

THE PERSONS OF THE PLAY

PROLOGUE

EPILOGUE

KING HENRY VIII

QUEEN KATHERINE, later KATHERINE, Princess Dowager

ANNE Boleyn, later Queen ANNE

Duke of BUCKINGHAM

Lord ABERGAVENNY }
Earl of SURREY } his sons-in-law

Duke of NORFOLK

Old Duchess of Norfolk

Duke of SUFFOLK

LORD CHAMBERLAIN

LORD CHANCELLOR

Lord SANDS (William Sands)

Lord CAPUTIUS

Sir Thomas LOVELL

Sir Anthony DENNY

Sir Henry GUILDFORD

Sir Thomas CROMWELL

Sir Nicholas VAUX

CARDINAL WOLSEY

CARDINAL CAMPEIUS

Thomas CRANMER, later Archbishop of Canterbury

Stephen GARDINER, the King's new secretary, later Bishop of Winchester

Gardiner's PAGE

Bishop of LINCOLN (John Longland)

GRIFFITH, Queen Katherine's gentleman usher

PATIENCE, her waiting woman

An OLD LADY

Dr BUTTS, the King's Physician

BRANDON

BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR

Three GENTLEMEN

GARTER King-of-Arms

Two SECRETARIES

SERJEANT-at-arms

Two SCRIBES

A CRIER

Lord Chamberlain's SERVANT

MESSENGER

A DOORKEEPER

A PORTER

His MAN

Lord Mayor of London

Six personages in Katherine's Vision

Others appearing at the Legatine Court:

Archbishop of Canterbury (William Warham), Bishop of Ely, Bishop of Rochester, Bishop of Saint Asaph, two noblemen, two priests, two vergers

Others appearing at the Coronation:

Countesses and ladies, Marquis Dorset, four Barons of the Cinque Ports, Bishop of London (John Stokesley), two judges, choristers, trumpeters

Others appearing at the Christening:

The infant Princess Elizabeth, Marchioness Dorset, six noblemen, two aldermen

Musicians, ladies, gentlemen, halberdiers, tipstaves, pages, pursuivants, footboys, grooms, servants, guards, attendants, common people

King Henry VIII, or All is True

Prologue *Enter Prologue*

PROLOGUE

I come no more to make you laugh. Things now
That bear a weighty and a serious brow,
Sad, high, and working, full of state and woe—
Such noble scenes as draw the eye to flow
We now present. Those that can pity here 5
May, if they think it well, let fall a tear;
The subject will deserve it. Such as give
Their money out of hope they may believe,
May here find truth, too. Those that come to see
Only a show or two, and so agree 10
The play may pass—if they be still, and willing,
I'll undertake may see away their shilling
Richly in two short hours. Only they
That come to hear a merry, bawdy play,
A noise of targets, or to see a fellow 15
In a long motley coat guarded with yellow,
Will be deceived. For, gentle hearers, know—
To rank our chosen truth with such a show

Title *King . . . VIII*] The Famous History of the Life of King HENRY the Eight. F; *All is True*
OXFORD

Prologue O. I *Enter Prologue* | PROLOGUE] OXFORD; *THE PROLOGUE*. F

- Pro. I I . . . **laugh** An allusion to an unidentified comedy, which evidently also began with a prologue used to introduce the action. Here, the prologue prepares the audience's attitude (4–7, 13–17).
- 3 **Sad, high, and working** solemn, important, and emotionally charged
- state dignity, stateliness
- 9 **truth** Alludes to the original title, 'All is True', re-emphasized at 18 and 20–1.
- 10 **show** spectacle
- 11 **pass** surpass
- still, and willing** attentive and inclined
- 12 **see away** spend in seeing
- shilling** (cost of an expensive seat in the galleries)
- 13 **two short hours** A general or conventional reference to the length of a play, as in *Romeo* Pro. 12.
- 14–17 **a merry . . . deceived** May allude to Rowley's play (see Introduction, p. 15), which had low comic dialogue, battle scenes, and Will Somers (Henry VIII's fool).
- 15 **noise of targets** battle sounds. Targets are shields.
- 16 **long . . . yellow** (clown's customary garb)
- motley** variegated, many-coloured
- guarded** trimmed
- 17 **deceived** disappointed
- 18 **rank** couple

As fool and fight is, beside forfeiting
 Our own brains, and the opinion that we bring 20
 To make that only true we now intend,
 Will leave us never an understanding friend.
 Therefore, for goodness' sake, and as you are known
 The first and happiest hearers of the town,
 Be sad as we would make ye. Think ye see 25
 The very persons of our noble story
 As they were living; think you see them great
 And followed with the general throng and sweat
 Of thousand friends; then, in a moment, see
 How soon this mightiness meets misery. 30
 And if you can be merry then, I'll say
 A man may weep upon his wedding day. *Exit*

I. I *A cloth of state throughout the play. Enter the Duke of Norfolk at one door; at the other door enter the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Abergavenny*

BUCKINGHAM (to Norfolk)

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

32 *Exit*] OXFORD; not in F

I. I] *Actus Primus. Scœna Prima.* F O. I *A cloth . . . play*] OXFORD; not in F O. 2 *door enter*] OXFORD; not in F

19–21 **beside . . . intend** i.e. apart from surrendering our own intelligence and the conviction that we carry to present only what is true

22 **understanding** A quibble on groundlings who stood around the stage in the yard. Cf. Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* Ind.49 (Foakes).

24 **first . . . hearers** 'the leading and best qualified audience' (Humphreys). The King's Men were the premier acting company in London and attracted a more distinguished audience than others.

25 **sad serious**

Think ye see Cf. *Henry V* Pro. 17–31, esp. 26: 'Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them'. Comparing the two Prologues, S. C. Sen Gupta says that in *Henry V* Shakespeare was anxious whether his stage could contain 'the

vastness of his martial theme', whereas in *Henry VIII* 'not the vastness of his subject but its truth . . . engage[s] the poet's attention' (*Shakespeare's Historical Plays* (Oxford, 1964), 152).

27–8 **great . . . sweat** Pronounced similarly (Kökeritz, 201; Cercignani, 78).

30 **How soon . . . misery** The fall from high to low estate was a medieval conception of tragedy, as exemplified in Chaucer's 'Monk's Tale' (see Introduction, p. 25). The concept was still current in the early seventeenth century.

I. I. O. I **cloth of state** F stage directions take for granted the presence on stage of a seat or state for the King (TC).

O. 2 **one door . . . other door** Two stage doors, one on either side, were usual in London theatres until the end of the eighteenth century.

