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King Richard II

A New Quarto



*A New Shakespeare Quarto*

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T H E

# Tragedy of King Richard II

Printed for the third time by Valentine

Simmes in 1598. Reproduced in

facsimile from the unique

copy in the library of

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS WHITE

With an Introduction by

ALFRED W. POLLARD



Bernard Quaritch

11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London

1916

PR

2750

B20

1916

REF. & REN.

Plates and letterpress printed in England  
At the Oxford University Press  
By FREDERICK HALL

5479

## INTRODUCTION

THE text of Shakespeare's *King Richard II* here reproduced in facsimile is that of a Quarto of 1598, identified by Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett as belonging to an edition quite distinct from the one of that year already known. The original, which is believed to be unique, is preserved in the library of Mr. W. A. White of New York, by whose liberality it is now rendered available for study by any one interested in the bibliography of Shakespeare and the relations of the early Quartos and First Folio edition of his plays. The First Quarto of *Richard II* was printed in 1597, and is one of the rarest of the early editions, the only copies recorded being those in the Capell Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, the Devonshire Collection, which passed last year into the possession of Mr. Huntington of New York, and the library of Mr. Alfred Huth, from which, under the terms of a right to claim any fifty books, generously conferred on the British Museum in his will, it passed to the national library in 1911 along with the, also very rare, first editions of *King Richard III* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

The 1597 edition of *Richard II* was 'Printed by Valentine Simmes for Androw Wise', and, by a combination of carelessness and care on the part of the printer, each of the three extant copies of it may be called unique, leaves A<sub>4</sub> recto, B<sub>1</sub> verso, B<sub>3</sub> verso, B<sub>4</sub> recto, C<sub>1</sub> recto, C<sub>2</sub> verso, D<sub>1</sub> recto, I<sub>1</sub> recto, I<sub>3</sub> recto, each existing in two states, one of which is more correct than the other. 'Printing off' at the end of the sixteenth century being

still a slow business, there was ample time for mistakes to be discovered, whether by chance or deliberate scrutiny, when only a part of the number of copies required had been worked, and the pressmen would then be told to stop until the error was corrected.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally a printer might be conscientious enough to treat the sheet on which the error had been discovered as waste. But if many copies had been printed, this was expensive, and Valentine Sims (I prefer the shorter form of his name), who held no high rank in his craft, saved his money and only introduced the corrections into the copies which had still to be worked. All the copies of each sheet, 'corrected' and 'uncorrected', would then be hung up to dry, and when the drying was completed they would be taken down in any order and copies of the book made up with such proportions of corrected and uncorrected sheets as chance might dictate. So it comes about that the 'Devonshire' (now the Huntington) copy has two (A and D) of the uncorrected sheets and three corrected (B, which shows ten out of a total of seventeen variants, C, and I); the Huth (now the British Museum) copy has the corrected sheets A C D and the uncorrected B and I; the Capell has the four sheets A B C D uncorrected and only sheet I corrected. When the early Quartos were being reproduced under Dr. Furnivall's supervision in photolithography both the Huth copy

<sup>1</sup> The co-existence of correct and incorrect readings in different copies of the same edition, might arise in an Elizabethan printing-house in a directly opposite way to that assumed in the present case, viz. by the pressman catching up individual letters with his inking balls, when he was inking one side of a sheet, and then replacing them wrongly. It is possible that one or more of the different readings in the First Quarto may have been caused in this way, but the majority are certainly due to correction of mistakes originally made by the compositor, and it is simpler to assume that all are of this kind.

(in 1888) and the Devonshire (in 1890) were reproduced, in order that students might see for themselves whether any more variants could be discovered.

The publisher of the 1597 Quarto of *Richard II* was Androw (or Andrew) Wise, who entered it as 'his copy' in the Register of the Stationers' Company on August 29 of that year. The object of this entry was to prevent any other member of the Company, which (save for a little competition from Oxford and Cambridge) controlled the whole English book trade, from printing or publishing a rival edition. It was usual for every book to be entered 'under the hands' or 'by appointment' of either one or both of the Wardens of the Stationers' Company, or of some important person (more especially the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London) entrusted with the task of censorship, or a deputy appointed by them. The Archbishop of Canterbury in regard to the Stationers' Company, acted as the external and extraordinary authority to whom was committed the duty of seeing that the domestic and ordinary authorities, in this case the Master and Wardens, managed the affairs of the Company in accordance with the terms of its charter. It is possible, though by no means clear, that when a book was entered under the hands of the wardens, the wardens were recognized as acting as the Archbishop's deputies. In any case, everything connected with printing and publishing was under the supervision of the Privy Council, to whom complaint might be made of any injury sustained, and whose powers were extremely wide. A company of business men had the strongest reasons for avoiding collision with such an authority, and it is quite plain from its whole history that the Company of Stationers was an especially dutiful and submissive body, ready to coerce any of its individual members rather than face collective disfavour.

All this is here recited as creating a strong presumption that such an entry as we have in this case

Andrew Wise. Entred for his Copie by appoyntment from master Warden Man The Tragedy of Richard the Second— vi<sup>d</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

was not preluded by a disreputable transaction in which Wise filched a manuscript copy of the play with the aid of some dishonest confederate, or sent shorthand writers to the theatre to take down the speeches, as best they could, from the actors' mouths ; but that he obtained his text honestly and straightforwardly by a money payment to the company of players known as the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, to which Shakespeare belonged, and to which he must have sold the rights in his play.

The view here stated is set forth at length in a monograph by the present writer on *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (Methuen, 1909). Without repeating *in extenso* the arguments there used, it may be noted that a body of men who had a high official like the Lord Chamberlain as their protector could have had no reason whatever to submit to systematic and open pilfering by members of the Stationers' Company, and was indeed exactly the sort of body with whom the Company would be loath to become embroiled ; that at two particular periods, about 1594 and again in 1600, the number of plays entered on the Stationers' Register is so great as to preclude belief in their having been obtained from any other source than the only one which could supply them in quantities, i.e. the Companies of Players who owned them ; that the texts of the plays regularly entered on the Stationers' Register, taking them as a class, are too good to have been pieced together from reports of shorthand writers or actors' ' parts ' surreptitiously obtained ;

<sup>1</sup> The usual fee for registration.

and lastly, that there are sufficient plays *not* regularly entered on the Stationers' Register and with bad texts, some of them showing clear evidence of having been obtained from reporters, to account for the complaints of piracy by Thomas Heywood and for the reference to 'stolne and surreptitious' copies in Heminge and Condell's preface to the Folio of 1623, which has been quoted *ad nauseam* by later editors and uncritically applied to all the Quartos, including those of which the copyright was vested in 1623 in some of the very men who were engaged in the production of the First Folio, and who are thus represented as discrediting their own property.

Holding the views thus indicated, the present writer has no doubt that Andrew Wise obtained his 'copy' in *King Richard II* quite honestly by purchase from the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, and there is also no room for doubt that Wise made a very good bargain, not only in this case, but in that of *King Richard III*, which he 'entered for his copy' in the following October. The omission of the author's name from the title-pages of both plays is good evidence that in 1597 Shakespeare's reputation was still not very great, and we may thus be pretty sure that permission to print them was obtained at quite small prices. On the other hand *Richard II* was reprinted in 1598 (twice), 1608, and 1615, and *Richard III* in 1598, 1602, 1605, 1612, and 1622. Both plays, together with *The First Part of King Henry IV*, and two other works, were transferred by Andrew Wise to Mathew Lawe on June 25, 1603, by the following entry in the Stationers' Register :

Mathew Lawe. Entred for his copies in full courte Holden  
this Day: These ffyve copies folowynge                              ii. vj<sup>d</sup>.  
viz.

iii Enterludes or playes  
The ffirſt is of Richard the .3.

b

The second of Richard the .2.

The third of Henry the .4. the first part. all kinges.

Item master Doctor Plafordes sermons

Item a thing of no man can be hurt but by hym self.

All whiche by consent of the Company are sett over to him  
from Andrew Wyse.

We now know that before thus transferring his copyright Wise had produced not two but three editions of *King Richard II*, and that this play is thus the only one of Shakespeare's which enjoyed the distinction of passing through three editions in less than two years.

The edition of 1598 now discovered differs on its title-page from that of the same year already recorded only by three small omissions in the imprint, the commas after 'Simmes' and 'churchyard' and the e in 'folde'. A mere title-page bibliographer might have been content to claim it on this ground as of a 'different issue' (a term often very vaguely used). Fortunately Miss Bartlett was of sterner stuff and did not rest until she had satisfied herself that it exhibited differences on every page, and that the text, in fact, was entirely reset.

The first question which confronts us is as to whether the two editions dated 1598 are independent texts, or whether one is printed from the other, and if so which is the earlier. That they are not independent texts is easily proved. In order not to prejudge the position of the newly discovered (or newly differentiated) Quarto we will call it W, after Mr. White, assigning the letter A to the Quarto of 1597, B to the already known Quarto of 1598, C to that of 1608, D to that of 1615, and F to the Folio. To show that B and W are not independent it will suffice to quote a few palpable errors in which they agree as compared with A.

In i. i. 60 the 1597 edition (A) reads

I do defie him, and I spit at him,

while both B and W omit the second 'I', thus making the line unmetrical.

Similarly in i. iii. 117 A reads correctly

Sound trumpets, and set forward Combatants :

whereas B and W both again spoil the metre by substituting 'forth' for 'forward'.

In l. 141 of the same scene Richard banishes Hereford  
Till twice fwe summers haue enricht our fields :

B and W both substitute the singular 'field', which could not be used as a synonym for a kingdom.

In i. iii. 234 we come upon another line metrical in A,

Thy sonne is banisht vpon good aduise,  
unmetrical in B and W, which both substitute 'with'  
for 'vpon'.

Lastly (for there is no need to multiply examples in this preliminary examination) the well-known couplet (ii. i. 12, 13),

The setting Sunne, and Musike at the close,  
As the last taste of sweetes is sweetest last,

correctly printed in A, is spoilt in both B and W by the unhappy substitution of 'glose' for 'close', one compositor having caught the word from the end of line 10 ('Than they whom youth and ease haue taught to glose') and the other, as we must believe, having blindly followed him. The odds against two compositors having made a series of errors of this kind independently are incalculably great, and we may take it as certain that B and W were not both derived directly from A, but that one must have been set up from the other.

Although it will not help us very much in determining

whether B or W was the earlier, we may now quote a few of the readings found in W and not in B which reappear in the Quartos of 1608 and 1615 (called here C and D), and thereby prove that C was directly set up from W and not from B.

In i. i. 24 on A<sub>2</sub> verso, we find the foolish misprint 'in' for 'an' in the line

Adde in immortall title to your Crowne

occurring first in W, and slavishly repeated by C and D.

In i. iii. 72, on B<sub>2</sub> verso, W, followed by C and D, has the line

To reach a victorie aboue my head,

where A and B correctly read 'at' instead of 'a'.

In i. iii. 86, on B<sub>3</sub> recto, W originates a palpable error by printing

There lies or dies true to King Richards throne,  
where A and B rightly read 'liues' instead of 'lies'.

In i. iii. 187, W is responsible for the introduction of an equally unhappy mistake, reading

This louing tempeſt of your home-bred hate,  
'louing' being a misprint for the 'lowring' of A and B.

For our last instance we may take a double-barrelled one from i. iv. 5-8, where W prints

*King.* And say, what ſtore of parting teares were ſhed ?

*Aum.* Faith none for me, except the Northeast winde,

Which then blew bitterly againſt our face,

Awakt the ſleepie rhewme,

the substitution of 'face' for 'faces' and of 'ſleepie' for 'ſleeping' being in each case an obvious falling off from the correct readings given in A and followed by B.

On the other hand, in i. iii. 241 and ii. i. 156 we have two cases in which W is followed by C in readings which

we can be sure are right, where B is wrong, but these have no evidential value because they can be explained in two different ways. These readings occur in two of the seventeen lines in which two variant readings, one correct, the other incorrect, are found in different copies of the First Quarto. In thirteen of these seventeen lines B has the corrected readings, in four the incorrect. Now W has all the thirteen corrected readings that B has and two others, 'fought' for 'ought' in i. iii. 241 and 'kernes' for 'kerne' in ii. i. 156. If we regard these as corrections, they are both of the kind which we shall classify as 'obvious', i.e. which any one may make at any time without external authority; but if W was printed direct from A, it may have been printed from a copy of A which had the two leaves, C<sub>1</sub> recto and D<sub>1</sub> recto, on which these lines occur, in the corrected form. This is very unlikely, as W agrees with B<sup>1</sup> in having the uncorrected reading 'With reuerence' for 'What reuerence' in i. iv. 27 on C<sub>2</sub> verso, and as this page would be printed with the same pull as C<sub>1</sub> recto, we should have to suppose that the press was stopped twice for correction, during the printing of this sheet, instead of once. It is easier to suppose that the two simple corrections were made by W independently; but as an alternative explanation is possible, no argument can be founded on them.

Simply from the errors introduced by W any one used to the examination of the sequence of Elizabethan editions will be left in little doubt as to its relations with B. But we have as yet no absolute proof. Our

<sup>1</sup> The other page on which B has the incorrect reading is A<sub>4</sub> recto (i. i. 139: 'Ah but' for 'But'). It was therefore set up from a copy of the First Quarto which had sheets A C D uncorrected and the rest corrected.

simple dilemma, that either B was printed from W, or W from B, has now become the more complex alternative that

either (i) B was printed from W, with the correction of fairly numerous misprints, and C went back to the hypothetically earlier W, ignoring the corrections introduced by B,  
 or (ii) W was printed from B, fairly numerous additional misprints being introduced in the process, and C was printed from W, on this hypothesis its immediate chronological predecessor.

It might easily have been necessary to base our preference for the second of these alternatives on the unlikelihood that whereas B of 1598 introduces many more new misprints than corrections into A of 1597, and C of 1608 more new misprints than corrections into W of 1598, and D of 1615 more new misprints than corrections into C of 1608, as between the two editions of 1598 the process was reversed. Fortunately, however, we are saved from such an anticipation of the results of our examination of the relations of all the Quartos of *King Richard II*, by the existence of two passages in which it seems clear that a line correctly printed by A was first spoilt by B and then tinkered at by W.

The earlier of these instances is the last line of the passage i. i. 73-7 (on leaf A<sub>3</sub> verso) :

If guiltie dread haue left thee so much strength,  
 As to take vp mine honours pawn, then stowpe :  
 By that, and all the rites of Knighthood else,  
 Will I make good against thee arme to arme,  
 What I haue spoke, or what thou canst deuise.

The last line scans, and that is about all that can be said for it. The only meaning which can be attached to it is that Bolingbroke was ready to make good not

only what he himself had said, but anything his adversary could devise, a readiness which would show an indifference to the subject of the quarrel no less complete than his confidence in his own strength. In A the line reads :

What I haue spoke, or thou canst worse deuise.

