Enter EXTON, *with persons bearing a coffin.*

Exton. Great king, within this coffin I present
Thy buried fear: herein all breathless lies
The mightiest of thy greatest enemies,
Richard of Bordeaux, by me hither brought.
Boling. Exton, I thank thee not; for thou hast wrought
A deed of slander with thy fatal hand
Upon my head and all this famous land.
Exton. From your own mouth, my lord, did I this deed.
Boling. They love not poison that do poison need,
Nor do I thee: though I did wish him dead,
I hate the murderer, love him murdered.
The guilt of conscience take thou for thy labour,
But neither my good word nor princely favour:
With Cain go wander thorough shades of night,
And never show thy head by day nor light.
Lords, I protest, my soul is full of woe,
That blood should sprinkle me to make me grow:
Come, mourn with me for that I do lament,
And put on sullen black incontinent:
I'll make a voyage to the Holy Land,
To wash this blood off from my guilty hand:
March sadly after; grace my mournings here;
In weeping after this untimely bier. [*Exeunt.*

NOTES.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL REFERENCES AND CONTRACTIONS.

Abbott.....Dr. E. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar* (Macmillan).
Cl. Pr. edd. ..The Editors of *Richard II.* in the Clarendon Press Series.
Coleridge.....S. T. Coleridge, *Lectures on Shakespeare*, edited by T. Ashe.
Dowden.....Professor Dowden's *Shakspere: His Mind and Art.*
Dowden, *Sh...* „ „ *Shakspere Primer.*
Edw. II......Marlowe's *Edward II.* The references are to Dyce's edition of Marlowe in one volume.
E. E.....Elizabethan English.
Kellner.....L. Kellner: *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* (Macmillan).
König.....G. König: *Der Vers in Shaksperes Dramen* (Trübner).
Kreyssig.....F. Kreyssig: *Vorlesungen über Shakespeare* (2 vols.; Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung).
Ludwig.....O. Ludwig: *Shakespearestudien* (Leipzig: Cnobloch).
M. E. .....Middle English (about 1100–1500).
Md. E.....Modern English.
O. E. .....Old English (Anglo-Saxon).
O. H. G.....Old High German.
Ransome.....C. Ransome: *Short Studies of Shakespeare's Plots* (Macmillan).
W. .....Welsh.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

The following notes give some historical particulars of the persons represented, so far as conducive to the comprehension of the play, together with such of Shakespeare's departures from history as appeared to be undesigned.

1. KING RICHARD II. Born in 1367, Richard was just over thirty at the outset of the action. His government had passed through three clearly marked phases. The phase of *tutelage* had been peremptorily terminated by himself in 1389. The phase of constitutional government had closed, in 1397, with the *coup d'état*, which opened the final and fatal phase of despotism. "Richard knew that Gloucester was ready to avail himself of any widespread dissatisfaction, and that he had recently been allying himself with Lancaster against him.... He resolved to anticipate the blow.... Gloucester was imprisoned at Calais, where he was secretly murdered, as was generally believed by the order of the king.... He seems to have believed that Gloucester was plotting to bring him back into the servitude to which he had been subjected by the Commissioners of regency.... In 1398, he summoned a packed Parliament to Shrews-

bury, which...delegated all parliamentary power to a committee of twelve lords and six commoners chosen from the king's friends. Richard was thus made an absolute ruler unbound by the necessity of gathering a Parliament again".[1] It was at this Shrewsbury Parliament that Bolingbroke's charge of treason against Norfolk was first publicly brought forward. Its hearing was adjourned to the meeting at Windsor with which the play opens.

2. JOHN OF GAUNT. The imposing personality of Shakespeare's Gaunt is, as has been said, quite unhistorical. His career was now over. Born in 1340 at Ghent, he was in 1398 the eldest surviving son of Edward III. Neither abroad nor at home had his career been glorious. The great victories of the early campaigns belonged to his elder brother and the king: it was reserved for Gaunt to lead the disastrous war of 1373–5 by which almost all that remained of Edward's conquests in France was lost. On his return he assumed the lead of the anti-clerical party, and posed as the protector of Wycliffe. At Richard's accession he held the first place in power, but was generally distrusted; and his unpopularity culminated in the crisis of 1386, which transferred the lead to Gloucester. His disastrous adventure in Spain in the same year still further lowered his prestige. Richard, however, towards the close of his constitutional period openly courted him, and offended public opinion by legitimatizing the illegitimate children of his third wife.

3. EDMUND OF LANGLEY, Duke of York, born 1341, was, after Gaunt's death, the last survivor of Edward III.'s sons. His unambitious character led him, unlike his elder brothers, Gaunt and the Black Prince, to keep aloof from the violent party struggles of his time; nor is there any record of the military feat of which he is made to boast (ii. 4. 100). He died in 1402.

4. HENRY, surnamed BOLINGBROKE, Earl of Derby, Duke of Hereford [spelt frequently Herford in the old copies, and always so pronounced], son of John of Gaunt, by his first wife, Blanche (Chaucer's "Duchesse"). Born in 1366, and thus almost of Richard's age, he had already taken a decisive part, in 1387–8, in the strong measures by which the king was kept in tutelage, being (with Gloucester) one of the five 'lords appellant' who challenged the king's counsellors. At the time of Richard's resistance to Gloucester, however, Hereford was more favourable to the king; nor was his 'appeal' against Mowbray in reality, as it appears in the play, a covert attack upon Richard for Gloucester's murder. The account of the appeal is Shakespeare's most signal departure from history in this play; but as he implicitly follows Holinshed, we cannot regard it as intentional. Hereford, first privately to the king, and then openly before the Shrewsbury Parliament, 30th Jan. 1398, charged Mowbray with having, in a conversation held as they rode from Brentford to London, in the previous December, spoken treason of

[1] Gardiner: *Student's History of England*, i. pp. 282–3.

the king, to the effect that he designed, in spite of the pledges he had given, to ruin the two Dukes. Mowbray did not appear. The matter was referred to the permanent Commission which had just been appointed. Both Hereford and Norfolk appeared before the Commission at Oswestry, Feb. 23, and Norfolk solemnly denied the charge. Thereupon both were arrested, Norfolk being actually confined at Windsor, while Bolingbroke was released on bail; and a court was summoned at Windsor, April 28, to decide the matter. Bolingbroke persisted in his assertion, and Norfolk in his denial; and no witness being available, the king ordered the trial by combat to take place at Coventry, Sep. 16. The sequel as in the play.[1] Bolingbroke's appeal had then nothing to do with the charges of peculation, treasonable plots, and participation in the murder of Gloucester, which Holinshed and Shakespeare put in his mouth. But the legend gives the matter a much finer significance than the true story; since Bolingbroke's charge becomes, in the former version, a subtle first move towards the crown, and thus an admirable opening for the drama of deposition: while, in the latter, it is merely a desperate effort to save himself at Mowbray's expense, and has no relation to the sequel except in so far as it led to his banishment.

5. Duke of AUMERLE. Edward, Duke of Aumerle, Earl of Rutland, was York's eldest (but not his 'only') son. He had long passed as one of Richard's confidants, and was, in 1395, one of the ambassadors who negotiated Richard's marriage to the French princess, Isabella, then eight years old. He was deprived of his ducal title by Henry's first parliament. On York's death, however, he succeeded to the duchy, "and as Duke of York, led the vanguard at Agincourt, Oct. 25, 1415, where he was slain. See *Henry V.* iv. 3. 130; iv. 6". (Cl. Pr. edd.)