2 **saw** i.e. saw each other

- NORFOLK I thank your grace,
 Healthful, and ever since a fresh admirer
 Of what I saw there.
- BUCKINGHAM An untimely ague
 Stayed me a prisoner in my chamber when 5
 Those suns of glory, those two lights of men,
 Met in the vale of Ardres.
- NORFOLK 'Twixt Guisnes and Ardres.
 I was then present, saw them salute on horseback,
 Beheld them when they lighted, how they clung
 In their embracement as they grew together, 10
 Which had they, what four throned ones could have
 weighed
 Such a compounded one?
- BUCKINGHAM All the whole time
 I was my chamber's prisoner.
- NORFOLK Then you lost
 The view of earthly glory. Men might say
 Till this time pomp was single, but now married 15
 To one above itself. Each following day
 Became the next day's master, till the last
 Made former wonders its. Today the French,
 All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods

6 suns] F1; Sons F3 7 Ardres] ROWE; Andren F Guisnes] F (Guynes) Ardres.] ROWE;
 Arde, F 11 Which . . . weighed] ROWE; as two lines divided they, / F 17 next . . . last] F; last .
 . . next CAPELL

- 3 **fresh** untired; 'an admirer still feeling the impression as if it were hourly renewed' (Johnson)
- 4 **untimely ague** Buckingham was in fact present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, but the dramatist invents his illness so that Norfolk (who was not present) may describe the event and Buckingham may register his reaction.
- 6-7 **Those suns . . . Ardres** Henry VIII and Francis I met from 7 to 24 June 1520. For the splendour of the meetings and Wolsey's part in them, see Holinshed, 858-60, and Hall, 605-20.
- 6 **suns** As the sun was the primate of the heavens, so kings were primates on earth. (Cf. 33 below.) The F3 and Capell reading 'sons' suggests an intentional pun (Foakes).
- 7 **Guisnes and Ardres** Guisnes was English, Ardres French, with the valley between them in Picardy, where the kings met.
- 8 **salute** greet
- 9 **lighted** alighted
- 10 **as** as if
grew together Cf. *Dream*, 3.2.209-10: 'So we grew together, | Like to a double cherry'.
- 11-12 **Which . . . one** which, if they had grown into one, what four kings could have counted as much as that compounded one
- 16-18 **Each . . . its** each succeeding day instructed the next until the last one combined all the wonders into itself
- 19 **clinquant** glittering
heathen gods Psalm 115: 4: 'Their idols

Shone down the English; and tomorrow they 20
 Made Britain India. Every man that stood
 Showed like a mine. Their dwarfish pages were
 As cherubins all gilt; the madams, too,
 Not used to toil, did almost sweat to bear
 The pride upon them, that their very labour 25
 Was to them as a painting. Now this masque
 Was cried incomparable, and th'ensuing night
 Made it a fool and beggar. The two kings
 Equal in lustre, were now best, now worst,
 As presence did present them. Him in eye 30
 Still him in praise, and being present both,
 'Twas said they saw but one, and no discerner
 Durst wag his tongue in censure. When these suns—
 For so they phrase 'em—by their heralds challenged
 The noble spirits to arms, they did perform 35
 Beyond thought's compass, that former fabulous story
 Being now seen possible enough, got credit
 That *Bevis* was believed.

BUCKINGHAM

O, you go far!

NORFOLK

As I belong to worship and affect

23 cherubins] F; cherubim OXFORD madams] F (Madams); mesdames OXFORD 33 censure.
 When] ROWE; ~, when F

are of silver and gold, even the work of
 men's hands' (Foakes).

20 Shone down outshone

21–2 Made Britain . . . mine The wealth the
 British displayed made them look like the
 fabled mines of the East. Cf. *1 Henry IV*
 3.1.164–5: 'as bountiful | As mines of
 India'.

23 madams ladies of rank

25 pride splendid adornments
 that i.e. so that; also at 36

25–6 their . . . painting Their exertions, like
 cosmetics, coloured their cheeks.

26–8 Now . . . beggar Holinshed, Hall, and
 other chroniclers comment on the ex-
 travagant masques used as entertain-
 ment. An allusion also perhaps to the
 entertainments during the wedding fes-
 tivities of Princess Elizabeth in 1613
 (Foakes).

29–30 now best . . . them i.e. appeared best

or worst accordingly as one or the other
 appeared on view

30–1 Him . . . praise 'the one seen was ever
 the one praised' (Humphreys)

31–2 being . . . but one i.e. when both kings
 appeared, they were each so splendid as
 to be indistinguishable

32 discerner observer

33 censure judgement; i.e. could not distin-
 guish which was superior.

36 beyond thought's compass unimagin-
 ably

38 *Bevis* Early English romance, *Bevis of
 Hampton*. The hero's chivalric feats were
 now rendered credible by the perform-
 ance of the knights at the Field of the
 Cloth of Gold (i.e. in jousts and tourna-
 ments). Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1613) ce-
 lebrates his 'achievement great' (Pooler).

39–40 As I . . . honesty as I hold high
 rank and love truthfulness in matters of
 honour

- In honour honesty, the tract of ev'rything 40
 Would by a good discourser lose some life
 Which action's self was tongue to. All was royal.
 To the disposing of it naught rebelled.
 Order gave each thing view. The office did
 Distinctly his full function.
- BUCKINGHAM Who did guide— 45
 I mean, who set the body and the limbs
 Of this great sport together, as you guess?
- NORFOLK
 One, certes, that promises no element
 In such a business.
- BUCKINGHAM I pray you who, my lord?
- NORFOLK
 All this was ordered by the good discretion 50
 Of the right reverend Cardinal of York.
- BUCKINGHAM
 The devil speed him! No man's pie is freed
 From his ambitious finger. What had he
 To do in these fierce vanities? I wonder
 That such a keech can, with his very bulk, 55
 Take up the rays o'th' beneficial sun,
 And keep it from the earth.
- NORFOLK Surely, sir,

42–5 All . . . function] THEOBALD; assigned to Buckingham F 47 together, as you guess?] F4
 (subs.); ~? | Nor. As you guess: F

- 40–2 **the tract** . . . **tongue to** the description
 of everything even by a good narrator
 would lose in the telling what the action
 itself conveyed
- 40 **tract** description (Riverside)
- 41 **discourser** narrator
- 42–5 All . . . **function** Theobald rightly as-
 signs these lines, which F impossibly
 gives to Buckingham, who twice says he
 was not present (4–6, 12–13).
- 44 **Order** . . . **view** Because everything was
 well arranged, everything was visible.
- 44–5 **The office** . . . **function** The officials
 properly carried out their assignments;
 'office' = people holding official position
 (Onions).
- 47 **as you guess?** NCS rejects the F4 emend-
 ation, arguing that Norfolk assumes
 Buckingham can easily guess the truth.
- 48 **certes** (one syllable) certainly
element part, role. Schmidt paraphrases:
 'of whom it would not be expected, that
 he should find his proper sphere in such a
 business'.
- 50 **ordered** arranged
- 52 **speed** prosper, meaning 'dispatch' (*OED*
 v. 9c)
- 54 **fierce** wild, extravagant (Onions)
- 55 **keech** the fat of a slaughtered animal
 rolled up into a lump (*OED*), with a
 glance at Wolsey as a butcher's son. Per-
 haps Shakespeare thought of Wolsey as a
 fat man (Foakes).
- 56 **Take** . . . **sun** Figuratively, absorb all the
 attention of the monarch; 'take up' =
 occupy entirely (Onions).

There's in him stuff that puts him to these ends.
 For being not propped by ancestry, whose grace
 Chalks successors their way, nor called upon 60
 For high feats done to th' crown, neither allied
 To eminent assistants, but spider-like,
 Out of his self-drawing web, a gives us note
 The force of his own merit makes his way—
 A gift that heaven gives for him, which buys 65
 A place next to the King.

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

BUCKINGHAM Why the devil,
 Upon this French going out, took he upon him—
 Without the privity o' th' King—t'appoint
 Who should attend on him? He makes up the file 75
 Of all the gentry, for the most part such
 To whom as great a charge as little honour
 He meant to lay upon; and his own letter,

63 web, a]; CAMBRIDGE 1892 (*conj.* Capell); Web. O F; ~, he CAPELL; ~, O, FOAKES
 69–70 that? . . . hell,] THEOBALD (*subs.*); ~, . . . Hell? F

59–62 **For being** . . . **assistants** Norfolk comments on Wolsey's lack of noble descent, services, and connections.

