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William Shakespeare, Edited by Michael Hattaway
Frontmatter
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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE SHAKESPEARE

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From the publication of the first volumes in 1984 the General Editor of the New Cambridge Shakespeare was Philip Brockbank and the Associate General Editors were Brian Gibbons and Robin Hood. From 1990 to 1994 the General Editor was Brian Gibbons and the Associate General Editors were A. R. Braunmuller and Robin Hood.

THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY VI

Shakespeare's plays about the reign of Henry VI, written at the beginning of his career, were for a long time undervalued. This was because of doubts about their authorship and because of the difficulties of determining their theatrical provenance. Recently, however, a series of outstanding productions by the RSC and other companies has demonstrated their theatrical vitality, their conventions have been better understood in the light of new critical methods, and their innovative and sceptical questioning of Elizabethan orthodoxies has been understood in the light of revisionist readings of the history of Shakespeare's own times. The Wars of the Roses haunted the Elizabethans, as is shown by the number of authors who wrote about them. Shakespeare's account was the most ambitious, the most dramatically innovative, and politically the most radical.

This is the first major edition for over thirty years of *The Second Part of King Henry VI*. It takes account of recent discoveries concerning Shakespeare's early career, and pays particular attention to recent theatrical history, relating readings generated by modern performances to new ideologically positioned accounts of the history and politics of Shakespeare's age. *Part 2* offers a searing account of aristocratic sedition and a portrait of a relationship between the King and his Protector, Good Duke Humphrey, which is as complex as that between Prince Hal and his father Bullingbrook. It concerns itself with the nature of history, the role of conscience, and the relation between law and equity. It also contains a complex reading of the kind of event the Tudor régime had cause to fear, a popular uprising, led in this instance by Jack Cade.

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The Second Part of King Henry IV, edited by Giorgio Melchiori
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The Winter's Tale, edited by Susan Snyder and Deborah T. Curren-Aquino

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The First Quarto of King Richard III, edited by Peter Davison
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The Taming of a Shrew: The 1594 Quarto, edited by Stephen Roy Miller

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THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY VI

Edited by

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Professor of English, New York University in London



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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE SHAKESPEARE

The *New Cambridge Shakespeare* succeeds *The New Shakespeare* which began publication in 1921 under the general editorship of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson, and was completed in the 1960s, with the assistance of G. I. Duthie, Alice Walker, Peter Ure and J. C. Maxwell. *The New Shakespeare* itself followed upon *The Cambridge Shakespeare*, 1863–6, edited by W. G. Clark, J. Glover and W. A. Wright.

The New Shakespeare won high esteem both for its scholarship and for its design, but shifts of critical taste and insight, recent Shakespearean research, and a changing sense of what is important in our understanding of the plays, have made it necessary to re-edit and redesign, not merely to revise, the series.

The *New Cambridge Shakespeare* aims to be of value to a new generation of playgoers and readers who wish to enjoy fuller access to Shakespeare's poetic and dramatic art. While offering ample academic guidance, it reflects current critical interests and is more attentive than some earlier editions have been to the realisation of the plays on the stage, and to their social and cultural settings. The text of each play has been freshly edited, with textual data made available to those users who wish to know why and how one published text differs from another. Although modernised, the edition conserves forms that appear to be expressive and characteristically Shakespearean, and it does not attempt to disguise the fact that the plays were written in a language other than that of our own time.

Illustrations are usually integrated into the critical and historical discussion of the play and include some reconstructions of early performances by C. Walter Hodges. Some editors have also made use of the advice and experience of Maurice Daniels, for many years a member of the Royal Shakespeare Company.

Each volume is addressed to the needs and problems of a particular text, and each therefore differs in style and emphasis from others in the series.

