon features of Elizabethan life.[1] We shall be principally interested in plays wherein the dramatization of history as such was the main aim of the author and the main concern of the audience, though we must at the same time avoid distinctions of too rigid and arbitrary a kind.[2]

Chron., I, 141–2, and Elton, *Michal Drayton*, 1905 (revision of Spenser Society Publications, n.s. No. 4), pp. 39 ff.; Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, 39.

[1] *A Merry Knack to Know a Knave*, 1592. Much of the text connects it with the pamphleteering war against cozeners waged by Greene and his associates. It contains a semi-allegorical figure named Honesty, whose business is to discover and bring to justice cheaters of all descriptions (anticipating Middleton's *Phœnix*). This part of the play, which is an expansion of certain hints afforded by the chronicles, and which contains a plagiarism from *Faustus* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, VI, 520), is loosely interwoven with a plot apparently taken from Holinshed (ed. 1808, I, 644 f.), and Kemp's *Merriments of the Men of Gotham* is avowedly utilized. Euphuism is satirized, pp. 523, 556. Such a hodge-podge illustrates the base uses to which chronicle material came and the readiness with which the chronicle history passed over into other types of drama, but is hardly otherwise of interest.

[2] The best general account of the miscellaneous subject-matter of those plays that concerned themselves with English life of the past, and hence stand in more or less close relation to our subject, is in Creizenach, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, IV, 193–215.

For this last reason it does not seem easy to accept the two classes suggested by Professor Schelling.[1] "The one includes those plays which deal with history and the biographies of actual historical persons; the other those in which the subjects are legendary or at least such as involve a more or less conscious departure from historical fact. Marlowe's *Edward II* and Shakespeare's *Henry V* may be taken as illustrations of the tragic and non-tragic types of the first class. Shakespeare's *King Lear* and Greene's *Scottish History of James IV* as typical examples similarly contrasted of the second." Yet any dramatization of historical material necessitates conscious departure from historical fact in some degree, for without it no such material can be staged. Moreover, the distinction drawn between legendary and historical material is obliterated by Professor Schelling himself later[2] in saying: "To dramatists as to chroniclers the legends concerning Brute, Cymbeline or King Arthur were not distinguishable in their credibility from the received records of the doings of Harry Monmouth, Richard Crookback or bluff King Henry. They accepted whatever they found and used it as they found it." Both matters are worth considering somewhat more in detail.

The great body of English history as narrated, for instance, in Holinshed divides itself from the modern point of view into two distinct portions. First, there is the mass of fiction, possibly containing a certain amount of Welsh tradition, that had its rise in the

[1] *Chronicle Play*, p. 30. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

fertile mind of Geoffrey of Monmouth. This covered the period between the Trojan War and the Roman conquest of Britain, and dealt also with Welsh affairs after that date. Second, there is English history proper, beginning roughly with the Roman conquest. Geoffrey had met with one or two severe critics in his own day, but his narrative held the field against them and was generally accepted and believed in for centuries. Gradually, however, scepticism became more active, and by 1550 a lively dispute was on foot among antiquaries and historians. Stow defends Geoffrey in the preface to his chronicle, Holinshed and Grafton followed him without question. Leland and Drayton believed in him, as did the learned Doctor White of Basingstoke.[1] In 1593 Richard Harvey published *Philadelphus; or, A Defence of Brutus, and the Brutans History*. On the other hand, Selden[2] is sceptical, and Samuel Daniel refuses in his history to touch the pre-Roman period. Jonson accepts Geoffrey for poetical purposes.[3] Camden[4] surveys the controversy, allows everyone to believe as he likes, but himself gives up Geoffrey with great reluctance. Edmund Bolton[5] shows clearly that he would like much to believe in

[1] *Polyolbion*, I, 312 ff., and Selden's note on the passage.
[2] *Ibid*, and see *England's Epinomis*, chap. 1.
[3] Note to *Part of the King's Entertainment*.
[4] *Britannia*, translation of 1695, cols. vi. ff.
[5] *Hypercritica* (1618 ?), Spingarn's *Seventeenth Century Critical Essays*, I. See Addresse the First, especially sect. vi. In addition, see Hakewill's *Apologie*, 1635, 3rd ed., 9; Waller, *Vindication*, pr. 1793, 277 ff., who believes there is much truth in Geoffrey. These references illustrate, but by no means exhaust, the history of the controversy.

Geoffrey, does believe as much as he possibly can, and after discussing the relative numbers of the two parties, says : " So that if the cause were to be try'd or carry'd by Voices, the affirmative would have the fuller Cry."

If such was the state of the case among men of more or less learning, it is clearly hazardous to make statements of too definite a character about dramatists as a group. Of the spectators one may safely assert that most of them, especially the less well educated, unhesitatingly accepted plays based on legendary material as historical in character. On the other hand, we may say with equal safety, judging by comparative numbers, that plays based on the period after the Norman Conquest were much more popular and aroused a far keener interest.[1] With relation to the dramatists, the problem is much more perplexing. We should not draw too rigid an inference from the fact that legendary plays contain a far larger proportionate amount of unhistorical matter than do others, for the chronicles dealing with that portion of English history were all based ultimately on Geoffrey, and he does not give as a rule more than a brief outline of the various reigns. In dramatizing a story taken from him, the playwright had himself to furnish a far larger amount of supplementary detail drawn from his own imagination or from other sources, than in the case of a plot dealing with, for example, Edward III, for which an abundance of incident and episode was ready to

[1] Cf. below, p. cxxi.

hand. If dramatists usually followed Geoffrey as faithfully, considering the material he supplied, as they did the chronicles of later times, that might easily be due to the fact that Geoffrey usually provided a good plot which there was small reason to change. Geoffrey was a born story-teller. At the same time, Shakespeare had no hesitation in making *Lear* end tragically instead of happily, as in the older version. He would never have dreamed of tampering in such a way with the fate of Richard III or of John. There were always floating rumours that Edward II and Richard II had escaped from prison and lived quietly in foreign lands, but no dramatist, so far as I know, ever attempted to utilize them. When Ford in his *Perkin Warbeck* made use of similar rumours about the sons of Edward IV, he could do so on the ground that these rumours had in the first place the very best of chronicle standing, and that in the second the career of Perkin Warbeck was an important historical fact which there was no gainsaying, whatever one's belief as to the validity of his claims.

Without making a distinction between legendary and authentic material, we may admit that the earlier portion of English history was in certain respects more freely handled. The plays that were brushed aside in so cavalier a fashion a page or two back as being not concerned primarily with the presentation of serious history, were somewhat more likely to employ the remoter periods as background or as padding. *Satiromastix* deals with the reign of

William Rufus, *Fair Em* with that of the Conqueror; *A Merry Knack* goes back to Dunstan, *Nobody and Somebody* to Elidure. Again, whenever the reader feels that the historical material in a given play is looked on by the author as merely so much romantic subject-matter, of which the nationality matters nothing, that material will come in all probability from an early period, as in Fletcher's *Bonduca* or Middleton's *Mayor of Quinborough.* Once more, the legendary or early plays rarely catch the note of fervent patriotism that is characteristic of those employing later history,[1] and the sense of kinship with Saxon and Briton was evidently weak on the part of both dramatist and spectator. Briefly, then, the Elizabethans appear to have felt, if not to have explicitly recognized, some difference between early and later material, though we should have much difficulty in stating in definite terms just what that difference was or just how free a course the manipulation of subject-matter must take to justify us in saying that any given dramatist was no longer restrained by considerations of history. At least, any such definite statement would be subject to so many qualifications that it would have little value.

The question just resolved in so unsatisfactory a fashion is, however, itself but a phase of a larger question, that of how faithfully the chronicle dramatist felt bound to adhere to his sources; what did he think to be the duty resting on his

[1] It is occasionally heard in *Locrine* and elsewhere, but only sporadically.

shoulders in view of the particular kind of material he utilized? It is, for example, very suggestive that in the epilogue to *The Warning for Fair Women*,[1] Tragedy, in emphasizing the authenticity of the plot, seems to do so somewhat to the prejudice of History, and asks the audience to excuse the dramatist if his minute adherence to actual fact has caused his play to be ineffective; next day History may provide them with a play more to their taste. At least such is the natural interpretation of Tragedy's words, and it is borne out by the Induction. Probably the passage is not intended as a serious criticism of historical plays, but it certainly allows us to infer that writers of such plays were understood occasionally to manipulate their material with a view to making it interesting.

Naturally, to make his plays interesting was the first concern of the chronicle dramatist, as of other Elizabethan playwrights, and when we realize how numerous and varied were the dramatic fads and fancies of Elizabethan days, we shall comprehend a little more clearly how many temptations beset the writer, and shall be the less surprised if his virtue proved often frail enough. The Elizabethan audience liked, for example, rant, bombast, and Senecan declamation; it liked plenty of bloodshed and plenty of farce and foolery; it liked romance and disguisings and satire and pictures of contemporary manners; it liked spectacular effects, too, and a swiftly moving plot and quick repartee

[1] Above, page xi, note.

and ghosts; it liked almost everything except being bored. And it had not the slightest objection to the exhibition of all of these attractive features in the same play, if only the author were sufficiently ingenious and versatile to associate them all. It may be said, then, that the historical dramatist was allowed much freedom, and that he often took a greater freedom than many of his hearers realized. We may consider the matter from several points of view, without, however, pretending that these are mutually exclusive or that they exhaust the subject.

It has already been observed that the mere staging of the material involved some alteration of it. For, in the first place, if only a brief outline was given, as by Geoffrey, it would have to be filled out with supplementary details and episodes.[1] In the second, if the chronicle supplied an abundance of incident, the playwright would have to select, and according to his principle of selection, if he had any such, as may frequently be doubted, his play would have a certain character. One writer might emphasize the military side of a reign, another that of civil or religious dissension. Yet another, if he took plenty of space and had some skill in condensing and interweaving, like Heywood, might make a more or less representative selection covering

[1] Compare what Higgins says in the preface to 1574 edition of *The Mirror for Magistrates*: "I was often fayne to use mine owne simple invention, yet not swarving from the matter: because the chronicles (although they went out under divers men's names) in some suche places as I moste needed theyr ayde, wrate one thing, and that so brieflye, that a whole prince's raigne, life, and death, was comprysed in three lines." (Haslewood, I, 8.)

various aspects of a period. In general, whatever the material selected, conversations would have to be invented, motives imputed, minor figures introduced, characters developed, and the like. We need not dwell upon the point.

Every Elizabethan dramatist was at liberty to insert comic episodes, either in the form of detached scenes or in that of a genuine subplot. The chronicle dramatist usually did so, though not invariably. Sometimes the chronicle would afford a piece of material that could easily be worked up in a comic vein, as in the case of popular revolts like that of Cade or of the hints as to the riotous youth of Henry V; but usually the comic parts came in on the writer's own responsibility, being either devised by himself or taken from tradition or some other source. If tradition was utilized, as in the Tanner of Tamworth scenes in *Edward IV*, the author might feel that he was using historical material, if only of a kind, but it is difficult to believe that anyone was imposed on by the humorous parts of *Locrine*. In any case, a certain licence of this kind was undoubtedly accorded the poet, and, except when he went altogether too far, we should not conclude that in making use of it he was without his rights as an historical dramatist.

Frequently non-historical matter was added with a design to reinforce the appeal of the material supplied by the chronicle, and in many cases it was the added portions in which the author and probably the audience were mainly interested. The fondness

of the Elizabethans for plots containing disguisings is deferred to in *Look About You*, in which the reign of Henry II is made to furnish more or less plausible excuses for a baker's dozen of disguises assumed by five different characters at various times. In *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and *John a Kent and John a Cumber* wizardry and magic are given an historical setting. *The Honorable Life of the Humorous Earl of Gloster, with his Conquest of Portugal*, is not extant, but the title suggests, as the play was written 1600–1, that the current fad of 'humours' was pressed into service. In such plays, as well as in others, the chronicle drama showed itself in close alliance with pure comedy, and history went for little save to provide the writer with a point of departure or to lend to his figures and incidents a certain factitious interest. The same statement is to be made of plays in which, by means of a few bits of historical fact, material belonging to the no-man's land of romance is localized in England. Once upon a time there was a James IV of Scotland; he did marry the King of England's daughter; he was inconstant; and in his reign there was a war between Scotland and England; but Greene's *James IV, A Scottish History*, contains practically nothing else that is historical in any sense of the word.[1] Heywood's *Royal King and Loyal Subject* does not go so far as to tell us what king of England it was that put his marshal to so much dis-

[1] The source, as has long been known, was an Italian *novella*.

tress.[1] *Fair Em* is not merely a worthless play, but it becomes highly ridiculous when we compare its love-lorn hero voyaging to Denmark in disguise with the real William the Conqueror. Day and Chettle's *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* contains more serious history, but still the romantic element is supreme, and, as Ward notes,[2] history is daringly amended by the authors. It is an easy step from such plays to those that utilize traditional lore of a more or less romantic, and, as has been noticed, often of a semi-historical or pseudo-historical character, in which it is not always easy to determine the dramatist's degree of faith.[3] I suppose all Elizabethans believed to some extent in Robin Hood, and perhaps the currency gained by the spurious legend that identified him with a thirteenth-century earl of Huntington, the attempt, as it were, to euhemerize the old story, illustrates their fondness for him. In employing Robin Hood ballads, dramatists did not always show keen critical insight. Munday, in *The Downfall and Death of Robert Earl of Huntington*, used those of a better class, but Peele in *Edward I* was not at all careful in his choice.[4]

[1] In the opening lines we are told that the king has just returned from fighting in the Holy Land, so that Heywood must have had Richard I or Edward I in mind.

[2] *History of English Dramatic Literature*, II, 600.

[3] Some of the plays already mentioned utilized ballad material of one kind or another.

[4] It was in this play that Peele perpetrated the gross libel on Elinor of Castile already referred to, apparently on the basis of a miserable broadside composed by one of the ballad-mongers Nashe so savagely handles in *The Anatomy of Absurdity*. Other ballad material is employed at the end of the play.

Even when a poet takes his subject-matter with becoming seriousness, we cannot find that he considered himself tied to accuracy in all respects. *The True Tragedy of Richard III* is full of historical details, yet, as Churchill remarks,[1] the author is "exceedingly careless in the use of his authorities," and it seems clear that he often preferred to trust his memory rather than refer back to Hall or to his other sources. The figure of the Bastard Falconbridge in *The Troublesome Raigne* is practically a pure invention of the playwright. One can assign no reason why the author of *Jack Straw* chose to represent Straw instead of Wat Tyler as slain at Smithfield, and a close study of many a chronicle history in connection with its source will reveal numbers of inaccuracies that are due to carelessness or negligence. On the other hand, we can frequently see just why alterations were made. It is very clear why in *Edward IV* Jane Shore came to a tragic end instead of lingering out her life in obscure poverty and dying many long years after her royal lover, as was actually her fate. In *Edward III* the deviations from history of which complaint has been made[2] have mostly very simple explanations. The reign of King John of France is begun years before the real date because the author thought it more effective to oppose a single adversary to the great personality of Edward. The king of Scotland is taken over to France because

[1] *Richard the Third*, etc., 405.

[2] See the edition by G. C. Moore Smith, 1897, ix.

of the desire to present in one stage picture two great kings captive to the king of England.[1] The battles of Sluys, Cressy, and Poitiers follow hard upon one another, both because of the desire for rapid action and cumulative stage effect, and because historical drama is wellnigh impossible unless such condensations of chronology are permitted, whatever be the dramatic form adopted, romantic, classical, or pseudo-classical. At any rate, they were universally practised in the Elizabethan period.[2] *Sir John Oldcastle* was a play designed to rehabilitate the reputation of a fifteenth-century Lollard, a *Tendenz*-play, in short, and the material is handled with a view to that end, as when Oldcastle is represented as revealing to Henry the conspiracy of Gray and Scroope, despite the fact that either he had nothing to do with that conspiracy or else, as Holinshed hints, was privy to it.[3]

In the interpretation of character the chronicle dramatist was far less likely to introduce change, for various reasons. Many a writer did not possess sufficient imaginative power, or was perhaps too indolent, to do more than clothe in reasonably

[1] Cf. *Henry V*, I, 2, 159 ff.

> She [England] hath herself not only well defended
> But taken and impounded as a stray
> The King of Scots; whom she did send to France,
> To fill King Edward's fame with prisoner kings
> And make her chronicle as rich with praise, *etc.*

Shakespeare knew clearly what the author of *Edward III* was about.

[2] In *Sejanus*, for instance, Jonson, most scrupulous of historical dramatists, combines three sessions of the senate, held in different years, into one.

[3] See Malone, *Ancient British Drama*, I, 318, note 1.

appropriate words the conception supplied by his source. Moreover, the chronicles were on the whole considered as authoritative historical records, and few would dream of there being any injustice or incompetence in the general verdict they would pass upon a king's reign or his character. Yet these were by no means the chief reasons for dramatic conservatism. As far as the kings, and for that matter a good many other important historical figures, were concerned, their characters had often become fixed in popular legend as well as in the chronicles. Tradition had been busy with them, and in many cases, perhaps, the chronicle verdict was but a cautious version of the popular belief.[1] Had any Elizabethan playwright attempted to whitewash Richard III, his play would have had short shrift. The jolly bonhomie of Edward IV was a cherished national possession. Henry V was a national ideal. Time-honoured Lancaster and the good Duke Humphrey, the innocent Arthur, Robin Hood—in all of these the dramatist's work had been largely done for him years before he thought of setting pen to paper. Almost every English king, for example, was expected to display on occasion a willingness to hob-nob with the first comer.[2] Furthermore, Elizabethan plays had to be licensed before performance, and if the government in some respects allowed the stage pretty

[1] This is probable on general grounds, and is in particular cases shown by the important studies recently made of the growth of the legends attaching to various historical figures.

[2] Cf. Peele's *Edward I*, Scene 1, 249–50.

free rein, the stage was in others held strictly within bounds. It was all very well that there should flourish a lively drama depicting in vivid scenes the traditional and generally accepted view of the nation's past. That made for peace and gave the rascals something to think about. But the Elizabethan government knew apparently better than we do that the stage could set people to thinking, and it would hardly have permitted a revolutionary interpretation of the character of Henry VIII, for example. Shakespeare's English kings are the traditional English kings, and what he did was not to create new conceptions, but to take old conceptions and in some magical way blow the breath of life into them. He refined their psychology without altering the main features of their character ; he ennobled their lineaments and yet a child could recognize them.[1]

We find, then, that we must be cautious in making generalizations about the attitude of the chronicle history writer towards his material and the licence permitted him by his public. We are justified in believing that the chronicle history audiences suspected and perhaps did not altogether approve too free a treatment of the subject-matter they loved, since many plays emphasize in some form or another the authenticity of their contents. It may be said that the authors even of

[1] Naturally there were hundreds of figures that the dramatist could do what he liked with, and Cobham could appear indifferently as the Oldcastle of the *Famous Victories* or as the Oldcastle of *Sir John Oldcastle*, tradition being in each case the dramatist's guide.

these plays often departed from strict historical truth and often employed legend and untrustworthy tradition. We must realize, however, that the 'science' of history was then in its swaddling-clothes, that the sound critical interpretation of historical documents was almost impossible, that the necessity for distinguishing between documentary and traditional history was not well understood, and that in the case of biographical plays the dramatist could sometimes find little usable material outside of tradition and scattered anecdote. Much that the veriest sciolist would unhesitatingly throw aside to-day was then generally accepted, and it would be absurd to judge the dramatization of history in Elizabeth's day by anything approaching modern critical standards. There are a good many plays whose authors apparently desired to present their material seriously, though they did not consider that a serious presentation forbade them to make changes in minor matters, and though they sometimes handled their authorities carelessly. We must remember also that Elizabethan dramas were written usually with great rapidity, since the public demanded a constant succession of new plays, and that it would often be impossible for a playwright to devote much care and time to ensuring accuracy in detail; further, that he could rely to some extent on the ignorance of his audience,[1] that he expected his

[1] A large part of his audience could not read; of those that could, few would think of comparing the play with the chronicle.

play to be discarded after being given six or eight times, if as often, that nobody considered it to be a serious literary performance, that it was not likely to be printed and so undergo the test of being read.[1] If under such conditions of composition and presentation history was no worse handled than we find it to be, the fact speaks well for the sincerity and conscientiousness of many writers of plays of this kind.[2]

Further, of those that would be inclined to object, a good number would be classicists, like Sidney, who disliked the very form of the new drama, and would have no more influence upon choice and treatment of material than upon form itself. Others were Puritans, who as yet did not count for much, though, as we shall see, they took exception to the chronicle history on the very ground of which we are speaking. Finally, it might be noted that in a number of cases the chronicles themselves would give different versions of the same episode, and allow the reader to choose the one that liked him best. Sometimes they would contradict one another, and one chronicle would contain matter omitted by another. And of course not everyone had access to a copy of Holinshed or Foxe's *Monuments*, while occasionally a dramatist would use a MS. authority.

[1] It is almost certain that we do not possess more than a third of the chronicle plays written between 1585 and 1610 (see below, p. cxxii n.) Some of those we have were printed a number of years after their date of composition. Among the earlier Elizabethan dramatists probably not one composed a play with any view to its appearance in print, except perhaps a court-dramatist like Lyly.

[2] To understand the situation clearly, we should compare the writer of chronicle histories with the writer of miracle plays, and remember that the development of the English drama was a continuous one. No cycle of miracles gives us an accurate reproduction of the biblical narrative. Not merely are many episodes omitted, meagre situations expanded, opportunities for the introduction of comic scenes utilized, but new figures are brought in, new motives inserted, new situations devised, and on more than one occasion large additions made. Chronology is freely handled, legend employed, popular taste consulted. The story of the growth of a miracle play cycle is a story not utterly unlike that which we are attempting to tell.

VI

We may profitably look upon the story of the chronicle play as embracing three periods: from its beginnings to the death of Marlowe, thence to 1600, and from 1600 on. If we possessed more plays that could be unhesitatingly assigned to the time before the Spanish Armada, then the date of that event would enable us to distinguish four stages, but our extant material is too scanty to justify a separate consideration of this early phase. Chronological problems, indeed, and for that matter problems of authorship, will constantly arise to perplex us, but not, it may be hoped, so greatly as to make our method of procedure invalid or its results more uncertain than is the lot of human affairs generally.

Two groups of plays may be dealt with somewhat briefly. First, there are the plays that Professor Schelling calls 'Senecan derivatives.' These illustrate the influence exerted upon dramas based on chronicle material by the ideals and the technique of Seneca's tragedies, but are not numerous because their subject-matter was recalcitrant to classical discipline. Belonging to our first period are *Gorboduc*, *Richardus Tertius*, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, and *Locrine*.[1] What is at first striking is the limitations of the Senecan influence. None of these plays

[1] The first three were written respectively 1562–3, 1579, 1587. *Locrine* was printed in 1595, but undoubtedly belongs before the death of Marlowe, and is by some students placed as early as 1585. For *Gorboduc* and *Richardus Tertius*, see above, pp. xxxv., xli. After our first period were written several university Senecan plays, whose existence may be noted, but which will not be discussed.

confines the action to a climactic episode,[1] as was the classical practice; none of them observes the unities of place or time as these had been developed in the Renaissance interpretation of Aristotle. *The Misfortunes of Arthur* displays a fairly well unified plot, but *Gorboduc* and *Richardus Tertius* are simply strings of incident, though neither employs a minor action in the sense in which *Locrine* does, wherein we find a fully developed subplot totally unrelated to the main theme. All introduce a large number of figures. It is important that we should notice the compulsive nature of the material, which refused absolutely to be cast into the Senecan mould. The Senecan influence shows itself in the long rhetorical speeches, the profusion of reflective and philosophical apothegm, the conception of character, the use of certain technical devices, such as the nuntius, the avoidance, though not always strict, of action on the stage, and in other ways that need not be catalogued. Through the exhibition of these features, these plays are related to the learned drama of the universities and the court circle; at the same time, they help to illustrate the relations between the Elizabethan drama in general and ancient drama. But the classical influence is not important as regards the chronicle history, outside of this group of plays, and the chronicle drama was affected by it only superficially and occasionally. The modified Elizabethan chorus, which is often used to enable the playwright to shift the scene, to

[1] *The Misfortunes of Arthur* comes nearest to doing so.

annihilate time, or to convey information as to the plot, does descend from the classical chorus, and is naturally especially well suited to the aims and methods of the chronicle history. Hence it is of frequent occurrence. But when used it is not to be thought of as showing specific Senecan or classical influence, for it had become a common Elizabethan stage device; moreover, as just hinted, its use involved no alteration in chronicle history form, but serves perhaps to display in the clearest light the essential nature of that form. In general, we may say that though the influence of Seneca appears here or there,[1] yet the subject-matter was too national, too thoroughly bound up with the insular life and character, to be easily re-interpreted in terms of a foreign dramatic ideal.

The second group of plays is well illustrated by Greene's *James IV*, for the basis of which Greene utilized the first novel of the third decade of the *Hecatommithi*.[2] Such being the case, it is evident that the structure of the play should be considered on special grounds. It must be remembered that Greene did not have to disentangle the threads of his story from amid a mass, and an often bewildering mass, of historical details. He was dramatizing an Italian *novella*, one of a class of stories that almost by definition possessed a certain rough unity and a

[1] As when ghosts appear in *Richard III*, or when in the *True Tragedy of Richard III* the conception of character is in part determined by Senecan example. Cf. Churchill, *Richard the Third*, 398 ff.

[2] Creizenach, *Anglia*, VIII, 419; the source had, I believe, been earlier noticed by P. A. Daniel in *The Academy*, but I cannot give the reference.

certain roundness of plot. A play founded on such a story will from that very fact, provided it adhere with tolerable closeness to the source, have some degree of continuity and symmetry. The old play of *Leir* should be noticed in this connection.[1] It was founded upon a passage in Geoffrey that in a measure corresponded to a *novella*, as do many of his stories, and in consequence the play is also marked by a comparative symmetry that we feel somehow disinclined to attribute to the constructive skill of the author. It may be asked with justice whether if either writer had found the incidents of his play in the later chronicles, dispersed among the events of foreign war and internal dissension, he would have been able to extricate them from their surroundings and present them as simply and as perspicuously as in these two dramas.[2] Each play at least has

[1] Perrett, *Story of Lear*, 102 ff., shows that the play was written after 1590, since the writer borrowed from *Faerie Queene*, II, x; his suggestion (113) that Lodge's *Euphues Shadow*, 1592, was utilized does not seem convincing. The play belongs before 1594, as it was entered in that year in the *Stationers' Register*.

[2] Cf. my article, *A Note on Act Division as practised in the Early Elizabethan Drama*, Western Reserve University Bulletin, 1902, pp. 31–3. After publishing that article, I was interested to learn that Luick in 1898 had given expression to the same idea in his article in *Festgabe für Heinzel*, working it out, however, in much greater detail. He goes so far as to say (134–5): " Est ist denkbar, dass gewisse technische Eigenschaften zunächst nur infolge der Beschaffenheit des Stoffes, unabhängig vom Dichter sich einstellen und erst später in ihrer Wirksamkeit für die Zwecke des Dramas erkannt werden, dass man sie hierauf bewusst oder unbewusst anstrebt, auch wenn sie nicht von der Quelle geboten oder nahegelegt werden, dass also mit einem Wort, das Material den Stil beeinflusst — Stil in höherem Sinn genommen." One wonders whether the argument be not pushed too far, but the truth of the underlying idea is beyond question. A somewhat similar point with regard to the possible influence of Plutarch's biographies is lightly touched on by Creizenach, IV, 186.

an organized plot, and in that respect differs notably from the run of contemporary chronicle histories.

Nevertheless, the tendency which these plays represent, though again important for the drama in general, is of little significance for us except as emphasizing by contrast the somewhat haphazard nature of chronicle play structure. Moreover, what structural progress we shall find in the chronicle history as a literary species will not be due so much to the nature of the material, as to the reflective genius of the playwright.

Of the extant plays in the normal line of chronicle history development, upon which our attention will be centred henceforward, *The Famous Victories of Henry V* is probably the earliest.[1] Intrinsically it is of absolutely no merit, being devoid of style, characterization, or any vestige of dramatic power.[2] It is written in the baldest prose, which the unscrupulous printer cut up into short lengths to pass for verse, and Tarlton's own popularity was doubtless what gave it the vogue it seems to have possessed.[3] The play has, nevertheless, an extrinsic interest for several reasons. It undoubtedly supplied hints to Shakespeare, and perhaps also to the author of

[1] We know that Tarlton took part in it, and Tarlton died in September, 1588. The play may easily be much earlier; cf. conjectural dates of Collier and Schelling, above, p. xxxix, note. For the sources see Kabel, *Die Sage von Heinrich V*, Palaestra LXIX, and Baeske, *Oldcastle : Falstaff*, Palaestra L.

[2] Save perhaps in the somewhat amusing scene in which Derrick and John impersonate Henry and the Chief Justice.

[3] Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, Works, ed. McKerrow, I, 213.

Locrine.[1] In addition, it gives us a shrewd glance into the 'milieu' of the chronicle history in its period of inception. Had the play been designed to please a refined audience, its author must have striven to bestow some touch of poetry, to impart some grace of language, to instil some life into his figures. Unfortunately he could only too confidently rely upon the clownery of Tarlton and the patriotic temper of the spectators; and in consequence we see plainly the essentially 'popular' origin of this dramatic species. Its beginnings are to be sought just where it is for us most difficult to find them, among the long-lost and long-forgotten plays of the inn yards and the theatre. Its growth owed little to Court patronage, but very much to the enthusiasm of miscellaneous audiences.[2] Its decline, as we shall see, was due, not so much to desertion by the people, as to the vicissitudes of the stage in the reign of James.[3]

[1] Or *vice versa*, as the relative dates of the two plays are not definitely known. Both Strumbo and John are cobblers, each is pressed for the wars, each has his attendant clown, and their military experiences are not unlike.

[2] See above, p. xliii.

[3] The anonymous play of *Jack Straw* may be mentioned here as further illustrating these remarks, but not as deserving extensive treatment. The date is probably about 1587 (see the edition by H. Schütt, 1901, 62); the author is unknown, though Schütt assigns the work to Peele. The play was designed for the same kind of audience as that of *The Famous Victories*, and was written by a playwright of much the same capacity. It differs, however, in two respects: first, as being written in a mixture of prose, doggerel couplets of four accents, and blank verse; second, as showing somewhat the influence of material upon structure in that the writer deals only with the rebellion of Wat Tyler, and hence his play is better unified. It is impossible, nevertheless, to believe that this improvement was the result of deliberate forethought.

Out of the discussion as to the relative dates of *The True Tragedy of Richard III* and *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* nothing decisive seems to have arisen.[1] The former play begins with a conversation between Truth and Poetry, in which Poetry, in the attitude of one desirous of instruction, asks various questions that elicit from the lips of Truth a flood of historical information serving as a kind of propædeutic to the drama itself. Truth is sponsor for the work and asserts that her function is to add 'bodies to the shadows' in which Poetry ordinarily deals. So completely is the writer dominated by this conception of his dramatic office that he several times intrudes into the dialogue lists of such happenings as he could not manage to produce on the stage. It is very amusing that though in one

[1] Kopplow, *Shakespeare's "King John" und Seine Quellen*, 1900, 29 ff.; Churchill, *Story of Richard*, 485 ff., where he supports the theory of Fleay that *The True Tragedy* was later than the Henry VI plays. The evidence that Marlowe influenced the writer of *Richard III* does not seem as strong as Churchill would have us believe. As we have no space for the detailed analysis of the problem, I have cut the knot by accepting the traditional date, *c.* 1587–8, which is certainly supported by the extraordinary mixture of prose, poulter's measure, and blank verse in which the play is written (compare *Jack Straw*) and by the points assembled by Kopplow, 28.

It may be observed, at the same time, that the common belief that *The Troublesome Raigne* was written after *Tamburlaine* is not necessarily well grounded. What students usually call the Prologue, in which the reference to *Tamburlaine* occurs, is really entitled 'Lines to the Gentlemen Readers,' and hence *may* have to do only with the printing of the play in 1591 (note that *Tamburlaine* was printed in 1590). Moreover, these 'lines' do not describe the play with any accuracy, as may easily be seen by anyone who chooses to compare, and hence sound very much more like bait thrown out for an unwary prospective purchaser, who might glance at them to find out the character of the play, than like a real prologue. We know well enough that publishers did adopt such devices. Barnaby

place a stage direction tells us that the queen and her children enter and take sanctuary, yet there is no accompanying dialogue and the stage direction occurs between two scenes taking place in a distant part of England. One wonders just how the situation was made clear to the spectators of this 'dumb-show,' though the author does not give it that name.[1] Furthermore, the fact that so much preliminary information was thought necessary shows how far the author was from conceiving of his play as an independent whole. A good play should contain within itself all the data necessary to its comprehension, should furnish its own explanation, and answer its own problems. A good play is a sphere. But the chronicle dramatist thought of his play as a fragment.[2]

Riche complains of having been taken in by 'flourishing titles' (*Faultes*, 1606, 40). Yet a further current misconception may be noted. It is true that the play as printed was divided into two parts, but was it in the first place? In Steevens' edition in *Six Old Plays* it takes up ninety-three full pages. *Leir* in the same volume takes up eighty-five. In other words, the two parts of the one take up only eight more pages than the single play. Again, the first part occupies fifty-six pages, the second thirty-seven. The probability is that the division of the play into parts had to do only with the printing of it. If so, the lines prefixed to the second part can hardly be a renamed prologue. The play is perhaps earlier than *Tamburlaine*; the Marlowe parallels that Kopplow brings forward, p. 25, prove little one way or the other (indeed they are not parallels at all, considered in relation to context).

[1] It is proper to point out that the play was carelessly printed and that the MS. may even have been seriously defective. Churchill, 404.

[2] Cf. *Henry V*, V, Prologue, 1 ff.:

> *Chor.* Vouchsafe to those that have not read the story,
> That I may prompt them: and of such as have,
> I humbly pray them to admit the excuse
> Of time, of numbers and due course of things,
> Which cannot in their huge and proper life
> Be here presented.

English history was composed of a long chain of incidents. Selecting more or less arbitrarily two points some distance apart, he severed the chain thereat, and the excised portion formed his play. His endings are points in time, not in evolution, unless it so happens that the wheel of evolution comes full circle just in the nick of time.[1]

In surveying the portion of history that he selected, the author of *The Troublesome Raigne* confined his attention to three lines of incident. John's quarrel with the Pope, the wars with France, and the death of Arthur. These he handled with more skill than is displayed in the previous play, though hardly so well as quite to justify the praise bestowed upon his work by Luick.[2] To be sure, he so manipulates events as to create causal relations

[1] A radically different view of this play is entertained by Churchill. He regards it as a character-drama, showing the influence of Marlowe in the dominating position occupied by the figure of Richard. "*The True Tragedy* shows such a selection of scenes and such a subordination of details that the figure of Richard is always before the actual or the mental eye" (p. 399). I cannot quite comprehend this judgment. Richard is hardly more dominant, in the sense in which Tamburlaine is, in the play than in the chronicle accounts of his reign, and I cannot feel that he 'absorbs' such interest as the drama excites. Churchill admits that the subplot of Shore's wife forms an exception. Toward the end Richmond receives his full share of attention, and the play runs on for seven or eight dreary pages after the death of Richard. (See also the excellent discussion of this play in Luick, *Festgabe für Heinzel*, 178 ff., 186–7.) Yet we may freely admit that the author had a definite conception of Richard's character, and that he stands on a higher plane than the writer of *The Famous Victories*. He was also somewhat influenced by Legge's *Richardus Tertius* (Churchill, 475 ff.).

[2] *Festgabe für Heinzel*, 1898, 175 ff. Creizenach, IV, 596 ff., also praises this play from this point of view and remarks that the author was perhaps the first dramatist to endeavour to arrange chronicle material in an artistic fashion.

where the chronicles do not exhibit them and where, indeed, they did not exist (the revolt of the barons, for instance, having no connection in reality with the death of Arthur), and thus he may well have entertained a higher conception of unity than at first sight we might suppose. Yet apparently he failed to perceive that it was inconsistent with dramatic unity to present his several themes as of equal rank. All three are co-ordinate in importance, and our attention in consequence is dissipated over a wide field. Real unity is not attained, nor can we say justly that the dramatist understood quite what it meant. It is still the unity of personality that is his principal concern, and the play still fails to rise above the plane of a survey.

This conclusion becomes the more firmly grounded when we consider the character of the Bastard.[1] Historically a person of nothing like the importance he possesses in the play, he was evidently a figure in which the dramatist took the greatest interest, and may perhaps be regarded as the first attempt at dramatic creation in the higher sense of the term that the chronicle history, if not the popular drama, displays. He is the most energetic character in the piece, bolstering up the weakling John, rebuking the insurgent nobles, oppressing the clergy, and avenging Richard the Lion-hearted. It may be noted that he

[1] The playwright's real contribution to the development of the drama is not well understood until we observe the variety of materials utilized in the construction of this figure. (Steevens, Boswell's Malone's *Variorum*, XV, 202, note 8; Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, 1896, 48 ff.; Kopplow, *u.s.*, 12 ff.)

appears in every scene in which John figures, and in three important scenes in which John does not; in only two or three scenes is he absent. When he is sent over to England to press money from the unwilling monks, the dramatist, instead of remaining abroad with John, follows his deputy across the Channel. In view of these facts, we may ask whether Falconbridge was not, in the mind of the playwright, almost the central personage.

In the fact that none of the plays just dealt with betrays, at least in any noticeable degree, the influence of the great uprush of national feeling that followed the defeat of the Armada lies another reason for discussing them before considering the significance of that tremendous catastrophe.[1] When the Spanish vessels fled before the storm, many of them doomed to bring unlooked-for wealth to savage Irish and half-savage Scot, on up the Channel to the north, what Englishman failed to realize that a great stage of national development had been completed? Up to that time the genius of England had felt itself in a

[1] I do not mean, of course, merely that specific references to the Armada are absent from them, but that they are, on the whole at any rate, devoid of that heightened and quickened sentiment which was so strikingly a feature of English life and letters after 1588. Naturally that fact does not at all prove that they were written earlier, but it may be accepted as confirmatory of such other evidence as we possess and as justifying the arrangement I have adopted.

Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, II, 52, sees an allusion to the 'threatened' Armada in the closing lines of *The Troublesome Raigne*. Of course the Armada had been 'threatened' for several years before it actually came, so that if any allusion is to be seen here, little aid is afforded in fixing the date. For a still feebler effort to discover an allusion in the same play, see Kopplow, 24.

measure rebuked before that of Spain. A victory so overwhelming, however, engendered an extravagant self-confidence in the hearts of the English people. In response there is struck in the chronicle history a note hitherto rarely heard. The feelings that animated Englishmen of 1589 were thrown back to the earlier periods of their national existence, and former events were regarded in the light that flared from the burning hulks of Spanish galleons.

The Armada also marks the entrance of new forces in another way, since—though we cannot here speak of any influence that it exerted—its date is yet practically coincident with the irruption into the popular drama of a group of men of greater dramatic talents than those of previous writers for the public stage. With Kyd and Greene [1] we have nothing to do, but Peele interests us somewhat, and Marlowe and Shakespeare supremely. Whether Peele was the first of these three to handle chronicle material no one knows. Certainly little injustice is done him in considering *Edward I* before we take up the greater men.

Peele's superiority to his predecessors was not so clearly shown in the chronicle history as it was elsewhere, for he neither took his material more

[1] *James IV* and *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* belong to outlying tracts of the chronicle history that have been sufficiently treated. Various attempts have been made to assign to Greene *The Troublesome Raigne* and *Locrine*, as well as small parts of the Henry VI group. Nothing has been established, however, and Greene's activity in the field of the chronicle history in the narrower sense must remain matter of individual opinion.

seriously, nor did he manipulate it with greater skill. In fact, the *Edward I* is structurally considerably inferior to *The Troublesome Raigne* or even the old *Richard III*.[1] Welsh and Scottish battle scenes are fantastically intermingled with episodes lugged in by the head and shoulders from second-rate Robin Hood ballads, and the incongruous spectacle is further diversified with incidents supposedly drawn from the private life of Edward's Spanish queen.[2] Progress is not to be looked for in this direction.

Yet if Peele treated parts of his material with a flippant cynicism quite worthy of George Pyeboard,[3] his play is not to be cast wholly into the outer darkness. It is the first chronicle history in which the stage directions evince a deliberate appeal to the spectacular,[4] wherein we doubtless discern the

[1] Peele is, however, sometimes condemned too severely in this regard, for the play was incompetently printed and the MS. was evidently faulty in the extreme. There are, I think, clear indications that the printer's MS. represented an intermediate stage in the composition of the play. What the text was like at the time of acting we simply do not know. But the drama cannot have been well constructed in any case.

[2] See above, p. lxix. Peele was, of course, deliberately making his profit out of the blind hatred of everything Spanish that ruled after the Armada. His treatment of Elinor of Castile has been accurately characterized as infamous.

[3] See *The Jests of George Peele*, printed by Dyce in his edition.

[4] Scene I, 40. "The trumpets sound, and enter the train, viz., his maimed Soldiers with head-pieces and garlands on them, every man with his red-cross on his coat; the Ancient borne in a chair, his garland and his plumes on his head-piece, his ensign in his hand. Enter, after them, Glocester and Mortimer bareheaded, and others, as many as may be. Then enter Longshanks and his wife Elinor, Edmond Couchback, and Joan, and Signor Mountfort, the Earl of Leicester's prisoner, with Sailors and Soldiers, and Charles de Mountfort his brother."

influence of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*. The opening scene, too, envelops the reader in a new atmosphere. The queen-mother announces to the assembled lords the imminent arrival of their king, and directs them to prepare him a suitable welcome. Taking then the greatness of England as her theme, she delivers a vigorous and spirited address :

> Illustrious England, ancient seat of kings,
> Whose chivalry hath royalised thy fame,
> That sounding bravely through terrestrial vale,
> Proclaiming conquests, spoils, and victories,
> Rings glorious echoes through the farthest world ;
> What warlike nation, trained in feats of arms,
> What barbarous people, stubborn or untamed,
>
> * * * * * *
>
> Erst have not quaked and trembled at the name
> Of Britain and her mighty conquerors ?
>
> * * * * * *
>
> Thus Europe, rich and mighty in her kings,
> Hath feared brave England, dreadful in her kings.

Surely we have here something to which we find no close parallel in earlier chronicles, for such apostrophes to England are not made in preceding plays, though occasionally we may come across a line or two like those with which *The Troublesome Raigne* concludes. The rest of the scene is in keeping with this opening. Edward makes an imposing entrance at the head of his army, and the glory that he has won for England in his Eastern wars is made the subject of grandiloquent speeches of a similar cast. The scene possesses a dignity and elevation[1]

[1] Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, I, 370 (ed. 1899), says that Edward's entry " vaguely recalls that of the Æschylean Agamemnon."

not found in the plays that we have hitherto glanced at. New elements have made their way into the chronicle drama. England has at last entered into her inheritance.

It seems probable that the first part of *Henry V* was composed before *The First Part of the Contention between the Houses of York and Lancaster*, and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*,[1] and it may very possibly have been anterior even to *Edward I*, for it certainly as regards plotting represents a stage little in advance of that drama. It is " broken and

[1] The problems of authorship and date raised by the Henry VI plays cannot of course be discussed in detail, but it is necessary that the position on which the remarks in the text above are based should be made clear. For the literature of the subject in general see Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 471. 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were based respectively on the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*. 1 *Henry VI* was probably revived 1592 (Fleay, *Life of Shakespeare*, 259; cf. W. W. Greg, in *The Library*, n.s., IV, 270). In 1 *Henry VI* as originally performed (perhaps identical with extant version minus IV, 2–7), in the *Contention*, and in the *True Tragedy* Marlowe was largely concerned (probably his was the dominating mind in the last two, if not in 1 *Henry VI*). Who were his coadjutors is uncertain, though many believe that Greene was one of them, nor is it certain that he had a hand in revising the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* into 2 and 3 *Henry VI*. The share of Shakespeare in the original plays is likewise doubtful. From our point of view, however, the important matter is that Marlowe appears to have had a considerable share in all three original plays. Other questions are merely subsidiary. (Crawford, *Collectanea*, I, 79, asserts that he can prove that Marlowe had no share in these plays, but his argument has not yet been published. Creizenach, IV, 657, note 1, calls the doctrine of collaborative authorship a 'gänzlich verfehlte Meinung,' and dismisses it rather arbitrarily. At the worst it deserves, especially in a work of the scope and importance of the *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, somewhat more respectful consideration.) Moreover, the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* may be regarded as identical with 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, since in the last two plays the arrangement and disposition of material and the conception of character are the same as in the first two. What improve-

choppy to an intolerable degree."[1] Yet the play is not entirely aimless, since the desire of the authors seems to have been to give a rapid and comprehensive survey of the wars with France and to provide through York's interview with Mortimer and the marriage of Henry with Margaret a point of departure for the great civil wars that were to form the subject of the succeeding members of the series. The purpose is not satisfactorily achieved and was in itself essentially non-dramatic. In that respect, however, neither the authors nor the public found fault with it.

In one important feature, to be sure, *Henry VI*, part 1, is far superior to *Edward I*. The dignified, and even lofty tone characteristic of the first scene of that play is not maintained throughout the drama, large portions of which are trivial and vulgar in the extreme. Such is not the case with *Henry VI*, wherein the general tone is at once poetically more elevated than in *Edward I* and far more consistently supported. The style of the play is not so much unequal as varied ; it permits us indeed to conjecture

ment is found is in versification, poetical quality, adequacy of diction and expression, psychological detail, a few historical corrections, and the handling of particular situations (e.g. the exit of Gloster, 2 *Henry VI*, I, iii, 140–55). The improvement is undeniably great and manifold, but it does not extend to fundamental conceptions. In other words, history is interpreted and dramatized in substantially the same way in both groups ; these may therefore be considered as one, and as exemplifying a stage in the treatment of historical material preliminary to *Edward II*. I did not see Tucker Brooke's article on the authorship of these plays (*Transactions of the Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 17) until too late to make use of it.

[1] Furnivall, *Leopold Shakspere*, xxxviii.

a multiple authorship, but upon a horizontal rather than a vertical scale.

The first part of *Henry VI* has then a particular interest because it shows the greatest writers of the time engaged in historical work, and because it was the first chronicle history to exhibit in a notable degree a seriousness of style and intention. Yet it does more. It shows that these poets, coming fresh to the dramatization of their country's history, appeared to feel no more than did their predecessors in the work the necessity of looking below the surface of events, of attempting to introduce more than a semblance of order into the chaos of dramatic material supplied by the chronicles. To ascribe to collaboration the 'choppy' character of the play is of course merely one way of saying that they were willing to enter upon the task under such conditions. Yet among them there was at least one gifted with the capacity to see more deeply into the nature of dramatic plotting than did his fellow-labourers. It will not be out of place here to point out very briefly how rapidly Marlowe's dramatic powers were maturing.

Although Marlowe found unity of personality in the drama when he entered the field, there remained somewhat for him to do toward making it an effective structural principle. It remained for him to throw overwhelming emphasis upon the unifying figure through conceiving it as the incarnation of an elemental force, for it is thus that *Tamburlaine* appeals to us. In this way he not merely provided

a central figure, but actually centralized the interest. Yet he himself doubtless realized that in this respect he had gone too far and that he had, through the failure to provide a proper antagonist, deprived his play of real dramatic power, making it simply a succession of scenes in which motives and situations were repeated time and again and of which the outcome was never for a moment in uncertainty. At any rate, no succeeding play of his displays the same disproportion among the characters. If Tamburlaine seemed for the moment to be the equal of the gods, Faustus is not such. Possessed of gigantic aspirations, he is yet a man in their fulfilment, the struggle is a struggle carried on in a human soul, and the issue of the conflict is defeat. Of the *Jew of Malta* we may speak in the same terms. Here the impulse to the plot comes originally from the outside, the principal character has assistants in his villainy, he miscalculates his means, and eventually is outwitted at his own game. Throughout the plays is to be discerned a steady progress toward the goal of equilibrium in characterization, towards the opposition of fit antagonists to a hero with human limitations.

As much may be said of the treatment of the plot. *Tamburlaine* is a succession of loosely related scenes, in which there is endless repetition, and which possess spectacular, but hardly dramatic interest. The conflict is a purely physical conflict, and the hero pursues the career of a professional conqueror. The mutilated condition of *Faustus* compels us to speak with caution as regards its form on leaving

Marlowe's hands; yet we can safely say that despite the numerous trivialities that compose the middle part of the action, some notion of a definite conflict carried to a definite conclusion was in his mind at the time of writing. That the plan was confused, vague, overlaid with unessential and irritating details must be admitted; still, when we dismiss from consideration for an instant the horse-courser and the clown, the emperor and the rival magician, the remainder of the play, like some battered fragment of antique statuary, enables us to trace the conception in the artist's thought—proportioned, symmetrical, unified. A further advance confronts us in the *Jew of Malta*, wherein the parts of the action are so related to one another as to constitute a plot in the true sense of the term, though to be sure not one with the execution of which we are unable to find fault.

If we are justified in detecting in the plays of which Marlowe was undisputed author such evidences of a progressive comprehension of the dramatic art, we would seem to be likewise justified in looking for similar evidences in the group of dramas that we are now considering, so far at least as their being written in collaboration permits. Marlowe had in *Tamburlaine* treated semi-historical material, and in 1 *Henry VI* had undertaken the chronicle history proper. The fruits then of a certain amount of experience with subject-matter of this kind might be expected to appear in the *Contention* and *The True Tragedy*, and in fact these plays unquestionably show a real desire to survey an historical period in

such a way as to give a more than merely superficial account of it, and at the same time a desire to arrange the incidents in accordance with a deliberately adopted principle. This design was very imperfectly carried out of course, but that its execution was attempted is the important thing.

The mechanical explanation of the course of human events that occupies so disproportionate a space in modern historical science is found only occasionally and in its rudimentary form in the histories of that day. A revolt of the commons might no doubt be ascribed to a period of dearth or to high taxation, and in a few simple cases of that type something like a mechanical explanation would come to light, though even here Providence rather than natural forces operating in an orderly manner would usually be thought of as really at work. For the Elizabethan the moving forces of history were three in number: Providence, Fortune (whom we meet everywhere in Renaissance literature),[1] and human character. The

[1] A multitude of passages from the various Renaissance literatures might be given to illustrate the point (e.g. Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, XXV; Petrarch's *Letters*, *passim*, notably IV, xii, VI, v; Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, xxvi, 47, Con la fortuna d'Alessandro, senza Cui saria fumo ogni disegno, e nebbia), but it is clearly enough stated in Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois*, V, ii, 41 ff. (ed. Parrott):

> So this whole man
> . . . shall reel and fall
> Before the frantic puffs of blind-born chance,
> That pipes through empty men, and makes them dance.
> Not so the sea raves on the Lybian sands. . . .
> As Fortune swings about the restless state
> Of virtue, now thrown into all men's hate.

See also, in the preface to Knolles' *History of the Turks*, ed. 1610, his analysis of the reasons why European countries had not overcome the Ottoman.

first two were unfathomable. Whoever tried really to understand a particular historical process would seek his explanation, after making all due allowance for the finger of God and for incalculable chance, in the purposes and qualities of the men concerned.[1] It is not to be supposed that writers of plays should have looked upon history otherwise, especially since, as serious dramatists, character would be almost their chief pre-occupation.[2] From the point of view of the interpretation of history, then, the plays that we are considering should be judged by the clearness and force with which that explanation is presented. The general conceptions of character inevitably came largely from the chronicles, but the sharpness of outline, the fullness of portraiture, the content of personality, were for the poet to supply. It was for him, in short, to energize events by depicting human character as a visibly operating principle. Thus looked at, the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* exhibit a desire to do more than pass rapidly over the mere surface of things, as chronicle history writers had usually been content to do. Character

[1] How large a part does this type of explanation occupy in the *Henry VII* of Bacon, whom we think of as our first writer of philosophical history; so in the Italians, his predecessors, cf. Machiavelli and Guicciardini; it is a maxim of Guicciardini, for example, that the wisdom of a plan of action is not to be judged by the outcome; and other thoughtful writers are constantly giving utterance to the same idea.

[2] Sometimes, as here and there in Jonson's *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, the poet seems to have in view the larger sweep of impersonal social and economic forces; but everything of this kind Jonson would get from the classics, and in any case the explanation is not mechanical in the modern sense.

is vigorously presented, if not always with refinement or consistency. For the first time a reasonably successful attempt is made to ' philosophize ' history in the only way possible for a playwright of that day: namely, to interpret events in terms of human character. For this reason they serve as indicative of the road by which the chronicle history passes eventually into the historical drama, yet because of their manifold imperfections they still remain well within the bounds of the species.

As we read the *Contention*, it becomes apparent also that we cannot divide the play into separate and independent lines of interest, as was the case with *Edward I.* Practically all of the material taken from the chronicles bears upon the struggle between the Houses of York and Lancaster, with perhaps the exception of one or two minor episodes. No doubt the process of selection was not in this instance very difficult, and yet Holinshed contains a good deal of incidental matter that might easily have distracted the minds of dramatists less intent upon the main issue. Early in the play there are put into the mouth of York lines designed to give the spectator a point of view and a key to the events that follow.

> Then Yorke be still a while till time do serve,
> Watch thou, and wake when others be a sleepe,
>
> * * * * * *
>
> Then will I raise aloft the milke-white rose,
>
> * * * * * *
>
> And force perforce, ile make him yeeld the Crowne,
> Whose bookish rule hath puld faire England downe.[1]

[1] I, i, 155 ff. *Cambridge Shakespeare*, ed. 1893, IX.

Moreover, events so apparently irrelevant as Cade's rebellion, and such apparently retarding episodes as York's own journey to Ireland, are distinctly made to forward his plans. York instigates the first as a means of furthering his designs through the creation of a state of unrest within the kingdom,[1] and through the second provides himself with means for taking advantage of the opportunities that may thus be offered.

'Twas men I lackt, and now they give them me.[2]

A fairly consistent point of view is thus maintained, and the action consequently possesses a certain coherence, a logical sequence, foreign to earlier plays. The chronicle history has undergone a gain in distinctness and definiteness of intention.

The defects of the play in the matter of structure are, of course, equally obvious. They arise in the main from an overplus of incident. The downfall of Gloster, the banishment and death of Suffolk, the death of Winchester are all necessary preliminaries to the execution of York's plans, but are only preliminaries. Presented, however, at such length as in the play, they distract attention and dissipate dramatic interest. The fact that the playwright

[1] Holinshed does not supply this link of connection. He says that the rebellion of Cade was perhaps stirred up by friends of York, but he does not say that York himself brought it about, nor does he suggest that it was merely one step in a plot that looked far ahead. The foresight and prudence characteristic of York in the play are not characteristic of him in the chronicle to at least anything like the same extent.

[2] III, i, 172. This suggestion is not in Holinshed either.

tells us from time to time in so many words just what the relation of a given episode is to the plan of the drama as a whole, is no sufficient make-weight for such dispersed emphasis. When we add to these incidents the rebellion of Cade and the final rebellion of York himself, we are faced with a mass of material almost unmanageable in its extent. No sense of proportion is exhibited, there is no effective dramatic discrimination between major and minor parts, between what is preliminary and what is an integral part of the main theme. The dramatist knows the logical relation of the parts of his action and he gives us a statement of it, but fails to incorporate it in the warp and woof. The conception of the survey of a period is still in fact, if not in theory, dominant, and it renders impossible a due concentration of interest. Dramatists still had to learn two lessons in dealing with historical subject-matter: that of economy of material, and of a properly distributed emphasis in its representation.

The True Tragedy possesses, of course, a similar unity of theme which is obscured by defects of a similar kind. The events depicted form the upshot of the plans laid by Richard in the previous drama, and the play closes when the objective point of the dramatist is fully attained and the House of York is firmly seated upon the throne. In good chronicle fashion, however, Richard dies early, and his place is taken by his son and heir. The succession of battle-scenes is altogether monotonous, and the

play lacks something of the interest of its predecessor, since the struggle is mainly one of physical force.

It hardly seems probable that we go too far in ascribing to Marlowe the main credit for the advance that the *Contention* and *The True Tragedy* display over earlier dramas. In the work neither of Peele nor of Greene, both of whom have often been assigned shares in the collaboration, can be discerned much that justifies holding them responsible, as regards either structure or conception of character. To neither, for example, can have been due the powerfully imagined though roughly executed figure of Margaret. Yet in any case, and without calling to our aid the fact that "a general consensus of the best opinion assigns to Marlowe a chief hand in both *Contentions*,"[1] we can see that in them he must have gained a large amount of useful experience, and that to his work upon them was largely due that 'historical spirit' of which we find in *Edward II* such plentiful manifestations.

I should not wish to be misunderstood in thus using the term 'historical spirit.' Marlowe did not make any effort to envelop his figures in the specific atmosphere of their time, nor do we expect him to exhibit any great measure of profound historical

[1] Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 267. 'Both *Contentions*' means the *Contention* and *The True Tragedy*. Schelling remarks: "1 *Henry VI* is considered an old play by Greene, assisted by Peele and Marlowe." I should like to accept this assignment, which would excellently account for the scrappiness of 1 *Henry VI* and the comparative unity of the other parts, but as yet I have not been able to see much belonging to Greene in any of these plays.

insight. He had neither the philosophical instinct of men like Machiavelli and Bacon, nor their broad knowledge of the doings of the human race in its corporate and political capacity. But I do believe that he came to look upon a given historical process, when selected for dramatization, as essentially a unitary fact, as a tissue woven of cause and effect. The particular causes and effects may, perhaps, be wrongly connected from the point of view of present knowledge. An 'interpretation of history,' however, need not be correct in order to be an interpretation, and the historical spirit has undergone change and development as have all other things. Marlowe, as we shall see, endeavoured in *Edward II* to select, proportion, and emphasize his material in such a way as to illustrate with logical cogency a salient aspect of the reign of Edward of Carnarvon. He endeavoured furthermore to explain events through the purposes and qualities of the men concerned in them. Finally, he strove to make his figures real and living, so that the relation between character and events should appear necessary and organic. To entertain such aims is to be animated by the historical spirit, though perhaps not to be acquainted with modern improvements.