6. THOMAS MOWBRAY, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Nottingham [written *Moubrey* in the old editions, never trisyllabic, as often in Marlowe's *Edward II.*]. Mowbray, as governor of Calais, received the custody of the Duke of Gloucester, shortly after his sudden arrest in Aug. 1397. The exact nature and the cause of Gloucester's death remain obscure; but it was the universal conviction that he was murdered by Richard's order, and with Mowbray's cognizance. [On his quarrel with BOLINGBROKE, see that article.] The greater severity of Norfolk's punishment was justified in the actual sentence by the declaration that he had confessed to some part of Bolingbroke's charges. Moreover, it appears that other charges were brought against him in the council, including that of embezzlement of public money, which the chronicle makes a part of Bolingbroke's 'appeal'. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was imposed as part of the sentence. He died, Sep. 1399, at Venice, on his return. On a representation in stone, found at Venice, of his Marshal's banner,

[1] Pauli: *Geschichte von England*, iv. 615 f.

the arms of the King of England are combined with those of the House of Lancaster and his own. (Pauli, v. p. 620; based on the *Rolls*; the last detail, on *Archæol. Brit.* xxix. 387.)

7. Duke of SURREY. "Thomas Holland, third earl of Kent, was created duke of Surrey, 29th Sep. 1397. He was degraded to his former title of 'Kent', 3rd Nov. 1399, and joining in the plot against Henry IV was taken and beheaded by the inhabitants of Cirencester at the beginning of the year 1400." (Cl. Pr. edd.) He is the 'lord Marshal' of i. 1. 204, having been created "for that tourne Marshal of England". (*Ib.*)

8. Earl of SALISBURY. "John Montacute, third earl of Salisbury of that surname, son of Sir John de Montacute, one of the heroes of Crecy, succeeded his uncle, one of the original Knights of the Garter." He took part in the plot of 1400 against Henry IV. (v. 6. 8), and was beheaded by the townsmen of Cirencester. (Cl. Pr. edd.)

9. Lord BERKELEY. "Thomas, fifth Baron Berkeley, was summoned to Parliament for the first time on the 16th July, 1381, for the last on 3rd Sep. 1417." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

10. BUSHY, Sir John, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1394, was appointed with Sir H. Green, in 1398, to act with four other commoners and twelve peers, in the Commission above referred to; invested at Shrewsbury with the whole powers of Lords and Commons. (Cl. Pr. edd.)

11. GREEN, Sir Henry, son of Sir Henry Green, justice of the court of Queen's Bench, 1349–50. (See last note.) (Cl. Pr. edd.)

12. BAGOT, Sir William, Sheriff of Leicestershire 6 and 7 Richard II. (Cl. Pr. edd.)

13. Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND. The head of the Percy family, now an old man. He had taken no conspicuous part in the events of Edward III.'s and Richard's reigns; but "had been Earl Marshal in the former reign and at Richard's coronation". He acted as Lord Constable at the Deposition. He was the most powerful of English feudal lords, and his aid was a decisive factor in Bolingbroke's success. His revolt and defeat at Shrewsbury, 1403, belongs to the following play. He himself was not actually present at the battle, and in 1404 was pardoned on promise of submission.

14. HENRY PERCY (Hotspur). Born 1364. He was thus some two years older than Bolingbroke and Richard. But Shakespeare, "both in this play and in *1 Henry IV.* i. 1. 86–90; iii. 2. 103, 112, represents him as much younger, and of the same age as Prince Hal, who was born about 1388". (Cl. Pr. edd.) He was killed at Shrewsbury, 1403.

15. Lord Ross. "William de Ros, who succeeded his brother as 7th Lord Ross of Hamlake, in 1394. He was made Lord Treasurer under Henry IV., and died in 1414." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

16. Lord WILLOUGHBY. "William, 5th Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, made K.G. by Richard; married the Duchess of York (see below), and died 1409." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

17. Lord FITZWATER. "Walter Fitzwater or Fitzwalter, fifth Baron, was summoned to Parliament from Sep. 12, 1390, to Aug. 25, 1404; died 1407." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

18. Bishop of CARLISLE. "Thomas Merks, who had been a Benedictine monk of Westminster; consecrated bishop in 1397." (Cl. Pr. edd.) Holinshed describes him as "a man both learned, wise, and stoute of stomacke". On the circumstances of his custody, see next note. His pardon and liberation (described in v. 6. 22 f.) took place Nov. 28, 1400. "On Aug. 13, 1404, he was presented by the Abbot of Westminster to the rectory of Todenham in Gloucestershire, and probably died about the end of 1409, as his successor was instituted 13th Jan. 1409–10 per mortem Thomae Merks." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

19. Abbot of WESTMINSTER. Holinshed's account of this Abbot (followed in part by Shakespeare) seems to be defective in two points. William of Colchester, abbot from 1386, did not die in 1400; he was afterwards despatched by Henry to the Council of Constance, and died in 1420. It was he, on the other hand, who actually received the custody of Carlisle, and not the Abbot of St. Albans, as Holinshed states.

20. Sir STEPHEN SCROOP, "of Masham, son and heir of Henry first Baron Scroop, and elder brother of William Earl of Wiltshire. He became famous as a soldier in his father's lifetime, and continued to be called Sir Stephen even after he had succeeded to his father's barony in 1392." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

21. Sir PIERCE of Exton. He is "supposed to have been a relative of Sir Nicholas Exton, who was one of the Sheriffs of London in 1385 and Lord Mayor in 1386 and 1388". (Cl. Pr. edd.)

22. QUEEN. Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. of France, born 1388. She had been married to Richard in 1396; and the alliance had led to the prolongation of the truce with her father for a further term of twenty-eight years.

23. Duchess of YORK. The Duchess here presented was not the mother of Aumerle (the first Duchess, who died 1394), but York's second wife, Joan Holland, third daughter of Thomas Earl of Kent, son of Joan Plantagenet who afterwards became the wife of the Black Prince and mother of Richard II. The Duchess was thus Richard's niece by birth and his aunt by marriage. After York's death she was thrice married. (Cl. Pr. edd.) The Duke of Exeter mentioned in ii. 1. 281, and alluded to in v. 3. 137 (when he had been degraded to his title of Earl of Huntingdon), was also a Holland, son of Joan Plantagenet.

24. Duchess of GLOUCESTER. Eleanor Bohun, daughter of Humphrey, Earl of Northampton. Her sister Mary was Bolingbroke's wife. She is said by Holinshed to have died in 1399, "through sorrow as was thought, which she conceyued for the losse of hir sonne and hayre the Lorde Humfrey". (Cl. Pr. edd.)

ACT I.—[The Banishment.]

Act I. Sc. 1.—The *opening scene* of a play has two functions: (1) to start the action, (2) to disclose the information necessary for understanding it. Successfully to combine them is a mark of the accomplished dramatist. The classical drama mostly preferred to make the situation clear at the outset, either by a preliminary Monologue or Dialogue antecedent to the action, or by a 'Prologue', which at the same time commonly gave an outline of the Plot. In the early Elizabethan drama the situation was often explained by a 'Chorus' (Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*), or the plot foreshadowed in a dumb-show, or the principal person delivered a statement of his designs at the outset,—a method still retained in *Richard III.* Shakespeare's opening scenes commonly effect his purpose more artistically and in an immense variety of ways. Rarely, we find the scene fulfilling *one* of the two functions almost alone. Thus, (1) *Tempest*: the wreck starts the action but gives almost no information; or (2) *Cymbeline*: the 'Two Gentlemen' give us information while the action waits. It is notable that both belong to Shakespeare's last period, of 'lordly licence'. But both functions may be combined in various ways. Thus (3) the scene may *symbolize* the main action, and thus strike the key-note to the play, as in *Romeo and Juliet* (the quarrel of the Capulet and Montague servants) or in *Julius Cæsar* ('the attachment of the people to the newest war chief, and the jealousy of the nobles'); or in *Macbeth* (the witch 'equivocators' at work); or (4) the main action is commenced, without any preface, and the situation gradually explained by a series of touches, as in most of the English Histories, the King being often the first speaker, as in *King John*, *Henry IV.*, and our play. So in *King Lear* (a scene pronounced by Goethe irrational ('*absurd*') for its want of preparation). Note especially the opening scene of *Hamlet*, where the main action is gradually opened, and the information gradually distilled, while the Ghost, like the Witches in *Macbeth*, strikes the key-note. (See Coleridge's note on First Scenes, *Lectures*, p. 346.)