Even here Bolingbroke appears willing to fight to prove the truth of something which is not quite true, for if Mowbray gives a worse meaning to something he has spoken, he is apparently ready to make good not merely what he actually said, but the worse meaning which Mowbray might give it, in order, by distorting the accusation, to escape from it. This is not a reasonable attitude, but it supplies a better meaning than the other, and the position of 'worse' in the line is very Shakespearean. How did the line as it stands in A become the line as it stands in W ? The answer seems clear : by way of the intermediate reading of B, which omitted 'worse', thus producing the unmetrical line,

What I haue spoke or thou canst deuise.

which the printer's 'reader', when correcting the proofs of W, obviously botched by repeating 'what' before 'thou', thus saving the scansion, though with rather a wooden result. If this is so, B must clearly come between A and W, and W therefore must have been set up from it.

Our second passage is from II. i. 17 sqq., and may most easily be set forth by starting with the text as given in A. John of Gaunt, in the fine speech beginning 'Oh but they say, the tongues of dying men, Inforce attention like deepe harmony', has expressed his belief :

Though Richard my liues counsell would not heare,  
My deaths sad tale may yet vndeafe his eare.

The Duke of York answers, according to A :

No, it is stopt with other flattering foundes,  
As praises of whose taste the wife are found  
Lasciuious meeters, to whose venome found  
The open eare of youth doth alwayes listen,  
Report of fashions in proude Italie, etc.

Modern editors seem agreed that in the second of these lines 'found' is a misprint for 'fond', the 'u' easily creeping in from the compositor's eye being caught either by 'soundes' in the line above or by 'found' in the line below, while that Shakespeare should have made three successive lines end in 'soundes', 'found', and 'found' is almost unthinkable. Adding either a comma or a semi-colon after 'fond', we then have York telling his brother that the king's ear is stopped with other sounds than good advice, flattering sounds such as praises, of the taste of which [even] wise men are fond, or lascivious metres, or talk of Italian fashions.

Already disfigured by the superfluous u in 'found' and the omission of a comma, the unlucky line is further transformed in B by the initial 't' and tied 'ft' in 'taste' changing places, the word being thus transformed into 'state', and the line reading :

As praises of whose state the wife are found.

The proof-reader of B was content to let this pass, though what meaning he attached to it can hardly be guessed. What we find in W is

No, it is stopt with other flattering sounds,  
As praises of his state : then there are found  
Laicuious Meeters, to whose venom sound  
The open eare of youth doth alwaies listen, &c.

Taking 'found' once more to be a misprint for 'fond' we can interpret this as an assertion that Richard's ears

are occupied with listening to praises of his magnificence, and that besides these there are foolish wanton songs, &c. In this form the line was repeated in the Quartos of 1608 and 1615 and the Folio of 1623, and with the correction of ‘found’ into ‘fond’ it has been accepted by some modern editors. We may criticize the acceptance of such readings later on. For the moment all we need emphasize is that the reading of W appears to be an attempt to put some meaning into the line as altered by the substitution of ‘state’ for ‘taſte’ by B, and is not directly derived from the text of A. Assuredly we cannot imagine any proof-reader with the line as printed by W before him changing it back into the form given in B. Therefore we can claim quite positively that W must have been printed from B and not B from W, i.e. the Quarto in Mr. White’s hands is the second edition of the two printed in 1598, and takes third place in the complete sequence A B W C D F.<sup>1</sup> This was the position assigned to it by Miss Henrietta Bartlett, and it is a pleasure to me to find myself in agreement with the discoverer, or identifier, of this edition.

The position of the newly discovered, or newly differentiated, Quarto being thus established, it might suffice for the purposes of this introduction to set forth the new readings in which it differs from B and to follow the fate which befell them in the reprints of 1608 and 1615 and

<sup>1</sup> The foregoing argument may be called literary. If a typographical one be preferred it is offered by the changes in II. iii. 117. In A this reads quite clearly

You are my father, for me thinkes in you  
I fee old Gaunt aliae.

In B the f in ‘for’ is so broken away that only a thin ridge representing part of the back is visible. In W the f is omitted, ‘or’ taking the place of ‘for’. The omission of the f in W is thus explained by the compositor having overlooked the small fragment of one in B.

in the Folio of 1623. But *King Richard II* was the first genuine play by Shakespeare to obtain the honour of print after having been duly entered in the Stationers' Register ; it was printed, as we now know, no fewer than five times in quarto ; a passage of considerable length was introduced for the first time in the edition of 1608, and the Quarto of 1615 is generally asserted to have been used, though with many corrections, in setting up the text of the Folio of 1623. In his previous essay, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, the present writer has pleaded that the merits of each Quarto text, and the character for honesty or dishonesty which may be assigned to it, should be considered separately, and judgement passed according to the evidence in each case. In that essay it seemed wiser to quote the independent textual verdicts of the editors of the Facsimile Quartos issued under the superintendence of Dr. Furnivall, than to put forward the results of a personal investigation, lest it should be suspected that the critical evidence was being marshalled so as to fit in as neatly as possible with pre-arranged bibliographical theories. But having put forward a purely bibliographical plea for a fairer treatment of the Quartos, it seems reasonable to see if any results can be obtained from a personal examination of all the editions of one of the plays first printed in quarto, and for the reasons given above *King Richard II* seems the right play with which to start. This is offered as a plea in mitigation if any one is inclined to censure this introduction as needlessly elaborate.

It may perhaps be as well to preface our survey by a frank warning that not too much must be expected to result from it. There is a point of view, indeed, from which the occasion from which we start, the discovery of a new Shakespeare Quarto intermediate between two

earlier and two later ones, is a pure misfortune—another link in a useless chain, already too long. Unless it can be shown—and we can hold out no such hope—that the printer of such an intermediate edition had access to some manuscript text by which to correct the errors of his predecessors, we must own that the best he could try to do was by using his mother-wit in a rough and ready way as an editor to eliminate some of these errors, and himself to introduce as few new ones as possible. In other words, he could not substantially improve the text he was reprinting, and he might make it worse. Not only might he make it worse, but, as is already well known, and as our survey will make clear, he did make it worse. Why, then, trouble about him and his reprints? The only texts which matter are those of the earliest Quarto, which must be derived, whether at first, second, or third hand, from the author's manuscript, and the text of the First Folio, which claims to have been based on the author's 'papers'. There is a considerable element of truth in the contention thus outlined. The only counterpleas which we can put forward are that the results for which we are seeking should be of use, not to the ordinary readers of Shakespeare, but to the rather numerous persons who undertake to edit his works, and secondly that in a modest way they may be found to possess a certain human and psychological interest of their own.

First, as regards the editor of Shakespeare, it is obviously his editorship's business to form some estimate of the textual value of the copy which was originally put into the printer's hands. Knowing that in his own case any copy which he sends to an average printer is usually returned to him in print with a very small percentage of errors, he is inclined to assume that because the text of an *editio princeps* is faulty, therefore the copy from which

it was printed must have been faulty also, therefore it was probably 'stolne and surreptitious', &c., &c., and therefore the text of the Folio is always to be preferred to it. As soon, however, as it becomes clear that an Elizabethan play could not be reprinted without the introduction of numerous fresh errors, it becomes clear also that an aggregate of first errors in an *editio princeps*, as long as it does not exceed the aggregate of additional errors first found in a reprint, allows us to believe that the manuscript from which the first edition was set up was textually very good indeed. The faultiness of the successive reprints thus becomes in a curiously inverted way a guarantee of the excellence of the manuscript which Andrew Wise was lucky enough to obtain.

A word may be interpolated here in extenuation of the inaccuracy of the Elizabethan printers in their dealings with plays. Let us remember that they worked in wooden houses in which the windows were very small and glazed with imperfectly transparent glass ; that they worked long hours, probably at least eleven or twelve a day, which means not only that their powers of attention were often overstrained, but that much of their work must have been done by rushlight ; that they had to deal with a text which even when there is no suspicion of corruption often puzzles professors, and finally that, when they could get it, they drank ale for breakfast and ale for dinner and ale for supper. No doubt the ale was small, but its effects may have been cumulative, as we are so often told is the case with the arguments which set out to prove that in his younger days Viscount Verulam wrote the plays with which we are concerned. Surely a generation which drinks tea and coffee and has workshops with large windows and electric light, and an eight-hour day, and has never to deal with any copy in the least resembling

the plays of Shakespeare, should not be too forward in despising these poor men. Nevertheless the fact remains that they did make mistakes and made them in quantities.

Despite the disadvantages we have suggested, the printers of the quartos occasionally, by setting up half a page or more without any divergence from the copy which they were told to follow, showed that accuracy was not wholly beyond their reach. For the most part, however, even when they faithfully reproduced the words of their text, they allowed themselves a free hand in their dealings with three matters which modern editors, with much saving of trouble to themselves, but some loss to their readers, have treated as negligible, viz. Spelling, Punctuation, and the use of emphasis Capitals in the initial letter of substantives. Something must be said as to each of these, as they all have some bearing on the history of the text.

As regards Spelling, the reader who dislikes the subject, because, while aware that our present system is from every reasonable standpoint indefensible, he is yet determined not to face the difficulties involved in any change, will be glad to hear that it need not detain us long. In the line (i. iii. 127) printed in the First Quarto as 'And for our eies do hate the dire aspect', the printer of B changed 'eies' into 'eyes'; the printer of W changed it back to 'eies'; in C it is once more 'eyes'; in D it is again 'eies'; finally, in the Folio, the see-saw comes to ground upon 'eyes'. Not one printer had resisted the temptation to vary from his predecessor, and in words, mostly adverbs or adjectives, now uniformly ending in -y there is a constant tendency to alternate between -y and -ie, as if merely for the pleasure of change. Variations of this kind may, of course, be written off. They are really negligible. At the opposite pole to these we find a few positive misspellings, such as 'formerly' for 'formally'

introduced by D into 1. iii. 29, or ‘percullist’ for ‘portcullist’, introduced by C into 1. iii. 167. These, like any other blunders, may be very useful for detective work, but are obviously not part of a system. There is no lack, however, of system in the spellings in these early quartos which modern editors are too often inclined to regard as merely eccentric or ignorant. Some of these spellings were due to the desire to preserve the old pronunciation when vowel-values were shifting, others to the desire to indicate what was believed to be the history of the word. We may regret both these desires and the changes to which they led, but no spelling which we find commonly adopted in other books of the day must be debited as an error against the individual printer who used it. It was no fault of his that rival phonetic devices for representing the same sound left their marks on different words, and that in many cases the battle as to what was to be the orthodox spelling of an individual word was not yet decided. It was often not so much lack of system as the clash of rival systems that led him into trouble. Moreover, we have to reckon with a further system, which may be called dramatic or poetic, which especially affected past participles, but left its traces also elsewhere. A dramatist had good reason to avoid past participles in -ed where he did not mean the last syllable to be sounded. The risk of having his lines mispronounced was great, and he rushed by preference into strange forms, such as ‘slucte’ for ‘sluiced’, or ‘ragde’ for ‘raged’, which no printer would have invented.<sup>1</sup> In the same way we occasionally

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it was so unusual in verbs ending in ‘er’ with past participles in ‘ered’ for the e to be pronounced both before and after r, that we find delivered, disordered, suffered, slaughtered, etc., printed out in full, where modern editors have thought fit to substitute deliver’d, disorder’d, suffer’d, slaughter’d, etc.

find the way to read a line indicated by the substitution of 'that's' for 'that is', or 'they'le' for 'they will', without any specially colloquial intention. But in all this there is nothing which at the present moment need detain us.

Punctuation is a much more important matter. If any reader of this introduction has not already mastered Mr. Percy Simpson's illuminating little tract, *Shakespearian Punctuation* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1911, pp. 107. Price 5s.), he is strongly advised to procure it at once and study it heedfully. In his Introduction Mr. Simpson writes :

It is a common practice at the present day to treat the punctuation of seventeenth-century books as beneath serious notice ; editors rarely allude to it, and if they do, they describe it as chaotic and warn the reader that they have been driven to abandon it. It seems to be imagined that the compositor peppered the pages promiscuously with any punctuation-marks that came to hand, and was lavish of commas because his stock of these was large. In other words, old printers—printers as a class—were grossly illiterate and careless ; the utmost that could be expected of them was that they should spell out their texts correctly ; nobody troubled about punctuation, not even the 'Corrector', who is referred to occasionally, for praise or the reverse, by writers of the time.

With good reason Mr. Simpson asks : 'Is it on *a priori* grounds likely that printers were more ignorant than the majority of their fellow men ? Could a human being endowed with reason serve an apprenticeship, work at the trade of printing all his life, and set up the type of book after book, without fathoming the inscrutable mystery of the comma and the full stop ?' 'The fact is', he says, 'that English punctuation has radically changed in the last three hundred years. Modern punctuation is, or at any rate attempts to be, logical ; the earlier system was

mainly rhythmical.' Later on he tells us : 'There is a second important difference between the old and the new systems. Modern punctuation is uniform ; the old punctuation was quite the reverse. It was natural that in the earlier stages of printing usage should be less settled, and it was certainly convenient for the printer. For the poet it was something more : a flexible system of punctuation enabled him to express subtle differences of tone.'

Finally Mr. Simpson reveals the main object of his little treatise to be the vindication of the punctuation of the First Folio :

The punctuation, which is usually regarded as the weakest point in the printing of the Folio, I believe to be on the whole sound and reasonable. It will help to a higher appreciation of the merits of this famous text if its claim to be regarded as correct in an elementary point of typography can be conclusively established. I have attempted to marshal the evidence, and I venture to submit the issue to the judgement of scholars. Was there, or was there not, a system of punctuation which old printers used ? Can the differences of this system be classified, and proved step by step by an accumulation of instances ? If so, we must do Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount and their workmen the justice to believe that they knew how to print.

In his text Mr. Simpson proceeds to 'marshal the evidence' in forty-three sections, the character of which may be to some extent surmised from the headings of the first score of them :

Light stopping—Vocative followed but not preceded by a comma—Vocative without commas—Imperative without comma—Appositional phrase without comma—Comma marking a metrical pause—The emphasizing comma—Comma equivalent to a dash—Comma marking interrupted speech—Comma marking the logical subject—Comma marking off adverbial phrase or clause—Comma between accusative and dative—Comma between

object and complement—Comma before a noun clause—Comma before the ‘defining’ relative—Comma before ‘as’—Comma before ‘but’ (= ‘except’)—Comma before ‘than’—Comma before ‘and’, with no comma after—Comma before ‘or’ and ‘nor’, with no comma after, &c.