Let us glance at what material Marlowe did *not* include that would have formed a lively attraction for the ordinary chronicle history writer, as well as for his audience. Marlowe omitted the suppression of the order of the Temple; everything connected with the constant warfare with Scotland, except

the allusions in ll. 655–6, 913, 962, 975 ff.; everything connected with the Irish wars, except the allusions in ll. 419, 960; everything connected with Edward's journey to France to do homage, and with the French attacks on his continental possessions, except the allusions in ll. 958, 1350 ff.; all quarrels between Edward and the nobles on grounds other than his maintenance of lewd favourites, such as the quarrel between the king and Lancaster about Lancaster's homage for the earldom of Lincoln, and that arising from Isabella's exclusion from the castle of Badlesmere. Furthermore, he omitted all private wars, such as those between Banister and Lancaster, between Middleton and the Bishop of Durham, between the Marcher lords and the Despensers, except the allusion in l. 1341 f.; all the give and take of the war against Lancaster and his party save their final overthrow; the incident of the impostor Poidras; the treason of Andrew Harclay; the condemnation of Orleton, Bishop of Hereford; and finally, all such distractions of the kingdom as took place between the murder of Edward and the execution of Mortimer, except the rising of the Earl of Kent. We learn much from these omissions alone.

Let us observe also some of the principal means by which the material that Marlowe did include was brought into close logical connection.[1] We may notice first that the defeat and execution of

[1] Illustrative quotations from Holinshed, as well as further discussion, will be found in the notes.

Lancaster are made the immediate outcome of the struggle against Gaveston and of his murder. Actually these events had little to do with one another. Ten years intervened between them, during which Lancaster and Edward were more than once reconciled only to quarrel again, and the former's overthrow and death were the direct result of a quite new series of events. It is true, however, that Holinshed[1] had already called attention to the king's enduring memory of his dead favourite, and had suggested that the desire to obtain revenge for Gaveston's murder was an additional motive leading Edward to show no pity toward the rebellious earl when once he had him at his feet. Marlowe improves upon this suggestion, obliterates all other causes of quarrel, and unites the two events by a stringent necessity. He also saw it to be dramatically inevitable that Warwick should share Lancaster's fate. As a matter of fact, Warwick died peaceably in his bed several years after the savage slaughter upon Blacklow Hill. The lives of other persons are altered with a like sovereign disregard of pedantic historical accuracy. The Spensers were not men of negligible importance who elected to creep into court favour through dependence upon Gaveston. Themselves of noble birth, it was not until some years after his fall that they began to fill his place, in more senses indeed

[1] Marlowe drew mainly from Holinshed, borrowing an incident or two from Fabyan and Stow. See Tzschaschel, *Marlowe's Edward II und seine Quellen*, Halle, 1902, which contains little not already made known by Fleay and Tancock.

than one. The Mortimers likewise had nothing to do with the earlier struggle, but it was from every point of view a sure dramatic instinct which laid early in the play the foundations of the opposition of natures that worked out ultimately to fatal issues.

Too quick a criticism might see in the play structural weakness arising from a repetition of motives not unlike what we find in *Tamburlaine*. The Spensers, it might be said, repeat Gaveston, and the struggle against them duplicates that against him, with the result that after the death of Lancaster there is a certain lowering of tension, a deficiency in dramatic interest. We can hardly deny that such a lowering of tension does occur, though due mainly to other causes, as will shortly be seen. The repetition of motives we may likewise admit to exist in some degree, without, however, great prejudice to Marlowe. Conceivably the play might have gained somewhat had the Spensers been suppressed entirely, and the tragedy of Gaveston been treated as sufficiently representing the unwise subservience of Edward to those parasites who, in the guise of loving subjects, preyed upon him and his kingdom. But was Marlowe quite prepared to introduce into his subject-matter a change so sweeping and fundamental, a change so much more subversive than any of those just catalogued? Dramatists who, like Peele and many another, merely played with history, might distort it as they would. Dramatists, however, who, like Marlowe and Shakespeare, had a reverence for

their material as belonging to the great past of their country, quite distinct from their perception of its availability for dramatic treatment, would be driven to accept a compromise between the artistic conscience insisting that the plot should satisfy the demands of their art and the historical conscience insisting that it should have at least a general conformity to the facts of the case. And perhaps this discussion is somewhat superfluous, since it is unlikely that Marlowe ever thought of the change as even desirable. To assume that he did is to assume that he possessed a full recognition of all that is implied in the distinction between the two kinds of historical truth, the ideal and the literal, that he had a deep philosophic insight into dramatic problems. Flashes of such insight Elizabethan criticism and practice everywhere display, but nowhere, and least of all as early as 1590, do they cohere into a reasoned theory such as is in this case implied. The Elizabethan drama was opportunist and empirical, and one learned how to handle historical material by handling it as best one could.

Meanwhile, there are other points of view. There is, after all, no mere repetition. Young Spenser is no mere replica of Gaveston. The king's fondness for him is largely due to his own loving memory of the close association between him and the dead favourite, and so the second situation rather continues the first than repeats it. More deeply considered, it is in Edward's very nature to have

favourites. His greatest need is to be loved as a friend, not obeyed as a sovereign. His greatest fault is that he cannot reconcile the demands of his nature with those of his rank. Marlowe has ennobled the relationship between Edward and his minions by creating a reciprocal affection. Holinshed no doubt gives us to understand that the king loved them with an entire love, but that they selfishly used him chiefly as a means whereby to hoist themselves into prominence and power. In the play Gaveston's love for Edward is deeply personal, and the cold blood in which Young Spenser reckons up his grounds for attaching himself to the king's party becomes warmed by the sun of his favour into a genuine friendship. Thus the repetition, to use again a word that hardly applies, is dramatically an outgrowth of character, just as historically it was a necessary ingredient of the plot, and we see clearly how the creative vigour of the poet informs "dust and ashes, dead and done with," with vital force.

Just because, however, Marlowe did not succeed in establishing an equally close logical nexus in the representation of certain other characters does the play undergo that lowering of dramatic tension of which we cannot deny the existence. As regards both Isabel and Young Mortimer, we are compelled after the overthrow of Lancaster to adjust ourselves somewhat violently to a new psychological situation. Both of them undergo changes in character that do not seem adequately accounted for. Marlowe desired unquestionably

to make these changes comprehensible, and doubtless had clearly in mind the process by which they were brought about. Yet he seems not quite to have succeeded in making his conception dramatically effective.

The strife of Edward with his nobles falls naturally into two stages: the struggle of Young Mortimer and his fellows, together with Isabel, against Gaveston, who is supported by the king, and the rebellion of Isabel and Young Mortimer after the death of Gaveston. In the first the king is the culprit—in the second, the martyr; in the first the nobles are just judges— in the second, unjust and cruel executioners. In the first, again, our sympathy goes out to the injured queen and the insulted barons. In the second, however, it is quite as inevitably cast with the suffering king.

Here is a problem in the degeneration of character that Marlowe appears hardly to have solved with dramatic success. Young Mortimer in the first part of the play is frank, sincere, audacious, high-tempered, reminding us much of Hotspur. In the second he is the queen's lover, a traitor to the king, a crafty dissimulator, a cruel and treacherous murderer. Isabel in the first part resembles Greene's Dorothea. She is in love with the king, and his happiness is her sole concern.

> Then let him stay; for rather than my love
> Shall be oppress'd with civil mutinies,
> I will endure a melancholy life,
> And let him frolic with his minion.

Or again later—

> Heavens can witness I love none but you.

Is this not like—

> As if they kill not me, who with him fight?

The accent of truth is too strong to be lightly disregarded. If we turn to the latter part of the play, we find a total change, and Isabel has become Mortimer's paramour and his furtive accomplice in the deed of blood. It is no doubt true that some preparation is made for the transference of Isabel's affection to Mortimer;[1] but hardly enough, one thinks; and certainly the transference of affection will not in itself account for the profound differences that we have noted.[2] Here Marlowe's dramatic imagination has failed him.

We must not permit this defect in characterization to obscure what is for us the salient feature of

[1] Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, I, 350.

[2] With regard to the character of Isabel, Professor McLaughlin says (p. 163 of his edition of *Edward II*): "In Marlowe's plan of building up sympathy against the king until the tragedy was prepared for, he wished to enlist the audience on the queen's side at first, as a loving and injured wife, then after the reverse action was under way, he aimed to intensify pity for the victim by every device; and what would create a stronger reaction in his favour than the shamelessness of such a woman as this later Isabel? So, with this ultimate treatment in mind, and as if to give a clue to what is coming, he tainted her early innocence by slanderous blemishes, which her transformed nature afterward proceeded to verify." Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, p. 73, says: "This is probably the true solution and may likewise account for the fact that Marlowe has been content to assert rather than to delineate the guilty passion of Mortimer and the queen." Such an explanation might well serve in the case of a dramatist of two hundred years later. One may ask, however, whether it does not represent Marlowe too much in the light of a

Edward II. Marlowe has definitely abandoned the principle of the survey; the list of his omissions, taken by itself, is almost sufficient proof of that fact, and there is abundant confirmatory evidence. He is not content merely to narrate a series of events, but insists, though not always with perfect success, that a given mass of historical material shall be, as it were, integrated. Each incident shall possess, in addition to its independent and purely theatric interest, a cumulative and hence essentially dramatic value. The catastrophe is no longer a point in time simply, but one in evolution, and to understand it we must draw into consideration the entire play. *Edward II*, by virtue of the reflective genius of its author, passes almost beyond the limits of our definition of the chronicle history, and becomes a tragedy in the full and large sense, something that a chronicle history, whatever its title, could not be.[1]

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playwright approaching his problem from the point of view of theoretical æsthetics, as Schiller, for instance, might have done. We cannot, of course, prove that Marlowe did not reason thus, and no one will deny that he reflected upon his art long and earnestly. Yet I venture to doubt whether a dramatic problem presented itself to any early Elizabethan dramatist in quite so neatly formulated a fashion. See the note on line 1559 for the true explanation. Here it may be merely remarked that anyone who will read Holinshed's account of the reign of Edward II, and will bear in mind the conditions of a *developing* art as they are shown in the pages above, will find himself prepared to understand at once, (*a*) the treatment of the character of Isabel; (*b*) Marlowe's reticence as to her relations with Mortimer (see note on l. 448). In the same way, a study of Holinshed explains the inconsistencies in the character of Joan of Arc in 1 *Henry VI*.

[1] Obviously because in the typical chronicle history, which ran several threads of action side by side, the element of conflict, in some form essential to tragedy, could be only incidental.

And so I may be excused for protesting strongly against the frequent depreciation of Marlowe's specifically dramatic talent. He was a great lyric poet, but he was not, be it emphasized, a lyric poet 'gone wrong.' [1]

VII

In certain fundamental respects wellnigh every play written on a serious subject after Marlowe betrays his influence, for Marlowe, besides establishing blank verse as the proper medium of expression for serious drama, created the first tragic character, gave the first display of tragic passion, first invested the catastrophe of human life with tragic dignity. Yet our attention may be called only in passing to these extraordinary achievements, since the chronicle drama was not affected by them in any way peculiar to itself. Here, as often elsewhere, historical plays merge indistinguishably into the great mass of dramatic productions and take only their individual shares in benefits conferred freely upon all. From our special point of view, which considers the chronicle plays as a measurably independent group, it can hardly perhaps be asserted that his influence, except upon Shakespeare, was either broad or deep. In so far as any play dealing with English history exhibits the fruits even of a not entirely successful attempt to endow a disorderly succession of historical

[1] Even on revival to-day the dramatic power of the play is strongly felt. Cf. Keller, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XL, 374; Dametz, *Marlowes Edward II und Shakespeares Richard II*, 1904.

episodes with qualities of proportion, emphasis, and coherence, we may say that its writer was in some degree Marlowe's disciple. But such plays are rare. It must be frankly admitted that except for the work of Marlowe and Shakespeare, and except for a play here and a play there, the chronicle history did not engage the attention of the better men in their better moments. What are the best plays of Peele, of Greene,[1] of Heywood, of Dekker? Considered as Elizabethan plays, chronicle histories after 1590–3 [2] are technically less crude than those before. But so are Elizabethan plays in general. After that date they are, taken by and large, on a higher poetic level. So is the drama in general. Characterization improves, writers become more skilful with practice, there is a general advance. Otherwise, and considered simply as chronicle histories, we may say that no fundamental changes occur.

There are always the exceptions. If we turn, for example, to the old play of *Richard II*, Part I, otherwise called *Thomas of Woodstock*,[3] we can see very definite traces of Marlowe's influence. Keller had shown that the author of this play was well acquainted both with *Edward II* [4] and *Henry VI*.

[1] It is not fair to the argument to call *Friar Bacon* a chronicle history. See above.

[2] In so far as we can definitely assign a date.

[3] Edited originally by Halliwell, 1870, and again by W. Keller, in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXV, 42 ff.

[4] Some of the more important of the reminiscences of *Edward II* are given in the explanatory notes below. They have to do, as is natural, with the earlier part of *Edward II*, since the author of the *Richard* did not deal with that prince's deposition and death.

It particularly interests us, however, that his handling of material is elevated noticeably above the usual level of the chronicle history, and shows distinctly a desire on his part really to unify his action. Of course, he manipulates his facts with very great freedom, and he presents no carefully accurate record of historical events. Yet, though he seems often to have trusted his memory instead of referring to his sources, his deviations from the chronicle are by no means aimless. He was chiefly concerned to present a series of related happenings, showing how Richard's character and his subjection to his flattering favourites brought about ill effects to the kingdom. No doubt he has not accomplished this design as successfully as did Marlowe, but the admission means simply that after all he had not Marlowe's genius. If the personality of Thomas of Woodstock [1] attracted him so strongly that he is not everywhere himself quite certain whether Richard or Thomas is his principal figure, yet the fate of Woodstock is an essential part of the theme the playwright chose, and the structural defects of the play do not have their origin in any dramatization of disconnected episodes, but in the author's inability to withstand the incidental temptations of his subject. Historical events are rearranged in order to present an action having definitely a beginning, a middle, and an end—in other words, in order to display the process by which there is

[1] Gloucester of the Henry VI plays is the prototype. See Keller, *u.s.*

attained a state either of quiescence or stable equilibrium on the part of conflicting forces. It is, then, a plot, not merely a survey of a given period, that the author had in mind, and though at times he appears hesitant or uncertain in his execution, such defects should not be unduly emphasized.

The great exception is, of course, Shakespeare, and it is a commonplace statement enough that Marlowe was one of the great formative influences in his development.[1] *Richard III* bears the strongest marks of having been written on the model furnished by Marlowe, and the degree to which the interest was concentrated upon the character of Richard and the extraordinary superiority which he displays to the other characters, are a reflection of the method employed in *Tamburlaine*. It is, however, a somewhat different point of view in which we may for the moment consider the matter.

Marlowe's interest, as has already been suggested, lay in dramatic character, and he endeavoured to interpret history through the characters of the persons that, as it seemed to him, made it. The like is true of Shakespeare. It is indeed because he gives us vivid and dramatically intelligible characterizations of historical persons that we talk at all about Shakespeare's 'interpretation of history.' Does anyone continue to believe that a profound social and political philosophy was embodied by Shakespeare in his chronicle plays? To say that he

[1] The reader will at once perceive that no detailed discussion of this topic can even be attempted in these pages.

interpreted history is simply to say that he converted historical abstractions into living human beings ; he did not anticipate Burke, and he was no evolutionist before evolution. For him history was a series of inexplicable catastrophic processes, except in so far as the motives and the characters of particular men shed a dim and wavering light over the turbulent stream of human life. So far, he and Marlowe were at one.

Nevertheless, a significant difference may be observed. If Marlowe's interest was in the portrayal of character, it was in the portrayal of one aspect of character that his supreme interest lay. Not so much the human being as an intellectual or reasoning entity, but the human being as a centre of energetic action occupied him chiefly. Not the intellect and the reason, but the will and the passions were his preferred objects of contemplation. Is that quite true of Shakespeare at the outset of his dramatic career ? In comedy, for example, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Comedy of Errors*, wit, word-play, ingenuity of plot, together with beauty of style and brilliance of fancy, furnish out the piece. In *Titus Andronicus* we sup full of horrors, but the drama is merely the *tour de force* of a clever youth who does not realize that he is playing with fire. Compare once more Gloucester and Tamburlaine. In the latter we see passionate aspiration, sublime confidence, and indomitable will, but we see nothing of the great intellectual powers demanded by his remarkable

career.[1] How far would Napoleon's confidence in his star have carried him, unassisted by his extraordinary intellectual gifts? It is not Tamburlaine as a thinking but as a feeling human being that we have before us. In *Richard III*, on the contrary, the intellectual superiority of Richard to the other characters is what marks him out as their natural lord and ruler. May not then the suggestion be made, though made with all due hesitancy, that Shakespeare, possibly earlier than would otherwise have been the case, was led through the influence of Marlowe to import into his characters the element of passion? For when we turn to *Richard II*, we find that he combines the two elements that in *Richard III* exist mainly in independence of each other. Gloucester embodies intellectual force, but passionate feeling finds its expression in the lyrical outbursts of emotion on the part of Margaret, Elizabeth, and Gloucester's mother. In *Richard II* both elements of character are fused in the same person. Richard thinks, but he feels as well, and this interpenetration of thought and feeling is in all of Shakespeare's later plays, tragedies as well as comedies, one of the distinctive marks of his genius.

It is an obvious corollary of what has just been said that Shakespeare arranged his material with a view to bringing out character, and in so far as he did so was clearly influenced by Marlowe in regard to the structure of the plot. At the

[1] The real Tamburlaine owed his success to just those qualities Marlowe's lacks. See the account of him in Lavisse-Rambaud.

same time, certain other forces must be taken into account.

We must, for instance, make allowance for the operation of a force which has been already briefly considered. The nature of the material itself to some extent determines the method of handling it. In the case of Richard III there had grown up in the course of the preceding century what may be called a Richard legend. According to this legend Richard conceived early the design of seizing the crown for himself, manipulated events with a view to that end, committed certain murders for that definite purpose, accomplished his aim, and from the pinnacle of glory was hurled headlong by the hand of God. In other words, a certain series of historical facts had in the course of time acquired in the popular mind something of that inner sequence and connection which is implied in the term 'plot.' Whoever dramatized the story of Richard could not escape presenting it at least rudely in some such form, as is to be seen both in the *Richardus Tertius* and in the old *True Tragedy of Richard III*. That neither Dr. Legge nor the other playwright fully comprehended the importance of this element in the material both employed is equally clear, and accordingly they introduced scenes that had little to do with the direct advance of the plot, or encumbered their dialogue with crude summaries of events which they found it difficult actually to stage. Such faults Shakespeare of course avoided in the main. There are passages in *Richard III* which may be omitted

without injury to dramatic action or to narrative continuity, but the total impression produced by the play, and especially by the first three acts, is that of reasonably close logical sequence. It was the native dramatic genius of Shakespeare, educated through the agency of Marlowe, that achieved this result in co-operation with the material itself. Perhaps in association with, and certainly under the influence of Marlowe, Shakespeare had engaged in the dramatization of English history; he had seen Marlowe, in *Edward II*, select and compress the events of eighteen years into the form of a logically constructed drama; and he was dealing with material which had to a certain extent already acquired the character of a plot. We should not find it necessary to trace in detail the further dramatic development of Shakespeare in order to realize how in the fullness of time he came to write those superbly constructed plays, the two parts of *Henry IV*, *de quibus silentium breviloquio præferendum puto.*

Yet the splendid examples of Marlowe and Shakespeare failed to bring about any corresponding structural advancement among chronicle dramatists at large. The play of *Edward III* is in the main simply a dramatized fragment of military narrative. No particular struggle is exhibited except merely the physical struggle involved in military conflict. The last three acts of the play are taken up almost entirely with a naval battle, the battles of Cressy and Poitiers, the capture of Calais, and the spectacular scene in which Edward receives the submission of the

kings of France and Scotland. The course of action is precisely what we have in any two or three acts of *Tamburlaine*, selected at random. Moreover, a part of the first act and the whole of the second are taken up with the episode of King Edward and the Countess of Salisbury, which though conducted with remarkable skill on the part of the poet, is not in any way a part of the theme that occupies him elsewhere. Thus the work, structurally considered, takes us back to the earliest period in the history of the chronicle play.

Much the same thing, and from the same point of view, is to be said of a number of so-called biographical plays that stand on the outskirts of the chronicle history. In these the source of material is less likely to be the chronicle itself than a brief biography or scattered bits of anecdotic material, and the interest is in the life of the man rather than in the important incidents with which he was concerned. Thus *The True Chronicle History of the whole Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell* is not based upon a chronicle but upon Fox's *Book of Martyrs*. It contains also a bit of material extracted from Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, and is in general nothing but a string of dramatized anecdotes. Obviously the important political aspects of the hero's life could not be put upon the stage by an Elizabethan playwright, and consequently the writer was compelled to restrict himself to a few fag ends of Cromwellian biography. Thus we are given a scene from Cromwell's early life in which his aspiring mind foresees his

own greatness, and a scene or two dealing with his travels on the Continent, in which he manages to save a nobleman's life, rescue an impoverished debtor, and receive alms at the hands of a charitable Florentine merchant. Then he returns to England, where the penetrating eye of Cardinal Wolsey lights upon him, and through the intuition of genius discerns the inner nature of the man. Thus Cromwell rises to high power, but at the end, after having exhibited in various ways his piety and his generosity, he falls a victim to the machinations of the villainous Gardiner. No more closely knit is the plot of *Sir Thomas More*, in regard to which we have excellent means of information as to the way in which the dramatist was hampered in his work. The original manuscript still exists, and we are able to note the criticisms passed both upon the choice of material and upon the manner of treatment by the licenser of plays, who struck out mercilessly whatever might possibly have dangerous political bearing. It is significant that in the play itself we are not told why Sir Thomas More was executed. We are told, to be sure, that he refused to sign certain articles at the king's behest, but we are not told what those articles contained, nor what were the grounds on which Sir Thomas refused to sign them.[1] The writer puts in as much serious history

[1] No doubt, however, there were few in the audience who could not make a shrewd guess at both these points, provided the play was ever actually put upon the stage, for we do not know that it was presented. It is, indeed, quite probable that the play was given up because of the objections of Sir Edmund Tylney.

as he dares, but is compelled to fill out his play with anecdotic fragments taken, most of them, from the various lives of More accessible to him. We need not dwell on either of these dramas longer, nor need we consider *The Famous History of the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukeley*, which likewise did not employ strictly chronicle material at all, though it was material that would undoubtedly have been incorporated in the chronicle had it lain sufficiently far back in time. The general method of these biographical plays is precisely that of the Digby *Mary Magdalen*, and needs at this point no further discussion. One other play of this type may, however, be momentarily touched upon. *The True and Honorable History of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, of which we possess only the first part, is better constructed than either *Cromwell* or *More*, but we cannot well believe that this result was due to any higher structural aim on the part of the four men concerned in its composition. They selected as their principal subject not the life of Sir John Oldcastle, but rather the attempt on the part of the Church to coerce him into conformity with the State religion, his valiant attempt to escape the clutches of the clergy, and presumably his ultimate martyrdom. This theme was very loosely developed, but of its own nature it afforded a more connected story than was the case in the other plays, and so the drama itself is distinctly less fragmentary. Political considerations did not shiver the narrative into so many bits.

VIII

The seeds of the decline of the chronicle history were sown during the period of its florescence. Primarily must be realized the extraordinary number of these plays written during the ten years when the vogue was at its height. If Heywood's statement is correct,[1] and the evidence procurable seems fully to substantiate it, all of English history, from the landing of Brute down to the spacious times of great Elizabeth, had been presented upon the boards of the London theatres. Some periods were subjected to repeated dramatizations, and were treated from all points of view. Henry VIII's reign furnished the material of *More, Cromwell, When You See Me, Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey*[2] (more than once refashioned). King John's reign is the subject of *The Troublesome Raigne, King John, Robert Earl of Huntington, King John and Matilda,*[3] *Look About You.* Of the numerous dramatizations of the Richard III material it is not necessary to speak at length.[4] There seems to have been a practical exhaustion of material. Had there been no con-

[1] *Apology*, already quoted, p. liii.

[2] Non-extant.

[3] Strictly speaking, somewhat later than the period that we are discussing. Written by Davenport, and published in his *Works*, ed. Bullen, 1890. (*Old English Plays*, New Series III.) Most of the plays here mentioned have been already referred to.

[4] Compare Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, 77: "In short we have in existence or on record a *corpus* of at least twenty dramas busy with the various events and persons which the tetralogy of the three plays on Henry VI. and Richard III. sought to cover."

tributory causes, satiety alone would almost account for the decline in favour of this form of drama.[1]

Contributory causes, however, there were. The very facility with which this material could be handled and the eagerness of the public for it attracted the poorest playwrights. *Jack Straw, The True Tragedy of Richard III, The Famous Victories of Henry V*, these dramas represent depths as low, artistically speaking, as any to which our stage has descended. Unable, doubtless, to make their plays successful as the result of talent, writers were often compelled to resort to other means, and to give a freshness to their much-used subject-matter by treating it after the manner of other dramatic fads. But this point has already been sufficiently discussed.

Foreign influences, moreover, are to be reckoned with; not so much perhaps the direct influence of

[1] If we look at Henslowe's Diary, we find that between 1594 and 1600 he produced twenty-four or twenty-five chronicle histories that have not come down to us. Nor can it be thought that this number will cover all the non-extant plays with which he had to do. A chronicle history may lie concealed behind a title that gives no inkling of its true character. If we did not have the play of *Look About You*, the title would give us no hint as to the subject-matter, and the same is to be said of other plays. Furthermore, it is not certain that the whole of Henslowe's theatrical activities is recorded in his diary, to say nothing of the fact that the Admiral's Men did not of course enjoy a monopoly of these plays. Moreover, cf. the prologue to Heywood's *Royal King and Loyal Subject*:

> Nay, 'tis known
> That when our chronicles have barren grown
> Of story, we have all invention stretch'd,
> Div'd low as to the centre, and then reach'd
> Unto the *primum mobile* above:
> Nor 'scaped things intermediate.

foreign dramas upon English, though doubtless something of the sort is to be taken into consideration,[1] but rather the widening of the English intellectual horizon through intercourse with other nations and contact with other literatures. This went on with startling rapidity during the latter part of the sixteenth century, and the response to it on the part of the drama was direct and immediate. Foreign subjects, and particularly Italian plots, began to crowd out those of English and national character. The drama was becoming, as regards subject-matter, 'Italianate.'

Contemporary life, too, demanded its share of attention, and grew jealous of the public's momentary absorption in the old, forgotten, far-off things, and battles long ago. If the drama is to hold the mirror up to nature, too much of its emphasis must not be laid upon a bygone stage of national life. At any rate, a new generation of playwrights had sprung up. Marlowe, Greene, Peele were no longer names to conjure with, had passed into subjects of occasional jest. Their successors were men of different character, if not more learned, at any rate more masters of their learning. New modes of expression became necessary; the old had served their time.

Though the chronicle history lent itself not infrequently to the purposes of satire as well as to those of the realistic comedy of manners, it did so with a manifest reluctance. The inconsistencies of

[1] See prologue to Heywood's *A Challenge for Beauty*.

these plays were too glaring, their anachronisms too gross and palpable, to have enabled them to retain the favour of those spectators that pretended to any faculty of taste or judgment. No doubt the æsthetic standards of the time were neither in great measure high nor enduring, and were largely an affectation. Yet, affectation or not, they served the purpose, and assisted in the decline of the chronicle history. Your foreign traveller and Italianate Englishman, your stay-at-home mimic, Italianate at second-hand, your judicious and your injudicious pedant, your classicist and your contemner of the unities, though each based his opposition on different grounds, were in unison on this point. It was these inchoate historical plays that Jonson had partly in mind when writing the prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, when the popularity of the chronicle history was at its height.[1] A similar, even a more contemptuous attitude is assumed in the induction to the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, composed a decade later. Small inducement was there for a playwright to attempt the chronicle history, unless he cared little for the approval of the learned. Accordingly the men of talent of the new generation rejected it almost wholly.[2]

[1] On the assumption that this prologue was written for the first production of the play.

[2] I do not mean, of course, that material drawn from the chronicles was no longer utilized by dramatists. Such plays as *Cymbeline*, *Bonduca*, and even *The Mayor of Queenborough*, however, are not chronicle histories, and hence do not come within our field. They are romantic dramas or historical dramas, or what you will, but not chronicle histories, and represent a later conception in the drama

The strife between the Puritans and the stage forms an element that must not be left out of consideration, though only a brief account of it may here be given. The first reference to historical plays as such seems to have occurred in the *Play of Plays*.[1] In it there was, as Prynne tells us, a defence of histories on about the same grounds that Heywood employed in the *Apology*. "These dramas have," said Lodge in substance, "a didactic function, and instruct the people in the history of the world." Gosson replied in *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*,[2] that, since these historical plays did not stick to the truth, they instructed the people in false history Heywood took up the defence of histories, and was attacked by one I. G. in *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors*. The whole controversy was summed up by Prynne in the *Histriomastix*.[3]

Prynne excepts against 'histories,' though he does not specify chronicle histories, on the following grounds: (*a*) Play-poets mangle, falsify, if not obscure history with many additional circumstances and poetical fictions; they do not therefore explain,

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of the time. So slight are their affiliations with that branch of the drama that they are to be looked upon simply as showing how the romantic drama occasionally made use of historical material. The scene in which their action goes on is not properly England, but 'No-Man's Land,' the land of *Philaster* and of *The Maid's Tragedy*. Had they been looked upon at the time as in any way a continuation of the true historical drama, Ford could not have written the prologue quoted a few pages below.

[1] See above, p. xxxvii.

[2] 1581–2. Cf. Collier, II, 197.

[3] pp. 940–1; an earlier reference, 789.

but sophisticate and deform good histories with many false varnishes and playhouse fooleries. (*b*) These histories are more accurately expressed, more truly learned, in the original authors than in derivative playhouse pamphlets, which corrupt all circumstances that are truly registered in the story, which are either omitted or altered in the play. (*c*) Grant my opponent's argument, then we might just as well destroy our historical works as so much waste paper, and rely on plays entirely. (*d*) Grant the argument, yet the truth in these histories will be much sooner forgotten by the spectators than what is false.

Aside, however, from this special opposition to the historical play, the general attitude of the Puritans toward the stage reacted upon that particular form of the drama. As Puritan opinions among the people grew in strength, the theatre became less and less a popular institution. Always opposed to the stage, the Puritans were stimulated in their opposition by their contest with the court, which had always favoured the theatre, and to which the theatre began more and more to look for aid. From a distinctly popular institution the stage became in general a semi-aristocratic one. The party of the court, however, took no special interest in English history, and was perhaps the least national of all English factions. James was a Scotchman and had Scotch favourites. He was fond of the spectacular and he set the fashion. It was in his reign that the masque began to develop elaborately and to have a con-

siderable influence upon the stage. In line with forces of this character, the drama, in so far as it was not occupied with satirical pictures of contemporary life, began to assume that ultra-romantic tone associated with the names of Beaumont and Fletcher, and of Ford.

Underneath all lay the decline in national spirit. Internal dissensions were once more rife. Much as in the reign of Henry VIII, the country was divided among Catholics, Puritans, and the large body of adherents to the State Church. From the point of view of the stage these dissensions finally ended in the closing of the theatres, but from a social and political standpoint they meant infinitely more. What must have been the character of a time in which Cecil, the son of Burleigh, could accept pensions alike from France and Spain! [1] What must have been the character of a period in which Raleigh, as it were the type of the Elizabethans, was imprisoned, beheaded, thought to be a Spanish dependent, when he had indignantly refused the pension that Cecil accepted only to defraud his new employers! [2]

All of these influences naturally affected the chronicle history, for that was a dramatic species dependent for its popularity upon a nice adjustment of popular sentiments and ideas, upon the maintenance of an exact equilibrium between opposing social and intellectual forces. To one state of the

[1] See Gardiner, I, 215–16.

[2] Gardiner's account of Raleigh's trial, I, 117–38.

popular mind it owed its appearance, to another its decline after a short period of exuberant life. It flourished, in other words, during a period of national repose, when one set of disturbing influences was exhausted, another not yet in full vigour. Like the ballad, it depended for its development upon the existence among the people of a certain homogeneity of thought and sentiment, upon the cessation of which it likewise decayed.

Its extinction, however, appears to have been gradual, and was probably consummated only by the closing of the theatres in 1642. There seems to have been a class, doubtless the bourgeoisie and the 'prentices satirized in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, with whom the chronicle history did not go entirely out of fashion. The *Stationers' Register*, indeed, records publications of dramas of this kind as late as 1697.

Perhaps the Elizabethans realized that in the decay of this characteristic form of their drama they were losing something of value and interest. At any rate, Ford, in the prologue to *Perkin Warbeck*, printed in 1634, makes an appeal for the revival of English historical tragic writing, and the passage is worth quoting at length, as it illustrates admirably the remarks of the last few pages.

> Studies have, of this nature, been of late,
> So out of fashion, so unfollowed, that
> It is become more justice, to revive
> The antic follies of the times, than strive
> To countenance wise industry; no want

Of art doth render wit, or lame, or scant,
Or slothful, in the purchase of fresh bays;
But want of truth in them, who give the praise
To their self-love, presuming to out-do
The writer, or (for need) the actors too.
But such the author's silence best befits,
Who bids them be in love with their own wits.
From him, to clearer judgments, we can say
He shows a History, couch'd in a play:
A history of noble mention, known,
Famous, and true; most noble, 'cause our own;
Not forged from Italy, from France, from Spain,
But chronicled at home; as rich in strain
Of brave attempts, as ever fertile rage,
In action, could beget to grace the stage.
We cannot limit scenes, for the whole land
Itself appear'd too narrow to withstand
Competitors for kingdoms; nor is here
Unnecessary mirth forced, to endear
A multitude: on these two rests the fate
Of worthy expectation, Truth and State.

Here are touched upon many of the causes that led to the decline of the chronicle history. First, the rage for the satirical drama of manners, that revived "the antic follies of the times." Next, the fashionable fondness for foreign subject-matter, "forged from Italy, from France, from Spain," the disdain of homespun English topics. Then, the pedantic dislike of a drama that "cannot limit scenes," and that mixes unnecessary mirth with tragic subject-matter. It is interesting also to note Ford's appeal to the patriotism of his audience—"Most noble, 'cause our own," not foreign, but "chronicled at home." And it will be observed that he attempts to create an interest in his play by the old methods of the earliest chronicle history

writers—his play is "known, famous, and true." In a sense this passage defines the chronicle history, and accounts for its decline in popular favour.

The troublesome
raigne and lamentable death of
Edward *the second, King of*
England: with the tragicall
fall of proud Mortimer:
As it was sundrie times publiquely acted
in the honourable citie of London, by the
right honourable the Earle of Pem-
brooke his seruants.
Written by Chri. Marlow *Gent.*

Imprinted at London for *William Iones*,
dwelling neere Holbourne conduit, at the
signe of the Gunne. 1594.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

THIS edition is printed from the edition of 1594 of *Edward II*, and all of the few changes made are mentioned in the footnotes, except that as regards punctuation a compromise has been adopted between the erratic pointing of the original and the present practice, the intent being merely to make the text readily intelligible without giving it in this respect a completely modern aspect. The spelling and capitalization of the original are retained, and also the division into lines except in certain specified cases. The stage directions are those of the quarto, with such bracketed additions as seem necessary.

The following texts have been collated:

Quarto (1)	1594	1
Quarto (2)	1598	2
Quarto (3)	1612	3
Quarto (4)	1622	4
Dodsley	1744	D
Dodsley	1780	D_1
Ancient British Drama	1810	S
Oxberry	1818	O
Dodsley	1825	D_2
Robinson	1826	R
Dyce	1850	D_3
Dyce	1858	D_4
Cunningham	1870	C
Wagner	1870	W
Keltie	1870	K
Fleay	1877	F
Bullen	1885	B

Ellis	1887 ..	E
Tancock	1887 ..	T
Pinkerton	1889 ..	P
McLaughlin..	1894 ..	M
Verity	1896 ..	V
Brooke	1910 ..	Br

In addition to these I have also with Dr. Brooke's permission given from his edition the readings of the South Kensington MS. fragment of the first seventy lines, which he believes to represent an edition of 1593.[1] This fragment is marked ' X.'

The variant readings are selected. Most misprints have been omitted, except when occurring in the quartos. Variations of spelling have been neglected, and also differences in punctuation, except in a few cases, where the meaning of the text was affected. Conjectural readings are omitted from the footnotes, but a number of them are given among the explanatory notes at the end of the play. Furthermore, the following classes of variant readings have also been omitted, namely, such differences as between intreat and entreat, Penbrooke and Pembroke, offered and off'red, murder and murther, stroke and struck, desert and desart, renown'd, renowned, and renownèd (except in a few cases), Bartley and Berkeley. No collation is given of the stage directions, except as regards the quartos. Otherwise, this edition aims to give all important variant readings, but the editor does not for a moment suppose that no errors have been committed.

[1] Since writing the above I have been able to examine this MS. for myself.

[DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

Edward II, later deposed.
Prince Edward, his son, later Edward III.
Kent, brother to Edward II.
Lancaster.
Warwick.
Pembroke.
Arundell.
Leicester.
Mortimer Senior.
Mortimer Junior, his nephew.
Piers Gaveston.
Spencer Senior.
Spencer Junior, his son.
Archbishop of Canterbury, referred to as Bishop of Canterbury.
Bishop of Winchester.
Bishop of Coventry.
Bishop [of Hereford ?].
Berkeley.
Baldock.
Sir John of Hainault.
Trussel.

Gurney.
Matrevis.
Lightborn.

Rice ap Howell.
Levune.
Abbot.
James.
Beaumont.

Three Poor Men, Horseboy, Champion, Mower, Herald, Mayor of Bristol, Lords, Monks, Citizens of Bristol, Messengers, Soldiers, Attendants.

Queen Isabella.
King Edward's Niece, Daughter to Duke of Gloucester, referred to as Lady.
Ladies.]

The troublesome raigne and *lamentable death of* Edward *the* second, king of England: with the *tragicall fall of proud* Mortimer.

Enter Gauestone *reading on a letter that was brought him from the king.*

'My father is deceast; come, *Gaueston*,
And share the kingdom with thy deerest friend.'
Ah, words that make me surfet with delight:
What greater blisse can hap to *Gaueston*
Then liue and be the fauorit of a king?
Sweete prince, I come; these, these thy amorous lines
Might haue enforst me to haue swum from France,
And like *Leander* gaspt vpon the sande,
So thou wouldst smile and take me in thy armes.
The sight of London to my exiled eyes
Is as Elizium to a new come soule;
Not that I loue the citie or the men,
But that it harbors him I hold so deare,
The king, vpon whose bosome let me die
And with the world be still at enmitie.
What neede the artick people loue star-light,
To whom the sunne shines both by day and night?
Farewell base stooping to the lordly peeres!

Heading om. 234. Reading on] reading of *X*.
5 Then] than *passim D—V. This change will not be again noticed. Only occurrence of than in* 1, *see l.* 1592.
6 these, these] these *X*. 7 swam *D O R*.
9 thine *X* 2—*V*. 10 mine D_2.
14 die] lie *S O R* D_3 D_4 *C W E T P M*. 16 arctic *O R—V*.

My knee shall bowe to none but to the king. A4
As for the multitude, that are but sparkes,
Rakt vp in embers of their pouertie,
Tanti:—Ile fanne first on the winde
That glaunceth at my lips, and flieth away:
But how now, what are these?

Enter three poore men.

Poore men. Such as desire your worships seruice.
Gauest. What canst thou doe?
1. *poore.* I can ride.
Gauest. But I haue no horses.—What art thou?
2. *poore.* A traueller.
Gauest. Let me see—thou wouldst do well
To waite at my trencher, & tell me lies at dinner time;
And as I like your discoursing, ile haue you.—
And what art thou?
3. *poore.* A souldier, that hath seru'd against the Scot.
Gauest. Why, there are hospitals for such as you.
I haue no warre; and therefore, sir, be gone.
Sold. Farewell; and perish by a souldiers hand,
That wouldst reward them with an hospitall.
Gau. I, I, these wordes of his moue me as much
As if a Goose should play the Porpintine,
And dart her plumes, thinking to pierce my brest.
But yet it is no paine to speake men faire;
Ile flatter these, and make them liue in hope. [*Aside.*]
You know that I came lately out of France,
And yet I haue not viewd my Lord the king.
If I speed well, ile entertaine you all.
Omnes. We thanke your worship.
Gauest. I haue some busines, leaue me to my selfe.
Omnes. We will wait heere about the court. *Exeunt.*

19 knees 4. 20 As] Its *X*. that] they *D—R C W F P*.
21 Rakt] bakt' *X*. 22 fawn *O R—V*; faune *Br*. tantum *X*.
25 your your 2. 28 horse 2–*V*. 31 time] *om*. *X*.
40 would *R C B E P V*; porcupine 2–*V*. 41 dart] eate *X*.
43 these] them *X*. 49 We] I *X*.

Gauest. Do ;—these are not men for me, A_5
I must haue wanton Poets, pleasant wits,
Musitians, that with touching of a string
May draw the pliant king which way I please :
Musicke and poetrie is his delight ;
Therefore ile haue Italian maskes by night,
Sweete speeches, comedies, and pleasing showes,
And in the day, when he shall walke abroad,
Like *Siluian* Nimphes my pages shall be clad,
My men, like Satyres grazing on the lawnes,
Shall with their Goate feete daunce an antick hay.
Sometime a louelie boye in *Dians* shape,
With haire that gilds the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearle about his naked armes,
And in his sportfull hands an Oliue tree
To hide those parts which men delight to see,
Shall bathe him in a spring ; and there, hard by,
One like *Actæon*, peeping through the groue,
Shall by the angrie goddesse be transformde,
And running in the likenes of an Hart,
By yelping hounds puld downe, and seeme to die.
Such things as these best please his maiestie,
My lord. Here comes the king and the nobles
From the parlament, ile stand aside. [*Retires.*]

Enter the King, Lancaster, Mortimer senior, Mortimer iunior, Edmund Earle of Kent, Guie Earle of Warwicke, &c.

Edward. Lancaster !

Lancast. My Lorde.

54 is] are *X D—R C P.* 58 Syluan *X D—K E P M V Br.*
60 Goates *X ;* an] the 2—*V.* 61 Sometimes *D—R C P.*
65 which] as *X. The l. is om. by F M T.*
70 and] shall *D—K E—V.*
71–3 12 *K place period after* maiestie ; 1234 *K comma after* lord. *D O om.* My lord. D_1 D_2 *S* My lord here comes ; the. *R C W P* By'r lord ! here. D_3 D_4 *F B E T M V* Here comes my lord the. *B inserts* here *after* and. *M prints as prose. F prints* 72–3 *as* 3 *ll.* Here comes my lord / The king, etc., / I'll, etc. the nobles] th' nobles *F.*

Gauest. That Earle of Lancaster do I abhorre. [*Aside.*]
Edw. Will you not graunt me this?—in spight of them A$_6$
Ile haue my will, and these two *Mortimers*,
That crosse me thus, shall know I am displeasd. [*Aside.*]
Mor. se. If you loue vs, my lord, hate *Gaueston.*
Gauest. That villaine *Mortimer!* ile be his death. [*Aside.*]
Mor. iu. Mine vnckle heere, this Earle, & I my selfe,
Were sworne to your father at his death,
That he should nere returne into the realme:
And know, my lord, ere I will breake my oath,
This sword of mine, that should offend your foes,
Shall sleepe within the scabberd at thy neede;
And vnderneath thy banners march who will,
For *Mortimer* will hang his armor vp.
Gauest. Mort. dieu. [*Aside.*]
Edw. Well, *Mortimer*, ile make thee rue these words.
Beseemes it thee to contradict thy king?
Frownst thou thereat, aspiring Lancaster,
The sworde shall plane the furrowes of thy browes,
And hew these knees that now are growne so stiffe.
I will haue *Gaueston*, and you shall know
What danger tis to stand against your king.
Gauest. Well doone, *Ned.* [*Aside.*]
Lan. My lord, why do you thus incense your peeres,
That naturally would loue and honour you
But for that base and obscure *Gaueston?*
Foure Earldomes haue I besides Lancaster,
Darbie, Salsburie, Lincolne, Leicester:
These will I sell to giue my souldiers paye,
Ere *Gaueston* shall stay within the realme.
Therefore, if he be come, expell him straight.
Edm. Barons and Earls, your pride hath made me mute,
But now ile speake, and to the proofe, I hope:
I do remember, in my fathers dayes, A$_7$

83 unto *D—R C P.* 4 *has* un *inserted with a pen before* to.
93 *D—Br* ? *after* Lancaster.
107 *D—R C B P assign speech to Edw.* me mute] men *misp.* 2.

Lord *Percie* of the North, being highly mou'd,
Brau'd *Mowberie* in presence of the king,
For which, had not his highnes lou'd him well,
He should haue lost his head ; but with his looke
The vndaunted spirit of *Percie* was appeasd,
And *Mowberie* and he were reconcild :
Yet dare you braue the king vnto his face.
Brother, reuenge it, and let these their heads
Preach vpon poles for trespasse of their tongues.
Warwicke. O, our heads.
Edw. I, yours, and therefore I would wish you graunt.
Warw. Bridle thy anger, gentle *Mortimer.*
Mor. iu. I cannot, nor I will not, I must speake.
Cosin, our hands I hope shall fence our heads,
And strike off his that makes you threaten vs.
Come, vnckle, let vs leaue the brainsick king,
And henceforth parle with our naked swords.
Mor. se. Wilshire hath men enough to saue our heads.
Warw. All Warwickshire will loue him for my sake.
Lanc. And Northward *Gaueston* hath many friends.
Adew, my Lord, and either change your minde,
Or looke to see the throne where you should sit,
To floate in bloud, and at thy wanton head
The glozing head of thy base minion throwne.
Exeunt Nobiles. [Edward, Kent, Gaveston, *remain.*]
Edw. I cannot brooke these hautie menaces.
Am I a king and must be ouer rulde ?
Brother, displaie my ensignes in the field ;
Ile bandie with the Barons and the Earles,
And eyther die, or liue with *Gaueston.*
Gau. I can no longer keepe me from my lord.

111 Moubray 34 D_3 D_4 *K T M.*
114 Th' *D* D_1 *O*—D_4 *K F T M ;* sprite *F.* 115 *as in* 111.
126 parlie 2—*V.* 128 loue] leave D_3 D_4 *C W P.*
129 Gaueston] Lancaster *O R* D_3 D_4 *C W K P.*
133 s. d. Nobiles] Nobels *or* Nobles 3—*V.*
135 Am] And D_1 *S* D_2. 138 2—*V om. comma.*

Edw. What, *Gaueston*, welcome! kis not my hand, A_8 140
Embrace me, *Gaueston*, as I do thee.
Why shouldst thou kneele? Knowest thou not who I am?
Thy friend, thy selfe, another *Gaueston*.
Not *Hilas* was more mourned of *Hercules*,
Then thou hast beene of me since thy exile. 145
Gau. And since I went from hence, no soule in hell
Hath felt more torment then poore *Gaueston*.
Edw. I know it; brother, welcome home my friend.
Now let the treacherous *Mortimers* conspire,
And that high minded earle of Lancaster. 150
I haue my wish, in that I ioy thy sight,
And sooner shall the sea orewhelme my land,
Then beare the ship that shall transport thee hence:
I heere create thee Lord high Chamberlaine,
Cheefe Secretarie to the state and me, 155
Earle of Cornewall, king and lord of Man.
Gauest. My lord, these titles far exceed my worth.
Kent. Brother, the least of these may well suffice
For one of greater birth then *Gaueston*.
Edw. Cease, brother, for I cannot brooke these words. 160
Thy woorth, sweet friend, is far aboue my guifts,
Therefore, to equall it, receiue my hart.
If for these dignities thou be enuied,
Ile giue thee more; for but to honour thee
Is *Edward* pleazd with kinglie regiment. 165
Fearst thou thy person? thou shalt haue a guard:
Wants thou gold? go to my treasurie:
Wouldst thou be loude and fearde? receiue my seale,
Saue or condemne, and in our name commaund,
What so thy minde affectes or fancie likes. 170

142 know'st 4 *D—V*. 1–4 *print as* 2 *ll*.
144 of] for 2 *D* D_1 *S* D_2; for of 34 D_3 D_4 *K M*; by *O*.
149 treach'rous *D* D_1 *O* D_2 *R*. 152 ouerwhelme 23.
163 envied be *O*.
167 Want'st *D* D_1 *S* D_2 *R*; wantest *O* D_3—*V*.
168 seals *C W P*.

Gaue. It shall suffice me to enioy your loue, B_1
Which whiles I haue, I thinke my selfe as great
As *Cæsar* riding in the Romaine streete,
With captiue kings at his triumphant Carre.

Enter the Bishop of Couentrie.

Edw. Whether goes my Lord of Couentrie so fast?
Bish. To celebrate your fathers exequies.
But is that wicked *Gaueston* returnd?
Edw. I, priest, and liues to be reuengd on thee,
That wert the onely cause of his exile.
Gaue. Tis true, and but for reuerence of these robes,
Thou shouldst not plod one foote beyond this place.
Bish. I did no more then I was bound to do;
And, *Gaueston*, vnlesse thou be reclaimd,
As then I did incense the parlement,
So will I now, and thou shalt back to France.
Gaue. Sauing your reuerence, you must pardon me.
[*Laying hands on the Bishop.*]
Edw. Throwe of his golden miter, rend his stole,
And in the channell christen him a new.
Kent. Ah, brother, lay not violent hands on him,
For heele complaine vnto the sea of Rome.
Gaue. Let him complaine vnto the sea of hell,
Ile be reuengd on him for my exile.
Edw. No, spare his life, but seaze vpon his goods,
Be thou lord bishop, and receiue his rents,
And make him serue thee as thy chaplaine.
I giue him thee, here, vse him as thou wilt.
Gaue. He shall to prison, and there die in boults.
Edw. I, to the tower, the fleete, or where thou wilt.
Bish. For this offence be thou accurst of God.
Edw. Whose there? conueie this priest to the tower.
Bish. True, true.
Edw. But in the meane time, *Gaueston*, away, B_2

174 triumphal *K.* 175 Whi'er *F.* 189 valiant *S.*
200 th' *D* D_1 D_2 *F.* 201 Do, do *D* D_1 *S* D_2 *R.*

And take possession of his house and goods.
Come, follow me, and thou shalt haue my guarde
To see it done, and bring thee safe againe.
Gaue. What should a priest do with so faire a house?
A prison may beseeme his holinesse.
[*Exeunt.*]

Enter [*on one side*] *both the Mortimers,* [*on the other*] *Warwicke, and Lancaster.*

War. Tis true, the Bishop is in the tower,
And goods and body giuen to *Gaueston.*
Lan. What, will they tyrannize vpon the Church?
Ah, wicked king, accurssed *Gaueston,*
This ground which is corrupted with their steps,
Shall be their timeles sepulcher, or mine.
Mor. iu. Wel, let that peeuish Frenchmã guard him sure:
Vnlesse his brest be sword proofe, he shall die.
Mor. se. How now, why droops the earle of Lancaster?
Mor. iu. Wherefore is *Guy* of Warwicke discontent?
Lan. That villaine *Gaueston* is made an Earle.
Mortim. sen. An Earle!
War. I, and besides, lord Chamberlaine of the realme,
And secretary to, and lord of Man.
Mor. se. We may not, nor we will not suffer this.
Mor. iu. Why post we not from hence to leuie men?
Lan. 'My lord of Cornewall' now at euery worde,
And happie is the man whom he vouchsafes,
For vailing of his bonnet, one good looke.
Thus arme in arme, the king and he dooth marche:
Nay more, the guarde vpon his lordship waites:
And all the court begins to flatter him.
War. Thus leaning on the shoulder of the king,
He nods, and scornes, and smiles at those that passe.
Mor. se. Doth no man take exceptions at the slaue?
Lan. All stomack him, but none dare speake a word. B$_3$

207 may best 34 D_1—*R C W K B E P V.*
208 It is *F;* bishop's *F;* t'rue *F p.* 117.

Mor. iu. Ah, that bewraies their basenes, Lancaster.
Were all the Earles and Barons of my minde,
Weele hale him from the bosome of the king,
And at the court gate hang the pessant vp,
Who, swolne with venome of ambitious pride,
Will be the ruine of the realme and vs.

Enter the Bishop of Canterburie [*and an Attendant*].

War. Here comes my lord of Canterburies grace.
Lan. His countenance bewraies he is displeasd.
Bish. First were his sacred garments rent and torne,
Then laide they violent hands vpon him ; next,
Himselfe imprisoned, and his goods asceasd :
This certifie the Pope ; away, take horsse.
[*Exit Attendant.*]
Lan. My lord, will you take armes against the king ?
Bish. What neede I ? God himselfe is vp in armes,
When violence is offered to the church.
Mor. iu. Then wil you ioine with vs that be his peeres
To banish or behead that *Gaueston ?*
Bish. What els, my lords ? for it concernes me neere ;
The Bishoprick of Couentrie is his.

Enter the Queene.

Mor. iu. Madam, whether walks your maiestie so fast ?
Que. Vnto the forrest, gentle *Mortimer*,
To liue in greefe and balefull discontent,
For now my lord the king regardes me not,
But dotes upon the loue of *Gaueston ;*
He claps his cheekes, and hanges about his neck,
Smiles in his face, and whispers in his eares,
And when I come, he frownes, as who should say,
Go whether thou wilt, seeing I haue Gaueston.
Mor. se. Is it not straunge, that he is thus bewitcht ?

234 Ah] Ay *D O R C P.* 236 We'd *R—W F—V.*
253 whi'er *F.* 256 *O R C B E P V set* my lord *off by commas.*
258 cheek *O R C F B T P.* 261 whi'er *F.*

Mor. iu. Madam, returne vnto the court againe :
That slie inueigling Frenchman weele exile, B4
Or lose our liues : and yet, ere that day come,
The king shall lose his crowne, for we haue power,
And courage to, to be reuengde at full.
Bish. But yet lift not your swords against the king.
Lan. No, but weele lift *Gaueston* from hence.
War. And war must be the meanes, or heele stay stil.
Queen. Then let him stay, for rather then my lord
Shall be oppresst by ciuill mutinies,
I wil endure a melancholie life,
And let him frollick with his minion.
Bish. My lords, to eaze all this, but heare me speake :
VVe and the rest that are his counsellers
VVill meete, and with a generall consent
Confirme his banishment with our handes and seales.
Lan. VVhat we confirme the king will frustrate.
Mor. iu. Then may we lawfully reuolt from him.
War. But say, my lord, where shall this meeting bee ?
Bish. At the new temple.
Mor. iu. Content.
[*Bish.*] And in the meane time ile intreat you all
To crosse to Lambeth, and there stay with me.
Lan. Come then, lets away.
Mor. iu. Madam, farewell.
Qu. Farewell, sweet *Mortimer*, and for my sake
Forbeare to leuie armes against the king.
Mor. iu. I, if words will serue ; if not, I must.

[*Exeunt omnes.*]

Enter Gaueston *and the earle of Kent.*

Gau. Edmund the mightie prince of Lancaster,
That hath more earldomes then an asse can beare,

268 *E V assign to the queen.* 269 we will D_4—*V*.
272 by] with 2—*V*.
284 12 4 *D O Br. om.* [Bish.] *It is inserted with a pen in* 3.
289 Ah D_1 D_2; Ay, [ay,] *F*.

And both the *Mortimers*, two goodly men,
VVith *Guie* of VVarwick, that redoubted knight,
Are gone towards Lambeth ; there let them remaine. B_5
Exeunt.

Enter Nobiles. [*Including Pembroke.*]

Lan. Here is the forme of *Gauestons* exile :
May it please your lordship to subscribe your name.
Bish. Giue me the paper.
[*Subscribes, as do the others.*]
Lan. Quick, quick, my lorde, I long to write my name.
War. But I long more to see him banisht hence.
Mor. iu. The name of *Mortimer* shall fright the king,
Vnlesse he be declinde from that base pesant.

Enter the King and Gaueston [*with* Kent.]

Edw. VVhat ? are you mou'd that *Gaueston* sits heere ?
It is our pleasure, we will haue it so.
Lan. Your grace doth wel to place him by your side,
For no where else the new earle is so safe.
Mor. se. VVhat man of noble birth can brooke this sight ?
Quam male conueniunt.
See what a scornfull looke the pesant casts.
Penb. Can kinglie Lions fawne on creeping Ants ?
War. Ignoble vassaile, that, like *Phaeton*,
Aspir'st vnto the guidance of the sunne.
Mor. iu. Their downfall is at hand, their forces downe.
VVe will not thus be facst and ouerpeerd.
Edw. Lay hands on that traitor *Mortimer.*
Mor. se. Lay hands on that traitor *Gaueston.*
Kent. Is this the dutie that you owe your king ?
War. VVe know our duties, let him know his peeres.
Edw. Whether will you beare him ? stay, or ye shall die.