Act I.—Scene I.

1–6. "It is interesting to a critical ear to compare these lines, each closing at the tenth syllable, with the rhythmless metre of the verse in *Henry VI.* and *Titus Andronicus.*" (Coleridge.) Let the student make the comparison. As it is important that the reader should realize that the modern text does not exactly represent Elizabethan spelling, these six lines are here reproduced literally from the First Quarto—

> "*Ould John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster,*
> *Hast thou according to thy oath and bande*
> *Brought hither Henrie Herford thy bolde sonne,*
> *Here to make good the boistrous late appeale*
> *Which then our leysure would not let vs heare*
> *Against the duke of Norfolke, Thomas Moubrey?*"

1. **Old.** For Gaunt's real age see historical note above.

2. **band.** The word had in E. E. the senses of our *bond* as well as of *band*. Cf. the pun in *Comedy of Errors*, iv. 2. 48—

> "Tell me, was he arrested on a band?
> —Not on a band, but on a stronger thing;
> A chain...".

See Glossary.

3. **Hereford.** On the scansion of this name see note on BOLINGBROKE above.

4. **appeal,** a formal challenge, based upon a criminal charge which the accuser was bound to 'make good' at an appointed time and place, both parties giving security for their appearance. In this case Gaunt has become surety for his son. The abuse of this institution was one of Richard's expedients for raising money. Holinshed relates that in the last years of the reign, "many of the king's people were through spite, envy, and malice accused, apprehended, and put in prison ... and might not otherwise be delivered, except they could justify themselves by combat and fighting in the lists against the accusers hand to hand".

5. Not the historical ground. See note on Bolingbroke above.

9. **on,** on the ground of. This sense of *on*, springing from the temporal sense 'immediately after', is practically obsolete in Mod. E., but common in Shakespeare; cf. "a thing to thank God on", *1 Henry IV.* iii. 3. 134.

12. **sift...argument.** To 'sift' a man, in Shakespeare's usage, is to discover his true motives or designs by dexterous questioning. So, the king speaks of 'sifting' Hamlet, *i.e.* finding the ground of his 'madness' (*Hamlet*, ii. 2. 58).

argument, subject. See Glossary.

13. **apparent,** evident.

15. **face to face and frowning brow to brow.** Note the picturesque detail, and how it is thrown into the most prominent position in the sentence, even at some cost to clearness of meaning.

18. **High-stomach'd.** *Stomach* is used by Shakespeare both for 'appetite' in general, and especially of 'appetite for battle',

'warlike spirit'. Cf. Antony's taunt to Brutus and Cassius, *Julius Cæsar*, v. 1. 66—

> "If you dare fight to day, come to the field,
> If not, when you have stomachs".

20. For the verse, see Prosody, III. § 3 (i).

22. **other's.** *Other* is now (1) singular only when defined as such by some other word (as *an, the, some*, &c.); (2) plural, only when used attributively ('other men'); otherwise *others*. In E. E. it was both singular and plural without either limitation, as in O. E. Cf. *án æfter ððrum* = 'one after (an) other'.—Note the extravagance of Mowbray's wish, the sober plainness of Bolingbroke's. Similarly, the excited vehemence of his invective (lines 57 f.) and Bolingbroke's measured scorn (lines 30 f.). See note to lines 25–61.

24. **Add...crown,** add the title of immortality to that of kingship. This use of the adjective is very common in E. E.; cf. "their sterile curse" = curse of sterility, *Julius Cæsar*, i. 2. 9; "aged contusions" = contusions of age, *2 Henry VI.* v. 3. 3. Kellner, § 252.

25–61. BOLINGBROKE'S OPENING STATEMENT AND MOWBRAY'S REPLY. Note Bolingbroke's quiet confidence and Mowbray's excited vehemence. Bolingbroke, though throughout respectful to the king, relies essentially upon the confidence of the people which he knows that he possesses; the unpopular Mowbray, on the other hand, is forced to rely on Richard's protection, which his very complicity in the death of Gloucester renders the more precarious. Hence his eager and confused attempts to conciliate him.

26. **by the cause you come.** This colloquial omission of the preposition is only found where it can be easily supplied. Cf. "To die upon the bed my father died", *Winter's Tale*, iv. 4. 465. *Come* also stands for 'come for' in "let me go with that I came", *Much Ado*, v. 2. 48.

27. **appeal...of.** The original sense of 'of' is 'from, out of'; hence it points out the (1) *source* of an action, and so (2) its *special occasion* or *object*. Cf. 'accuse of', 'acquit of'.

28-9. **object against.** 'Objection' and 'object' in E.E. commonly refer to a direct, and often as here a *criminal*, charge.

32. **Tendering,** holding tender. See Glossary. The verb also meant, as now, to stretch forth, offer (L. *tendere*, F. *tendre*), and Shakespeare is fond of punning on the two senses, as in *Hamlet*, i. 3. 107, "Tender yourself more dearly".

33. **other misbegotten hate,** base personal animosity distinguished from the noble hatred which a devoted subject necessarily feels for a traitor.

36. **greeting.** The original meaning of the word is probably 'to address, accost,' hence it may be used of either *friendly* or *hostile* speech. The latter is rarer, but is very old; it is found in O. H. G. and O. E. (*e.g. gréteð grame féondas*, "he shall speak to his fierce foes", Psalm cxvi.); cf. *Henry V.* iii. 5. 37, "greet England with our sharp defiance".

37. *I.e.* 'I shall either be victorious, and thus prove my accusation, or be slain, and answer for its justice before God'.

40. **Too good,** *i.e.* by the inherited quality of rank. See note to lines 41–2.

41–2. A couplet of lyrical turn characteristic of the young Shakespeare. The thought resembles the saying *corruptio optimi pessima*, 'the greater the excellence, the more ruinous its decay'; but Mowbray's rank is regarded as a permanent *ground*, which his treason disfigures, but cannot destroy.

41–6. Coleridge has noted that "the rhymes in the last six lines well express the preconcertedness of Bolingbroke's scheme, so beautifully contrasted with the vehemence and sincere irritation of Mowbray".

43. **note,** stigma, brand. At Rome the *nota* was the technical term for the official and public reprehensions of private persons by the Censor.

The *aggravation* consists merely in the repetition of the term *traitor*; the emphasis is therefore upon **once more.**

44. **stuff I thy throat,** a variation of the metaphor by which a man is said to *swallow* an insult.

46. **right drawn,** a somewhat harsh elliptical phrase for 'drawn in the right'.

47. **accuse my zeal,** *i.e.* cause me to be accused of want of zeal.

48. **trial;** the associations of the *trial by combat* still clung to this word; the combat of 'two eager tongues' which settles a women's quarrel is compared to the judicial battle of male disputants.

49. **eager,** sharp, biting. See Glossary.

58. Note the perturbation of mind which is marked by Mowbray's sudden change of procedure here. He began by pleading that the royal blood of Bolingbroke prohibited him from retorting the accusation of treason; now, he professes to speak as if Bolingbroke were not royal, yet still does not venture to call him 'traitor', only 'coward' and 'villain'.—Compare *1 Henry IV.* iii. 3. 138 (the Hostess to Falstaff), "setting thy knighthood aside, thou art a knave to call me so".

61. Note how the suspense is kept up by the vagueness of the terms applied by Bolingbroke and Mowbray to each other.

63. **tied,** obliged, bound.

65. **inhabitable,** uninhabitable. But 'inhabit' and 'uninhabitable' (*Tempest*, ii. 1. 37) were used by Shakespeare in their modern

senses. The ambiguity of the word drove it out of use, while 'habitable' is retained.