Mr. Simpson had one or two predecessors (notably Mr. A. E. Thiselton) in his pioneer work, but I owe my own conversion entirely to his little book, and it was originally my intention to work out the punctuation of the different editions of *King Richard II* in accordance with his headings. I found this, however, beyond my powers, and have come to think his method of exposition a little misleading, as suggesting a grammatical intention in the minds of Elizabethan or seventeenth-century punctuators with which I should be loth to credit them. Having acknowledged my indebtedness to Mr. Simpson I shall therefore deal with the problem in my own way, and he must not be held responsible for any shortcomings in my method of attacking it.

‘Modern punctuation,’ says Mr. Simpson, ‘is, or at any rate attempts to be, logical ; the earlier system was mainly rhythmical.’ In the plays of Shakespeare and in all the poetry of his day, rhythm, no doubt, played a very large part in determining punctuation ; but if any one word has to be set up in opposition to ‘logical’ I would use a slightly larger term than ‘rhythmical’, and call the punctuation with which we are concerned ‘rhetorical’. In the plays, wherever it becomes important, it might perhaps best be called ‘dramatic’. To get at its underlying principle we may go back to the lessons of the schoolroom in which I learnt that, when a comma stopped the way, I must pause while I could count one ; when a semi-colon, while I could count two ; when a colon, three ; when a full stop, four. Educational

formulas are long-lived, and it is possible that this simple rule of thumb, which made each stop simply and solely a measure of time, came down from Elizabethan days. It is certainly quite inapplicable to modern punctuation. Any one who read aloud and marked his stops like this would risk having things thrown at him. In reading aloud we ignore many of the stops with which grammarians have taught printers to pepper our pages. The stops may sometimes save us from mistaking the sense, but they give hardly any clue as to how a given passage should be ‘taken’, and it is precisely this which the punctuation of the First Folio attempted to do—and, at least occasionally, did.

The strength of Mr. Simpson’s treatise is in his examples, and the example which effected my conversion was a line and a half from *King Henry V* (v. i. 49 sq.), spoken by Pistoll as, in terror of Fluellen’s cudgel, he begins to eat the leek. In the Folio it is printed, quite shamelessly,

By this Leeke, I will most horribly reuenge I eate  
and eate I fweare.

In the Globe Shakespeare there is a colon after ‘reuenge’ and a comma after the second ‘eate’; but the Folio shows us Fluellen flourishing his cudgel, and how should he stop while he might count three after ‘reuenge’, or even one after ‘eate’, when the slightest pause might bring the cudgel on his head? The absence of stops here can hardly be called rhythmical, but it is certainly dramatic, and it gives what is practically a stage direction, which is totally lacking in the modern rendering.

While I was pondering this section chance brought to me, at second hand, a delightful piece of Shakespearian punctuation of an opposite kind, in Mr. Anstey’s *Voces*

*Populi.* A Hyde Park orator is giving his views on ministerial shortcomings, and by printing his observations as

The present Government Har. The most Abandoned ! The most Degraded ! The most Cowardly ! The most Debased ! The most Ber-lud-thirsty ! Set. Of Sneakin' Ruffians. That never disgraced the Title. Of so-called Yumanity.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Anstey not only tells us exactly what his orator said, but exactly how he said it. Here, in fact, we have the First Folio punctuation in a nut-shell, emphasis-captitals and all.

It is not in every play that a Fluellen whirls his cudgel about the head of an unlucky Pistol, or that a speech has to be delivered with the energy proper to Hyde Park. We must be content, as a rule, and certainly in *Richard II*, to trace the influence of the dramatic form in such less striking instances as the special punctuation, sometimes abnormally light, sometimes abnormally heavy, which we find in long speeches. There is an element of convention in all dramatic art, but a good actor does not strain it needlessly, and if he is given a long speech to deliver he will not emphasize the improbability of the other man being content to remain silent by unduly prolonging his pauses. Hence the frequent substitution of the colon for a full stop even in unimpassioned speeches, and the use only of commas when in wrath, indignation, or entreaty, the torrent of words is in full flow. Hence, on the other hand, the greater significance of such full stops as occur. In other contexts the use of notably light stopping may occasionally denote an intentionally abrupt transition. On the other hand, dramatic speech being more emphatic than ordinary talk, we find commas which seem superfluous, or other stops which seem

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the Rev. Cyril A. Alington's *A Schoolmaster's Apology* (Longmans, 1914).

needlessly heavy, inserted to indicate a pause, so that the words which follow may be clearly heard in their full value. Instances of this kind may be usefully classified on Mr. Simpson's method, but here we are only concerned in trying to distinguish between peculiarities, as we esteem them, which may be attributed to the dramatic form, and those which could be found also in non-dramatic Elizabethan prose.

At the other end of the scale to this mainly dramatic punctuation we have the reproduction, as on the disk of a gramophone, of the pauses, or absence of pauses, in ordinary talk. Our modern punctuation has left ordinary talk altogether on one side, not without serious loss to its own usefulness. If systematization should always be accompanied by the critical revision which leads to improvement, nevertheless a systematization of the pauses in normal speech which leaves normal speech on one side, in order to cut up sentences so as to make them more easy to parse, has lost touch with reality. Some at least of the divergences from our modern 'logical' punctuation which Mr. Simpson puts to the credit of an Elizabethan 'rhythmical' system seem to the present writer to have nothing to do with rhythm. They represent actual modes of common speech, some of which an elocutionist, so far from treating as rhythmical, would denounce as slipshod. If a boy who sings out 'Come along Jack' does not pause before his friend's name, and we wish to indicate this, why should we be denied leave to omit a comma? On the other hand, although the number of words which it takes to express the subject of a verb may make no difference to it logically or grammatically, the Elizabethan custom of marking off the end of such an extended subject by the interposition of a comma before the verb answers to a real necessity of clear speech.

In the sentence just written such a comma would be placed between 'verb' and 'answers', and any one who reads it aloud will find himself involuntarily making at that point the slight pause which a comma indicates.

Lastly the First Folio abounds with commas which are as purely rhythmical in their intention as the colons which divide every verse of the Prayer-book version of the Psalms into two halves, balancing each other. We find these most frequently at the end of lines, but very often at the internal rhythmical break which I am old-fashioned enough to call the caesura. We find them, not uniformly, but frequently, wherever they can be placed with advantage, or even without injury, to the rhetoric, and Mr. Simpson's classification of his wealth of examples according to the grammatical collocations which they override is useful, and (I think) only useful, as demonstrating that they have nothing to do with grammar. On the view here taken the punctuation with which we are dealing differs from that now in use by its closer adherence to the actualities of ordinary speech, and by accommodating itself unashamedly to the rhythmical, rhetorical, and dramatic necessities of the playhouse. It may fairly be regarded as a system, though, as Mr. Simpson rightly insists, a varying and flexible one. In so far, however, as it is really a system, it obviously leaves room for infringements of its own variable and flexible requirements, and there seems a gap in Mr. Simpson's argument when he advances at a leap from the demonstration that such a system existed to the conclusion that Isaac Jaggard and his workmen<sup>1</sup> 'knew how to print'. They certainly did not invent the system. To confine ourselves to Shakespeare texts, it is found full blown in the Heyes Quarto

<sup>1</sup> Blount, whom Mr. Simpson, following the imprint of the First Folio, couples with Jaggard, was not a printer, but a publisher.

of the *Merchant of Venice*. Whether they are to be called good printers or bad in this respect thus depends, not on their mere adoption of it, but on the success with which they carried it out, though as against their hasty detractors Mr. Simpson is entitled to claim that he has rescued them from the worst imputation, that of having had no system at all. But Mr. Simpson says nothing as to their lapses, and until an *advocatus diaboli* has inquired into these and been defeated, his full case is not made out. The present apologist for the Quartos enters this caveat by no means unsympathetically, as though the system in this Quarto is the same as in the First Folio it will be seen that, when he would most like to prove care, this is so conspicuously absent that argument as to some interesting punctuations which the edition offers is hampered by a doubt as to how far they were deliberate.

In penitence for the length of these remarks on Punctuation we will content ourselves with noting as to the use of a capital or majuscule for the initial letter of substantives that this must be regarded as denoting some rhetorical stress or emphasis, and that we shall find the frequency of such emphasis capitals bearing some relation to the heaviness of the punctuation. The practice of contemporary actors may quite possibly have had some influence on it, but it seems clear that in this matter the printers were guided partly by the copy they had before them, partly by their own preferences.

These preliminary explanations as to spelling, punctuation, and initial capitals having been offered, we now approach the very difficult task of presenting the characteristics of the successive editions of *King Richard II*, so as to create an impression of each of these editions as a product of human minds and human hands doing their best, good or ill, with the material which was set before

them. We can prove in the case of three of these editions, two of 1598 and one of 1615, that in each instance this material was exclusively a preceding edition, examples of which are available for examination. Our main business is to use the bibliographically ascertainable relation between copy and original in these cases to deduce from the state of the text of the First Quarto the probable quality of the material—the manuscript obtained from the players—from which the first printed text was derived, and in like manner to get some indication of the value of the new material, the manuscript of the so-called Deposition Scene, obtained in 1608, and again of what new material we are to suppose was available in 1623. As our starting-point it is necessary to form, and convey, as accurate an impression as possible of the positive value of the text of the First Quarto. To do this we must needs have recourse to some external and patently independent testimony. To set out ourselves to establish from the beginning the value of this text would involve the discussion of every letter in it which varies from the text of any other edition, and to deduce from such a discussion results sufficiently clear to command acceptance would be a heavy task even for an investigator free from all suspicion of bias. The present investigator tries assiduously to keep himself free from bias; but he is quite willing to have his statements regarded as those of an advocate for the goodness of the ‘regularly entered’ quarto texts, and to win his case, if he can, as an advocate, without assuming the rôle of a judge. It is therefore a great help and satisfaction that in the Cambridge edition of Shakespeare, first published in 1863–6 (the first volume edited by W. G. Clark and J. Glover, vols. ii–ix by W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright), and re-edited by Mr. Aldis Wright in 1891, there exists an entirely independent

critical text, the authority of which is certainly greater than that of any other, and that by bringing this text into our evidence we can materially simplify our task.

It may be well here to summarize the main features of the Cambridge Shakespeare. The division into Acts and Scenes follows that of the First Folio with some modifications. The old stage-directions, duly recorded in the foot-notes, are rehandled and supplemented with some freedom in order to make the action intelligible. The text is printed in modern spelling, with modern punctuation and the modern abstinence from emphasis-capitals at the beginnings of words. The line-arrangement, when it differs from that of the early editions, is also modern, the result mainly of the labours of the eighteenth-century commentators, to whom their respective suggestions are duly credited in the critical notes.

The text of our play, except in the so-called Deposition Scene which follows the First Folio, is based on that of the First Quarto (in which the Deposition Scene is omitted), but corrected, to the extent which we shall see, partly from the readings in the later Quartos and the four Folios, partly from the editorial conjectures of the commentators of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Readings and conjectures not accepted in the text are recorded in the critical foot-notes, each being carefully credited to its original source. In these critical foot-notes no arguments are used, but at the end of the play there are some longer notes in which thirty-two passages are concisely discussed.

The Cambridge Shakespeare is, of course, not infallible. From the purely critical point of view it suffers slightly, but only slightly, from the opportunist eclecticism by which most other texts are far more deeply affected. But it is a very fine text to have been produced at a time

when eclecticism was still rampant, and the occasional yielding to the desire for an effective reading makes it all the more valuable as a witness on our side. No one can say that it disregards intelligibility. In a few cases, as we shall see, difficulties are left unsolved for lack of any satisfactory alternative reading or any probable emendation. But the appearance in it not only of alternative readings from the First Folio, but of at least a few which originated in the later Quartos, besides a very few avowed conjectures, gives us the better right to regard the retention of the text of the First Quarto in any passage as a deliberate judgement that nothing more satisfactory has been proposed.

Turning now to the First Quarto itself we find that this contains nine sheets, signed A-I, of four leaves, or eight pages apiece, and a half-sheet signed K, containing three printed pages, followed by a blank. Excluding the title, the blank page on the back of it, and the blank last page, we have in all seventy-three pages used for the text, a full page usually containing thirty-seven lines. What amount of alteration, excluding for the moment spelling, punctuation, and stage-directions, was necessary to bring this amount of printed matter to the standard of intelligibility demanded by the Cambridge editors? The question has both a quantitative and a qualitative aspect, and we must try to answer it in each respect. Of course, to summarize the state of the text of a play of Shakespeare's in terms of arithmetic is immensely difficult, and we only attempt the task as a rough aid to visualizing our problem. With this proviso we offer the answer that on an average one error has been discovered on every page of the First Quarto, and about once in every four pages some readjustment is needed in the line-arrangement. It must be added that, as shown by the notes, about once in

every four pages there is a word or a phrase which not merely one but most of the commentators have found difficult, but for which no satisfactory solution can be discovered.

Before proceeding further we must recall the very interesting and important fact already mentioned that in the three copies of the First Quarto still in existence nine pages exist in two different states, the one corrected, the other uncorrected. The distribution of the pages in the three copies has already been stated. In the co-existence of corrected and uncorrected pages in different copies of the same edition there is nothing unusual. It can be paralleled from many Elizabethan books, and could certainly be paralleled from many more were the zeal for collation now reserved for special rarities bestowed on a few score of ordinary works of the same period. In the case of *Richard II*, as the nine pages on which these variations occur are scattered over five sheets, we may guess that Valentine Sims had a trick of arriving late, or lingering unduly over his dinner, and the pressmen, in their anxiety to get on with their work, began printing off on several occasions before his arrival. When at last the corrector made his appearance the pressmen stopped work for a few minutes, while such additional corrections as he thought needed were made on the sheet they were printing. Such a method of procedure would be very characteristic of the mixture of carelessness and care which seems to have pervaded the Elizabethan printing-houses. The printers were quite anxious to do decent work, but they had to get on with their job, and while they would take the trouble to make corrections they could not hang about waiting for them.

The mistakes which were corrected in some copies and left uncorrected in others are seventeen in number and very various in kind. In the first of them we have one.

of the few really probable cases of a compositor having had his text read out to him, the line (i. i. 139) ‘But ere I last receiude the Sacrament’ appearing in the Devonshire and Capell copies with a preliminary ‘Ah’, which could hardly have crept in from any other cause than our English habit of making strange noises, now generally ‘Er’, between our sentences.<sup>1</sup> Many misprints which have been explained as arising from oral dictation more probably arose from the compositor keeping a sentence in his head and dictating it to himself. Any general habit of printing from dictation is extremely improbable, inasmuch as with only a slight saving of time to the compositor it would have involved the employment of an extra man, nineteen-twentieths of whose time would have been wasted, as a dictator can read quite twenty times as fast as a compositor can set up. Moreover, early pictures of printing-houses, in several of which we see the compositor working with his copy stuck up in front of him, further discount its likelihood. On the other hand, on a dark day, or when difficult copy was sent in, a master printer might easily have taken the manuscript himself to a window or candle and dictated for a few minutes.