294 toward *R F—V ;* London *C P ;* there let them remaine *E V ass. to Kent.* 298 1234 *print as 2 ll., dividing after lorde.*
303 and we *C B P.* 306 *W ass. to Y. Mor.* 311 Aspirest *S.*
314 upon *W apparently following conj. Collier in* D_2.
315 upon *W ; P ass. to Y. Mor.* 318 whi'er *F.*

Mor. se. VVe are no traitors, therefore threaten not.
Gau. No, threaten not, my lord, but pay them home. B$_6$
VVere I a king,—
Mor. iu. Thou villaine, wherfore talkes thou of a king,
That hardly art a gentleman by birth?
Edw. VVere he a peasant, being my minion,
Ile make the prowdest of you stoope to him.
Lan. My lord, you may not thus disparage vs.
Away, I say, with hatefull *Gaueston*.
Mort. se. And with the earle of Kent that fauors him.
[*Attendants remove* Gaveston *and* Kent.]
Edw. Nay, then lay violent hands vpon your king.
Here, *Mortimer*, sit thou in *Edwards* throne,
Warwicke and *Lancaster*, weare you my crowne.
VVas euer king thus ouer rulde as I?
Lan. Learne then to rule vs better and the realme.
Mor. iu. VVhat we haue done, our hart bloud shall maintaine.
War. Think you that we can brooke this vpstart pride?
Edw. Anger and wrathfull furie stops my speech.
Bish. VVhy are you moou'd? be patient, my lord,
And see what we your councellers haue done.
[*Handing* Edward *the paper.*]
Mor. iu. My lords, now let vs all be resolute,
And either haue our wils, or lose our liues.
Edw. Meete you for this, proud ouerdaring peeres?
Ere my sweete *Gaueston* shall part from me,
This Ile shall fleete vpon the Ocean,
And wander to the vnfrequented Inde.
Bish. You know that I am legate to the Pope;
On your allegeance to the sea of Rome,
Subscribe as we haue done to his exile.
Mor. iu. Curse him, if he refuse, and then may we

322 talk'st *D—K B—V* 323 That] Thou *T.*
328 *W ass. to Y. Mor.* 330 on *O R.*
334 1234 *print as 2 ll., dividing after* done.
335 upstart ['s] D_4 *E M V.* 341 overbearing *B E V.*

Depose him and elect an other king.
Edw. I, there it goes, but yet I will not yeeld,
Curse me, depose me, doe the worst you can.
Lan. Then linger not, my lord, but do it straight. B$_7$
Bish. Remember how the Bishop was abusde :
Either banish him that was the cause thereof,
Or I will presentlie discharge these lords
Of dutie and allegeance due to thee.
Edw. It bootes me not to threat, I must speake faire ;
The Legate of the Pope will be obayd.— [*Aside.*]
My lord, you shalbe Chauncellor of the realme ;
Thou, Lancaster, high admirall of our fleete ;
Yong *Mortimer* and his vnckle shalbe earles ;
And you, lord VVarwick, president of the North,
And thou of VVales ; if this content you not,
Make seuerall kingdomes of this monarchie,
And share it equally amongst you all,
So I may haue some nooke or corner left,
To frolike with my deerest *Gaueston.*
Bish. Nothing shall alter vs, wee are resolu'd.
Lan. Come, come, subscribe.
Mor. iu. VVhy should you loue him, whome the world hates so ?
Edw. Because he loues me more then all the world :
Ah, none but rude and sauage minded men
VVould seeke the ruine of my *Gaueston.*
You that be noble borne should pitie him.
Warwicke. You that are princely borne should shake him off.
For shame, subscribe, and let the lowne depart.
Mor. se. Vrge him, my lord.
Bish. Are you content to banish him the realme ?
Edw. I see I must, and therefore am content.

354 Ei'er *F.* 355 lord 2. 359 ye 34.
360 our] the *C W F B P.*
370 1234 *print as* 2 *ll., dividing after* him.
374 be] are 34 *O R C P.* 377 *W ass. to Y. Mor.*

In steede of inke, ile write it with my teares.
[*Subscribes.*]
Mor. iu. The king is loue-sick for his minion.
Edw. Tis done, and now, accursed hand, fall off.
Lan. Giue it me, ile haue it published in the streetes. B_8
Mor. iu. Ile see him presently dispatched away.
Bish. Now is my heart at ease.
Warw. And so is mine.
Penb. This will be good newes to the common sort.
Mor. se. Be it or no, he shall not linger here.
Exeunt Nobiles.
Edw. How fast they run to banish him I loue.
They would not stir, were it to do me good.
Why should a king be subiect to a priest ?
Proud Rome, that hatchest such imperiall groomes,
For these thy superstitious taperlights,
Wherewith thy antichristian churches blaze,
Ile fire thy crased buildings, and enforce
The papall towers to kisse the lowlie ground.
With slaughtered priests may *Tibers* channell swell,
And bankes raisd higher with their sepulchers.
As for the peeres that backe the cleargie thus,
If I be king, not one of them shall liue.

[*Re-*]*Enter Gaueston.*

Gau. My lord, I heare it whispered euery where
That I am banishd, and must flie the land.
Edw. Tis true, sweete *Gaueston*, oh, were it false.
The Legate of the Pope will haue it so,
And thou must hence, or I shall be deposd.
But I will raigne to be reueng'd of them,
And therefore, sweete friend, take it patiently.

383 Gi'e't *F.* 387 s. d. Nobles 3—*V.*
392 For] With *D O R—K P M* 395 The] Thy *D—R K*
396 may] make *D O R—W F—Br.*
397 raise *D* D_1 *O* D_2 *R ;* rise *S C F P.*
402 were it were it 34 D_1 *S* D_2. 405 of] on *D O R*

Liue where thou wilt, ile send thee gould enough ;
And long thou shalt not stay ; or, if thou doost,
Ile come to thee ; my loue shall neare decline.
Gaue. Is all my hope turnd to this hell of greefe ?
Edw. Rend not my hart with thy too piercing words :
Thou from this land, I from my selfe am banisht. C_1
Gau. To go from hence greeues not poore *Gaueston*,
But to forsake you, in whose gratious lookes
The blessednes of *Gaueston* remaines,
For no where else seekes he felicitie.
Edw. And onely this torments my wretched soule,
That, whether I will or no, thou must depart.
Be gouernour of Ireland in my stead,
And there abide till fortune call thee home.
Here take my picture, and let me weare thine.
O might I keepe thee heere, as I doe this,
Happie were I, but now most miserable.
Gauest. Tis something to be pitied of a king.
Edw. Thou shalt not hence, ile hide thee, *Gaueston*.
Gau. I shal be found, and then twil greeue me more.
Edwa. Kinde wordes and mutuall talke makes our greefe greater.
Therefore with dum imbracement let vs part.
Stay, *Gaueston*, I cannot leaue thee thus.
Gau. For euery looke, my lord drops downe a teare.
Seeing I must go, do not renew my sorrow.
Edwa. The time is little that thou hast to stay,
And therefore giue me leaue to looke my fill.
But come, sweete friend, ile beare thee on thy way.
Gau. The peeres will frowne.
Edw. I passe not for their anger, come, lets go.
O, that we might as well returne as goe.

Enter Edmund and Queen Isabell.

Qu. Whether goes my lord ?

418 whe'er *F*. 427 make *K M*.
430 lord] love *D* D_1 *S* D_2 *R* D_4 *C W K E P ; comma after* lord *O* D_3 *F T M V*. 434 beate *misp.* 3. 438 Whi'er *F*.

Edw. Fawne not on me, French strumpet, get thee gone.
Qu. On whom but on my husband should I fawne?
Gau. On *Mortimer*, with whom, vngentle Queene,— C2
I say no more, iudge you the rest, my lord.
Qu. In saying this, thou wrongst me, *Gaueston.*
Ist not enough, that thou corrupts my lord,
And art a bawd to his affections,
But thou must call mine honor thus in question?
Gau. I meane not so, your grace must pardon me.
Edw. Thou art too familiar with that *Mortimer*,
And by thy meanes is *Gaueston* exilde.
But I would wish thee reconcile the lords,
Or thou shalt nere be reconcild to me.
Qu. Your highnes knowes it lies not in my power.
Edw. Away then, touch me not; come, *Gaueston.*
Qu. Villaine, tis thou that robst me of my lord.
Gau. Madam, tis you that rob me of my lord.
Edw. Speake not vnto her, let her droope and pine.
Qu. Wherein, my lord, haue I deserud these words?
Witnesse the teares that *Isabella* sheds,
Witnesse this hart, that sighing for thee breakes,
How deare my lord is to poore *Isabell.*
Edw. And witnesse heauen how deere thou art to me.
There weepe, for till my *Gaueston* be repeald,
Assure thy selfe thou comst not in my sight.
Exeunt Edward and Gaueston.
Qu. O miserable and distressed Queene!
Would, when I left sweet France and was imbarkt,
That charming *Circes*, walking on the waues,
Had chaungd my shape, or at the mariage day
The cup of *Hymen* had beene full of poyson,
Or with those armes that twind about my neck,
I had beene stifled, and not liued to see
The king my lord thus to abandon me.

444 corrupt'st *D—V.* 448 Th'art *F.*
455 thou *O;* robb'st *O;* robs *S.*
466 Circe *D—V.* 467 at] that 34 *O R C W P.*

Like frantick *Iuno* will I fill the earth
With gastlie murmure of my sighes and cries, C_3
For neuer doted *Ioue* on *Ganimed*,
So much as he on cursed *Gaueston*.
But that will more exasperate his wrath.
I must entreat him, I must speake him faire,
And be a meanes to call home *Gaueston*.
And yet heele euer dote on *Gaueston*,
And so am I for euer miserable.

[*Re-*]*Enter the Nobles to the Queene.*

Lanc. Looke where the sister of the king of Fraunce
Sits wringing of her hands, and beats her brest.
Warw. The king I feare hath ill intreated her.
Pen. Hard is the hart that iniures such a saint.
Mor. iu. I know tis long of *Gaueston* she weepes.
Mor. se. Why ? he is gone.
Mor. iu. Madam, how fares your grace ?
Qu. Ah, *Mortimer !* now breaks the kings hate forth,
And he confesseth that he loues me not.
Mor. iu. Cry quittance, Madam, then, & loue not him.
Qu. No, rather will I die a thousand deaths,
And yet I loue in vaine : heele nere loue me.
Lan. Feare ye not, Madam, now his minions gone,
His wanton humor will be quicklie left.
Qu. O, neuer, Lancaster ! I am inioynde
To sue vnto you all for his repeale ;
This wils my lord, and this must I performe,
Or else be banisht from his highnesse presence.
Lan. For his repeale ! Madam, he comes not back,
Vnlesse the sea cast vp his shipwrack body.
War. And to behold so sweete a sight as that,
Theres none here but would run his horse to death.
Mor. iu. But, madam, would you haue vs cal him home ?

476–9 *om. O.* 483 ill-treated D_1—*R*. 484 iniuries 2 *F B E V*.
492 you D_3. 495 vnto] upon *C F B E P V*.
499 shipwrackt 234 D_3; shipwreck'd *D*—*R* D_4—*V*.

Qu. I, *Mortimer*, for till he be restorde,
The angrie king hath banished me the court : C_4
And therefore as thou louest and tendrest me,
Be thou my aduocate vnto these peeres.
Mor. iu. What, would ye haue me plead for *Gaueston ?*
Mor. se. Plead for him he that will, I am resolude.
Lan. And so am I, my lord, diswade the Queene.
Qu. O *Lancaster*, let him diswade the king,
For tis against my will he should returne.
War. Then speake not for him, let the pesant go.
Qu. Tis for my selfe I speake, and not for him.
Pen. No speaking will preuaile, and therefore cease.
Mor. iu. Faire Queene, forbeare to angle for the fish,
Which, being caught, strikes him that takes it dead :
I meane that vile *Torpedo*, *Gaueston*,
That now, I hope, flotes on the Irish seas.
Qu. Sweete *Mortimer*, sit downe by me a while,
And I will tell thee reasons of such waighte,
As thou wilt soone subscribe to his repeale.
Mor. iu. It is impossible, but speake your minde.
Qu. Then thus,—but none shal heare it but our selues.
[*She draws* Mortimer *aside.*]
Lanc. My Lords, albeit the Queen winne *Mortimer*,
Will you be resolute and hold with me ?
Mor. se. Not I against my nephew.
Pen. Feare not, the queens words cannot alter him.
War. No ? doe but marke how earnestly she pleads.
Lan. And see how coldly his lookes make deniall.
War. She smiles : now for my life his mind is changd.
Lanc. Ile rather loose his friendship, I, then graunt.
Mor. iu. Well, of necessitie it must be so.—
My Lords, that I abhorre base *Gaueston*
I hope your honors make no question,

505 lov'st 4—*V ;* tender'st *D—K B—V.*
506 vnto] upon *C P ;* these] the *C P.* 507 you 2—*V.*
508 he *om.* 234 *D O R—V.*
526 *W ass. to Y. Mor.* 531 I] ay *D.*

And therefore, though I pleade for his repeall,
Tis not for his sake, but for our auaile:
Nay, for the realms behoofe and for the kings. C_5
Lanc. Fie, *Mortimer*, dishonor not thy selfe.
Can this be true, twas good to banish him?
And is this true, to call him home againe?
Such reasons make white blacke, and darke night day.
Mor. iu. My Lord of Lancaster, marke the respect.
Lan. In no respect can contraries be true.
Qu. Yet, good my lord, heare what he can alledge.
War. All that he speakes, is nothing, we are resolu'd.
Mor. iu. Do you not wish that *Gaueston* were dead?
Pen. I would he were.
Mor. iu. Why then, my lord, giue me but leaue to speak.
Mor. se. But, nephew, do not play the sophister.
Mor. iu. This which I vrge, is of a burning zeale
To mend the king, and do our countrie good:
Know you not *Gaueston* hath store of golde,
Which may in Ireland purchase him such friends
As he will front the mightiest of vs all?
And whereas he shall liue and be beloude,
Tis hard for vs to worke his ouerthrow.
War. Marke you but that, my lord of Lancaster.
Mor. iu. But were he here, detested as he is,
How easilie might some base slaue be subbornd
To greet his lordship with a poniard,
And none so much as blame the murtherer,
But rather praise him for that braue attempt,
And in the Chronicle enrowle his name
For purging of the realme of such a plague.
Pen. He saith true.
Lan. I, but how chance this was not done before?
Mor. iu. Because, my lords, it was not thought vpon.
Nay more, when he shall know it lies in vs
To banish him, and then to call him home,

545 we're *F.* 559 eas'ly *W C P.*
561 murther 34. 565 sayeth *F.*

Twill make him vaile the topflag of his pride, C_6 570
And feare to offend the meanest noble man.
Mor. se. But how if he do not, Nephew?
Mor. iu. Then may we with some colour rise in armes;
For, howsoeuer we haue borne it out,
Tis treason to be vp against the king. 575
So shall we haue the people of our side,
Which for his fathers sake leane to the king,
But cannot brooke a night growne mushrump,
Such a one as my Lord of Cornewall is,
Should beare vs downe of the nobilitie. 580
And when the commons and the nobles ioyne,
Tis not the king can buckler *Gaueston*.
Weele pull him from the strongest hould he hath.
My lords, if to performe this I be slack,
Thinke me as base a groome as *Gaueston*. 585
Lan. On that condition Lancaster will graunt.
War. And so will *Penbrooke* and I.
Mor. se. And I.
Mor. iu. In this I count me highly gratified,
And *Mortimer* will rest at your commaund.
Qu. And when this fauour *Isabell* forgets, 590
Then let her liue abandond and forlorne.
But see, in happie time, my lord the king,
Hauing brought the Earle of Cornewall on his way,
Is new returnd; this newes will glad him much,
Yet not so much as me; I loue him more 595
Then he can *Gaueston;* would he lou'd me
But halfe so much: then were I treble blest.

[*Re-*]*Enter king Edward moorning.*

Edw. Hees gone, and for his absence thus I moorne.

571 t'offend *F.*
576 of] on 34 *D* D_1 *S O* D_2 *R K;* we shall *C W F B E P.*
578 mushroom *D O* D_2 *R* D_4 *C W K B—V.*
587 And so will Penbrooke *E V assign to Pem.;* And I *E V assign to War.* 593 Ha'ing *F.* 594 new] news *misp.* 34.
596 love *B E V.*

Did neuer sorrow go so neere my heart
As dooth the want of my sweete *Gaueston*, C$_7$ 600
And could my crownes reuenew bring him back,
I would freelie giue it to his enemies,
And thinke I gaind, hauing bought so deare a friend.
Qu. Harke, how he harpes vpon his minion.
Edw. My heart is as an anuill vnto sorrow, 605
Which beates vpon it like the Cyclops hammers,
And with the noise turnes vp my giddie braine,
And makes me frantick for my *Gaueston*.
Ah, had some bloudlesse furie rose from hell,
And with my kinglie scepter stroke me dead, 610
When I was forst to leaue my *Gaueston*.
Lan. *Diablo*, what passions call you these?
Qu. My gratious lord, I come to bring you newes.
Edw. That you haue parled with your *Mortimer*.
Qu. That *Gaueston*, my Lord, shalbe repeald. 615
Edw. Repeald, the newes is too sweet to be true.
Qu. But will you loue me, if you finde it so?
Edw. If it be so, what will not *Edward* do?
Qu. For *Gaueston*, but not for *Isabell*.
Edw. For thee, faire Queene, if thou louest *Gaueston*, 620
Ile hang a golden tongue about thy neck,
Seeing thou hast pleaded with so good successe.
Qu. No other iewels hang about my neck
Then these, my lord, nor let me haue more wealth
Then I may fetch from this ritch treasurie: 625
O, how a kisse reuiues poore *Isabell*.
Edw. Once more receiue my hand, and let this be
A second mariage twixt thy selfe and me.
Qu. And may it prooue more happie then the first.
My gentle lord, bespeake these nobles faire, 630
That waite attendance for a gratious looke,
And on their knees salute your maiestie.
Edw. Couragious Lancaster, imbrace thy king, C$_8$

602 I'ld *F*. 603 ha'ing *F*. 614 parly'd *D—R W F E*.
620 lov'st *D—V*. 621 thy] my 34. 625 treasure *D—R*.

And as grosse vapours perish by the sunne,
Euen so let hatred with thy soueraigne[s] smile ;
Liue thou with me as my companion.
Lan. This salutation ouerioyes my heart.
Edw. Warwick shalbe my chiefest counseller :
These siluer haires will more adorne my court
Then gaudie silkes, or rich imbrotherie.
Chide me, sweete Warwick, if I go astray.
War. Slay me, my lord, when I offend your grace.
Edw. In sollemne triumphes and in publike showes
Penbrooke shall beare the sword before the king.
Pen. And with this sword *Penbrooke* wil fight for you.
Edw. But wherefore walkes yong *Mortimer* aside ?
Be thou commaunder of our royall fleete,
Or, if that loftie office like thee not,
I make thee heere lord Marshall of the realme.
Mor. iu. My lord, ile marshall so your enemies
As England shall be quiet, and you safe.
Edw. And as for you, lord *Mortimer* of Chirke,
Whose great atchiuements in our forrain warre
Deserues no common place, nor meane reward :
Be you the generall of the leuied troopes
That now are readie to assaile the Scots.
Mor. se. In this your grace hath highly honoured me,
For with my nature warre doth best agree.
Qu. Now is the king of England riche and strong,
Hauing the loue of his renowned peeres.
Edw. I, *Isabell*, nere was my heart so light.
Clarke of the crowne, direct our warrant forth
For *Gaueston* to Ireland. Beamont !

[*Enter Beaumont.*]

flie
As fast as *Iris*, or *Ioues Mercurie*.
Beam. It shalbe done, my gratious Lord. [*Exit.*]

635 E'en *F;* soueraigne 12. 640 embroidery *D—V*.
650 so] all 34. 654 Deserve *D—F P*. 660 renowmed D_4 *WK*.

Edw. Lord *Mortimer*, we leaue you to your charge. D_1
Now let vs in, and feast it roiallie :
Against our friend the earle of Cornewall comes,
Weele haue a generall tilt and turnament,
And then his mariage shalbe solemnized.
For wot you not that I haue made him sure
Vnto our cosin, the earle of Glosters heire ?
Lan. Such newes we heare, my lord.
Edw. That day, if not for him, yet for my sake,
Who in the triumphe will be challenger,
Spare for no cost, we will requite your loue.
Warwick. In this, or ought, your highnes shall commaund vs.
Edward. Thankes, gentle Warwick ; come, lets in and reuell.
Exeunt.

Manent Mortimers.

Mor. se. Nephue, I must to Scotland, thou staiest here.
Leaue now to oppose thy selfe against the king.
Thou seest by nature he is milde and calme ;
And seeing his minde so dotes on *Gaueston*,
Let him without controulement haue his will.
The mightiest kings haue had their minions,—
Great *Alexander* loude *Ephestion*,
The conquering *Hercules* for *Hilas* wept,
And for *Patroclus* sterne *Achillis* droopt ;
And not kings onelie, but the wisest men :
The Romaine *Tullie* loued *Octauis*,
Graue *Socrates*, wilde *Alcibiades*.
Then let his grace, whose youth is flexible,
And promiseth as much as we can wish,
Freely enioy that vaine, light-headed earle,
For riper yeares will weane him from such toyes.
Mor. iu. Vnckle, his wanton humor greeues not me,

671 wote 23 ; wrote 4. 672 th'Earl *F*. 675 the *om.* 34.
679 stay'st *D*—D_4 *K F T M*. 680 t'oppose *R C W F B E P V*.
686 Hercules] Hector 1234*D*; Herc'les D_1 D_2 *R*. for] did for 4 *O* for his *D* D_1 *S* D_2 *R C B P*; wept] weepe 4 *O*. 687 Achilles *D*—*V*
689 Octavius 3—Br.; lov'd *D* D_1 *O*—D_4 *K T P M*.; loved (*not* lovèd) S C W F B E V.

But this I scorne, that one so baselie borne D_2
Should by his soueraignes fauour grow so pert,
And riote it with the treasure of the realme,
While souldiers mutinie for want of paie.
He weares a lords reuenewe on his back,
And *Midas* like he iets it in the court,
With base outlandish cullions at his heeles,
Whose proud fantastick liueries make such show
As if that *Proteus*, god of shapes, appearde.
I haue not seene a dapper iack so briske:
He weares a short Italian hooded cloake,
Larded with pearle, and in his tuskan cap
A iewell of more value then the crowne.
Whiles other walke below, the king and he
From out a window laugh at such as we,
And floute our traine, and iest at our attire;
Vnckle, tis this that makes me impatient.
Mor. se. But, nephew, now you see the king is changd.
Mor. iu. Then so am I, and liue to do him seruice.
But whiles I haue a sword, a hand, a hart,
I will not yeeld to any such vpstart.
You know my minde, come, vnckle, lets away.

Exeunt.

Enter [*the younger*] Spencer *and* Balduck.

Bald. Spencer,
Seeing that our Lord th' earle of Glosters dead,
Which of the nobles dost thou meane to serue?
Spen. Not *Mortimer*, nor any of his side,
Because the king and he are enemies.
Baldock, learne this of me, a factious lord
Shall hardly do himselfe good, much lesse vs,

698 it *om. D—R.* 703 makes 4.
709 While *D S O R—K B—V;* others 3—*K E T P M.*
711 iest] jet *S.* 712 that *om. C W B E P V.*
715 whilst *D—R C P.* 718–19 1234 *print as one l.*; the earl *D—K B—V.* 720 doest 3.

But he that hath the fauour of a king
May with one word aduaunce vs while we liue.
The liberall earle of Cornewall is the man D_3
On whose good fortune *Spencers* hope depends.
Bald. What, meane you then to be his follower ?
Spen. No, his companion, for he loues me well,
And would have once preferd me to the king.
Bald. But he is banisht, theres small hope of him.
Spen. I, for a while, but, *Baldock*, marke the end :
A friend of mine told me in secrecie
That hees repeald, and sent for back againe ;
And euen now a poast came from the court,
With letters to our ladie from the King,
And as she red, she smild, which makes me thinke
It is about her louer *Gaueston*.
Bald. Tis like enough, for since he was exild
She neither walkes abroad, nor comes in sight.
But I had thought the match had beene broke off,
And that his banishment had changd her minde.
Spen. Our Ladies first loue is not wauering,
My life for thine she will haue *Gaueston*.
Bald. Then hope I by her meanes to be preferd,
Hauing read vnto her since she was a childe.
Spen. Then, *Balduck*, you must cast the scholler off,
And learne to court it like a Gentleman :
Tis not a black coate and a little band,
A Veluet cap'de cloake, fac'st before with Serge,
And smelling to a Nosegay all the day,
Or holding of a napkin in your hand,
Or saying a long grace at a tables end,
Or making lowe legs to a noble man,
Or looking downeward, with your eye lids close,
And saying, trulie ant may please your honor,
Can get you any fauour with great men.
You must be proud, bold, pleasant, resolute,
And now and then stab, as occasion serues. D_4

728 hopes *E*.

Bald. *Spencer*, thou knowest I hate such formall toies,
And vse them but of meere hypocrisie.
Mine old lord, whiles he liude, was so precise
That he would take exceptions at my buttons,
And being like pins heads, blame me for the bignesse,
Which made me curate-like in mine attire,
Though inwardly licentious enough,
And apt for any kinde of villanie.
I am none of these common pedants, I,
That cannot speake without *propterea quod*.
Spen. But one of those that saith *quandoquidem*,
And hath a speciall gift to forme a verbe.
Bald. Leaue of this iesting; here my lady comes.

Enter the Ladie [King Edward's *Niece*.]

Lady. The greefe for his exile was not so much
As is the ioy of his returning home.
This letter came from my sweete *Gaueston*.
VVhat needst thou, loue, thus to excuse thy selfe?
I know thou couldst not come and visit me.
'I will not long be from thee, though I die.'
[*Reading*.]
This argues the entire loue of my Lord.
'VVhen I forsake thee, death seaze on my heart.'
[*Reading*.]
But rest thee here where *Gaueston* shall sleepe.
[*Puts letter into her bosom*.]
Now to the letter of my Lord the King:
He wils me to repaire vnto the court,
And meete my *Gaueston*; why do I stay,
Seeing that he talkes thus of my mariage day?
VVhose there, *Balduck?*
See that my coache be readie, I must hence.
Bald. It shall be done, madam. *Exit.*

761 know'st 4 *D—V*; formall *om.* 34. 762 of] as 4.
763 while *D—R C P*. 766 my *V*. 769 pendants 1.
782 But rest] I put *D*; rest *om.* 2; rest] stay 34 D_1—*V*.

Lad. And meete me at the parke pale presentlie.
  Spencer, stay you and beare me companie,
  For I haue ioyfull newes to tell thee of. D_5
  My lord of Cornewall is a comming ouer,
  And will be at the court as soone as we.
Spen. I knew the King would haue him home againe.
Lad. If all things sort out, as I hope they will,
  Thy seruice, *Spencer*, shalbe thought vpon.
Spen. I humbly thanke your Ladieship.
Lad. Come, lead the way, I long till I am there.
[*Exeunt.*]

Enter Edward, the Queene, Lancaster, [the younger] Mortimer, Warwicke, Penbrooke, Kent, attendants.

Edw. The winde is good, I wonder why he stayes;
  I feare me he is wrackt vpon the sea.
Queen. Looke, *Lancaster*, how passionate he is,
  And still his minde runs on his minion.
Lan. My Lord,—
Edw. How now, what newes, is Gaueston arriude?
Mor. i. Nothing but *Gaueston*, what means your grace?
  You haue matters of more waight to thinke vpon,
  The King of Fraunce sets foote in Normandie.
Edw. A trifle, weele expell him when we please:
  But tell me, *Mortimer*, whats thy deuise
  Against the stately triumph we decreed?
Mor. iu. A homely one, my lord, not worth the telling.
Edw. Prethee let me know it.
Mor. iu. But seeing you are so desirous, thus it is:
  A loftie Cedar tree faire flourishing,
  On whose top-branches Kinglie Eagles pearch,
  And by the barke a canker creepes me vp,
  And gets vnto the highest bough of all;
  The motto: *Aeque tandem.*
Edw. And what is yours, my lord of *Lancaster?*

801 wreck'd D_1—*R* D_4—*K B—V.* 807 You've *F.*
813 Pray thee 234 *D—V.* 814 you're *F T M.* 818 into *C F—V.*

Lan. My lord, mines more obscure then *Mortimers ;*
Plinie reports there is a flying Fish
Which all the other fishes deadly hate, D_6
And therefore being pursued, it takes the aire :
No sooner is it vp, but thers a foule
That seaseth it : this fish, my lord, I beare,
The motto this : *Vndique mors est.*
Edw. Proud *Mortimer*, vngentle *Lancaster*,
Is this the loue you beare your soueraigne ?
Is this the fruite your reconcilement beares ?
Can you in words make showe of amitie,
And in your shields display your rancorous minds ?
What call you this but priuate libelling
Against the Earle of Cornewall and my brother ?
Qu. Sweete husband, be content, they all loue you.
Edw. They loue me not that hate my *Gaueston.*
I am that Cedar, shake me not too much ;
And you the Eagles : sore ye nere so high,
I haue the gesses that will pull you downe,
And *Aeque tandem* shall that canker crie
Vnto the proudest peere of Britanie :
Though thou comparst him to a flying Fish,
And threatenest death whether he rise or fall,
Tis not the hugest monster of the sea
Nor fowlest Harpie that shall swallow him.
Mor. iu. If in his absence thus he fauors him,
What will he do when as he shall be present ?
[*Aside to* Lancaster.]
Lan. That shall wee see ; looke where his lordship comes.

Enter Gaueston.

Edw. My *Gaueston,*
Welcome to *Tinmouth,* welcome to thy friend.

822 a *om.* 2 *D.* 828 D_3—*V ass. speech to Kent.* 838 ye] you 4
839 gresses *misp.* 1—*R ;* you] ye *P.* 842 comparest *S.*
843 threatnest 2—*S* D_2 *F T M ;* threaten'st D_3 D_4 *K.*
849–50 1234 *print as one l.*

Thy absence made me droope, and pine away ;
For as the louers of faire *Danae*,
When she was lockt vp in a brasen tower,
Desirde her more, and waxt outragious, D_7
So did it sure with me : and now thy sight
Is sweeter farre, then was thy parting hence
Bitter and irkesome to my sobbing heart.
Gau. Sweet Lord and King, your speech preuenteth mine,
Yet haue I words left to expresse my ioy :
The sheepeherd nipt with biting winters rage
Frolicks not more to see the paynted springe,
Then I doe to behold your Maiestie.
Edw. Will none of you salute my *Gaueston ?*
Lan. Salute him ? yes : welcome, Lord Chamberlaine !
Mor. iu. Welcome is the good Earle of Cornewall !
War. Welcome, Lord gouernour of the Ile of man !
Pen. Welcome, maister secretarie !
Edm. Brother, doe you heare them ?
Edw. Stil wil these Earles and Barrons vse me thus ?
Gau. My Lord, I cannot brooke these iniuries.
Qu. Aye me, poore soule, when these begin to iarre.
[*Aside.*]
Edw. Returne it to their throtes, ile be thy warrant.
Gau. Base, leaden Earles that glorie in your birth,
Goe sit at home and eate your tenants beefe,
And come not here to scoffe at *Gaueston*,
Whose mounting thoughts did neuer creepe so low
As to bestow a looke on such as you.
Lan. Yet I disdaine not to doe this for you. [*Draws.*]
Edw. Treason, treason ! whers the traitor ?
Pen. Heere, here, King !
[*Edw.*] Conuey hence *Gaueston*, thaile murder him.

855 sure] fare 4—*V*. 859 left *om. O*
867 maiste *misp.* 2 ; Mas. Sec't'ry *F*.
871 Aye] Ah *D—R C W P*.
880–1 Heere . . . him] Heere, here, King, conuey hence Gaueston, thaile murder him 1—*R C P* ; D_4 *W K E T M V Br. om.* King *or employ it in prefix l.* 881.

Gau. The life of thee shall salue this foule disgrace.
Mor. iu. Villaine, thy life, vnlesse I misse mine aime.
[*Wounds* Gaveston.]
Qu. Ah, furious *Mortimer*, what hast thou done?
Mor. [*iu.*] No more then I would answere were he slaine.
[*Exit* Gaveston *with Attendants.*]
Ed. Yes, more then thou canst answer, though he liue. D_8
Deare shall you both abie this riotous deede:
Out of my presence, come not neere the court.
Mor. iu. Ile not be barde the court for *Gaueston.*
Lan. Weele haile him by the eares vnto the block.
Edw. Looke to your owne heads, his is sure enough.
War. Looke to your owne crowne, if you back him thus.
Edm. Warwicke, these words do ill beseeme thy years.
Edw. Nay, all of them conspire to crosse me thus,
But if I liue, ile tread upon their heads,
That thinke with high lookes thus to tread me down.
Come, *Edmund*, lets away, and leuie men,
Tis warre that must abate these Barons pride.
Exit the King [*with* Isabella *and* Kent].
War. Lets to our castels, for the king is mooude.
Mor. iu. Moou'd may he be, and perish in his wrath.
Lan. Cosin, it is no dealing with him now,
He meanes to make vs stoope by force of armes,
And therefore let vs iointlie here protest
To prosecute that *Gaueston* to the death.
Mor. iu. By heauen, the abiect villaine shall not liue.
War. Ile haue his bloud, or die in seeking it.
Pen. The like oath *Penbrooke* takes.
Lan. And so doth *Lancaster:*
Now send our Heralds to defie the King,
And make the people sweare to put him downe.

Enter a Poast.

Mor. iu. Letters, from whence?

887 abide 2—*V.* 891 owne *om. C P; W transposes to after* his.
904 persecute *E;* Gauston *F.*

Messen. From Scotland, my lord.
Lan. Why, how now, cosin, how fares all our friends?
Mor. iu. My vnckles taken prisoner by the Scots.
Lã. Weel haue him ransomd, man, be of good cheere.
Mor. They rate his ransome at fiue thousand pound, E$_1$
Who should defray the money but the King,
Seeing he is taken prisoner in his warres?
Ile to the King.
Lan. Do, cosin, and ile beare thee companie.
War. Meane time my lord of *Penbrooke* and my selfe
Will to Newcastell heere, and gather head.
Mor. iu. About it, then, and we will follow you.
Lan. Be resolute, and full of secrecie.
War. I warrant you.
[*Exeunt all but* Young Mortimer *and* Lancaster.]
Mor. iu. Cosin, and if he will not ransome him,
Ile thunder such a peale into his eares
As neuer subiect did vnto his King.
Lan. Content, ile beare my part; holla, whose there?
[*Enter Guard.*]
Mor. iu. I, marry, such a garde as this dooth well.
Lan. Lead on the way.
Guard. Whither will your lordships?
Mor. iu. Whither else but to the King?
Guar. His highnes is disposde to be alone.
Lan. Why, so he may, but we will speake to him.
Guard. You may not in, my lord.
Mor. iu. May we not?
[*Re-enter* King Edward *and* Kent.]
Edw. How now, what noise is this? Who haue we there?
Ist you?
[*Going.*]

912 fare D_1 S D_2 D_3—K P M. 915 pounds O K.
925 and] an D_4 W K. 928 holloa C F P.
930 Whi'er F; lordship O. 931 Whi'er F; th' F.
934 m'lord F. 935–6 1234 *print as 2 ll. with division after* this.

Mor. Nay, stay, my lord, I come to bring you newes,
Mine vnckles taken prisoner by the Scots.
Edw. Then ransome him.
Lan. Twas in your wars, you should ransome him.
Mor. iu. And you shall ransome him, or else—
Edm. What, *Mortimer*, you will not threaten him ?
Edw. Quiet your self, you shall haue the broad seale
To gather for him thoroughout the realme.
Lan. Your minion *Gaueston* hath taught you this.
Mor. iu. My lord, the familie of the *Mortimers* E_2
Are not so poore, but, would they sell their land,
Would leuie men enough to anger you.
We neuer beg, but vse such praiers as these.
[*Striking his sword.*]
Edw. Shall I still be haunted thus ?
Mor. iu. Nay, now you are heere alone, ile speake my minde.
Lan. And so will I, and then, my lord, farewell.
Mor. The idle triumphes, maskes, lasciuious showes,
And prodigall gifts bestowed on Gaueston,
Haue drawne thy treasure drie, and made thee weake ;
The murmuring commons ouerstretched hath.
Lan. Looke for rebellion, looke to be deposde.
Thy garrisons are beaten out of Fraunce,
And, lame and poore, lie groning at the gates ;
The wilde *Oneyle*, with swarmes of Irish Kernes,
Liues vncontroulde within the English pale ;
Vnto the walles of Yorke the Scots made rode,
And, vnresisted, draue away riche spoiles.
Mor. iu. The hautie *Dane* commands the narrow seas,
While in the harbor ride thy ships vnrigd.
Lan. What forraine prince sends thee embassadors ?

938 uncle is D—D_2. 940 It was *F T*.
944 throughout 2—*R K E T M V*.
948 Twould 34 D_3—*K B*—*V* ; Could *D*—*R*.
950 taunted *R*. 951 you're *O R C W F B E P V*.
955 treasurie 34 *O R*—*K B*—*V*.
956 hath] break *D*—*V*. 961 Live *D* D_1 *S* D_2.
962 make *D*—*V*. 963 draw *D*—*R* ; drive D_3—*V*.

Mor. [*iu.*] Who loues thee ? but a sort of flatterers.
Lan. Thy gentle Queene, sole sister to *Valoys*,
Complaines that thou hast left her all forlorne.
Mor. [*iu.*] Thy court is naked, being bereft of those
That makes a king seeme glorious to the world,
I meane the peeres, whom thou shouldst dearly loue.
Libels are cast againe thee in the streete,
Ballads and rimes, made of thy ouerthrow.
Lan. The Northren borderers, seeing the houses burnt,
Their wiues and children slaine, run vp and downe,
Cursing the name of thee and *Gaueston*.
Mor. [*iu.*] When wert thou in the field with banner spred ?
But once, and then thy souldiers marcht like players,
With garish robes, not armor, and thy selfe,
Bedaubd with golde, rode laughing at the rest,
Nodding and shaking of thy spangled crest,
Where womens fauors hung like labels downe.
Lan. And thereof came it that the fleering Scots,
To Englands high disgrace, haue made this Iig :

Maids of England, sore may you moorne
For your lemmons you haue lost, at Bannocks borne,
With a heaue and a ho.
VVhat weeneth the king of England
So soone to haue woone Scotland,
With a rombelow.

Mor. [*iu.*] *Wigmore* shall flie, to set my vnckle free.
Lan. And when tis gone, our swordes shall purchase more.
If ye be moou'de, reuenge it as you can,
Looke next to see vs with our ensignes spred.
Exeunt Nobiles.

971 make D_1 *S* D_2—*K B*—*V*. 973 against 34 *D*—*R C P*.
975 northern D_1—*V*; brothers *misp. D*; the] their 2—*V*.
978 banners 4 *R C*. 980 nor *misp. D*.
984 therefore 34 *E V*. 985 ligge *O*. 987 you've *F*.
989 weened *D O R*. 993 gone] done *P*.
994 ye] you 4 D_3 D_4 *W K P*; as] if 4 *O R C P*.

Edwa. My swelling hart for very anger breakes.
How oft haue I beene baited by these peeres ?
And dare not be reuengde, for their power is great.
Yet, shall the crowing of these cockerels
Affright a Lion ? *Edward*, vnfolde thy pawes,
And let their liues bloud slake thy furies hunger :
If I be cruell, and growe tyrannous,
Now let them thanke themselues, and rue too late.
Kent. My lord, I see your loue to *Gaueston*
VVill be the ruine of the realme and you,
For now the wrathfull nobles threaten warres,
And therefore, brother, banish him for euer.
Edw. Art thou an enemie to my *Gaueston ?*
Kent. I, and it greeues me that I fauoured him. E_4
Edw. Traitor, be gone, whine thou with *Mortimer.*
Kent. So will I, rather then with *Gaueston.*
Edw. Out of my sight, and trouble me no more.
Kent. No maruell though thou scorne thy noble peeres,
VVhen I thy brother am reiected thus. *Exit.*
Edw. Away.
Poore *Gaueston*, that hast no friend but me,
Do what they can, weele liue in *Tinmoth* here.
And so I walke with him about the walles,
VVhat care I though the Earles be girt vs round ?
Heere comes she thats cause of all these iarres.

Enter the Queene, [Gaueston], *Ladies* 3 [*including the King's Niece*], *Baldock, and* [*the younger*] *Spencer.*

Qu. My lord, tis thought the Earles are vp in armes.
Edw. I, and tis likewise thought you fauour 'em.
Qu. Thus do you still suspect me without cause.
La. Sweet vnckle, speake more kindly to the queene.

996 for] with 4 *O R.* 1004 to] for *O R C P.*
1008 my *om. D.* 1013 though] that *D—R.*
1015–16 1234 *print as one l.*; that] thou *K*; has *C F B E P V.*
1020 cometh *D—R C W B E P V*; that is D_3 D_4 *K F T M.*
1022 'em] him 1234; them *D—R C W F P.*

Gau. My lord, dissemble with her, speake her faire. [*Aside.*]
Edw. Pardon me, sweet, I forgot my selfe.
Qu. Your pardon is quicklie got of *Isabell.*
Edw. The yonger *Mortimer* is growne so braue
That to my face he threatens ciuill warres.
Gau. VVhy do you not commit him to the tower?
Edw. I dare not, for the people loue him well.
Gau. Why, then, weele haue him priuilie made away.
Edw. VVould Lancaster and he had both carroust
A bowle of poison to each others health.
But let them go, and tell me what are these.
Lad. Two of my fathers seruants whilst he liu'de,
Mait please your grace to entertaine them now?
Edw. Tell me, where wast thou borne? VVhat is thine armes? E5
Bald. My name is *Baldock*, and my gentrie
I fetcht from Oxford, not from Heraldrie.
Edw. The fitter art thou, *Baldock*, for my turne.
VVaite on me, and ile see thou shalt not want.
Bald. I humblie thanke your maiestie.
Edw. Knowest thou him, *Gaueston?*
Gau. I, my lord,
His name is *Spencer*, he is well alied.
For my sake let him waite vpon your grace.
Scarce shall you finde a man of more desart.
Edw. Then, *Spencer*, waite vpon me, for his sake
Ile grace thee with a higher stile ere long.
Spen. No greater titles happen vnto me
Then to be fauoured of your maiestie.
Edw. Cosin, this day shalbe your mariage feast;
And, *Gaueston*, thinke that I loue thee well
To wed thee to our neece, the onely heire
Vnto the Earle of Gloster late deceased.

1026 had forgot *R C W F E P V.* 1027 pardon's *W F.*
1038 1234 *print as 2 ll.* 1040 fetch 2—*V.* 1042 shall *B E V.*
1044–5 I . . . alied 1234 *print as one l.*

Gau. I know, my lord, many will stomack me ;
But I respect neither their loue nor hate.
Edw. The head-strong Barons shall not limit me ;
He that I list to fauour shall be great.
Come, lets away, and when the mariage ends,
Haue at the rebels, and their complices. *Exeunt omnes.*

Enter Lancaster, [the younger] Mortimer, Warwick, Penbrooke, Kent.

Kent. My lords, of loue to this our natiue land,
I come to ioine with you, and leaue the king,
And in your quarrell and the realmes behoofe,
VVill be the first that shall aduenture life.
Lan. I feare me you are sent of pollicie
To vndermine vs with a showe of loue. E_6
Warw. He is your brother, therefore haue we cause
To cast the worst, and doubt of your reuolt.
Edm. Mine honor shalbe hostage of my truth ;
If that will not suffice, farewell, my lords.
Mor. iu. Stay, *Edmund*, neuer was Plantagenet
False of his word, and therefore trust we thee.
Pen. But whats the reason you should leaue him now ?
Kent. I haue enformd the Earle of Lancaster.
Lan. And it sufficeth ; now, my lords, know this,
That *Gaueston* is secretlie arriude,
And here in *Tinmoth* frollicks with the king ;
Let vs with these our followers scale the walles,
And sodenly surprize them vnawares.
Mor. iu. Ile giue the onset.
War. And ile follow thee.
Mor. iu. This tottered ensigne of my auncesters,
Which swept the desart shore of that dead sea
Whereof we got the name of *Mortimer*,
Will I aduaunce vpon this castell walles.
Drums, strike alarum, raise them from their sport,

1070 should be 4. 1082 tattered $D\,S\,D_4\,K$.
1085 thes *Br.*; castle's *or* castle['s] *D—V*.

And ring aloude the knell of *Gaueston*.
Lanc. None be so hardie as to touche the King,
But neither spare you *Gaueston*, nor his friends. *Exeunt.*

Enter [*severally*] *the king and Spencer, to them Gaueston, &c.*
Edw. O tell me, *Spencer*, where is *Gaueston ?*
Spen. I feare me he is slaine, my gratious lord.
Edw. No, here he comes, now let them spoile and kill.
Flie, flie, my lords, the earles haue got the holde,
Take shipping and away to Scarborough ;
Spencer and I will post away by land.
Gau. O stay, my lord, they will not iniure you. E_7
Edw. I will not trust them, *Gaueston*, away.
Gau. Farewell, my Lord.
Edw. Ladie, farewell.
Lad. Farewell, sweete vnckle, till we meete againe.
Edw. Farewell, sweete *Gaueston*, and farewell, Neece.
Qu. No farewell to poore *Isabell* thy Queene ?
Edw. Yes, yes, for *Mortimer* your louers sake.
Exeunt omnes, manet Isabella.
Qu. Heauens can witnesse I loue none but you.
From my imbracements thus he breakes away.
O that mine armes could close this Ile about,
That I might pull him to me where I would,
Or that these teares that drissell from mine eyes
Had power to mollifie his stonie hart,
That when I had him we might neuer part.

Enter the Barons alarums.
Lan. I wonder how he scapt.
Mor. iu. Whose this, the Queene ?
Qu. I, *Mortimer*, the miserable Queene,
Whose pining heart her inward sighes haue blasted,
And body with continuall moorning wasted :
These hands are tir'd, with haling of my lord

1088 to *om.* 23 *F.* 1089 Gauston *F.*
1104 Heaven *O R C F B E P V.*

From *Gaueston*, from wicked *Gaueston*.
And all in vaine, for when I speake him faire,
He turnes away, and smiles vpon his minion.
Mor. iu. Cease to lament, and tell vs wheres the king?
Qu. What would you with the king, ist him you seek?
Lan. No, madam, but that cursed *Gaueston*.
Farre be it from the thought of Lancaster
To offer violence to his soueraigne.
We would but rid the realme of *Gaueston:*
Tell vs where he remaines, and he shall die.
Qu. Hees gone by water vnto Scarborough; E_8
Pursue him quicklie, and he cannot scape,
The king hath left him, and his traine is small.
War. Forslowe no time, sweet Lancaster, lets march.
Mor. [*iu.*] How comes it that the king and he is parted?
Qu. That this your armie, going seuerall waies,
Might be of lesser force, and with the power
That he intendeth presentlie to raise,
Be easilie suppresst: and therefore be gone.
Mor. [*iu.*] Heere in the riuer rides a Flemish hoie;
Lets all aboord, and follow him amaine.
Lan. The wind that bears him hence, wil fil our sailes;
Come, come, aboord, tis but an houres sailing.
Mor. [*iu.*] Madam, stay you within this castell here.
Qu. No, *Mortimer*, ile to my lord the king.
Mor. [*iu.*] Nay, rather saile with vs to Scarborough.
Qu. You know the king is so suspitious
As if he heare I haue but talkt with you,
Mine honour will be cald in question,
And therefore, gentle *Mortimer*, be gone.
Mor. [*iu.*] Madam, I cannot stay to answer you,
But thinke of *Mortimer* as he deserues.

[*Exeunt all but the Queen.*]

Qu. So well hast thou deseru'de, sweete *Mortimer*,
As *Isabell* could liue with thee for euer.

1121 curs'd *D.*
1130 is] are *D—R.*
1131 this] thus *D—K B—V.*
1134 and *om.* 4—*V.*

In vaine I looke for loue at *Edwards* hand,
Whose eyes are fixt on none but *Gaueston*.
Yet once more ile importune him with praiers;
If he be straunge and not regarde my wordes,
My sonne and I will ouer into France,
And to the king my brother there complaine
How *Gaueston* hath robd me of his loue.
But yet I hope my sorrowes will haue end,
And *Gaueston* this blessed day be slaine. *Exit.*

Enter Gaueston *pursued.* F_1

Gau. Yet, lustie lords, I haue escapt your handes,
Your threats, your larums, and your hote pursutes,
And though deuorsed from king *Edwards* eyes,
Yet liueth *Pierce* of *Gaueston* vnsurprizd,
Breathing in hope (*malgrado* all your beards,
That muster rebels thus against your king)
To see his royall soueraigne once againe.

Enter the Nobles.

War. Vpon him, souldiers, take away his weapons.
Mor. [*iu.*] Thou proud disturber of thy countries peace,
Corrupter of thy king, cause of these broiles,
Base flatterer, yeeld, and were it not for shame,
Shame and dishonour to a souldiers name,
Vpon my weapons point here shouldst thou fall,
And welter in thy goare.
Lan. Monster of men,
That, like the Greekish strumpet, traind to armes
And bloudie warres so many valiant knights,
Looke for no other fortune, wretch, then death.
Kind *Edward* is not heere to buckler thee.

1152 prayer 2—*V.* 1158 s.d. Exeunt 1234.
1160 alarms *D O.* 1162 Gauston *F.*
1163 you *misp.* 2. 1164 kind *misp.* D_2.
1165 see] these *misp.* 2. 1172–4 Monster . . . knights 1234 *print as* 3 *ll., dividing at* strumpet, warres, knights.
1173 traineth *S.* 1176 Kind] King 2—V.

War. Lancaster, why talkst thou to the slaue?
Go, souldiers, take him hence, for by my sword,
His head shall off: *Gaueston*, short warning
Shall serue thy turne: it is our countries cause
That here seuerelie we will execute
Vpon thy person:—hang him at a bough.
Gau. My Lord,—
War. Souldiers, haue him away.—
But for thou wert the fauorit of a King,
Thou shalt haue so much honor at our hands.
Gau. I thanke you all, my lords; then I perceiue
That heading is one, and hanging is the other, F_2
And death is all.

Enter earle of Arundell.

Lan. How now, my lord of *Arundell?*
Arun. My lords, king *Edward* greetes you all by me.
War. Arundell, say your message.
Arun. His maiesty,
Hearing that you had takē *Gaueston*,
Intreateth you by me, yet but he may
See him before he dies, for why, he saies,
And sends you word, he knowes that die he shall;
And if you gratifie his grace so farre,
He will be mindfull of the curtesie.
Warw. How now?
Gau. Renowmed *Edward*, how thy name
Reuiues poore *Gaueston*.
War. No, it needeth not,
Arundell, we will gratifie the king
In other matters; he must pardon vs in this.
Souldiers, away with him.

1178–80 1234 *print as* 4 *ll., dividing at* hence, off, turne, cause.
1179 Gauston *F.* 1182 at] upon *D* D_1 *S* D_2.
1183 lords *D—R C W F P.* 1187 heading's *W F.*
1189 m'lord *F.*
1191–2 His . . . Gaveston 1234 *print as one l.;* that *om. C W P*, ta'en *W.* 1193 yet but] but that *D—R C P.*
1198 Renowned 3—*R C K E P V.* 1199 Gauston *F.* 1202 wi'him *F.*

Gauest. Why, my Lord of VVarwicke,
Will not these delaies beget my hopes ?
I know it, lords, it is this life you aime at,
Yet graunt king *Edward* this.
Mor. iu. Shalt thou appoint
What we shall graunt ? Souldiers, away with him.
Thus weele gratifie the king,
Weele send his head by thee ; let him bestow
His teares on that, for that is all he gets
Of *Gaueston*, or else his senselesse trunck.
Lan. Not so, my Lord, least he bestow more cost
In burying him then he hath euer earned.
Arun. My lords, it is his maiesties request,
And in the honor of a king he sweares
He will but talke with him and send him backe. F_3
War. When, can you tell ? *Arundell*, no, we wot
He that the care of realme remits
And driues his nobles to these exigents
For *Gaueston*, will, if he zease him once,
Violate any promise to possesse him.
Arun. Then, if you will not trust his grace in keepe,
My lords, I will be pledge for his returne.
Mor. iu. It is honourable in thee to offer this,
But for we know thou art a noble gentleman,
We will not wrong thee so
To make away a true man for a theefe.
Gaue. How meanst thou, *Mortimer ?* that is ouer base.
Mor. Away, base groome, robber of kings renowme.

1204 Will these delays beget me any hopes ? *D—R ;* will now these short D_3 D_4 ; will not [that] these *F*. *Period at end F.*
1206–7 shalt . . . him 1234 *print as 2 complete ll., dividing at* graunt.
1208 we will *C W P F ;* Thus [far] *F*.
1212 lords D_1 *S* D_2 *R C W F—V*. 1215 in] on *D—*D_3 *C P*.
1218 that hath 34; Realme-remits 34; of his *D—K B—V ;* [kingly] realm *F*. 1220 seaze 23 ; sees *C W E T P M V ;* seize *rest.*
1222 in keepe *om. D*. 1224 'Tis D_3—*V*.
1228 meanest *D—R ;* that] this *D S—R C F P ;* that's *W*.
1229 renowne 2—*V*.

Question with thy companions and thy mates.
Pen. My lord *Mortimer*, and you, my lords, each one,
To gratifie the kings request therein,
Touching the sending of this *Gaueston*,
Because his maiestie so earnestlie
Desires to see the man before his death,
I will vpon mine honor vndertake
To carrie him, and bring him back againe,
Prouided this, that you, my lord of *Arundell*,
Will ioyne with me.
War. *Penbrooke*, what wilt thou do?
Cause yet more bloodshed? is it not enough
That we haue taken him, but must we now
Leaue him on had-Iwist, and let him go?
Pen. My lords, I will not ouer wooe your honors,
But if you dare trust *Penbrooke* with the prisoner,
Vpon mine oath I will returne him back.
Arun. My lord of Lancaster, what say you in this?
Lan. Why I say, let him go on *Penbrookes* word.
Pen. And you, lord *Mortimer?* F_4
Mor. iu. How say you, my lord of Warwick?
War. Nay, do your pleasures,
I know how twill prooue.
Pen. Then giue him me.
Gau. Sweete soueraigne, yet I come
To see thee ere I die.
Warw. Yet not, perhaps,
If Warwickes wit and policie preuaile. [*Aside.*]
Mor. iu. My lord of Penbrooke, we deliuer him you;
Returne him on your honor;—sound, away. *Exeunt.*

1230 thy mates] mates 234 D_3—*V*.
1231 M'lord *F*.
1236 my 34.
1238 m'lord *F*.
1240 it is *D O*.
1245 my *D* D_1 *O* D_2 *R*.
1246 M'Lord *F*.
1253 Not yet *D*—*R C K P*.
1255 deli'er *F*; him to *O R C P*.
1256 *s.d.* Arundell] Mat. 1—*R*. *As* Mat. *or* Matre *or* Matreuis *occurs regularly from this point on for Arundell in text and directions, it will not be noticed again.*

Manent Penbrooke, Arundell, *Gauest. & Penbrookes men, foure souldiers.*

Pen. My Lord, you shall go with me ;
My house is not farre hence, out of the way
A little, but our men shall go along.
We that haue pretty wenches to our wiues,
Sir, must not come so neare and balke their lips.
Arun. Tis verie kindlie spoke, my lord of *Penbrooke ;*
Your honor hath an adamant of power
To drawe a prince.
Pen. So, my lord ;—come hether, *Iames :*
I do commit this *Gaueston* to thee,
Be thou this night his keeper ; in the morning
We will discharge thee of thy charge ; be gon.
Gau. Vnhappie *Gaueston*, whether goest thou now ?
Exit cum seruis Pen.
Horseboy. My lord, weele quicklie be at *Cobham.*
Exeunt ambo.

Enter Gaueston moorning, and the earle of Penbrookes men.

Gaue. O treacherous Warwicke, thus to wrong thy friend !
Iames. I see it is your life these armes pursue. F_5
Gau. Weaponles must I fall, and die in bands.
O must this day be period of my life !
Center of all my blisse ! and yee be men,
Speede to the king.

Enter Warwicke and his companie.

War. My lord of Penbrookes men,
Striue you no longer, I will haue that *Gaueston.*
Iam. Your lordship doth dishonor to your selfe,
And wrong our lord, your honorable friend.
War. No, *Iames*, it is my countries cause I follow.
Goe, take the villaine, soldiers ; come away,

1257 M'Lord *F ;* Lord [of Arundell] *C W F B E P.*
1261 and] to 2—*V.* 1265 m'lord *F.*
1269 whi'er *F ;* go'st D_4 *K T M.* 1275 all *om.* 34 ; an D_3—*V.*
1277 longer] more *D—R C P.* 1278 does *B E V.*

Weel make quick worke :—cõmend me to your maister,
My friend, and tell him that I watcht it well.—
Come, let thy shadow parley with king *Edward*.
Gau. Treacherous earle, shall I not see the king?
War. The king of heauen perhaps, no other king.
Away!
Exeunt Warwike and his men, with Gauest. Manet Iames cum cæteris.
Come, fellowes, it booted not for vs to striue.
We will in hast go certifie our Lord. *Exeunt.*

Enter king Edward and [the younger] Spencer, [Baldock], with Drummes and Fifes.

Edw. I long to heare an answer from the Barons
Touching my friend, my deerest *Gaueston*.
Ah, *Spencer*, not the riches of my realme
Can ransome him; ah, he is markt to die.
I know the malice of the yonger *Mortimer;*
VVarwick I know is roughe, and Lancaster
Inexorable, and I shall neuer see
My louely *Pierce*, my *Gaueston* againe.
The Barons ouerbeare me with their pride.
Spencer. Were I king Edward, Englands soueraigne,
Sonne to the louelie *Elenor* of Spaine, F_6
Great *Edward Longshankes* issue, would I beare
These braues, this rage, and suffer vncontrowld
These Barons thus to beard me in my land,
In mine owne realme? my lord, pardon my speeche,
Did you retaine your fathers magnanimitie,
Did you regard the honor of your name,
You would not suffer thus your maiestie
Be counterbuft of your nobilitie.
Strike off their heads, and let them preach on poles.

1285 not I 2—*S* D_3 D_4 *K F T M*. 1287 *s.d.* Manent 234.
1288 't *F;* booteth 3—*R*. 1296 Pierce, my] Pierce of 2—*V*.
1300 Edwards *misp.* 2. 1308 perch *D*.

No doubt, such lessons they will teach the rest,
As by their preachments they will profit much,
And learne obedience to their lawfull king.
Edw. Yea, gentle *Spencer*, we haue beene too milde,
Too kinde to them ; but now haue drawne our sword ;
And if they send me not my *Gaueston*,
Weele steele it on their crest, and powle their tops.
Bald. This haught resolue becomes your maiestie,
Not to be tied to their affection,
As though your highnes were a schoole boy still,
And must be awde and gouernd like a child.