69. Bolingbroke here throws down his glove or gauntlet.

70. Note the concealed irony with which Bolingbroke thus detaches himself from the 'kindred of the king', whom he is presently to dethrone; and the cunning with which Mowbray in his reply (line 78) indirectly appeals to the king, in swearing by the sword which knighted him.

74. **mine honour's pawn**, *i.e.* the 'gage' of v. 69.

77. Bolingbroke with careless insolence declares himself ready to prove in arms that any insulting charge that Mowbray can suggest is true of him.

80–1. **I'll answer thee...trial**, I will answer the charge to any extent within the limits of fairness, *i.e.* of what the code of chivalry authorizes in proposals of trial by combat.

83. **unjustly fight**, *i.e.* if my assertion of innocence is false.

85. **inherit**, as commonly = 'possess', and like it may have as object either *the thing possessed*, or, as here, *the person put in possession* of a thing. See Glossary.

87–108. Here at length the basis of the quarrel is disclosed. Bolingbroke indicts Mowbray on three separate charges. The first two are referred to in matter-of-fact language and rapidly dismissed, while the speaker kindles into passion as he describes the third, in which the true culprit is Richard himself. The terrible words "which blood", &c., foreshadow the vengeance about to be taken upon that blood-guilt. Richard visibly quails (v. 109), and in his dignified profession of impartiality (115–123) cannot quite conceal his resentment. Yet the story of Gloucester's murder is throughout the play only *hinted at*, never told. "The *guilt* is, as usual in Shakespeare, faintly sketched in comparison with its *punishment*." (Ludwig, p. 39.) On the departure from history here see above, note to BOLINGBROKE.

88. The noble was = 20 groats, or 6*s.* 8*d.*

89. **lendings**, *i.e.* money intrusted to him in order to be disbursed to the army.

97. **head and spring**, synonymous expressions for origin. Cf. 'fountain-head'. For the combination cf. Langland, *Piers Ploweman*, Passus i. 162, "in þe herte þere is þe heuede and þe heiȝe welle"—*i.e.* in the heart is the head and spring [of love].

99. The line is introduced for the sake of the antithesis *bad...good*, and expands the simple phrase.

maintain; 'I will so maintain as to,' &c.

100. Thomas of Woodstock, sixth (or seventh) son of Edward III., died Sept. 1397. See MOWBRAY, above.

101. **Suggest**, prompt, incite; generally in a bad sense, and used either of the person incited or as in Md. E. of that which he is incited to do. See Glossary.

102. **consequently**, in Shakespeare rather of what follows in time than of what is inferred.

105. **tongueless**, as not having articulate speech, only voice, resonance.

109. **pitch**, height; a technical term in falconry for the height to which the falcon soars before it stoops upon its prey. (Nares.)

113. 'This reproach to his (Bolingbroke's) kindred, and therefore to the king.' A further appeal to Richard to wipe out the reproach.

117. "Note...the affected depreciation of this verse." (Coleridge.) A more extreme instance of this is Hamlet's bitter apostrophe to his mother: "You are the queen, your husband's brother's wife", *Hamlet*, iii. 4. 15.

118. **my sceptre's awe**, the fear felt for, and so inspired by, my sceptre. The objective genitive with *fear*, *awe*, was very common from O. E. onwards, and was not obsolete in the 16th century. In O. E. we have *e.g.* "þines yrres egesa", Psalm lxxxvii. 16, 'the fear of thy wrath'. So even in *Gorboduc* (1563), "with aged fathers awe" = 'with awe of aged father'.

119. **neighbour**. Adjectives are freely used as nouns in Elizabethan syntax. Cf. Kellner, § 236.

120–21. Note how the dignity of this statement is enhanced by the repetition of parallel terms, **nor partialize—unstooping—upright**. The rare and pedantic word *partialize* does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare; it is in keeping with the somewhat unreal magniloquence of this speech.

124–151. Mowbray's reply answers conclusively the first of Bolingbroke's charges, properly ignores the second, briefly and ambiguously denies the third and most essential, and pleads guilty only to a single treacherous design which the subject of it has already condoned. On Shakespeare's divergence from Holinshed here see Introduction, § 9.

124–5. **as low as to thy heart...thou liest**, a heightened variation on the common formula 'thou liest in thy throat'. Cf. line 44.

126. **receipt**, the sum received (L. *receptum*), not as now the form certifying it as received. So *conceit* meant in E. E. (see Glossary) the thing conceived, 'notion', 'idea'. The *p* was introduced in the 16th century to indicate the etymology.

130. **dear**, large. Mowbray had escorted Richard's second queen, daughter of Charles VI. of France, on her marriage in 1396. The

word *dear* is regularly used in E. E. for what is *extreme of its kind*. "My dearest foe" = 'my most hostile (*i.e.* bitterest) foe'.

132–4. Mowbray admits only negligence; meaning to imply, probably, that, as governor of Calais, where Gloucester was confined, he had guarded his prisoner with insufficient care, leaving it to be inferred that he would have prevented the murder had he been able. This defence covers Mowbray only by exposing Richard; for the further question becomes inevitable, 'Who, then, ordered his death?' This Richard feels: hence his eagerness, shown in the next speech, to end the quarrel by whatever means.

140. **exactly**, formally, explicitly, in set terms: see Glossary.

144. **recreant and...degenerate**, false to his Christian faith and to his noble rank.

146. **interchangeably**, regularly used by Shakespeare in the sense of 'mutually', as at v. 2. 98 of this play, the termination *-able, -ably* being loosely treated.

Here the word is still more loosely used, as if the subject of 'hurl' were both combatants instead of Mowbray alone: the inexactness marks his excited vehemence.

152–9. Richard's motive in thus cutting short the discussion has been noticed. Note the characteristic levity of tone with which he urges the disputants to 'forget and forgive' insults which the ethical code of the time absolutely forbade them to condone. With all his instinct for outward dignity, Richard hardly comprehends the chivalrous sense of *honour*. His action here prepares us for the crisis of scene 3.

153. **purge this choler**, remove this wrath from the system. *Choler* was attributed to an excess of bile (Gr. χόλος), one of the four 'humours' or essential fluids of the body (bile, black-bile, phlegm, and blood). It was thus relieved when the excess was drawn off by medical remedies. So Hamlet, when Guildenstern informs him that the king is 'distempered with choler', retorts: "Your wisdom should show itself more richer to signify this to his doctor; for, for me to put him to his purgation would perhaps plunge him into far more choler", *Hamlet*, iii. 2. 316.

157. "It was customary with our fathers to be bled periodically, in spring and in autumn." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

160. **make-peace**. This word, not found elsewhere in Shakespeare, belongs to a colloquial and energetic type of compound (*imperative* and *object*) which first occurs in English after the Conquest, and was probably stimulated by the influence of French, where it is particularly frequent: cf. 'curfew' (*couvre-feu*), 'kerchief' (*couvre-chef*), 'turnkey', 'lickspit', &c.; and in the proper names *Taille-fer*, *Taille-bout* (Talbot), *Shake-speare*.

160. **shall**, must needs; the original force of the word ('is due') being applied to a proposition which is bound to be true, not as in Md. E. *you shall*, &c., to an act which 'you' are bound to perform.

163. Gaunt is prone to epigram and verbal witticism even in his gravest moods. Cf. i. 2. 3–4; 3. 80; ii. 1. 31–2, 73 f., 86–7; 106–7; 112, 135, and (his very last words) 138. See note to ii. 1. 84.

164. **no boot**, no help.

166. Observe that **command** is used in slightly different shades of meaning with *life* and *shame*. [Distinguish these.]

168. An inversion due to rhyme: 'my fair name which will survive my death'.

170. **impeach'd and baffled**. Both terms carry further the suggestion of the preceding word: the first referring to the 'disgrace' of *apparently deserved reproach*; the second, a still more humiliating term, to that of being *treated as a coward*. 'Baffling' was originally a North-country term for hanging a recreant knight by the heels. Note that *impeach* in E. E. is used (1) of other than judicial accusation, (2) especially where the accusation is regarded by the speaker as either just or plausible, *e.g.* "You do impeach your modesty too much, to leave the city", *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 1. 214. Cf. line 189: and see Glossary.