59 **grace** beneficent virtue

60 **Chalks** marks

63 **self-drawing web** web spun from his own resources (Humphreys). Spiders were considered venomous.

a he. *TC* gives good reason to accept Capell's conjecture, even though 'a' = he appears nowhere else in the play (a scribe might have changed others to 'he' and, in general, F modernizes). The *a/o* misreading is easy.

gives us note informs us

70–2 **If not** . . . **himself** If Wolsey's pride derives not from hell, then the devil is stingy or has already given all the pride away, so that Wolsey must contrive a new hell

in himself. Abergavenny can see nothing of heaven's gifts in him, only sinful pride.

73 **going out** expedition

74 **privity** private knowledge

75 **file** list

77–8 **To whom** . . . **upon** on whom he meant to impose expenses as great as the honour intended to them is little (Humphreys). The first 'To' is redundant.

78–80 **his own letter** . . . **papers** Malone cites Holinshed: 'The peers of the realm (receiving letters to prepare themselves to attend the King in this journey . . .) seemed to grudge that such a costly journey should be taken in hand, to their importunate charges and expenses, without consent of the whole board of the Council' (855). Buckingham was especially angry at Wolsey's presumption.

- The honourable board of council out,
Must fetch him in, he papers.
- ABERGAUENNY I do know 80
Kinsmen of mine—three at the least—that have
By this so sickened their estates that never
They shall abound as formerly.
- BUCKINGHAM O, many
Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em
For this great journey. What did this vanity 85
But minister communication of
A most poor issue?
- NORFOLK Grievingly, I think
The peace between the French and us not values
The cost that did conclude it.
- BUCKINGHAM Every man,
After the hideous storm that followed, was 90
A thing inspired, and, not consulting, broke
Into a general prophecy—that this tempest,
Dashing the garment of this peace, aboded
The sudden breach on't.
- NORFOLK Which is budded out;
For France hath flawed the league and hath attached 95
Our merchants' goods at Bordeaux.

79 council out,] POPE (*subs.*); ~, ~_^F 80 him in, he] F; in him he POPE

- 79 **out** not sitting (Johnson) or not mentioned (Steevens)
- 80 **papers** sets down on paper, writes in a list (Onions)
- 82 **sickened** weakened, i.e. impoverished
- 83 **abound** be wealthy, abundant
- 84 **broke** . . . on 'em A common expression (Tilley L452, W62), as in *K. John* 2.1.69–71. The nobility raised funds by selling or mortgaging houses and land.
- 85 **vanity** extravagant display; cf. today's 'conspicuous consumption'
- 86–7 **minister** . . . **issue** Perhaps, convey the idea of impoverishing heirs. Cf. Holinshed, 855: 'he knew not for what cause so much money should be spent about the sight of a vain talk to be had, and communication to be ministered of things of no importance.' Foakes sees a possible double pun on 'communication' = sexual intercourse and hence the begetting of bastard children.
- 87 **Grievingly, I think** I grieve to think
- 88 **not values** is not worth
- 90–4 **hideous storm** . . . **breach on't** Cf. Holinshed, 860: 'On Monday the eighteenth of June was such an hideous storm of wind and weather that many conjectured it did prognosticate trouble and hatred shortly to follow between princes.' In fact, the peace did not last long (94–6).
- 91–2 **not consulting** . . . **prophecy** independently, each one prophesied the same thing
- 93 **Dashing** destroying
aboded foretold, with a possible pun on 'budded' (94).
- 95 **flawed** broken
attached seized by legal process

- ABERGAVENTNY Is it therefore
Th'ambassador is silenced?
- NORFOLK Marry is't.
- ABERGAVENTNY
A proper title of a peace and purchased
At a superfluous rate.
- BUCKINGHAM Why, all this business
Our reverend Cardinal carried.
- NORFOLK Like it your grace, 100
The state takes notice of the private difference
Betwixt you and the Cardinal. I advise you—
And take it from a heart that wishes towards you
Honour and plenteous safety—that you read
The Cardinal's malice and his potency 105
Together; to consider further that
What his high hatred would effect wants not
A minister in his power. You know his nature,
That he's revengeful; and I know his sword
Hath a sharp edge—it's long, and't may be said 110
It reaches far; and where 'twill not extend,
Thither he darts it. Bosom up my counsel,
You'll find it wholesome. Lo, where comes that rock
That I advise your shunning.
- Enter Cardinal Wolsey, the purse containing the
Great Seal borne before him. With him certain of the
guard, and two secretaries with papers. The Cardinal
in his passage fixeth his eye on Buckingham and
Buckingham on him, both full of disdain*

114.1-2 *containing . . . Seal*] OXFORD; *not in F* 114.2 *With him*] OXFORD; *not in F*

- 97 **silenced** Wolsey retaliated by putting the French ambassador under what amounted to house arrest and ordering the Mayor of London to attach all Frenchmen, 'body and goods and them to keep in prison' (Hall, 634).
- 98 **proper title** (used ironically)
- 99 **superfluous rate** excessive cost
- 100 **Like . . . grace** may it please your grace
- 105 **potency power**
- 107-8 **wants . . . power** i.e. does not lack an agent in his service

- 111 **It reaches far** Tilley K87: 'Kings have long arms'.
- 112 **Bosom up** hold close, keep secret
- 113 **that rock** (a nautical metaphor)
- 114.1-5 **Enter . . . disdain** Usually staged so that Wolsey and his entourage are distant from the others; their conversation is not overheard, while Wolsey and Buckingham glare at each other.
- 114.1 **purse** Bag in which the Great Seal is kept, an emblem of the Chancellor's office.

- CARDINAL WOLSEY (*to a Secretary*)
 The Duke of Buckingham's surveyor? Ha?
 Where's his examination? 115
- SECRETARY Here, so please you.
- CARDINAL WOLSEY
 Is he in person ready?
- SECRETARY Ay, please your grace.
- CARDINAL WOLSEY
 Well, we shall then know more, and Buckingham
 Shall lessen this big look. *Exeunt Wolsey and his train*
- BUCKINGHAM
 This butcher's cur is venom-mouthed, and I 120
 Have not the power to muzzle him; therefore best
 Not wake him in his slumber. A beggar's book
 Outworths a noble's blood.
- NORFOLK What, are you chafed?
 Ask God for temp'rance; that's th'appliance only
 Which your disease requires.
- BUCKINGHAM I read in's looks 125
 Matter against me, and his eye reviled
 Me as his abject object. At this instant
 He bores me with some trick. He's gone to th' King;
 I'll follow and outstare him.
- NORFOLK Stay, my lord,
 And let your reason with your choler question 130
 What 'tis you go about. To climb steep hills
 Requires slow pace at first. Anger is like
 A full hot horse who, being allowed his way,
- 120 venom-mouthed] POPE (*after* Rowe); venom'd-mouth'd F 123 chafed] F (chaff'd)
- 115 **surveyor** Overseer of Buckingham's estates, his cousin Charles Knyvet (Knevet).
 116 **examination** deposition, testimony
 119 **big look** haughty stare
 120 **butcher's cur** Wolsey's father was supposed to have been a butcher. Cf. Tilley B764: 'as surly as a butcher's dog' and B764.1 (Dent).
 122 **Not wake him** 'Let sleeping dogs lie' (Tilley W7).
 122-3 **A beggar's . . . blood** As a poor boy, Wolsey was an excellent scholar. His learning ('book'), Buckingham says, is valued more than a nobleman's lineage. Foakes suggests a pun, 'book'/'bulk' (mass or body) in opposition to 'blood' (cf. 55 above).
 123 **chafed** angry, vexed
 124 **temp'rance** self-restraint, one of the four cardinal virtues (*OED*). Tilley P107: 'Patience is a plaster for all sores' (Dent).
appliance remedy, treatment
 127 **abject object** rejected or cast-off thing; hence, object of contempt
 128 **bores** cheats (*OED*), wounds (Johnson)
 131-2 **To climb . . . first** Tilley C413: 'Hasty climbers have sudden falls' (Dent).
 133-4 **A full . . . him** Tilley H642: 'A free horse will soon tire'.