Enter Hugh Spencer, *an old man, father to the yong* Spencer *with his trunchion, and soldiers.*

Spen. pa. Long liue my soueraigne, the noble *Edward*,
In peace triumphant, fortunate in warres.
Edw. Welcome, old man, comst thou in *Edwards* aide ?
Then tell thy prince, of whence, and what thou art.
Spen. pa. Loe, with a band of bowmen and of pikes,
Browne bils, and targetiers, 400 strong,
Sworne to defend king *Edwards* royall right,
I come in person to your maiestie,
Spencer, the father of *Hugh Spencer* there,
Bound to your highnes euerlastinglie, F7
For fauors done in him vnto vs all.
Edw. Thy father, *Spencer ?*
Spen. filius. True, and it like your grace,
That powres, in lieu of all your goodnes showne,
His life, my lord, before your princely feete.
Edw. Welcome ten thousand times, old man, againe.
Spencer, this loue, this kindnes to thy king,
Argues thy noble minde and disposition.
Spencer, I heere create thee earle of Wilshire,

1309–10 they . . . preachments *om. O.*
1315 crest[s] D_4 *K;* pole *F.* 1316 haught] high *D O.*
1317 You ought not *D* D_1 *S* D_2. 1323 thy] the 2—*R K.*
1330 favour 2—*V.* 1331 an D_3—*K B—V;* an't *F.*

And daily will enrich thee with our fauour,
That as the sun-shine shall reflect ore thee.
Beside, the more to manifest our loue,
Because we heare Lord *Bruse* dooth sell his land,
And that the *Mortimers* are in hand withall,
Thou shalt haue crownes of vs, t'outbid the Barons;
And, *Spenser*, spare them not, but lay it on.
Souldiers, a largis, and thrice welcome all.
Spen. [*filius.*] My lord, here comes the Queene.

Enter the Queene and her sonne, and Levune a Frenchman.

Edw. Madam, what newes?
Qu. Newes of dishonor, lord, and discontent.
Our friend *Levune*, faithfull and full of trust,
Informeth vs, by letters and by words,
That lord *Valoyes* our brother, king of Fraunce,
Because your highnesse hath beene slack in homage,
Hath seazed Normandie into his hands.
These be the letters, this the messenger.
Edw. Welcome, *Levune;* tush, *Sib*, if this be all,
Valoys and I will soone be friends againe.
But to my *Gaueston:* shall I neuer see,
Neuer behold thee now?—Madam, in this matter,
We will employ you and your little sonne; F$_8$
You shall go parley with the king of Fraunce.
Boye, see you beare you brauelie to the king,
And do your message with a maiestie.
Prin. Commit not to my youth things of more waight
Then fits a prince so yong as I to beare,
And feare not, lord and father, heauens great beames

1340 Besides *D—R C P.* 1343 to 34.
1344 but *om.* 2—D_4 *K B E T M V;* but] no *W.*
1345 large *misp. O.* 1346 come 2.
1346 *s.d.* Levune] Lewne, Levvne, Lewen 1234 *here and in rest of play. The point will not again be noticed.*
1350 lord *om. D—R.* 1356 Gauston *F.*
1357 now] more *D—R C F P.*
1363 Then] That *misp. C P;* fits] suits *O R.*

On *Atlas* shoulder shall not lie more safe
Then shall your charge committed to my trust.
Qu. A, boye, this towardnes makes thy mother feare
Thou art not markt to many daies on earth.
Edw. Madam, we will that you with speed be shipt,
And this our sonne ; *Levune* shall follow you
With all the hast we can dispatch him hence.
Choose of our lords to beare you companie,
And go in peace ; leaue vs in warres at home.
Qu. Vnnatural wars, where subiects braue their king,
God end them once : my lord, I take my leaue
To make my preparation for Fraunce.

Enter Lord Arundell.

Edw. What, lord *Arundell*, dost thou come alone ?
Arun. Yea, my good lord, for *Gaueston* is dead.
Edw. Ah, traitors, haue they put my friend to death ?
Tell me, *Arundell*, died he ere thou camst,
Or didst thou see my friend to take his death ?
Arun. Neither, my lord, for as he was surprizd,
Begirt with weapons, and with enemies round,
I did your highnes message to them all,
Demanding him of them, entreating rather,
And said, vpon the honour of my name,
That I would vndertake to carrie him
Vnto your highnes, and to bring him back.
Edw. And tell me, would the rebels denie me that ?
Spen. [*filius*]. Proud recreants. G_1
Edw. Yea, *Spencer*, traitors all.
Arun. I found them at the first inexorable :
The earle of Warwick would not bide the hearing,
Mortimer hardly, *Penbrooke* and *Lancaster*
Spake least ; and when they flatly had denyed,
Refusing to receiue me pledge for him,
The earle of *Penbrooke* mildlie thus bespake :

1378 Yes 34. 1380 camest *S.* 1391 the *om. O R C P.*
1394 Speake 23. 1395 me] my 4.

'My lords, because our soueraigne sends for him,
And promiseth he shall be safe returnd,
I will this vndertake, to haue him hence,
And see him redeliuered to your hands.'
Edw. Well, and how fortunes that he came not ?
Spen. [*filius*]. Some treason, or some villanie was cause.
Arun. The earle of Warwick seazde him on his way ;
For, being deliuered unto *Penbrookes* men,
Their lord rode home, thinking his prisoner safe ;
But ere he came, Warwick in ambush laie,
And bare him to his death, and in a trenche
Strake off his head, and marcht vnto the campe.
Spen. [*filius*]. A bloudie part, flatly against law of armes.
Edw. O, shall I speake, or shall I sigh and die !
Spen. [*filius*]. My lord, referre your vengeance to the sword,
Vpon these Barons, Harten vp your men.
Let them not vnreuengd murther your friends.
Aduaunce your standard, *Edward*, in the field,
And marche to fire them from their starting holes.
Edward kneeles, and saith.
By earth, the common mother of vs all,
By heauen, and all the moouing orbes thereof,
By this right hand, and by my fathers sword,
And all the honors longing to my crowne,
I will haue heads and liues for him as many
As I haue manors, castels, townes, and towers. G_2
Tretcherous *Warwicke*, traiterous *Mortimer :*
If I be Englands king, in lakes of gore
Your headles trunkes, your bodies will I traile,
That you may drinke your fill, and quaffe in bloud.
And staine my roiall standard with the same,
That so my bloudie colours may suggest
Remembrance of reuenge immortallie

1399 this *om. D.* 1401 fortunes it D_3 D_4 *C W B E P ;* not then *F.*
1402 the cause *D—R C F B E P V.*
1408 stroke 34 ; struck *D—R K.* 1409 'gainst 4—*V.*
1419 honour *W.*

On your accursed traiterous progenie,
You villaines that haue slaine my *Gaueston.*
And in this place of honor and of trust,
Spencer, sweet *Spencer*, I adopt thee heere,
And meerely of our loue we do create thee
Earle of Gloster, and lord Chamberlaine,
Despite of times, despite of enemies.

Spen. [*filius*]. My lord, here is a messenger from the Barons
Desires accesse vnto your maiestie.

Edw. Admit him neere.

Enter the Herald from the Barons, with his coate of armes.

Messen. Long liue king *Edward*, Englands lawful lord.

Edw. So wish not they, I wis, that sent thee hither;
Thou comst from *Mortimer* and his complices;
A ranker route of rebels neuer was.
Well, say thy message.

Messen. The Barons vp in armes by me salute
Your highnes with long life and happines,
And bid me say as plainer to your grace,
That if, without effusion of bloud,
You will this greefe haue ease and remedie,
That from your princely person you remooue
This *Spencer*, as a putrifying branche
That deads the royall vine, whose golden leaues
Empale your princelie head, your diadem, G3
Whose brightnes such pernitious vpstarts dim,
Say they, and louinglie aduise your grace
To cherish vertue and nobilitie,
And haue old seruitors in high esteeme,
And shake off smooth dissembling flatterers;
This graunted, they, their honors, and their liues,
Are to your highnesse vowd and consecrate.

1431 this] his *C F B T M P.* 1433 out of *O R.* 1435 time *O R.*
1436 heres is 12; heers 34 *D O R* D_4—*K E P V.*
1441 comest *S*; accomplices *D*—*R K.* 1442 roote 23 *D*—D_3
1444 arm *O.* 1448 this greefe] of this 4 *O.*
1451 leave 2 (*B.M., but Br says Bodleian copy* leaues).

Spen. [*filius*]. A, traitors, will they still display their pride?

Edw. Away, tarrie no answer, but be gon.
Rebels, will they appoint their soueraigne
His sports, his pleasures, and his companie?
Yet, ere thou go, see how I do deuorce *Embrace*
Spencer from me; now get thee to thy lords, *Spencer.*
And tell them I will come to chastise them
For murthering Gaueston; hie thee, get thee gone.
Edward with fire and sword followes at thy heeles.
[*Exit Herald.*]
My lord, perceiue you how these rebels swell?
Souldiers, good harts; defend your soueraignes right,
For now, euen now, we marche to make them stoope.
Away.

Exeunt.

Alarums, excursions, a great fight, and a retreate.

Enter the king, Spencer the father, Spencer the sonne, [Baldock] *and the noblemen of the kings side.*

Edw. Why do we sound retreat? vpon them, lords.
This day I shall powre vengeance with my sword
On those proud rebels that are vp in armes,
And do confront and countermaund their king.
Spen. son. I doubt it not, my lord, right will preuaile.
Spen. fa. Tis not amisse, my liege, for eyther part
To breathe a while; our men, with sweat and dust
All chockt well neare, begin to faint for heate,
And this retire refresheth horse and man. G_4
Spen. son. Heere come the rebels.

Enter the Barons, [*the younger*] *Mortimer, Lancaster, Warwick, Penbrooke, cum cæteris.*

Mor. [*iu.*] Looke, *Lancaster,* yonder is *Edward*
Among his flatterers.

1469 lords D_3—*W F B E P.* 1471 e'en *F.* 1473 my lords *D.*
1483 *W F ass. to E. Mor;* yonder's *D*—*R.* 1484 'Mong *D*—*R.*

Lan. And there let him bee,
'Till hee pay deerely for their companie.
War. And shall, or *Warwicks* sword shal smite in vaine.
Edw. What, rebels, do you shrinke, and sound retreat?
Mor. iu. No, *Edward*, no; thy flatterers faint and flie.
Lan. Th'ad best betimes forsake them and their trains,
For theile betray thee, traitors as they are.
Spen. so. Traitor on thy face, rebellious *Lancaster*.
Pen. Away, base vpstart, brau'st thou nobles thus?
Spen. fa. A noble attempt, and honourable deed,
Is it not, trowe ye, to assemble aide,
And leuie armes against your lawfull king?
Edw. For which ere long their heads shall satisfie,
T' appeaze the wrath of their offended king.
Mor. iu. Then, *Edward*, thou wilt fight it to the last,
And rather bathe thy sword in subiects bloud
Then banish that pernicious companie?
Edw. I, traitors all, rather then thus be braude,
Make Englands ciuill townes huge heapes of stones,
And plowes to go about our pallace gates.
War. A desperate and vnnaturall resolution.
Alarum to the fight, Saint George for England
And the Barons right.
Edw. S. George for England and king *Edwards* right.
[*Exeunt fighting.*]

Enter Edward, with the Barons captiues.

Edw. Now, lustie lords, now not by chance of warre,
But iustice of the quarrell and the cause,
Vaild is your pride; me thinkes you hang the heads,
G_5
But weele aduance them, traitors; now tis time

1483–5 Looke . . . companie 1234 *print as 2 ll., dividing after* flatterers. 1489 They'd *R—K B—V;* them] thee 1—*V*.
1490 bewray D_2. 1491 on] in *S*.
1492 bravest *S C F B E P V*. 1494 It is 2.
1497 To *D—D*$_2$ *C W B E T M V*. 1498 will 2.
1508 now *om. O R;* the chance *O R*.

To be auengd on you for all your braues,
And for the murther of my deerest friend,
To whome right well you knew our soule was knit,
Good *Pierce* of *Gaueston*, my sweet fauoret,
A, rebels, recreants, you made him away.
Edm. Brother, in regard of thee and of thy land
Did they remooue that flatterer from thy throne.
Edw. So, sir, you haue spoke ; away, auoid our presence.
[*Exit Kent.*]
Accursed wretches, wast in regard of vs,
When we had sent our messenger to request
He might be spared to come to speake with vs,
And *Penbrooke* vndertooke for his returne,
That thou, proud *Warwicke*, watcht the prisoner,
Poore *Pierce*, and headed him against lawe of armes ?
For which thy head shall ouer looke the rest
As much as thou in rage out wentst the rest.
War. Tyrant, I scorne thy threats and menaces ;
Tis but temporall that thou canst inflict.
Lan. The worst is death, and better die to liue,
Then liue in infamie vnder such a king.
Edw. Away with them, my lord of Winchester,
These lustie leaders, Warwicke and Lancaster,
I charge you roundly, off with both their heads.
Away.
War. Farewell, vaine worlde.
Lan. Sweete *Mortimer*, farewell.
Mor. iu. England, vnkinde to thy nobilitie,
Grone for this greefe, behold how thou art maimed.
Edw. Go, take that haughtie *Mortimer* to the tower,
There see him safe bestowed, and for the rest,

1515 Piercy *D* ; Gauston *F*. 1517 Bro'er *F*. 1519 y'have *F*.
1520 Accurs'd *D* D_1 *O* D_2 ; wretch' *F*.
1521 messengers 34 D_1 *O* D_2 *R*. 1525 'gainst 4—*V*.
1527 in rage *om. O R*. 1529 It is *D*—*V*.
1530 to] than *D* D_1 *S* D_2.
1531 Then] To *D* D_1 *S* D_2. 1534–5 1234 *print as one l.*

Do speedie execution on them all.
Be gon.
Mor. iu. What, *Mortimer*? can ragged stonie walles
Immure thy vertue that aspires to heauen? G_6
No, *Edward*, Englands scourge, it may not be;
Mortimers hope surmounts his fortune farre.
Edw. Sound drums and trumpets; marche with me, my friends.
Edward this day hath crownd him king a new.
Exit [*with prisoners and Attendants*].
Manent Spencer filius, Levune & Baldock.
Spen. Levune, the trust that we repose in thee
Begets the quiet of king *Edwards* land;
Therefore be gon in hast, and with aduice
Bestowe that treasure on the lords of Fraunce,
That therewith all enchaunted, like the guarde
That suffered *Ioue* to passe in showers of golde
To *Danae*, all aide may be denied
To *Isabell* the Queene, that now in France
Makes friends, to crosse the seas with her yong sonne,
And step into his fathers regiment.
Lev. Thats it, these Barons and the subtill Queene
Long leveld at.
Bald. Yea, but, *Levune*, thou seest
These Barons lay their heads on blocks together;
What they intend, the hangman frustrates cleane.
Lev. Haue you no doubts, my lords, ile clap so close
Among the lords of France with Englands golde
That *Isabell* shall make her plaints in vaine,
And Fraunce shall be obdurat with her teares.
Spen. Then make for Fraunce amaine; *Levune*, away.
Proclaime king *Edwards* warres and victories.
Exeunt omnes.

1541–2 1234 *print as one l.* 1546 hopes D_2; his] hie 34.
1549 Lecune *R.* *This is R's spelling henceforward; cf. on l.* 1346 *above.* 1552 pleasure *misp. B.* 1553 therewithall 4.
1558 unto *S.* 1559 it] is 3. 1560 leuied 1—*R.*
1563 doubte 2—*V*; claps close 1234; creep close *O.*

Enter Edmund.

Edm. Faire blowes the winde for Fraunce; blowe, gentle gale,
Till *Edmund* be arriude for Englands good.
Nature, yeeld to my countries cause in this. G7
A brother, no, a butcher of thy friends,
Proud *Edward*, doost thou banish me thy presence?
But ile to Fraunce, and cheere the wronged Queene,
And certifie what *Edwards* loosenes is.
Vnnaturall king, to slaughter noble men
And cherish flatterers. *Mortimer*, I stay
Thy sweet escape; stand gratious, gloomie night,
To his deuice.

Enter Mortimer disguised.

Mor. iu. Holla, who walketh there?
Ist you, my lord?
Edm. *Mortimer*, tis I.
But hath thy potion wrought so happilie?
Mor. iu. It hath, my lord; the warders, all a sleepe,
I thanke them, gaue me leaue to passe in peace;
But hath your grace got shipping vnto Fraunce?
Edm. Feare it not.

Exeunt.

Enter the Queene and her sonne.

Qu. A, boye, our friends do faile vs all in Fraunce:
The lords are cruell, and the king vnkinde.
What shall we doe?
Prince. Madam, returne to England,
And please my father well; and then a Fig
For all my vnckles frienship here in Fraunce.
I warrant you, ile winne his highnes quicklie;
A loues me better than a thousand *Spencers*.

1579 Holloa *C F.* 1578–81 Thy . . . happilie 1234 *print as 2 ll., dividing after* device, lord.
1581 thy] my *R.* 1584 into 4. 1585 Fear't *F.*
1588 doe] goe 3. 1592 A] He *D—R C W P.*

Qu. A, boye, thou art deceiude at least in this,
To thinke that we can yet be tun'd together.
No, no, we iarre too farre ; vnkinde *Valoys,*
Vnhappie *Isabell,* when Fraunce reiects.
Whether, O whether doost thou bend thy steps ?

Enter sir Iohn of Henolt.

S. Ioh. Madam, what cheere ?
Qu. A, good sir *Iohn* of *Henolt,* G_8
Neuer so cheereles, nor so farre distrest.
S. Ioh. I heare, sweete lady, of the kings vnkindenes ;
But droope not, madam, noble mindes contemne
Despaire ; will your grace with me to *Henolt ?*
And there stay times aduantage with your sonne ?
How say you, my Lord, will you go with your friends,
And shake off all our fortunes equallie ?
Prin. So pleaseth the Queene my mother, me it likes.
The king of England, nor the court of Fraunce,
Shall haue me from my gratious mothers side
Till I be strong enough to breake a staffe,
And then haue at the proudest *Spencers* head.
Sir Iohn. Well said, my lord.
Qu. Oh, my sweet hart, how do I mone thy wrongs !
Yet triumphe in the hope of thee, my ioye.
Ah, sweete sir *Iohn,* euen to the vtmost verge
Of *Europe,* or the shore of *Tanaise,*
Will we with thee ; to Henolt ? so we will.
The Marques is a noble Gentleman ;
His grace, I dare presume, will welcome me.
But who are these ?

Enter Edmund and Mortimer.

Edm. Madam, long may you liue,

1604 m'Lord *F.* 1605 shake off] share of *Br ;* our] your *R.*
1606 please *F T M.* 1607 nor] not *D* D_1 *S* D_2.
1612 wrong D_1 D_2. 1614 e'en *F.* 1615 or] on D_3 D_4.
1616 Will we] We will *R C W B E P V.* 1618 dare *om. D.*
1619 who] what *D.*

Much happier then your friends in England do.
Qu. Lord *Edmund*, and Lord *Mortimer* aliue.
Welcome to Fraunce ! the newes was heere, my lord,
That you were dead, or very neare your death.
Mor. iu. Lady, the last was truest of the twaine,
But *Mortimer*, reserude for better hap,
Hath shaken off the thraldome of the tower,
And liues t' aduance your standard, good my lord.
Prin. How meane you, and the king my father liues ?
No, my lord *Mortimer*, not I, I trow. H_1
Qu. Not, sonne ? why not ? I would it were no worse.
But, gentle lords, friendles we are in Fraunce.
Mor. iu. Mounsier le Grand, a noble friend of yours,
Tould vs at our arriuall all the newes :
How hard the nobles, how vnkinde the king
Hath shewed himself ; but, madam, right makes roome
Where weapons want ; and, though a many friends
Are made away, as Warwick, Lancaster,
And others of our partie and faction,
Yet haue we friends, assure your grace, in England,
Would cast vp cappes, and clap their hands for ioy,
To see vs there, appointed for our foes.
Edm. Would all were well, and *Edward* well reclaimd
For Englands honor, peace, and quietnes.
Mort. [*iu.*] But by the sword, my lord, it must be deseru'd,
The king will nere forsake his flatterers.
S. Ioh. My Lords of England, sith the vngentle king
Of Fraunce refuseth to giue aide of armes
To this distressed Queene his sister heere,
Go you with her to *Henolt ;* doubt yee not
We will finde comfort, money, men, and friends
Ere long, to bid the English king a base.

1627 to 34 *S.* 1628 and] an *C W P.*
1636 want] won't *D D*$_1$ *S D*$_2$ *R K ;* wont *O C P ;* a] so *D—R C P.*
1638 partie] part *D*$_3$ *D*$_4$ *C W F P M.* 1644 't *D*$_3$—*V.*
1646 th' *D D*$_1$ *O—V.* 1651 abase 4—*R.*

How say, yong Prince, what thinke you of the match ?
Prin. I thinke King *Edward* will out-run vs all.
Qu. Nay, sonne, not so ; and you must not discourage
Your friends that are so forward in your aide.
Edm. Sir *Iohn* of *Henolt*, pardon vs I pray ;
These comforts that you giue our wofull queene
Binde vs in kindenes all at your commaund.
Qu. Yea, gentle brother ; and the God of heauen
Prosper your happie motion, good sir *Iohn*.
Mor. iu. This noble gentleman, forward in armes,
Was borne, I see, to be our anchor hold. H_2
Sir *Iohn* of *Henolt*, be it thy renowne
That Englands Queene and nobles in distresse
Haue beene by thee restored and comforted.
S. Iohn. Madam, along, and you my lord, with me,
That Englands peeres may *Henolts* welcome see.
[*Exeunt.*]

Enter the king, Arundell, the two Spencers, with others.

Edw. Thus, after many threats of wrathfull warre,
Triumpheth Englands *Edward* with his friends ;
And triumph *Edward* with his friends vncontrould.
My lord of Gloster, do you heare the newes ?
Spen. iu. What newes, my lord ?
Edw. Why, man, they say there is great execution
Done through the realme ; my lord of *Arundell*,
You haue the note, haue you not ?
Arun. From the lieutenant of the tower, my lord.
Edw. I pray let vs see it ; what haue we there ?
Read it, *Spencer*.

Spencer reads their names.

Why so, they barkt a pace a month a goe,

1652 How] Now *C W P ;* yong] you *O R ;* say'st D_3 D_4 *E V ;* you *om.* 3 ; march *misp. D.*
1666 lords D_3 D_4 *B E V.* 1670 his *om. C W P.*
1674 *In this line* 1234 *have correctly* Arundell.
1677–8 I . . . Spencer *F. prints as one l., contracting* let's, see't, read't. 1679 a month] not long 34 *O.*

Now, on my life, theile neither barke nor bite.
Now, sirs, the newes from Fraunce? Gloster, I trowe
The lords of Fraunce loue Englands gold so well,
As *Isabell* gets no aide from thence.
What now remaines? haue you proclaimed, my lord,
Reward for them can bring in *Mortimer?*
Spen. iu. My lord, we haue, and if he be in England,
A will be had ere long, I doubt it not.
Edw. If, doost thou say? *Spencer*, as true as death,
He is in Englands ground; our port-maisters
Are not so careles of their kings commaund.

Enter a Poaste.

How now, what newes with thee? from whence come these?
Post. Letters, my lord, and tidings foorth of Fraunce
To you, my lord of Gloster, from *Levune.* H_3
Edward. Reade.

Spencer reades the letter.

My dutie to your honor promised, &c. I haue, according to instructions in that behalfe, dealt with the king of Fraunce his lords, and effected, that the Queene, all discontented and discomforted, is gone,—whither if you aske, with sir *Iohn* of *Henolt*, brother to the Marquesse, into Flaunders; with them are gone lord *Edmund* and the lord *Mortimer*, hauing in their company diuers of your nation, and others; and as constant report goeth, they intend to giue king *Edward* battell in England, sooner then he can looke for them; this is all the newes of import.

Your honors in all seruice, Levune.

Edw. A, villaines, hath that *Mortimer* escapt?
With him is *Edmund* gone associate?
And will sir *Iohn* of *Henolt* lead the round?

1683 Isabella D_3—*K B—V*; no more aid *F*.
1687 A] He *D—R C W P*.
1691 comes *O P*.
1693 lords *misp.* D_1.
1694 *s.d.* letters 34 D_2.
1695 præmised 2—*Br*.
1696 affected D_1 D_2.

Welcome, a Gods name, Madam, and your sonne.
England shall welcome you, and all your route.
Gallop a pace, bright *Phœbus*, through the skie,
And duskie night, in rustie iron carre,
Betweene you both, shorten the time, I pray,
That I may see that most desired day
When we may meet these traitors in the field.
Ah, nothing greeues me but my little boye
Is thus misled to countenance their ils.
Come, friends, to Bristow, there to make vs strong.
And windes, as equall be to bring them in,
As you iniurious were to beare them foorth.

[*Exeunt.*]

Enter the Queene, her sonne, Edmund, Mortimer, and sir Iohn.

Qu. Now, lords, our louing friends and countrimen,
Welcome to England all with prosperous windes.
Our kindest friends in Belgia haue we left,
To cope with friends at home ; a heauie case
When force to force is knit, and sword and gleaue
In ciuill broiles makes kin and country men
Slaughter themselues in others, and their sides
With their owne weapons gorde ; but whats the helpe ?
Misgouerned kings are cause of all this wrack.
And *Edward*, thou art one among them all,
Whose loosnes hath betrayed thy land to spoyle,
And made the channels ouerflow with blood,
Of thine own people patrõ shouldst thou be,
But thou—

Mor. iu. Nay, madam, if you be a warriar,
Ye must not grow so passionate in speeches.
Lords, sith that we are, by sufferance of heauen,

1707 a' D_3 *T M* ; o' D_4 *W*. 1710 duskie] dusty *O R C W P*.
1713 those *O R C W*. 1716 Bristol *D—R K*.
1724 make 2—*V*. 1726 gore *D—R C W F E P V*.
1727 wreck *D—R* D_4*—V*. 1730 And] Who *R* D_3*—K B E P*;
channell 2—*V*. 1731–2 Of . . . thou 1234 *print as one l.*
1734 Ye] You D_3 D_4 *K B E T M V*. 1735 that *om. C W P*.

Arriued and armed in this princes right,
Heere for our countries cause sweare we to him
All homage, fealtie, and forwardnes.
And for the open wronges and iniuries
Edward hath done to vs, his Queene, and land,
We come in armes to wrecke it with the swords ;
That Englands queene in peace may reposesse
Her dignities and honors ; and withall
We may remooue these flatterers from the king,
That hauocks Englands wealth and treasurie.
S. Io. Sound trũpets, my lord, & forward let vs martch ;
Edward will thinke we come to flatter him.
Edm. I would he neuer had bin flattered more.

[*Exeunt.*]

Enter the King, Baldock, and Spencer the sonne, flying about the stage.

Spe. Fly, fly, my Lord, the Queene is ouer strong,
Her friends doe multiply and yours doe fayle.
Shape we our course to Ireland, there to breath.
Edw. What, was I borne to flye and runne away, H_5
And leaue the *Mortimers* conquerers behind ?
Giue me my horse, and lets r'enforce our troupes,
And in this bed of honors die with fame.
Bal. O no, my lord, this princely resolution
Fits not the time ; away, we are pursu'd.

[*Exeunt.*]

Edmund alone with a sword and target.

Edm. This way he fled, but I am come too late.
Edward, alas, my hart relents for thee.
Proud traytor *Mortimer*, why doost thou chase
Thy lawfull king, thy soueraigne, with thy sword ?
Vilde wretch, and why hast thou, of all vnkinde,

1741 sworde 2—*V.* 1744 those *O R C W P.*
1745 havock *D—K B—V.* 1746 m'lord *F.*
1754 reinforce *D—K E—V* (*see note*), and *om. D—R C F T P M ;* let us *F T M.* 1755 honor 2—*V.* 1762 Vile *D—R* D_4*—K E—V.*

Borne armes against thy brother and thy king?
Raigne showers of vengeance on my cursed head,
Thou God, to whom in iustice it belongs
To punish this vnnaturall reuolt.
Edward, this *Mortimer* aimes at thy life.
O, fly him then; but, Edmund, calme this rage;
Dissemble, or thou diest; for *Mortimer*
And *Isabell* doe kisse while they conspire.
And yet she beares a face of loue forsooth.
Fie on that loue that hatcheth death and hate!
Edmund, away. Bristow to Longshankes blood
Is false; be not found single for suspect:
Proud *Mortimer* pries neare into thy walkes.

Enter the Queene, Mortimer, the young Prince, and Sir Iohn of Henolt.

Qu. Successfull battells giues the God of kings
To them that fight in right and feare his wrath.
Since then succesfully we haue preuayled,
Thankes be heauens great architect and you,
Ere farther we proceede, my noble lordes, H_6
We heere create our welbeloued sonne,
Of loue and care vnto his royall person,
Lord warden of the realme; and sith the fates
Haue made his father so infortunate,
Deale you, my lords, in this, my louing lords,
As to your wisdomes fittest seemes in all.
Edm. Madam, without offence if I may aske,
How will you deale with *Edward* in his fall?
Prince. Tell me, good vnckle, what *Edward* doe you meane?
Edm. Nephew, your father, I dare not call him king.
Mor. [*iu.*] My lord of Kent, what needes these questions?
Tis not in her controulment, nor in ours,

1764 my] thy *C P*. 1771 Bnd *misp.* 2.
1773 Bristol D_1—*R*. 1775 unto *B E V*.
1776 Successfulls 23; battel 2—*V*. 1778 successively 4.
1779 Thankt 23 *F*; Thanked 4 *D*—*R*; Thankèd D_3—*K B*—*V*; the heaven's *F*. 1784 unfortunate 4 *D*—*R*. 1790 fa'er *F*.

But as the realme and parlement shall please,
So shall your brother be disposed of.—
I like not this relenting moode in *Edmund*,
Madam ; tis good to looke to him betimes.
[*Aside to the Queen.*]
Qu. My lord, the Maior of Bristow knows our mind ?
Mor. [*iu.*] Yea, madam ; and they scape not easilie
That fled the feeld.
Qu. *Baldock* is with the king ;
A goodly chauncelor, is he not, my lord ?
S. Ioh. So are the *Spencers*, the father and the sonne.
Edm. This *Edward* is the ruine of the realme.

Enter Rice ap Howell, and the Maior of Bristow, with Spencer the father.

Rice. God saue Queene *Isabell*, & her princely sonne.
Madam, the Maior and Citizens of Bristow,
In signe of loue and dutie to this presence,
Present by me this traitor to the state,
Spencer, the father to that wanton *Spencer*,
That, like the lawles *Catiline* of Rome, H$_7$
Reueld in Englands wealth and treasurie.
Qu. We thanke you all.
Mort. iu. Your louing care in this
Deserueth princelie fauors and rewardes.
But wheres the king and the other *Spencer* fled ?
Rice. *Spencer* the sonne, created earle of Gloster,
Is with that smoothe toongd scholler *Baldock* gone,
And shipt but late for Ireland, with the king.
Mor. iu. Some whirle winde fetche them backe, or sincke them all.— [*Aside.*]
They shalbe started thence, I doubt it not.
Prin. Shall I not see the king my father yet ?

1797 Bristol D_1—*R K*. 1798 scapt 3. 1801 th' father *F*.
1802 O D_3 D_4 *W M T ass. to Y. Mor. F places commas after* this *and* Edward, *and adds s.d.* To the Prince.
1804 Bristol D_1—*R K*. 1812 th' *F*.

Edmund. Vnhappies *Edward*, chaste from Englands bounds
[*Aside.*]
S. Ioh. Madam, what resteth, why stand ye in a muse ?
Qu. I rue my lords ill fortune, but, alas,
Care of my countrie cald me to this warre.
Mort. [*iu.*] Madam, haue done with care & sad complaint ;
Your king hath wrongd your countrie and himselfe,
And we must seeke to right it as we may.
Meane while, haue hence this rebell to the blocke.
Your lordship cannot priuiledge your head.
Spen. pa. Rebell is he that fights against his prince ;
So fought not they that fought in *Edwards* right.
Mort. [*iu.*] Take him away, he prates ; you, *Rice ap howell*,
[*Exeunt Attendants with the elder Spencer.*]
Shall do good seruice to her Maiestie,
Being of countenance in your countrey here,
To follow these rebellious runnagates.—
We in meane while, madam, must take aduise
How *Baldocke*, *Spencer*, and their complices
May in their fall be followed to their end.
Exeunt omnes.

Enter the Abbott, Monkes, [*and in disguise*] *Edward,* [*the younger*] *Spencer, and Baldocke.*

Abbot. Haue you no doubt, my Lorde, haue you no feare ; H_8
As silent and as carefull will we be,
To keepe your royall person safe with vs,
Free from suspect, and fell inuasion
Of such as haue your maiestie in chase,
Your selfe, and those your chosen companie,
As daunger of this stormie time requires.
Edwa. Father, thy face should harbor no deceit.

1819 Vnhappies] Unhappy *D—K E—V ; Unhappy is F.*
1820 ye] you D_3—*K B E P M V.*
1827 Your . . . head *om. 2—V.* 1828 his] the *2—V.*
1835 complicies *misp. 2.* 1838 we will *2—V.*
1842 Your . . . companie *om. D O.*

O, hadst thou euer beene a king, thy hart,
Pierced deeply with sence of my distresse,
Could not but take compassion of my state.
Stately and proud, in riches and in traine,
Whilom I was, powerfull and full of pompe.
But what is he, whome rule and emperie
Haue not in life or death made miserable ?
Come, *Spencer*, come, *Baldocke*, come, sit downe by me ;
Make triall now of that philosophie
That in our famous nurseries of artes
Thou suckedst from *Plato*, and from *Aristotle*.
Father, this life contemplatiue is heauen.
O, that I might this life in quiet lead.
But we, alas, are chaste, and you, my friends,
Your liues and my dishonor they pursue.
Yet, gentle monkes, for treasure, golde, nor fee,
Do you betray vs and our companie.

Monks. Your grace may sit secure, if none but wee
doe wot of your abode.

Spen. Not one aliue, but shrewdly I suspect
A gloomie fellow in a meade belowe ;
A gaue a long looke after vs, my lord ;
And all the land I know is vp in armes, I,
Armes that pursue our liues with deadly hate.

Bald. We were imbarkt for Ireland, wretched we,
With awkward windes and sore tempests driuen
To fall on shoare, and here to pine in feare
Of *Mortimer* and his confederates.

Edw. Mortimer, who talkes of *Mortimer ?*
Who wounds me with the name of *Mortimer*,
That bloudy man ? good father, on thy lap

1846 a sense *D—R C W F B E P.* 1850 empire *D.*
1852 Spencer, come] Spencer *C W F P.* 1853 that *om.* 3 ; thy 4 *O R C W F P.* 1855 suck'st *D—R.* 1862 *O R* D_3*—K B—V ass. to* Monk *or* First Monk. 1866 A] He *D—R C W P.*
1870 with sore 4 D_3 D_4 ; sore] surly *D ;* tempest *O R.*
1872 confiderates *misp.* 2.

Lay I this head, laden with mickle care.
O, might I neuer open these eyes againe,
Neuer againe lift vp this drooping head,
O, neuer more lift vp this dying hart!
Spen. son. Looke vp, my lord.—*Baldock*, this drowsines
Betides no good; here euen we are betraied.

Enter, with Welch hookes, Rice ap Howell, a Mower, and the Earle of Leicester.

Mower. Vpon my life, those be the men ye seeke.
Rice. Fellow, enough; my lord, I pray be short;
A faire commission warrants what we do.
Lei. The Queenes commission, vrgd by *Mortimer.*
What cannot gallant *Mortimer* with the Queene?—
Alas, see where he sits, and hopes vnseene
T'escape their hands that seeke to reaue his life.
Too true it is: *quem dies vidit veniens superbum,*
Hunc dies vidit fugiens iacentem.
But, Leister, leaue to growe so passionate.—
Spencer and *Baldocke*, by no other names,
I arrest you of high treason here.
Stand not on titles, but obay th'arrest;
Tis in the name of *Isabell* the Queene.—
My lord, why droope you thus?
Edw. O day! the last of all my blisse on earth, I_2
Center of all misfortune. O, my starres!
Why do you lowre vnkindly on a king?
Comes Leister then in *Isabellas* name
To take my life, my companie from me?
Here, man, rip vp this panting brest of mine,
And take my heart, in reskew of my friends.

1877 ope 3—*V.*
1881 even here *O R C W P; s.d.*, ap] up 1; of *om.* 2.
1882 these 2—*V.* 1886 gallant *om.* 34 D_1—*R;* doe with 4 *O R.*
1888 To *C W B E P V.* 1893 I do *O R C W F B E P V.*
1894 the *S C W E P V.*
1900 Come 2 *O F;* Came 34; *commas after* comes *and* Leister *O F;* Isabel's *O.*

Rice. Away with them.
Spen. iu. It may become thee yet
To let vs take our farewell of his grace.
Abb. My heart with pity earnes to see this sight :
A king to beare these words and proud commaunds.
Edw. Spencer, a, sweet *Spencer*, thus then must we part.
Spen. iu. We must, my lord, so will the angry heauens.
Edw. Nay, so will hell, and cruell *Mortimer*,
The gentle heauens haue not to do in this.
Bald. My lord, it is in vaine to greeue or storme ;
Here humblie of your grace we take our leaues ;
Our lots are cast, I feare me so is thine.
Edwa. In heauen wee may, in earth neuer shall wee meete ;
And, Leister, say, what shall become of vs ?
Leist. Your maiestie must go to Killingworth.
Edw. Must ! tis somwhat hard when kings must go.
Leist. Here is a Litter readie for your grace,
That waites your pleasure, and the day growes old.
Rice. As good be gon, as stay and be benighted.
Edw. A litter hast thou ? lay me in a hearse,
And to the gates of hell conuay me hence.
Let Plutos bels ring out my fatall knell,
And hags howle for my death at Charons shore.
For friends hath *Edward* none but these and these,
And these must die vnder a tyrants sword.
Rice. My lord, be going ; care not for these, I_3
For we shall see them shorter by the heads.
Edw. Well, that shalbe, shalbe ; part we must.
Sweete *Spencer*, gentle *Baldocke*, part we must.
Hence, fained weeds, vnfained are my woes.
[*Throwing off disguise.*]

1906 yearns *D—R C W T P.*
1908 a *om. D O R C W P ;* oh *F.* 1911 in] with *S.*
1915 ne'er *D—V.* 1918 it is D_3—*V.* 1922 in] on 34 *C P.*
1926 friend *C W F B P ;* [hapless] Edward *C W P ;* and these *om.* D_3 D_4 *C W E P.* 1927 And these *om. D—R K.*
1930 that] what *D O R ;* that that *F.*

Father, farewell; Leister, thou staist for me,
And go I must; life, farewell with my friends.
Exeunt Edward and Leicester.

Spen. iu. O, is he gone! is noble *Edward* gone,
Parted from hence, neuer to see vs more?
Rent, sphere of heauen, and fier, forsake thy orbe.
Earth, melt to ayre, gone is my soueraigne,
Gone, gone, alas, neuer to make returne.
Bald. Spencer, I see our soules are fleeted hence;
We are depriude the sun-shine of our life.
Make for a new life, man; throw vp thy eyes,
And hart and hand to heauens immortall throne.
Pay natures debt with cheerefull countenance.
Reduce we all our lessons vnto this:
To die, sweet *Spencer*, therefore liue wee all;
Spencer, all liue to die, and rise to fall.
Rice. Come, come, keepe these preachments till you come to the place appointed. You, and such as you are, haue made wise worke in England. Will your Lordships away?
Mower. Your worship, I trust, will remember me?
Rice. Remember thee, fellowe? what else?
Follow me to the towne. [*Exeunt.*]

Enter the king, Leicester, with a Bishop [Hereford] *for the crowne,* [*and* Trussel].

Lei. Be patient, good my lord, cease to lament.
Imagine Killingworth castell were your court, I_4
And that you lay for pleasure here a space,
Not of compulsion or neccissitie.
Edw. Leister, if gentle words might comfort me,
Thy speeches long agoe had easde my sorrowes,

1934 *s.d.* Leicester] Lancaster 234.
1937 Rend *D—R K E.* 1940 fleeting 2—*V.*
1943 hands *C W B E P V.*
1948–50 1234 *print as* 3 *complete ll., dividing after* appointed *and* England. 1948 th' *F.*
1950 your Lordships] you F. 1951 worship] lordship 2—*V.*
1957 of] for *O R.* 1959 sorrow *T.*

For kinde and louing hast thou alwaies beene.
The greefes of priuate men are soone allayde,
But not of kings: the forrest Deare being strucke
Runnes to an herbe that closeth vp the wounds;
But when the imperiall Lions flesh is gorde,
He rends and teares it with his wrathfull pawe,
[And] highly scorning that the lowly earth
Should drinke his bloud, mounts vp into the ayre.
And so it fares with me, whose dauntlesse minde
The ambitious *Mortimer* would seeke to curbe,
And that vnnaturall Queene, false *Isabell*,
That thus hath pent and mu'd me in a prison.
For such outragious passions cloye my soule
As with the wings of rancor and disdaine
Full often am I sowring up to heauen
To plaine me to the gods against them both.
But when I call to minde I am a king,
Me thinkes I should reuenge me of the wronges
That *Mortimer* and *Isabell* haue done.
But what are kings, when regiment is gone,
But perfect shadowes in a sun-shine day?
My nobles rule, I beare the name of king,
I weare the crowne, but am contrould by them,
By *Mortimer* and my vnconstant Queene,
Who spots my nuptiall bed with infamie
Whilst I am lodgd within this caue of care,
Where sorrow at my elbow still attends
To companie my hart with sad laments,
That bleedes within me for this strange exchange.
But tell me, must I now resigne my crowne
To make vsurping *Mortimer* a king?

Bish. Your grace mistakes, it is for Englands good

1964 th' *F*. 1966 [And] *om.* 1234.
1967 into] to 2—*C K B—V;* th' *D* D_1 *O* D_2 *R*.
1969 th' *D* D_1 *O*—D_4 *K F T M*. 1972 cloye] claw *D O*.
1974 oft 2—*S* D_2 D_3 *K;* to high *D—R*.
1977 the] my 234 D_3—*V*.

And princely *Edwards* right, we craue the crowne.
Edw. No, tis for *Mortimer*, not *Edwards* head ;
For hees a lambe, encompassed by Woolues
Which in a moment will abridge his life.
But if proud *Mortimer* do weare this crowne,
Heauens turne it to a blaze of quenchlesse fier,
Or like the snakie wreathe of *Tisiphon*,
Engirt the temples of his hatefull head !
So shall not Englands Vines be perished,
But *Edwards* name suruiues, though *Edward* dies.
Lei. My lord, why waste you thus the time away ?
They stay your answer : will you yeeld your crowne ?
Edw. Ah, Leister, way how hardly I can brooke
To loose my crowne and kingdome without cause,
To giue ambitious *Mortimer* my right,
That like a mountaine ouerwhelmes my blisse,
In which extreame my minde here murthered is.
But what the heauens appoint I must obaye.
Here, take my crowne ; the life of *Edward* too :
[*Taking off the crown.*]
Two kings in England cannot raigne at once.
But stay a while, let me be king till night,
That I may gaze vpon this glittering crowne.
So shall my eyes receiue their last content,
My head, the latest honor dew to it,
And ioyntly both yeeld vp their wished right.
Continue euer, thou celestiall sunne,
Let neuer silent night possesse this clime.
Stand still, you watches of the element,
All times and seasons, rest you at a stay,
That *Edward* may be still faire Englands king. I_6
But dayes bright beames dooth vanish fast away,

1997 Heav'n *O R C W F P.* 2000 Vine *O R—W F—Br.*
2001 suruies 3 ; suruiue 4—*F T P M.*
2008 extreams 34 D_1—*R C W K.*
2009 what] that 234 D_3 D_4 *K F T P M.*
2012 be *om.* 2. 2022 beame 2—*V.*

And needes I must resigne my wished crowne.
Inhumaine creatures, nurst with Tigers milke,
Why gape you for your soueraignes ouerthrow?
My diadem, I meane, and guiltlesse life.
See, monsters, see, ile weare my crowne againe.
What, feare you not the furie of your king?
[*Resuming the crown.*]
But, haplesse *Edward*, thou art fondly led;
They passe not for thy frownes, as late they did,
But seekes to make a new elected king,
Which fils my mind with strange despairing thoughts,
Which thoughts are martyred with endles torments;
And in this torment comfort finde I none,
But that I feele the crowne vpon my head.
And therefore let me weare it yet a while.

Tru. My Lorde, the parlement must haue present newes,
And therefore say, will you resigne or no?
The king rageth.

Edw. Ile not resigne; but, whilst I liue,
Traitors, be gon, and ioine you with *Mortimer.*
Elect, conspire, install, do what you will;
Their bloud and yours shall seale these treacheries.

Bish. This answer weele returne, and so farewell. [*Going.*]

Leist. Call them againe, my lorde, and speake them faire,
For if they goe, the prince shall lose his right.

Edward. Call thou them back, I haue no power to speake.

Lei. My lord, the king is willing to resigne.

Bish. If he be not, let him choose.

Edw. O, would I might; but heauens & earth conspire
To make me miserable: heere, receiue my crowne. I,
Receiue it? no, these innocent hands of mine
Shall not be guiltie of so foule a crime.

2031 seeke 4—*V.* 2033 martyr'd *D* D_1 D_2.
2037 *O ass. to Bish.*; *D* D_1 D_2 *R ass. to Trusty.*
2039 but] not 34 *C W P V;* live] be king *D*—D_4 *K*—*T M Br.*
2040 and *om. C W P;* you *om. D*—*R K.*
2041 conspire] confirm D_1 *S R.* 2049 heav'n *D*—*R.*

He of you all that most desires my bloud,
And will be called the murtherer of a king,
Take it: what, are you mooude, pitie you me?
Then send for vnrelenting *Mortimer*,
And *Isabell*, whose eyes, being turnd to steele,
Will sooner sparkle fire then shed a teare.
Yet stay, for rather then I will looke on them
Heere, heere; now, sweete God of heauen,
[*Giues the crown.*]
Make me despise this transitorie pompe,
And sit for aye inthronized in heauen.
Come, death, and with thy fingers close my eyes;
Or if I liue, let me forget my selfe.

Bish. My lorde,—

Edw. Call me not lorde; away, out of my sight.
Ah, pardon me, greefe makes me lunatick.
Let not that *Mortimer* protect my sonne.
More safetie is there in a Tigers iawes
Then his imbrasements; beare this to the queene,
Wet with my teares, and dried againe with sighes.
[*Giues a handkerchief.*]
If with the sight thereof she be not mooued,
Returne it backe and dip it in my bloud.
Commend me to my sonne, and bid him rule
Better then I; yet how haue I transgrest,
Vnlesse it be with too much clemencie?

Tru. And thus most humbly do we take our leaue.
[*Exeunt* Bishop *and* Trussel.]

Edward. Farewell; I know the next newes that they bring

2057 being] beene 1. 2059 I'll D_4—*V*.
2062 aye] ever *D O R C W F P;* inthroniz'd *D* D_1 *O* D_2 *R C F*.
2064 1—D_2*K add s.d. Enter Bartley.*
2065 1—D_1 *O* D_2 *K ass. to Bartley.*
2066–7 Call . . . lunatick 1234 *print as three complete ll., dividing after* lorde *and* me.
2069 there is 2—*S* D_2 D_3 D_4 *K*—*T M V*.
2070 Then] This *misp.* 1; embracement D_2.
2077 *O ass. to Bish.;* D_1 D_2 *R ass. to Trusty*.

Will be my death ; and welcome shall it be. I$_8$
To wretched men death is felicitie.
Leist. An other poast, what newes bringes he ?

Enter Bartley.

Edw. Such newes as I expect ; come, *Bartley*, come,
And tell thy message to my naked brest.
Bart. My lord, thinke not a thought so villanous
Can harbor in a man of noble birth.
To do your highnes seruice and deuoire,
And saue you from your foes, *Bartley* would die.
Leist. My lorde, the counsell of the Queene commaunds
That I resigne my charge.
Edw. And who must keepe mee now ? must you, my lorde ?
Bart. I, my most gratious lord, so tis decreed.
Edw. By *Mortimer*, whose name is written here.
[*Taking the paper.*]
Well may I rent his name that rends my hart.
[*Tearing the paper.*]
This poore reuenge hath something easd my minde.
So may his limmes be torne as is this paper.
Heare me, immortall *Ioue*, and graunt it too.
Bart. Your grace must hence with mee to *Bartley* straight.
Edw. Whether you will ; all places are alike,
And euery earth is fit for buriall.
Leist. Fauor him, my lord, as much as lieth in you.
Bart. Euen so betide my soule as I vse him.
Edw. Mine enemie hath pitied my estate,
And thats the cause that I am now remooude.
Bartley. And thinkes your grace that *Bartley* will bee cruell ?
Edw. I know not ; but of this am I assured,
That death ends all, and I can die but once.—
Leicester, farewell.

2081 *s.d.* 1234 *place this after* 2064.
2088 of] and 34 D_1 S D_2 K ; command S. 2093 rend D—R E.
2094 has B E V. 2096 immorrall *misp.* 3.
2100 m'lord F. 2101 E'en F. 2102 Mine] My 34.

Leicester. Not yet, my lorde, ile beare you on your waye. K_1
Exeunt omnes.

Enter Mortimer, and Queene Isabell.

Mor. iu. Faire *Isabell*, now haue we our desire.
The proud corrupters of the light-brainde king
Haue done their homage to the loftie gallowes,
And he himselfe lies in captiuitie.
Be rulde by me, and we will rule the realme.
In any case, take heed of childish feare ;
For now we hould an old Wolfe by the eares,
That if he slip will seaze vpon vs both,
And gripe the sorer, being gript himselfe.
Thinke therefore, madam, that imports vs much
To erect your sonne with all the speed we may,
And that I be protector ouer him,
For our behoofe will beare the greater sway
When as a kings name shall be vnderwrit.
Qu. Sweet *Mortimer*, the life of *Isabell*,
Be thou perswaded that I loue thee well,
And therefore, so the prince my sonne be safe,
Whome I esteeme as deare as these mine eyes,
Conclude against his father what thou wilt,
And I my selfe will willinglie subscribe.
Mort. iu. First would I heare newes that hee were deposde,
And then let me alone to handle him.

Enter Messenger. K_2

Mor. iu. Letters, from whence ?
Messen. From Killingworth, my lorde.
Qu. How fares my lord the king ?
Messen. In health, madam, but full of pensiuenes.
Queene. Alas, poore soule, would I could ease his greefe.

2115 eare 34.
2118 that] it *D O R* D_3 *C W P;* that it *K B ;* that't *F;* vs] as 12 D_1 D_2. 2119 T'erect *F;* elect O ; withall 123.
2121 twill 34 D_1—*B T P M V; S places semi-colon after* behoofe.
2129 the news *S W;* that *om.* 2—D_4 *W*—*T M V.*

[*Enter* Bishop of Winchester *with the crown.*]

Thankes, gentle Winchester; sirra, be gon.
[*Exit Messenger.*]

Winchester. The king hath willingly resignde his crowne.
Qu. O, happie newes, send for the prince my sonne.
Bish. Further, or this letter was sealed, Lord *Bartley* came,
So that he now is gone from Killingworth;
And we haue heard that *Edmund* laid a plot
To set his brother free, no more but so.
The lord of *Bartley* is so pitifull
As Leicester that had charge of him before.
Qu. Then let some other be his guardian.
Mor. iu. Let me alone, here is the priuie seale.
Whose there? call hither *Gurney* and *Matreuis.*—
To dash the heauie headed *Edmunds* drift,
Bartley shall be dischargd, the king remooude,
And none but we shall know where he lieth.
Qu. But, *Mortimer*, as long as he suruiues,
What safetie rests for vs, or for my sonne?
Mort. iu. Speake, shall he presently be dispatch'd and die?
Queene. I would hee were, so it were not by my meanes.

Enter Matreuis and Gurney. K_3

Mortim. iu. Inough.—*Matreuis*, write a letter presently
Vnto the Lord of *Bartley* from our selfe,
That he resigne the king to thee and *Gurney*,
And when tis done, we will subscribe our name.
Matr. It shall be done, my lord.
[*Writes.*]
Mort. iu. *Gurney.*
Gurn. My Lorde.
Mort. iu. As thou intendest to rise by *Mortimer*,
Who now makes Fortunes wheele turne as he please,

2138 or] ere *D O R C W F P*; letter *om. C W F P.*
2142 so] as *O R C W E P*; *om. S.*
2149 And where he lieth none but we shall know *F*; *see note.*
2153 so't *D O R C W F P*; 'twere D_1 *S* D_2 D_3 D_4 *K B E T M V.*
2159 intend'st D_1 *S* D_2 D_3—*V.*

Seeke all the meanes thou canst to make him droope,
And neither giue him kinde word nor good looke.
Gurn. I warrant you, my lord.
Mort. iu. And this aboue the rest: because we heare
That *Edmund* casts to worke his libertie,
Remooue him still from place to place by night,
Till at the last he come to Killingworth,
And then from thence to *Bartley* back againe;
And by the way, to make him fret the more,
Speake curstlie to him, and in any case
Let no man comfort him if he chaunce to weepe,
But amplifie his greefe with bitter words.
Matre. Feare not, my Lord, weele do as you commaund.
Mor. iu. So now, away, post thither wards amaine.
Qu. Whither goes this letter, to my lord the king?
Commend me humblie to his Maiestie,
And tell him that I labour all in vaine
To ease his greefe, and worke his libertie.
And beare him this, as witnesse of my loue. K4
[*Gives ring.*]
Matre. I will, madam.

Exeunt Matreuis and Gurney.
Manent Isabell and Mortimer.

Enter the yong Prince, and the Earle of Kent talking with him.
Mor. iu. Finely dissembled; do so still, sweet Queene.
Heere comes the yong prince, with the Earle of Kent.
Qu. Some thing he whispers in his childish eares.
Mort. iu. If he haue such accesse vnto the prince,
Our plots and stratagems will soone be dasht.
Queen. Vse *Edmund* friendly, as if all were well.
Mor. iu. How fares my honorable lord of Kent?
Edmun. In health, sweete *Mortimer*;—how fares your grace?
Queene. Well, if my Lorde your brother were enlargde.

2161 can *P.* 2164 we *om. S.*
2167 Till] And 1. 2175 Whi'er *F.*

Edm. I heare of late he hath deposde himselfe.
Queen. The more my greefe.
Mortim. iu. And mine.
Edmun. Ah, they do dissemble. [*Aside.*]
Queen. Sweete sonne, come hither, I must talke with thee.
Mortim. iu. Thou, being his vnckle, and the next of bloud,
Doe looke to be protector ouer the prince.
Edm. Not I, my lord; who should protect the sonne
But she that gaue him life, I meane the Queene?
Prin. Mother, perswade me not to weare the crowne; K$_5$
Let him be king; I am too yong to raigne.
Queene. But bee content, seeing it his highnesse pleasure.
Prin. Let me but see him first, and then I will.
Edmund. I, do, sweete Nephew.
Quee. Brother, you know it is impossible.
Prince. Why, is he dead?
Queen. No, God forbid.
Edmun. I would those wordes proceeded from your heart.
Mort. iu. Inconstant *Edmund*, doost thou fauor him,
That wast a cause of his imprisonment?
Edm. The more cause haue I now to make amends.
Mort. iu. I tell thee tis not meet that one so false
Should come about the person of a prince.—
[*To the queen.*]
My lord, he hath betraied the king his brother,
And therefore trust him not.
Prince. But hee repents, and sorrowes for it now.
Queen. Come, sonne, and go with this gentle Lorde and me.
Prin. With you I will, but not with *Mortimer*.
Mort. iu. Why, yongling, s'dainst thou so of *Mortimer?*
Then I will carrie thee by force away.
Prin. Helpe, vnckle Kent, *Mortimer* will wrong me.
Quee. Brother *Edmund*, striue not, we are his friends.

2195 Thou] You 2—*V*. 2196 o'er *D*—*V*.
2201 it is 34 D_1—*R*; 'tis D_3—*V*; pleasures *P*.
2208 doest 234. 2218 dain'st *D*; disdain'st *S O*. 2221 we're *F*.

Isabell is neerer then the earle of Kent.
Edm. Sister, *Edward* is my charge, redeeme him.
Queen. *Edward* is my sonne, and I will keepe him.
Edmun. *Mortimer* shall know that he hath wrongde mee.
Hence will I haste to Killingworth castle,
And rescue aged *Edward* from his foes, K⁶
To be reuengde on *Mortimer* and thee.
[*Aside.*]
Exeunt omnes.

Enter Matreuis and Gurney with the king.

Matr. My lord, be not pensiue, we are your friends;
Men are ordaind to liue in miserie.
Therefore, come, dalliance dangereth our liues.
Edw. Friends, whither must vnhappie *Edward* go?
Will hatefull *Mortimer* appoint no rest?
Must I be vexed like the nightly birde,
Whose sight is loathsome to all winged fowles?
When will the furie of his minde asswage?
When will his hart be satisfied with bloud?
If mine will serue, vnbowell straight this brest,
And giue my heart to *Isabell* and him:
It is the chiefest marke they leuell at.
Gurney. Not so, my liege; the Queene hath giuen this charge,
To keepe your grace in safetie.
Your passions make your dolours to increase.
Edw. This vsage makes my miserie increase.
But can my ayre of life continue long
When all my sences are anoyde with stenche?
Within a dungeon Englands king is kept,
Where I am steru'd for want of sustenance:

2222 Isabel's *F.* 2225 wrongèd D_3 D_4 *K B E T M V.*
2229 so pensive *W;* we're *F.* 2242 [Only] to *C W F P.*
2243 dolours] choler *D—R;* to *om.* 4.
2244 to increase *B E T V.* 2248 starv'd *D—K B—V.*

My daily diet is heart breaking sobs,
That almost rents the closet of my heart ;
Thus liues old *Edward* not relieu'd by any,
And so must die, though pitied by many. K$_7$
O water, gentle friends, to coole my thirst,
And cleare my bodie from foule excrements.
Matr. Heeres channell water, as our charge is giuen ;
Sit downe, for weele be Barbars to your grace.
Edw. Traitors, away, what, will you murther me,
Or choake your soueraigne with puddle water ?
Gurn. No, but wash your face, and shaue away your beard,
Least you be knowne, and so be rescued.
Matr. Why striue you thus ? your labour is in vaine.
Edward. The Wrenne may striue against the Lions strength,
But all in vaine ; so vainely do I striue
To seeke for mercie at a tyrants hand.