172. **The which**. Notice the freedom of E. E. in making a relative refer not to any specific antecedent but to the whole *situation* described in the words which precede it.

174. **lions**, &c. Cf. Marlowe, *Edward II.*, ed. Dyce, p. 198, "Shall the crowing of these cockerels affright a lion? Edward, unfold thy paws, &c.," where the cockerels are his rebellious barons.

180–1. Mowbray here unconsciously shifts his ground, identifying 'boldness' of spirit and 'spotless reputation for boldness'. But the ethical code of chivalry regarded both as involved in knightly honour.

186. Richard's kingliness of speech cannot disguise his boyish inability to control strong wills. His command ("give me his gage") has not been obeyed, the 'leopard' is not yet 'tame'; but perhaps the other combatant will be more compliant; he will try. Note the greater deference for Bolingbroke implied in the form of command.

187–195. Contrast Mowbray's pleading entreaty with Bolingbroke's peremptory refusal. The latter disdains to argue; he opposes to the king's command no plausible generalities (such as lines 177–181), merely his own invincible repugnance.

190. **out-dared**. The prefix (cf. 'out-pray', v. 3. 109) *out-* before verbs in E. E. fluctuates between two shades of meaning both found in the simple *out*; viz. (1) *outside, beyond*, (2) *to an end, to ruin* (*e.g.* 'burn *out*'). Hence these compound verbs may mean (1) to *excel* in, (2) to defeat or destroy by, the action of the simple verb.

For (1) (the commoner sense) cf. to 'out-herod' (*i.e.* to rant more than Herod rants), 'out-sweeten' ("the leaf of eglantine...Out-sweetened not thy breath", *Cymbeline*, iv. 224), 'outlive', 'out-grow', &c.; for (2) 'to *outlook* (conquest)', *King John*, v. 2. 115, 'outface' (put out of countenance), 'outfrown' (frown down), &c. Shakespeare's use of *outdare* is coloured by both senses; by (1) in *Coriolanus*, i. 4. 53, "outdares his senseless sword"; by (2) here, the word *dastard* showing that Bolingbroke means to represent Mowbray as not merely 'excelled in daring' but *dared down, cowed*.

191. **feeble wrong**, an injury implying feebleness in the man who submits to it. The exact point of this in itself obscure phrase, is brought out by the following 'base'...'slavish'. It is characteristic of the boldness and freedom of Elizabethan style to make the entire sentence the clue to the exact meaning of each part.

192. **sound a parle**, *i.e.* make overtures of peace.

193. **the slavish...fear**, *i.e.* the tongue, which in submitting would become the *instrument* of recanting fear.

motive in E. E. = that by which anything is moved; hence (1) as now, an *impulse* which moves the will; (2) the *instrument* of any other action.

194. **in his high disgrace**, *i.e.* the tongue's, ignominiously punished as it is.

196–205. Note that this speech is (1) *unhistorical* (the ground of the resort to combat having been the absence of independent evidence); but (2) even more *characteristic* of Richard than history itself, in its combination of arrogance and weakness, of outward dignity and inner want of stamina. As in line 186, he accepts his defeat with an imposing air of controlling the issue which deceives no one. In studying the close of a Shakespearian *scene* the reader should bear in mind, once for all, that "a drama of Shakespeare is a continual preparation for the catastrophe, and thus each scene has its own minor catastrophe towards which the preceding dialogue leads up". (Ludwig.)

202. **atone**, as usual, 'bring together', 'cause to agree'.

202–3. **we shall see**, &c. 'We are resolved to see Justice point out the winner in the combat-at-arms,' *i.e.* to see a fight in which whoever wins will justly win. 'Justice' is conceived as the marshal who announces the victor,—a figurative way of saying that the victor has the sanction of justice.

204. Shakespeare probably wrote *marshal*, not 'lord marshal', thus producing a regular verse. This is confirmed by the fact that nowhere else in Shakespeare does a king address a marshal by the title *lord*. The term denoted two distinct functionaries, (1) the presiding officer of a tournament or combat (usually two syllables; a trisyllable in *1 Henry IV.* iv. 4. 2), (2) the general-in-chief of France (always three syllables = *maréchal*). Abbott's suggestion (§ 489) that it is a monosyllable here is untenable.

Scene 2.

This scene is essentially Shakespeare's invention. He found in Holinshed merely the fact that Gaunt was convinced of Richard's participation in Gloucester's murder. The scene serves three distinct purposes. (1) Interposed between the two phases of the quarrel of Bolingbroke and Mowbray, it covers the intervening time and, in part, the change of place; (in part only, because Gaunt, who appears in this scene, is found in the beginning of the next at Coventry). (2) It supplies *contrast*,—the stately and ceremonious passions of chivalry (scenes 1 and 3) being interrupted by this picture of a woman's intimate and heart-felt grief. (3) It forces into prominence as an undoubted fact Richard's participation in the death of Gloucester, thus giving the key to Bolingbroke's conduct in this first act, and foreshadowing the Nemesis of which he is to be the means.

1. 'The fact that Gloucester (Thomas of Woodstock) was my brother.'—Gaunt, the embodiment of reverence for the authority of the state, has suffered, with its connivance, a wrong, which he steadily refuses to revenge. Note how this profound loyalty to kingship is one condition of the passion with which he, later, indicts the king.

4. Designedly vague. The king, whose office is to punish the crime, is himself a criminal.

6, 7. **heaven...they**. Shakespeare commonly uses *heaven* as plural.

9–36. The Duchess's appeal becomes gradually more personal and direct, passing from the plea of kinship to that of peril to life and honour—the transition being formed by the impassioned lines (22–5). [Indicate the nature of the transition.] On the last couplet see note to lines 35–6.

9. 'Does the claim made in the name of brotherhood meet, in you, with no keener prompting to carry it out?'

15. This line simply repeats the previous one under a new image, the reference in both cases being to natural death. Four of the seven were at this time dead, besides Gloucester: viz. Edward the Black Prince, William of Hatfield, William of Windsor, and Lionel of Antwerp. (Clar. Pr. edd.) For the thought, compare the closing chorus of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*:—"Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight".

23. **self** often, as here, retains its common O. E. use as an adjective = 'same'. It should therefore not be written with a hyphen. For this use of **mould** cf. *Coriolanus*, v. 3. 22, "the honour'd mould wherein this trunk was framed".

28. **model** in E.E. fluctuates between two easily distinguishable senses: (1) the *pattern* or mould; (2) the *image* or *counterpart* made after the pattern (as here).

29. **despair**, *i.e.* a course only natural to one in despair.

35–6. The Duchess, finding Gaunt unmoved, makes a last desperate effort, by repeating the most purely personal and selfish of her arguments in the bluntest and most prosaic form. Note the sudden drop of style.

37–41. Gaunt repeats in more explicit terms the answer he had already by anticipation given (1–8) to the argument from kinship: the appeal to his fears he loftily ignores.

44. For the verse see Prosody, III. § 3.

46. **cousin,** as usual, covers the modern terms *uncle* and *nephew*, as well as *cousin*. On the Duchess's actual relationship to Hereford see note to Dramatis Personæ, No. 23.

49. **misfortune,** *i.e.* to Mowbray.

career, properly a roadway, hence 'a place for horses to run in', and so 'their...running, or full speed therein'. (Cotgrave.) Hence used technically of the *charge* in a tournament or combat.

53. **a caitiff recreant,** a false and cowardly captive (to Bolingbroke). Both words belonged to the technical language of chivalry. See Glossary.