- Self-mettle tires him. Not a man in England
Can advise me like you. Be to yourself 135
As you would to your friend.
- BUCKINGHAM I'll to the King,
And from a mouth of honour quite cry down
This Ipswich fellow's insolence, or proclaim
There's difference in no persons.
- NORFOLK Be advised. 140
Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot
That it do singe yourself. We may outrun
By violent swiftness that which we run at,
And lose by over-running. Know you not
The fire that mounts the liquor till't run o'er
In seeming to augment it wastes it? Be advised. 145
I say again there is no English soul
More stronger to direct you than yourself,
If with the sap of reason you would quench
Or but allay the fire of passion.
- BUCKINGHAM Sir, 150
I am thankful to you, and I'll go along
By your prescription; but this top-proud fellow—
Whom from the flow of gall I name not, but
From sincere motions—by intelligence
And proofs as clear as founts in July when
We see each grain of gravel, I do know 155
To be corrupt and treasonous.
- NORFOLK Say not 'treasonous'.
- 134 **Self-mettle** his own vigour
135–6 **Be . . . friend** Tilley C688: 'He can
give others good counsel but will take
none himself' (Dent).
137 **from . . . honour** speaking as a nobleman
139 **difference** distinction of rank or quality,
as at *Lear* 1.4.89 (Foakes).
Be advised be careful
140–1 **Heat . . . yourself** Alludes to Daniel
3: 19, 22, the fiery furnace for Shadrach,
Mishach, and Abednego, which in fact
burned their would-be executioners
(Shaheen).
141–3 **We may . . . over-running** i.e. we may
run past our goal by going too fast. Tilley
H192: 'Make haste slowly', and H98
'The more haste the less speed' (Dent).
Norfolk's speeches are sententious.
- 144 **mounts the liquor** makes liquid rise
147 **More stronger** Double comparatives
are common in Shakespeare (Abbott §11).
148–9 **sap of reason . . . passion** Norfolk of-
fers conventional wisdom: reason should
rule emotion, not vice versa.
149 **allay** moderate
151 **top-proud** excessively proud; cf. 'top-
gallant'.
152–3 **Whom . . . motions** 'Whom I speak of
not from personal rancour but from hon-
est motives' (Humphreys). In medieval
theory, cholera, or anger, derived from
gall, or bile.
153 **motions** motives (as at *Coriolanus*
2.1.50)
intelligence secret information
154 **founts** springs

BUCKINGHAM

To th' King I'll say't and make my vouch as strong
 As shore of rock. Attend: this holy fox,
 Or wolf, or both—for he is equal rav'nous
 As he is subtle, and as prone to mischief 160
 As able to perform't, his mind and place
 Infecting one another, yea, reciprocally—
 Only to show his pomp as well in France
 As here at home, suggests the King our master
 To this last costly treaty, th'interview 165
 That swallowed so much treasure and, like a glass,
 Did break i'th' rinsing.

NORFOLK Faith, and so it did.

BUCKINGHAM

Pray give me favour, sir. This cunning Cardinal,
 The articles o'th' combination drew
 As himself pleased, and they were ratified 170
 As he cried 'Thus let be', to as much end
 As give a crutch to th' dead. But our Count-Cardinal
 Has done this, and 'tis well for worthy Wolsey,
 Who cannot err, he did it. Now this follows—
 Which, as I take it, is a kind of puppy 175
 To th' old dam, treason—Charles the Emperor,

159–62 —for . . . perform't, . . . reciprocally—] CAPELL (*subs.*); (~ . . . ~) . . . ~, F 167 rinsing] F (wrenching) 172 Count-Cardinal] F; Court-Cardinal POPE 173 well_λ for] OXFORD; ~:~F; ~—~ ROWE

157 **vouch** assertion, allegation

158–60 **holy fox** . . . **subtle** Tilley F629: 'as wily as a fox' and W601 'as hungry as a wolf'. NCS suggests an echo of Matthew 7: 15: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothes, but inwardly they are ravening wolves'.

159 **equal** equally (Abbott §1)

160 **subtle** sly, cunning

161 **place** i.e. position of power (as Lord Chancellor)

164 **suggests** prompts, incites

165 **th'interview** the formal meeting (of the kings)

167 **rinsing** F 'wrenching' is a dialectal form of 'rinsing', usually emended, as here, following Pope (cf. *Kinsmen* 1.1.155). Some editions, e.g. Riverside, NCS, prefer the dialectal form as stronger and as suggesting 'distortion of meaning' (OED v. 7) (Foakes). Drinking glasses

were an expensive luxury.

169 **combination** treaty. Cf. Holinshed, 858: Henry gave Wolsey 'full authority, power, and liberty, to affirm and confirm, bind and unbind, whatsoever should be in question between him and the French king.' Francis I empowered him as well.

172 **Count-Cardinal** Foakes defends Pope's emendation, 'Court-Cardinal', arguing that the chronicles do not support Capell's 'ingenious solution', i.e. that Wolsey was 'Count-Palatine' by virtue of holding the bishopric of Durham *in commendam*. But cf. 'King-Cardinal' (2.2.19). Buckingham here mocks Wolsey's pretensions to aristocracy, not his service at court.

176 **dam** bitch

176–83 **Charles** . . . **menaced him** (See Introduction, pp. 13–14, for the international politics at this time.)

- Under pretence to see the Queen his aunt—
 For 'twas indeed his colour, but he came
 To whisper Wolsey—here makes visitation.
 His fears were that the interview betwixt 180
 England and France might through their amity
 Breed him some prejudice, for from this league
 Peeped harms that menaced him; privily
 Deals with our Cardinal and, as I trow—
 Which I do well, for I am sure the Emperor 185
 Paid ere he promised, whereby his suit was granted
 Ere it was asked—but when the way was made,
 And paved with gold, the Emperor thus desired
 That he would please to alter the King's course
 And break the foresaid peace. Let the King know, 190
 As soon he shall by me, that thus the Cardinal
 Does buy and sell his honour as he pleases,
 And for his own advantage.
- NORFOLK I am sorry
 To hear this of him and could wish ye were
 Something mistaken in 't.
- BUCKINGHAM No, not a syllable. 195
 I do pronounce him in that very shape
 He shall appear in proof.
*Enter Brandon, a serjeant-at-arms before him, and
 two or three of the guard*
- BRANDON
 Your office, serjeant, execute it.
- SERJEANT Sir.
 (*To Buckingham*) My lord the Duke of Buckingham
 and Earl

183 privily] F; He ~ F2; ~ he OXFORD 194 ye] This edition (*conj.* Oxford); he F1; you F4

178 colour pretext

181 England and France i.e. their kings

183 privily secretly, privately. The line is a syllable short, prompting some editors to follow F2 and emend; but the next lines also show metrical irregularity.