They wash him with puddle water, and shaue his beard away.

Immortall powers, that knowes the painfull cares
That waites vpon my poore distressed soule,
O leuell all your lookes vpon these daring men
That wronges their liege and soueraigne, Englands king.
O *Gaueston*, it is for thee that I am wrongd ;
For me, both thou and both the *Spencers* died ;
And for your sakes a thousand wronges ile take.
The *Spencers* ghostes, where euer they remaine,
Wish well to mine ; then tush, for them ile die.
Matr. Twixt theirs and yours shall be no enmitie.
Come, come, away ; now put the torches out ;
Weele enter in by darkenes to Killingworth.

Enter Edmund.

Gurn. How now, who comes there ?

2250 rend *D—R ;* rent D_3—*E P V.* 2255 our] your *B E V.*
2265 know *D—K P M.* 2266 wait *D—K E P M.*
2267 all *om. C W F P.* 2268 wrong *D—K P M.*
2269 Gauston *F ;* 'tis *C W F B E P V.*
2276 darkenes] dark *F.* 2277 there] here *O.*

Matr. Guarde the king sure, it is the earle of Kent. K_8
Edw. O gentle brother, helpe to rescue me.
Matr. Keepe them a sunder, thrust in the king.
Edm. Souldiers, let me but talke to him one worde.
Gur. Lay hands vpon the earle for this assault.
Edmu. Lay downe your weapons, traitors, yeeld the king.
Matr. Edmund, yeeld thou thy selfe, or thou shalt die.
Edmu. Base villaines, wherefore doe you gripe mee thus?
Gurney. Binde him, and so conuey him to the court.
Edm. Where is the court but heere? heere is the king,
And I will visit him, why stay you me?
Matr. The court is where lord *Mortimer* remaines;
Thither shall your honour go; and so, farewell.
Exeunt Matr. and Gurney, with the king.
Manent Edmund and the souldiers.
Edm. O, miserable is that commonweale,
Where lords keepe courts, and kings are lockt in prison!
Sould. Wherefore stay we? on, sirs, to the court.
Edm. I, lead me whether you will, euen to my death,
Seeing that my brother cannot be releast.
Exeunt omnes.

Enter Mortimer alone.

Mort. iu. The king must die, or *Mortimer* goes downe;
The commons now begin to pitie him.
Yet he that is the cause of *Edwards* death,
Is sure to pay for it when his sonne is of age.
And therefore will I do it cunninglie:
This letter, written by a friend of ours, L_1
Containes his death, yet bids them saue his life.
Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:
Feare not to kill the king, tis good he die;
But read it thus, and thats an other sence:

2282 this] his 2—*V.* 2284 shall *F.*
2286 Binde] Blind *O*; so *om. R.* 2290 Thi'er *F.*
2292 Where lords 1234 *place at end of preceding l.*
2294 whi'er *F*; e'en *F.* 2299 for't *F*; son's *D—V.*

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:
Kill not the king, tis good to feare the worst.
Vnpointed as it is, thus shall it goe,
That, being dead, if it chaunce to be found,
Matreuis and the rest may beare the blame,
And we be quit that causde it to be done.
Within this roome is lockt the messenger
That shall conueie it, and performe the rest;
And by a secret token that he beares,
Shall he be murdered when the deed is done.
Lightborn, come forth; art thou as resolute as thou wast?

[*Enter* Lightborn.]

Light. What else, my lord? and farre more resolute.
Mort. iu. And hast thou cast how to accomplish it?
Light. I, I, and none shall know which way he died.
Mortim. iu. But at his lookes, *Lightborne*, thou wilt relent.
Light. Relent, ha, ha, I vse much to relent.
Mort. iu. Well, do it brauely, and be secret.
Light. You shall not need to giue instructions.
Tis not the first time I haue killed a man:
I learnde in Naples how to poison flowers,
To strangle with a lawne thrust through the throte,
To pierce the wind-pipe with a needles point,
Or, whilst one is a sleepe, to take a quill
And blowe a little powder in his eares,
Or open his mouth and powre quick siluer downe.
But yet I haue a brauer way then these.
Mort. iu. Whats that? L_2
Light. Nay, you shall pardon me, none shall knowe my trickes.
Mort. iu. I care not how it is, so it be not spide.
Deliuer this to *Gurney* and *Matreuis*.
[*Gives letter.*]

2316 as resolute] so resolute 2—*V*.
2326 through] down 34 D_3 D_4 *C W E*—*V*. 2327 a] the *B*.
2331 But] And *B E V*. 2334 'tis F.

At euery ten miles end thou hast a horse.
Take this, away, and neuer see me more.
[*Gives money.*]

Lightborne. No?

Mort. iu. No, vnlesse thou bring me newes of *Edwards* death.

Light. That will I quicklie do; farewell, my lord.
[*Exit.*]

Mor. [*iu.*] The prince I rule, the queene do I commaund,
And with a lowly conge to the ground,
The proudest lords salute me as I passe.
I seale, I cancell, I do what I will.
Feard am I more then lou'd:—let me be feard,
And when I frowne, make all the court looke pale.
I view the prince with *Aristorchus* eyes,
Whose lookes were as a breeching to a boye.
They thrust vpon me the Protectorship,
And sue to me for that that I desire;
While at the councell table, graue enough,
And not vnlike a bashfull puretaine,
First I complaine of imbecilitie,
Saying it is *onus quam grauissimum;*
Till, being interrupted by my friends,
Suscepi that *prouinciam*, as they terme it.
And to conclude, I am Protector now.
Now all is sure, the Queene and *Mortimer*
Shall rule the realme, the king; and none rule vs.
Mine enemies will I plague, my friends aduance,
And what I list commaund, who dare controwle?
Maior sum quam cui possit fortuna nocere. L_3
And that this be the coronation day,
It pleaseth me and *Isabell* the Queene.
[*Trumpets within.*]
The trumpets sound, I must go take my place.

2336 mile 23 *D—V.*
2350 that that] that which *D—R.* 2352 paretaine 12.
2359 rule us] rules us 234 *F B E T M V.* 2360 Mine] My *O.*

Enter the yong King, Bishop, Champion, Nobles, Queene.

Bish. Long liue king *Edward*, by the grace of God
King of England, and lorde of Ireland.
Cham. If any Christian, Heathen, Turke, or Iew,
Dares but affirme that *Edwards* not true king,
And will auouche his saying with the sworde,
I am the Champion that will combate him.
Mort. iu. None comes; sound trumpets.
[*Trumpets sound.*]
King. Champion, heeres to thee.
Qu. Lord *Mortimer*, now take him to your charge.

Enter Souldiers with the Earle of Kent prisoner.

Mor. iu. What traitor haue wee there with blades and billes?
Sould. Edmund, the Earle of Kent.
King. What hath he done?
Sould. A would haue taken the king away perforce,
As we were bringing him to Killingworth.
Mortimer iu. Did you attempt his rescue, *Edmund?* speake.
Edm. Mortimer, I did; he is our king,
And thou compelst this prince to weare the crowne.
Mort. iu. Strike off his head, he shall haue marshall lawe. L_4
Edm. Strike of my head, base traitor, I defie thee.
King. My lord, he is my vnckle, and shall liue.
Mor. iu. My lord, he is your enemie, and shall die.
Edmund. Staie, villaines.
King. Sweete mother, if I cannot pardon him,
Intreate my lord Protector for his life.
Qu. Sonne, be content, I dare not speake a worde.
King. Nor I, and yet me thinkes I should commaund.
But seeing I cannot, ile entreate for him.—
My lord, if you will let my vnckle liue,
I will requite it when I come to age.
Mort. iu. Tis for your highnesse good, and for the realmes.—
How often shall I bid you beare him hence?
Edm. Art thou king, must I die at thy commaund?

2369 Dare *O R C W F—V.* 2371 with him *B.*
2376 A] He *D—R C W F P;* ta'en *F.* 2395 a king 34.

Mort. iu. At our commaund ;—once more, away with him.
Edm. Let me but stay and speake ; I will not go.
Either my brother or his sonne is king,
And none of both them thirst for *Edmunds* bloud ;
And therefore, soldiers, whether will you hale me ?
They hale Edmund away, and carie him to be beheaded.
King. What safetie may I looke for at his hands,
If that my Vnckle shall be murthered thus ?
Queen. Feare not, sweete boye, ile garde thee from thy foes :
Had *Edmund* liu'de, he would haue sought thy death.
Come, sonne, weele ride a hunting in the parke.
King. And shall my Vnckle *Edmund* ride with vs ?
Queene. He is a traitor, thinke not on him ; come. L_5

Exeunt omnes.

Enter Matr. and Gurney.

Matr. Gurney, I wonder the king dies not,
Being in a vault vp to the knees in water,
To which the channels of the castell runne,
From whence a dampe continually ariseth
That were enough to poison any man,
Much more a king brought vp so tenderlie.
Gurn. And so do I, *Matreuis ;* yesternight
I opened but the doore to throw him meate,
And I was almost stifeled with the sauor.
Matr. He hath a body able to endure
More then we can enflict, and therefore now
Let vs assaile his minde another while.
Gurn. Send for him out thence, and I will anger him.
Matr. But stay, whose this ?

Enter Lightborne.

Light. My lord protector greetes you.

[*Gives letter.*]

Gurn. Whats heere ? I know not how to conster it.
Matr. Gurney, it was left vnpointed for the nonce.

2399 And neither of them *S O R ;* them] then *misp.* 13.
2408 that the *F.* 2410 Bastell *misp.* 34 ; runs 4.
2420 I'll *F.* 2423 construe 2—*V.* 2424 'twas *F.*

Edwardum occidere nolite timere,
Thats his meaning.
Light. Know you this token? I must haue the king.
[*Gives token.*]
Matr. I, stay a while; thou shalt haue answer straight.—
[*Confers aside with Gurney.*]
This villain's sent to make away the king.
Gurney. I thought as much.
Matr. And when the murders done,
L_6
See how he must be handled for his labour:
Pereat iste; let him haue the king,
What else?—heere is the keyes, this is the lake.
Doe as you are commaunded by my lord.
Light. I know what I must do, get you away;
Yet be not farre off, I shall need your helpe;
See that in the next roome I haue a fier,
And get me a spit, and let it be red hote.
Matre. Very well.
Gurn. Neede you any thing besides?
Light. What else? a table and a fetherbed.
Gurn. Thats all?
Light. I, I; so, when I call you, bring it in.
Matre. Feare not you that.
Gurn. Heeres a light to go into the dungeon.
Lightbor. So;—now
Must I about this geare; nere was there any
So finely handled as this king shalbe.—
Foh, heeres a place in deed, with all my hart.
Edward. VVhose there, what light is that, wherefore comes thou?
Light. To comfort you, and bring you ioyfull newes.

2427 ye *D—R C W B E P V.*
2433 lake] lock *E M* (*see note*); key *V.* 2438 spit] spet 2.
2440 What else? *om. D—R C W P.* 2443 you] thou 2—*V.*
2444 Here is *F T*; to *om. O R C W P*; *these also place a semicolon after* light. 2445 1234 *place at beginning of next l.*
2449 light's *F*; com'st 2—*V.*

Edward. Small comfort findes poore *Edward* in thy lookes.
Villaine, I know thou comst to murther me.
Light. To murther you, my most gratious lorde?
Farre is it from my hart to do you harme.
The Queene sent me to see how you were vsed,
For she relents at this your miserie.
And what eyes can refraine from shedding teares,
To see a king in this most pittious state?
Edw. VVeepst thou already? list a while to me, L_7
And then thy heart, were it as Gurneys is,
Or as *Matreuis*, hewne from the *Caucasus*,
Yet will it melt, ere I haue done my tale.
This dungeon, where they keepe me, is the sincke
Wherein the filthe of all the castell falles.
Light. O villaines!
Edw. And there in mire and puddle haue I stood
This ten dayes space; and least that I should sleepe,
One plaies continually vpon a Drum.
They giue me bread and water, being a king,
So that for want of sleepe and sustenance
My mindes distempered and my bodies numde,
And whether I haue limmes or no, I know not.
O, would my bloud dropt out from euery vaine
As doth this water from my tattered robes.
Tell *Isabell* the Queene I lookt not thus
VVhen for her sake I ran at tilt in Fraunce,
And there vnhorste the duke of *Cleremont.*
Light. O, speake no more, my lorde; this breakes my heart.
Lie on this bed, and rest your selfe a while.
Edw. These lookes of thine can harbor nought but death.
I see my tragedie written in thy browes.
Yet stay a while; forbeare thy bloudie hande
And let me see the stroke before it comes,
That and euen then when I shall lose my life,

2461 th' *F.* 2462 it will *F.* 2467 day' *R.*
2473 drop *D* D_1 *S* D_2 *R.* 2474 tottered 4 D_1 *S* D_2.
2477 Claremont *K.* 2484 and *om. D—Br.*

My minde may be more stedfast on my God.
Light. VVhat meanes your highnesse to mistrust me thus?
Edwa. What meanes thou to dissemble with me thus?
Light. These handes were neuer stainde with innocent bloud, L_8
Nor shall they now be tainted with a kings.
Edward. Forgiue my thought for hauing such a thought.
One iewell haue I left; receiue thou this.
[*Giving jewel.*]
Still feare I, and I know not whats the cause,
But euerie iointe shakes as I giue it thee.
O, if thou harborst murther in thy hart,
Let this gift change thy minde, and saue thy soule.
Know that I am a king; oh, at that name
I feele a hell of greefe; where is my crowne?
Gone, gone, and doe I remaine aliue?
Light. Your ouerwatchde, my lord; lie downe and rest.
Edw. But that greefe keepes me waking, I should sleepe;
For not these ten daies haue these eyes lids closd.
Now as I speake they fall, and yet with feare
Open againe: O, wherefore sits thou heare?
Light. If you mistrust me, ile be gon, my lord.
Edw. No, no, for if thou meanst to murther me,
Thou wilt returne againe, and therefore stay.
[*Lies down.*]
Light. He sleepes.
Edw. O let me not die, yet stay, O stay a while.
Light. How now, my Lorde?
Edw. Something still busseth in mine eares,

2487 mean'st 2 *D—V*. 2490 my thought] my fau't *F*.
2494 harbourest *E V*.
2498 still remain *D O* D_3 D_4 *W F E*; alive *om.* 34 D_1 *S* D_2 *R C*.
2500 greefe keepes] thou keep'st *O*.
2501 eye-lids 4—*K E—M*. 2503 sitt'st *D—K B—V*.
2508 yet stay] yet 4 D_3 D_4 *E P M*. 2509 m'lord *F*.
2510 buzz' *F*.

And tels me, if I sleepe I neuer wake.
This feare is that which makes me tremble thus,
And therefore tell me, wherefore art thou come ?
Light. To rid thee of thy life.—*Matreuis,* come.
Edw. I am too weake and feeble to resist.—
Assist me, sweete God, and receiue my soule.
Light. Runne for the table. M_1
Edw. O, spare me, or dispatche me in a trice.
[Matreuis *brings in a table.*]
Light. So, lay the table downe, and stampe on it ;
But not too hard, least that you bruse his body.
Matreuis. I feare mee that this crie will raise the towne,
And therefore let vs take horse, and away.
Light. Tell me, sirs, was it not brauelie done ?
Gurn. Excellent well ; take this for thy rewarde.
Then Gurney stabs Lightborne.
Come, let vs cast the body in the mote,
And beare the kings to *Mortimer* our lord.
Away.
Exeunt omnes.

Enter Mortimer and Matreuis.

Mortim. iu. Ist done, *Matreuis,* and the murtherer dead ?
Matr. I, my good Lord ; I would it were vndone.
Mort. iu. Matreuis, if thou now growest penitent,
Ile be thy ghostly father ; therefore choose,
Whether thou wilt be secret in this,
Or else die by the hand of *Mortimer.*
Matr. Gurney, my lord, is fled, and will, I feare,
Betray vs both ; therefore let me flie.
Mort. iu. Flie to the Sauages.
Matr. I humblie thanke your honour.
[*Exit.*]
Mor. iu. As for my selfe, I stand as *Ioues* huge tree,

2520 least that you] least thou *O R C W F ;* lest that thou *P.*
2523 it] is 2 ; [th] is *F.*
2530 now *om.* 34 ; grow'st D_3 D_4 *K F T M V.*
2536 th' *F.*

And others are but shrubs compard to me.
All tremble at my name, and I feare none.
Lets see who dare impeache me for his death!

Enter the Queene. M_2

Queen. A, *Mortimer*, the king my sonne hath news
His fathers dead, and we haue murdered him.
Mor. iu. What if he haue? the king is yet a childe.
Queene. I, I, but he teares his haire, and wrings his handes,
And vowes to be reuengd vpon vs both.
Into the councell chamber he is gone
To craue the aide and succour of his peeres.
Aye me, see where he comes, and they with him.
Now, *Mortimer*, begins our tragedie.

Enter the king, with the lords.

Lords. Feare not, my lord; know that you are a king.
King. Villaine.
Mort. iu. How now, my lord?
King. Thinke not that I am frighted with thy words.
My father's murdered through thy treacherie,
And thou shalt die, and on his mournefull hearse
Thy hatefull and accursed head shall lie,
To witnesse to the world that by thy meanes
His kingly body was too soone interrde.
Qu. Weepe not, sweete sonne.
King. Forbid not me to weepe, he was my father.
And had you lou'de him halfe so well as I,
You could not beare his death thus patiently.
But you, I feare, conspirde with *Mortimer*.
Lords. Why speake you not vnto my lord the king?
Mor. iu. Because I thinke scorne to be accusde.

2542 A] Oh *O*. 2545 I, I] Ay *O* D_3—*W F*—*V*.
2549 Ah me *D* D_1 *O* D_2 *R C W P*.
2553 How] Ho 2 D_3 D_4 *K*—*T M V*.
2554 frightened *O R*. 2559 too] so D_1 *S* D_2.
2561 me not *B E P*. 2566 think it *E V*; be so *S*.

Who is the man dare say I murderedd him ? M_3
King. Traitor, in me my louing father speakes,
And plainely saith, twas thou that murdredst him.
Mort. iu. But hath your grace no other proofe then this ?
King. Yes, if this be the hand of *Mortimer.*
[*Showing letter.*]
Mortim. iu. False *Gurney* hath betraide me and himselfe.
[*Aside to the queen.*]
Queen. I feard as much, murther cannot be hid.
[*Aside to Mortimer.*]
Mort. iu. Tis my hand ; what gather you by this ?
King. That thither thou didst send a murtherer.
Mort. iu. What murtherer ? bring foorth the man I sent.
King. A, *Mortimer,* thou knowest that he is slaine ;
And so shalt thou be too ;—why staies he heere ?
Bring him vnto a hurdle, drag him foorth,
Hang him, I say, and set his quarters vp,
But bring his head back presently to me.
Queen. For my sake, sweete sonne, pittie *Mortimer.*
Mort. iu. Madam, intreat not ; I will rather die
Then sue for life vnto a paltrie boye.
King. Hence with the traitor, with the murderer.
Mort. iu. Base fortune, now I see that in thy wheele
There is a point, to which when men aspire,
They tumble hedlong downe ; that point I touchte,
And seeing there was no place to mount vp higher,
Why should I greeue at my declining fall ?—
Farewell, faire Queene, weepe not for *Mortimer,*
That scornes the world, and as a traueller
Goes to discouer countries yet vnknowne.
King. What, suffer you the traitor to delay ?
[Mortimer *is taken out to execution.*]

2567 dares 2—D_4 *K B E V.*
2569 murdrest 2—D_1 D_2; murderest *O R;* murdered *S;* murderedst D_3 ; murder'dst D_4—*K B*—*V.*
2570 has *B E V.* 2574 It is D_3 D_4 *W*—*T M V.*
2577 A] Ay *D* D_1 *O* D_2 *R C W F P;* know'st *D*—*F T P M.*

Queen. As thou receiuedst thy life from me,
Spill not the bloud of gentle *Mortimer.* M4
King. This argues that you spilt my fathers bloud,
Els would you not intreate for *Mortimer.*
Queen. I spill his bloud? no.
King. I, madam, you, for so the rumor runnes.
Queen. That rumor is vntrue; for louing thee
Is this report raisde on poore *Isabell.*
King. I doe not thinke her so vnnaturall.
Lords. My lord, I feare me it will prooue too true.
King. Mother, you are suspected for his death,
And therefore we commit you to the Tower,
Till further triall may be made thereof.
If you be guiltie, though I be your sonne,
Thinke not to finde me slack or pitifull.
Qu. Nay, to my death, for too long haue I liued,
When as my sonne thinkes to abridge my daies.
King. Awaye with her, her wordes inforce these teares,
And I shall pitie her if she speake againe.
Queen. Shall I not moorne for my beloued lord?
And with the rest accompanie him to his graue?
Lords. Thus, madam, tis the kings will you shall hence.
Quee. He hath forgotten me; stay, I am his mother.
Lords. That bootes not; therefore, gentle madam, goe.
Queen. Then come, sweete death, and rid me of this greefe.
[*Exit with Attendants. Mortimer's head is brought in.*]
Lords. My lord, here is the head of *Mortimer.*
King. Goe fetche my fathers hearse, where it shall lie,
And bring my funerall robes; accursed head,
[*Exeunt Attendants.*]
Could I haue rulde thee then, as I do now, M5
Thou hadst not hatcht this monstrous treacherie!—
Heere comes the hearse; helpe me to moorne, my lords.

2595 receivedest D3—*V.* 2599 no *om.* 34.
2607 farther *D—R C W F—V;* may *om.* 34.
2615 his] the 34. 2617 forgot *F.*

[*Re-enter Attendants, with hearse, etc.*]

Sweete father, heere vnto thy murdered ghost
I offer vp this wicked traitors head.
And let these teares, distilling from mine eyes,
Be witnesse of my greefe and innocencie.

[*Exeunt.*]

FINIS.

Imprinted at London for *William*
Ihones, *and are to be solde at his*
shop, neere vnto Houlborne
Conduit. 1594.

2626 ghost] head *O.* 2627 head] ghost *O.*
2629 innocence *D—R K.*

LIST OF IMPORTANT DATES

Edward II born	1284
Betrothed to Isabella	1303
Gaveston first banished	1307
Death of Edward I, and accession of Edward II	1307
Gaveston returns and is made Earl of Cornwall	1307
Betrothal of Gaveston to Margaret of Gloucester.	1307
Imprisonment of Langton, Bishop of Coventry	1307
Marriage of Edward and Isabella of France	1308
Gaveston banished a second time, and made Regent of Ireland	1308
Gaveston returns	1309
Meeting of the Barons and establishment of a Regency	1310
Gaveston banished for the third time	1311
Gaveston returns secretly	1311
War breaks out between the Barons and Edward	1312
Gaveston is taken prisoner and put to death	1312
Prince Edward born	1312
Battle of Bannockburn	1314
The younger Despenser becomes favourite	*c.* 1319
Banishment of the Despensers	1321
Edward's campaign against the Barons	1321–2
Lancaster beheaded, and the Mortimers imprisoned	1322
Mortimer the younger escapes	1324
Kent goes to France	1325
Isabella goes to France, ostensibly as Edward's representative	1325
Prince Edward, to do homage for the Duchy of Aquitaine, goes to France	1325
Isabella and her supporters land in England	1326

The two Despensers and Baldock put to death, and Edward II taken	1326
Edward II deposed, and Prince Edward crowned Edward III	1327
Edward II murdered	1327
Kent put to death	1330
Mortimer hanged	1330

The extracts from Holinshed in the following notes are taken from the edition of 1586. The references to the works of Kyd, Peele, Lyly, Greene, and Shakespeare are to the following editions respectively: Boas, Bullen, Bond, Dyce, and The Globe. Passages from the other works of Marlowe are always cited according to Tucker Brooke's edition, unless otherwise stated. The various editors of *Edward II* are referred to in accordance with the list earlier given. No particular attempt has been made to point out how Marlowe differed from his sources. The point is touched upon in a few places, and a general discussion of it is contained in the Introduction, but inasmuch as full extracts are given from Holinshed and his other authorities, it did not seem necessary to take up the minuter details of the question.

NOTES

1. *My father is deceast.* Scene 1. A street in London, see l. 10 (Dyce). The early editions do not mark act and scene divisions, which are first made in ed. of 1826. Dyce returned to the practice of the quartos, giving, however, scene divisions and locations in his notes. Most later editors follow the 1826 edition in making divisions. All such divisions are merely conjectural when not recorded in early copies. It is not always easy to determine for plays of Marlowe's period just what the value of an act division was as regards the performance of the drama. There is little to indicate the use of the intermission as a means of regulating the progress of the action and the development of the plot, as at present (see the article cited Introduction, p. lxxix , n. 2). We cannot prove in the case of *Edward II* that Marlowe thought of his material as divisible into distinct blocks, each filling an act. Act divisions occur in *Tamburlaine, The Jew of Malta,* and *Dido,* but not in *Faustus* or *The Massacre at Paris.* In dividing *Edward II* modern editors are compelled to make acts of very unequal lengths ; thus iii. is less than half as long as i. and v., and iv. is but little more than half as long. Where we do find such divisions in Marlowe, however, the acts are more nearly uniform in length, there being only one act (*2 Tamb.,* ii.) that is very short as compared with other acts in the same play. Fischer seems to think, *Kunstentwicklung der Engl. Tragödie,* 145 ff., that because *Edward II* falls more or less naturally into five subdivisions, therefore Marlowe had divided it into acts coincident with these subdivisions. But the inference is not necessarily correct. Luick, for instance, objects to the divisions Fischer makes ' im Sinne Gustav Freytags,' and proposes others (*Festgabe für Heinzel,* 185).

Marlowe has omitted to dramatize the first banishment of Gaveston. " In the three and thirtith yeare of his reigne, king Edward put his sonne prince Edward in prison, bicause that he had riotouslie broken the parke of Walter Langton bishop of

Chester; and bicause the prince had doone this deed by the procurement of a lewd and wanton person, one Peers Gavaston, an esquire of Gascoine, the king banished him the realme, least the prince, who delighted much in his companie, might by his evill and wanton counsell fall to evill and naughtie rule." Holinshed, 313. See note, l. 82.

3. *Surfet with delight.* Of this unpleasant figure Marlowe appears to have been fond; compare the instances cited by Carpenter, *Metaphor and Simile in the Minor Eliz. Drama*, 1895, 45 (*Tamburlaine*, 2721; *Faustus*, 24–5, 106, 1367; *Massacre at Paris*, 959–60, 1166–7).

5. *The favorit of a king.* Tzschaschel, *Marlowe's Edward II und seine Quellen*, 1902, p. 34, criticizes Marlowe because he has not anywhere made clear to us why Edward should have so deep an affection for Gaveston. "The poet does not tell us," he says, "that Gaveston had been Edward's youthful associate, or that he had deserved the prince's lasting gratitude by rendering him any service." "So fehlt der Grundlage des Ganzen die rechte Natürlichkeit und Wahrscheinlichkeit." Certainly this is excessive blame. A dramatist is not bound to supply a logically formulated first cause to account for the passions of his characters, any more than our friends are bound to demonstrate to our satisfaction why they marry the women they do. The explanation demanded is to be looked for in Edward's own character (compare Introduction, p. cv–cvi). If we find there, as it seems to me we do, that Gaveston's position as favourite rests upon Edward's imperious craving for personal friendship, Marlowe does everything perhaps that we can ask by making us feel that element in the king's nature strongly. If, again, the favourite can give, as Gaveston does give, what the prince craves, it is idle to insist that we are not made to understand their relation. We understand why Hamlet's mother married Claudius, yet we are not given much information of the kind here asked for. Tzschaschel's criticism is probably ultimately derived from Ulrici, *Shakespeare's Dram. Art* (Bohn translation, II, 322), and is of a piece with that writer's other strictures upon *Edward II*.

8. *Leander.* The story of Hero and Leander is one of the most famous of Greek love-stories. Leander dwelt at Abydos on the Hellespont, opposite Sestos, where dwelt Hero, a priestess of Aphrodite. They became enamoured of each other, and

Leander swam the Hellespont nightly in the pursuit of ' Venus' nun,' as Marlowe calls Hero in his translation of a Greek poem long attributed to the old poet Musaeus, but now known to belong to a later time than his. In that translation Leander did not ' gasp upon the sand,' however.

" By this Leander being nere the land,
Cast downe his wearie feet, and felt the sand.
Breathlesse albeit he were, he rested not," etc.
Hero and Leander, Sest. ii., 227–9.

14. *Die.* It will be noticed that most modern editors have followed the reading ' lie,' introduced by Scott. Tancock suggests that ' die ' was possibly a " misprint caused by the *d* of ' dear ' in the line above," and thinks that Bullen's interpretation of ' die ' as equivalent to ' swoon ' makes poor sense. Bullen, however, is undoubtedly correct; the quartos are unanimous in their reading, and ' die ' is constantly used in Elizabethan literature in this signification. The word ' lifeless ' as applied to a person in a swoon has hardly yet gone out of use. Compare *Antony and Cleopatra*, I, ii. 144 ff.: " Cleopatra, catching but the least noise of this, dies instantly; I have seen her die twenty times upon far poorer moment." Gaveston means: upon whose bosom let me swoon with pleasure. The relation between Gaveston and the king is one of friendship; yet Marlowe constantly puts into the mouths of Gaveston and Edward the language of love (compare the ' amorous ' of l. 6, and the whole tone of ll. 400–37), thereby giving characteristic expression to the effeminate and yet passionate nature of the king. Taken thus, the line not merely yields excellent sense, but pays tribute to Marlowe's power of characterization.

16. *What neede.* Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, 1900, p. 157, remarks the frequent use of ' what ' as equivalent to ' why ' in questions to which the speaker expects a negative answer corresponding to his own attitude or sentiments. Especially frequent is its occurrence with the verb ' need,' as in ll. 247, 777.

Artick. This seems to be the regular form in the Marlowe quartos (cf. *Tamburlaine*, 2354). The latest example of this form given in N.E.D. is from 1678. Incidentally, Marlowe takes a less pleasing view of the Arctic regions in *Tamburlaine*, 17–19:

" the bounds
Of Europe, wher the Sun dares scarce appeare,
For freezing meteors and conieal'd colde."

18. *Base stooping.* 'Base' is used in its original sense of 'low' (Fr. *bas*), with, however, doubtless a glance at its secondary meaning of 'ignoble.' Compare *Richard II*, III, iii. 180–1:

> "In the base court? Base court, where kings grow base,
> To come at traitors' calls and do them grace."

20–1. *Sparkes, Rakt up in embers.* No figure is more common in Elizabethan literature than this, yet none, I suppose, has passed more completely out of use. In fact, the figure is not perfectly clear to readers of the present day unless they remember that our ancestors were not able to light fires as readily as we are, and their practice was to preserve the fire on the hearth from day to day by raking the ashes over the glowing coals at night.

22. *Tanti:—Ile fanne first on the winde.* Dyce and other editors think that "something has dropped out from this line," but it is not necessary to take this view, as there are a number of similar lines in the play (cf. 25, 49, 50, 208, 798, 867, 941, 950, 1218, 1270). Most of these can be read with four accents, though some of them scan with difficulty. See the note on 26 below. The frequency of lines of four feet in Greene's work is noted by Brereton, *Elizabethan Drama*, 1909, 23.

'Tanti' is an expression of contempt (gen. sing. of *tantum*), 'so much for that.' It was very common in the Elizabethan period, and N.E.D. gives one or two instances from the nineteenth century.

'Fan' is, according to N.E.D., a dialectical form of 'fawn,' though it is not given in the *Dialect Dictionary*. Elsewhere we have 'fawn,' ll. 439, 440. 'Fanne' may easily be a misprint for 'faune,' a quite possible Elizabethan spelling.

24. *But how now, what are these?* A very interesting parallel to the following passage is noted by Tancock from *Lear*, I, iv. 10 ff. Kent in disguise offers himself to Lear's service, and the latter asks him questions of a character much like those asked by Gaveston. Compare also Greene's *James IV*, I, ii., in which Ateukin hires Nano, Slipper, and Andrew. An element of humour only suggested in Gaveston's lines is present in the other scenes, and all are founded directly upon the everyday life of Elizabethan London.

26–30. *What canst thou doe . . . do well.* This passage is typical of Marlowe's frequent practice of introducing in rapid

dialogue one or more short lines that cannot be considered as parts of a regular pentameter and that often can be scanned with great difficulty, if at all. These often take the character of exclamations; sometimes they are replies to servants, and the like. They serve to lend vividness to a passage, though they tend to destroy its rhythmical quality. Compare ll. 201, 219, 282–3, 435, 438, etc. See notes on 22, 167, and on all these exceptional scansions. Compare Schipper, *De Versu Marlovii*, 1867, 18–21; Mayor, *Chapters on English Metre*, 2nd ed., 1901, 162–7.

31. *At my trencher.* Fleay thinks that these words are an interpolation, on the ground that they spoil the metre. Schipper, *u.s.*, however, has pointed out in *Tamburlaine* the existence of lines with six accents. If we could transpose 'to wait' to the end of l. 30, both lines would be given five accents.

35. *Hospitals.* These were homes for disabled soldiers.

40. *Porpintine*, i.e. porcupine. The word appears in various forms in earlier literature, such as 'porkpin,' 'porpin,' 'purpintine,' 'porkenpick,' etc.; the superstition here referred to, which Marlowe doubtless shared, is well known.

50. *These are not men for me.* The following lines are an expansion of hints afforded by Holinshed (see under l. 154), but the expansion is itself characteristic of an important aspect of Marlowe's poetic genius. "It is by right of this quality [his 'overpowering sense of beauty'] that Marlowe claims to be the hierophant in England of that Pagan cult of beauty which characterized the Italian Renaissance. We find it in Tamburlaine's passion for Xenocrate, in the visions of Faustus and his familiars, in the description of Helen, in the jewels of Barabas, in the sports described by Gaveston in Edward II. But it is in Hero and Leander," etc. Wagner, preface to *Edward II*, 1871, xii–xiii.

51. *Wanton Poets.* These are such as would supply the 'lascivious metres' of *Richard II*, II, i. 19.

55. *Italian maskes.* In the sixteenth century the masque was thought to have had its origin in Italy, but as a matter of fact, though subject in a degree to Italian influence, it was really native in origin (Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, 1902). Nevertheless, though germs of the masque in the forms of so-called 'disguisings' are to be found in the fourteenth

century, the following lines of Marlowe apply, as editors have noted, to the conditions of his own day, rather than to those of the time of Edward II, when England's relations with Italy were in the main ecclesiastical purely. Festivities such as these projected by Gaveston were exceedingly common after the accession of Elizabeth, who had a great fondness for them, and are to be found described in *Laneham's Letter*, edited by Furnivall in his *Captain Cox*, 1871, and in Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle*.

Faligan, *De Marlovianis Fabulis*, 1887, 190, rather fancifully suggests that Elizabeth may have taken offence because Marlowe, in developing Gaveston's plans for seducing the king from the path of duty, should have enumerated "ludos et spectacula quae tunc in aula vigebant."

59. *Grazing*, i.e. straying over, derived from the meaning 'tending cattle while grazing.'

60. *Antick hay*, that is, a grotesque country dance. 'Antic,' a variant of 'antique,' passed through the meaning 'old' to that of 'old-fashioned,' hence 'quaint, grotesque.'

61. *Boye in Dians shape.* There were no actresses in England at this time, and women's parts were taken by boys and youths trained for the purpose. In 1629 a troop of French actors and actresses came over, but were very ill received, so strong was the prejudice against the appearance of women on the stage. Even after the Restoration the practice of having women's parts taken by women was established in the face of great opposition.

'Shape' means costume, and was a common word in this sense down to the nineteenth century.

63. *Crownets.* 'Crownet' is a contracted form of 'coronet,' as 'crown' is of 'corona' and 'crowner' of 'coroner.' Here the word is equivalent to 'bracelet,' as in the anonymous *Lust's Dominion* (a play that has been attributed to Marlowe, and that contains many imitations of him), I, i.:

> "And with coronets of pearl
> And bells of gold, circling their pretty arms," etc.

Crawford, *Collectanea*, I, 2–3, 7, notes that the whole of l. 63, except for the change of 'his' to 'thy,' is repeated in Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepherd*. See Arber's reprint, p. 8.

64. *Olive tree*, that is, olive-branch. I have not found any parallels to this use of 'tree.' 'Tree' is often used, dialectically

and otherwise, in the sense of ' cross,' ' beam,' ' wood ' (i.e. the material), but not apparently in the sense of ' branch.' N.E.D. gives only the usual meaning for the compound ' olive-tree.'

67. *Actæon*, having by chance espied Diana bathing in a spring, was by the angry goddess transformed to the likeness of a deer, and was thereupon pursued and slain by his own hounds. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iii. 155 ff.

70. *And seeme.* The construction may perhaps best be understood by supplying ' shall ' (from l. 68) before ' seeme.'

71–2. *His maiestie, My lord.* The punctuation adopted in the text is that of Tucker Brooke, and is undoubtedly correct unless we are to follow McLaughlin's suggestion that ll. 72–3 are " probably a prose addition to the speech, added for dramatic purposes by another hand." Certainly these lines cannot easily be scanned.

Comes. There are hundreds of cases in Elizabethan writers in which a verb in -s or -th is found with a plural subject (e.g. either a plural noun, or a series of nouns, or a relative pronoun with a plural antecedent). The usage has been explained on the basis of the influence of the Northern dialect, in which there were *-s* and *-th* plurals (e.g. Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, 404). It has also been explained as due to the great predominance in daily usage of the third person singular present indicative (Smith, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, 1896, 363; but see Bang, *Englische Studien*, xxviii. 455). There is no doubt that in special cases (e.g. when as in this instance the verb precedes, or when the subject, plural in form, is singular in meaning) the verb may easily be understood as singular. In general, the problem may be stated as follows: (a) Are verbs in *-s* and *-th* with plural subjects to be classified as singulars or plurals? (b) If singulars, what considerations governed their use? (c) If plurals, how did Elizabethan English come to possess plurals in *-s* and *-th?*

Marlowe uses these forms frequently. In the present play, see ll. 336, 427, 653–4, 971, 1130, 1724, 1745, 1812, 1971, 2022, 2031, 2265–6, 2268. Compare Schau, *Sprache und Grammatik der Dramen Marlowes*, 1901, 72–4.

73. *st. dir. Mortimer senior, Mortimer junior, Edmund Earle of Kent.* None of these three was concerned in the struggle against Gaveston. Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, Edward's

half-brother, was not born until 1301, and was hence at this time only about six years of age. The Mortimers were powerful barons on the Welsh border, but Holinshed's narrative takes no account of them until some years after Gaveston's death. For obvious dramatic reasons Marlowe has introduced them into this part of the play and has concentrated attention upon the younger Mortimer, making him practically the leader of Gaveston's opponents.

82. *Mine unckle heere, this Earle, & I my selfe.*

" This erle of Lincolne was buried in the new worke at Paules [1310]. Lieng on his death bed, he requested (as was reported) Thomas earle of Lancaster, who had married his daughter, that in any wise he should stand with the other lords in defense of the commonwelth, and to mainteine his quarell against the earle of Cornewall, which request earle Thomas faithfullie accomplished : for by the pursute of him, and of the earle of Warwike cheefelie, the said earle of Cornewall was at length taken and beheaded (as after shall appeare). Some write that king Edward the first upon his death-bed, charged the earles of Lincolne, Warwike, and Penbroke, to foresee that the foresaid Peers returned not againe into England, least by his evill example he might induce his sonne the prince to lewdnesse, as before he had alreadie doone." (Holinshed, 320.)

83. *Sworne.* This is to be scanned ' swor(e)n.' Compare ' earl,' 156, ' Mowberie ' (Mowbray), 111, ' mushrump,' 578, ' gentrie,' 1039, ' deeply,' 1846, etc. Other cases in which a single syllable is expanded into two for metrical purposes are illustrated by ' affections,' 445, ' poniard,' 560, ' minions,' 684. In these and all similar instances Marlowe was merely employing licences practised by all Elizabethan poets.

90. *Mort. dieu.* Foreign oaths and ejaculations were common in the mouths of Elizabethan dramatis personæ ; see l. 612. So ' corpo di deo,' *Jew of Malta*, 323 ; ' cazzo, diabolo,' *ibid.*, 1528 ; ' Mor du,' i.e. ' Mort dieu,' *Massacre at Paris*, 694 ; ' Rivo,' 1 *Henry IV*, II, iv. 124 (compare ' Rivo Castiliano,' *Jew of Malta*, 1930).

91. *Well, Mortimer, ile make thee rue these words.* Keller, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxv. 22, compares with this line several similar expressions in the old *Richard II*, as when the angry

Richard, speaking of his nobles, says : " We'le make them weepe these wrongs in bloody teares."

93. *Aspiring Lancaster.* Tancock compares 3 *Henry VI*, V, vi. 61 :

> " What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster
> Sink in the ground ? I thought it would have mounted."

102. *Foure Earldomes.* See note under 1534.

108. *To the proofe*, i.e. to the point, effectively. There is no historical basis for the following lines, unless we are to think, with Tancock, that they are " an echo of the real quarrel between Hereford and Mowbray in the reign of Richard II." If an echo, they are a very distant one ; Richard had no love for Hereford, and there was no reconciliation.

118. *Preach.* In the third edition of Dodsley it was suggested to substitute ' perch.' Compare l. 1308 and Fleay's interpretation of l. 1315.

122. *I cannot, nor I will not.* For the double negative, see l. 222 ; it was good English in Marlowe's day. With the outbreak of Mortimer, compare that of Hotspur, 1 *Henry IV*, I, iii. 130 ff. :

> " Speak of Mortimer !
> 'Zounds, I will speak of him," etc.

It is indeed no rash assumption that Marlowe's Mortimer furnished the model for Shakespeare's Hotspur. The latter, no doubt, is the nobler figure and the better drawn, but the two conceptions are at bottom practically identical. Beyond the name Hotspur and the remark that he was a lord of a high spirit, Holinshed supplied little for the figure of Henry Percy. Shakespeare was doubtless equal to the creation of a character like Hotspur out of slighter hints than these ; but when we find that character anticipated in its main outlines in the work of a dramatist whose influence upon Shakespeare everyone admits to have been very great indeed, we are justified in thinking that it may not have been an entirely independent creation.

123. *Cosin.* The word ' cousin ' in Elizabethan English denoted no precise degree of relationship ; Mortimer was distantly related to Edward through his mother, who was " a kinswoman of Eleanor of Castile " (D.N.B.).

128. *Love.* Dyce's conjecture, ' leave ' for ' love,' is quite unnecessary, as Warwick's speech is to be taken ironically.

The same thing is to be said of his conjecture 'Lancaster' for 'Gaveston,' in the next line.

134–6. *I cannot brooke . . . field.* With this passage Keller, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxv. 23, compares the words of Richard in the old *Richard II*: "I cannot brooke these braues, let dromes sound death."

144. *Hilas.* When Hercules went with Jason and the other Greek heroes in search of the Golden Fleece, he was accompanied by a beloved youth named Hylas. The Argonauts touched at Mysia, whereupon Hylas went on shore to draw water and was carried off by the nymphs, who fell in love with his beauty. Hercules mourned his loss with loud outcries.

145. *Exile.* The noun 'exile' was often accented on the second syllable. See ll. 179, 192. So with the verb 'envy.' See l. 163.

150. *High minded*, i.e. proud-minded. So 'high-minded strumpet,' 1 *Henry VI*, I, v. 12, as noted by Verity, *Influence of Marlowe upon Shakespeare*, Harness Prize Essay, 1886, 106.

151. *I have my wish*, etc. Crawford, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxix. 80, compares *Arden of Feversham*, V, i. 342 (ed. Bayne, 1897): "I have my wish in that I joy thy sight." Crawford remarks that "there are at least thirty passages of *Arden of Feversham* which were directly inspired by Marlowe's *Edward II*," but he gives only four (which will be found below in their appropriate places). On p. 81 he says that while *Soliman and Perseda* "plainly imitates *Edward II*," "*Arden of Feversham* does so only in a faint manner." This difference of manner he takes on p. 82 as showing that *Arden* is later than *Soliman and Perseda*, while both are later than 1590, "before which time *Edward II* cannot be said to have existed."

154. *Lord high Chamberlaine.* "But now concerning the demeanour of this new king, whose disordered maners brought himselfe and manie others unto destruction; we find that in the beginning of his governement, though he was of nature given to lightnesse, yet being restreined with the prudent advertisements of certeine of his councellors, to the end he might shew some likelihood of good proofe, he counterfeited a kind of gravitie, vertue and modestie; but yet he could not throughlie be so bridled, but that foorthwith he began to plaie divers wanton

and light parts, at the first indeed not outragiouslie, but by little and little, and that covertlie. For having revoked againe into England his old mate the said Peers de Gaveston, he received him into most high favour, creating him earle of Cornewall, and lord of Man, his principall secretarie, and lord chamberlaine of the realme, through whose companie and societie he was suddenlie so corrupted, that he burst out into most heinous vices; for then using the said Peers as a procurer of his disordered dooings, he began to have his nobles in no regard, to set nothing by their instructions, and to take small heed unto the good governement of the commonwealth, so that within a while, he gave himselfe to wantonnes, passing his time in voluptuous pleasure, and riotous excesse: and to helpe them forward in that kind of life, the foresaid Peers, who (as it may be thought, he had sworne to make the king to forget himselfe, and the state, to the which he was called) furnished his court with companies of jesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musicians, and other vile and naughtie ribalds, that the king might spend both daies and nights in jesting, plaieng, banketing, and in such other filthie and dishonorable exercises: and moreover, desirous to advance those that were like to himselfe, he procured for them honorable offices, all which notable preferments and dignities, sith they were ill bestowed, were rather to be accounted dishonorable than otherwise, both to the giver and the receiver." Holinshed, 318.

156. *King and lord of Man.* The Isle of Man lies between England and Ireland; though from the thirteenth century dependent either upon England or Scotland, its rulers were called kings and possessed certain royal rights not totally extinguished until 1829.

162. *Therefore, to equall it, receive my hart.* Compare *Soliman and Perseda*, Kyd, I, ii. 38–40:

> " Let in my hart to keepe thine company.
> *Erast.* And, sweet Perseda, accept this ring
> To equall it: receive my hart to boote."

163–4. *If for these . . . more.* So Richard, in the anonymous *Richard II*, heaps dignities upon his favourites in opposition to the protests of the nobles. See Keller in the article cited, p. 23.

166. *Fearst*, i.e. fearest for, as in *Richard III*, I, i. 137: " And his physicians fear him mightily."

167. *Wants thou.* Compare ll. 322, 444, 2503. The sec. sing. pr. ind. ending *-est* often appears as *-s* in Elizabethan English when the verb ends in *-t* or when the following word begins with *-th*; sometimes it is apparently due to the influence of Northern dialectical forms. See Liese, *Flexion des Verbums bei Spenser*, 1891, 8; Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, 1900, 1.

L. 167 is one of a number of nine-syllable lines in the play (compare 269, 289, 314, 315, 940, 1020, 1026, 1177, 1204, 1401, 1779, 1918, 1930, 2379, 2408, 2453, 2566, 2574, 2595). Mayor, *Chapters on English Metre*, 162, notes the existence of this type in Marlowe. Editors have frequently altered unnecessarily (see the variants on these lines). Compare the note on 26 above.

171. *It shall suffice me*, etc. Thus Greene, in the old *Richard II*, after Richard has said that he will defend his favourites against the nobles, says (see Keller, *u.s.*, p. 23):

> " Thankes, deerest lord; lett me haue Richards loue,
> And like a rocke unmoud my state shall stand."

173–4. *As Cæsar . . . triumphant Carre.* Compare Peele's *Edward I*, scene i. 91 f.:

> " Not Cæsar, leading through the streets of Rome
> The captive kings of conquered nations,
> Was in his princely triumphs honoured more," etc.

This parallel is also noticed by Tzschaschel, *Marlowe's Edward II*, 46.

177. *But is that wicked Gaveston returnd?* " Within three daies after [Edward First's body had been conveyed to the abbey of Waltham], when the lord treasurer Walter de Langton bishop of Coventrie and Lichfield (thorough whose complaint Peers de Gaveston had beene banished the land) was going towards Westminster, to make preparation for the same buriall, he was upon commandement from the new king arrested, committed to prison, and after delivered to the hands of the said Peers, being then returned againe into the realme, who sent him from castell to castell as a prisoner. His lands and tenements were seized to the kings use, but his mooveables were given to the foresaid Peers." (Holinshed, 318.)

186. *Saving your reverence:* an expression of excuse, often contracted into 'sir-reverence.' See *Merchant of Venice*, II, ii. 27: " To run away from the Jew, I should be ruled by the fiend, who, saving your reverence, is the devil himself."

188. *Channell*, i.e. kennel, gutter. Compare l. 2255.

198. *The fleete.* The Fleet Prison, established in the eleventh century, was not reserved for debtors exclusively until about the middle of the seventeenth.

200. *Conveie.* 'Convey' has here a double sense, that intended by Edward, and that recognized by the Bishop in the following line. 'To convey' was good Elizabethan slang for 'to steal.' "'Convey' the wise it call," says Pistol, "'Steal!' foh! a fico for the phrase." (*Merry Wives*, I, iii. 32–3.)

205. *Againe*, that is, back, the original meaning of the word.

208. *Tis true.* Scene 2. London, near the king's palace (Tancock). See note on l. 254.

This scene, extending to l. 289, and the scene beginning at l. 295, are based upon the following paragraphs of Holinshed, 319–20, which it seemed best to print together instead of in different places: "The malice which the lords had conceived against the earle of Cornewall still increased, the more indeed through the high bearing of him, being now advanced to honour. For being a goodlie gentleman and a stout, he would not once yeeld an inch to any of them, which worthilie procured him great envie amongst the cheefest peeres of all the realme, as sir Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne, sir Guie earle of Warwike, and sir Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, the earles of Glocester, Hereford, Arundell, and others, which upon such wrath and displeasure as they had conceived against him, thought it not convenient to suffer the same any longer, in hope that the kings mind might happilie be altered into a better purpose, being not altogither converted into a venemous disposition, but so that it might be cured, if the corrupter thereof were once banished from him.

"Hereupon they assembled togither in the parlement time [1308], at the new temple, on saturdaie next before the feast of saint Dunstan, and there ordeined that the said Peers should abjure the realme, and depart the same on the morrow after the Nativitie of saint John Baptist at the furthest, and not to returne into the same againe at any time then after to come. To this ordinance the king (although against his will) bicause he saw himselfe and the realme in danger, gave his consent, and made his letters patents to the said earles and lords, to witnesse the same.

"The tenour of the kings letters patents.

Notum vobis facimus per praesentes, quod amodo usque ad

diem dominus Petrus de Gaveston regnum nostrum est abiuraturus & exiturus, videlicet in crastino nativitatis S. Iohannis Baptistae proximo sequenti: nos in quantum nobis est nihil faciemus, nec aliquid fieri permittemus, per quod exilium dicti domini Petri in aliquo poterit impediri, vel protelari, quin secundum formam a praelatis, comitibus, & baronibus regni nostri, ordinatam, & per nos libero consensu confirmatam, plenarie perficiatur. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum apud Westm. 18 die Maij. Anno regni nostri primo.

"These letters were read, heard, and allowed in the presence of all the Noble men of this land, the day and yeare abovesaid. The archbishop of Canturburie, being latelie returned from Rome, where he had remained in exile in the late deceassed kings daies for a certeine time, did pronounce the said Peers accursed, if he taried within the realme longer than the appointed time, and likewise all those that should aid, helpe, or mainteine him, as also if he should at any time hereafter returne againe into the land. To conclude, this matter was so followed, that at length he was constreined to withdraw himselfe to Bristow, and so by sea as a banished man to saile into Ireland.

"The king being sore offended herewith, as he that favoured the earle more than that he could be without his companie, threatned the lords to be revenged for this displeasure, and ceassed not to send into Ireland unto Peers, comforting him both with freendlie messages, and rich presents, and as it were to shew that he meant to reteine him still in his favour, he made him ruler of Ireland as his deputie there. A wonderfull matter that the king should be so inchanted with the said earle, and so addict himselfe, or rather fix his hart upon a man of such a corrupt humor, against whome the heads of the noblest houses in the land were bent to devise his overthrow. . . .

"The lords perceiving the kings affection, and that the treasure was spent as lavishlie as before, thought with themselves that it might be that the king would both amend his passed trade of life, and that Peers being restored home, would rather advise him thereto, than follow his old maners, considering that it might be well perceived, that if he continued in the incouraging of the king to lewdnesse, as in times past he had doone, he could not thinke but that the lords would be readie to correct him, as by proofe he had now tried their meanings to be no lesse. Hereupon to reteine amitie, as was thought on both

sides, Peers by consent of the lords was restored home againe (the king meeting him at Chester) to his great comfort and rejoising for the time, although the malice of the lords was such, that such joy lasted not long."

213. *Timeles*, that is, untimely, the meaning it usually bears in Marlowe and Shakespeare (compare *Tamburlaine*, 4645; *Massacre*, 46; *Richard II*, IV, i. 5; and see Schmidt's *Lexicon*). Ward, commenting on Marlowe's fondness for the suffix *less* in his edition of *Faustus and Friar Bacon*, p. 200, interprets the passage cited above from *Tamburlaine* somewhat differently, taking 'timeless' as 'of which time cannot destroy the memory.' *Century Dictionary* cites the present line from *Edward II* under 'timeless' as meaning 'unmarked by time; eternal.' A number of Marlowe's adjectives in *less* are collected by Vogt, *Das Adjektiv bei Marlowe*, 14, 18–19, 46.

214. *Peevish*, that is, 'trifling, silly,' as in 1 *Henry VI*, V, iii. 186:

> "I will not so presume
> To send such peevish tokens to a king."

232. *Take exceptions at.* The modern idiom is 'take exception to,' and it has not so strong a meaning as Mortimer senior gives it. Compare l. 764, where it has the modern sense, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I, iii. 81: "Lest he should take exceptions to my love."

233. *Stomack*, i.e. be angry at. See l. 1056.

234. *Bewraies*, i.e. reveals, exposes. Compare l. 241.

236. *Weele.* We should expect 'we'd,' i.e. 'we would.' This use of the indicative after a contrary to fact conditional clause is, however, not uncommon. See l. 325. So in *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, I, 61–4:

> "If I were younge who now am waxen oulde, . . .
> Ile be a scholler, though I live but poore."

Greene and Lodge, *Looking-glass for London*, ll. 487–8:

> "For were a goddesse fairer then am I,
> Ile scale the heavens to pull her from the place."

(Dyce, in his note, p. 123 of his edition of Greene, compares *Coriolanus*, I, ix. 2, in which passage some editors have changed 'Thou't' to 'Thou'ldst.' Nevertheless, Dyce changes to 'we'd'

in the present line.) A somewhat similar incongruity in *Edward I*, scene xvii. 26–7 :

" but for his head, I vowed
I will present our governor with the same,"

and in the present play, ll. 555–6.

249. *His peeres.* The antecedent of ' his ' is the king, and ' peers ' is used in the special sense in which a ' peer of the realm ' is " a holder of the title of one of the five degrees of nobility—duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron."

252. *st. dir. Enter the Queene.* Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair of France and born in 1292, had married Edward in January, 1308, so that at this time she was probably not quite sixteen. Her love-affair with Mortimer was of a much later date. See below, under 448, 1539.

254. *Unto the forrest.* Dyce takes the Queen's words literally, and is thereby confused as to the location of the scene, which he is inclined to place at Windsor. She is, of course, as Bullen has observed, speaking figuratively. With this scene it is interesting to compare Greene's *James IV*, II, ii. There are a number of parallels : Isabella—Dorothea ; Archbishop of Canterbury—Bishop of Saint Andrews ; the two Mortimers, Warwick, and Lancaster—Douglas, Morton, and others. Moreover, Isabella takes the king's side unsuccessfully, as does Dorothea. It may be remarked in general that neither Edward nor James has any love for his consort ; that in both plays the nobles remonstrate unsuccessfully with the king because he is governed by flatterers ; and that in both plays the misgovernment of the king and his favourites are painted in similar colours. For example, with ll. 224 ff., 695 ff., of *Edward II*, compare the following lines from *James IV* :

" Madam, he sets us light that serv'd in court,
In place of credit, in his father's days :
If we but enter presence of his grace,
Our payment is a frown, a scoff, a frump ;
Whilst flattering Gnatho pranks it by his side,
Soothing the careless king in his misdeeds," etc.

In the Introduction, pp. cvii.–cviii. I have pointed out resemblances in the characters of Isabella and Dorothea.

These points are not sufficient to show indebtedness on either side, perhaps, but they have some interest in view of the fact that Greene's source did not represent the king as being misled

by flatterers, had nothing to say about misgovernment, and there was no quarrel between him and his nobles; consequently there was no ground for the advocacy of his cause on the part of the queen. Nor could Greene have derived many suggestions of this kind from the history of James IV's reign, since James was and was reputed to be an excellent legislator and a successful administrator; it is true that his nobles at times quarrelled with him. These points are pure additions to the original story as related by Cinthio (see Introduction, p. lxxviii.), and are not at all necessary to the conduct of the plot. Hence one is justified in wondering whether Marlowe's influence is to be seen here. The relative dates of the two plays are not definitely known, but Marlowe would hardly have taken any suggestions from Greene, since everything of the kind in *Edward II* is accounted for well enough by the hints and remarks in Holinshed. If there was borrowing, it was doubtless on the part of Greene, and *James IV* would then be the later of the two dramas.

266–7. *For we have power . . . full.* Keller, *u.s.*, 24, compares the speech of Lancaster in the old *Richard II*, when he threatens, speaking of the king's favourites: "Ile be reuengd at full on all ther liues."

268. *But yet*, etc. In assigning this speech to the queen, Ellis and Verity follow the suggestion of Elze, *Notes on Eliz. Dramatists*, 1880, p. 112. Compare notes on ll. 294, 587.