While the reading with the interjected ‘Ah’ stands by itself, there are others of these seventeen mistakes which may possibly be best explained on the dictation theory. Thus in the second of the two lines (i. iii. 135–6)

With harsh resounding trumpets dreadfull bray,  
And grating shooke of wrathfull yron armes,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. J. Hall, Controller of the Oxford University Press, who has taken a very kind interest in the typographical questions dealt with in this Introduction, is reluctant to admit even this as an instance of dictation. He suggests that the pen and ink copyist may have begun the line with the intention of writing the word ‘And’, but when he got as far as ‘An’ he discovered his mistake, and put his pen through the ‘An’ in such a way as to make it look like ‘Ah’.

the Huth and Capell copies repeat ‘harsh resounding’ where they ought to have printed ‘wrathfull iron’. Possibly a dictator, as dictators have a way of doing, with mistaken kindness began to read line 135 over again when the compositor was setting up line 136, and thus ‘harsh resounding’ was printed twice over. In three other cases the question is one of an ‘s’ at the end of a word;<sup>1</sup> in two others of a letter inserted or omitted at the beginning.<sup>2</sup> Other theorists will expect to find the compositor, instead of always setting up the successive letters of a line in their order, varying his work by picking out the letters according to the arrangement of his composing box and occasionally clapping one or more on the wrong word. This may explain ‘any’ for ‘a’ in v. ii. 108 (Huth), taken in conjunction with ‘a’ for ‘any’ in the following

<sup>1</sup> In i. ii. 48 ‘butchers’ for ‘butcher’; in i. iii. 133 ‘Draw’ for ‘Drawes’; in ii. i. 156 ‘kerne’ for ‘kernes’. The first of these is important because it supplies an exact parallel to another line left uncorrected. ‘Butchers’ for ‘butcher’ occurs in the line ‘That it may enter butchers Mowbraies breast’. In ii. i. 124 the First Quarto reads ‘Oh spare me not my brothers Edwards sonne’, and we may fairly conclude that if the press-corrector had been alert he would have treated ‘brothers’ as he treated ‘butchers’ and docked the final s.

<sup>2</sup> i. ii. 70 ‘cheere’ for ‘heare’, i. iii. 241 ‘ought’ for ‘fought’. The reading ‘cheere’ is rather famous, because of Malone’s vigorous defence of it, when ‘heare’ was only known as a later Quarto reading, its occurrence in the Devonshire copy of the First Quarto not having been noted. The full passage is

Alacke and what shall good olde Yorke there fee,  
But empty lodgings and vnfurnisht wals,  
Vnpeopled offices, vntrodden stones,  
And what heare there for welcome but my grones ?

‘There fee’ in the first of these lines is so excellently complemented by ‘heare there’ in the fourth that there can be little doubt as to the correctness of the latter reading. Yet Malone made out quite a good case for his ‘And what cheer there for welcome but my grones ?’.

line ;<sup>1</sup> possibly also ‘emptines, hollownes’ in i. ii. 59 instead of ‘emptie hollownes’. In two lines we have small words dropped out (‘alas’ from i. ii. 42, the first ‘his’ from i. iii. 108). In ‘riuall hating’ for ‘riuall-hating’ (i. iii. 131) we have the less important omission of a hyphen, and in ‘portculist’ for ‘portcullist’, in i. iii. 167, a simple misspelling. The mistake ‘with’ for ‘what’ in i. iv. 27 may point to an original contraction ‘w<sup>t</sup>’. The remaining differences of reading are ‘cruell woundes’ for ‘ciuill woundes’ in i. iii. 128 (involving a change of only two letters), and ‘this’ for ‘thy’ in v. iii. 126.

If these seventeen corrections had occurred in a first edition of a book by certain writers, Ben Jonson, for instance, or Herrick, we should need to inquire whether any of them could be due to the belated intervention of the author. Not even the most valiant defenders of the value of the First Quartos, as far as I am aware, has ever contended that Shakespeare revised the proof-sheets of any of his plays. To make out even a plausible case for such a revision would immediately place the text in question on a pinnacle far higher than I should dare to claim for the best that has come down to us. We must take it that the mistakes are ordinary mistakes due to the compositors misrendering their copy, and that the corrections are ordinary corrections due to the printer’s reader<sup>2</sup> intervening belatedly. As such their interest is very great, as they show us the kind of mistakes which not merely some Elizabethan printers chosen at haphazard, but the very men who were setting up the first edition of this play, were capable of making when

<sup>1</sup> He is as like thee as a man may be,  
Not like to me, or any of my kinne.

<sup>2</sup> The ‘printer’s reader’ would probably be Sims himself. In his absence the compositor would have had to examine the proof himself.

left to themselves. To this point we shall return later on. There is another which we must press home at once. Here are seventeen mistakes which the compositors made and the proof-reader tardily corrected. If instead of correcting them when part of the number of copies required of each sheet had been printed off he had not corrected them at all, though the reputation of the First Quarto would have suffered, the value of the manuscript on which that Quarto was based would have remained the same. Save in so far as they suggest that the writing of the manuscript was bad, or that it was crabbedly corrected, the seventeen blunders, far from discrediting the manuscript, bring vividly before us the ease with which errors were introduced in the process of printing and the extreme danger of assuming that the faultiness of a printed text involves a corresponding faultiness in the manuscript which it follows.<sup>1</sup>

We can express the errors corrected in copies of the First Quarto itself in the following table.<sup>2</sup>

Letters omitted				
i. iii. 133	reads	Draw	for	Drawes.
i. iii. 241		ought		fought.
ii. i. 156		kerne		kernes.

<sup>1</sup> Obviously the first business of the Cambridge editors was to follow the corrected pages in each case and eliminate the mistakes due to the uncorrected ones. As a matter of fact when the first Cambridge edition was issued the existence of the two 'states' of the sheets in question was not fully known; but in the revised edition of 1891 the process was completed, and from the numerical estimate of the sins of the First Quarto offered on p. 33, from the stand-point of the Cambridge text, these blunders which the printers of the Quarto themselves corrected were, of course, set aside.

<sup>2</sup> This omits 'portculif' for 'portcullif' in i. iii. 167 as a matter of spelling with which we are not at present concerned; also 'riuall hating' for 'riuall-hating' in i. iii. 131, as hyphens for our purpose may be classed with punctuation.

Letter added				
i. ii. 48	reads	butchers	for	butcher.
Letters substituted				
i. ii. 59	reads	emptines	for	emptie.
Words omitted				
i. ii. 42	reads	then	for	then alas.
i. iii. 108		God		his God.
Word added				
i. i. 139	reads	Ah but	for	But.
Words substituted				
i. ii. 70	reads	cheere	for	heare.
i. iii. 128		cruell		ciuill.
i. iii. 136		harsh resounding		wrathfull yron.
i. iv. 27		With		What.
v. ii. 108		any		a.
v. ii. 109.		a		any.
v. iii. 126.		this		thy.

Taking the Cambridge text as our standard we can express the First Quarto's uncorrected errors, other than of line-arrangement, speakers, spelling and punctuation, in the same way, adding in a fourth column a note of the edition in which the error was first corrected.<sup>1</sup>

#### Letters omitted (8)

i. i. 102	reads taitour <sup>2</sup>	for traitor	corrected by B.
i. iii. 180	y'owe	you owe	F.

<sup>1</sup> In this column B stands for the earlier edition of 1598, W for the later, C and D for those of 1608 and 1615, F for the Folio of 1623, F<sup>2</sup> for the second Folio, G for the Quarto of 1634, F<sup>3</sup> and F<sup>4</sup> for the third and fourth Folios, and Edd. for later editions.

<sup>2</sup> The mention of this misprint in a foot-note in the Cambridge edition should have carried with it at least eight others apparently omitted as not worth noticing: ii. i. 200 'lay' for 'say'; iii. iii. 201 'stroug'st' for 'strongst'; iii. iv. 48 'htah' for 'hath'; v. i. 3 'wohse' for 'whole'; v. ii. 104 'rhy' for 'thy'; v. iii. 49 'writng' for 'writing'; v. v. 33 'penurie' for 'penurie'; v. v. 88 'prond' for 'proud'.

I. iii. 239 <sup>1</sup>	<i>reads</i>	had't	<i>for</i>	had it	<i>corrected by</i>	Edd.
II. i. 257		King		King's		W.
III. ii. 40.		bouldy		boldly		Edd.
v. iii. 75		voice		voic'd		W.
v. iii. 122		sets		set'st		G.
v. vi. 43		through		thorough		Edd.

## Letters transposed (1)

II. i. 278	<i>reads</i>	Brittaine	<i>for</i>	Brittanie	<i>corrected by</i>	B.
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## Letters added (16)

I. iii. 222	<i>reads</i>	nighetes	<i>for</i>	night	<i>corrected by</i>	C.
I. iii. 254		returnest		return'st		F.
I. iv. 20		Coofens		Coosen		F.
II. i. 18.		found		fond		Edd.
II. i. 124.		brothers (so F)		brother		B.
II. ii. 16		eyes		eye		F.
II. ii. 31.		thought		though		B.
II. ii. 129		that is		that's		F.
II. iii. 36		Herefords		Hereford		W.
III. ii. 29		heauens		heauen		Edd.
III. ii. 32.		succors		fuccor		Edd.
III. iv. 26		pines		pins		F.
III. iv. 29		yong		yon		B.
IV. i. 89		he is		he's		F.
V. i. 37		sometimes		sometime		W.
V. i. 62		knowest		know'st		B.

## IV. Letters substituted (7)

I. i. 152	<i>reads</i>	gentleman	<i>for</i>	gentlemen	<i>corrected by</i>	F.
I. ii. 47		fet		fit		F.
I. ii. 58		is		it		B.
II. i. 15		liues		life's		F <sup>4</sup> .
II. i. 102		inraged		incaged		F.
III. iii. 52		tottered		tatter'd		W.
V. v. 27		set		fit		W.

## V. Words omitted (14)

I. i. 118	<i>reads</i>	scepters	<i>for</i>	my scepters	<i>corrected by</i>	F.
I. iii. 172		sentence		sentence then		F.

<sup>1</sup> The line is omitted in the Folio.

i. iv. 23 reads Bushie for Bushy, Bagot here and Greene corrected by F G.

ii. i. 48	reads	moate	for a moate	corrected by C.
ii. iii. 99		lord	the lord	F.
iii. ii. 30		elfe	elfe if	Edd.
iii. ii. 134.		this	this offence	F.
iii. iii. 13.		brief	brief with you	F.
iii. iv. 57		at	We at	Edd.
iv. i. 76		bond	my bond	W.
iv. i. 333		the	and the	Edd.
v. i. 62		He	And he	Edd.
v. iii. 36		May	I may	B.
v. iii. 144		cousin	cousin, too,	G.

#### VI. Words transposed (4)

ii. ii. 110 reads disorderly thrust for thrust disorderly corrected by Edd.

ii. ii. 138 reads Will the hatefull commons for The hatefull commons will corrected by Edd.

v. ii. 52 reads do these iusts and triumphs hold ? for hold those iusts and triumphs ? corrected by F.

v. iii. 135 reads I pardon him with all my heart for  
With all my heart  
I pardon him corrected by Edd.

#### VII. Words added (2)

i. i. 162 reads obedience bids Obedience bids for Obedience bids corrected by Edd.

ii. i. 113 reads now not, not for now, not corrected by Edd.

#### VIII. Words substituted (17)

i. iii. 33 reads comes for com'ft corrected by F.

i. iv. 53 reads Enter Bushie with newes. for Enter Bushy.  
King. Bushy, what newes ? corrected by F.

ii. i. 177 reads a number for the number corrected by F.

ii. i. 252 hath have Edd.

ii. iii. 123 in of B.

ii. iii. 158 vnto to B.

iii. iii. 119 princeffe a prince, is W. F.

iii. iv. 11 grieve joy Edd.

*First Quarto Errors*

			<i>corrected by</i>
III. iv. 34	<i>reads</i> two	for too	F.
III. iv. 80	canſt	cameſt	B.
IV. i. 22	them	him	W.
v. i. 25	throwne	ſtricken	F.
v. i. 32	the	thy	B.
v. i. 34	the	a	B.
v. ii. 98	there	their	B.
v. iii. 106	ſtill	ſhall	F.
v. vi. 47	what	that	F.

The list is a pretty long one, but now let us compare it with a similar list for B, the earlier of the two editions of 1598, issued from the same printing office as the first edition, and very probably set up by the same compositors who had worked at the first a few months earlier. In this list I have only assigned to their authors the corrections made in the later Quartos and the First Folio. Two small errors which seem to occur only in the Capell copy ('gortes' for 'grotes' in v. v. 68, and the omission of 'it' in v. iii. 55) are left on one side, as not affecting the whole edition.

## I. Letters omitted (16)

		<i>for</i> fields	<i>corrected by</i>
I. iii. 141	<i>reads</i> field	vrgde	F.
I. iii. 237	vrge	as	
I. iii. 266	a	rightes	
II. i. 201	right	cares	
II. ii. 79	care	deaths	F.
III. i. 7	death	fauours	
III. ii. 11	fauour	this	F.
III. ii. 41	his	heads	F.
III. ii. 138	head	taske	
IV. i. 52	take	this	
IV. i. 138	his	harts	
IV. i. 332	hart	griefes	
V. i. 43	grieve	sympathie	F.
V. i. 46	sympathie	simpathize	F.
V. v. 36	king	king'd	
V. vi. 43	the ſhade	ſhades	F.

## II. Letters transposed (2)

- II. i. 18 *reads* state for taste  
 III. ii. 40      bloody for bouldy (boldly)      corrected by Edd.

## III. Letters added (12)

I. iii. 13	<i>reads</i>	what's	for what	
I. iii. 109		forwards	forward	corrected by F <sup>3</sup> .
I. iv. 22		comes	come	D.
II. i. 243 (& 245)		against	gainst	F.
II. i. 271		espie	spy	F.
II. ii. 26		eyes	eye	F.
II. iii. 102		thousands	thousand	F.
III. ii. 53		trembled	tremble	F.
III. ii. 170		walls	wall	F.
V. i. 74		betwixt	twixt	F.
V. iii. 17		commonest	commonſt	F.
V. iv. 4		friends	friend	W.

## IV. Letters substituted (2)

- II. i. 12      *reads* gloſe      for close      corrected by F.  
 II. i. 87      O                    I                    F.