184 trow believe

189 he i.e. Wolsey

192 buy and sell traffic in (Pooler), as at *Richard III* 5.6.35.

195 Something somewhat

197 in proof in testing, experience

197.1 *Brandon* Although Holinshed, 863, identifies 'Sir Henry Marney, Captain of the Guard', Shakespeare here names the arresting officer Brandon. This may be Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who appears later in 2.2 but is there referred to as 'Suffolk'; inconsistency in such matters is common in Shakespeare. Buckingham refers to 'lords' at 227 as he departs with Abergavenny under guard (Foakes).

- Of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, I 200
 Arrest thee of high treason in the name
 Of our most sovereign King.
- BUCKINGHAM (*to Norfolk*) Lo you, my lord,
 The net has fall'n upon me. I shall perish
 Under device and practice.
- BRANDON I am sorry
 To see you ta'en from liberty to look on 205
 The business present. 'Tis his highness' pleasure
 You shall to th' Tower.
- BUCKINGHAM It will help me nothing
 To plead mine innocence, for that dye is on me
 Which makes my whit'st part black. The will of heav'n
 Be done in this and all things. I obey. 210
 O, my lord Abergavenny, fare you well.
- BRANDON
 Nay, he must bear you company.
 (*To Abergavenny*) The King
 Is pleased you shall to th' Tower till you know
 How he determines further.
- ABERGAVENNY As the Duke said,
 The will of heaven be done and the King's pleasure 215
 By me obeyed.
- BRANDON Here is a warrant from
 The King t'attach Lord Montague and the bodies
 Of the Duke's confessor, John de la Car,
 One Gilbert Perke, his chancellor—

200 Hereford] CAPELL; *Hertford* F 211 Abergavenny] F (*Aburgany*; also at 1.2.138)
 217 Montague] ROWE, OXFORD; *Mountacute* F 219 Perke] Perk FOAKES; *Pecke* F (also at 2.1.21)
 chancellor—] after POPE 1728 (*conj.* Theobald); Councillour. F

- 200 **Hereford** Disyllabic. Capell's correction of F 'Hertford' (probably a compositor's misreading) derives from Holinshed.
- 202 **Lo you** look you
- 203 **net . . . me** Alludes to catching birds with nets; cf. *Macbeth* 4.2.34 (Foakes).
- 204 **device and practice** trickery and intrigue
- 205 **to look on** and to witness
- 207 **Tower** i.e. the Tower of London, where prisoners accused of treason were held
- 209–10 **The will . . . things** Echoes the Lord's Prayer, Matthew 6: 10: 'Thy will be done even in earth as it is in heaven' (Shaheen); also at 215.
- 211 **Abergavenny** Pronounced, as F spelling indicates, 'Aburgany'.
- 217 **t'attach** to arrest
- Lord Montague** According to Holinshed, 863, Abergavenny and Montague were arrested later on charges of 'concealment', i.e. suppression of truth (Hosley). Montague, or Montacute, was Henry Pole, Abergavenny's son-in-law, pardoned on this occasion but executed for treason in 1539 (Humphreys).
- 219 **Gilbert . . . chancellor** Theobald's and Foakes's emendations derive from Holinshed although, as Humphreys notes,

- BUCKINGHAM So, so;
 These are the limbs o'th' plot. No more, I hope. 220
- BRANDON
 A monk o'th' Chartreux.
- BUCKINGHAM O, Nicholas Hopkins?
- BRANDON He.
- BUCKINGHAM
 My surveyor is false. The o'er-great Cardinal
 Hath showed him gold. My life is spanned already.
 I am the shadow of poor Buckingham, 225
 Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on
 By dark'ning my clear sun. My lords, farewell.
*Exeunt Norfolk at one door, Buckingham and
 Abergavenny under guard at another*

I. 2 *Cornetts. Enter King Henry leaning on Cardinal Wolsey's shoulder. With them Wolsey's two secretaries, the nobles, and Sir Thomas Lovell. The King ascends to his seat under the cloth of state; Wolsey places himself under the King's feet on his right side*

KING HENRY (to Wolsey)

My life itself and the best heart of it
 Thanks you for this great care. I stood i'th' level

221 Nicholas] POPE 1728 (*conj.* Theobald); Michael F 227 lords] F; Lord ROWE

I. 2] *Scena Secunda.* F 0.2–3 *With . . . secretaries*] OXFORD; *not in* F 0.3–4 *The King . . . state*] OXFORD; *not in* F

'Perke' is probably Holinshed's mistake for 'clerk': contemporary records refer to 'Robert Gilbert, clerk' as Buckingham's chancellor.

221 **Chartreux** Carthusian Order

Nicholas Hopkins F's Compositor B probably mistook 'Nic.' or 'Nich.' for 'Mic.' or 'Mich.'

224–5 **My life . . . shadow** Cf. Psalm 39: 6–7 (Prayer Book version): 'Behold, thou hast made my days as it were a span long. . . . For man walketh in a vain shadow' (Humphreys).

224 **spanned** (a) seized; (b) measured out, completed (Johnson)

225–7 **I am . . . sun** A difficult construction. 'Shadow' = resemblance, reflection; 'figure' = form, shape; 'instant' may be a

noun or, more likely, an adjective = now present (Onions); 'cloud' = trouble, affliction; 'sun' = Buckingham or Henry. Hence, Buckingham says either: (a) I am the shadow of my former self, thanks to the cloud that now darkens my erstwhile blameless life; or (b) I am the shadow of unfortunate Buckingham, whose form is now shrouded by the trouble I have caused my king.

I. 2. 0. 1–2 **Enter . . . shoulder** Henry's stance suggests his dependency upon Wolsey. Stuart M. Kurland, 'Henry VIII and James I', *SSSt* 19 (1987), 205, compares James I's habit of leaning upon his courtiers' shoulders.

0. 5 **Wolsey . . . feet** i.e. below the king
 1 **best heart** most precious part (Pooler)
 2 **level** direct aim

Of a full-charged confederacy and give thanks
 To you that choked it. Let be called before us
 That gentleman of Buckingham's; in person 5
 I'll hear him his confessions justify,
 And point by point the treasons of his master
 He shall again relate.

[CRIER] (*within*)

Room for the Queen, ushered by the Duke of Norfolk.
*Enter Queen Katherine, the Duke of Norfolk, and the
 Duke of Suffolk. She kneels. King Henry riseth from
 his state, takes her up, and kisses her*

QUEEN KATHERINE

Nay, we must longer kneel. I am a suitor. 10

KING HENRY

Arise, and take place by us.
He placeth her by him

Half your suit

Never name to us: you have half our power,
 The other moiety ere you ask is given.
 Repeat your will and take it.

QUEEN KATHERINE

Thank your majesty.

That you would love yourself, and in that love 15
 Not unconsidered leave your honour nor
 The dignity of your office, is the point
 Of my petition.

KING HENRY

Lady mine, proceed.