268–9. *Lift . . . lift.* Nelle, *Das Wortspiel im Englischen Drama vor Shakspere*, 1900, 40, calls attention to the play upon words here.

271. *Then let him stay.* Holinshed tells us nothing with regard to what part the queen had in the matter of Gaveston, but in connection with the year 1321 he tells us, p. 327, that "the queene had ever sought to procure peace, love and concord betwixt the king and his lords." Later, under 1322, p. 332, he says that "the queene for that she gave good and faithfull counsell, was nothing regarded, but by the Spensers meanes cleerelie worne out of the kings favour." Thus in depicting the character of Isabel (see Introduction, p. cviii.) Marlowe follows Holinshed much as the authors of the first part of *Henry VI* followed the same authority in depicting the character of Joan of Arc. It is well known that the inconsistent characterization of Joan in that play is the result of obedience to Holinshed.

In the case of Isabella, however, we are justified in saying that Marlowe saw the difficulty and endeavoured to overcome it, though not with perfect success. See note on 1559.

271. *Then let him stay*, etc. Keller, *u.s.*, 23–4, points out that Queen Anne, in the anonymous *Richard II*, undertakes the same rôle of peacemaker between the king and his indignant nobles, and that the dramatist did not find this bit of material in his sources.

282. *The new temple.* Tancock quotes from Maitland's *History of London*, ii. 967–8: "The Temple or New Temple is so called because the Templers before building of this House had their Temple in Oldbourne. This House was founded by the Knights Templars in England in the reign of Henry II . . . dedicated in 1185. . . . Many noblemen became brethren . . . and built themselves Temples in every city. . . . In England this was the chief house, which they built after the Form of the Temple near to the Sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem. . . . This Temple in London was often made a storehouse of men's treasure, such as feared the spoil thereof in other places. . . . Many Parliaments and great Councils have been there kept. Edward II in 1313 gave to Aimer de la Valence the New Temple. After Aymer de la Valence [*d.* 1324] some say that Hugh Spenser the younger usurping the same held it during his life."

289. *I, if words will serve; if not, I must.* Compare 2 *Henry VI*, V, i. 139–40:

> "*Edw.* Ay, noble father, if our words will serve.
> *Rich.* And if words will not, then our weapons shall."

290. *Edmund.* Scene 3. A street perhaps (Dyce). The presence of this meaningless scene has been very severely criticized by writers on Marlowe, and of course in a modern play it would be a very gross violation of dramatic technique. From a strictly historical point of view, however, it does not deserve all of the condemnation it has received, and it shows simply that *Edward II* had not emerged entirely out of the story-telling stage (see Introduction, pp. lii.–lvii.). Speaking of the early chronicle history, Thorndike says, *Tragedy*, 85: "A play was really a continuous performance, the actors coming and going, a battle intervening, and now and then a withdrawal of all the actors and the appearance of a new group presaging a marked change of place or the beginning of an entirely different action."

This is not of course an accurate description of *Edward II*, but it is of the kind of play which *Edward II* is the outgrowth.

294. *There let them remaine.* Ellis and Verity again follow Elze. See note on 268.

295. *Here is the forme.* Scene 4. The New Temple (Dyce). Yet it seems unlikely that all of the action contained in this scene is supposed to go on at the New Temple. See notes on ll. 400, 481, 717.

302. *Are you mov'd that Gaveston sits heere?* Keller, *u.s.*, observes that in the old *Richard II* the nobles are likewise indignant that the king places his favourites beside him on the day of the coronation.

307. *Quam male conveniunt*, i.e. how ill they suit. "Was the poet thinking of Ovid,—'Non bene *conveniunt*,' etc., *Met.* II, 846?" (Dyce). McLaughlin thinks there is no reference to Ovid, but that the phrase is merely one of the Latin pedantries of the time. When the full passage from Ovid, however, is quoted, it is seen to have a particular application to the situation:

> "Non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur
> Maiestas et amor."

Marlowe introduced many Latin tags into his plays. *Tamburlaine*, no doubt, is free from them, but compare *Faustus*, 35, 44, 56, 461, 474, etc., *Jew of Malta*, 228. In *Dido* he makes two quotations from the *Æneid*, one (1548) of five lines, the other (1720) of three. In *Jew of Malta* are two Spanish lines (678, 705). Herein Marlowe did as other dramatists of his day. Peele's *Edward I* contains many Latin scraps, as does the *Troublesome Raigne of King John*. *Locrine*, II, v. 87, has a Latin passage of six lines. Greene's *Orlando Furioso* has an Italian passage of eight lines, a Latin one of ten; *Friar Bacon* has a Latin passage of three lines. The *Spanish Tragedy*, besides a number of two and three line Latin passages, contains one of fourteen lines, and an Italian of two lines. See in general, Dorrinck, *Die Lat. Zitate in den Dramen der wichtigsten Vorgänger Shakespeares*, 1907. Long passages are of course exceptional, but phrases and tags are everywhere to be found, and the practice of introducing them can be easily traced back into the earlier drama, e.g. *Everyman*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, I, pp. 141, 142; *Hickscorner*, *ibid.*, 183; so in the miracle plays.

In the drama after Marlowe the long passages practically disappear, and the short ones become much less numerous, though they may occur at any time. Such a scene as V, i. of Jonson's *Silent Woman*, containing the learned dispute of Cutbeard and his coadjutor, is the exception, and has of course its special explanation. The inferences drawn from it by Schnapparelle, *Die Bürgerlichen Stände*, etc., *vornehmlich nach den Dramen Ben Jonsons*, 1908, 14, seem hardly sound, and one can hardly believe that the ability to understand spoken Latin, whatever the case with Latin that was read, was as widely diffused as he thinks.

310. *Phaeton.* Phaeton was ' Clymene's brainsick son ' (*Tamburlaine*, 1493, 4624). " That almost brent the axletree of heaven," when his father Helios allowed him to guide the chariot of the sun (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 35 ff.).

313. *Overpeerd.* Mortimer is punning on the words ' to peer,' i.e. ' to look,' and ' peer,' i.e. of the realm.

321. *Were I a king.* So Greene, the favourite of Richard in the anonymous *Richard II*, after abusing the nobles much in the manner of Gaveston, goes on : " Were I as you, my lord——" See Keller, *u.s.*, 24.

322. *Villaine*, i.e. ' villein,' a peasant bound to the soil.

326. *Disparage*, " degrade from our proper position. The Latin words *disparagare*, *disparagatio*, from *dispar*, ' unequal,' were technical terms of feudal times, expressing difference of social position." (Tancock.)

331. *Warwicke and Lancaster, weare you my crowne.* So in *The Massacre at Paris*, 866 ff. :

> " *King. Guise*, weare our crowne, and be thou King of France,
> And as Dictator make or warre or peace,
> Whilste I cry *placet* like a Senator."

343. *Fleete*, i.e. float, drift, as in *Tamburlaine*, 1254 : " Legions of Spirits fleeting in the aire " ; and 2365 : " Shall meet those Christians fleeting with the tyde." Compare l. 1940 below, where the word is used of the quick and easy passage of the soul from the body.

344. *And wander to the unfrequented Inde.* Schoeneich, *Der Lit. Einfluss Spensers auf Marlowe*, 99, thinks that this line was

suggested by *Faerie Queene*, I, vi. 2: "She wandred had from one to other Ynd."

351. *Curse me, depose me, doe the worst you can.* This hysterical defiance followed by a sudden giving way is characteristic of Edward. Compare 2039 ff.

370–1. *Why should . . . the world.* There may be some recollection of *Spanish Tragedy*, II, 6, 6:

> "On whom I doted more then all the world,
> Because she lov'd me more then all the world."

Verity compares *Titus Andronicus*, II, i. 71–2:

> "I care not, I, knew she and all the world: –
> I love Lavinia more then all the world."

382. *And now, accursed hand, fall off.* Tancock says: "Compare the story of Cranmer burning the hand that had offended in signing his recantation. Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, iv. 3, p. 221:

> 'And crying, in his deep voice, more than once,
> "This hath offended—this unworthy hand!"
> So held it till all it was burned.'"

386. *Sort*, i.e. class or group, as in l. 967.

390 ff. *Why should a king be subject to a priest.* Compare *Massacre at Paris*, 1207 ff.:

> "Agent for England, send thy mistres word,
> What this detested Iacobin hath done.
> Tell her for all this that I hope to live,
> Which if I doe, the Papall Monarck goes
> To wrack and antechristian kingdome falles.
> These bloudy hands shall teare his triple Crowne,
> And fire accursed Rome about his eares.
> Ile fire his crased buildings and inforse
> The papall towers to kisse the holy earth."

The last two lines are almost identical with 394–5.

Of course, as Tancock notes, the passage is anachronistic in the mouth of Edward II, and belongs rather to Marlowe's own times (cf. notes on ll. 55 and 964). Many similar outbursts against the Pope and the Roman church are to be found in the chronicle history at this special period. In other forms of the drama and at other times they are less frequent, though still not rare. Occasionally there might be a play, like Barnes' *Devils Charter*, 1607, of which the chief theme would be the crimes of the Popes.

391. *Hatchest.* This is a favourite word of Marlowe, used several times in this play and elsewhere.

400. *My lord*, etc. Dyce suggests a change of scene at this point, and certainly the words 'whispered everywhere' seem to indicate a lapse of time not otherwise to be accounted for from our present point of view. But see note on 717 below.

409 ff. *Ile come to thee; my love shall neare decline.* This parting between Edward and Gaveston reminds one strongly of that between Queen Margaret and Suffolk, in 2 *Henry VI*, III, ii. 329 ff., perhaps even more strongly of that between Richard and his queen, *Richard II*, V, i. 81 ff.

417. *And onely this torments my wretched soule.* Compare *Spanish Tragedie*, III, i. 43: "But this, O this, tormentes my labouring soule."

427. *Kinde wordes and mutuall talke makes our greefe greater.* Compare *Richard II*, V, i. 101–2:

> "We make woe wanton with this fond delay:
> Once more, adieu; the rest let sorrow say."

436. *Passe not for*, that is, care not for. See l. 2030.

437. *st. dir. Enter Edmund.* As Dyce remarks, the entrance of Edmund seems to be a mistake. He does nothing in the following part of the scene, and it will be remembered that he was removed earlier with Gaveston. Ll. 464 ff., the soliloquy of the queen, would seem to imply that she was alone; and compare l. 481. The exit of Edmund is nowhere marked. There is no question that the quartos are careless in marking exits and entrances, see the stage directions, ll. 301, 328, 898, etc.

448. *Thou art too familiar with that Mortimer.* There appears to be no reason for supposing that the connection between Isabella and Mortimer began before the escape of the latter to France, see under 1581. Holinshed, like other chroniclers, handles the love-affair in a circumspect fashion. He says nothing whatever about it in his account of the reign of Edward II, so that one might read that narrative without suspecting its existence. When he comes to tell of Mortimer's arrest and execution, he devotes a few lines to the matter (see under 2550), but says nothing about the time or manner in which the connection grew up. Marlowe makes it dramatically credible by

bringing the two into close association, postulating a real though unconscious sympathy between them, and subjecting this to the ripening force of Edward's neglect and their close association in France. The early stages of this process Marlowe depicts with skill and force, but the actual change from unconscious sympathy to adulterous love he has given little attention to. Had he filled this gap with equal success, the problem of the regeneration of Isabella's character (see Introduction, pp. cvii.–cviii. and note on 1559) would have provided its own solution. The usual criticism upon Marlowe is that he was unable to portray women successfully, and that he apparently took little interest in them. One can hardly dispute the statement, but it is worth noting that in the early part of this play Isabella has something of the freshness and charm of Greene's Dorothea and Margaret.

454. *Villaine, tis thou that robst me of my lord.* Compare the charges brought against the favourites of Richard II, *Richard II*, III, i. 11 ff.:

> " You have in manner with your sinful hours
> Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him,
> Broke the possession of a royal bed
> And stain'd the beauty of a fair queen's cheeks
> With tears drawn from her eyes by your foul wrongs."

464. *O miserable and distressed Queene.* In like manner Queen Anne (see note on 271): " I now am crownd a queene of misserye."

466. *Charming Circes.* 'Charming' "is here used in its literal sense" (Keltie), i.e. employing charms; so in *Locrine*, IV, ii. 9: " Hath dreadfull *Fames* with her charming rods," etc. The form 'Circes' is not easy to explain. Dyce says that the genitive of proper names was formerly often put for the nominative, but he gives no instances, and his remark is unsatisfactory. In Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas*, ed. Bang, 1903, l. 960, occurs the line: " Wouldst thou make me a *Circes?*" Bang in his note says that 'Circes' is a misprint, but the statement is clearly wrong, for other examples can be given. The form occurs in *Dido*, 1217 (where Brooke corrects to 'Circe,' though he does not in the present passage); three times in Greene's *Mamillia* (Works, ed. Grosart, II, 186, 203, 286; in one case the expression 'charming Cyrces' is used), and in the Index to Kyd's *Householder's Philosophy* (Works, ed. Boas, 234); in addition cf. Henry Crosse,

Virtues Commonwealth, 1603, ed. Grosart, 1878, 163; Brathwait's *Natures Embassie*, 1621, repr. 1877, p. 8; Whitlock's *Zootomia*, 1654, 437. See 'Achillis,' l. 687 below.

Professor Flügel has very kindly pointed out to me that 'Circes' is a very common Old French form, that it is the regular form in Chaucer and Gower, that it is a good 15th century form, occurring in Lydgate and in the anonymous *Destruction of Troy*, and that it very probably, along with other similar nominative-genitives, arose from the loose translation of such passages as Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv. 205, Nec tenet Aeaeae genetrix pulcherrima Circes; xiii. 968, Prodigiosa petit Titanidos atria Circes.

Tancock rightly remarks that Marlowe is here referring to Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIV, where Circe (ll. 48 ff.) is represented as walking over the sea on her way to work the enchantment of Scylla:

> "ingreditur ferventes aestibus undas,
> In quibus ut solida ponit vestigia terra,
> Summaque decurrit pedibus super aequora siccis."

472. *Frantick Juno.* Ll. 472–3 appear to be an expansion of Ovid's phrase, 'invita Iunone,' in his brief account of Ganymede, *Met.*, X, 155–61.

474. *Ganimed.* Marlowe seems to have given 'Ganymede' a short *e*, as is indicated not merely by the spelling (cf. *Dido*, ll. 1, 49, etc.), but also by the rhymes in *Hero and Leander*, I, 148 (bed . . . Ganimed); so Heywood, *u.s.*, 4871–2 (tread . . . Ganimed). This is also the regular spelling in *As You Like It*, and elsewhere, e.g. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, xvii. 195.

481. *Looke*, etc. Dyce suggests a change of scene at this point also.

483. *Intreated*, that is, treated. See Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Elegies*, III, ii. 22: "By thy sides touching ill she is entreated," where 'ill entreated' translates *laeditur*.

484. *Hard is the hart.* In such expressions (hard heart, hard-hearted) Nelle, *Das Wortspiel im Engl. Drama des XVI Jahrhunderts*, 1900, 16, and Wurth, *Das Wortspiel bei Shakspere*, 1895, think that a play upon words is to be found. It may possibly be that the similarity of sound lent a certain attractiveness to such phrases in an age that was excessively fond of

jingles and puns, but the idea involved in them is indispensable and the language natural and indeed inevitable, so that their frequent use had doubtless little to do with the likeness between *hard* and *heart*.

499. *Shipwrack body*. Compare 'shipwracke treasure,' *Hero and Leander*, II, 164. For other instances of the use of a noun as adjective, see Vogt, *Das Adjectiv bei Marlowe*, 1908, 9–10.

517. *Torpedo*, i.e. the cramp-fish or electric ray, which delivers an electric shock to the incautious handler. The severity of this shock was earlier much exaggerated, and its cause of course not understood. Sir Thomas Browne, for instance, *Pseudodoxia*, III, vii., speaks of the torpedo as distributing its 'opium,' though he was probably speaking metaphorically in allusion to the numbing effect of the shock.

555. *Whereas*, that is, 'where,' regularly so used in Marlowe's day.

559. *How easilie might some base slave be subbornd*. The design here sketched by Mortimer and assented to by the peers without demur has the effect of alienating the sympathy of modern readers. Such would not have been necessarily its effect on an Elizabethan audience. Assassination was a crime no doubt, but not always thought a despicable one. It was a recognized political weapon on the continent, and the odium attached to it depended upon political or religious prepossessions in large measure. Circumstances might justify it, and the doctrine of tyrannicide was held alike by Jesuits and Puritans. Even in private feuds assassination was frequent on the continent and might even be employed on occasion by an English nobleman; thus the earl of Oxford was generally thought to have formed a plot to murder Sir Philip Sidney. In other words, assassination was of course murder, but the circumstances of secrecy or even treachery by which it was accompanied did not of necessity make it especially odious, unless they were of an aggravated kind. Poisoning was to be sure looked upon with particular abhorrence, and yet Edward, ll. 1033–4, after Gaveston has suggested the assassination of Mortimer, utters the wish:

> "Would Lancaster and he had both carroust
> A bowle of poison to each others health."

Laertes in *Hamlet* himself suggests that the foil he is to use be poisoned, and yet Laertes is in no sense represented as a villain.

In the seventeenth century the murder of Buckingham was acclaimed by almost the whole nation.

566. *How chance*, i.e. 'how does it chance that.' Compare the expression current in some parts of the United States, 'how come' for 'how comes it.'

576. *Of*, i.e. on. This use of 'of' was very common (compare l. 1957), and resulted from the confusion brought about by the fact that in daily speech the two words were frequently reduced to 'a' or 'o' (Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, p. 249). In l. 1707 we find a similar reduction of 'in' to 'a,' and in modern colloquial speech the phrase 'would have done' is often pronounced 'would a done,' with the result that children and sometimes older persons write it 'would of done.' Compare also l. 1592, where 'a' is unemphatic 'he.'

578. *Mushrump*, a common variant of 'mushroom.' In the *Jew of Malta*, 1983, occurs 'mushrumbs.' Compare Southwell's *Scorn not the Least*, Schelling's *Elizabethan Lyrics*, p. 68:

> "He that high growth on cedars did bestow,
> Gave also lowly mushrumps leave to grow."

586–7. *On that condition . . . And I.* Keller, *u.s.*, notes the similarity of the following passage from the old *Richard II*:

> "If not: by good king Edwards bones, our royall father,
> I will remoue these hinderers of his health (tho't cost my head).
> *Yorke. Lanc.* On these conditions, brother, we agree.
> *Arond.* And I.
> *Surry.* And I."

587. *And so will Penbrooke.* Ellis and Verity follow Elze, p. 114. See note on 268.

590–1. *And when . . . forlorne.* Compare Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, IV, i. 198:

> "My gratious Lord, whe[n] Erastus doth forget this favor,
> Then let him live abandond and forlorne."

612. *Passions.* Compare 'passionate,' l. 802, and *Tamburlaine*, 359: "His deep affections make him passionate"; 473: "Pale of complexion: wrought in him with passion"; 998: "Yet since a farther passion feeds my thoughts."

613. *My gratious lord.* This line is almost repeated, l. 937.

621. *Golden tongue.* Nelle, *Das Wortspiel im Englischen Drama vor Shakspere*, 1900, 36, thinks that we have a play upon

words here, since ' tongue ' is used in the sense of (a) an ornament, (b) the organ of speech.

638. *Chiefest.* This is a kind of double superlative. ' Chief ' expresses the superlative degree, and is not to-day capable of comparison. But ' chiefest ' is very common in Elizabethan English, which freely reinforced its superlatives, even when formed regularly ; the familiar example is Shakespeare's " most unkindest cut of all," *Julius Cæsar,* III, ii. 187. Ben Jonson (*English Grammar,* chap. iv.) calls the practice " a certain kind of English Atticism, or eloquent phrase of speech, imitating the manner of the most ancientest and finest Grecians, who, for more *emphasis* and vehemencies sake, used so to speak."

For the distribution of honours and offices in this passage there is no chronicle authority.

648. *Like thee not,* that is, ' please thee not.' The verb ' like,' when used in this sense, was regularly in the impersonal construction, just as ' please ' is to-day. See l. 1606.

649–50. *Marshall . . . marshall.* One of the few plays on words in *Edward II ;* Marlowe, Bullen remarks (Works, II, 88), is not " much addicted to quibbling," but puns and word-plays do occur, and in *Jew of Malta* they are fairly frequent (Nelle, *Das Wortspiel,* etc., 10). Compare Carpenter, *Metaphor and Simile in the Minor Eliz. Drama,* 1895, 38, and see notes on 484, 621, etc.

652. *Chirke.* The two Mortimers were respectively of Chirke (on the border between Shropshire and Wales) and Wigmore (on the border between Herefordshire and Wales). See l. 992.

655–6. *Be you the generall . . . assaile the Scots.* Tancock says that there was no foreign war at this time. But it is impossible to tell exactly whether Marlowe has in mind here 1310 or 1311, and in 1311 there was an expedition into Scotland. It is true that the elder Mortimer is not mentioned in connection with it, but under the year 1315 Sir Roger Mortimer (really the younger, but not distinguished by Holinshed, so that Marlowe could easily assign the episode to the elder) is mentioned by Holinshed as commanding in Ireland against the Scottish invaders under Edward Bruce, and as being defeated by him : " manie of the said sir Rogers men were slaine and taken." This episode may very easily have suggested l. 913. See the note on that line.

663. *Beamont.* 'Lord Henrie Beaumont,' mentioned by Holinshed, p. 323, was an energetic supporter of Edward until 1323, when he turned against him.

664. *Iris . . . Mercurie.* Iris, the rainbow, was the messenger of the gods, more particularly perhaps of Juno. Mercury executed the commands of Jupiter.

671. *Made him sure,* i.e. betrothed. Compare *Jew of Malta,* 1001, on which line Bullen quotes from Cotgrave: "Accordailles, the betrothing, or *making sure* of a man and woman together."

672. *The earle of Glosters heire.* "Moreover, at the same parlement [1307], a marriage was concluded betwixt the earle of Cornewall Peers de Gaveston, and the daughter of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, which he had by his wife the countesse Joane de Acres the kings sister, which marriage was solemnized on All hallowes day next insuing." (Holinshed, 318). Tancock in his note on this line and Tzschaschel (p. 13) both are of the opinion that Marlowe used Stow's *Annals* rather than Holinshed, because Stow represents the marriage as taking place after Gaveston's return from Ireland. The conclusion, however, does not necessarily follow. In the first place, Gaveston has not yet returned; in the second, the words 'have made him sure' clearly represent the *betrothal* as already accomplished; in the third, ll. 740–5 make it certain that the betrothal took place before the banishment. Now Stow mentions no betrothal at all, whereas Marlowe says nothing about any marriage, though we may suppose it past in ll. 1100–1. The utmost that we may conclude is perhaps that the two accounts fused in Marlowe's mind. Strictly, he is following both authorities.

675. *Who in the triumphe will be challenger.* 'Triumph' here means the 'generall tilt and turnament' of l. 669. The word was ordinarily used to denote a procession with what are now called 'floats,' especially the procession on Lord Mayor's day.

For the construction of this passage, in which the subject of 'spare' is omitted and is to be supplied from the preceding clause, compare ll. 947–8, 1684–5, and *Tamburlaine,* 665–7:

> "They knew not, ah, they knew not simple men,
> How those were hit by pelting Cannon shot,
> Stand staggering like a quivering Aspen leafe."

679. *Nephue, I must to Scotland.* The importance of the following passage for the creation of suspense is remarked by Fischer, *Kunstentwicklung der Engl. Tragödie*, 147.

683. *Controulement.* Compare l. 1792 and *King John*, I, i. 19–20 :

" Here have we war for war and blood for blood,
Controlment for controlment : so answer France."

685. *Ephestion.* Hephaestion was the intimate friend and companion of Alexander the Great.

687. *Achillis.* See note on 466. The same form occurs in the 1604 *Faustus*, 1339. It was the slaying of Patroclus by Hector that finally aroused Achilles from his sullen anger at the injury done him by Agamemnon before Troy. The games with which the hero solemnized the death of his friend were splendid and famous. See *Iliad*, Book XXIII.

689. *Tullie . . . Octavis*, i.e. Cicero . . . Octavius. For the form ' Octavis ' I have no parallel, and it is probably a misprint. Brooke reads ' Octavius ' without comment, but the Cassel copy of Q 1594, from which he prepared his text, is very clear, according to my facsimile.

The citation of Cicero and Octavius is particularly inapt, as there was nothing in their relation or in the character of Octavius even remotely to recall Edward and Gaveston.

690. *Socrates . . . Alcibiades.* Socrates, the Greek philosopher, entertained an affection for Alcibiades, a wild, rakish, but brilliant youth of high birth and great beauty ; but as in the preceding line, the elder Mortimer's citation is not especially to the purpose.

695 ff. *His wanton humor.* Mortimer's contempt for Gaveston's effeminacy is much like the contempt of Hotspur for

" a certain lord, neat, and trimly dress'd,
Fresh as a bridegroom ; and his chin new reap'd
Show'd like a stubble-land at harvest-home ;
He was perfumed like a milliner," etc.
(1 *Henry IV*, I, iii. 33.)

700. *He weares a lords revenewe on his back.* Editors regularly quote 2 *Henry VI*, I, iii. 83 : " She bears a duke's revenue on her back." Verity compares *Henry VIII*, I, i. 83–5 :

" O, many
Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em
For this great journey."

No idea is more common in the satirical comedy of the period. It was a time of great extravagance in all fashions, and a gallant's fine clothes would often necessitate the sale of many an acre of good land. Perrett, *Story of King Lear up to Shakespeare*, 1904, 119, speaking of Fleay's guess that Marlowe had a hand in the old *Leir*, says: "Fleay's solitary argument for Marlowe or an imitator in Sc. 1–10 is the line 'She'll lay her husband's benefice on her back,' in Sc. 6, with which he compares Ed. II [700], and 2 H. VI, I, iii. 83. If one swallow is to make summer like this we must say that *Euphues and his England* (ed. Arber, p. 268), the Inedited Tracts, *The Servingman's Comfort*, 1598 (p. 154, 156), and *The Courtier and the Countryman*, 1618 (p. 183), published by Hazlitt, 1868, as well as the Wise Speech of a nobleman under Henry VIII (Camden's Remaines, 1629, p. 244) were all by Marlowe or his imitators (cf. also the old R. II in Sh.-Jahrb. xxxv, p. 53 [55])."

701. *Jets it.* Compare Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, I, iii. 214: "He will iet as if it were a Goose on a greene." For the use of 'it,' see ll. 667, 749, 1498.

Midas was the Phrygian king who received from Bacchus the power of converting everything that he touched into gold.

702. *Outlandish*, i.e. foreign. Gaveston was French and of course was surrounded with French servants. The Elizabethan, and indeed typically English, dislike of foreigners crops out here. It is doubtful, however, whether in the reign of Edward II the still predominantly Norman nobility would have felt any particular dislike of the French except on purely political grounds. Marlowe very likely has in mind a passage in Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1606, 331: "King Edward kept his Christmas at Yorke, where Pierce of Gaveston was present with his Outlandish men."

704. *Proteus, god of shapes.* Because the sea-god Proteus so often changed his shape, particularly when mortals attempted to restrain him.

706–7. *Italian hooded cloake . . . tuskan cap.* In Marlowe's day, but not in Mortimer's, foreign, especially French and Italian, fashions in dress had pretty well taken possession of society. Foreigners made sport of the English, and the English often made sport of themselves, for their indiscriminate adoption of the fashions of the various continental countries.

709. *Other.* See Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Elegies*, I, vi. 12: "Be thou as bold as other," i.e. others. This form, historically the correct one, was in use, along with 'others,' all through the seventeenth century.

717. *Come, unckle, lets away.* The elder Mortimer does not appear again after this scene. Marlowe tells us nothing about his ultimate fate, but as a matter of fact he submitted to the king in 1322 at the same time with his nephew (see note on 1539) and was likewise imprisoned in the Tower, where he died after some years.

"The construction of [the preceding scene] is poor. Gaveston's exile is demanded, resisted, obtained; he leaves England; Isabel entreats, and finally secures, his recall; he is summoned; and after a general pacification of king and barons, a new resistance is threatened—all in the single scene." (McLaughlin.) If we should make a new scene at l. 400 and another at l. 481, the difficulty would in part be done away with, and such a change would be consistent with the incomplete stage directions of the quartos (see note on 437). On the other hand, we have no reason to suppose that either Marlowe or his audience felt the inconsistencies that we do. The Elizabethan stage developed from the symbolic stage of the earlier drama, and the transition to the modern literal stage, if we may use that term, was only in process. Properties belonging to one scene are often allowed to remain on the stage throughout a following scene with which their presence is wholly inconsistent, and there are clear instances in which the stage represents two places at the same time. "Another custom . . . is the change of scene before the eyes of the audience. Generally without the stage being cleared of actors, the supposed place of action suddenly shifts to an entirely different place." See Reynolds, *Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging, Modern Philology*, June, 1905. We are then practically justified in assuming a change of place when circumstances seem to demand, though we are not justified in introducing stage directions without notice.

718. *Spencer.* Scene 5. A hall in the mansion of the Duke of Glocester (Dyce). There was a play on the subject of the 'Spencers,' written by Porter and Chettle. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, 1908, ii. 224, suggests that this play, as well as one called 'Mortymore' or 'Mortimer,' which we know also to have existed, though neither has been preserved, "had some distant

connection with Marlowe's *Edward II.*" We know nothing about these plays.

719. *Th' earle of Glosters dead.* The younger Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, was alive at this time, for he was killed in the battle of Bannockburn, two years after Gaveston's death. (It is not likely that Marlowe has in mind the elder Gilbert de Clare, who died in 1295.) The younger Gilbert had three sisters, coheiresses of his estate, so that ll. 672, 1054 do not correspond with the facts. There is no authority for making Baldock one of his dependents, and Marlowe has antedated Baldock's prominence. " At this time also master Robert Baldocke, a man evill beloved in the realme, was made lord chancellour of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great favourers of the Spensers, and so likewise was the earle of Arundell, wherby it may be thought, that the Spensers did helpe to advance them into the kings favour, so that they bare no small rule in the realme, during the time that the same Spensers continued in prosperitie, which for the terme of five yeares after that the foresaid barons (as before is expressed) were brought to confusion, did woonderfullie increase." (Holinshed, 332, *sub anno* 1322.) The minute care with which Marlowe wove Baldock into the tissue of his action is seen not merely in this scene, but in ll. 1035 ff.

Hugh Spenser, or Despenser, the younger, had no dependence upon the earl of Gloucester. In 1309 he married one of the three sisters above mentioned, which fact probably gave Marlowe the hint for the present passage. The Despensers were important barons of the Welsh march ; they had nothing to do with Gaveston, but became eventually favourites of Edward through their own merits.

748 ff. *You must cast the scholler off.* Tancock says : " This passage belongs to the poet's own day, and represents Baldock as somewhat of a Puritan in dress and manner. It may be illustrated by the character of ' A Young Rawe Preacher ' in Earle, Microcosmographie, p. 22 : ' He will not draw his handkercher out of his place.' ' His fashion and demure Habit gets him in with some Town-precisian. . . . You shall know him by his narrow velvet cape, and serge facing, and his ruffe.' Compare Spenser, Mother Hubberd's Tale of the Ape and the Fox :

> " ' Then to some Noble-man yourselfe applye,
> There thou must walke in sober gravitee,
> Fast much, pray oft, look lowly on the ground,
> And unto everie one doo curtesie meeke.' "

These lines from Spenser, *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, 489, 496, 498–9, are also cited by Schoeneich, *Der Einfluss Spensers auf Marlowe*, 100, as evidence of Spenserian influence.

755. *Making lowe legs.* ' To make a leg ' meant ' to bow.'

756. *Close.* Compare *Hero and Leander*, I, 158–9:

> " There Hero sacrificing turtles blood,
> Vaild to the ground, vailing her eie-lids close."

757. *Ant*, i.e. ' and it,' i.e. ' if it.' Both of these forms are common, as is also the phrase ' and if,' arising from a confusion as to the conditional use of ' and.'

761 ff. *I hate such formall toies.* Marlowe is here pretty clearly taking a fling at the London Puritans. They and the stage were at bitter feud. In revenge for their attempts to suppress the stage, dramatists all through the period brought them before the public as hypocritical asses. Marlowe had probably already felt their teeth in connection with his *Tamburlaine*, which was currently regarded as atheistical, and we know that at the time of his murder he, together with Ralegh and others, was being ' investigated ' by the Privy Council for atheistical opinions. Accordingly after his death the Puritans concocted a monstrous death-bed legend, quite comparable to those legends that grew up concerning the last hours of Voltaire, Heine, and Tom Paine. It may be said incidentally that a careful examination shows that we possess no evidence proving that Marlowe's violent death was in any way brought about by his own vicious conduct, or that his life was exceptionally depraved or even dissipated.

This passage, taken in connection with the others in the play in which we are compelled to see allusions to conditions of Marlowe's own day and generation (see notes on ll. 390, 702, 748, 960, 964), sufficiently shows the futility of Düntzer's remark (Anglia, I, 50) in his article *Zu Marlowe's Faust*, to the effect " dass die hohe und strenge dramatische stil Marlowe's . . . alle anspielungen auf die gegenwart ausschloss," a principle that he makes use of to deprive Marlowe of some of the finest lines in *Faustus*.

770–3. *Propterea quod . . . quandoquidem . . . to forme a verbe. Propterea quod* means ' because.' Baldock, however he may for selfish purposes put on the air of a Puritanical scholar,

has a contempt for those common pedants that cannot speak without introducing long and involved reasoning. The phrase would seem to be identified with the formal and artificial method of scholastic disputation still practised in Marlowe's day at Oxford and Cambridge. *Quandoquidem*, in its causal use having much the same meaning, seems however to be sharply contrasted with *propterea quod*. This may very likely have been on the ground of student usage. As the college students were supposed to do their conversing in Latin, it may well have come about that the cumbrous and formal *propterea quod* may have fallen into disfavour among the more elegant spirits (note that Baldock is in l. 1814 called a 'smooth-tongued scholar'), and *quandoquidem* have become a sign of culture as distinct from pedantry. This suggestion is favoured by the fact that *propterea quod* was in classical Latin a prose expression, whereas, as Professor Elmore has pointed out to me, *quandoquidem* in its causal use was poetical, except in Livy. It is further favoured by Tancock's note that '*to form a verb*' "is a rendering of '*verba formare*' (compare Quintilian, i. 12, 9), 'to pronounce aright,' and here is a cant or slang phrase meaning 'to put a thing neatly,' 'to say the right thing.'" McLaughlin thinks that *quandoquidem* "may have been the beginning of some student Latin phrase of compliance with an invitation or opinion; that is, 'You fall in with your company's suggestions in a free, genial way.'" But this leaves out of view the sharp contrast noted above, and McLaughlin did not see the real meaning of '*to form a verb*.' Tancock refers *quandoquidem* to the '*seeing that*' of l. 719, and says that Spenser "hints that Baldock does give his reason." Surely this is too far-fetched; l. 719 is fifty-two lines back, and no spectator, only a commentator, would ever think of it in this connection.

774–5. *The greefe*, etc. Compare ll. 855–7.

788. *Coache*. There were no coaches in England at this time, as they were first introduced about the middle of the sixteenth century.

800. *The winde is good*. Scene 6. Before Tynmouth Castle (Dyce).

803. *And still his minde runs on his minion*. Compare *Massacre at Paris*, 638:

> "His minde you see runnes on his minions."

810. *Devise*, i.e. 'device,' a painting on a shield, with a motto attached.

815–16. *Cedar . . . Eagles.* The cedar and the eagle were favourite types of royalty.

Ward, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, 2nd ed., I, 350, n. 3, remarks: "I think that allusions to Marlowe's play are also recognisable in the brief *History of Edward II* by the first Lord Falkland, not printed till long after its author's death (1633) in 1680, apparently with the design of injuring the Government, and containing some very judicious reflexions on Edward II's downfall. Gaveston is here spoken of as 'the Ganymede of the King's affections' [see l. 474], and the image of a fallen cedar is applied to the dismissed favourite, perhaps in loose remembrance of" the present passage.

819. *Aeque tandem.* Tancock says: "Justly at length; a hint that Gaveston, the canker, will get justice in the end, and be killed." But this can hardly be the meaning, for the motto of a device should bear some direct relation to the device itself. *Aeque*, moreover, while meaning sometimes 'justly,' was also regularly used when a comparison was made or implied, and that is here the case. *Aeque tandem* is the motto of the canker, and means 'at length equally,' i.e. equally high, implying that the canker, Gaveston, at length attains the highest bough of all, and so is on an equality with the eagle, Edward. Such is the sense in which Edward takes it, l. 840.

822 ff. *Plinie reports there is a flying Fish.* But Pliny does not say anything quite like this, as Bullen and Tancock have noted. In his *Natural History*, ix. 19, Pliny speaks of a fish that "would leap on to a rocky ledge in warm weather and there bask in the sun." Bullen goes on to refer to an account quoted from Clearchus in *Deipnosophistae*, viii. 5, according to which this fish, "when basking on the ledge, has to be constantly on his guard against kingfishers and the like, and when he sees them afar flies leaping and gasping until he dives under the water." Tancock, with more probability, refers to such accounts of the flying fish as given in *The Voyage made by M. John Hawkins esquire, and afterward knight . . . to the coast of Guinea* (see the edition 1904 of *Hakluyt's Voyages*, x. 60–1), in which the details given by Marlowe are to be found.

827. *Undique mors est.* Death is on all sides.

828 ff. *Proud Mortimer . . . my brother.* This speech is assigned to Kent by Dyce, an assignment followed by almost all editors since his day (see the variants). The quarto assignment, however, is undoubtedly correct, for the following reasons: (a) all quartos agree; (b) the words, ' my brother,' l. 834, which Dyce thought to be decisive, are not necessarily to be interpreted as he assumes, for the line, if spoken by the king, may be interpreted as follows—What call you this but private libelling against one who has two titles to consideration, that he is the earl of Cornwall and that I look upon him as my brother (compare ll. 142–3); (c) there has been, strictly speaking, no libel on the king, for Mortimer compares him to a lofty cedar tree, fair flourishing, and Lancaster does not mention him; (d) Isabella's speech, l. 835, seems to be called forth by some outbreak on Edward's part; (e) Kent would hardly have referred to the king as ' my brother,' since the phrase would not have brought out his chief title to respect from the nobles, though referring to Gaveston, it would have done so from the king's point of view; (f) it is unlikely that the passionate Edward should have remained silent after Lancaster's speech, and allowed Kent to rebuke the nobles in his stead; (g) finally, it should be noted that Stow (*Annals*, ed. 1606, 328) remarks that Edward was in the habit of calling Gaveston ' Brother.'

829–30. *Is this the love*, etc. Crawford (see note on 151) compares *Arden of Feversham*, I, 186–7:

> " Is this the end of all thy solemn oaths ?
> Is this the fruit thy reconcilement buds ? "

839. *Gesses*, i.e. jesses, the thongs, usually of leather, worn about the legs of the hawk; to them was attached the restraining leash.

852. *Danae*, the daughter of Acrisius, was locked up in a brazen tower by her father because of a prophecy; Jupiter visited her in the form of a shower of gold. It is not recorded that she had other lovers, or that they waxed outrageous because of her confinement.

861. *Paynted springe.* " A translation of the common classical epithet, 'pictum,' as 'prata picta,' the flowery meadows " (Tancock).

873. *Base, leaden Earles.*

" The king indeed was lewdlie led [1310], for after that the

earle of Cornewall was returned into England, he shewed himselfe no changeling (as writers doo affirme) but through support of the kings favour, bare himselfe so high in his doings, which were without all good order, that he seemed to disdaine all the peeres & barons of the realme. Also after the old sort he provoked the king to all naughtie rule and riotous demeanour, and having the custodie of the kings jewels and treasure, he tooke out of the jewell-house a table, & a paire of trestels of gold, which he delivered unto a merchant called Aimerie de Friscobald, commanding him to conveie them over the sea into Gascoine. This table was judged of the common people, to belong sometime unto king Arthur, and therefore men grudged the more that the same should thus be sent out of the realme." (Holinshed, p. 320.)

880. *Heere, here, King.* In his first edition Dyce says: "I should have taken the word 'King' for a prefix crept by mistake into the text, but that the speeches of Edward have always the prefix 'Edw.'" In his second edition he adopted that view, as shown by the variants.

881. *Convey hence,* etc. Brereton, *Modern Language Review,* VI, 95, says: "I would follow the reading of 1594 in everything. It is one line, not one and a bit. The warning words are spoken aside to the king. In a later scene [1231 ff.] Penbrooke shews a sincere affection for his sovereign, and is willing to place his life in pledge for Gaveston." However, in his version of the line Brereton omits 'King' without notice, and it is difficult to see how that word fits in with his interpretation. Either, as Dyce thought, it is a stage direction, or else as a part of Pembroke's speech it has a harsh and disrespectful ring out of keeping with what Brereton suggests.

897–8. *Come, Edmund . . . Barons pride.* Compare *Massacre at Paris,* 1139–40:

> "Come let us away and leavy men,
> Tis warre that must asswage this tyrantes pride."

899. *Mooude.* Fleay takes 'moved' in this line as meaning 'removed, departed,' in the next line as 'moody, angry,' and goes on to say that "Marlowe seldom puns, and when he does it is generally in a serious way, as here." But there seems no reason for supposing a pun to be intended. There is no question as to the meaning of 'moved' in the second instance, and in the

preceding line one can hardly suppose Warwick to have meant, 'Let's to our castles, for the king is departed.' 'Moved' is constantly and regularly used in the sense of 'angry,' and no contemporary of Marlowe would ever have attached any other sense to the word as used by Warwick. The case is not at all comparable to the one noted under ll. 649–50.

901. *It is no dealing*, or, as we should say, there is no dealing.

910. *st. dir. Poast.* A 'post' was a messenger, more especially a messenger on official business.

913. *My unckles taken prisoner by the Scots.* "This is not historical. . . . The whole story of the elder Mortimer being taken prisoner, and the King's refusal to ransom him, is very like the story of the captivity of Sir Edmund Mortimer in Wales in the reign of Henry IV, who refused to ransom him or allow his ransom. Compare 1 Henry IV, i. 3, 77–92." (Tancock.) See, however, the note on 655.

919. *Do, cosin, and ile beare thee companie.* There is no authority in the chronicle for the following episode.

921. *Gather head*, that is, collect troops. The phrase occurs, as noted by Verity in the essay cited, in *The Massacre at Paris*, 511; *Titus Andronicus*, IV, iv. 63; 1 *Henry VI*, I, iv. 100; 2 *Henry VI*, IV, v. 10.

925. *And if.* See note on l. 757.

935. Dyce suggests a change of scene at this point.

944. *To gather for him*, i.e. to gather alms for him. Against beggars, as well as other sturdy rogues and vagabonds, there were severe laws, but a legal licence to beg was procurable when there seemed sufficient ground for it, and it is to a licence of this kind that Edward refers. Compare *Jew of Malta*, 787–8:

> "Hoping to see them starve upon a stall,
> Or else be gather'd for in our Synagogue."

953 ff. *The idle triumphes*, etc. With this attack upon the king, compare, both as to manner and matter, the onslaught upon Gloucester, 2 *Henry VI*, I, iii. 125 ff.:

> "*Suf.* Resign it then and leave thine insolence.
> Since thou wert king—as who is king but thou?—
> The commonwealth hath daily run to wreck;
> The Dauphin hath prevail'd beyond the seas;
> And all the peers and nobles of the realm
> Have been as bondmen to thy sovereignty.

Car. The commons hast thou rack'd ; the clergy's bags
Are lank and lean with thy extortions.
Som. Thy sumptuous buildings and thy wife's attire
Have cost a mass of public treasury.
Buck. Thy cruelty in execution
Upon offenders hath exceeded law
And left thee to the mercy of the law.
Queen. Thy sale of offices and towns in France,
If they were known, as the suspect is great,
Would make thee quickly hop without thy head."

It may very well have been that Marlowe, in thus placing in the mouths of Mortimer and Lancaster a summary of the evil results of the king's misrule, had in mind the following passage in Holinshed, p. 325 : " Thus all the kings exploits by one means or other quailed, and came but to evill successe, so that the English nation began to grow in contempt by the infortunate government of the prince, the which as one out of the right waie, rashlie and with no good advisement ordered his dooings, which thing so greeved the noblemen of the realme, that they studied day and night by what means they might procure him to looke better to his office and dutie."

958. *Thy garrisons are beaten out of Fraunce.* Edward had various disputes with the king of France over the question of paying homage for his continental possessions, and after minor hostilities, open war broke out between Edward's garrisons and the French in 1324, wherein the English had much the worse. It will be seen that Marlowe has no concern to maintain a rigidly correct chronology, and he has antedated these events many years. These were the disturbances to accommodate which Queen Isabel was sent to France (see below, ll. 1357 ff.).

960. *Irish Kernes.* Reed quotes a description of the Irish kern from Barnaby Riche, *Description of Ireland*, 1610, p. 37 : " *The Kerne* are the very drosse and scum of the countrey, a generation of villaines not worthy to live : these be they that live by robbing and spoiling the poore countreyman, that maketh him many times to buy bread to give unto them, though he want for himselfe and his poore children. These are they, that are ready to run out with everie rebell ; and these are the verie hags of hell, fit for nothing but for the gallows." A similar account, Reed says, is given in the *Second Part of The Image of Irelande*, by John Derricke, 1581.

Neither Holinshed, Fabyan, nor Stow mentions an O'Neill as

leading the Irish rebels who aided Edward Bruce in his endeavours to wrest Ireland from the English. It so happens that there was an O'Neill who was of more or less importance in this struggle, but it is probable that Marlowe had never heard of him. Marlowe had rather in mind some one of the O'Neills who played so important a part in resisting the subjugation of Ireland by the English in the sixteenth century, perhaps Turlough O'Neill (*d.* 1595), who gave a great deal of trouble.

'The English Pale' was the term applied to that comparatively small portion of Ireland round about Dublin where the English authority was fairly well established and which was largely peopled by the descendants of originally English settlers. The boundaries of the Pale naturally varied considerably from time to time.

Tancock notes that the *First Part of the Contention between the two Noble Houses of York and Lancaster*, ix. 133, has a 'curiously parallel' passage:

> "The wilde Onele my Lords, is up in Armes,
> With troupes of Irish Kernes that, uncontrold,
> Doth plant themselves within the English pale."

"The parallelism is the more curious, as Holinshed and Stow do not mention the O'Neils." But it is not so curious if we believe that Marlowe had a share in the play mentioned, and that in both passages he was thinking of recent history. The point, which seems rather a significant one, strengthens one's belief in Marlowe's part authorship of the two early Henry VI plays (see Introduction, p. xc). In 2 *Henry VI* the quoted passage does not appear.

962. *Unto the walles of Yorke the Scots made rode.* The Scotch, after the battle of Bannockburn (see below), made many inroads upon the northern parts of England, and more than once reached the vicinity of York. Of one such incursion in 1318 Holinshed writes, p. 324: "In their going backe they burnt Knaresbourgh, and Skipton in Craven, which they had first sacked, and so passing through the middest of the countrie, burning and spoiling all before them, they returned into Scotland with a marvellous great multitude of cattell, beside prisoners, men and women, and no small number of poore people, which they tooke with them to helpe to drive the cattell."

'Rode' means 'inroad,' or 'raid,' 'raid' being in fact the Northern form of the same word.

964. *The hautie Dane commands the narrow seas.* Editors regularly cite 3 *Henry VI*, I, i. 239: "Stern Falconbridge commands the narrow seas." The 'narrow seas' are the English Channel.

Editors have not seen fit to explain the somewhat curious fact that Marlowe should ascribe to Denmark control over the English Channel. Nothing of the kind is to be found in his sources, and there is no historical foundation for the line. Perhaps Marlowe may have had reference to the struggles of Denmark and the Hanse towns in the fourteenth century; he may again have had in mind the ancient naval prowess of the Vikings; but it is more probable that we may find the explanation in occurrences of his own day. In the *Calendars of State Papers, Foreign Series*, we may trace disputes between England and Denmark over commercial matters; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, 3rd edition, II, 234, n. 5, in speaking of these disputes, says: "The Danes were inclined to give a very large interpretation to their claims in regard to ships engaged in the Russian trade"; and Gosse, in his article on Denmark in *Encycl. Brit.*, 1910, viii. 32, says: "Still, the fact remains that, for a time, Denmark was one of the great powers of Europe. Frederick II, in his later years (1571–88), aspired to the dominion of all the seas which washed the Scandinavian coasts, and before he died he was able to enforce the rule that all foreign ships should strike their topsails to Danish men-of-war as a token of his right to rule the northern seas. Favourable political circumstances also contributed to this general acknowledgment of Denmark's maritime greatness. The power of the Hansa had gone; the Dutch were enfeebled by their contest with Spain; England's sea-power was yet in the making; Spain, still the greatest of the maritime nations, was exhausting her resources in the vain effort to conquer the Dutch." Denmark, of course, did not command the narrow seas in the strict sense of the term; but these facts, of which we can hardly suppose Marlowe to have been entirely ignorant, make it easy to understand how he should have thought of the 'haughty Dane' in this connection.

973. *Againe*, i.e. against. Compare modern vulgarism 'agin,' and *Edward III*, I, ii. 79:

> "again the blasting north-east wind."

979 ff. *Thy souldiers marcht like players.* The passage is

suggested by Holinshed, p. 322 : " King Edward to be revenged herof, with a mightie armie bravelie furnished, and gorgiouslie apparelled, more seemelie for a triumph, than meet to incounter with the cruell enimie in the field, entred Scotland," etc. The battle of Bannockburn, June 21, 1314, resulted in a crushing defeat of the English.

985. *Jig*, i.e. a lively song, usually short. Oxberry wishes to explain his misreading ' ligge ' as ' lay.'

986. *Maids of England.* This ' jig ' is taken by Marlowe from Fabyan's *Chronicle* (see reprint of 1811, p. 420), Fabyan's text differing, however, in one or two unimportant particulars. Fabyan, after giving the song, goes on : " This songe was after many dayes sungyn, in daunces, in carolis of ye maydens & mynstrellys of Scotlande, to the reproofe and disdayne of Englysshe men, w^{t} dyverse other whiche I over passe." In other words, it was one of the " vild, uncivil, skipping jigs," that " Bray forth their conquest and our overthrow, Even in the barren, bleak, and fruitless air," according to the Countess of Salisbury in *Edward III*, I, ii. 13 ff.

987. *Lemmons*, i.e. lemans.

1000. *Edward, unfolde thy pawes.* Compare *Tamburlaine*, 248–9 :

" As princely Lions when they rouse themselves,
Stretching their pawes, and threatening heardes of Beastes," etc.

1001. *Lives bloud.* Many editors take ' lives ' as plural, printing ' lives'.' But it is not necessarily plural. Compare ' unto my lives end,' Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, ii. 25 ; ' her lives deare lord,' Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, vi., i. 45 ; so ' the wyves charge,' Kyd's *Householders Philosophie*, 271. The stock example is ' calveshead,' i.e. ' calf's head.'

1007. *And therefore, brother, banish him for ever.* Marlowe means us to understand that Kent has been convinced by the preceding episode that Gaveston's banishment is vitally necessary to the welfare of the kingdom. The point, obvious in itself, is of interest because, in Holinshed, Kent does not appear until toward the end of the reign, and because, as Tzschaschel remarks (p. 21), no explanation is there given of his opposition to Edward. Marlowe is careful to provide full reasons for his action. Here Kent joins the barons on good grounds. He is captured in the

battle and is banished, for so we are to understand l. 1519 (compare 1573). It is natural that he should join the queen and Mortimer, especially as he is not cognizant of their real designs, but supposes that they intend to overthrow the Spensers as Gaveston had been overthrown. Compare ll. 1574, 1642, 1760 ff., 1788.

1029. *He threatens civill warres.* Compare *Tamburlaine*, 156: "Begin in troopes to threaten civill warre." 'Wars' is an instance of what Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, p. 34, calls the use of a plural to express a general idea: 'to threaten wars' is the same as 'to threaten war.' He cites many instances from Shakespeare, e.g. *Coriolanus*, I, iii. 112, as well as 'seas,' 3 *Henry VI*, I, i. 239 (see l. 964 above); so 'moneys,' *Merchant of Venice*, I, iii. 120, 'letters,' *Measure for Measure*, IV, iii. 97. Compare 'Heavens,' ll. 1104, 1997, and see Schau, *Sprache und Grammatik der Dramen Marlowes*, 1901, 21.

1045. *Well alied*, i.e. of good family. 'Allies' was used for 'kinsfolk,' as in Lyly's *Euphues*, II, 19.

1049. *Stile*, i.e. title; a frequent use of the term.

1054. *Our neece.* The elder Gilbert de Clare (see note on 719) had married Joan of Acre, sister of Edward II. Thus both of Edward's favourites were closely allied to him in marriage.

1061. *st. dir. Enter Lancaster.* Scene 7. Near Tynmouth Castle (Dyce).

1068. *He is your brother, therefore have we cause.* So in 3 *Henry VI*, IV, ii. 6 ff., after Clarence has suddenly joined Warwick and Oxford, Warwick says:

> "I hold it cowardice
> To rest mistrustful where a noble heart
> Hath pawn'd an open hand in sign of love;
> Else might I think that Clarence, Edward's brother,
> Were but a feigned friend to our proceedings."

1075. *I have enformed the Earle of Lancaster.* We must assume that between ll. 1066–7 and this line Kent has found some opportunity of speaking in private to Lancaster.

1076. *Now, my lords, know this.* The capture and execution of Gaveston are thus related by Holinshed.

"The lords perceiving the mischeefe that dailie followed and increased by that naughtie man (as they tooke it) the earle of

Cornewall, assembled at Lincolne [1311], . . . and concluded eftsoones to banish him out of the realme, and so thereupon shortlie after, about Christmasse (as some write) or rather, as other have, within the quindene of saint Michaell, he was exiled into Flanders, sore against the kings will and pleasure, who made such account of him, that (as appeared) he could not be quiet in mind without his companie, & therefore about Candlemasse he eftsoones revoked him home.

"But he being nothing at all amended of those his evill manners, rather demeaned himselfe woorse than before he had doone, namelie towards the lords, against whome using reproch-full speech, he called the earle of Glocester bastard, the earle of Lincolne latlie deceased bursten bellie, the earle of Warwike the blacke hound of Arderne, and the earle of Lancaster churle. Such lords and other more that were thus abused at this earle of Cornewals hands, determined to be revenged upon him, and to dispatch the realme of such a wicked person: and thereupon assembling their powers togither, came towards Newcastell, whither the king from Yorke was remooved, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tinmouth, where the queene laie, and understanding there that Newcastell was taken by the lords, he leaving the queene behind him, tooke shipping, and sailed from thence with his dearelie belooved familiar the earle of Cornewall, unto Scarbourgh, where he left him in the castell, and rode himselfe towards Warwike. The lords hearing where the earle of Cornwall was, made thither with all speed, and besieging the castell, at length constreined their enemie to yeeld himselfe into their hands, requiring no other condition, but that he might come to the kings presence to talke with him.

"The king hearing that his best beloved familiar was thus apprehended, sent to the lords, requiring them to spare his life, and that he might be brought to his presence, promising withall that he would see them fullie satisfied in all their requests against him. Whereupon the earle of Penbroke persuaded with the barons to grant to the kings desire, undertaking upon forfeiture of all that he had, to bring him to the king and backe againe to them, in such state and condition as he received him. When the barons had consented to his motion, he tooke the earle of Cornewall with him to bring him where the king laie, and comming to Dedington, left him there in safe keeping with his servants, whilest he for one night went to visit his wife, lieng not farre from thence.

" The same night it chanced, that Guie erle of Warwike came to the verie place where the erle of Cornwall was left, and taking him from his keepers, brought him unto Warwike, where incontinentlie it was thought best to put him to death, but that some doubting the kings displeasure, advised the residue to staie; and so they did, till at length an ancient grave man amongst them exhorted them to use the occasion now offered, and not to let slip the meane to deliver the realme of such a dangerous person, that had wrought so much mischeefe, and might turne them all to such perill, as afterwards they should not be able to avoid, nor find shift how to remedie it. And thus persuaded by his words, they caused him streitwaies to be brought foorth to a place called Blackelow, otherwise named by most writers, Gaverslie heath, where he had his head smitten from his shoulders, the twentith day of June being tuesdaie. . . .

" When the king had knowledge hereof, he was woonderfullie displeased with those lords that had thus put the said earle unto death, making his vow that he would see his death revenged, so that the rancour which before was kindled betwixt the king and those lords, began now to blase abroad, and spred so farre, that the king ever sought occasion how to worke them displeasure. . . . King Edward now after that the foresaid Piers Gaveston the earle of Cornewall was dead, nothing reformed his maners, but . . . chose such to be about him, and to be of his privie councell, which were knowne to be men of corrupt and most wicked living (as the writers of that age report) amongst these were two of the Spensers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, which were notable instruments to bring him unto the liking of all kind of naughtie and evill rule.

" By the counsell therefore of these Spensers, he was wholie lead and governed: wherewith manie were much offended, but namelie Robert the archbishop of Canturburie, who foresaw what mischeefe was like to insue: and therefore to provide some remedie in time, he procured that a parlement was called at London [1312]. In the which manie good ordinances and statutes were devised and established, to oppresse the riots, misgovernance, and other mischeefes which as then were used: and to keepe those ordinances, the king first, and after his lords received a solemne oth, that in no wise neither he nor they should breake them. By this means was the state of the realme newlie restored, and new councellours placed about the king. But he neither regarding what he had sworne, neither weieng the force

of an oth, observed afterwards none of those things, which by his oth he had bound himselfe to observe. And no marvell: for suerlie . . . the lords wrested him too much, and beyond the bounds of reason, causing him to receive to be about him whome it pleased them to appoint. For the yoonger Spenser, who in place of the earle of Cornwall was ordeined to be his chamberlaine, it was knowne to them well inough, that the king bare no good will at all to him at the first, though afterwards through the prudent policie, and diligent industrie of the man, he quicklie crept into his favour, and that further than those that preferred him could have wished." (Holinshed, 320–1.)