55. With this close compare Constance's "Here I and sorrows sit", *King John*, iii. 1. 73. This portrait of the Duchess is probably earlier than that of Constance, its more elaborate and intense counterpart. Note that both, as helpless widows, appeal—in vain—for redress of a wrong wrought by the king.

58–74. Note the contrast between this speech of hopeless resignation, with its broken movement, its abrupt turns and starts, its half articulate pauses—and the eloquent swing of the verse in her first speech, where she is still eager and hopeful. "One might say that Shakspere's principal means of producing lifelike, natural and weighty dialogue is *parenthesis*...for there continually intervene between question and answer ..one or more sentences or phrases which are of the nature of parenthesis, though not marked with brackets." (Ludwig.)

58–9. She compares the incessant iteration of grief to the rebound of an elastic ball, where, however, weight, not lightness, causes the rebound. The image loses something of its aptness by the addition of the second line, but she may be thinking of the greater difficulty of checking a heavy body caused by its greater momentum.

66. **Plashy,** "near Dunmow in Essex, where Gloucester had a seat, in virtue of his office as High Constable." (Clar. Pr. edd.)

68. **unfurnish'd walls,** *i.e.* not hung with arras, as was usual.

Scene 3.

The historical event occurred on Sept. 16, 1398,—five months after the events of scene 1.—The ceremonious splendour of chivalry is here displayed with congenial care. "The soul of Shakespeare, certainly, was not wanting in a sense of the magnanimity of warriors. The grandiose aspects of war, its magnificent apparelling, he records monumentally enough—the 'dressing of the lists', the lion's heart, its unfaltering haste thither in all the freshness of youth and morning. 'Not sick although I have to do with death.' Only with Shakespeare the after-thought is immediate: 'They come like sacrifices in their trim'. [*1 Henry IV.* i. 118]." (Pater.)

3. **sprightfully and bold.** E.E. uses adj. with great freedom as adv.; but as Shakespeare always elsewhere uses *bold* as the adj. and *boldly* as the adv., we must explain this case by the idiom of the extended suffix (Abbott, § 397).

7–41. Note how in these purely ceremonious speeches the requisite identity of procedure in the case of each champion is preserved, while yet, by a succession of delicate touches, the speeches are rendered literary, and thus prepare for the poetry and passion of the sequel.

18. **God defend.** The verb was current in E. E. in two distinct senses, (1) *guard* (as now), (2) *forbid* (as here), but in the latter sense only when joined with *God* or *heaven*. Both are traceable to the Lat. *defendere*, which in different constructions could mean to *guard* and to *ward off*.

20. **my succeeding issue.** "Norfolk's issue would be involved in the forfeiture incurred by disloyalty to his king." (*Camb. Shakspere.*) This, however, hardly explains how Norfolk can be said to be loyal to his own issue, and the reading of the Folios *his succeeding issue* is probably right. The *my* could easily arise from the two preceding instances of it. It is beside the point that Richard had not then (and in fact never had) issue; the contrary was to be presumed.

30. **depose him** corresponds to 'swear him' in the parallel passage (line 10); 'take his solemn deposition' (*i.e.* that he appears in a just cause).

46. For *design* used with special reference to the combat cf. i. 81 above.

48–51. An example of that kind of *irony*, familiar in Greek tragedy, in which the speaker innocently uses words which foreshadow an impending destiny. Bolingbroke unconsciously foretells his own and Mowbray's exile.

55–6. The king's wish is conveyed with studied but unobtrusive ambiguity. He knows, and knows that Bolingbroke knows, that the latter is attacking him, as Gloucester's murderer, through Mowbray. Hence the clause '*as* your cause is right', which bears the covert meaning 'as far as'. To Mowbray, on the other hand, his parting wish is conspicuously cold and brief. He again betrays the perception which determines his action throughout, that the victory of either would be perilous to him. Note the slightness and formality of Bolingbroke's farewell to him in line 63.

59 f. Note how, at the close of the preliminary forms, the verse rises without effort into poetry, and yet produces no sense of discrepancy, so skilful has been the procedure described above (note 7–41).

66. **cheerly**, cheerily.

67–77. The affectionate intimacy between Bolingbroke and his father is finely hinted in this speech, which prepares us for the more detailed portrayal at the close of the scene. Note the grandeur with which Shakespeare conceives the bond of kinship. We have seen that he expressly emphasizes Richard's violation of it, as the head of his offence. Later on, he was to work out the personal tragedy of violated kinship with incomparable power in *King Lear*: in this earlier period of the patriotic Histories he is interested in it rather as affecting the fortunes of his country.

67–8. A reference to the elaborate confectionery which commonly ended a banquet in England, and formed a kind of *tour-de-force* of the cook's skill, not merely in cookery proper but in modelling and carving. The Cl. Pr. edd. compare Bacon's *Life and Letters*, ed. Spedding, iii. 315, note: "Let not this Parliament end, like a Dutch feast, in salt meats, but, like an English feast, in sweet meats".

67. **regreet.** See note on **greeting**, i. 36 above. The prefix *re-* had, as now, in some cases (1) its proper force (*back, again*); in others the word compounded with it either (2) does not appreciably differ in meaning from the simple word, or (3) differs in a way not directly derivable from the sense of *re-*. Cf. for (1) *re-duce*=to bring back, for (2) the present instance, for (3) *redoubted*. The force of *re-* is naturally as a rule least persistent where the simple verb did not exist in English at all. In line 142 the prefix of *re-greet* has its full force.

72. A picturesque expansion of the image implied in 'high achievement', 'lofty triumph', &c. Mr. Deighton compares *1 Henry IV.* i. 3. 202, "to pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon".

75. **waxen coat**; the adjective is proleptic; *i.e.* the coat of mail is compared to wax, not because softness is its standing quality, but because it will yield like wax at the touch of the spear-point 'steeled' by the blessings of Gaunt.

76. **furbish**, one of the words, now only in colloquial use, which Shakespeare could use for high poetry.

John a Gaunt. The unemphatic *of* between two highly stressed syllables easily passes to *o'* or *a*. Cf. "John-a-dreams", *Hamlet*, ii. 2. 595.

77. **Even.** This word, among the most important and subtle of Elizabethan particles, is often introduced in recurring to an obvious fact (previously referred to, or forming a part of the dramatic situation), which explains a bold or figurative thought just expressed. Cf. with this passage *Merchant of Venice*, ii. 6. 44 (Lorenzo to the disguised Jessica), "So you are (obscured), *Even* in the lovely garnish of a boy". Also *As You Like It*, ii. 7. 57.

80. **redoubled** (four syllables). The syllabic *l* and *r* (before a vowel forming another syllable) belongs mainly to Shakespeare's youth, and is still commoner in Marlowe. Contrast the scansion of *Macbeth*, i. 2. 28, "*Doubly redoubled* strokes upon the foe".

81. **amazing**, producing confusion and ruin. The word *maze* in M. E. had often the sense of disaster as well as that of mere disturbance. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, iii. 159, where it is said that Bribery produces '*the mase*' for a poor man by putting him in the power of rich oppressors.

casque, helmet.

84. Bolingbroke invokes his innocence as being, like the help of the saint, the best guarantee of his success. The implied verb upon which 'to thrive' (=for succeeding) depends, is equivalent to 'I rely upon'.

85 f. Mowbray's comparative isolation is here symbolized. He has little leave-taking to do, for no one present is his good friend; and the emotion which glows through his speech is purely personal.

90. **uncontroll'd enfranchisement**, *i.e.* 'enfranchisement which consists in being uncontrolled'.—Mowbray's enthusiasm makes him tautologous. For this use of an adj. =the genitive of a subst. cf. Kellner, § 252. So, in line 241 below, "a partial slander"; ii. 3. 79, "absent time".

91. Compare Aufidius' eager welcome of the banished Coriolanus: "That I see thee here Thou noble thing! more dances my glad heart...Than when I first my wedded mistress saw Bestride my threshold", *Coriolanus*, iv. 5. 122.