PHILIP BROCKBANK
Founding General Editor

CONTENTS

List of illustrations	<i>page</i> viii
Preface	ix
List of abbreviations and conventions	xi
Introduction	i
Henry VI: the reign and the plays	i
A political documentary	6
Stage history	43
Date and occasion	60
Sources	67
Note on the text	70
List of characters	74
THE PLAY	79
Textual analysis	215
Appendixes	221
1: Examples from Shakespeare's sources	221
2: Aspects of <i>The First Part of the Contention</i> (Q1)	230
3: Genealogical tables	242
Reading list	246

ILLUSTRATIONS

1	An army camp. A cut from Holinshed, <i>Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland</i> , 1577, p. 1283	page 3
2	Ralph Fiennes as Henry and Penny Downie as Margaret in Adrian Noble's 1988 Stratford production	12
3	The Saunder Simpcox sequence in Terry Hands's 1977 Stratford production	16
4	(a) and (b) The 'putting forth' and 'discovery' of beds in Act 3. Drawings by C. Walter Hodges	18
5	Oliver Cotton as Cade in Adrian Noble's 1988 Stratford production of <i>'The Rise of Edward IV'</i>	22
6	H. Bunbury, <i>Dick the Butcher and the Clerk of Chartham</i> , 1795	27
7	An execution. The illustration accompanies an account of lawyers being brought to 'blockam feast' in Holinshed, 1577, p. 1025	32
8	Act 4, Scene 7 in Adrian Noble's 1988 Stratford production – the number of heads has been multiplied	33
9	The stage and principal characters for the opening of the play, denoting their Yorkist and Lancastrian allegiances. Drawing by C. Walter Hodges	35
10	The Witch of Eye from the Boydell Collection	36
11	Act 1, Scene 4: the conjuration scene. Drawing by C. Walter Hodges	38
12	H. François Gravelot's engraving of the Death of Winchester, in Hanmer, 1743, IV, 94	44
13	Sir Joshua Reynolds, <i>The Death of Winchester</i>	45
14	H. Fuseli, <i>The Death of Cardinal Beaufort</i>	46
15	David Warner and Peggy Ashcroft in Sir Peter Hall's 1963 Stratford production	51
16	The Council Table in Sir Peter Hall's 1964 Stratford production	52
17	Alan Howard as Henry VI in Terry Hands's 1977 Stratford production (the Falcon scene, 2.1)	55
18	The Iden scene in Terry Hands's 1977 Stratford production	56

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PREFACE

Henry VI Part 2 is, without doubt, a major play. It addresses some of the major concerns of *Julius Caesar*, having at its centre the murder of a national leader. It probes a relationship between the young king and his Protector Gloucester that is as complex as that between Prince Hal and Henry IV. It contains a portrayal of a major rebellion which I have tried to re-examine in the light of new social history and cultural theory.

It is in the theatre, however, that the value and dramatic potential of this and the other *Henry VI* texts have been truly demonstrated. In the decades since the last major editions, those of John Dover Wilson (*The New Shakespeare*, 1952) and Andrew S. Cairncross (*New Arden*, 1957), Stratford and London have seen major productions of versions of this history cycle (1964 and 1977), a shortened version went on a national tour (1987–8), and a shortened version appeared at Stratford in late 1988. Reviews of those productions have turned into some of the most perceptive critical appraisals of these plays.

The editions of Wilson and Cairncross, along with that of Norman Sanders (*New Penguin*, 1981), created major advances in our knowledge of these texts. To these editors I owe a debt for their major work on the lexical problems of the text, although I have been surprised how much there was still to do. Cairncross's edition offered challenging but unendorsable views on the history of the text. The Oxford edition of *The Complete Works* (1986), wherein *2 Henry VI* (known there as *The First Part of the Contention*) was prepared by William Montgomery and Gary Taylor, along with the apparatus in *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (1987), appeared after my own work was well advanced. The work of these editors has been perpetually stimulating and often provocative. My own edition, however, will be found to be far less interventionist than theirs. I had prepared a draft of this edition and of that of *3 Henry VI* before turning to my final work on *1 Henry VI*. Working on the plays in this order persuaded me that *critical* arguments exist in plenty for the case that Shakespeare wrote his plays in the order of history, arguments that have not been taken sufficient note of by those scholars who have approached the problems of authorship and composition from textual propositions alone.