1077. *Gaveston is secretlie arrivde.* But Gaveston has been at Tynmouth since l. 849, and the nobles were present at his arrival. Tancock says that Marlowe had in mind a 'secret joining of the King in the north, contrary to the King's express promise and agreement with the Barons,' which the authorities spoke of; but no secret meeting is mentioned by the authorities. The meeting at Chester is apparently the one Tancock refers to (see his notes on this line, as well as on l. 800), and Holinshed certainly does not say that it was secret (see extract under l. 208).

1078. *Here in Tinmoth frollicks with the king.* Between Gaveston's banishment to Ireland and the attack upon Tinmouth, there intervened another banishment of a few weeks. Marlowe has passed this over for good reasons. To dramatize it would have resulted in repetition of motives and situations without any corresponding gain. The same statement holds true for the following passage from Holinshed, p. 320:

"The king this yeare [1310] fearing the envie of the lords against Peers de Gaveston, placed him for his more safetie in Bambourgh castell, bearing the prelats and lords in hand, that he had committed him there to prison for their pleasures."

1082. *Tottered.* This was a common spelling for 'tattered,' as in *Jew of Malta*, 1858: "He sent a shaggy totter'd staring slave."

1084. *Whereof we got the name of Mortimer.* This was the traditional etymology of 'Mortimer,' and was believed in at that time. But the name does not come from 'Mortuum Mare,' but from 'Mortemer,' a Norman village. This, being Latinized,

became ' Mortuo Mari,' or ' de Mortuo Mari,' as used in deeds and the like, and the tradition would easily spring up. Verity notes that Drayton, in the letter, ' Mortimer to Queen Isabel,' *Heroical Epistles*, employs the same derivation.

1085. *This castell walles*, i.e. the walls of this castle. Compare ' their citie walles,' ' thy castle walles,' *Tamburlaine*, 1641, 3379. Hence Brooke's conjecture ' thes,' i.e. ' these,' is quite unnecessary.

1089. *st. dir. Enter the king.* Scene 8. Within Tynmouth Castle (Dyce).

1104. *Heavens can witnesse.* See note on l. 1029, and compare Greene's *Looking-Glass for London and England*, l. 2014: " Heavens are propitious unto faithful praiers."

1106–7. *O that mine armes . . . where I would.* Compare *Dido*, 1305 ff.:

> " O that I had a charme to keepe the windes
> Within the closure of a golden ball,
> Or that the Tyrrhen sea were in mine armes,
> That he might suffer shipwracke on my breast,
> As oft as he attempts to hoyst up saile."

1110. *st. dir. Enter the Barons alarums.* Brooke places a comma after ' Barons,' thus changing the meaning of the stage direction considerably. ' Barons ' is in the possessive case, however, and ' alarums,' i.e. ' alarms,' which ordinarily means in Elizabethan stage directions the signals of drum and trumpet with which a battle was conducted, seems here to be used as in Dryden's *Abs. and Achit.*, II, 567:

> " Even so the doubtful nations watch his arms,
> With terror each expecting his alarms."

1111. *I wonder how he scapt.* Verity, Harness Prize essay, previously cited, p. 108, notes the opening of 3 *Henry VI*: " I wonder how the king escaped our hands."

1129. *Forslowe.* This is a common word in Elizabethan literature; Marlowe has it in *Ovid's Elegies*, III, vi. 46, and Lyly uses it in *Euphues*, Works, ed. Bond, I, 266.

1130. *Is.* Brooke says that Cunningham reads ' are,' but he does not in the copy of ed. 1870 that I have seen, nor in the reissue of that edition.

1153. *Straunge*, i.e. unresponsive, aloof, as in Lyly, *ibid.*, II, 47:

" For I thinke I have not shewed my selfe straunge " ;

and again, 221 :

" I durst not seeme straunge when I founde him so curteous."

1158. *st. dir. Enter Gaveston.* Scene 9. As Dyce remarks, there is much uncertainty about the exact location of this scene ; yet it must be near Scarborough, as we know from what precedes. As a matter of history, Gaveston was captured in Scarborough Castle, which he surrendered to the besiegers.

1163. *Malgrado*, i.e. in spite of, an Italian word common at the time and used instead of ' maugre,' from French ' mal gré.'

1173. *Traind*, i.e. enticed. Compare ' trains,' l. 1489. With ll. 1173–4 compare *Tamburlaine*, 3055–6 :

" Hellen, whose beauty sommond Greece to armes,
And drew a thousand ships to Tenedos,"

and *Faustus*, 1328 :

" Was this the face that lancht a thousand shippes ? "

With the last line Ward, in his ed. of *Faustus*, compares *Troilus and Cressida*, II, ii. 81–2 :

" She is a pearl,
Whose price hath launch'd above a thousand ships."

And he goes on : " This beautiful passage . . . was no doubt originally suggested by the passage in the Iliad, iii. 156, where the old men of Troy, on seeing Helen appear in her beauty on the walls, declare her worth the war caused by her." But Lucian, in the xviiith of his *Dialogues of the Dead*, has a closer passage (Fowler's translation) :

" *Her.* This skull is Helen.
Me. And for this a thousand ships carried warriors from every part of Greece ; Greeks and barbarians were slain, and cities made desolate.
Her. Ah, Menippus, you never saw the living Helen," etc.

1185. *Thou shalt have so much honor at our hands.* " After these words, a line in which Warwick said something about Gaveston's being *beheaded*, has dropt out " (Dyce). It is not absolutely necessary to accept this conjecture, for Warwick's gestures would make the passage perfectly clear on the stage.

At least one line, however, was lost from the later editions; compare 1827, which is found only in the first quarto.

The reader should not fail to remember that hanging was a death fit only for churls, and that any gentleman could almost as a matter of right claim the privilege of the axe instead of the noose.

1191–2. *His majesty*, etc. The means of reducing the quarto reading to a manageable pentameter (see the variants) were suggested by Dyce in his 2nd edition.

1194. *For why*, i.e. because.

1198. *Renowmed*, i.e. renowned. The Old French verb 'renommer' gave an English verb 'to renowm.' The Old French substantive 'renon' gave an English substantive 'renown.' Under the influence of the substantive there developed a secondary form of the verb, 'to renown,' which has now displaced the primary form. Under the influence of the verb there developed a secondary form of the substantive, 'renowm,' which failed to maintain itself in the language.

Schoeneich, *Der Litterarische Einfluss Spensers auf Marlowe*, 1907, 77, remarks that, although 'renowmed' occurs only once in *Edward II*, once in *Faustus*, 170, and twice in *Dido*, 372, 1168, yet it is found twelve times in *Tamburlaine*, apparently as a result of Spenserian influence, which he thinks was stronger on that play than on the other dramas of Marlowe. His statement that Marlowe always uses the substantive 'renown' is not accurate. Compare l. 1229; he had not seen the text of quarto 1594.

1204. *Will not these delaies beget my hopes?* Editors have suspected some corruption in this line. What delays does Gaveston mean? Various emendations have been proposed, for which see the variants. Tancock's interpretation, however, is, if not quite satisfactory, at least preferable to emending the line. "Gaveston scarcely restrains his scorn for Warwick, and puts the question to him sarcastically; then turns seriously to the other lords and assures them that he has no 'hopes' of life, yet still, certain as death is, this small favour might be granted."

1215. *In the honor of a king.* Compare *Tamburlaine*, 764, 'in earth' for 'on earth,' and see Ward's note on l. 19 of *Faustus* in his edition of *Faustus and Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay:*

" Modern English would here demand ' on ' ; but the interchanges between Elizabethan and modern usage with regard to the employment of these prepositions are numerous." Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, pp. 234–5, notes the great confusion in Middle English between ' in ' and ' on,' owing partly to a real similarity of meaning (as in ' in a chair ' and ' on a chair '), and partly to the fact that in unaccented instances the two words would practically coincide. Compare the note on 576 above. For Marlowe's use of ' in ' and ' on,' see Schau, *Sprache*, etc., *Marlowes*, 81, 84 f.

1217. *When, can you tell?* A common phrase, indicating scornful or incredulous refusal of a request. Compare 1 *Henry IV*, II, i. 42 ff. :

" *Gads.* I pray thee, lend me thine.
Sec. Car. Ay, when ? canst tell ? Lend me thy lantern, quoth he ? marry, I'll see thee hanged first."

1220. *Zease.* See the variants.

1222. *In keepe*, i.e. in custody ; *Taming of the Shrew*, I, ii. 118 :

" For in Baptista's keep my treasure is."

1242. *Had-Iwist*, i.e. ' had I known,' " the exclamation of those who repent of what they have rashly done " (Dyce). So in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, II, ii. :

" Unles Lord *Promos* graunt me grace, in vayne is had ywist."

1256. *st. dir. Manent Penbrooke, Arundell.* Dyce explains the fact that Arundell appears as Mat. and Matr. from this point on by remarking that the parts of Arundell and Matrevis were probably played by the same actor, and that in the playhouse copy such a confusion could easily be made. Similar mistakes are not rare in Elizabethan dramatic texts. Sometimes the name of the actor himself will appear in place of that of the person whom he represents. Fleay has made a study of the play from the point of view of the number of actors required (see his Introduction, 10), and thinks that all the parts, with the exception perhaps of the Poor Men, could be taken by about thirteen actors.

1257. *My Lord.* ' Of Arundell ' is inserted by some editors on the basis of a suggestion of Dyce.

1263. *Adamant*, that is, magnet, as in Lyly, *Euphues*, I, 321: "And yet it is no great mervaile for by experience we see yt the Adamant cannot drawe yron if ye Diamond lye by it, nor vice allure ye courtier if vertue be retained."

1269. *st. dir. Exit cum servis Pen.* Bullen translates this as "Exit with James and Pembroke's men," i.e. Gaveston goes out. So Tancock and Dyce. Fleay, however, has "Exit Pembroke, with his men," so that Gaveston remains behind, and the speech of the Horse-boy is addressed to him.

1271. *O treacherous Warwicke.* Scene 10. Another part of the country (Dyce). Holinshed says that Gaveston was captured by Warwick in Deddington (see note under 1076). L. 1259 seems to indicate that he was to be taken to Cobham. On the Elizabethan stage, with its indeterminate locations, such matters were not of importance, except when a clear understanding of the plot depended on them, and then the dialogue was carefully arranged with a view to giving the hearer the requisite information.

1273. *Bands*, that is, bonds.

1275. *Center of all my blisse.* This expression has not yet received satisfactory interpretation. Tancock: "The meaning is, 'Must this day, which was to be, which seemed to be, the point on which all bliss centred since on it I was to see the King, must this day be the end of my life? What a melancholy contrast!' The very thought of the 'bliss' bids him urge Pembroke's men to speed to the King. In an almost parallel passage [1898], all misfortune 'centres' on the day which is 'the last of all my bliss,' of being king." But the two passages are not parallel, except verbally, and the difference consists in the very fact that it is bliss which centres in the one case and misfortune in the other, though the time of the centring is the same. L. 1898 is perfectly clear, and Tancock's explanation of this line evidently forces the sense. McLaughlin says: "*Centre* apparently is used, as often, for the middle of the earth, and therefore the lowest spot for falling. So Wiclif (Murray, *s.v.*), 'As the centre is the lowest of all things.' It is perhaps in keeping with the spirited tone of the speech to accept the punctuation that puts an interrogation after 'life,' and an exclamation after 'bliss,' making 'centre of all my bliss!' his thought's apostrophe to the king. This is effective, and is borne

out by Edward's 'centre of all misfortune,' in [1898], yet it seems unlike Marlowe." Quite unlike Marlowe, one thinks. Such a 'thought's apostrophe' would never be understood by the audience; it represents a kind of obscurity of which Marlowe is never guilty, for the obscurity does not arise from the use of a word in an unfamiliar sense, but from the use of a figure of speech the relation of which to the context is not clear and could not be made clear by gesture or facial expression. Nor is it an obscurity like that commented on in the note to l. 1185, where the obscurity exists perhaps for the reader, but would not for the spectator. The second suggestion of McLaughlin, based on the punctuation of Cunningham and Wagner, is certainly to be rejected unhesitatingly, and we should fall back on his first suggestion, namely, that 'centre' is used in the sense of 'the lowest place for falling.'

1284. *Shadow.* Fleay's interpretation of 'shadow' as 'representative, plenipotentiary,' is almost ludicrously ineffective. I might refer here, on the occasion of Gaveston's last appearance, to a curious superstition that seems later to have grown up regarding him, but of which I have found only a single trace. "En Angleterre, le roy Edouard tenait Gaveston, qui enfin fut trouvé diable desguisé, et fut cause que le roy fist mourir des bons seigneurs; dont, pour sa juste recompense, ce roy Edouard fut vif embroché en fer bruslant" (*Variétés Historiques et Littéraires*, ed. Fournier, 1856, vi. 205, in a tract entitled *Les choses horribles contenue en une lettre envoyée à Henry de Valois*, etc., 1589). Of course, the superstition that Gaveston had himself employed witchcraft in gaining the affection of Edward, and that his mother was a witch, is well known, and was, for example, utilized by Drayton in his *Legend of Pierce Gaveston.*

1289. *I long to heare an answer from the Barons.* Scene II. "This scene may be supposed to pass in Yorkshire. The reader must have already perceived how little Marlowe thought about the location of the scenes" (Dyce). The composite character of this scene is well illustrated by Fleay's analysis of it. Ll. 1289–1319 deal with the year 1312 (Fleay has 1311, but Gaveston was put to death in 1312); 1320–45 deal with the year 1320 or thereabout, for it was then that the Despensers acquired their influence over the king; 1346–76 deal with the year 1325, in which Isabella went to France, ostensibly as Edward's representative; 1377–1435 deal with the period just after

Gaveston's murder in 1312; 1435–72 with Edward's campaign against the Barons in 1321–2 (Fleay, 1320). By means of this skilfully constructed scene, in other words, Marlowe passes over a period of about eight years, and knits the events of the last part of the king's reign closely with those of the first five years

1300. *Longshankes.* This was the self-explanatory nickname of Edward I. In the first scene of Peele's *Edward I* Edward's mother calls the king Longshanks, and the name had become so identified with him, that as the present passage shows, it was not thought in the least undignified. Edward I was of unusual stature, "exceeding the height of the ordinary man by a head and shoulders," according to Trivet (Tout, *Political History of England*, III, 136).

1307. *Counterbuft.* A 'counterbuff' is a blow struck counter, that is, in an opposite direction, so that the object is driven back or made to recoil, as in Kyd's translation of *Cornelia*, V, i. 193:

> "One while the top doth almost touch the earth,
> And then it riseth with a counterbuffe."

1315. *Powle their tops.* The figure is that of cutting off the top of a tree and thus making a pollard of it. Compare *Richard II*, III, iv. 34 f.:

> "Cut off the heads of too-fast-growing sprays,
> That look too lofty in our commonwealth:
> All must be even in our government."

Fleay, however, takes 'powle' as meaning 'pole,' on the strength of ll. 118, 1308, together with the last scene in *Macbeth*, in which, he says, "the tyrant's head is brought in on a pole." 'To pole their tops' would be a curious phrase.

1316. *Haught.* This word, often spelled 'haut,' and derived from Fr. *haut*, is a doublet of 'haughty,' Fr. *hautain*, and is common in Elizabethan English. Compare the quotation under l. 2065 below.

1317. *Affection*, i.e. caprice; but 'affections' ordinarily meant passions or emotions, as in Lyly, *Euphues*, I, 185: "and followed unbrideled affection, most pleasant for his tooth." So in *Tamburlaine*, 359: "His deep affections make him passionate."

1318. *As though your highnes were a schoole boy still.* So in 1 *Henry VI*, I, i. 35–6 :

> " None do you like but an effeminate prince,
> Whom, like a school-boy, you may over-awe."

1324 ff. *Loe, with a band of bowmen and of pikes.* The following lines have more than a tinge of Marlowe's earlier declamatory style, as in *Tamburlaine*, 2682 ff. :

> " *Ther.* My Lord the great and mighty Tamburlain,
> Arch-Monarke of the world, I offer here,
> My crowne, my selfe, and all the power I have,
> In all affection at thy kingly feet.
> *Tam.* Thanks good Theridamas.
> *Ther.* Under my collors march ten thousand Greeks
> And of Argier and Affriks frontier townes,
> Twise twenty thousand valiant men at armes," etc.

1337. *Earle of Wilshire.* Tancock rightly says that Edward is here speaking to the younger Spenser. In l. 1532 the elder Spenser is referred to as " my lord of Winchester," for, although Marlowe does not mention the fact, he was created earl of Winchester in 1322, after the battle of Boroughbridge. Tancock says : " It is possible that, since in Marlowe's time, as now, the eldest son of the Marquess of Winchester bore the title of Earl of Wiltshire, he antedated the connexion between the titles purposely." Historically the younger Spenser was not given this earldom.

1343. *Thou shalt have crownes of us, t'outbid the Barons.* This line furnishes additional proof that in 1337 Edward was speaking to the younger Spenser. " About this season [1321], the lord William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioied diverse faire possessions to him descended from his ancestors, but through want of good governement was run behind hand, offered to sell a certeine portion of his lands called Gowers land lieng in the marches there, unto diverse noble men that had their lands adioining to the same, as to the earle of Hereford, and to the two lords Mortimers, the uncle & nephue, albeit the lord Mowbraie that had maried the onelie daughter and heire of the lord Bruce, thought verelie in the end to have had it, as due to his wife by right of inheritance. But at length (as unhap would) Hugh Spenser the yoonger lord chamberleine, coveting that land (bicause it laie neere on each side to other lands that he had in those parts) found such means through the kings furtherance

and helpe, that he went awaie with the purchase, to the great displeasure of the other lords that had beene in hand to buie it." (Holinshed, 325.)

1346. *st. dir. Enter the Queene and her sonne, and Levune.* This is the first appearance of the prince; from this point on the queen very rarely appears unaccompanied by him. Examining Holinshed, we can see the reasons for this. Except for the mention of his birth, Prince Edward has no attention paid him by the chronicler until this point in the narrative is reached and he goes to France to do homage for the French lands. Thenceforward he is frequently referred to, but always, of course, in connection with the queen's plots.

Levune is not mentioned by Holinshed.

1352. *Hath seazed Normandie into his hands.* Marlowe doubtless uses the name of Normandy because it was more familiar to his audience, but in reality not Normandy, but Ponthieu and Guienne were in question. "The French K. being latelie come to the crowne [Charles IV, who came to the throne in 1322], sent certeine ambassadors unto king Edward, to wit, the lord Beoville, and one Andreas de Florentia a notarie, to give summons unto him from the French king, to come and doo homage for the lands which he held in France, as for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu. And though the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the sonne, and the lord chancellour Robert Baldocke did what they could to procure these ambassadors, not to declare the cause of their comming to the king, yet when they should depart, they admonished the king to come and doo his homage unto the French king, and upon this admonition the said Andreas framed a publike instrument, by vertue whereof, the French king made processe against the king of England, and seized into his hands diverse townes and castels in Aquitaine, alledging that he did it for the contumacie shewed by the king of England, in refusing to come to doo his homage, being lawfullie summoned, although the king was throughlie informed, that the summons was neither lawfull, nor touched him anie thing at all." (Holinshed, 334, *sub anno* 1323.) Edward sent various representatives to France, who failed to effect a satisfactory settlement, and hostilities were engaged in before the point arrived at by Marlowe in l. 1357 f. See below.

1357–8. *Madam, in this matter, We will employ you and your*

little sonne. "Finally [1325] it was thought good, that the queene shuld go over to hir brother the French king, to confirme that treatie of peace upon some reasonable conditions. She willinglie tooke upon hir the charge, and so with the lord John Crumwell, & other foure knights, without any other great traine, taking sea, she landed in France, where of the king hir brother she was joifullie received, and finallie she being the mediatrix, it was finallie accorded, that the K. of England should give to his eldest sonne the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu, and that the French king receiving homage of him for the same, he should restore into his hands the said countie, and the lands in Guien, for the which they were at variance, and for those countries which had beene forraied and spoiled, the earle of Aniou should fullie see him satisfied, as right did require.

"Upon the covenants the French king wrote his letters patents into England, and other letters also of safe conduct, as well for the sonne as for the king himselfe, if it should please him to come over himselfe in person. Upon which choise great deliberation was had, as well at Langdon, as at Dover, diverse thinking it best that the king should go over himselfe; but the earle of Winchester and his sonne the lord chamberleine, that neither durst go over themselves with the king, nor abide at home in his absence, gave contrarie counsell, and at length prevailed so, that it was fullie determined that the kings eldest sonne Edward should go over, which turned to their destruction, as it appeared afterward.

". . . the morrow after the Nativitie of our ladie, and on the thursdaie following, the kings sonne tooke the sea, and with him," etc. (Holinshed, 336.)

1377–1435. *What, lord Arundell,* etc. Fleay suggests that this passage "should come after line [1319], not for chronological accuracy (Marlowe cared little for that), but in the natural sequence of the story."

1415. *To fire them from their starting holes.* 'Starting-holes' was a hunting term, applied to holes in which wild animals might take refuge and from which they might be started by means of fire. Compare l. 1817.

1416 ff. *By earth, the common mother of us all.* See note on l. 2096. Schoeneich (compare note on l. 748), cites *Faerie*

Queene, II, i. 10, as the source of this line: "As on the earth, great mother of us all." In this thesis Schoeneich has collected a number of Spenser and Marlowe parallels, some of which had been noticed before by Dyce, Crawford, and others, that have real significance, but he has vitiated his results unfortunately by bringing forward a good many cases in which there is no reason to suppose relation of any kind. The coincidence of language in this instance is perhaps significant, but the idea is universal.

1420. *I will have heads and lives for him as many*, etc. Verity, in the essay already several times cited, p. 108, compares 3 *Henry VI*, I, i. 95–7:

> "Plantagenet, of thee and these thy sons,
> Thy kinsmen and thy friends, I'll have more lives
> Than drops of blood were in my father's veins."

1434. *Earle of Gloster, and lord Chamberlaine.* On p. 325 Holinshed says that "Hugh the sonne was made high chamberleine of England, contrarie to the mind of all the noblemen." Spenser had married the eldest sister of the younger Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester; on that account he was sometimes called 'Earl of Gloucester,' and Holinshed more than once gives him that title, though he had no claim to it.

1440. *I wis*, i.e. I know. The phrase was the result of popular misunderstanding of Middle English 'ywis,' which came from Anglo-Saxon 'gewis,' meaning 'certainly.' As the prefix *y* came to be unintelligible in its proper sense, it was identified with the pronoun I. There was no form in the language from which 'I wis' could be legitimately derived.

1446. *Plainer*, that is, 'complainer.' The simple verb, 'to plain,' is still possible in poetry, but the noun has gone out of usage.

1450. *This Spencer, as a putrifying branche.* "Thus all the kings exploits by one means or other quailed, and came but to evill successe, so that the English nation began to grow in contempt by the infortunate government of the prince, the which as one out of the right waie, rashlie and with no good advisement ordered his dooings, which thing so greeved the noblemen of the realme, that they studied day and night by what means they might procure him to looke better to his office

and dutie; which they judged might well be brought to passe, his nature being not altogither evill, if they might find shift to remoove from him the two Spensers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, who were gotten into such favour with him, that they onelie did all things, and without them nothing was doone, so that they were now had in as great hatred and indignation . . . both of the lords and commons, as ever in times past was Peers de Gaveston the late earle of Cornwall. But the lords minded not so much the destruction of these Spensers, but that the king ment as much their advancement, so that Hugh the sonne was made high chamberleine of England, contrairie to the mind of all the noblemen, by reason whereof he bare himselfe so hautie and proud, that no lord within the land might gainsaie that which in his conceit seemed good." (Holinshed, 325.)

1468. *Edward with fire and sword followes at thy heeles.* Marlowe's Edward is not so absolutely a weakling as to be incapable of spasmodic bursts of energy upon sufficient occasion. Holinshed does not emphasize this phase of the king's character, but an attentive reader of the chronicle cannot fail to realize that Marlowe is here again simply translating events into character. Holinshed goes no further than to say, p. 342, that Edward did not lack 'stoutnesse of stomach,' if only his evil counsellors had permitted him to display that quality in honourable exploits.

1471. *We marche to make them stoope.* Lancaster was defeated in two battles in the year 1322, but Marlowe has condensed them into one. In the battle of Burton-on-Trent, fought early in March, Edward was present, and his forces made several fruitless attempts to cross the river before they were finally successful in doing so. This feature of the battle was evidently what gave rise to ll. 1473–81. At Boroughbridge, fought 18th March, Edward was not present, and Sir Andrew Harkley was in command. He brought Lancaster as prisoner to the king.

As the events leading up to this struggle were not utilized by Marlowe (see Introduction, pp. ci.–cii.), a brief account of them should perhaps be here given.

The continued incompetence of Edward's government distracted the kingdom for some years after the death of Gaveston, and its evil effects were driven home by pestilence and constant warfare with Scotland. It was not, however, until 1321 that open war broke out once again between the king and his peers.

The greed of the Spensers, and the hatred of them on the part of the nobles, brought matters then to a head. In that year the possessions of the Spensers in the Welsh march were attacked, and their lands plundered. Then the Spensers were themselves banished by parliament. In the same year occurred the insult offered to the queen at the castle of Badlesmere. Fired by this, Edward took up arms, besieged and took the castle, and exacted revenge. For this purpose he was able to raise a large force, and he seized upon the opportunity to obtain a revenge that doubtless sat still nearer his heart. Lancaster, incompetent chief of opposition, had alienated many of his own party, and had neglected his opportunities. He was attacked, defeated, captured, and put to death in 1322. Edward had recalled the Spensers from banishment shortly beforehand.

1472. *st. dir. Alarums, excursions.* Scene 12. Dyce does not make a new scene at this point, but it seems well to do so, as the stage, according to the preceding direction, was empty of figures (for the principle involved in marking this division, but in passing over others where the scene changes without the characters leaving the stage, see G. F. Reynolds, *Modern Phil.*, ix. 79, 82, note). 'Excursions' means the passage across the stage of small bodies of soldiers in simulation of a battle.

1483. *Looke, Lancaster, yonder is Edward.* It was more or less characteristic of battle-scenes on the Elizabethan stage that they should be preceded by a confrontation of the opposing leaders, who indulged in mutual recrimination and upbraiding. (See Fischer, *Kunstentwicklung der Engl. Tragödie*, 107, 129.) Marlowe has varied somewhat from the type by placing the scene in the midst of the battle rather than just before it. (Compare note on 1471.)

1489. *Th'ad best betimes forsake them and their trains.* The correction of 'thee' of the quartos (followed by all editors except Brooke) to 'them' is imperative, and I had made it before seeing Brooke's edition. 'Th'ad' is to be taken as 'thou had,' for if taken as 'they had' the line does not make sense. The form 'had' need not stand in the way of such an interpretation. Compare ll. 1524, 2195–6, and see the examples cited by Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, pp. 1–2.

1502. *Make Englands civill townes huge heapes of stones.* The

suggestion of this line came pretty clearly from Marlowe's own work in translating Lucan. Compare ll. 25–6:

> " That rampiers fallen down, huge heapes of stone
> Lye in our townes, that houses are abandon'd," etc.

One might also notice in connection with the next line, Greene's *James IV*, 1977: " The plough shall furrow where the pallace stood."

1505. *Saint George for England.* But Saint George was not officially the patron of England until the reign of Edward III.

1508. *Now, lustie lords.* Scene 13. Another part of the field (Dyce). Dyce makes a new scene here, but there is no more reason for doing so than at l. 1472.

1529. *Tis but temporall that thou canst inflict.* Compare Peele's *Edward I*, scene 5, 55: " It is but temporal that you can inflict."

1530. *Die to live.* The expression is a conventional one, as in Lyly, *Euphues*, I, 308–9: " So shouldest thou lyve as thou mayst dye, and then shalt thou dye to lyve." So in Kyd's *Cornelia*, IV, ii. 135: " But so to die, as dying I may live." The general sentiment of Lancaster's speech is much like that of Benvolio in the 1616 quarto of *Faustus*, 1313: " We'le rather die with griefe, then live with shame." Lancaster has, however, modified the conventional phrase with some reference to the well-known Latin saying, *Melius virtute mori quam per dedecus vivere.* In I, iv. of Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*, where the Latin saying occurs, is found a few lines later, " To die with poison than to live with shame."

1532. *My lord of Winchester.* Spenser the father was made earl of Winchester in the parliament following the battle of Boroughbridge.

1533. *Warwicke.* Warwick had died in 1315 (see Introduction p. ciii.). " Guie earle of Warwike, a man of great counsell and skilfull providence, departed this life this yeare, and was buried at the abbeie of Bordisley " (Holinshed, 323).

1534. *Off with both their heads.* " Thus the king seemed to be revenged of the displeasure doone to him by the earle of Lancaster, for the beheading of Peers de Gaveston earle of Cornewall, whom he so deerelie loved, and bicause the erle of

Lancaster was the cheefe occasioner of his death, the king never loved him entirelie after. . . . In this sort came the mightie earle of Lancaster to his end, being the greatest peere in the realme, and one of the mightiest earles in christendome: for when he began to leavie warre against the king, he was possessed of five earledomes, Lancaster, Lincolne, Salisburie, Leicester, and Derbie [see l. 102], beside other seigniories, lands, and possessions, great to his advancement in honor and puissance" (Holinshed, 331). Lancaster was not put to death quite in the summary fashion of the play, but was first tried and condemned of treason by a commission appointed by Edward.

Fischer, *Kunstentwicklung der Engl. Tragödie*, 124, appears to have misunderstood the play at this point. Speaking of Edward, he says: "In der Verblendung des Sieges rächt er sich übergrausam. Dadurch erwächst der Opposition, zu der sich nun in sündhafter Liebe für Mortimer auch die Königin gesellt, neue Kraft." But no Elizabethan would have for a moment considered that Edward's action in putting Lancaster and Warwick to death was 'übergrausam.' They had been guilty of treason in the full sense of the word, and the penalty they paid was the penalty to which they had with full understanding laid themselves liable. In addition, of course, there were personal reasons of deep weight for Edward's action. Nor is his condemnation of these lords the cause of the new life infused into the opposition. The queen, as we see from ll. 1555 ff., had already begun her machinations against him. Mortimer would have joined her in any case, and the misgovernment of the king has been painted in such colours (ll. 951 ff.) that we have no difficulty in understanding how the overthrow of the king should take place with the approval of the country in general. In any case, Marlowe does not give any indications that he took the point of view Fischer attributes to him.

1539. *Mortimer to the tower.* Marlowe supplies no explanation of the lenient treatment of Mortimer. We should expect him to share the fate of Lancaster and Warwick, because of the part taken by him in the struggle against Gaveston, because of his violent demeanour earlier in the play, and because of the suspicion entertained by Edward in lines 439 ff. With regard to the last point, it should be noted that Edward exhibits little sense of personal injury on account of the supposed love-affair, and that his anger is mainly aroused against the Barons as

opponents of the royal prerogative. Of course, Marlowe could not have beheaded Mortimer at this point, for he should have had no play left. Historically the facts are, first, that Mortimer was not present at this battle, but had submitted earlier to the king and been imprisoned; second, that he had had nothing whatever to do with the opposition to Gaveston; third, that his amour with Isabella seems to have begun after the escape to France. Nevertheless, Marlowe's failure to explain Mortimer's imprisonment affords an additional example of the way in which he was hampered by the historical character of his material. Holinshed, who relates Mortimer's escape from the Tower, does not tell us how he came to be imprisoned, so that Marlowe is not contradicting his authority.

1543. *Ragged.* One might suspect here a misprint for 'rugged,' were it not that a number of instances of a similar use of 'ragged' occur. In *Richard III*, IV, i. 102, Queen Elizabeth addresses the Tower as 'rude ragged nurse,' and in Lyly's *Euphues*, I, 181, we are told that painting is meeter for 'ragged walls' than fine marble.

1549. *Levune, the trust that we repose in thee.* Illustration of this and the immediately following speeches demands a rather long extract from Holinshed, 336–7: "In the beginning of the next spring [1325], king Edward sent into France unto his wife and sonne, commanding them, now that they had made an end of their businesse, to returne home with all convenient speed. The queene receiving the message from hir husband, whether it was so that she was staied by hir brother, unto whome belike she had complained after what manner she was used at hir husbands hands, being had in no regard with him: or for that she had no mind to returne home, bicause she was loth to see all things ordered out of frame by the counsell of the Spensers, whereof to heare she was wearie: or whether (as the manner of women is) she was long about to prepare hir selfe forward, she slacked all the summer, and sent letters ever to excuse hir tarriance. But yet bicause she would not run in any suspicion with hir husband, she sent diverse of hir folkes before hir into England by soft journies. . . .

". . . King Edward not a little offended with king Charles, by whose meanes he knew that the woman thus lingered abroad, he procured pope John to write his letters unto the French king, admonishing him to send home his sister and hir sonne unto hir

husband. But when this nothing availed, a proclamation was made in the moneth of December, the nineteenth yeare of this kings reigne, that if the queene and hir sonne entred not the land by the octaves of the Epiphanie next insuing in peaceable wise, they should be taken for enimies to the realme and crowne of England. Here authors varie, for some write, that upon knowledge had of this proclamation, the queene determined to returne into England foorthwith, that she might be reconciled to hir husband.

" Others write, and that more truelie, how she being highlie displeased, both with the Spensers and the king hir husband, that suffered himselfe to be misled by their counsels, did appoint indeed to returne into England, not to be reconciled, but to stir the people to some rebellion, wherby she might revenge hir manifold injuries. Which (as the proofe of the thing shewed) seemeth to be most true, for she being a wise woman, & considering that sith the Spensers had excluded, put out, and remooved all good men, from and besides the kings councell, and placed in their roomes such of their clients, servants and freends as pleased them, she might well thinke that there was small hope to be had in hir husband, who heard no man but the said Spensers, which she knew hated hir deadlie. Whereupon, after that the tearme prefixed in the proclamation was expired, the king caused to be seized into his hands, all such lands, as belonged either to his sonne, or to his wife. . . .

" The king of England stood not onelie in doubt of the Frenchmen, but more of his owne people that remained in France, least they thorough helpe of the French should invade the land, and therefore he commanded the havens and ports to be suerlie watched, lest some sudden invasion might happilie be attempted, for it was well understood, that the queene meant not to returne, till she might bring with hir the lord Mortimer, and the other banished men, who in no wise could obteine anie favour at the kings hands, so long as the Spensers bare rule. . . .

" King Edward understanding all the queenes drift, at length sought the French kings favour, and did so much by letters and promise of bribes with him and his councell, that queene Isabell was destitute in manner of all helpe there, so that she was glad to withdraw into Heinault, by the comfort of John the lord Beaumont, the earle of Heinault his brother, who being then in the court of France, and lamenting queene Isabels case, imagined with himselfe of some marriage that might be had betwixt the

yoong prince of Wales, and some of the daughters of his brother the earle of Heinault, and thereupon required hir to go into Heinault, and he would be glad to attend hir. She gladlie consenting thereto, went thither with him, where she was most joifullie received with hir sonne, and all other of hir traine.

"The Spensers (some write) procured hir banishment out of France, and that she was advised by the earle of Arthois cheefelie to repaire into Heinault. Also I find, that the Spensers delivered five barrels of silver, the summe amounting unto five thousand markes, unto one Arnold of Spaine a broker, appointing him to conveie it over into France, to bestowe it upon such freends as they had there of the French kings counsell, by whose means the king of France did banish his sister out of his relme. But this monie was met with upon the sea by certeine Zelanders, and taken, togither with the said Arnold, and presented to the earle of Heinault, . . . of which good hap the earle and queene Isabell greatlie rejoised."

1559. *Thats it, these Barons and the subtill Queene Long leveld at.* Apparently this is the principal passage upon which Marlowe relies for reconciling the seeming contradiction in the character of Isabella. It should be noted, on the one hand, that there has been nothing hitherto to show either that the queen was hypocritical or that the barons entertained any design of replacing Edward by his son; on the other, that the queen in the latter part of the play is represented as an accomplished hypocrite. Both aspects of her character are to be found in Holinshed, where of course they find no reconciliation at all; the unsatisfactory nature of Marlowe's portrait of Isabella then arises, *not*, as suggested by Professor McLaughlin (see Introduction, p. cviii., note 2), from any theory as to the proper management of the sympathy of the audience, but from too close an adherence to the source. In this respect the play has not yet emerged from the chronicle history stage, and Marlowe here failed to discharge one of the chief duties of the historical dramatist. The discrepancy observable in Holinshed's account of the character of Isabella he apparently realized and attempted to overcome by temporary devices. Our criticism is that he seems hardly to have perceived that these devices are merely temporary and do not go to the root of the matter. Levune's remark is very skilfully designed to insinuate into the mind of the spectator the idea that Isabella has been hypocritical in her

attitude in the earlier part of the play, and to reinforce the interpretation of her conduct that Edward gives us in ll. 449, 1022. But it is only for the *spectator*, who naturally has little time to look back and weigh evidence, that this result is accomplished. The *reader* will turn again to the soliloquies of the queen and note the fact that in them she would have no reason for playing the hypocrite. Marlowe's device for reconciling the two aspects of the queen's character consists then in an intentional misleading of the spectator. It will be remembered that few Elizabethan plays were written with a view to undergoing the test of being read (see Introduction, p. lxxv.), a fact of the highest importance for a proper understanding of them.

The following extract from Tout, *Political History of England*, 1216–1377, 1905, p. 292, will give the reader what he finds lacking in both Holinshed and Marlowe: "The older nobles were already alienated, when the Despensers provoked a quarrel with the queen. Isabella was a woman of strong character and violent passions, with the lack of morals and scruples which might have been expected from a girlhood passed amidst the domestic scandals of her father's household. She resented her want of influence over her husband, and hated the Despensers because of their superior power with him. The favourites met her hostility by an open declaration of warfare. In 1324 the king deprived her of her separate estate, drove her favourite servants from court, and put her on an allowance of a pound a day. The wife of the younger Hugh, her husband's niece, was deputed to watch her, and she could not even write a letter without the Lady Despenser's knowledge. Isabella bitterly chafed under her humiliation. She was, she declared, treated like a maidservant and made the hireling of the Despensers. Finding, however, that nothing was to be gained by complaints, she prudently dissembled her wrath and waited patiently for revenge."

1560. *Leveld.* The quarto reading was corrected by Dyce from a conjecture in Dodsley, 1825.

1563. *Clap so close.* 'To clap' was to 'set to work briskly,' as in *Measure for Measure*, IV, iii. 43: "I would desire you to clap into your prayers."

1569. *Faire blowes the winde.* Scene 14. London, near the Thames (Dyce).

1572. *A brother, no, a butcher of thy friends.* Compare *Tamburlaine*, III: "What, shall I call thee brother? no, a foe."

1573. *Banish me.* Kent was not banished to France, but was sent there in the course of the negotiations concerning Edward's default of homage for his French lands, according to Holinshed, 335. Then suddenly, p. 337, we find him on the queen's side. See note on 1007.

1581. *But hath thy potion wrought so happilie?* "About the same time [1323], the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmor, giving his keepers a drinke that brought them into a sound and heavie sleepe, escaped out of the tower of London where he was prisoner. This escape of the lord Mortimer greatlie troubled the king, so that immediatlie upon the first news, he wrote to all the shiriffes of the realme, that if he chanced to come within their roomes, they should cause hue and crie to be raised, so as he might be staied and arrested, but he made such shift, that he got over into France, where he was received by a lord of Picardie, named monsier John de Fieules, who had faire lands in England, and therefore the king wrote to him, reproving him of unthankfulnesse, considering he had beene ever readie to pleasure him, and to advance his profits and commodities, and yet notwithstanding he did succour the said lord Mortimer, and other rebels that were fled out of his realme" (Holinshed, 334–5). The escape of Mortimer from the Tower is narrated at length by Drayton in Book III of *The Barons' War*.

1586. *A, boye, our friends.* Scene 15. Paris (Dyce). For this scene, see the extract from Holinshed under 1549.

1592. *A loves*, i.e. 'he loves.' See note on l. 576.

1597. *Doost.* Dyce conjectures 'must,' Collier 'dar'st.'

1605. *And shake off all.* Broughton in a copy of Robinson's edition in the British Museum suggests 'Share with us.'

1608. *Have.* Broughton conjectures 'heave.'

1610. *Proudest*, i.e. exceedingly proud. Compare *Hero and Leander*, I, 37: "Some say, for her the fairest Cupid pyn'd." Other examples are given by Vogt, *Das Adjektiv bei Marlowe*, 1908, 11. Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, p. 55, regards this use of the superlative as the result of the influence of Latin style.

1615. *Tanaise*, i.e. Tanais, the Latin name for the Don.

1629. *Not I.* Broughton suggests ' not so.'

1636. *A many friends.* ' Many ' is often found in Elizabethan English as a noun denoting an indefinite number, as in " A many of our bodies," *Henry V*, IV, iii. 95. As a result of confusion with the adjective use of the word, which of course is not followed by a partitive genitive construction with ' of,' arises the use found in the text (Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, p. 95). Perhaps the similar expression ' a few,' which still may be used in both ways, may have been of influence. It is worth noticing that though we do not to-day say ' a many friends,' we do say ' a great many friends.' (Schau, *Sprache*, etc., *Marlowes*, 1901, p. 36, cites ' a many tears ' from Tennyson's *Miller's Daughter*.)

1638. *Faction.* Broughton wishes to read ' our faction.'

1644. *Deserv'd.* Broughton suggests ' earn'd.'

1651. *To bid the English king a base.* ' To bid a base ' is an expression taken from the game of prisoner's base, a game in which one player attempts to touch others as they run between designated bases. Hence the phrase means ' to challenge,' and is in that sense frequent in Elizabethan literature. Compare *Edward I*, scene xiii. 77: "So shall I bid John Baliol base from thee."

1652. *How.* Dyce originated the reading ' Now ' followed by several editors.

1657–8. *These comforts . . . at your commaund.* Compare *Edward I*, scene vi. 59–60:

> " This comfort, madam, that your grace doth give
> Binds me in double duty whilst I live."

1660. *Motion*, i.e. plan or proposal. The word still retains that sense in parliamentary procedure. So in the *Spanish Tragedy*, II, iii. 22–3:

> " Ile make the motion to my soveraigne liege,
> And worke it if my counsaile may prevaile."

1668. *Thus, after many threats.* Scene 16. An apartment in the royal palace (Dyce).

1670. *With his friends.* Broughton conjectured ' henceforth.'

1678. *St. dir. Spencer reads their names.* The list is, of course, explanatory of the previous phrase, " great execution done

through the realme." The names read by Spencer were undoubtedly taken from the list given by Holinshed, 331, of those executed after the defeat of the barons. "On the same day, the lord William Tuchet, the lord William fitz William, the lord Warren de Lisle, the lord Henrie Bradborne, and the lord William Chenie barons, with John Page an esquire, were drawne and hanged at Pomfret aforesaid, and then shortlie after, Roger lord Clifford, John lord Mowbraie, and sir Gosein d'Eovill barons, were drawne and hanged at Yorke. At Bristow in like manner were executed sir Henrie de Willington, and sir Henrie Montfort baronets; and at Glocester, the lord John Gifford, and sir William Elmebridge knight; and at London, the lord Henrie Teies baron; at Winchelsie, sir Thomas Culpepper knight; at Windsor, the lord Francis de Aldham baron; and at Canturburie, the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere, and the lord Bartholomew de Ashbornham, barons. Also at Cardiffe in Wales, sir William Fleming knight was executed: diverse were executed in their countries, as sir Thomas Mandit and others."

For the interest taken by the audience in such lists, compare Introd., p. li.–liv.

1683. *Gets.* Broughton, 'will get.'

1685. *Reward for them can bring in Mortimer.* See note under 1581, and Holinshed, p. 338: "Whosoever could bring the head or dead corps of the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, should have for his labour a thousand marks." This proclamation, however, was made after the queen and Mortimer had landed in England.

1692. *Letters, my lord.* Information as to the actions and plans of Isabella and her party was in reality brought over by Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, "which hitherto had remained with the queene in France, stale now from hir, and got over into England, opening to the king all the counsell and whole mind of the queene" (Holinshed, 337).

1706. *Lead the round,* i.e. lead the dance. Compare the term, 'a round dance.' But the Elizabethan round dance was made up of several persons stationed to form a ring; round dances of the present day, such as the waltz, are of later origin, and Elizabethan England had nothing corresponding to them.

1707. *A Gods name,* i.e. 'in God's name,' see note to l. 576.

In *Much Ado*, I, i. 144, the Folio reads " keepe your way, a Gods name." So in *Taming of the Shrew*, I, ii. 195. In *Richard II*, II, i. 251, occurs ' o' Gods name,' and again, III, iii. 146.

1709 f. *Gallop a pace, bright Phoebus.* See note on l. 2017. Editors cite *Romeo and Juliet*, III, ii. 1 ff. : " Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds," etc.

1710. *And duskie night, in rustie iron carre.* Compare *Faerie Queene*, I, v. 28 : " Then to her yron wagon she [Night] betakes "; *Tamburlaine*, 2075 : " Let ugly darknesse with her rusty coach," etc.

1716. *To Bristow.* See under 1751.

1719. *Now, lords.* Scene 17. Near Harwich (Dyce).

" But queene Isabell and hir sonne, with such others as were with hir in Heinault, staied not their journie for doubt of all their adversaries provision, but immediatlie after that they had once made their purveiances, and were readie to depart, they tooke the sea, namelie the queene, hir sonne, Edmund of Wodstoke earle of Kent, sir John de Heinault aforesaid, and the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of good experience in the warres, and diverse others, having with them a small companie of Englishmen, with a crue of Heinewiers and Almains, to the number of 2757 armed men, the which sailing foorth towards England, landed at length in Suffolke, at an haven called Orwell besides Harwich, the 25 daie of September [1326]." (Holinshed, 337.)

1721. *Belgia*, i.e. the Netherlands.

1725–6. *And their sides With their owne weapons gorde.* See Marlowe's own translation of the first book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 3 : " Whose conquering swords their own breasts launcht." 3 *Henry VI*, II, v. 55 ff., dramatizes the idea elaborately.

1730. *And made the channels overflow with blood.* Schoeneich (see note on 1416) compares *Faerie Queene*, III, ix. 35 : " And Xanthus sandy bankes with blood all overflowne."

1731. *Of thine own people.* A number of editors punctuate so that this phrase qualifies ' blood ' in the preceding line.

1734. *Ye must not grow so passionate in speeches.* It is significant of Marlowe's growth in dramatic sense that he would never in *Tamburlaine* have permitted a lyrical outburst such as that of the queen to be cut short for such reasons.

1735. *That.* The reading of Cunningham and others was suggested by Dyce. Bullen rectifies the metre by printing ' Lords ' as an independent line.

1744. *Remoove these flatterers from the king.* " Adam de Torleton the bishop of Hereford, which latelie before had beene sore fined by the king, for that he was accused to stirre the people to rebellion, and to aid the barons (as yee have heard) made a pithie oration to the armie, declaring that the queene and hir sonne were returned onelie into England, to the intent to persecute the Spensers, & reforme the state of the realme " (Holinshed, 339). This was the customary pretence of English rebels, in history as well as in drama (see *Richard II*, II, iii. 166–7; *Henry VI*, Pt. II, V, i. 36), and represents the early emergence of the fundamental constitutional principle that the king's ministers, not the king, are responsible for misgovernment.

1749. *Fly, fly, my Lord.* Scene 18. Near Bristol (Dyce).

1750. *Her friends doe multiply.* " Immediatlie after that the queene and hir sonne were come to land, it was woonder to see how fast the people resorted unto them ; and first of all, the earle Marshall," etc. (Holinshed, 337).

" At the time of the queenes landing he [the king] was at London, and being sore amazed with the newes, he required aid of the Londoners. They answered, that they would doo all the honour they might unto the king, the queene, and to their sonne the lawfull heire of the land : but as for strangers & traitors to the realme, they would keepe them out of their gates, and resist them with all their forces : but to go foorth of the citie further than that they might returne before sunne-setting, they refused, pretending certaine liberties in that behalfe to them granted in times past, as they alledged " (*ibid.*, p. 338).

1751. *Shape we our course to Ireland.* " The king . . . departed towards the marches of Wales, there to raise an armie against the queene " (Holinshed, 338).

" In the meane time, the king being come to Bristow, left that citie in the keeping of the earle of Winchester. And with the earles of Glocester and Arundell, and the lord chancellor sir Robert Baldocke, he sailed over into Wales, there to raise a power of Welshmen in defense of himselfe against the queene and hir adherents, which he had good hope to find amongest the Welshmen, bicause he had ever used them gentlie, and shewed no

rigor towards them for their riotous misgovernance. Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, he might easilie escape over into Ireland, and get into some mounteine-countrie, marish-ground, or other streict, where his enemies should not come at him" (*ibid.*, 338–9).

It will be noticed how Marlowe simplifies the action; and indeed fuller extracts from Holinshed might profitably have been given to illustrate the large amount of material bearing directly upon the struggle that he yet omits.

1754. *R'enforce.* Almost all editors have altered to 'reinforce.' Dyce says that the word is, though spelled 'reinforce,' to be pronounced as in text; but others pronounce as a trisyllable, as is shown bythe wayin which they alter the line to mend the metre.

1762. *Vilde,* i.e. vile. Compare *Tamburlaine,* 4245, "Vild Tyrant." This form of the word is common.

Unkinde, that is, unnatural, the regular meaning of the word in Elizabethan English. See Lyly, *Euphues,* I, 206: "If thou [a woman] haste belyed women, he will judge thee unkynde."

1774. *Suspect,* i.e. suspicion, as in l. 1840 and *Spanish Tragedy,* III, iii. 15: "Besides, this place is free from all suspect."

1783. *Lord warden of the realme.* "But now touching the king, whilest he was thus abroad, and no man wist where he was become, proclamations were made in the queenes armie dailie, in the which he was summoned to returne, and to take the rule of the relme into his hands, if he would be conformable to the minds of his true liege men; but when he appeared not, the lords of the land assembled in councell at Hereford, whither the queene was come from Bristow, and there was the lord Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine made warden of England, by common decree, unto whome all men, as to the lord warden of the realme, made fealtie, in receiving an oth of allegiance to be faithfull and loiall to him" (Holinshed, 339).

1797. *The Maior of Bristow knows our mind.* The scene is evidently near Bristol. For the following action, compare Holinshed, 339: "But now to speake of the queene . . . she . . . turned hir journie toward Wales to follow the king, and comming to Oxenford, staied there a while. . . . These words spoken, the queene accompanied with a great power, departed from Oxenford, and went straight unto Glocester, and sent before hir unto Bristow the earle of Kent, the kings brother, sir

John of Hennegew, with other, to take the earle of Winchester. They did their endevour with such diligence, that the townesmen, compounding to be saved harmlesse in bodie and goods, delivered the towne and castell unto the queene, & to hir sonne the prince. . . . From Glocester she . . . went to Bristow, and the morrow after hir thither comming, being the even of the apostles Simon and Jude, through the instant calling upon of the people, the earle of Winchester was drawne foorth in his cote armor unto the common gallows, and there hanged. His head was after cut off, and sent to Winchester, whereof he was earle."

1802. *This Edward is the ruine of the realme.* Bullen is beyond question right in refusing to follow Dyce in assigning this line to Mortimer. No inconsistency is involved in accepting the quarto assignment to Kent, for in l. 1769 Kent tells us that he must, for his own safety, dissemble. Fleay's reading makes Kent give the prince a lesson in statecraft.

1808. *Catiline.* Lucius Sergius Catilina, *d.* 62 B.C., a debauched but very able Roman noble, conspired against the republic with other desperate men, but his plot was defeated by the exertions of Cicero, and Catiline himself was slain at the battle of Faesulae. The present passage is illustrative of the free and indiscriminate use of classical allusions of which other examples have been referred to. Catiline did not revel in the wealth and treasury of Rome, though he would have liked to do so, nor were the Spensers conspiring to overthrow the government, nor would such a person as Rice ap Howell in the early fourteenth century have been likely to know much about Catiline. It should be said, however, that classical allusions of all kinds and degrees of appositeness were a commonplace feature of poetic style during the last part of the sixteenth century, and that it is a marked sign of maturing powers in Marlowe that he makes use of them far less frequently in *Edward II* than in his earlier plays.

1809. *Reveld in Englands wealth and treasurie.* This line repeats part of l. 1745. 'Treasurie' is in both cases used in the sense of 'treasure,' as in the quotation given under 953.

1815. *Shipt but late for Ireland, with the king.* "The king in this meane time kept not in one place, but shifting hither and thither, remained in great care. . . . The king with the earle of

Glocester, and the lord chancellor, taking the sea, meant to have gone either into the Ile of Lundaie, or else into Ireland, but being tossed with contrarie winds for the space of a weeke togither, at length he landed in Glamorganshire, and got him to the abbeie and castell of Neith, there secretlie remaining upon trust of the Welshmens promises" (Holinshed, 339).

1820. *What resteth?* 'Rest' often was used in the sense of 'to be done,' Schmidt, *Shakespeare Lexicon, s.v.* So *Hamlet*, III, iii. 64: "What then? what rests?" *Tamburlaine*, 2805; "It resteth now then that your Majesty Take all advantages," etc.

1832. *Of countenance*, i.e. influential, of importance, of authority. So in Lyly, *Euphues*, II, 90: "Thou wilt say that she is a Lady of great credit, & I heere of no countenance," i.e. she is a lady of importance, but I, her suitor, am of no importance here in England. Compare *Julius Cæsar*, I, iii. 158–60:

> "And that which would appear offence in us,
> His countenance, like richest alchemy,
> Will change to virtue and to worthiness."

1833. *Runnagates*, i.e. runaways. The word occurs several times in Marlowe. See *Tamburlaine*, 1155, 1323; *Dido*, 1673.

1837. *Have you no doubt, my Lorde.* Scene 19. Within the Abbey of Neath (Dyce). For this scene, in addition to the extract under 1815, compare the following passages from Holinshed, 339–40: "The queene remained about a moneths space at Hereford, and in the meane while sent the lord Henrie erle of Leicester, and the lord William la Zouch, and one Rice ap Howell, that was latelie delivered out of the tower where he was prisoner, into Wales, to see if they might find means to apprehend the king by helpe of their acquaintance in those parts, all three of them having lands thereabouts, where it was knowne the king for the more part kept. They used such diligence in that charge, that finallie with large gifts bestowed on the Welshmen, they came to understand where the king was, and so . . . they tooke him in the monasterie of Neith, . . . togither with Hugh Spenser the sonne called earle of Glocester, the lord chancellour Robert de Baldocke. . . . The king was delivered to the earle of Leicester, who conveied him by Monmouth and Leadburie, to Killingworth castle, where he remained the whole winter. The earle of Glocester, the lord chancellor, and Simon

de Reading, were brought to Hereford, and there presented to the queene, where on the foure & twentith of November, the said earle was drawne and hanged on a paire of gallowes of fiftie foot in height. . . . The common fame went, that after this Hugh Spenser the sonne was taken, he would receive no sustenance, wherefore he was the sooner put to death, or else had he beene conveied to London, there to have suffered. . . . The chancellour Robert de Baldocke being committed to the custodie of Adam de Torleton bishop of Hereford, remained at Hereford in safe keeping till Candlemasse next, and then the bishop being at London, appointed him to be brought up, where not without the bishops consent (as was thought) he was taken out of his house by violence, and laid in Newgate, where shortlie after through inward sorow and extreame greefe of mind he ended his life." Baldock, being in orders, was theoretically amenable only to ecclesiastical discipline.

1844. *Father, thy face should harbor no deceit.* Compare Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, III, i. 72: "This face of thine shuld harbour no deceit."

Miss Lee remarks, *New Shak. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–6, 245, that there is "a close contiguity of thought between the despondency" of Edward in this scene and that of Mycetes in *Tamburlaine*, 664 ff., and of Henry in scene viii. of *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*.

1850–1. *But what is he . . . made miserable.* Tzschaschel (p. 24) suggests that Marlowe is thinking of a Latin quotation in Holinshed, p. 341:

> "miser atque infoelix est etiam rex,
> Nec quenquam (mihi crede) facit diadema beatum."

But the language of Marlowe's lines is hardly close enough to the original to prove that he was translating, especially as the sentiment is a very common one.

'Emperie' is a favourite word with Marlowe. Compare *Tamburlaine*, 134, 235, etc.

1855. *Suckedst.* The expression "Hast thou . . . suckt Philosophy" occurs in *Jeronimo* (ascribed to Kyd), II, iii. 7–8.

1856. *This life contemplative.* Edward has in mind the mediæval and Renaissance distinction between the contemplative life of the monk (or the philosopher) and the active life of, for example, the statesman or the soldier. The distinction is

fundamental to an understanding of the ethical philosophy of the Renaissance, and meets us at every turn in the literature of the period.

McLaughlin compares *Richard II*, III, iii. 147–8:

" I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,
My gorgeous palace for an hermitage,
My gay apparel for an alms-man's gown," etc.

1870. *Awkward windes.* Miss Lee, *New Shak. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–6, 244, notes this phrase as occurring in *The First Part of the Contention*, scene x. 38.

And sore. Broughton suggests ' and with sore.'

1876. *Mickle*, i.e. much, a northern form common in Elizabethan writers; Marlowe has it again, *Dido*, 851.

1880–1. *Baldock, this drowsines*, etc. Crawford (see note on 151) compares *Arden of Feversham*, III, ii. 16–17:

" I am so heavy that I can scarce go;
This drowsiness in me bodes little good."

1881. *st. dir. Welch hookes.* It is not known exactly what the form of the Welsh hook was, but it seems to have been a kind of partisan. Compare Fairholt, *Costume in England, s.v.* Welsh-hooks.

1889–90. *Quem dies*, etc. From Seneca's *Thyestes*, 613–14.

" For whom the morning saw so great and high,
Thus low and little 'fore the even doth lie,"

is Jonson's translation of these lines at the end of his *Sejanus*. This passage of Seneca is very common in Elizabethan and Renaissance literature. Compare *Edward III*, V, i. 27–30, and see Introd., p. xcv.–xcvi.

1894. *Stand not on titles.* Compare *Tamburlaine*, 2447–8:

" But yet if Sigismond
Speake as a friend, and stand not upon tearmes."