95. **jest**, in E. E., includes whatever is done in sport, or as a part of a game. So Hamlet ironically reminds the king that the players 'do but poison in jest'. Hence probably Mowbray contrasts the sham-fight with the actual fight before him. For the thought, cf. Hamlet's wondering description of Fortinbras' men who "for a fantasy and trick of fame Go to their graves like beds", *Hamlet*, iv. 4. 61.

118. For the verse see Prosody, II. § 2 (iv). "Well, give her that ring and therewithal," *Two Gentlemen*, iv. 4. 81.

warder, the staff or truncheon borne by the king as presiding over the combat.

122. The 'long flourish' represents the actual two-hours' interval during which the king and his council deliberated, while the two mounted combatants sat motionless face to face. The shortness of the interval of deliberation, contrasted with the elaborate formalities which have just been observed, makes the king's final action more apparently arbitrary, and thus more characteristic.

124 f. Richard's speech bases the sentence he is about to declare upon the plausible ground that the quarrel of two such men involves the risk of civil war; but the picturesque incoherence of his language betrays how little this expresses of his true motive. Cf. especially the luxuriant but quite indistinct imagery of lines 132–7.

125. **For** originally, and in O.E. almost always, referred to the *cause* or *ground* (=because of); hence, in the case of deliberate action it came later to indicate the *purpose* by which such action is caused. In E.E. it has this latter sense when the future is referred to, the former when the present or the past. Note that since *should* can be either a present (=*debet*) or a future (viewed from the past), the words *for that...should not* might theoretically mean either *quia non debet esse* or *ne esset*. In E.E., however, *should=debet* is comparatively rare, and in connection with *for* or *for that* probably unknown.

127. **aspect**, accented *aspéct*, as usual. See Prosody, II. § 2.

134–7. The virtual subject of line 137 is 'the rousing up of which (peace)' implied in line 134; the disturbance of peace by warlike sounds may banish her from the country; the private feud, permitted its course, may issue in general civil war.

136. **grating shock**; for the omission of *the* before a phrase otherwise defined (as here by *of—arms*) cf. Abbott, § 89.

140. **upon pain of life** is only found in Shakespeare here and at line 153, for the common '(up)on pain of death'. The *of* has a different force in the two cases, in the latter 'consisting in', in the former (as often in O.E.) 'concerning', 'affecting'. For a similar difference in point of view cf. the compounds of *feorh* (life) in O.E. with their modern equivalents. Thus *feorh-wund* (lit. 'life-wound')=death-wound; *feorh-bealu* (lit. 'life-evil')=violent death, *feorh-benn* (lit. 'life-wound')=death-wound.

143. **stranger**, as often, an adj.

150. **sly**, probably from the notion of a stealthy creeping-forward, at once noiseless and slow. Cf. the use of *stealing* of time, *e.g.* in the Sexton's song, "But age with his stealing steps," &c., *Hamlet*, v. 1. 89. The reading *flye-slow* of the 2nd Folio, corrected in its successors, is only superficially plausible, and cannot be due to Shakespeare.

determinate (see Glossary), set a term or limit to. The whole expression is, strictly, both pleonastic and contradictory, the notion of 'limit' being anticipated in *determinate* and cancelled in *dateless*. The latter word means in Shakespeare 'without time-limit','eternal'.

154 f. Contrast this pathetic lament of Mowbray with the curt and self-possessed reply of Bolingbroke (144–7). Not to speak of his harsher sentence, banishment is for the unpopular Mowbray the end of his career; for Bolingbroke it is merely the stepping-stone to

a triumphant return.—The speech is wholly Shakespeare's invention, and indeed reflects a sentiment more natural to the 16th century than to the 14th, and to a poet than to a noble. At the earlier date English was less likely to be the only tongue familiar to a great English noble than at any subsequent time. This, however, only throws into relief the glowing patriotism which inspired the English histories, of which, it has been well said, 'the true heroine is England'.

156–8. **A dearer merit...Have I deserved.** Johnson objects to the phrase as tautologous, and proposed *a dearer mode, and*, &c. Coleridge quotes it with the ejaculation: "O, the instinctive propriety of Shakespeare in the choice of words!" The two comments well illustrate the difference between a common-sense apprehension of words, and a poet's sensibility to the atmosphere of association which they carry with them. *Merit* is used in E.E., for a 'thing deserved', 'reward'; and so 'advantage, profit' (Halliwell). It is thus exactly opposed to 'maim'. *Dearer*, as usual, is 'greater in degree'. But for Mowbray to tell the king that he deserved *a greater reward* would have been offensive bluntness. The use of the more complex word *merit*, the exact force of which is only apparent when elicited from the context, conveys the thought less obtrusively.

156–7. **so deep...as to be.** Here *to be*='being', the whole clause being virtually an accusative noun corresponding to *maim*, and *so...as=tam...quam* (*esse*)—this usage must be carefully distinguished from that in which *as to* introduces a *consequence* (*ita...ut sit*)—the *to* here marking the *dative*, not the nom. or acc. of the infinitive.

172. [Explain the force of **speechless death.**]

174. **compassionate.** The word, not used elsewhere by Shakespeare of emotion felt for one's own sorrows, has a special significance in the mouth of Richard,—himself of all men the most prone to this 'eloquent self-pity'.

175. Richard, a little elated at the instant obedience of both combatants, attempts—wayward child of impulse as he is—to play the part of the inexorable judge; with what success is apparent at lines 208–12.

176–7. The passionate love of England which underlies Mowbray's former speech, breaks out clear and unrestrained in this lyrical cry. Mowbray is actually withdrawing when the king recalls him.

178–190. Richard's authority has triumphed. "In an excess of confidence he proceeds to exact from [the disputants] a futile and foolish oath—futile because he had no means to enforce its observance, and foolish because it was only calculated to suggest the danger which he wished to avoid." (C. Ransome.)

181. The king relieves them of their allegiance to himself during exile. Technically, it is doubtful whether 'allegiance' was not

suspended in any case by exile: but Shakespeare hardly contemplated this point.

189. The tautologous expressions *advised purpose, plot complot* represent the legal style of oaths which Richard on the whole preserves throughout the speech, but characteristically heightens with a touch of poetry at line 187.

190. **state**, used, as often, of the condition of a king, 'majesty'. Cf. iii. 2. 117 and 163 below.

193. The preliminary unfinished phrase intimates (like a flag of truce) that what he is about to say in no way affects their standing enmity, but is not itself hostile in intention.

195. So the dying Talbot (*1 Henry VI.* iv. 7. 21) foresees his own and his dead son's souls in flight: "Two Talbots, winged through the lither sky...shall 'scape mortality," and the dying York (*Henry V.* iv. 6, 11 f.) bids Suffolk 'tarry': "My soul shall keep thine company to heaven; Tarry sweet soul for mine; then fly abreast".

196. The conception of the soul as confined within the body is current in Elizabethan poetry; the precise image varies with the mood or theology of the writer, from that of the 'guest' (Raleigh: "Soul, the body's guest") or the 'tenant' (Shakespeare: *Sonnet* 146, "Poor soul, the centre of my simple earth,...Why so large cost, having so short a lease, Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?") to that of the prisoner (below, iii. 2. 167) or the corpse, as here. Cf. the famous passage in *Merchant of Venice*, v. 63, where the soul is thought of as a harmonious singer, "But while *this muddy vesture of decay* Doth grossly close it in we cannot hear it".

204. Mowbray hints plainly at Bolingbroke's designs. Richard himself shows, in the next scene (i. 4. 20–2), that he also is cognisant of them. Note how the dramatic effectiveness of this first act is enriched by the *double rôles* which both Richard and Bolingbroke play, and which each perceives in the other's case and carefully conceals in his own.

207. Johnson, and Coleridge after him, compare the closing lines of *Paradise Lost*, "The world was all before them," &c.