## V. Words omitted (23)

I. i. 60	<i>reads</i>	and	for and I	corrected by F.
I. i. 77		deuife	worse deuife	F.
II. i. 88		flatter	flatter with	
II. i. 127		tapt	tapt out	F.
II. i. 146		be	all be	F.
II. iii. 3		in	here in	F.
II. iii. 118		father	my father	F.
II. iv. 15		death	death or fall	
II. iv. 18		with	with the	
III. iii. 27		the	are the	
III. iii. 205		heir	my heir	F.
III. iv. 42		in	as in	F.
III. iv. 107		in	in the	F.
IV. i. 26		thou	I fay thou	
IV. i. 117		any	that any	F.
V. i. 87		weep	weep thou	F.
V. ii. 2		ſtory	ſtory off[f]	

## Second Quarto Errors

v. ii. 66	<i>reads</i>	against the <i>for</i> gainst the triumph triumph day	
v. ii. 78	my,	by my (twice)	
v. ii. 109	me	to me	<i>corrected by F.</i> F.
v. v. 46	disordered	a disordered	
v. v. 50	made	made me	
v. vi. 8	Salisbury	Salisbury, Blunt	F. <sup>1</sup>

## VI. Words transposed (8)

II. ii. 53	<i>reads</i>	yong sonne <i>for</i> son yong	
II. iii. 92		more than why then more why	
II. iv. 8		all are are all	<i>corrected by F.</i> F.
III. iii. 21		royally is is royally	F.
III. iv. 55		it is is it	F.
IV. i. 115		I may may I	F.
V. ii. 89		not thou thou not	F.
V. v. 27		haue many many haue	W.

## VII. Words added (10)

II. i. 171	<i>reads</i>	the noble <i>for</i> noble	<i>corrected by F.</i>
II. i. 291		our countries our	F.
III. ii. 113		and boyes boies	
III. iii. 146		a king king	F.
IV. i. 41		lieue I lieue	F.
IV. i. 122		not here here	D.
IV. i. 148		and let let	F. <sup>2</sup>
V. iii. 102		do come come	F.
V. v. 32		a king king	F.
V. vi. 43		the shade shades	

## VIII. Words substituted (50)

I. i. 70	<i>reads</i>	a <i>for</i> the	<i>corrected by G.</i>
I. i. 87		faid speake	
I. i. 146		the my	F.
I. i. 189		begger-face beggar-fear	F.
I. i. 198		life liues	F.
I. i. 202		you we	
I. iii. 101		thy the	
I. iii. 117		forth forward	F.

<sup>1</sup> Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt.

		for to	corrected by F.
I. iii. 146	reads vnto	vpon	F.
I. iii. 233	with	should	
I. iii. 240 <sup>1</sup>	would	he	
I. iii. 303	it	our	F.
I. iv. 10	your	for	F.
II. i. 53	in	I	
II. i. 92	the	and	
II. i. 95	the rest of the	thy	
II. ii. 57	I came	al the rest	
II. ii. 94	came by	as I came by I	
	and		
II. ii. 103	two	no	
II. ii. 139	in	to	
II. iii. 14	that	which	
II. iii. 77	ghorious	gratious regent	
II. iii. 112	my	thy	F.
III. i. 15	with	by	
III. i. 18	they	you	F.
III. i. 22	While	Whilft	
III. ii. 1	you	they	
III. ii. 142	Ye (= yea)	I (= ay)	
III. iii. 56	smoke	shock	
III. iii. 166	And	As	F.
III. iv. 24	commeth	come	
III. iv. 38	that	which	
III. iv. 50	that	which	
III. iv. 104	drop	fall	
IV. i. 22	my	them	(Whim)
IV. i. 35	that	which	
IV. i. 41	the	that	
IV. i. 70	mine	my	C.
IV. i. 82	of	at	F.
IV. i. 98	a	that	F.
IV. i. 102	fure	surely	
V. i. 39	my	thy	
V. i. 95	doubly	dumbly	F.
V. ii. 11	while	whilst	
V. iii. 16	to	vnto	F.

<sup>1</sup> The line is omitted in the Folio.

			corrected by F.
v. iii. 21	reads sparkles	for sparks	
v. v. 1	to	I may	
v. v. 14	thy	the	F.
v. v. 31	prifon	perfon	
v. vi. 35	slaughtar	flaunder	

The total number of errors introduced in this one edition amounts to no fewer than 123, or very nearly twice as many as those which have been detected in the First Quarto, and far more than the sins which can be attributed to the printers of that edition even if every difficulty which remains unsolved is to be laid at their door. Let us remember that this second edition was probably called for in a hurry ; let us remember that the printer's reader, knowing that the compositors were setting up from print instead of from manuscript, may have given himself a holiday ; let us make any other allowances that can reasonably be suggested : we cannot get away from the fact that in the face of this mass of new errors introduced in printing the second edition from the first, we cannot argue from the smaller number of errors in the first edition that the manuscript from which that edition was set up was in any respect imperfect. It *may* have been imperfect, and the printers *may* have printed from it with absolute fidelity, but with the evidence before us of the mass of errors introduced in reprinting the text in the same printing-house a few months later, the probability is all the other way.

In comparison with B, the text of the later of the two editions of 1598 here reproduced from Mr. White's copy is quite creditably correct. From my record of it I have omitted three examples of the kind of misprint which the Cambridge editors treated as negligible in the case of the First Quarto ('Knighthood' in i. i. 179; 'vengance' in i. ii. 8; 'iustie' for 'iustice' in i. iii. 30), lest I should

be thought to be pressing too hardly on the later Quartos. On the other hand I have included 'vnpruind' for 'vnprund' in III. iv. 45, because after being corrected in C and D the misprint recurs in F.

## Letters omitted (4)

I. iv. 7	<i>reads</i>	face	for faces	
II. i. 210		land	lands	<i>corrected by F.</i>
III. iii. 117		or	for	F.
V. i. 35		beast	beasts	F.

## Letters added (4)

II. i. 106	<i>reads</i>	they reach	for thy reach	<i>corrected by C.</i>
II. i. 115		Ah	A	F.
III. ii. 135		loue's	loue	F.
III. iv. 45		vnpruind	vnprund	C.

## Letters substituted (3)

I. i. 24	<i>reads</i>	in	for an	<i>corrected by F.</i>
III. ii. 26		rebellious	rebellions	
V. iii. 63		hald	held (F had)	

## Words omitted (3)

III. iii. 38	<i>reads</i>	royall	for most royall
III. iv. 70		Duke	good Duke
IV. i. 326		Before	My Lo. before

## Words added (3)

I. i. 77	<i>reads</i>	what thou	for thou	<i>corrected by F.</i>
V. v. 17		small posterne	posterne	F.
V. v. 36		a King	king (Q1 kingd)	

## Words substituted (18)

I. iii. 72	<i>reads</i>	a	for at	<i>corrected by F.</i>
I. iii. 86		lies	liues	F.
I. iii. 187		louing	lowring	F.
I. iii. 266		foyle	foyle	
I. iv. 8		sleepie	sleeping	
II. i. 10		hath	haue	F.
II. i. 18		his	whose	
		then there	the wife	

	<i>reads</i>		<i>for</i>	<i>corrected by F.</i>
II. i. 293	broken	for broking		
II. ii. 3	halfe-harming	life-harming (F. selfe-harming)		
III. i. 24	mine	my		
III. ii. 31 <sup>1</sup>	would	wil		
III. ii. 67	my	me		
III. ii. 116	browes	bowes		F.
III. ii. 117	wo	[y]ewe		F.
III. iii. 17	your	our		
III. iv. 52	puld	pluckt		
IV. i. 145	against his	against this		

This total of 35 new errors in W compares very favourably indeed with the 123 in B, and is, as it should be, only a little over half of the number the Cambridge editors debit to the printers of A. But the printer employed in 1608 by Mathew Lawe did even better. Hitherto he has been held responsible for some thirty or more new errors introduced by his immediate predecessor. In the imprint he is named only by his initials, W. W., but these are known to stand for William White; and it is rather a pretty coincidence that the good workmanship of his office is now vindicated by the evidence of this facsimile from the library of a modern collector who bears the same name. As before, we omit from our formal summary a few printers' faults which have no significance (III. ii. 177, Kin for King; III. iii. 120, Gentlem for Gentleman; I. i. 147, Tpon for Vpon; I. iii. 1, Kerford for Hereford; I. iii. 38, Morfolk for Norfolk; I. iii. 112, befend for defend; III. ii. 169, little for little). Relieved of these the record stands:<sup>2</sup>

Letter omitted (1)

v. ii. 39	<i>reads</i>	subiect	<i>for</i> subiects	<i>corrected by F.</i>
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<sup>1</sup> The line is omitted in the Folio.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Deposition Scene', as it does not occur in the first three Quartos, is excluded from our reckoning.

## Letters added (3)

III. iii. 19	<i>reads</i>	willes	<i>for</i>	will	<i>corrected by</i>	F.
III. iii. 160		weepest		weepſt		F.
IV. i. 93		Iefus		Iefu		F.

## Letters substituted (4)

I. iii. 167	<i>reads</i>	percullift	<i>for</i>	portcullift	<i>corrected by</i>	F.
V. i. 63		will		wilt		F.
V. ii. 46		art		are		F.
V. iv. i		works		words		F.

## Words omitted (3)

I. ii. 12	<i>reads</i>	were	<i>for</i>	were as		F.
I. iii. 269 <sup>1</sup>		deal		a deal		
II. i. 148		Nothing		Nay, nothing		F.

## Word added (1)

I. i. 82	<i>reads</i>	alieu,	alieu	<i>for</i>	alieu	<i>corrected by</i>	F.
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## Words substituted (6)

I. iii. 215	<i>reads</i>	breach	<i>for</i>	breath	<i>corrected by</i>	D.
I. iii. 280 <sup>1</sup>		who		woe		
II. ii. 57		reuoſting		reuoſted		F.
II. ii. 69		couetous		couſening		F.
III. iii. 12		ſhould		Would		F.
III. iii. 168		their		there		F.

We come now to the edition of 1615, the last of the Quartos which preceded the Folio of 1623. After eliminating a few misplaced letters which make only nonsense (v. v. 26, refnuge for refuge ; I. i. 192, baae for base ; I. iv. 1, Humerle for Aumerle ; III. ii. 32, pooferred for profered ; v. iii. 56, nos for not), we find a record about as good as that of W.

## Letters omitted (3)

III. 301	<i>reads</i>	Giue	<i>for</i>	Giues	<i>corrected by</i>	F.
II. i. 195		right		rights		F.
IV. i. 329		intent		intents		F.

<sup>1</sup> The Folio omits the line.

## Letters added (3)

i. i. 67	<i>reads</i>	meant	for mean	corrected by	F.
III. iii. 46		be drencht	be drench		F.
v. iii. 58		thee heart	the heart		F.

## Letters substituted (6)

i. iii. 29	<i>reads</i>	formerly	for formally		
III. iii. 135		you	yon	corrected by	F. (yond).
III. iv. 64		line	lieue		F.
IV. i. 145		yon	you		F.
IV. i. 80		heare	heard		F.
v. v. 45		care	eare		F.

## Words omitted (3)

III. iii. 98	<i>reads</i>	of	for of her	corrected by	F.
v. i. 43		good	good night		F.
v. vi. 3		town	town of		F.

## Words added (3)

i. iii. 126	<i>reads</i>	hath beene	for hath	corrected by	F.
II. ii. 136		will will I	will I		F.
III. ii. 56		can cannot	can		F.

## Words substituted (20)

i. i. 149	<i>reads</i>	your	for his		F.
i. i. 179		and	or		F.
i. iii. 60		gorgde	gored		F.
i. iii. 94		youth	mouth		F.
i. iii. 215		one	a		F.
II. i. 60		and	or		F.
II. i. 113 <sup>1</sup>		nor	not		F.
II. iii. 22		whensoeuer	whencesoeuer		F.
II. iii. 56		estimation	estimate		F.
III. i. 13		profession	possefion		F.
III. ii. 19		my	thy		F.
III. ii. 107		showers	shores		F.
III. ii. 135		Ioue's (W loue's) loue			F.
III. iii. 74		the	thy		F.
III. iv. 15		sadd	had		F.

<sup>1</sup> The Folio omits the line.

v. v. 52	<i>reads</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>their</i>	<i>corrected by</i>	F.
v. v. 62		<i>hath</i>		<i>haue</i>		F.
v. v. 70		<i>euer</i>		<i>neuer</i>		
v. v. 99		<i>wer't</i>		<i>art</i>		
v. v. 106		<i>thine</i>		<i>thy</i>		

Tables are dull reading, and I fear that those I have already offered will have been too much for most of my readers, but here is one more, a very short one, for which I ask attention. It summarizes the last column in the foregoing ones and shows how many of the errors introduced in each of the Quartos were corrected in the successive editions up to and including the First Folio.

<i>New Errors</i>	<i>First Corrected by</i>					<i>Left uncorrected.</i>
	B.	W.	C.	D.	F <sup>1.</sup>	
A. 69	14	8½	2		24½	20
B. 123		3	1	2	58	59
W. 35			2		15	18
C. 18				1	14	1 + 2
D. 38					33	4 + 1

The most remarkable feature of this table is its tribute to the editorial work of the First Folio. As regards C and D, the editions of 1608 and 1615, the success with which F intercepts in the one case all but one, in the other all but four, of the new errors in the lines it prints, seemed to me so extraordinary that I have been sorely tempted to offer another explanation. It will be remembered that before the discovery of Mr. White's unique edition 33 out of the 35 new errors which it introduced were necessarily debited to C, the edition of 1608, which repeated them. As no fewer than 18 of these errors appear also in the First Folio, on the evidence available there was no escape from the conclusion that F must have been derived from C either directly, or through D. As between C and D there was sufficient evidence to assign

the honour of having been used as 'copy' for the First Folio to D. In the preface to vol. iv of the Cambridge Shakespeare we are told of *Richard II*, 'the play, as given in the First Folio, was no doubt printed from a copy of Q 4', i.e. from the edition of 1615, which has now become the Fifth Quarto, and to which we give the symbol D. In the introduction to the Facsimile of the First Quarto, Mr. P. A. Daniel adduced what he considered 'sufficient proof that the Folio version got to press through the medium of Q 4'. With the discovery of W the problem is materially changed and the unusually complete success with which the First Folio succeeded in evading the new errors introduced by C and D would be very prettily explained if it could be shown that it was in fact set up from an edition in which these errors do not occur, to wit that which is here reproduced.

The chief evidence on which, before the discovery of W, the Folio text was held to be based on D rather than C was the recurrence in the Folio of the misspelling 'formerly' for 'formally' in i. iii. 29, and of the three variations 'euer' for 'neuer', 'wer't' for 'art', and 'thine' for 'thy' which come close together in v. v. 70, 99, and 106. 'Formerly' for 'formally' is neatly balanced by the recurrence in the Folio of W's 'vnpruind' for 'vnprund' in iii. iv. 45 ('Her fruit trees all vnpruind, her hedges ruind') after it had been corrected in C and D, the one being a common misspelling and the other possibly suggested twice over by 'ruind' at the end of the line. The three variants of D repeated in the Folio in v. v. come so suspiciously close together, that we may be reminded that the Fifth Quarto of *Richard III* is said to have been printed from copy made up from the Fourth and Fifth, and be tempted to suppose the Folio set up from a copy of W with the

last two leaves supplied from D. But the Folio follows D in reproducing in i. iii. 167 the curious misspelling<sup>1</sup> ‘percullist’ for ‘portcullist’, which occurs in C but not in Mr. White’s copy of W, and though, with the variants in different copies of A before us, it cannot be denied that ‘percullist’ may have occurred in the copy of W followed by C, though not in Mr. White’s, an hypothesis which makes such large assumptions is worthless. Despite ‘vnpruind’ and the suspiciously complete success with which the Folio eliminates the errors of C and D, I am not prepared to challenge the derivation of the Folio from the Quarto of 1615, though the case on the other side is only a little less strong.