Baldock and Spenser should have been arrested in proper form by giving them their titles, as in *Henry V*, II, ii. 145 ff.: " I arrest thee of high treason, by the name of Richard Earl of Cambridge."

1898–9. *O, my starres! Why do you lowre unkindly on a king?* Compare Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, V, iv. 82–3:

" Ah heavens, that hitherto have smilde on me,
Why doe you unkindly lowre on Solyman?"

1906. *Earnes*, i.e. grieves.

1917. *Killingworth*, that is, Kenilworth, a common form of the word, see the extract from Holinshed under l. 1837. There is a singular note on Longfellow's *The Birds of Killingworth* in the Cambridge edition of *Longfellow*, p. 669. "Killingworth in Connecticut was named from the English town Kenilworth in Warwickshire, and had the same orthography in the early records, but was afterwards corrupted into its present form." There was no 'corruption' involved, for the corrupt form was much older than the town.

1924. *Let Plutos bels ring out my fatall knell.* Compare Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, I, i. 115: "The bells of Pluto ring revenge," etc.

1926. *Hath Edward.* The insertion of 'hapless' by some editors is based on a suggestion of Dyce, who experienced some difficulty in interpreting the line. The repetition of 'these' seemed to him suspicious; in the one case 'these' would refer to Spenser and Baldock, but in the other case to whom? So Dyce omitted 'and these,' suggesting the insertion of 'hapless' to fill out the line. Fleay thinks that one 'these' refers to the 'hags' of the preceding line! But the point is really very simple: Edward hath no friends but these (the monks) and these (Spenser and Baldock), and these (Spenser and Baldock) must die. The spectator would never be puzzled, but the reader is too likely to forget that the monks are still present. It should constantly be remembered that Marlowe did not write his plays to be read. The variants on the next line show that Dyce was not the first editor to be disturbed by the passage.

1929. *Shorter by the heads.* A frequent euphemism, if the word is in this instance applicable, for 'beheading.' See Peele's *Edward I*, scene ii. 349: "I'll short that gain-legged Longshanks by the top." Tancock cites *Richard II*, III, iii. 10 ff.:

> "The time hath been,
> Would you have been so brief with him, he would
> Have been so brief with you, to shorten you,
> For taking so the head, your whole head's length."

1930. *Well, that shalbe, shalbe.* Compare *Faustus*, 75–6:

> "What doctrine call you this, *Che sera, sera*,
> What wil be, shall be?"

1932. *Hence, fained weeds, unfained are my woes.* So in *Edward I*, scene xxv. 122:

> " Unhappy king, dishonour'd in thy stock!
> Hence, feignèd weeds! unfeignèd is my grief."

This has been also noted by Verity.

The so-called 'etymological figure' illustrated by 'fained . . . unfained,' was very frequently employed in the drama of Marlowe's day. See many examples collected in Nelle, *Das Wortspiel*, etc., 30–1.

1934. *Life, farewell with my friends.* So in 2 *Henry VI*, III, ii. 356: " Yet now farewell; and farewell life with thee."

1935. *O, is he gone! is noble Edward gone?* A close parallel in *Spanish Tragedy*, II, v. 42: " Then is he gone? and is my sonne gone too? " In this line 'he,' as is shown by the context, refers to Horatio, as does 'my sonne'; the 'too' is redundant and misleading.

1937. *Rent*, a very common form of 'rend.' See ll. 2093, 2250; *Tamburlaine*, 2729.

1940. *Fleeted.* See note on l. 343.

1950. *Your Lordships.* Fleay makes his changes in ll. 1948, 1950 for the purpose of reducing this prose passage to metre.

1954. *Be patient, good my lord.* Scene 20. An apartment in Killingworth (Kenilworth) Castle (Dyce).

In regard to the preceding stage direction, modern editors (except Brooke, who prints merely the quarto reading) follow Reed (Dodsley, 1780) in identifying this bishop as the Bishop of Winchester. But it is doubtful whether this identification is correct. If Marlowe had any particular bishop in mind here, which is worth a question, it was probably the Bishop of Hereford, Adam Torleton. In the following extract from Holinshed, it will be seen that Hereford speaks for the commission in public, though Winchester and Lincoln had conferred with the king in private; moreover, see note on l. 2138. The commission sent to demand that Edward abdicate was composed, according to Holinshed, of a large number of persons—bishops, earls, barons, knights, and minor persons, twenty-four altogether. Doubtless some at least of these were on the stage as mutes, for it will be noticed that Trussel, though given a speaking part, is not mentioned in the stage direction. After discussing at length the

personnel of the commission, Holinshed goes on, pp. 340–1: "The bishops of Winchester and Lincolne went before, and comming to Killingworth, associated with them the earle of Leicester, of some called the earle of Lancaster, that had the king in keeping. And having secret conference with the king, they sought to frame his mind, so as he might be contented to resigne the crowne to his sonne, bearing him in hand, that if he refused so to doo, the people in respect of the evill will which they had conceived against him, would not faile but proceed to the election of some other that should happilie not touch him in linage. And sith this was the onlie meane to bring the land in quiet, they willed him to consider how much he was bound in conscience to take that waie that should be so beneficiall to the whole realme.

"The king being sore troubled to heare such displeasant newes, was brought into a marvelous agonie: but in the end, for the quiet of the realme and doubt of further danger to himselfe, he determined to follow their advise, and so when the other commissioners were come, and that the bishop of Hereford had declared the cause wherefore they were sent, the king in presence of them all, notwithstanding his outward countenance discovered how much it inwardlie grieved him; yet after he was come to himselfe, he answered that he knew that he was fallen into this miserie through his owne offenses, and therefore he was contented patientlie to suffer it, but yet it could not (he said) but greeve him, that he had in such wise runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithstanding he gave the lords most heartie thanks, that they had so forgotten their received injuries, and ceassed not to beare so much good will towards his sonne Edward, as to wish that he might reigne over them. Therefore to satisfie them, sith otherwise it might not be, he utterlie renounced his right to the kingdome, and to the whole administration thereof. And lastlie he besought the lords now in his miserie to forgive him such offenses as he had committed against them."

1955 f. *Imagine Killingworth castell were your court.* McLaughlin compares *Richard II*, I, iii. 275 ff.:

> "All places that the eye of heaven visits
> Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.
> Teach thy necessity to reason thus;
> There is no virtue like necessity."

The sentiment underlying both passages is one of the common-

places of both classical and Renaissance ethics. Compare, for example, Petrarch's *Letters*, II, 3, Quid sit exilium.

1961. *The greefes of private men are soone allayde.* Compare Tennyson's *Guinivere:*

> " For me, I thank the saints, I am not great.
> For if there ever come a grief to me
> I cry my cry in silence, and have done.
> None knows it, and my tears have brought me good;
> But even were the griefs of little ones
> As great as those of great ones," etc.

1962–5. *The forrest Deare . . . wrathfull pawe.* The herb referred to was known as dictamnum or dittany, supposed to possess healing virtues of which wild animals, and especially deer, had instinctive knowledge. Few figures of speech are commoner in earlier literature than that based upon this superstition. Tancock thinks that Marlowe took the idea of the whole passage from *Æneid*, xii. 4–8, 412–15, but the resemblances are not very striking. In the first passage the wounded lion does not tear his own flesh; in the second, it is not the deer, but the wild goat that makes use of the medicinal herb. In neither case is there any special resemblance in language to Marlowe's lines. These superstitions were so widely spread that very marked similarities between any two passages should be proved before one is to be thought of as the source of the other.

1994. *For hees a lambe, encompassed by Woolves.* Verity, Harness Prize Essay, 108, compares 3 *Henry VI*, I, i. 242:

> " Such safety finds
> The trembling lamb environed with wolves."

The figure is of course common enough, and needs no explanation, but it is worth notice perhaps that it is one of the stock comparisons furnished to the Renaissance by classical literature, in which it is frequent; as we know Marlowe to have been familiar with Ovid, perhaps such a passage as this was vaguely in his mind (Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, II, 363–4):

> " Accipitri timidas credis, furiose, columbas,
> Plenum montano credis ovile lupo."

1997. *Heavens turne it to a blaze of quenchlesse fier.* This is said by commentators to be an allusion to the crown given by Medea to Creusa, in the *Medea* of Euripides. The expression ' quenchless fire ' occurs in *Tamburlaine*, 3529; *Dido*, 481; on

the second passage Bullen remarks that the occurrence of the word ' quenchless ' would alone show the passage to be Marlowe's. But the force of his argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that ' quenchless fire ' occurs in Peele's *Tale of Troy*, 428, and in a song by Thomas Ford, printed in Bullen's *Lyrics from Elizabethan Songbooks*, 1891, p. 164. It should be noted that the *Tale of Troy* was printed as early as 1589. ' Quenchless ' is also found, as noted by Verity, Harness Prize Essay, 108, in 3 *Henry VI*, I, iv. 28 (' quenchless fury '), and *Lucrece*, 1554 (' quenchless fire ').

For ' heavens,' see note on l. 1029.

1998. *Tisiphon*, i.e. Tisiphone, one of the Furies, who were conceived of as having their heads wreathed with snakes instead of hair.

1998–9. *Or like the snakie wreathe*, etc. Crawford (see note on 151) compares *Arden of Feversham*, V, i. 150–1 :

> " That like the snakes of black Tisiphone
> Stong me with their embracings ! "

2000. *Englands Vines*. Compare l. 1451 ; Tancock cites *Richard II*, I, ii. 11 ff. :

> " Edward's seven sons, whereof thyself art one,
> Were as seven vials of his sacred blood,
> Or seven fair branches springing from one root," etc.

2010. *Here, take my crowne ; the life of Edward too*. With this passage should be compared the resignation of the crown by Richard II in IV, i., of Shakespeare's play. Richard displays a versatility of fancy, an activity of mind, and a subtlety of thought to which Edward can lay no claim. Richard is intellectually master of the situation, and his disdainful compliance with the demands urged upon him places his opponents at a moral disadvantage. Even Henry, distinctly the greater man as regards the play as a whole, appears dull and brutal in contrast. Perhaps Marlowe was unequal to the achievement of such a feat ; in any case, we may be sure that it would not greatly have interested him. The casuistry of a situation seems never to have attracted him, and he seems never to have created intellectual problems because of any sheer delight he took in solving them with easy mastery. As compared with Shakespeare's plays, Marlowe's at once appear deficient in ideas ; and no doubt they are. He was intellectually Shakespeare's inferior. Yet not perhaps to a degree so great as at first we think. This

deficiency in ideas is partly due to the fact that he approached his dramatic problem differently. It was the intense emotional conflict through which Edward passes that he wished to depict. Richard has schooled himself to endure before he comes into parliament, and except for an occasional outburst and for his complete breakdown at the end goes through his task of abdication in a manner almost perfunctory, discoursing the while with keen intellectual relish upon certain subtle aspects of the situation. Edward's undisciplined soul is the battle-ground of contending passions; it is "swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight"; and the spectacle of this conflict is just what Marlowe wished to present.

It is this fact which takes away the point from Faligan's criticism (*De Marlovianis Fabulis*, 1887, 180 f.) that the subject of the play was ill-chosen, since Edward is too weak and effeminate to enlist our sympathy. Rather might one say that Marlowe was attracted to Edward's reign by the opportunity it afforded him of dealing with scenes of intense anguish, this one, namely, and that of the murder. In such scenes Marlowe excelled. The finest scene in *Faustus* is of course the last, wherein the passionate agony of a doomed soul finds almost, naturally it could not be quite, adequate expression. Inferior to these, but yet dramatically the best parts of the play, are those passages in *Tamburlaine* in which the hero in the first suffers at the bedside of the dying Zenocrate, in the other realizes that he is himself subject to death.

2014. *So shall my eyes receive their last content.* In the same way *Tamburlaine* looks upon the body of Zenocrate just before his own death, and says:

> "Now eies, injoy your latest benefite."

2017–23. *Continue ever . . . wished crowne.* Compare *Faustus*, 1422–8:

> "Stand stil you ever mooving spheres of heaven,
> That time may cease, and midnight never come:
> Fair Natures eie, rise, rise againe, and make
> Perpetuall day, or let this houre be but
> A yeere, a moneth, a weeke, a naturall day,
> That Faustus may repent, and save his soule,
> *O lente, lente curite noctis equi:*
> The starres moove stil, time runs, the clocke wil strike,
> The divel wil come, and Faustus must be damnd."

Both passages might be contrasted with the earlier lines in

Edward II, 1709 ff.: "Gallop apace, bright Phoebus," etc., and all three may be regarded as outgrowths of the influence of Ovid, *Amores*, I, xiii. 40: lente currite, Noctis equi, which Marlowe uses in the *Faustus* passage and had translated in his *Ovid's Elegies*.

Thou celestiall sunne. Vogt, *Das Adjektiv bei Marlowe*, 59, suggests that this phrase is in imitation of the 'caelestia sidera' of Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, viii. 372. Vogt does show that Marlowe adopted from Ovid and Virgil, as well as other classical authors, a number of picturesque descriptive phrases, but whether this was one of them may well be doubted perhaps.

2020. *At a stay.* The phrase occurs in Dryden's *The Medal*, l. 93.

2039. *Ile not resigne; but, whilst I live.* Sander, *Das Moment der letzten Spannung in der englischen Tragödie bis zu Shakespeare*, 1902, 37, says of *Edward II* that it contains no moment of final suspense unless it be found in this line. The statement seems strange in view of Kent's break with Mortimer, suggested in ll. 2140, 2165, and carried out ll. 2208 ff., of his design to free the king, 2226 f., and of his attempt to do so, 2277 ff. It will be remembered that Marlowe has antedated this plot of Kent, and it can hardly be that he did not have in mind in so doing the purpose of creating suspense.

Whilst I live. Brereton (see under 881) suggests 'whilst I live Ile live.'

2062. *Inthronized.* Compare Ward's note on 'eternis'd,' in his edition of *Faustus and Friar Bacon*, scene i. l. 15 of his numbering. "This verb, formed from the adjective 'eterne,' which is used by Shakespeare, recurs in 1 Tamburlaine, i. 2; 2 Tamburlaine, v. 1 and v. 2; also in Friar Bacon, ii. 43, and towards the beginning of Greene's Orlando Furioso. Similar formations are 'royalize,' i.e. made royal, in 1 Tamburlaine, ii. 3; Friar Bacon, ix. 264, and xvi. 68; and Peele's Edward I, sc. i. 12; 'enthronize,' in Edward II, v. 1, and Peele's Edward I, sc. i. 250; 'scandalize,' i.e. turn into dishonour, in Lodge and Greene's A Looking-Glass for London and England; besides 'canonize,' in our scene, 118, and 'solemnize,' in Peele's Edward I, i. 250. A large collection of similar forms, including 'echoize' and 'chaoize,' is to be found in Cyril Tourneur's poem, The Transformed Metamorphosis. In the Epistle to the Reader prefixed to the 1594 edition of his Christs Teares ouer Jerusalem,

Nash (Works, ed. Grosart iv. 6) mentions among the objections taken to his style 'the often coyning of Italianate verbes which end all in Ize, as mummianize, tympanize, tirannize,' and defends his practice on the ground that 'no speech or wordes of any power or force to confute or perswade but must bee swelling and boystrous.'"

2064. *Or if I live, let me forget my selfe.* Compare *Richard II*, III, iii. 138–9:

> "Or that I could forget what I have been,
> Or not remember what I must be now."

2065. *My lorde.* See the same play, IV, i. 253 ff.:

> "*North.* My lord,—
> *K. Rich.* No lord of thine, thou haut insulting man,
> Nor no man's lord," etc.

Bish. My lorde. The change now generally adopted from the quarto reading is not so violent as at first appears, since it is well known that plays printed from stage copies (compare note on l. 437) often give entrances too early. Bartley (Berkeley) clearly does not enter until l. 2081, and the printer's eye, catching the word in the stage direction, assigned this line to him. Compare note on 2081.

2076. *With too much clemencie.* Is the reference to his sparing of Mortimer? See the note on 1539.

2081. *An other poast, what newes bringes he?* The reason for the transference of the stage-direction from 2064 is of course to be found in this exclamation of Leicester. Brereton (see under 881) objects to this reading.

2091. *I, my most gratious lord, so tis decreed.* "But now to make an end of the life, as well as of the reigne of king Edward the second, I find that after he was deposed of his kinglie honour and title, he remained for a time at Killingworth, in custodie of the earle of Leicester. But within a while the queene was informed by the bishop of Hereford, (whose hatred towards him had no end) that the erle of Leicester favoured hir husband too much, and more than stood with the suertie of hir sonnes state, whereupon he was appointed to the keeping of two other lords, Thomas Berkley, and John Matrevers, who receiving him of the earle of Leicester the third of Aprill, conveied him from Killingworth unto the castell of Berkley, situate not farre off from the river of

Severne, almost the midwaie betwixt Glocester and Bristow " (Holinshed, 341).

2096. *Immortall Jove.* In commenting on this passage and on line 1975, where occurs the phrase, ' to plaine me to the gods,' Tancock refers to his note on lines 1416 ff.: " This form of oath is classical and Virgilian rather than Christian and suitable to an English king. . . . So Tamburlaine often appeals to ' Jove.' Compare the words placed in the mouth of the actor Kempe in ' The Return from Parnassus ' (acted 1602) act iv. sc. 5 : ' Few of the university pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talke too much of Proserpina and Juppiter.' " The quotation from *The Return from Parnassus*, however, is hardly apt, since the author of the play is referring to the general practice of miscellaneous classical allusion, not so much to the particular matter of confused theology that we find illustrated in the Marlowe passages. Such a confused theology was characteristic of much Renaissance writing, especially perhaps when the piece in question was a purely imaginative work having no special relations of time or place. Thus the theology of Boccaccio's *Fiammetta* is at times Christian, at times pagan, with the result of being thoroughly confusing to the reader ; the same thing is true of the *Ameto* as well. The use of the plural ' gods ' in line 1975 might suggest that Marlowe is likewise mingling the two systems of thought. But it seems better to regard the plural in that line as an oversight, for the action of the play is so definitely localized in every way that it is incredible that Marlowe should have deliberately intended Edward II to adopt, even momentarily, pagan modes of religious expression. The use of the term ' Jove ' in the present line is not a parallel case, and so cannot be used against the view here suggested. ' Jove ' (or some equivalent epithet) is constantly found in places where it is perfectly clear that the writer intends to refer to the Christian God. Thus Dante, *Purgatorio*, vi. 118 :

" O sommo Giove,
Che fosti in terra per noi crocifisso."

In England many illustrations could be given. Legge, in *Richardus Tertius*, ed. Field, p. 86, makes the Archbishop of Canterbury use the phrase :

" Rector potens Olympi, et altitonans pater."

Other cases occur in the same play. Peele in *David and Bethsabe*

twice employs 'Jove' for 'God' (scenes 10 and 12). In the morality of *Everyman* occurs the curious expression, 'The highest Jupiter of all' (Dodsley, I, p. 118). Buckingham, in the *Lament of Buckingham, Mirror for Magistrates*, in invoking the curse upon Bannister, st. 102, says, 'This pray I, Jove.' See also the instances cited by Dyce in his note on *Faustus*, scene 1, line 74 (Bullen's numbering), and compare Herrick, *Hesperides*, 321.

It should be remarked, however, that in *Tamburlaine*, where Marlowe is dealing with subject-matter toward which he felt absolutely no responsibilities, the mythology is thoroughly confused, and it is quite impossible to formulate Tamburlaine's religious beliefs.

2109. *Faire Isabell.* Scene 21. An apartment in the royal palace (Dyce).

2115. *An old Wolfe by the eares.* Wagner refers to the Greek proverb, τὸν λύκον τῶν ὤτων ἔχω, but the idea lay even nearer to hand. A Latin saying, *lupum auribus tenere*, occurs in Terence, *Phormio*, 3, 2, 21, and Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 25. Thence it passed into the Renaissance humanistic drama, where it was very common (Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, II, 98), and it is frequently found in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. See *Lust's Dominion*, Dodsley, xiv. p. 148; Webster, *Vittoria Corombona;* Fletcher, *Island Princess*, V, ii.; Shirley, *Politician*, I, i.

2138. *Or this letter was sealed.* It would seem from this that Marlowe meant Winchester to learn of Edward's abdication by letter; yet Holinshed (see under l. 1954) says that Winchester was one of those sent to induce Edward to abdicate; the bishop present in the abdication scene was probably Hereford, that is, if we may suppose that Marlowe had there any particular bishop in mind. No doubt other bishops were also sent with Hereford, but the latter was in all the plotting against Edward one of the moving spirits, as he is here represented to be, and Holinshed gives him full credit for his activity. Indeed, it is interesting to see how Marlowe has thrust Hereford into the background as compared with Mortimer, whereas Hereford is far more prominent in the conspiracy against the king as Holinshed relates it. For instance, according to Holinshed (see under 2156), it was Hereford who devised and sent the ambiguous message leading directly to the murder.

2138. *Letter.* The omission of this word was suggested by Dyce.

2140. *Edmund laid a plot.* See the extract from Holinshed under l. 2156, and the note on 2374.

2141. *No more but so.* This is a common Elizabethan idiom, as in *Hamlet*, I, iii. 9 :

> " *Laer.* For Hamlet and the trifling of his favour,
> Hold it . . .
> The perfume and suppliance of a minute ;
> No more.
> *Oph.* No more but so ? "

Marlowe uses the phrase twice in *The Jew of Malta*, once, l. 1637, in much the same sense as here ; again, l. 1794, quite differently :

> " *Ith.* I charge thee send me 300 by this bearer, and this shall be your warrant ; if you doe not, no more but so."

2145. *Let me alone, here is the privie seale.* Tancock, Bullen, McLaughlin, Verity, follow Dyce in inserting after this line a stage direction—Exit the Bishop of Winchester. There seems to be no reason for doing so. Ll. 2137, 2144 show that the queen is not unwilling to speak freely before him, and the latter part of his speech shows that he is in thorough sympathy with them. It looks as though Dyce had made the bishop go out in obedience to Mortimer's ' let me alone,' as though the phrase were equivalent to ' leave me.' But it does not of course mean that, but rather what it does in l. 2130, ' I am quite able to manage the affair, to conduct it to a successful issue,' as in *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, ed. Steevens, p. 320, " Well, I if the villaines come, let mee alone with them," etc., or *As You Like It*, I, iii. 135 : " He'll go along o'er the wide world with me ; Leave me alone to woo him."

2149. *He lieth.* A reviewer of Bullen's edition of Marlowe in *Athenæum*, No. 2977, proposes : " And none but we shall know where Edward lies."

2156. *That he resigne the king to thee and Gurney.* " But forsomuch as the lord Berkley used him more courteouslie than his adversaries wished him to doo, he was discharged of that office, and sir Thomas Gourney appointed in his stead, who togither with the lord Matrevers conveied him secretlie (for feare least he should be taken from them by force) from one strong

place to another, as to the castell of Corfe, and such like, still remooving with him in the night season, till at length they thought it should not be knowne whither they had conveied him. And so at length they brought him backe againe in secret maner unto the castell of Berkley, where whilest he remained (as some write) the queene would send unto him courteous and loving letters with apparrell and other such things, but she would not once come neere to visit him, bearing him in hand that she durst not, for feare of the peoples displeasure, who hated him so extreamelie. Howbeit, she with the rest of hir confederats had (no doubt) laid the plot of their devise for his despatch though by painted words she pretended a kind of remorse to him in this his distresse, & would seeme to be faultlesse in the sight of the world ; for

Proditor illudit verbis dum verbera cudit.

But as he thus continued in prison, closelie kept, so that none of his freends might have accesse unto him, as in such cases it often happeneth, when men be in miserie, some will ever pitie their state, there were diverse of the nobilitie (of whom the earle of Kent was cheefe) began to devise means by secret conference had togither, how they might restore him to libertie, discommending greatlie both queene Isabell, and such other as were appointed governours to the yoong king, for his fathers streict imprisonment. The queene and other the governours understanding this conspiracie of the earle of Kent, and of his brother, durst not yet in that new and greene world go about to punish it, but rather thought good to take awaie from them the occasion of accomplishing their purpose. And hereupon the queene and the bishop of Hereford wrote sharpe letters unto his keepers, blaming them greatlie, for that they dealt so gentlie with him, and kept him no streictlier, but suffered him to have such libertie, that he advertised some of his freends abroad how and in what manner he was used, and withall the bishop of Hereford under a sophisticall forme of words signified to them by his letters, that they should dispatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof wrapped in obscuritie ran thus :

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est :
To kill Edward will not to feare it is good.

" Which riddle or doubtfull kind of speech, as it might be taken in two contrarie senses, onelie by placing the point in

orthographie called *Cõma*, they construed in the worse sense, putting the *Comma* after *Timere*, and so presuming of this commandement as they tooke it from the bishop, they lodged the miserable prisoner in a chamber over a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, trusting so to make an end of him, with the abhominable stinch thereof: but he bearing it out stronglie, as a man of a tough nature, continued still in life, so as it seemed he was verie like to escape that danger, as he had by purging . . . avoided the force of such poison as had beene ministred to him sundrie times before, of purpose so to rid him.

"Whereupon when they sawe that such practises would not serve their turne, they came suddenlie one night into the chamber where he laie in bed fast asleepe, and with heavie featherbeds or a table (as some write) being cast upon him, they kept him down and . . . thrust up into his bodie an hot spit. . . . His crie did moove manie within the castell and towne of Berkley to compassion . . ." (Holinshed, 341.)

2160. *Who now makes Fortunes wheele turne as he please.* Compare *Tamburlaine*, 369–70:

> "I hold the Fates bound fast in yron chaines,
> And with my hand turne Fortunes wheel about,"

and again, 2154–7:

> "Madam content your self and be resolv'd,
> Your Love hath fortune so at his command,
> That she shall stay and turne her wheele no more.'

2197–8. *Who should . . . the Queene.* Compare Lyly, *Euphues, Anatomy of Wit*, I, 264: "Is there any one more meete to bring up the infant, then she that bore it? or will any be so carefull for it, as shee that bredde it?"

2199. *Mother, perswade me not to weare the crowne.* "But the duke of Aquitaine, when he perceived that his mother tooke the matter heavilie in appearance, for that hir husband should be thus deprived of the crowne, he protested that he would never take it on him, without his fathers consent." (Holinshed, 340.) This is the only hint that Holinshed gave for the behaviour of the prince with reference to the deposition of his father, and probably forms the basis for such passages as ll. 1591, 1628.

2211–12. *I tell thee . . . a prince.* Editors usually give these lines as an aside to the queen. Surely Mortimer would not have laid the emphasis that he does upon 'false' and 'prince,' had

the words been intended solely for the queen's ears. Addressed to her, but not as an aside, the speech is perfectly natural and lends vividness to the dialogue, leading up as it does to the lines addressed to the prince. Certainly as an aside the lines do not harmonize with the tone of 2181–5.

Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, I, v. 71–2, shows a close resemblance in language:

> " It is not meete that one so base as thou
> Shouldst come about the person of a King."

2227. *Aged Edward.* McLaughlin says that Edward is called aged " for dramatic and emotional effect. He died at the age of forty-three. It is not necessary to explain this by saying that the Chronicles call him ' the old king,' by contrast with his son." See l. 2251, on which Bullen quotes a remark of Malone on *Richard II*, I, i. 1, " Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster ": " Our ancestors, in their estimate of old age, appear to have reckoned somewhat differently from us, and to have considered men as old whom we should esteem middle-aged. With them every man that had passed fifty seems to have been accounted an old man. . . . I believe this is made to arise from its being customary to enter into life in former times at an earlier period than we do now. Those who were married at fifteen had at fifty been master of a house and family for thirty-five years."

2229. *My lord, be not pensive.* Scene 22. Before Killingworth (Kenilworth) Castle (Dyce).

2242. *To keepe.* The suggestion to insert ' only,' followed by some editors, was originally made by Dyce.

2245. *Ayre of life.* " A Latinism,—aura vitae " (Dyce). Compare ' vitall aire,' *Tamburlaine*, 3012.

The somewhat similar fates and reigns of Edward II and Richard II were reflected in the traditions and popular beliefs concerning them, at least to some extent. There seems little doubt that Edward was subjected to treatment much like that which Marlowe tells us of, but there is apparently no ground for supposing that Richard in his imprisonment at Pomfret was treated otherwise than well, at least until the actual murder. Nevertheless, as Rolfe points out in his note on *Richard II*, V, v. 109: " In the manifesto of the Percies against Henry IV, issued just before the battle of Shrewsbury, Henry is distinctly

charged with having caused Richard to perish from hunger, thirst, and cold, after fifteen days of sufferings unheard of among Christians. Two years later the charge is repeated by Archbishop Scrope, but he adds 'ut vulgariter dicitur.'" See the note on 2526 below.

2248. *Sterv'd.* 'Sterve' was a common form of 'starve,' as in *Merchant of Venice*, IV, i. 138:

> "For thy desires
> Are wolvish, bloody, sterv'd, and ravenous."

2251–2. *Thus lives . . . by many.* Compare *Hero and Leander*, I, 75–6:

> "and despising many,
> Died ere he could enjoy the love of any."

2255 ff. *Heeres channell water.* The following incident, not to be found in Holinshed or Fabyan, is taken from Stow (*Annals*, ed. 1606, p. 350): "Moreover, devising to disfigure him that hee might not bee knowne, they determine for to shave as well the haire of his head, as also of his beard: wherefore, as in their journey they travailed by a little water which ranne in a ditch, they commanded him to light from his horse to be shaven, to whome, being set on a moale hill, a Barber came unto him with a basen of colde water taken out of the ditch, to shave him withall, saying unto the king, that that water should serve for that time. To whome Edward answered, that would they, noulde they, he would have warme water for his beard; and, to the end that he might keepe his promise, he began to weepe, and to shed teares plentifully."

2267. *All.* The omission of this word by some editors is based on a suggestion of Dyce.

2285. *Base villaines, wherefore doe you gripe mee thus?* The querulous, almost hysterical tone of this speech well exhibits the weakness of Kent's character. Compare ll. 2288, 2400.

2296. *The king must die.* Scene 23. An apartment in the royal palace (Dyce).

2301. *A friend.* Clearly the Bishop of Hereford. See extract from Holinshed under l. 2156.

2303. *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.* See note on 2138 and the extract from Holinshed under 2156. Tancock

says: "With this may be compared the answer of the oracle,

'Aio te Aeacida Romanos vincere posse.'

The use of a letter with its meaning varying according to the pointing or position of the stops is not uncommon in plays. Much of the fun of the comedy Ralph Roister Doister arises from a love-letter which can be read in two senses, Act iii. 4, 41, and Act iii. 5, 53. Compare The Players' prologue in A Midsummer Night's Dream, v. 1. 108." Collier notes that there is an epigram by Sir J. Harrington (i. 33), "Of writing with double pointing," in which this story is referred to. The closest parallel that I have observed is in Kingsley's *Saint's Tragedy, Poems*, 1893, I, 259: "Of the causes of her mother's murder the less that is said the better, but the prudent letter which the Bishop of Gran sent back when asked to join in the conspiracy against her is worthy notice. '*Reginam occidere nolite timere bonum est. Si omnes consentiunt ego non contradico.*'" Undoubtedly there was a traditional and widely current form for this ambiguous command. I have not seen Probst, referred to by Dorrinck, *Die Lat. Zitate*, etc., 1907, 20.

2316. *Lightborn.* This character is not found in Holinshed. See the extract relating Edward's murder under l. 2156. The name, 'Lightborn,' occurs, apparently as a translation of 'Lucifer,' as a devil's name in the Chester Creation play, see Eckhardt, *Die Lustige Person*, 70. Perrett, *Story of King Lear up to Shakespeare*, 113, speaking of the 'Messenger, or murtherer' in the old *Leir*, says: "This murderer is the traditional 'shaghayrd' villain (Sc. 24: p. 374, l. 20), modelled closely on the 'messenger' and murderer in 'Edward II,' except in that his attempt on Leir must fail. He is as resolute as Lightborn, and thinks as little of murdering a man (Sc. 15: p. 342, l. 30 ff.); is not likely to relent if his victims 'speake fayre' (Sc. 17: p. 346, l. 33); and is to be murdered too when he has done the deed (p. 347, l. 1 f.); all this, and the 'catlike dialogue he holds with the two helpless old men' (Sc. 19: compare Herford, KL., p. 10) is Marlowe," etc. But the two catlike dialogues are totally different in almost every respect, and I cannot see that the murderer in *Leir* is more like Lightborn than like almost any other Elizabethan murderer selected at random. What characterizes Lightborn is his horridly professional pride; murder is for him a fine art, he practises it with the nicety of the expert

and with a similar satisfaction, not merely for the reward. There is no hint of this in the other figure, and in the absence of resemblances in language or in details of situation and motive, such similarities as those cited above seem to go for little.

2324 ff. *Tis not the first time I have killed a man.* With the following catalogue of villainies, compare *Titus Andronicus*, V, i. 87–144; *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, IV, i; Gloucester's soliloquies, 3 *Henry VI*, III, ii. 124 ff.; V, vi. 68 ff.; *Richard III*, I, i. 1 ff. See in particular *The Jew of Malta*, 939 ff.:

> " As for myselfe, I walke abroad a nights
> And kill sicke people groaning under walls:
> Sometimes I goe about and poyson wells; . . .
> And after that was I an Engineere,
> And in the warres 'twixt France and Germanie,
> Under pretence of helping Charles the fifth,
> Slew friend and enemy with my stratagems. . . .
> But tell me now, how hast thou spent thy time?
> *Ithi.* Faith, Master,
> In setting Christian villages on fire," etc.

For Senecan and other parallels see my notes on 62, 12 and 63, 15, in *Belles Lettres* edition of *Sejanus*, 1911.

Examples of skill of the kind whereof Lightborn makes boast are the poisoning of the nuns, the challenge episode, the poisoning by flowers, etc., in *The Jew of Malta*, and the murder of Hamlet's father and its pantomimic reproduction in *Hamlet*. McLaughlin says: " Browning's *The Laboratory* gives the spirit of the practice, with the omission of those visible horrors from which the older poets did not flinch." Lightborn's education has been, it will be noticed, acquired in Italy, which served as the instructress of the rest of Europe in the arts of refined wickedness, according to Englishmen of Marlowe's day. (A somewhat exaggerated, but substantially true statement of the attitude they took toward her is in Vernon Lee's *Euphorion*, 55 ff., *The Italy of the Elizabethan Dramatists*.) So Barrabas learned in Italy much that he found of service in executing his designs in Malta. Compare *Jew of Malta*, 784 ff.:

> " I learn'd in Florence how to kisse my hand,
> Heave up my shoulders when they call me dogge,
> And ducke as low as any bare-foot Fryar."

2329. *Powder in his eares.* This is almost the method employed by Hamlet's uncle. Compare *Hamlet*, I, v. 60 ff., " with juice of cursed hebenon in a vial."

2341. *The prince I rule*, etc. Ben Jonson had it in mind at one time to write a play on the subject of Mortimer, and there exist about seventy lines of the opening scene. Worth observing is the fact that the play was to begin at precisely this point in Mortimer's career and that Jonson intended to develop precisely the conception of Mortimer's character which is conveyed in this speech. Mortimer's opening soliloquy in Jonson explains his principles of action, which are much the same as those of Marlowe's Mortimer, save that Jonson states them in a more generalized form, with less reference to the particular facts of the situation. The difference between the two speeches corresponds to the difference between the popular Machiavellianism current in the drama of Marlowe's day (Meyer, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama*, 1897) and the somewhat more matured conceptions of a generation later. Compare Briggs, *The Influence of Jonson's Tragedy in the Seventeenth Century, Anglia*, xxxv. 332.

Compare 1 *Henry VI*, V, v. 107–8 :

> " Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king ;
> But I will rule both her, the king, and realm."

2342. *Conge*, Fr. congé, a bow.

2345. *Feard am I more then lov'd :—let me be feard.* This is an adaptation of the classical ' oderint dum metuant.' Compare Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, 28, 97.

2349 ff. *They thrust upon me the Protectorship.* With this compare Richard's manner of accepting the crown in *Richard III*, III, vii. 44 ff.

2352. *Bashfull.* The word has here the sense of ' hypocritically modest.' Such was the character borne by the Puritans in the drama of the time.

2353. *Imbecilitie*, i.e. weak health, rendering him unable to discharge the duties of the office.

2354. *Onus quam gravissimum*, i.e. an exceedingly heavy burden.

The hypocritical method of obtaining power while seeming to abhor it is common in the Elizabethan drama ; Richard III employs it, and so does Tiberius in Jonson's *Sejanus*. In each case the procedure is the same in essentials, and in each case

there is historical authority, however trustworthy, for the dramatist's representation.

2356. *Suscepi that provinciam, as they terme it*, i.e. I assumed the office. Marlowe is apparently taking a fling at the use of the term *provincia*, though it is classical Latin in that sense.

2358. *The Queene and Mortimer.* "And bicause he [Edward III] was but fourteene yeares of age, so that to governe of himselfe he was not sufficient, it was decreed that twelve of the greatest lords within the realme should have the rule and government till he came to more perfect yeares. [Mortimer is not given by Holinshed among the twelve.] . . . These were sworne of the kings councell, and charged with the governement as they would make answer. But this ordinance continued not long: for the queene, and the lord Roger Mortimer tooke the whole rule so into their hands, that both the king and his said councellors were governed onelie by them in all matters both high and low" (Holinshed, 343).

"But the earle of March [Mortimer was given this rank in 1328] tooke the most part of the rule of all things perteining either to the king or realme into his owne hands: so that the whole government rested in a manner betwixt the queene mother and him. The other of the councell that were first appointed, were in manner displaced; for they bare no rule to speake of at all, which caused no small grudge to arise against the queene and the said earle of March, who mainteined such ports, and kept among them such retinue of servants, that their provision was woonderfull, which they caused to be taken up, namelie for the queene, at the kings price, to the sore oppression of the people, which tooke it displesantlie inough" (*ibid.*, p. 347–8). On p. 340 Holinshed had already said of Mortimer that "what he willed the same was doone, and without him the queene in all these matters did nothing."

2359. *Rule us.* Brooke says that Dodsley, Dyce, and Cunningham read 'rules us.' All of these, however, agree in reading 'rule us.' In fact, Dyce has a note on his divergence from the reading of quarto 1598 in each of his editions.

2362. *Maior sum*, etc. I am so great as not to be open to the attacks of fortune. The line is from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vi. 195.

2363. *And that this be the coronation day.* "The ambassadours with this answer [see under 1954] returning to London, declared the same unto all the states, in order as they had received it, whereupon great joy was made of all men, to consider that they might now by course of law proceed to the choosing of a new king. And so therupon the nine and twentith day of Januarie in session of parlement then at Westminster assembled, was the third king Edward, sonne to king Edward the second, chosen and elected king of England, by the authoritie of the same parlement, first (as before is said) confirmed by his fathers resignation: and the first day of his reigne they agreed to be the five and twentith of Januarie, in the yeare 1326 after the account of the church of England, beginning the yeare the five & twentith day of March, but by the common account of writers, it was in the yeare 1327" (Holinshed, 341).

2365. *st. dir. Enter the yong King.* Dyce suggests a change of scene at this point.

2368. *Cham. If any Christian, Heathen,* etc. "In connexion with the English coronation a number of claims to do certain services have sprung up, and before each coronation a court of claims is constituted, which investigates and adjudicates on the claims that are made. The most striking of all these services is that of the challenge made by the king's champion, an office which has been hereditary in the Dymoke family for many centuries. Immediately following the service in the church a banquet was held in Westminster Hall, during the first course of which the champion entered the hall on horseback, armed *cap-à-pie,* with red, white and blue feathers in his helmet. He was supported by the high constable on his right, and the earl marshal on his left, both of whom were also mounted. On his appearance in the hall a herald in front of him read the challenge, the words of which have not materially varied at any period, as follows: 'If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our sovereign lord, . . . king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, (son and) next heir unto our sovereign lord the last king deceased, to be the right heir to the imperial crown of this realm of Great Britain and Ireland, or that he ought not to enjoy the same; here is his champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor, being ready in person to combat with him; and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him, on what day

soever he shall be appointed.' The champion then threw down the gauntlet. The challenge was again made in the centre of the hall, and a third time before the high table, at which the king was seated. The king then drank to the champion out of a silver-gilt cup, with a cover, which he handed to him as his fee. The banquet was last held, and the challenge made, at the coronation of George IV in 1821. The champion's claim was admitted in 1902, but as there was no banquet the duty of bearing the standard of England was assigned to him. There is no record of the challenge having been ever accepted." *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., *s.v.* Coronation.

2374. *What traitor have wee there.* Marlowe has combined two efforts of Kent on Edward II's behalf. For the first, see the extract under 2156; for the second, the following from Holinshed, 348, *sub anno* 1329–30. "The king [Edward III] about the beginning, or (as other saie) about the middle of Lent, held a parlement at Winchester, during the which, Edmund of Woodstoke earle of Kent the kings uncle was arrested the morrow after saint Gregories day, and being arreigned upon certeine confessions and letters found about him, he was found guiltie of treason. There were diverse in trouble about the same matter, for the earle upon his open confession before sundrie lords of the realme, declared that not onelie by commandement from the pope, but also by the setting on of diverse nobles of this land (whome he named) he was persuaded to indevour himselfe by all waies and meanes possible how to deliver his brother king Edward the second out of prison, and to restore him to the crowne, whome one Thomas Dunhed, a frier of the order of preachers in London, affirmed for certeine to be alive, having (as he himselfe said) called up a spirit to understand the truth thereof, and so what by counsell of the said frier, and of three other friers of the same order, he had purposed to worke some meane how to deliver him, and to restore him againe to the kingdome. Among the letters that were found about him, disclosing a great part of his practise, some there were, which he had written and directed unto his brother the said king Edward, as by some writers it should appeare.

"The bishop of London and certeine other great personages, whome he had accused, were permitted to go at libertie, under suerties taken for their good demeanour and foorth comming. But Robert de Touton, and the frier that had raised the spirit

for to know whether the kings father were living or not, were committed to prison, wherein the frier remained till he died. The earle himselfe was had out of the castell gate at Winchester, and there lost his head the 19 day of March, chiefelie (as was thought) thorough the malice of the queene mother, and of the earle of March: whose pride and high presumption the said earle of Kent might not well abide. His death was the lesse lamented, bicause of the presumptuous governement of his servants," etc.

2406. *And shall my Uncle Edmund ride with us?* One asks whether the prince is consistently characterized. Would a boy old enough to speak as in ll. 1362 ff., ask this childish question?

Tetzlaff, *Die Kindergestalten bei den englischen Dramatikern*, etc., 1898, 64, remarks that Prince Edward in 3 *Henry VI*, "erinnert lebhaft an seinen Namensvetter Prinz Edward in Marlowes 'Edward II.' Beide Prinzen sind energische, edle Knaben, beide sind kühn und freimütig in der Rede; freilich entbehrt der Shakespearesche Prinz jener Zartheit des Gemütes, welche dem Marloweschen eigen ist. Beide schliessen sich eng an ihre Mütter an und lassen die Ehrfurcht vor ihren Vätern nicht ausser Acht."

2408. *Gurney, I wonder the king dies not.* Scene 24. A hall in Berkeley Castle (Lightborn presently speaks of 'the next room') (Dyce).

2417. *A body able to endure.* Edward II was tall and handsome, and of an unusually strong constitution. This fact is emphasized in the chronicle description of him and in the account of his death.

2432. *Pereat iste*, i.e., let *him* (that is, Lightborn) be slain. This addition to the message is hinted at by Mortimer in 2314, and ironically in 2337.

2433. *Lake.* Editors have been disturbed by this word; those who retain 'lake' take it as referring to the moat of the castle, or else by metaphor to the dungeon: others adopt Bullen's conjecture 'lock.' But N.E.D., under 'lake, *sb.* 4,' points out a transferred meaning of 'lake' occurring in the fifteenth century, namely, an underground dungeon, a prison. No sixteenth-century example is given. However, just before this definition, N.E.D. gives an instance from 1506 in which

'lake' is used of the den of lions into which Daniel was cast.

2438. *Spit.* The variant 'spet' of Q. 2 was a good contemporary form and should have been retained in all editions not based on Quarto 1.

2445. *So;—now.* Dyce supposes a change of scene at this point; Lightborn draws a curtain displaying the dungeon, and the action goes on in it. It is not clear at what point the bed (see l. 2440) is brought in. The bed has been introduced by l. 2479, and the table is brought at l. 2517.

2446. *Geare*, i.e. business, affair.

2449 ff. *Whose there, what light is that, wherefore comes thou?* Verity, in the essay cited, compares 3 *Henry VI*, V, vi. 29–33:

> " But wherefore dost thou come? is't for my life?
> *Glou.* Think'st thou I am an executioner?
> *K. Hen.* A persecutor, I am sure, thou art."

He refers also to *Richard III*, I, iv. 165 ff.

In connection with the following scene, as well as scene 20, must be quoted one of the most celebrated of Lamb's remarks on Elizabethan dramatists: " In a very different style from mighty Tamburlaine is the tragedy of Edward the Second. The reluctant pangs of abdicating royalty in Edward furnished hints, which Shakspeare scarcely improved in his Richard the Second; and the death-scene of Marlowe's king moves pity and terror beyond any scene ancient or modern with which I am acquainted" (*Works*, Temple edition, iv. 215).

2470 ff. *So that for want of sleepe and sustenance.* Compare *Tamburlaine*, 1734 ff.:

> " *Bai.* My empty stomacke ful of idle heat,
> Drawes bloody humours from my feeble partes,
> Preserving life, by hasting cruell death.
> My vaines are pale, my sinowes hard and drie,
> My iontes benumb'd, unlesse I eat, I die."

2475 f. *Tell Isabell. . . . Fraunce.* A not dissimilar passage in 2 *Henry VI*, I, iii. 53 f.:

> " I tell thee, Pole, when in the city Tours
> Thou ran'st a tilt in honour of my love
> And stolest away the ladies' hearts of France," etc.

And in Tennyson's *Passing of Arthur :*

" So like a shatter'd column lay the King ;
Not like that Arthur who, with lance in rest,
From spur to plume a star of tournament,
Shot thro' the lists at Camelot, and charged
Before the eyes of ladies and of kings."

Is not the germ of such passages to be found in the *quantum mutatus ab illo* of *Æneid*, II, 274 ?

2481. *Tragedie written in thy browes.* So ' characters graven in thy browes,' *Tamburlaine*, 364.

2484. *And even.* The superfluous ' and ' may perhaps be explained on the analogy of ' and if.' See note on l. 757.

2490. *Forgive my thought for having such a thought.* Fleay's emendation would have been better supported by 3 *Henry VI*, III, ii. 164, " O monstrous fault, to harbour such a thought," which he does not cite, than by his citation of *Richard III*, II, i. 104, " My brother slew no man ; his fault was thought."

2508. *O let*, etc. The punctuation in this line is that of the first three quartos. Some editors prefer to place the stop after ' yet.'

2510. *Something still busseth in mine eares, And tels me.* Compare *Faustus*, 439–40 :

" O something soundeth in mine eares :
Abiure this Magicke,"

and 625 :

" Who buzzeth in mine eares I am a spirite ? "

2517. *Runne for the table.* Dyce thinks that the red-hot spit is not produced on the stage. He is probably right, though it would not be the horror of the spectacle that would deter Marlowe from making use of it. Compare the end of the *Jew of Malta*, where Barrabas dies shrieking in the caldron ; in Chettle's *Hoffman*, one of the characters is slain by means of a red-hot iron crown pressed down upon his brows.

Verity notices the allusion to this scene in Peele's *Honour of the Garter*, 220 ff. :

" More loyal than that cruel Mortimer
That plotted Edward's death at Killingsworth,
Edward the Second, father to this King,
Whose tragic cry even now methinks I hear,
When graceless wretches murder'd him by night."

That the allusion is to the scene in Marlowe seems clear from the fact that Holinshed and Stow do not assign to Mortimer the prominent part in Edward's murder which Marlowe gives him. See note on l. 2138. And Verity also notes in his *Harness Prize Essay*, 73, n. 1, that Peele had mentioned Marlowe in the Prologue to the poem.

2524. *Take this for thy rewarde.* This killing of the murderer and thus catching him in his own trap is distinctly a Machiavellian touch as Machiavellianism was understood in Marlowe's day, more especially in England.

2526. *And beare the kings to Mortimer our lord.* There was a story that Edward escaped from Berkeley Castle, and passed his last years in the north of Italy; for a full discussion of this point see *Nuova Antologia*, 1901, April 1, 403 ff. In the same way, there grew up a story that Richard II had escaped from Pomfret and ended his life in Scotland. (See D.N.B. under Richard II, and compare note on l. 2245.)

2528. *Ist done, Matrevis?* Scene 25. An apartment in the royal palace (Dyce).

2530. *Matrevis, if thou now growest penitent.* "The queene, the bishop, and others, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and banished the lord Matrevers, and Thomas Gourney, who flieng unto Marcels, three yeares after being knowne, taken, and brought toward England was beheaded on the sea, least he should accuse the chiefe dooers, as the bishop and other. John Matrevers, repenting himselfe, laie long hidden in Germanie, and in the end died penitentlie" (Holinshed, 341–2).

2531. *Ghostly father*, i.e. 'priest,' a common phrase in this sense. As the priest brought the last sacraments to one at the point of death, so 'to be one's priest' signified 'to kill one,' as in *The Spanish Tragedy*, III, iii. 37: "Who first laies hand on me, ile be his Priest."

2538. *Joves huge tree*, i.e. the oak, sacred to Jove. Tancock compares the *magna Jovis quercus* of Virgil, *Georgics*, iii. 332.

2550. *Now, Mortimer, begins our tragedie.* For dramatic reasons Marlowe places the detection and punishment of Mortimer almost immediately after the murder of the king. In other respects also he departs from his source, displaying here the same

tendency to simplify that has been elsewhere noticed. The following is Holinshed's account, p. 348–9: " Also in a parlement holden at Notingham about saint Lukes tide [1330], sir Roger Mortimer the earle of March was apprehended the seventeenth day of October within the castell of Notingham, where the king with the two queenes, his mother and his wife, and diverse other were as then lodged. And though the keies of the castell were dailie and nightlie in the custodie of the said earle of March, and that his power was such, as it was doubted how he might be arrested (for he had, as some writers affirme, at that present in retinue nine score knights, beside esquiers, gentlemen and yeomen) yet at length by the kings helpe, the lord William Montacute, the lord Humfrie de Bohun, and his brother sir William, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Robert Ufford, the lord William Clinton, the lord John Nevill of Hornbie, and diverse other, which had accused the said earle of March for the murther of king Edward the second, found means by intelligence had with sir William de Eland constable of the castell of Notingham, to take the said earle of March with his sonne the lord Roger or Geffrey Mortimer, and sir Simon Bereford, with other.

" Sir Hugh Trumpington or Turrington (as some copies have) that was one of his cheefest freends with certeine other were slaine, as they were about to resist against the lord Montacute, and his companie in taking of the said earle. The manner of his taking I passe over, bicause of the diversitie in report thereof by sundrie writers. From Notingham he was sent up to London with his sonne . . . where they were committed to prison in the tower. Shortlie after was a parlement called at Westminster, cheefelie (as was thought) for reformation of things disordered through the misgovernance of the earle of March. But whosoever was glad or sorie for the trouble of the said earle, suerlie the queene mother tooke it most heavilie above all other, as she that loved him more (as the fame went) than stood well with hir honour. For as some write, she was found to be with child by him. They kept as it were house togither, for the earle to have his provision the better cheape, laid his penie with hirs, so that hir takers served him as well they did hir both of vittels & cariages. . . . But now in this parlement holden at Westminster he was attainted of high treason expressed in five articles, as in effect followeth. First, he was charged that he had procured Edward of Carnarvon the kings father to be murthered in most heinous and tyrannous maner within the castell of Berklie. . . .

Fifthlie, that he had impropried unto him divers wards that belonged unto the king: and had beene more privie with queene Isabell the kings mother, than stood either with Gods law, or the kings pleasure.

"These articles with other being prooved against him, he was adjudged by authoritie of the parlement to suffer death, and according thereunto, upon saint Andrewes even next insuing, he was at London drawne and hanged, at the common place of execution, called in those daies The elmes, & now Tiborne, as in some bookes we find."

2553. *How now.* For the reading of the second quarto, followed by Dyce and others, compare Holinshed, 495: "The duke of Norfolke was not fullie set forward, when the king cast downe his warder, and the heralds cried, 'Ho, ho,'" that is, 'stop' or 'hold.'

2560 ff. *Weepe not, sweete sonne.* Compare *Lust's Dominion*, I, iii.:

> "*Queen M.* Sweet son.
> *Phil.* Sweet mother; O, how I now do shame
> To lay on one so foul so fair a name:
> Had you been a true mother, a true wife,
> This king had not so soon been robb'd of life."

2566. *Thinke.* Dyce in his second edition suggested the insertion of 'it' after this word. Broughton wished to insert 'so' after 'be.'

2571. *The hand of Mortimer.* Tancock notes the inconsistency of this with l. 2301.

2572. *False Gurney hath betraide me.* Gurney did not betray the murder according to the account in Holinshed. See under ll. 2530 and 2550.

2606. *And therefore we commit you to the Tower.* Holinshed does not say that Isabel was committed to the Tower, or that any special investigation was made of her part in the murder. "In this parlement holden at Westminster, the king tooke into his hand, by advise of the states there assembled, all the possessions, lands and revenues that belonged to the queene his mother she having assigned to hir a thousand pounds by yeare, for the maintenance of hir estate, being appointed to remaine in a certeine place, and not to go elsewhere abroad: yet the king to

comfort hir, would lightlie everie yeare once come to visit hir " (Holinshed, 349).

2610. *Nay, to my death, for too long have I lived.* Miss Lee, in the article cited, compares " Even to my death, for I have lived too long," from the *First Part of the Contention,* vii. 10.

2611. *To abridge my daies.* Compare *Tamburlaine,* 2067: " Now Baiazeth, abridge thy banefull daies."

2625. *Helpe me to moorne, my lords.* Tancock compares the last speech of Henry in *Richard II.*

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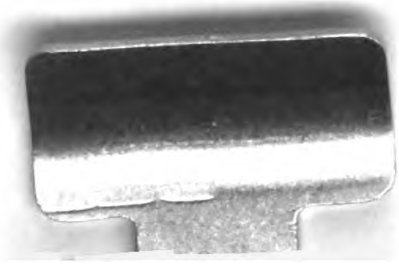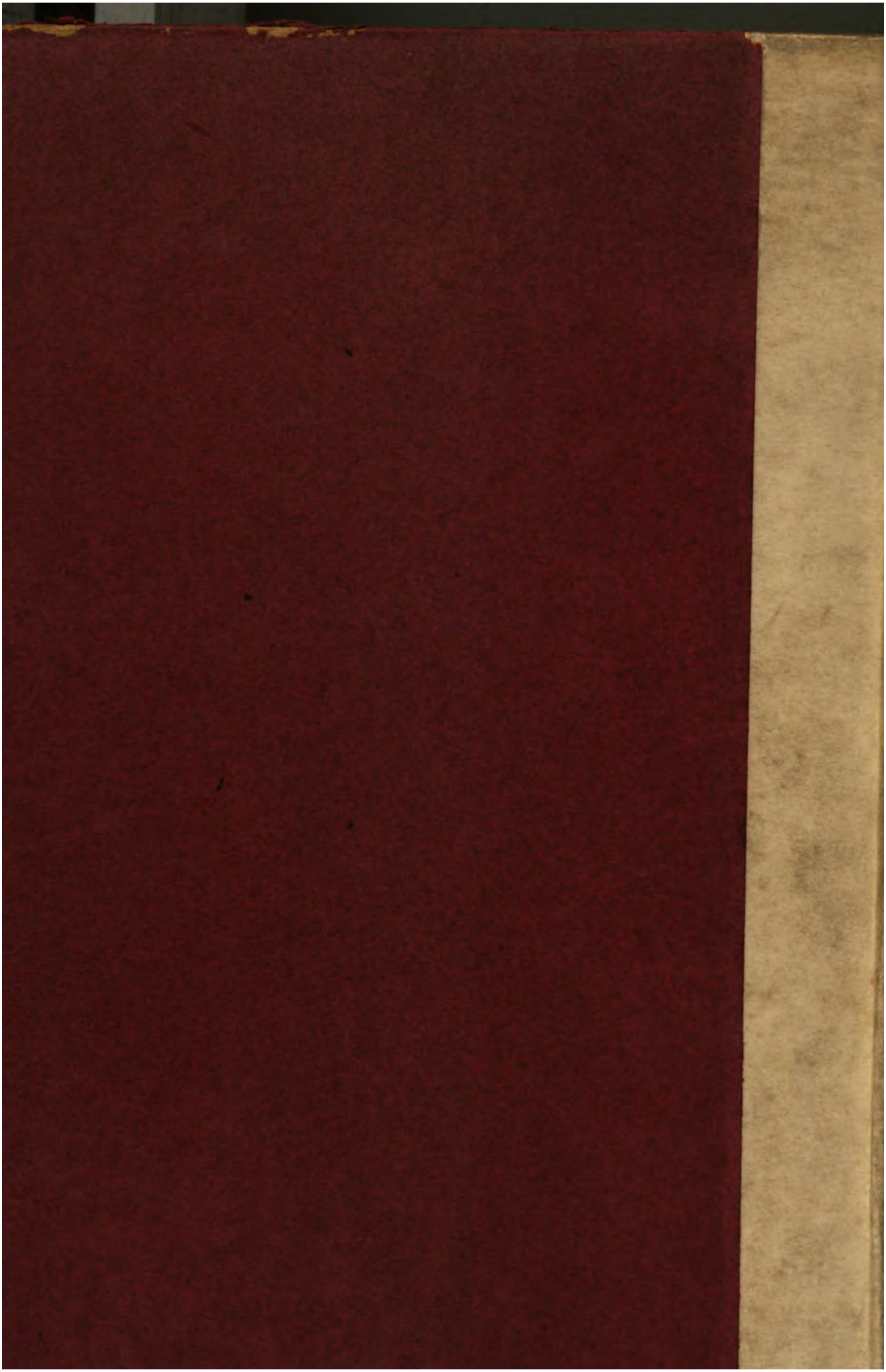
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