To the late Philip Brockbank I am grateful for much encouragement and the loan of his PhD thesis, which not only records pioneering work on the sources of the sequence but which generated a series of articles that were really the first to treat the plays as a major achievement. These stood virtually alone and certainly unchallenged for a critical generation. My own work confirms Brockbank's pioneering but not yet accepted contention that Shakespeare drew far more from Holinshed than from Hall. Marilynne Robinson also loaned me her PhD thesis,

The Second Part of King Henry VI

x

which, in its handling of the sources of the play and careful intelligent probing of the subtext of the relationship between Henry and Gloucester, is the fruit of labours important as those of Brockbank; I am ashamed to admit how long I had it. Michael Freeman, Leonard Goldstein, Ronald Knowles, William Montgomery, and Eric Rasmussen all generously offered me the fruits of research before publication.

Librarians at the Universities of Kent, Sheffield, Texas, and at the British and London Libraries have been consistently helpful; so have the staff of the Oxford Text Archive who provided me with electronic copies of the Folio and Quarto texts which were an invaluable aid in checking the text I had established. Mary White and Sylvia Morris at the Shakespeare Centre Library in Stratford could not have been more helpful in guiding me through their archives and, in particular, helping me with the choice of illustrations. To colleagues at Kent and Sheffield I am grateful for sabbatical leaves which hastened the advancement of this work. Dr Pamela Mason disagreed constructively with me over the productions we had seen, and Professor Dominique Goy-Blanquet argued the toss over the meaning of the play and directed me to useful French material. Professor Brian Gibbons, my general editor, was perceptive, courteous – both when critical and encouraging – and unfailingly prompt to respond to what I sent him. Professor Patrick Collinson introduced me to the new wave of political, religious, and social historians of the period. My colleague, Professor Norman Blake, demonstrated by his painstaking scrutiny of my manuscript that divisions between Departments of Literature and Language are more imagined than real. Thanks to Sarah Stanton of Cambridge University Press for her patience and sage suggestions. C. Walter Hodges' drawings served, as always, to stimulate and not just to illustrate.

University of Sheffield

M. H.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Shakespeare's plays, when cited in this edition, are abbreviated in a style modified slightly from that used in the *Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare*. Other editions of Shakespeare are abbreviated under the editor's surname (Cairncross, Dyce) unless they are the work of more than one editor. In such cases, an abbreviated series name is used (Cam., Johnson Var.) When more than one edition by the same editor is cited, later editions are discriminated with a raised figure (Collier²). All quotations from Shakespeare, except those from 1–3 *Henry VI*, use the lineation of *The Riverside Shakespeare*, under the textual editorship of G. Blakemore Evans.

1. Shakespeare's plays

<i>Ado</i>	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>
<i>AWW</i>	<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>
<i>AYLI</i>	<i>As You Like It</i>
<i>Cor.</i>	<i>Coriolanus</i>
<i>Cym.</i>	<i>Cymbeline</i>
<i>Err.</i>	<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>
<i>Ham.</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>
<i>1H4</i>	<i>The First Part of King Henry the Fourth</i>
<i>2H4</i>	<i>The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth</i>
<i>H5</i>	<i>King Henry the Fifth</i>
<i>1H6</i>	<i>The First Part of King Henry the Sixth</i>
<i>2H6</i>	<i>The Second Part of King Henry the Sixth</i>
<i>3H6</i>	<i>The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth</i>
<i>H8</i>	<i>King Henry the Eighth</i>
<i>JC</i>	<i>Julius Caesar</i>
<i>John</i>	<i>King John</i>
<i>LLL</i>	<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>
<i>Lear</i>	<i>King Lear</i>
<i>Mac.</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Measure for Measure</i>
<i>MND</i>	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>
<i>MV</i>	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>
<i>Oth.</i>	<i>Othello</i>
<i>Per.</i>	<i>Pericles</i>
<i>R2</i>	<i>King Richard the Second</i>
<i>R3</i>	<i>King Richard the Third</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
<i>Shr.</i>	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>
<i>STM</i>	<i>Sir Thomas More</i>
<i>Temp.</i>	<i>The Tempest</i>