208 f. See note to line 175. Richard's apparent regard for Gaunt's feelings discloses a new aspect of his character,—his femininė sensitiveness to authority. The grand personality of Gaunt imposes upon him in spite of himself: note how he blenches at Gaunt's rebuke (ii. 11. 18), and blusters to conceal it. Bolingbroke, too, imposes on him: note how, as soon as the two meet on equal terms, Richard not only does not resist, but characteristically capitulates before he is asked—walks open-eyed into the snare which his rival at each step closes irrevocably behind him.

211. The remission of the four years actually occurred some weeks later, when Bolingbroke took leave of the king at Eltham. (Holinshed.)

213–5. "Admirable anticipation!" (Coleridge.) Bolingbroke's sarcasm forces into prominence the contrast between Richard, the man of impulse, and himself the man of will, upon which the whole sequel turned.

214. **wanton**; a poetic and beautiful word in E. E. (see Glossary); 'luxuriant, wayward, unrestrained'.

220. **about**, *i.e.* bring their successive seasons *round*.

224. **blindfold death**; the state of death, which involves the loss of sight. Shakespeare uses the word only once elsewhere, in "blindfold fury", *Venus and Adonis*, 554.

226 f. "When did the slighted dignity of suffering ever rise up more proudly against the frivolous recklessness of power than in this answer?" (Kreyssig.)

230. 'Efface no wrinkle wrought by time in his course.'

231. 'He will accept your command as valid authority for putting me to death.' **Current**, a metaphor from *coin*.

233. **upon good advice**, after due consideration. See Glossary.

234. **a party verdict**, a decision to which you were a party.

234. That Gaunt actually voted for his son's banishment is a trait admirably invented by Shakespeare in accordance with his own conception of the character, as shown especially by i. 2. 37–41.

236–246. Gaunt utters here that inflexible devotion to the service of the state which gave the sovereigns of the House of Lancaster, in Shakespeare's eyes, their title to reign. The distinction he draws between his political and his personal relations, and his Roman subordination of the latter to the former, had no existence in the mind of Richard, who acted in all things as his momentary impulse prompted. Compare this bitter sacrifice of his son with the lackey-like subserviency of York in betraying Aumerle (v. 3).

236. Gaunt replies characteristically (see note to i. 163) with an epigram, which, as usual with epigrams, gives a somewhat heightened expression to his thought. His condemnation of his son had been 'sweet' only in the sense in which compliance with a painful duty is more satisfactory to a conscientious man than neglect of it: the bitter consequences are now more present to him than that Stoic satisfaction.

241. **a partial slander**. See note to line 90 above.

243. **look'd**. This verb in E. E. often = 'be on the watch for', 'expect'. So already in O. E. with *when*, as here, *e.g.* "*ofer lagu lócað georne, hwonne up cyme swegles leóma*", 'looks over the waters (to see) when the heavenly light shall arise'.

244. **to...away**. *To* with the infinitive often in E. E. introduces a clause describing the circumstance *in* (or *by*) which something

happens; *to* having then its old but now rare locative sense: cf. the German *zu* ('to') with place-names, = Eng. *at, in*. So of *time*: cf. 'to-day', &c., and note to ii. 1. 217.

249–50. Aumerle's curt and careless farewell is rendered in a harsh and ill-expressed couplet. At a later time Shakespeare becomes chary of making style dramatically expressive at the cost of the *verse*. He makes his blunt men use prose. Cf. Casca in *Julius Cæsar*.

256–7. **prodigal To breathe,** *i.e.* in breathing; like **strict to make away** above.

258. **grief** in Shakespeare is both the emotion and its outward cause ('grievance'). Gaunt uses the word in the latter sense, his son in the former. Note the pathetic *background* of Gaunt's words, viz. the thought that his own 'grief' is an absence without end.

258–67. This rapid line-for-line debate (στιχομυθία) is in the manner of the wit-tournaments of *Love's Labour's Lost*, though charged with a fulness of emotion quite foreign to that play. Other nearly contemporary examples are *Richard III.* i. 2; iv. 4 (Richard and Anne, Richard and Elizabeth), and *Romeo and Juliet*, iv. 1. 17 (Juliet and Paris). It is a mark of the young Shakespeare, and was probably suggested partly by Seneca, partly by the amœbean contests in Vergil's *Eclogues*, and the *Shepheards Calender*.

260–1. For the thought compare Rosalind's playful description of the various paces of Time (*As You Like It*, iii. 2. 324–350).

262. The motive of this and the two following speeches of Gaunt, viz. that sorrow may be lessened by a resolute use of imagination, was perhaps suggested by Leicester's consolation of Edward II., as a prisoner at Kenilworth (Marlowe, *Edward II.* ed. Dyce, p. 212)—

> "Be patient, good my lord, cease to lament;
> Imagine Killingworth Castle were your court,
> And that you lay for pleasure here a space,
> Not of compulsion or necessity".

The plan is characteristic of the old man's glowing imagination, but appeals less to the more matter-of-fact and practical Bolingbroke.

266–7. Gaunt here anticipates the image he uses in ii. 1, "This precious stone set in the silver sea".

269. **what a deal of world,** 'what a quantity of the earth's surface', 'distance'. The phrase 'a deal', though now branded as a vulgarism, was good colloquial English in the 16th century.

271–4. Bolingbroke compares the long habituation to grief which lies before him, to the apprentice's years of service (*journeyman* properly = one hired by the day), at the end of which he is 'free', *i.e.* at liberty to work for himself.

272. **foreign passages,** wanderings abroad.

275–6. Wherever the sun shines, the wise man can contentedly dwell. 'Omne solum forti patria est.'

276. **wise man,** written in Q 1 and Q 2 *wiseman*, indicating that *-man* was pronounced as an enclitic. Cf. 'goodman', 'madman', the proper name *Trueman*, &c., and Bunyan's *Mr. Badman*. In O. E. an adjective regularly had a stronger stress than a noun following it.

277. A variation on the proverbial 'to make a virtue of necessity', used by Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. 1. 62.

279–80. Shakespeare gives a similar outbreak to Coriolanus, on the announcement of his banishment: "You common cry of curs, whose breath I hate....I banish you!" *Coriolanus*, iii. 3. 120 f.

282. **purchase,** acquire. See Glossary.

284. **in** before a personal or possessive pronoun had a stronger stress in E. E. than now: hence the present line. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, i. 1. 39, "And stay here *in* your court for three years' space"; *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 2. 169, "That sleeve is mine that he bears *in* his helm" (Q. *on*). In O. E. prepositions regularly took the stress from a following pronoun; so still in Md. E. *with me, for me*, &c.

288. On metre, see Prosody, I. § 4 (ii).

289. **the presence strew'd,** the rush-strewn floors still customary in Shakespeare's time. *Presence*, the reception-room or presence-chamber.

291. The **measure** was technically a grave and stately dance, as in *Much Ado*, ii. 80, "mannerly, modest, like a measure, full of state and ancientry". Shakespeare, however, uses it also more loosely of dancing in general; as in *Twelfth Night*, v. 41, "the triplex is a good tripping measure". But he is probably thinking here of the *measure* proper, as more resembling the slow steps of exile, 'delightful' as it was.

294. **fire,** as commonly, two syllables (*fiər*), cf. Prosody, I. § 3 (iv) (through the development in early Md. E. of a secondary vowel before *-r*); but there was a growing tendency to treat this and other groups of adjacent vowels as equivalent to one syllable.

299. **fantastic** corresponds to **imagination** above; *i.e.* summer's heat that exists only in fancy.

300. Similarly, **apprehension** is used, as *conceit* often is, of an idea *seized upon* and possessed by the mind, though it have no real basis.

302. **rankle,** used especially of the irritation produced by poison or inflammation. Bolingbroke hints that the method of healing sorrow by imagining joy is as futile as that of healing a festered wound by avoiding the additional but beneficent pain of the surgeon's lancet.