The second point which emerges from our tables is the extreme and pre-eminent badness of B, the Second Quarto, which according to the judgement of the Cambridge editors introduces no fewer than 123 new errors, and only corrects 14 out of some 69 already made, leaving 55 to stand. It is rather a lucky chance that the faultiest of the later Quartos is the second, since it is to

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Daniel (Preface to Facsimile of Devonshire Quarto, p. xv) adduces also the spellings ‘Britaine’ in ii. i. 278 and ‘Impresse’ in iii. i. 25, where the First Quarto has ‘Brittaine’ and ‘imprese’; also ‘more then’ in ii. iii. 92 where B W C have ‘more than’ and the First Quarto ‘then more’. Some coincidences of this kind are certain to occur between any two editions, and these do not count for much. On the other hand, C and D in one place (i. i. 32) have the spelling ‘appeallant’ which (with omission of the second l) is normal in the Folio, and D anticipates the Folio spelling ‘kindred’ for the ‘kinred’ of the earlier quartos. But even if working from a text of 1598 a compositor in 1623 would naturally sometimes abandon the spelling of his copy for later forms already in use in 1615. The whole problem is made curiously difficult by the closeness with which C follows W save in emphasis capitals, punctuation, and a few spellings, and the fact that in these matters D frequently reverts to W. On the other hand, the Folio has its own style and introduces some small difference in almost every line.

be feared that there has been an inclination to regard a 'second quarto' as only a little less important than a first, and thus the whole question of the value of the readings in these early Quartos, other than the first, is brought before us. As to this it would seem but common sense to make the textual value of any edition depend on the quality of the source from which it is derived, and the accuracy with which the readings of this source are reproduced. The source from which A was derived was plainly a manuscript text of the play, either Shakespeare's autograph, or some copy, at first or second hand, from this. Equally clearly, since it repeats some 55 of its blunders, the source from which B was derived was A, and we can therefore have no reason whatever for preferring any reading in B to any reading in A, unless either it is self-evidently right, or else there is some ground for supposing that the printer of B had access for occasional consultation, either to the manuscript used by A, or else to some other independent source. Is there, as a fact, any ground for supposing this?

Of the fourteen readings of B accepted by the Cambridge seven may fairly be considered self-evidently right. These are 'traitor' for 'taitour' in i. i. 102; 'it' for 'is' in i. ii. 58 ('griefe boundeth where is fals'); 'brother' for 'brothers' in ii. i. 124 ('Oh spare me not my brothers Edwards sonne'), any inclination to admit the double genitive as a grammatical eccentricity being discredited by the press-corrector's treatment of the similar phrase, 'butchers Mowbraies breast' in i. ii. 48 (see *supra*, p. 36, and note); 'though' for the first 'thought' in ii. ii. 31 ('As thought on thinking on no thought I thinke'); 'cameft' or 'camft' for 'canft' in iii. iv. 80 ('how canft thou by this ill tidings?'); 'their' for 'there' in v. ii. 98 ('And interchaungeably set downe there hands');

‘I may’ for ‘May’ in v. iii. 36 (‘Then giue me leaue that May turne the key’). If any one cares to argue for the double genitive in ii. i. 124 it may be shunted into my second class with no harm to my argument. The other six are indubitably self-evidently right, and this justifies their introduction into the text, without inquiry as to the authority on which they are based.

Contrast with these the remaining seven, for which as conjectures in some cases much, in others a good deal less, may be said ; but for which it can hardly be claimed that they carry their own proof with them. The first of the seven substitutes ‘Brittanie’ for ‘Brittaine’ in the lines ii. i. 277 sqq. printed in A as

Then thus, I haue from le Port Blan  
A Bay in Brittaine receiude intelligence,

The change enables the Cambridge editors to rearrange the lines as

Then thus : I have from le Port Blanc, a bay  
In Brittany, received intelligence.

But when ‘Brittaine’ recurs in l. 285 they print it as ‘Bretagne’, and the change to ‘Brittanie’ was rejected by the Quarto of 1615 and every subsequent seventeenth-century edition. Whether an improvement or not, it can thus hardly be accepted as self-evidently right, nor is it a reading for which it is easy to suppose recourse being made to any independent authority.

In ii. iii. 123 sqq. the First Quarto reads

If that my cousin King be King in England,  
It must be granted I am duke of Lancaster :

Here B reads ‘King of England’, which leaves us puzzled as to how so common a phrase should have been abandoned by the printer of A for a much less usual one.

In II. iii. 158,

But since I cannot, be it knownen vnto you,  
B substitutes 'to you' for 'vnto you', which seems to  
the present writer a needless tinkering of a quite inoffensive line.

In III. iv. 29 sqq.

Go bind thou vp yong dangling Aphricokes,  
Which like vnruley children make their fire,  
Stoope with oppression of their prodigall weight.  
Giue some supportance to the bending twigs.

B reads 'yon' for 'yong', and probably from the idea that apricots weigh heavy when they are ripe rather than when young, the Cambridge editors accept the reading. But surely the picture of the new shoots, as yet only twigs, borne down by the weight of the young green fruit, is vivid enough to stand, and it is the word 'yong' that suggested the comparison of the fruit to 'vnruley children' in the next line. If 'yon' be thought better, it can hardly be called self-evidently right.

In v. i. 31-4 the Cambridge editors admit two corrections by B. The Queen is reproaching her husband for his patience. 'The Lyon,' she tells him,

The Lyon dying thrusteth foorth his pawe,  
And woundes the earth if nothing else with rage,  
To be ore-powr'd, and wilt thou pupill-like  
Take the correction, mildly kisse the rod,  
And fawne on Rage with base humilitie,  
Which art a Lion and the king of beasts.

In line 32, B reads 'thy' for 'the', and thus originated the frequent misquotation of the line as a taunting imperative: 'Take thy correction mildly, kiss the rod.' The transference of the comma from before to after 'mildly' originated with the First Folio, and though also accepted by the Cambridge editors, needlessly aug-

ments the idea fully conveyed in ‘pupill-like’. Quoted as an imperative in a single line the rhythm is improved by the substitution of ‘thy’ for ‘the’. But we must read the unabridged text

and wilt thou púpill-like  
Take the correction, mſdly kisse the rod . . .

and both the changes accepted by the Cambridge editors are open to grave objection.

In the last line B reads ‘a king of beasts’ instead of ‘the king of beasts’, and this may seem to be supported by Richard’s reply, which begins

a King of beasts indeed ; if aught but beasts,  
I had been ſtill a happie King of men . . .

Frankly, B’s reading is an improvement, but if it had been proposed by an eighteenth-century editor it would hardly have won acceptance, and can we be in the least sure that the better phrase was what Shakespeare wrote ?

The last of B’s readings accepted by the Cambridge editors is a syncopated spelling ‘knowit’ for ‘knowest’ in a line (v. i. 62) which had to wait until Rowe’s edition for a necessary emendation. The full passage reads in A,

Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithall  
The mounting Bullingbrooke ascends my throne,  
The time ſhall not be many houres of age  
More than it is, ere foule finne gathering head  
Shall breake into corruption, thou ſhalt thinke,  
Though he diuide the realme and giue thee halfe,  
It is too little helping him to all.  
He ſhall thinke that thou which knoweft the way  
To plant vnrightfull kings, wilt know againe,  
Being nere ſo little vrgde another way,  
To plucke him headlong from the vfurped throne :

Rowe saw that both the flow of the sentence and the rhythm of line 62 would be improved by reading

*And he shall think that thou which know'st the way,*

and those who dislike the intrusion of an unaccented extra syllable will prefer 'know'st' to 'knowest'. To those who hold this view the change suggests itself; to those who delight in a free rhythm, it seems needless. Neither the one, nor the other, with examples of many such tinkerings before them, can imagine the printers of B consulting a manuscript for authority to change 'knowest' to 'know'st', when they were omitting the initial 'And', which affects the line much more vitally.

It will be understood, I hope, that I have no wish to force my own opinion of these readings on my readers. I am only pointing out that on the one hand they are not self-evidently right, as the substitution of 'it fals' for 'is fals' is self-evidently right, and on the other hand it would be quite superfluous to postulate a new manuscript authority to account for their adoption by B. We cannot separate them from the other readings in that edition, 123 of which the Cambridge editors reject, a treatment much too sweeping if independent manuscript authority could be claimed for any single one of the new readings. Hence we are justified in concluding that, despite its having been printed within a few months of the first edition, no new reading in B can be received except on the footing of an emendation, entitled to no greater consideration than would be extended to a conjecture by Rowe, or Pope.

When we turn to Mr. White's Quarto we find that it contains eight new corrections of mistakes, so regarded by the Cambridge editors, and the best part of a ninth, and that all, or perhaps all but one, of these carry their own evidence with them. Thus in II. i. 257, where A reads

'The King growen banckrout like a broken man', W adds 's (i. e. 'is') to 'King', and thus gives the sentence its needed verb. On the other hand in II. iii. 36, where Northumberland is made to ask Percy, 'Haue you forgot the Duke of Herefords boy?', W knocks out the superfluous 's', and thus converts 'boy' into a vocative, and the Duke himself into the object of the question. In III. iii. 52 comes the doubtful phrase, 'this Castels tottered battlements,' where W substitutes 'tattered'. The emendation gives an easier reading, and yet if Rowe had proposed it instead of the printer of an early Quarto (hitherto supposed to be C, through which it made its way into the First Folio), I think we should have had 'tottered' explained as equivalent to 'made to totter', and considered a pleasing Shakespearian use. Later on in the scene (III. iii. 119) comes the half correction. Northumberland is vouching for Bolingbroke, and the First Quarto makes him say 'This fweares he, as he is princesse iust'. W, being quite sure of the sex of Bolingbroke and of the gender of 'princesse', substituted 'a Prince', leaving it to the First Folio to add the necessary 'is' ('This fweares he, as he is a Prince, is iust), which had previously been represented by the feminine termination of 'princesse'.

We may note in passing that this example is another instance in this play of a misprint possibly due to a mistake in hearing ('princesse' for 'prince is'), and that the fact that the printer of W was only able to make half the correction instead of completing it, is tolerable proof that he had no higher authority at his elbow.

The remaining five corrections made by W are all obvious, one of them being a mere matter of a convention in spelling which had not become hard and fast when the Quartos were printed.

In iv. i. 19-22, Aumerle, when Bagot accuses him, exclaims (in A)

Princes and noble Lords,  
What answer shall I make to this base man ?  
Shall I so much dishonour my faire starres  
On equall termes to giue them chaficement ?

The printer of W, perceiving that Aumerle could hardly propose to chastise the stars on a footing of equality, substituted a clearer reference to Bagot by changing 'them' to 'him'.

In lines 74-77 of the same scene another fighting gentleman exclaims :

I dare meet Surry in a wildernes,  
And spit opon him whilſt I fay, he lies,  
And lies, and lies : there is bond of faith,  
To tie thee to my ſtrong correction.

The third of the four lines (76) halts, and W helps it by inserting 'my' before 'bond'. The emendation is somewhat less than self-evidently right, because either 'the', which B supplied, or 'a' would be as good or better. But one of the three must needs be supplied.

In v. i. 37 Richard in A addresses his 'sometimes Queene', and the Cambridge editors follow W (as copied by C) in substituting the more modern form 'sometime'. To a modernizer the correction is self-evidently right, but as the Cambridge editors print 'thy sometimes brother's wife' in i. ii. 54, and 'my sometimes royal master's face' in v. v. 75, their change here is either ill-considered or based on a theory that the occurrence of the later form in a third Quarto (they took it from the 4th, which till now ranked as the 3rd) justified its introduction into the text in this instance, while its non-occurrence in a Quarto in the other two lines obliged them to reject it. Such a theory could only be maintained if it could be proved

that the printers of W had access to a manuscript text, and surely neither this nor any other of the readings of W which we are examining justifies such an assumption.

In v. iii. 75, when Bolingbroke hears the Duchess of York clamouring outside the door, he exclaims in A : 'What shril voice suppliant makes this eger crie ?' W emends 'shril voice' to 'shril voic'd', and we need not hesitate to accept the change as self-evidently right.

Lastly, in v. v. 27, Richard in A says of the stocks, 'many haue, and others must set there', and W corrects 'set' to 'fit'. The two words seem to have been vulgarly confused in Shakespeare's time, as 'lie' and 'lay' are at present. (In i. ii. 47 the First Quarto again reads 'set' where the Cambridge editors accept 'fit', not quite so certainly as here, as the true reading.) The correction is thus little more than a matter of spelling, and brings the emendations in W to rather a tame close.

Those in C, the Quarto of 1608, always excepting the addition of the so-called Deposition Scene, are only two in number, 'night' for 'nightes' in i. iii. 222 ('Shall be extint with age and endlesse nightes'), and 'a moate' for 'moate' in ii. i. 48 ('Or as moate defensiu to a house'). Both these carry their own proof. In D, the Quarto of 1615, there is not a single correction of a blunder of A's, though some forty-five of those noted as such by the Cambridge editors had as yet passed untinkered.

This closes our review of the history of the text of the First Quarto as successively reprinted in the four later Quartos issued before 1623. Of the original 69 errors, or what the Cambridge editors account as such, in this First Quarto, only 25 had been corrected, and no fewer than 214 new errors had been introduced, of which only nine were stopped on the way. We argue from this that the intermediate Quartos, and more especially the

Second (B), have no authority entitling them to correct the First unless the corrections are self-evidently right, and therefore submit that some eight or nine of the corrections embodied in the Cambridge text should not have been accepted, but that the text of the First Quarto should have been allowed to stand, and the total of its misdoings reduced accordingly. We have still to apply the same process to the text of the First Folio, inquiring whence it was derived and what probability there is that any additional authority was available for its preparation. But before passing on to this we have first to consider the problems raised by the additional 166 lines introduced in 1608 into the single scene which forms Act IV, and also the changes introduced in the later Quartos in punctuation and initial capitals.

Copies of the Quarto of 1608 are found bearing two different title-pages. The earlier of these (the order is self-evident) reads :

THE | Tragedie of King | Richard the second. | As it hath  
been publikey acted by the Right | Honourable the Lord  
Chamberlaine | his seruantes. | By *William Shake-speare*. [White's  
device.] LONDON, | Printed by W. W. for *Mathew Law*, and are  
to be | sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at | the signe of  
the Foxe. | 1608.