The Second Part of King Henry VI

xii

<i>TGV</i>	<i>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timon of Athens</i>
<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>
<i>TN</i>	<i>Twelfth Night</i>
<i>TNK</i>	<i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i>
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>
<i>Wiv.</i>	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>
<i>WT</i>	<i>The Winter's Tale</i>

2. Other works cited and general references

Abbott	E. A. Abbott, <i>A Shakespearian Grammar</i> , 1878 edn (references are to numbered paragraphs)
Alexander	William Shakespeare, <i>The Complete Works</i> , ed. Peter Alexander, 1951
Arber	E. Arber, <i>A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1650</i> , 5 vols., 1875–94
Baldwin	T. W. Baldwin, <i>Shakspeare's 'Small Latine & Lesse Greeke'</i> , 2 vols., 1944
Bell	<i>Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays</i> , ed. J. Bell, 9 vols., 1774
Bentley	G. E. Bentley, <i>The Jacobean and Caroline Stage</i> , 7 vols., 1941–68
Boswell–Stone	W. G. Boswell–Stone, <i>Shakespeare's Holinshed: The Chronicle and the Historical Plays Compared</i> , 1896
Brewer	E. C. Brewer, <i>The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable</i> , n.d.
Brockbank	J. P. Brockbank, 'Shakespeare's historical myth: a study of Shakespeare's adaptations of his sources in making the plays of <i>Henry VI</i> and <i>Richard III</i> ', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1953
Bullough	Geoffrey Bullough, <i>Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare</i> , 8 vols., 1957–75
Cairncross	<i>2 Henry VI</i> , ed. Andrew S. Cairncross, 1957 (New Arden)
Cam.	<i>Works</i> , ed. William Aldis Wright, 9 vols., 1891–3 (Cambridge Shakespeare)
Capell	<i>Mr William Shakespeare his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies</i> , ed. Edward Capell, 10 vols., 1767–8
Cartwright	Robert Cartwright, <i>New Readings in Shakespeare</i> , 1866
Cercignani	F. Cercignani, <i>Shakespeare's Works and Elizabethan Pronunciation</i> , 1981
Chambers	E. K. Chambers, <i>The Elizabethan Stage</i> , 4 vols., 1923
Collier	<i>Works</i> , ed. John P. Collier, 8 vols., 1842–4
Collier ²	<i>Works</i> , ed. John P. Collier, 1853
Collier MS	Perkins' Second Folio, 1632 (Huntington Library)
Colman	E. A. M. Colman, <i>The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare</i> , 1974
conj.	conjecture
Dekker, <i>ND</i>	Thomas Dekker, <i>Non Dramatic Works</i> , 5 vols., 1884–6
Delius ²	<i>Werke</i> , ed. Nicolaus Delius, 7 vols, 1854–[61]
Dent	R. W. Dent, <i>Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index</i> , 1981 (references are to numbered proverbs)
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Drayton	Michael Drayton, <i>Works</i> , ed. J. W. Hebel, 5 vols, 1951