QUEEN KATHERINE

I am solicited—not by a few,

5 Buckingham's; in person.] JOHNSON; ~, ~~, F 9 [CRIER] (*within*) OXFORD; *A noyse within crying* F Room . . . Norfolk] OXFORD; *as part of stage direction* F 11 *He . . . him*] OXFORD; *at end of preceding stage direction* F

- 3 **full-charged** fully loaded
confederacy conspiracy
 4 **choked** i.e. suppressed
 6 **justify** confirm, prove
 9 CRIER . . . **Norfolk** Oxford's emendation regularizes F's stage direction (which anticipates Katherine's entry).
 9.3 **state** chair of state, throne
 10 **we** royal plural
 11 **take place** take your seat
 13 **moiety** half
 14 **Repeat** . . . it state your desire and consider it granted

Thank (I) thank

- 15–18 **That you . . . petition** Katherine asks Henry to take regard for himself and in so doing surrender neither his honour nor the dignity of his position.
 19–30 **I am . . . rebellion** Katherine's appeal on behalf of the commons is unhistorical and seems invented by Shakespeare to arouse sympathy at once for the Queen. The 'commissions', however, were both historical and notorious, though they came later, in 1525. Wolsey was universally blamed; Holinshed, 891, refers

- And those of true condition—that your subjects 20
 Are in great grievance. There have been commissions
 Sent down among 'em which hath flawed the heart
 Of all their loyalties; wherein, although,
 My good lord Cardinal, they vent reproaches
 Most bitterly on you, as putter-on 25
 Of these exactions, yet the King our master—
 Whose honour heaven shield from soil—even he
 escapes not
 Language unmannerly; yea, such which breaks
 The sides of loyalty and almost appears
 In loud rebellion.
- NORFOLK Not 'almost appears'— 30
 It doth appear; for upon these taxations
 The clothiers all, not able to maintain
 The many to them 'longing, have put off
 The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who,
 Unfit for other life, compelled by hunger 35
 And lack of other means, in desperate manner
 Daring th'event to th' teeth, are all in uproar,
 And danger serves among them.
- KING HENRY Taxation?
 Wherein? And what taxation? My lord Cardinal,
- to the 'strange commissions' Wolsey
 devised to pay for Henry's war in France
 (cf. Hall, 694–7).
- 20 **true condition** loyal nature or disposition
- 21 **grievance** distress
commissions writs of authority (to collect
 taxes)
- 22 **flawed** damaged, cracked
- 25 **putter-on** instigator
- 27 **soil** stain, moral blemish
- 28–9 **breaks** . . . **loyalty** i.e. bursts the
 bounds; a common metaphor in Shake-
 speare for the effect of strong passion
 (Maxwell), as at *Antony* I. 3. 16–17.
- 31–8 **It doth** . . . **among them** For dramatic
 purposes Shakespeare transforms the
 rebellion in Suffolk that Holinshed
 records (891–2) into a general upheaval
 (Foakes).
- 33 **put off** dismissed from service (Onions).
 Cf. Holinshed, 891: 'the rich clothiers . . .
 went about to discharge and put from
- them their spinners, carders, fullers,
 weavers, and other artificers'.
- 34 **spinsters** spinners, usually but not exclu-
 sively female
carders those who card, or comb, the
 wool
fullers men who beat cloth to clean and
 thicken it
- 35 **life** way of life, trade
- 37 **Daring** . . . **teeth** boldly facing the result of
 their rising (Pooler), as at *Hamlet* 3. 3. 63:
 'Even to the teeth and forehead of our
 faults'.
- 38 **danger** . . . **them** Defiantly challenging
 the outcome. Danger is personified, just
 as Poverty and Necessity are in Holin-
 shed's account ('Poverty was their cap-
 tain, which with his cousin Necessity,
 had brought them to that doing').
- 38–9 **Taxation?** . . . **taxation?** Henry's
 protest of ignorance was genuine;
 Wolsey, not uncommonly, had kept him
 in the dark.

- You that are blamed for it alike with us, 40
 Know you of this taxation?
- CARDINAL WOLSEY Please you, sir,
 I know but of a single part in aught
 Pertains to th' state and front but in that file
 Where others tell steps with me.
- QUEEN KATHERINE No, my lord?
 You know no more than others? But you frame 45
 Things that are known alike, which are not wholesome
 To those which would not know them and yet must
 Perforce be their acquaintance. These exactions,
 Whereof my sovereign would have note, they are
 Most pestilent to th' hearing, and to bear 'em 50
 The back is sacrifice to th' load. They say
 They are devised by you, or else you suffer
 Too hard an exclamation.
- KING HENRY Still exaction!
 The nature of it? In what kind, let's know,
 Is this exaction?
- QUEEN KATHERINE I am much too venturous 55
 In tempting of your patience, but am boldened
 Under your promised pardon. The subjects' grief
 Comes through commissions which compels from each
 The sixth part of his substance to be levied
 Without delay, and the pretence for this 60
 Is named your wars in France. This makes bold
 mouths.
 Tongues spit their duties out, and cold hearts freeze
 Allegiance in them. Their curses now
 Live where their prayers did, and it's come to pass

44–5 lord? . . . others?] F; ~, . . . ~; F4, FOAKES

- 42 **a single part** one person's share
 43–4 **front . . . me** i.e. am only more conspicuous among those who are involved with me
 44 **tell steps** march along (continuing the martial metaphor)
 45–8 **you frame . . . acquaintance** i.e. you originate things that everyone (in Council) knows are not beneficial to those that would reject them but must accept them
 49 **would** would like to, should (OED, will, v. 40)
 49 **note** knowledge
 50–1 **to bear . . . load** carrying them is to sacrifice the bearer to the burden
 53 **exclamation** reproach
 54 **In what kind** what is the nature of
 57 **grief** grievance
 58 **commissions** See 19–30 n.
compels For third person plurals ending in -s, see Abbott §333.
 59 **substance** wealth

- This tractable obedience is a slave 65
 To each incensèd will. I would your highness
 Would give it quick consideration, for
 There is no primer business.
- KING HENRY By my life,
 This is against our pleasure.
- CARDINAL WOLSEY And for me, 70
 I have no further gone in this than by
 A single voice, and that not passed me but
 By learned approbation of the judges. If I am
 Traduced by ignorant tongues—which neither know
 My faculties nor person, yet will be 75
 The chronicles of my doing—let me say
 ’Tis but the fate of place and the rough brake
 That virtue must go through. We must not stint
 Our necessary actions in the fear
 To cope malicious censurers, which ever
 As rav’ nous fishes do a vessel follow 80
 That is new trimmed, but benefit no further
 Than vainly longing. What we oft do best,
 By sick interpreters—once weak ones—is
 Not ours or not allowed; what worst, as oft

68 business] HANMER (*conj.* Warburton); basenesse F 71 passed] F (past) 83 once] F; or POPE

- 65–6 **This . . . will** i.e. wrath dominates people’s formerly compliant obedience
- 68 **primer** more important
business As Sisson says (98), emendation is not obligatory and may seem to weaken the sense; Foakes along with some other editors concurs. But, as Sisson also says, the emendation ‘business’ for ‘basenesse’ is more consonant with Katherine’s request for ‘quick consideration’ and with the adjective, *primer*. A misreading *a/u*, moreover, is plausible.
- 69 **This** i.e. the taxation through commissions
- 71 **single voice** unanimous vote. Although the *OED* does not record ‘single’ in this sense, Foakes cites *Macbeth* 1.3.139 (‘single state of man’) and Holinshed’s reference to the consent of the whole Council in this action (891–2). Alternatively, Wolsey may be saying that he exercised only one vote, as one among many (Riverside).
- 72 **approbation of the judges** According to Holinshed, the judges sitting in Council had approved the legality of the commissions.
- 74 **faculties** personal qualities, disposition (Onions)
person bearing, physical appearance
- 76 **place** rank, office
brake lit., thicket
- 77 **stint** withhold, curtail
- 79 **cope** encounter
censurers critics
- 81 **new trimmed** newly fitted out for sea duty
- 81–2 **benefit . . . longing** gain nothing beyond their futile hopes (because the new ship is tightly fitted and secure)
- 82–4 **What . . . allowed** i.e. often what we do well, unsound (‘sick’) interpreters—in a word, unqualified ones—give us no credit for or attribute it to others. For ‘weak’ = feeble-minded, see *Errors* 3.2.35, *Twelfth Night* 1.5.III, etc. (Schmidt).