The later :

THE | Tragedie of King | Richard the Second : | With new  
additions of the Parlia- | ment Sceane, and the deposing | of  
King Richard. | As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges |  
Majesties seruantes, at the Globe. | By *William Shake-speare*  
[White's device.] AT LONDON, | Printed by W. W. for  
*Mathew Law*, and are to | be sold at his shop in Paules Church-  
yard, | at the signe of the Foxe. | 1608.

Desire to advertise the 'new additions' was presumably one reason for the substitution of a new title

for that which followed the wording of the earlier Quartos. Perhaps equal weight was attached to informing book-buyers with short memories that the Lord Chamberlain's servants of the previous reign were now entitled to call themselves the King's Majesty's Servants, the play being thus invested with a semblance of royal sanction. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the play, known to be an old one, still held the stage, and no second-rate stage either, but that of the famous Globe Theatre. As to the 'new additions' themselves, specified as consisting 'of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard', most students who have read the text will, I think, agree that what is represented is not a deposing, but an abdication, and that it is very difficult indeed to conceive of any such scene having taken place in Parliament, i.e. in the House of Peers. Dramatically also, we are tempted to submit, the incident is not a success. The business with the looking-glass and the desired boon which turns into a request to be allowed to go away, if they move pity, also lessen respect, and with the parting with the Queen and the soliloquy at Pomfret Castle still to come, the Lord Chamberlain's servants in 1597 may not impossibly have thought that there was a danger of 'too much Richard' and cut the lines out in the acting version from which the First Quarto was printed. It may be heretical to suggest this (I do not claim to be the first heretic, if so), but some such considerations seem to me likely to have reinforced any fear that the passage might be viewed unfavourably at Court after the Pope had issued his Bull in 1596 declaring Elizabeth deposed.<sup>1</sup> By 1608, however, Shakespeare had

<sup>1</sup> Logically, to omit, because of the Pope's Bull, lines intended to enlist sympathy on the side of Richard, was absurd. But in times of political excitement logic counts for little.

become a much more important person than in 1597, when it was apparently not thought worth while to print his name on a title-page. When, therefore, the play was revived, the omitted 166 lines were restored to their place, as 'new additions', and Mathew Lawe succeeded in incorporating them into his reprint. He may have done this either by buying a copy of the new lines from the Globe Company, or by suborning some one employed in the theatre to make a surreptitious copy, or by persuading some one employed in the theatre or sent to it for the purpose to take down the lines in shorthand, or to learn them by heart and dictate them to the printers. The text has too many omissions and too many mistakes in line arrangement to allow us to believe that it was obtained for cash from the King's servants as a body, or transcribed from an acting copy of the part, and the same reasons, with the added improbability of any one high in the hierarchy of the Globe playing traitor for the sake of the small sum Mathew Lawe would be likely to pay for an addition to a sixpenny play, forbids us to identify the 'some one employed in the theatre' with the actor who took Richard's part. The 'additions' may thus have been obtained from some subordinate person employed about the theatre, but were more probably procured by means of shorthand writers specially sent there for the purpose, the subsequent complaints of Heywood informing us of two such thefts 'by stenography' about this time.

As regards punctuation there is a double tale to tell. In the set speeches the punctuation of the First Quarto, if we remember that it is dramatic and not grammatical, will be found sufficiently complete and intelligent to entitle us to believe that Shakespeare punctuated these portions of his own manuscript with some care, and that the Quarto reproduces this punctuation with very much

the same substantial fidelity that it reproduces the words of the text. Two examples of colons entirely super-grammatical, but very effective in the emphasis which the pauses they denote lend to the words which follow, may be cited as evidence of the essentially dramatic character of the punctuation.

In the Cambridge edition lines 1. i. 92-100 are thus printed :

Besides I say and will in battle prove,  
Or here or elsewhere to the furthest verge  
That ever was survey'd by English eye,  
That all the treasons for these eighteen years      95  
Complotted and contrived in this land  
Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring.  
Further I say, and further will maintain  
Upon his bad life to make all this good,  
That he did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death . . .

Plump at the end of l. 96, separating 'treasons' from its verb, the Quarto inserts a colon, and the line 'Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring' comes rushing out after the pause with doubled effect. And at the end of this line, shade of Lindley Murray! there is no full stop—only a comma ; for Bolingbroke will not give Mowbray a chance to interrupt him, but dashes on with his second accusation, with only an imperceptible pause. In the earlier lines, on the other hand, when he is preparing the way for his rush, Bolingbroke's measured tones are marked by two stops which the Cambridge editors omit, a comma after 'say' in l. 92, and another after 'here' in the next line. Grammatically a comma after 'here' should entail another after 'elsewhere', but dramatic punctuation sets no store on pairing its commas and usually omits either one or the other.

Our second instance of a colon emphasizing the words that follow it is from Richard's announcement (ii. i.

159-62) of his intention to seize John of Gaunt's goods to pay for the Irish war. This is printed in the First Quarto:

And for these great affaires do aske some charge,  
Towards our afsistance we doe feaze to vs :  
The plate, coine, reuenewes, and moueables  
Wherof our Vnckle Gaunt did stand possest.

York's speech of protest against this confiscation ends with a full stop which is quite misleading when reproduced in a modern edition. We have, indeed, no means now of conveying its exact effect. A full stop with us means the end of a sentence. A full stop in a play of Shakespeare's means a pause of a certain length without any necessary grammatical implication. York has been speaking for some twenty lines and has begun a comparison between the Black Prince and Richard, his unworthy son. Then come our lines (ii. i. 184 sqq.):

Oh Richard : Yorke is too far gone with griefe,  
Or else he neuer would compare betweene.  
*King.* Why Vnckle whats the matter ?

The sentence is not finished, for York breaks down, and the King, who has been paying no attention to him whatever, but has been walking round the room appraising the value of its contents, at the sound of his sob turns round, and with his usual superficial good nature, exclaims 'Why Vnckle whats the matter ?' A dash after 'betweene' would show that York's sentence is unfinished, but a dash gives us no indication of the length of the pause, whereas by using supergrammatical stops, or no stop at all, Elizabethan punctuation can tell us all about it.

Full stops are very sparingly used within a speech, because the pause they denoted was long enough to give the other man a chance to interrupt, and to avoid an impression of tameness on his part colons were preferred. In the opening speeches of Bolingbroke and Mowbray

full stops are only used as the speakers turn from addressing the King to denouncing each other. In Bolingbroke's second speech one comes (i. i. 72) at the end of the four lines during which he throws down his gage. He pauses for Mowbray to take it up ; but Mowbray does not, and Bolingbroke continues contemptuously,

If guilty dread haue left thee so much strength,  
As to take vp mine honours pawn, then stowpe,

and hurries on :

By that, and all the rites of Knighthoode else,  
Will I make good against thee arme to arme,  
What I have spoke, or thou canst worse deuise.

The next speech of Bolingbroke's has no internal full stop. That of Mowbray (i. i. 124-51) has two ; the first after his exclamation 'Now swallow downe that lie' ; the second, when he turns from John of Gaunt to the King.

In the next scene the only internal full stops in a speech come in the long harangue of the Duchess of Gloucester. The first of them (at l. 21) tells us, I think, that she breaks down ; the second preludes her final appeal :

What shall I faie ? to safegard thine own life,  
The best way is to venge my Glocesters death.

In the long third scene, comprising over three hundred lines, the first internal full stop comes at l. 68, when Bolingbroke turns to address his father ; the second at l. 122, dividing what are really two separate speeches by the King, before and after the flourish of trumpets ; the third, at l. 270, preludes a question ; the fourth, in Gaunt's farewell to his son (l. 280), once more, I think, suggests a struggle with emotion, which would lend added point to the words which follow :

Woe doth the heauier fit,  
Where it perceiues it is but faintly borne.

In Scene iv one internal full stop (l. 22) marks a pause full of meaning after Richard's words as to Bolingbroke :

He is our Coofens Coofin, but tis doubt,  
When time shall call him home from banishment,  
Whether our kinsman come to see his friends.

The only other one (l. 60) again comes at the close of a sinister sentence :

Now put it (God) in the Physitions mind,  
To help him to his grave immediatly :  
The lining of his coffers shall make coates  
To decke our fouldiers for thefe Irish warres.

After which Richard turns to his favourites and bids them

Come gentlemen, lets all go visite him,  
Pray God we may make haste and come too late.

It would be wearisome to continue this examination through the other four acts of the play, but I think it will be found that what I have called an internal full stop in a speech has almost always some special dramatic significance, which in a modern play would be expressed by a stage direction.

The full stop being used thus sparingly, except at the end of a speech, and the semi-colon appearing but seldom, the work of internal punctuation falls almost entirely on the colon and the comma.

Instances have already been given of the need, where a colon is used when we should expect a lighter stop, of looking out for the reason. In another passage (III. ii. 4-11) we find it used, together with the unusual semi-colon, in a way explained in the last of the lines here quoted. Richard is returned from Ireland and Aumerle asks him

How brookes your Grace the ayre  
After your late tosing on the breaking feas ?

The King answers :

Needes must I like it well, I weepe for ioy,  
To stand vpon my kingdome once againe :  
Deere earth I do salute thee with my hand,  
Though rebels wound thee with their horses hoofes :  
As a long parted mother with her childe  
Playes fondly with her teares and smiles in meeting ;  
So weeping, smiling greete I thee my earth,  
And do thee fauours with my royll hands ;

Clearly he has sat down on a bank, and between these unrhymed couplets is caressing the earth. As a rule he is a rapid speaker, seldom needing a heavier stop than a comma, and the contrast to his usual style which we find in one speech (III. iii. 142, &c.) is very marked :

What must the King do now ? must he submit ?  
The King shall do it : must he be deposde ?  
The king shall be contented : must he loose  
The name of King ? a Gods name let it go :  
Ile glie my iewels for a set of Beades :  
My gorgeous pallace for a hermitage :  
My gay apparel for an almesmans gowne :  
My figurde goblets for a dish of wood :  
My scepter for a Palmers walking staffe :  
My subiects for a paire of carued Saintes,  
And my large kingdome for a little graue,  
A little little graue, an obscure graue,  
Or Ile be buried in the Kings hie way,  
Some way of common trade, where subiects feete  
May hourelly trample on their soueraignes head ;  
For on my heart they treade now whilst I liue :  
And buried once, why not vpon my head ?

It is impossible to believe that these definite instructions for the time at which these lines are to be taken, instructions which, if carried out, enhance so greatly the beauty of the passage, can have proceeded from any one but Shakespeare himself. The colourless punctuation

substituted for it in modern editions is a crime, only to be explained, like most crimes, by the fact that the editors did not know what they were doing.

Commas, when they seem to us superfluous, are usually rhythmical. Scores of them are put at the end of lines, merely to warn the actor that he must not run it hastily into the next, and the signals might well receive attention from many modern speakers of Shakespeare's verse, who struggle mechanically to get away from the line-endings. Where a comma takes the place of a heavier stop, it usually only means that the passage is to be taken lightly. Here and there it may have dramatic significance. Thus (I. iii. 97-9<sup>1</sup>) when Richard bids farewell to Mowbray and orders the combat to begin, as it were in the same breath, there may be a suggestion of insincerity; but my impression is that Shakespeare paid little attention to punctuation except in what may be called the set speeches, and along with obviously careful stopping there is a good deal which is equally obviously careless, and many sins of omission. I am anxious, therefore, not to claim too much.

A detailed examination of the punctuation of the four subsequent Quartos would be tedious, and is fortunately not necessary, as the trend of the changes made can be expressed in general terms. While the punctuation used in ordinary books in Shakespeare's day was not the same as ours, it was much nearer to ours than the dramatic punctuation at examples of which we have just been looking. Even if the First Quarto had been fully punctuated throughout, the later ones would almost certainly have tended to revert to a more normal use of stops, and

<sup>1</sup> Farewell (my Lord) fecurely I espie,  
Vertue with Valour couched in thine eie,  
Order the trial Martiall, and beginne.

the fact that, except in the set speeches, the First Quarto is patently underpunctuated, offered a further encouragement to tinkering. Both in B and W we find this process at work : missing commas are supplied, and we find more full stops creeping into the set speeches. In C, the Quarto of 1608, the tendency to heavier punctuation becomes very marked, and along with it we may note a no less marked increase in the emphasis capitals. These in the first three Quartos had been used only sparingly. In A only about a hundred different words are given an initial capital. Many of these have to do with royalty and its appurtenances (King, Queen, Highness, Sovereign, Majesty, Liege, Prince, Realm, Crown, Sceptre, Coronation), titles of honour (Peers, Lords, Duke, Grace, Knighthood, Knight, Ladies, Madam), professions and occupations (Clergy, Attorneys, Physician, Actor, Beggar, Gaoler), mental states lending themselves more or less to personification (Fear, Reverence, Patience, Sorrow, Grief, Envy, Rage, Shame, Cowardice, Despair, Virtue, Valour, Hope), and other ideas which may almost be said to claim capitals in their own right. The most important group of instances for our purpose is that formed by more or less ornamental or rhetorical phrases (furthest Verge, tongueless Caverns of the earth, the Falcon's flight, Author of my blood, Eagle-winged pride, blindfold Death, the Jewels that I love, the setting Sun and Music at the close, a tenement or pelting Farm, a Prophet's eye, redeem from broking Pawn the blemisht Crown, drinking Oceans dry, a set of Beads, a Palmer's walking staff, a pair of carved Saints, unruly Jades, immaculate and silver Fountain), and the metaphorical use of Lions, Leopards, Spiders, Adder, Serpent, Pelican, Camel. There is hardly any use of capitals for maledictory emphasis, and what may be called haphazard capitals are very rare.

In B and W there is a slight tendency to reduce the capitals in ornamental phrases, and though a few new capitals are introduced there is no general increase on balance.<sup>1</sup>

In C, the Quarto of 1608, we find a notable increase of emphasis capitals, not consistently maintained, but in the aggregate considerable and in some passages very marked. Thus the lines i. i. 87–91 are printed :

*Bol.* Looke what I sayd, my life shall prooue it true,  
That Mowbray hath receiude eight thousand Nobles,  
In name of lendinges, for your Highnesse Souldiours :  
The which he hath detainde for leawd imployments,  
Like a false Traytour, and iniurious Villaine.

The First Quarto (we take no account of proper names) prints ‘Lendings’, apparently as we might use inverted commas, and ‘Highnes’, but uses lower case instead of the other four capitals.

Lines i. i. 177–85 were printed in 1608 as :

The purest treasure mortall times affoord,  
Is spoteffe reputation, that away ;<sup>2</sup>  
Men are but guilded Loame or painted Clay :  
A Iewell in a tenne times bard vp Chest,  
Is a bold Spirit in a loyall Breast.  
Mine Honour is my life, both grow in one ;  
Take Honour from me, and my life is done.  
Then (deare my Leige) mine Honour let me try,  
In that I liue, and for that will I die.