Dyce	<i>The Works of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Alexander Dyce, 6 vols., 1857
Dyce ²	<i>The Works of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Alexander Dyce, 9 vols., 1864–7
Eds	Various editors
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>ES</i>	<i>English Studies</i>
F	<i>Mr William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies</i> , 1623 (First Folio)
F2	<i>Mr William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies</i> , 1632 (Second Folio)
F3	<i>Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies</i> , 1664 (Third Folio)
F4	<i>Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies</i> , 1685 (Fourth Folio)
Fabyan	Robert Fabyan, <i>The New Chronicles of England and France</i> , 1516, reprinted 1811
Farmer	Richard Farmer, in Johnson Var. (see below)
<i>FQ</i>	Edmund Spenser, <i>The Faerie Queene</i> , ed. A. C. Hamilton, 1977
Freeman	<i>Henry VI, Part Two</i> , ed. Arthur Freeman, 1967, (Signet)
Grafton	Richard Grafton, <i>A Chronicle at Large of the History of The Affayres of England</i> , 1569, reprinted in 2 vols., 1809
Griffiths	Ralph A. Griffiths, <i>The Reign of King Henry VI</i> , 1981
Hall	Edward Hall, <i>The Union of the . . . Families of Lancaster and Yorke</i> , 1548, reprinted 1809 (page references are to the 1809 edn)
Halliwell	<i>The Complete Works of Shakespeare</i> , ed. James O. Halliwell, 16 vols., 1853–65
Hanmer	<i>The Works of Shakspear</i> , ed. Thomas Hanmer, 6 vols., 1743–4
Hart	<i>2 Henry VI</i> , ed. H. C. Hart, 1909 (Arden)
Hattaway	Michael Hattaway, <i>Elizabethan Popular Theatre</i> , 1982
Henslowe	<i>Henslowe's Diary</i> , ed. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert, 1961
Holinshed	Raphael Holinshed, <i>Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland</i> , second edition, 1587, reprinted in 6 vols., 1808 (unless otherwise specified, page references are to vol. III of the 1808 edn)
Hudson	<i>The Complete Works of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Henry N. Hudson, 11 vols., 1851–6
Hulme	Hilda M. Hulme, <i>Explorations in Shakespeare's Language</i> , 1962
Irving	<i>The Works of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Henry Irving and Frank A. Marshall, 8 vols., 1888–90
Johnson	<i>The Plays of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Samuel Johnson, 8 vols., 1765
Johnson Var.	<i>The Plays of William Shakespeare</i> , ed. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, 10 vols., 1773
Jonson	C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson eds, <i>The Works of Ben Jonson</i> , 11 vols., 1925–52
Keightley	<i>The Plays of Shakespeare</i> , ed. Thomas Keightley, 6 vols., 1864
Kittredge	<i>The Complete Works of Shakespeare</i> , ed. George Lyman Kittredge, 1936
Kökeritz	Helge Kökeritz, <i>Shakespeare's Pronunciation</i> , 1953
Long	John H. Long, <i>Shakespeare's Use of Music: The Histories and Tragedies</i> , 1971

The Second Part of King Henry VI

xiv

- Mahood M. M. Mahood, *Shakespeare's Wordplay*, 1957
 Malone *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, ed. Edmond Malone, 10 vols., 1790
 Mason John Monck Mason, *Comments on . . . Shakespeare's Plays*, 1785
 McKerrow Unpublished edition of 2 *Henry VI*, cited in Wells and Taylor (see below)
Metamorphoses *Ovid, Metamorphoses*, trans. Arthur Golding (1567), ed. J. F. Nims, 1965
Mirror *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Lily B. Campbell, 1938
 Montgomery 'The Contention of York and Lancaster: a critical edition', ed. William Montgomery, unpublished D Phil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1985
 Munro *The London Shakespeare*, ed. John Munro, 6 vols., 1958
 Nashe Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 5 vols., 1904–10, revised by F. P. Wilson, 1958
 Neilson *The Complete Dramatic and Poetic Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. William Alan Neilson, 1906
 Noble Richmond Noble, *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge*, 1935
NQ *Notes and Queries*
 obs. obsolete
OED *Oxford English Dictionary*
 Onions C. T. Onions, *A Shakespeare Glossary*, revised by Robert D. Eagleson, 1986
 Oxford *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, 1986
 Partridge Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy*, 1968 edn
PBSA *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*
 Pelican *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry the Sixth*, ed. Robert K. Turner Jr and George Walton Williams, 1967
 Plutarch *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Thomas North, 8 vols., 1928 ed.
PMLA *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
 Pope *The Works of Shakespear*, ed. Alexander Pope, 6 vols., 1723–5
PQ *Philological Quarterly*
 Q1 *The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, 1594; prepared in facsimile by William Montgomery, 1985
 Q2 *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster*, 1600
 Q3 *The Whole Contention between the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and York*, 1619; prepared in facsimile by Charles Praetorius, 1886
 Reed *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, [ed. Isaac Reed], 10 vols., 1785
Ren. Drama *Renaissance Drama*
RES *Review of English Studies*
 Riverside *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans, 1974
 Robinson Marilyne S. Robinson, 'A new look at Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part II*: sources, structure, and meaning', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1977
RORD *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*