- Hitting a grosser quality, is cried up 85
 For our best act. If we shall stand still
 In fear our motion will be mocked or carped at,
 We should take root here where we sit
 Or sit state-statues only.
- KING HENRY Things done well
 And with a care exempt themselves from fear; 90
 Things done without example, in their issue
 Are to be feared. Have you a precedent
 Of this commission? I believe not any.
 We must not rend our subjects from our laws
 And stick them in our will. Sixth part of each? 95
 A trembling contribution! Why, we take
 From every tree lop, bark, and part o'th' timber;
 And though we leave it with a root, thus hacked
 The air will drink the sap. To every county
 Where this is questioned send our letters with 100
 Free pardon to each man that has denied
 The force of this commission. Pray look to't;
 I put it to your care.
- CARDINAL WOLSEY (*to a secretary*) A word with you.
 Let there be letters writ to every shire
 Of the King's grace and pardon.
 (*Aside to the secretary*) The grievèd commons 105
 Hardly conceive of me. Let it be noised
 That through our intercession this revokement

92 precedent] F (President) 98 root,] THEOBALD (*conj.* Warburton); ~_Λ F

- 85 **Hitting** . . . **quality** appealing to cruder minds (Humphreys). But Foakes and NCS regard the line as ambiguous, referring to either the action or the reaction; hence, it may signify achieving an inferior level of attainment.
cried up praised
- 87 **motion** (a) proposal; (b) action
- 89 **state-statues** effigies of statesmen (Humphreys)
- 91 **example** precedent
issue outcome
- 94-5 **We** . . . **will** i.e. we must not violate our subjects' rights under the law to satisfy our desires. 'The figure is that of plucking up a flower from the soil in which it thrives and sticking it in one's dress for mere personal gratification' (Deighton; cited by Maxwell, who regards the interpretation as perhaps too specific, noting that the whole passage suggests branches rather than flowers; see 96-9).
- 96 **trembling** fearful
- 97 **lop** 'the smaller branches and twigs of trees' (*OED sb.* 1)
- 99-108 **To every . . . comes** As reported by Holinshed, 891.
- 102 **force** validity
- 105 **grace** mercy
- 106 **Hardly conceive of** think ill of
noised bruited about

And pardon comes. I shall anon advise you
Further in the proceeding. *Exit secretary*

Enter Buckingham's Surveyor

QUEEN KATHERINE (*to the King*)

I am sorry that the Duke of Buckingham 110
Is run in your displeasure.

KING HENRY

It grieves many.

The gentleman is learned and a most rare speaker,
To nature none more bound; his training such
That he may furnish and instruct great teachers
And never seek for aid out of himself. Yet see, 115

When these so noble benefits shall prove
Not well disposed, the mind growing once corrupt,
They turn to vicious forms ten times more ugly
Than ever they were fair. This man so complete,
Who was enrolled 'mongst wonders—and when we 120

Almost with ravished list'ning could not find
His hour of speech a minute—he, my lady,
Hath into monstrous habits put the graces
That once were his, and is become as black
As if besmeared in hell. Sit by us. You shall hear— 125

This was his gentleman in trust—of him
Things to strike honour sad.

(*To Wolsey*)

Bid him recount

126 trust—of him] F (*subs.*); ~ ^ ~ ~— OXFORD

111 **Is run in** has incurred

111–27 **It grieves** . . . **sad** Although the examination of Buckingham's surveyor appears in Holinshed, Wolsey not Henry questions him. Henry's eulogy is not included. Humphreys maintains that Shakespeare probably wanted to strengthen Henry's role at this point, as he does increasingly later on, until Act 5 when, protecting Cranmer, he shows himself 'unquestioned and unrivalled ruler'.

112 **rare** excellent

113 **bound** indebted, i.e. for natural qualities (Foakes)

115 **out of himself** beyond his own ability

116–19 **When** . . . **fair** i.e. when the noble attributes are ill directed, the mind grows corrupted, and those very attributes become more vicious than they ever were

virtuous. *Sonnet* 94.10–14 makes a similar comment; see also Tilley N317.

116 **benefits** natural gift or advantage (Onions)

117 **disposed** directed

118 **They** i.e. the 'benefits' (116)

119 **complete** Accented on first syllable, as often in Shakespeare when used attributively.

121 **ravished** enthralled

121–2 **could not** . . . **minute** i.e. an hour of his speaking seemed like a minute

123 **habits** lit., clothes, dress; or, habits of mind

124–5 **become as black** . . . **hell** Cf. *Othello* 3.3.391–3: 'My name, that was as fresh | As Dian's visage, is now begrimed and black | As mine own face' (Steevens).

126 **gentleman in trust** trusted servant

- The fore-recited practices whereof
We cannot feel too little, hear too much.
- CARDINAL WOLSEY (*to the Surveyor*)
Stand forth, and with bold spirit relate what you 130
Most like a careful subject have collected
Out of the Duke of Buckingham.
- KING HENRY Speak freely.
- BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR
First, it was usual with him, every day
It would infect his speech, that if the King
Should without issue die, he'll carry it so 135
To make the sceptre his. These very words
I've heard him utter to his son-in-law,
Lord Abergavenny, to whom by oath he menaced
Revenge upon the Cardinal.
- CARDINAL WOLSEY Please your highness note
His dangerous conception in this point, 140
Not friended by his wish to your high person.
His will is most malignant, and it stretches
Beyond you to your friends.
- QUEEN KATHERINE My learned Lord Cardinal,
Deliver all with charity.
- KING HENRY (*to the Surveyor*) Speak on.
How grounded he his title to the crown 145
Upon our fail? To this point hast thou heard him
At any time speak aught?
- BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR He was brought to this
By a vain prophecy of Nicholas Hopkins.
- KING HENRY
What was that Hopkins?
- BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR Sir, a Chartreux friar,
- 140 His] POPE; This F 140-1 point, . . . person.] F (*subs.*); ~: . . . ~, POPE 148, 149 Hop-
kins] POPE 1728 (*conj.* Theobald); *Henton* F
- 128 **practices** intrigues, plots
131 **careful** caring, full of care
131-2 **collected** | **Out of** gathered from (as
evidence)
135 **carry it** manage it
140 **His Pope's** emendation may stand: 'the
insistence in Wolsey's speech, as in the
Surveyor's preceding speech, is through-
out on *him, he, his*; and *this* weakens the
line. It was probably attracted from *his* by
the second *this* in the line' (Sisson, 99).
141 **Not friended** . . . **person** not gratified in
his wish regarding the King (i. e. that he
should die childless)
142 **will** desire, wish
145 **grounded** based
146 **fail** failure to have children, implying
also the King's death
149 **Hopkins** Theobald's emendation is ne-
cessary for internal consistency (TC). But