Rowe	<i>The Works of Mr William Shakespear</i> , ed. Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols., 1709
Rowe ²	<i>The Works of Mr William Shakespear</i> , ed. Nicholas Rowe, 2nd edn, 6 vols., 1709
Rowe ³	<i>The Works of Mr William Shakespear</i> , ed. Nicholas Rowe, 3rd edn, 8 vols., 1714
Sanders	<i>2 Henry VI</i> , ed. Norman Sanders, 1981 (New Penguin)
SB	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>
Schmidt	Alexander Schmidt, <i>Shakespeare-Lexicon</i> , 1866 edn
Scott-Giles	C. W. Scott-Giles, <i>Shakespeare's Heraldry</i> , 1950
SD	stage direction
SEL	<i>Studies in English Literature</i>
Seymour	E. H. Seymour, <i>Remarks . . . upon the Plays of Shakespear</i> , 2 vols., 1805
SH	speech heading
<i>Shakespeare's England</i>	<i>Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age</i> , ed. Sidney Lee and C. T. Onions, 2 vols., 1916
Singer	<i>The Dramatic Works of William Shakespear</i> , ed. Samuel Weller Singer, 10 vols., 1826
Singer ²	<i>The Dramatic Works of William Shakespear</i> , ed. Samuel Weller Singer, 10 vols., 1856
Sisson	Charles Sisson ed., <i>Works</i> , 1954
Sisson, <i>New Readings</i>	C. J. Sisson, <i>New Readings in Shakespeare</i> , 2 vols., 1956
SQ	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
S.St.	<i>Shakespeare Studies</i>
S.Sur.	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
Staunton	<i>The Plays of William Shakespear</i> , ed. Howard Staunton, 3 vols., 1858–60
Steevens	<i>The Plays of William Shakespear</i> , ed. George Steevens and Isaac Reed, 4th edn, 15 vols., 1793
Stow	John Stow, <i>The Survey of London</i> , 1603 edn, reprinted in Everyman Library, n.d.
subst.	substantively
Sugden	E. H. Sugden, <i>A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists</i> , 1925
Theobald	<i>The Works of Shakespeare</i> , ed. Lewis Theobald, 7 vols., 1733
Theobald ²	<i>The Works of Shakespeare</i> , ed. Lewis Theobald, 8 vols., 1740
Thomas	K. V. Thomas, <i>Religion and the Decline of Magic</i> , 1971
Thomson	W. H. Thomson, <i>Shakespeare's Characters: A Historical Dictionary</i> , 1951
Tilley	M. P. Tilley, <i>A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i> , 1950 (references are to numbered proverbs)
TLN	Through line numbering
Vaughan	Henry H. Vaughan, <i>New Readings and Renderings of Shakespeare's Tragedies</i> , 3 vols., 1886
Walker	William S. Walker, <i>Critical Examination of the Text of Shakespeare</i> , 3 vols., 1860
Warburton	<i>The Works of Shakespeare</i> , ed. William Warburton, 8 vols., 1747

The Second Part of King Henry VI

xvi

Wells and Taylor, <i>Textual Companion</i>	Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, <i>William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion</i> , 1987
White	<i>Works</i> , ed. Richard Grant White, 12 vols., 1857–66
Williams	Penry Williams, <i>The Tudor Regime</i> , 1979
Wilson	<i>2 Henry VI</i> , ed. J. Dover Wilson, 1952 (New Shakespeare)

Unless otherwise specified, biblical quotations are given in the Geneva version (1560).