His confessor, who fed him every minute	150
With words of sovereignty.	
KING HENRY	How know'st thou this?
BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR	
Not long before your highness sped to France,	
The Duke, being at the Rose within the parish	
Saint Lawrence Poultney, did of me demand	
What was the speech among the Londoners	155
Concerning the French journey. I replied,	
Men feared the French would prove perfidious,	
To the King's danger; presently the Duke	
Said 'twas the fear indeed, and that he doubted	
'Twould prove the verity of certain words	160
Spoke by a holy monk that oft, says he,	
'Hath sent to me, wishing me to permit	
John de la Car, my chaplain, a choice hour	
To hear from him a matter of some moment;	
Whom after under the confession's seal	165
He solemnly had sworn that what he spoke	
My chaplain to no creature living but	
To me should utter, with demure confidence	
This pausingly ensued: "neither the King nor's heirs",	
Tell you the Duke, "shall prosper. Bid him strive	170

157 feared] POPE; feare F 165 confession's] THEOBALD; Commissions F

- as Sisson notes (99), Buckingham made the earlier reference (I. I. 221), and the monk was also known as 'Nicholas Henton', Henton being the name of his convent. He believes that Shakespeare's inconsistency was deliberate, although Maxwell argues it derives from a careless reading of Holinshed: 'Nicholas Hopkins, a monk of an house of the Chartreux order, beside Bristow, called Henton' (863). The surveyor's testimony (152 ff.) closely follows Holinshed (864).
- 151 **words of sovereignty** i.e. talk of his succession to the throne
- 153 **the Rose** A manor once owned by Buckingham, converted in 1561 into the Merchant Taylors' School (Humphreys).
- 154 **Saint Lawrence Poultney** (a London church)
- 157 **feared** F 'feare' probably derives from an

- easy *d/e* misreading.
- 158 **presently** immediately
- 159 **doubted** suspected
- 163 **choice** chosen, appointed (Schmidt)
- 165 **confession's** Theobald emended according to Holinshed: 'The Duke in talk told the Monk, that he had done very well to bind his chaplain, John de la Court [Car], under the seal of confession, to keep secret such matter' (863). 'The Folio reading could not be a mere misreading of the copy, but may well have been an editorial change. The "seal of the confession" was by now less familiar than "a commission under seal". It was hardly likely to be a censorial change' (Sisson, 99-100).
- 168 **demure** grave, sober (Onions)
- confidence** assurance, certitude (OED 2), as in *Winter's Tale* I. 2. 414: 'He thinks, nay, with all confidence he swears'.

To win the love o'th' commonalty. The Duke
Shall govern England."'

QUEEN KATHERINE If I know you well,
You were the Duke's surveyor and lost your office
On the complaint o'th' tenants. Take good heed
You charge not in your spleen a noble person 175
And spoil your nobler soul. I say, take heed;
Yes, heartily beseech you.

KING HENRY Let him on.
(*To the Surveyor*) Go forward.

BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR On my soul I'll speak but truth.
I told my lord the Duke, by th' devil's illusions
The monk might be deceived, and that 'twas dangerous 180
To ruminate on this so far until
It forged him some design which, being believed,
It was much like to do. He answered, 'Tush,
It can do me no damage', adding further
That had the King in his last sickness failed, 185
The Cardinal's and Sir Thomas Lovell's heads
Should have gone off.

KING HENRY Ha? What, so rank? Ah, ha!
There's mischief in this man. Canst thou say further?

BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR
I can, my liege.

KING HENRY Proceed.

BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR Being at Greenwich,

171 win]SISSON (*conj.* White); *not in F1*; gain F4 176 nobler]F; Noble F2 177-8 Let...for-
ward] POPE; *as one line F* 181 To ruminate] MAXWELL (*anon. conj. in Cambridge*); For this ~ ~
F; For Him ~ ~ ROWE

171 win F omits the word, probably inad-
vertently. Both sense and metre require it
or 'gain' (F4).

173-4 lost . . . tenants Buckingham dis-
missed Knevet on complaint of his tenants
'for such bribing as he had used there
[in Kent] against them' (Holinshead, 856).

175 spleen malice. In early physiological
psychology, the spleen was the seat of
passions such as hate and anger.

175-6 noble . . . nobler As the soul is more
important than rank, Katherine's word-
play places them in opposition.

176 spoil ruin, destroy. Cf. *Othello* 5.1.55:
'O, I am spoiled, undone by villains'

(Foakes).

179 illusions deceptions, tricks

181 To ruminate 'For this to' (F) looks like a
false start (Maxwell), either undeleted
(TC) or too lightly marked.

182 forged him framed, fashioned for him

182-3 which . . . to do once the plan was
found feasible, it would lead him to act

184 It i.e. the prophecy

185 failed died; cf. 146, above.

187 Ha? Henry's characteristic exclam-
ation, especially when angry or dis-
turbed, as used often in Rowley's *When
You See Me, You Know Me*.

rank corrupt

- After your highness had reprov'd the Duke
About Sir William Bulmer— 190
- KING HENRY I remember
Of such a time, being my sworn servant,
The Duke retained him his. But on—what hence?
- BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR
'If', quoth he, 'I for this had been committed'—
As to the Tower, I thought—'I would have played 195
The part my father meant to act upon
Th' usurper Richard who, being at Salisbury,
Made suit to come in 's presence; which, if granted,
As he made semblance of his duty, would
Have put his knife into him.'
- KING HENRY A giant traitor! 200
- CARDINAL WOLSEY (*to the Queen*)
Now, madam, may his highness live in freedom,
And this man out of prison?
- QUEEN KATHERINE God mend all.
- KING HENRY (*to the Surveyor*)
There's something more would out of thee—what sayst?
- BUCKINGHAM'S SURVEYOR
After 'the Duke his father', with 'the knife',
He stretched him, and with one hand on his dagger, 205
Another spread on 's breast, mounting his eyes,
He did discharge a horrible oath, whose tenor
- 191 Bulmer] WRIGHT; *Bulmer* F 191–2 I remember | Of such . . . servant] POPE; *as one line* F;
~ ~ | Such . . . ~ OXFORD
- 190–3 **reprov'd** . . . **his** Cf. Hall, 599: 'and especially the king rebuked Sir William Bulmer, Knight, because he being the king's servant sworn, refused the king's service, and became servant to the Duke of Buckingham'. Bulmer along with others was arraigned in 1519 for 'diverse riots, misdemeanours, and offences' but won the King's pardon.
- 192 **Of** Oxford drops the preposition, arguing that the line is unmetrical and the construction nowhere else appears in Shakespeare (*TC*). While the latter is true, the line with 'Of' contains a full ten syllables, as divided by Pope.
- 194–200 '**If**' . . . **him**' According to Holinshed, 864, after the Bulmer incident, Buckingham told Knevet that if he were imprisoned, he would do what his father intended to do with Richard III at Salisbury, i.e. stick a knife into him as he pretended to show his loyalty.
- 199 **made** . . . **duty** i.e. knelt to the King, pretending obeisance
- 200 **giant** 'As often, with a glance at the rebellion of the giants against the gods'; cf. *Hamlet* 4.5.119–20: 'What is the cause, Laertes, | That thy rebellion looks so giant-like?' (Maxwell).
- 201 **may** can
- 205 **stretched him** i.e. rose to his full height; 'him' = himself (Abbott §223)
- 206 **mounting** raising
- 207 **a horrible oath** Holinshed, 864, records the oath: 'by the blood of our Lord'.