The First Quarto gives a capital (which C denies) to Reputation and also to Liege; the other nine it prints in lower case.

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps well to point out that one reason for the moderation may have been that Valentine Sims had only a small stock of upper-case letters to use. This was certainly true in 1597 of his supply of the letter T, since we find him using varieties from two other founts.

<sup>2</sup> We are tempted to suppose that the comma and semi-colon in this line have changed places; but the semi-colon may represent a pause before a declamatory line. The First Quarto omits both stops.

Again, take lines II. iii. 118-28 from Bolingbroke's very clever speech to that exasperating person 'good old Yorke'. In 1608 they were printed :

You are my Father, [f]or me thinkes in you  
I fee old Gaunt alive. Oh then Father,  
Will you permit that I shall stand condemn'd  
A wandering Vagabond, my rights and royalties  
Pluckt from my Armes perforce, and giuen away  
To vpstart Vnthriffts ? wherefore was I borne ?  
If that my Coofin King be King of England,  
It must be graunted I am Duke of Lancaster :  
You haue a Sonne, Aumerle, my noble Coofin,  
Had you first died, and he been thus trod downe,  
He shoulde have found his Vnckle Gaunt a fathur,  
To rouze his wronges, and chase them to the Bay.

Except for proper names in these twelve lines the only capitals in the First Quarto are reserved for the word 'King'. In 1608 no fewer than eleven others were added.

The foregoing examples are selected, not average ones ; but the increase in these emphasis capitals and also in the weight of the punctuation in 1608, if not so great as they suggest, is still real and indisputable. It is perhaps worth mentioning that they are accompanied by a slightly broader spelling. Whether Master White's compositors made these changes out of their own heads or whether by any chance they were playgoers and reproduced in these ways new theatrical fashions, we must not inquire. As for the 1615 Quarto, this follows that of 1608 too closely to need separate examination, but on the whole reduces its capitals. As we shall see, the Folio of 1623 generally adopts the heavier style, and to the Folio we must now turn.

Turning our attention first of all to the Text, we start, as the result of our tables, with ample evidence that the Folio stands on altogether a higher plane than the later

Quartos. It corrects exactly as many ( $24\frac{1}{2}$ ) of the mistakes, i. e. the readings rejected as such by the Cambridge editors, of A as all the later Quartos put together, and whereas of the mistakes of B the three later Quartos only set right six, the Folio corrects as many as 58. Of the mistakes of W it corrects 15; of those introduced by C and D no fewer than 47 out of 55, while three others occur in lines which it omits. We have already noted the possibility that its seeming success as regards these last two Quartos may really have been due to its having been set up from W. Even if this were so, however, in the correction in the Folio of so many errors of A, B, and W, we should have evidence of a real effort at revision as opposed to the haphazard corrections of the Quartos. On the other hand the revision as regards the errors of A, B, and W, was very far from being complete. Some 20 mistakes of A were left untouched, 59 of B, and 18 of W, so that the old errors of these three Quartos left uncorrected amount to no fewer than 97. As the readings of A which the Cambridge editors reject amount only to 69 we start with the fact that, even if no new errors had been introduced by the printers of the First Folio, its text would still have been considerably more faulty than that of the First Quarto. Just, however, as the printers of the later Quartos had been unable to avoid introducing new mistakes, so the printers of the First Folio were unable to avoid introducing them.

In attempting an estimate of the number of new errors in the First Folio we have to proceed with some caution. If every reading in it which the Cambridge editors reject were to be reckoned as an error, the number would be very large, slightly exceeding the total of the original sins of B. To count all these rejected readings, however, as mistakes would be very unjust to the editors of the Folio,

precisely because they were the editors, not of a single play, but of all the plays of Shakespeare which they could find. As editors of a collected edition they had a right to adopt, and did adopt, a style of their own. How far they were consistent in this respect is a large question with which we are not here concerned. But we can see that in this play of *King Richard II* they made certain changes which may reasonably be regarded as within an editor's competence, and it is only fair to put these on one side.

One of the changes in the First Folio, the general substitution of the word 'Heaven' for 'God', stands by itself. King James considered the use of the word 'God' on the stage as irreverent, and the substitution of 'Heaven' being imposed on the players by external authority cannot be laid to their charge. Next in frequency to this come instances of letters being elided to mark the way in which the word should be pronounced. As to whether such elisions are good or bad opinions will differ. When I wrote Latin verses in the lower forms of my school I was taught to substitute apostrophes for elided syllables, but the appearance of these in my first copy of verses in the Sixth was treated as a reflection on the composition master's power of seeing how a line should be read. My own belief that 'elided' syllables should almost always be pronounced, but so lightly as not to interfere with the rhythm of the verse, makes me now resent elisions and contractions almost as keenly as he did,<sup>1</sup> but not to the point of reckoning every indulgence

<sup>1</sup> On the day after I wrote this I took up *Brontë Poems*, edited by Mr. A. C. Benson, and found this stanza :

I saw her stand in the gallery long,  
Watching those little children there  
As they were playing the pillars 'mong,  
And bounding down the marble stair

with the note to 'playing': 'A monosyllable. Emily Brontë so

in them as a mistake, more especially on the part of actors, to whom such finger-posts to the correct rhythm of a line were, of course, of great use. Thus we may rule out of our list of Folio 'errors' all such readings as 'liv'ft', 'breath'ft' (I. ii. 24), 'shew'ft' (ib. 31), 'go'ft' (ib. 45), 'com'ft' (I. iii. 33), 'he's' (ib. 39), 'flatter'ft' (II. i. 90), 'thou'dft' for 'thou wouldst' (ib. 232), 'th'Exchequer' (II. iii. 65), 'prethee' for 'praythee' (III. ii. 20), 'em' for 'them' (ib. 211), 'you'l' for 'you will' (III. iv. 90), 'what's' (V. ii. 73), 'is't' (ib. 76), 'she's' (V. iii. 82), 'o'th' (V. v. 60), 'th' (ib. 101), &c.; also 'knoweſt' in III. ii. 36, where the Cambridge editors think it necessary to print 'knowſt'. Rather than seem to be pressing the case against the First Folio I would also admit 'yond' for 'yon' in II. iii. 53, III. iii. 26 and III. iii. 135, as merely a matter of spelling. In the same way 'O' or 'Oh' for 'Ah' (II. i. 163, II. ii. 52), 'o' for 'a' (II. i. 251) and 'ought' for 'aught' (V. ii. 53), also 'bond' for 'band' in V. ii. 65, can none of them be regarded as sins. We may also readily throw in 'mine' for 'my' in I. i. 191 and 'my' for 'mine' in V. ii. 78 in each case before 'honour', and 'thine' for 'thy' in I. iii. 14 and V. iii. 76.

Even when all these allowances are made<sup>1</sup> the following list of readings rejected by the Cambridge editors amounts to just a hundred.

pronounced, it is plain, words like "being", "doing", "going". In opposition to this I submit that 'playing' may be as small a fraction more than a monosyllable as you please, but it must be more; also that the line is perfectly easy to read with this additional fraction and also with the additional fraction involved in reading 'among' for 'mong', though I presume this latter form is due to Emily Brontë herself and not to Mr. Benson.

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of the Quartos we must add to them a certain number of negligenda, e.g. 'ueuer' for 'neuer' (I. iii. 183), 'Anmerle' for 'Aumerle' (I. iv. 1), &c.

## Letters omitted (12)

i. iii. 69	<i>reads</i>	earthy	<i>for</i>	earthly.
i. iii. 186		or (reconcile)		nor.
i. iii. 302		euer		neuer.
i. iv. 15		word		words.
ii. i. 110		his		this.
ii. ii. 27		weepe		weepes.
ii. ii. 99		come		comes.
ii. iii. 6		our		your.
ii. iii. 35		direction		directions.
iii. iii. 93		ope		open.
iii. iii. 202		hand		hands.
v. v. 29		misfortune		misfortunes.

## Letters added (10)

i. i. 77	<i>reads</i>	spoken	<i>for</i>	spoke.
i. ii. 8		raigne		raine.
i. iii. 17		comes		come.
i. iii. 86		Kings (Richards)		King.
i. iii. 128		fwords		fword.
ii. iii. 145		wrongs		wrong.
iii. iv. 24		comes		come.
iii. iv. 69		doubted		doubt.
v. ii. 58		fees		fee.
v. ii. 109		nor		or.

## Letters substituted (5)

i. ii. 20	<i>reads</i>	leafes	<i>for</i>	leaues.
—		vaded		faded.
ii. i. 109		were		wert.
ii. i. 118		chafing		chafing.
iii. iii. 66		tract		track.

## Words omitted (5)

ii. iii. 87	<i>reads</i>	nor vnkle me	<i>for</i>	nor vnkle me no vnkle.
ii. iii. 134		And		And I.
iii. ii. 55		from		off from.
v. ii. 18		one		the one.
v. v. 17		needles		small needles.

I. i. 137  
II. i. 127  
II. iii. 29  
IV. i. 9  
IV. i. 112  
  
v. iii. 9  
v. v. 58

reads

Words transposed (7)  
I did                          for  
Thou haſt  
we laſt  
it hath once  
of that name the  
fourth  
rob . . . beat  
houres . . . times

did I.  
Haſt thou.  
laſt we.  
once it hath.  
fourth of that  
name.  
beat . . . rob.  
times . . . houres.

I. i. 57  
I. i. 73  
I. i. 116  
I. i. 157  
I. i. 186  
I. ii. 1  
I. ii. 23  
I. ii. 43  
I. iii. 20  
I. iii. 28  
I. iii. 55  
I. iii. 71  
I. iii. 76  
I. iii. 82  
I. iii. 140  
I. iii. 198  
I. iii. 227  
I. iv. 7  
I. iv. 28  
I. iv. 54  
I. iv. 59  
II. i. 12  
II. i. 27  
II. i. 52  
II. i. 202  
II. ii. 3

reads

Words substituted (61)  
doubly                          for  
hath  
our (kingdoms)  
time  
down  
Gloufsters  
mettle  
to (defence)  
his (fucceeding iffue)  
placed  
iuft  
rigor  
furnish  
amaz'd  
death  
this (realm)  
udden  
grew  
foules  
verie  
his (physicians)  
is (the close)  
That  
for (their birth)  
his (letters patents)  
ſelfe-harming

doubled.  
haue.  
my.  
month.  
vp.  
Woodftocks.  
mettall.  
and.  
my.  
plated.  
right.  
vigor.  
furbiſh.  
aduerſe.  
life.  
the.  
fullen.  
blew.  
ſmiles.  
grieuous.  
the.  
at.  
Then.  
by.  
the.  
life-harming<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> W, C, and D read ' halfe-harming '.

II. ii. 126	<i>reads</i>	impossible	<i>for</i>	vnpossible.
II. iii. 90		these		thoſe.
II. iii. 125		kinsman		cousin.
III. ii. 35		friends		power.
III. ii. 43		lightning		light.
III. ii. 84		sluggard		coward.
III. ii. 102		Lofſe(, Decay)		and.
III. ii. 139		hand		wound.
III. ii. 178		wail their present woes		fit and wail their woes.
III. ii. 203		faction		party.
III. iii. 36		vpon		on.
III. iii. 91		is		ſtands.
III. iii. 127		our ſelfe		our felues.
III. iii. 171		mock		laugh.
III. iv. 100		this		theſe.
IV. i. 33		ſympathize		ſympathy.
IV. i. 145		reare		raife.
V. i. 44		fall		tale.
V. i. 66		friends		men.
V. i. 71		ye		you
V. i. 78		Queene		wife.
V. ii. 22		Alas		Alac.
V. ii. 81		fonne		Aumerle.
V. iii. 14		thoſe		theſe.
V. iii. 21		dayes		yeareſ.
V. iii. 50		reason		treafon.
V. iii. 63		had		held. <sup>1</sup>
V. iii. 93		kneele		walk.
V. iv. 3		Thoſe		These.
V. v. 13-14		faith . . . faith		word . . . word.
V. v. 33		treafon makes		treafons make
V. v. 38		am		be.
V. v. 46		heare		check.
V. v. 56		that		which.
V. vi. 8		Salfbury, Spencer		Oxford, Salisbury.

<sup>1</sup> W, C, and D read 'hald'.

If any one will take the trouble to examine these 100 readings rejected by the Cambridge editors he will see that one large group of them are obviously careless blunders, which must certainly be debited to the printers, and another large group petty tinkerings, sometimes giving a slightly easier reading, more often only a harmless alternative, but never one which strongly demands assent.

As examples of blunders we may cite 'doubly' for 'doubled' (I. i. 57), 'placed' for 'plated' (I. iii. 28), 'earthy' for 'earthly' (I. iii. 69), 'rigor' for 'vigour' (I. iii. 71), 'furnish' for 'furbish' (I. iii. 76), 'fudden' for 'fullen' (I. iii. 227), 'grew' for 'blew' (I. iv. 7), 'soules' for 'smiles' (I. iv. 28), 'is' for 'at' (II. i. 12, 'music at the close'), 'chafing' for 'chasing' (II. i. 118), &c.

As examples of unimportant alternatives we take 'time' for 'month' in I. i. 157 ('this is no month to bleed'), 'just' for 'right' in I. iii. 55, 'verie' for 'grieuous' in I. iv. 54 ('Olde Iohn of Gaunt is grieuous ficke'), 'his' for 'the' in I. iv. 59, 'kinsman' for 'cousin' in II. iii. 125, 'friends' for 'power' in III. ii. 35 ('great in substance and in power'), 'sluggard' for 'coward' in III. ii. 84 ('Awake thou coward Maiesty thou sleepest'), this being an improvement, 'losse' for 'and' in III. ii. 102 ('Crie woe, destruction, ruin and decay'), 'hand' for 'wound' in III. ii. 139 ('Haue felt the worst of deathes destroying wound'), where 'wound' rhymes with 'ground' and 'hand' would clash with 'hands' in the previous line, 'faction' for 'party' in III. ii. 203, 'is' for 'ftands, in III. iii. 91 ('for yon me thinkes he ftandes'), 'mock' for 'laugh' in III. iii. 171, 'reare' for 'raise' in IV. i. 145, 'fall' for 'tale' in V. i. 44 ('Tell thou the lamentable tale of me'), 'Queene' for 'wife' in V. i. 78, 'sonne' for 'Aumerle' in V. ii. 81, 'dayes' for 'yeares' in V. iii. 21,

'kneele' for 'walke' in v. iii. 93, 'faith . . . faith' for 'word . . . word' in v. v. 13 seq. ('set the word it self Against the word'), 'am' for 'be' in v. v. 38, 'heare' for 'check' in v. v. 46 ('To checke time broke in a disordered string'), 'that' for 'which' in v. v. 56.

Our first group answers to the printers' errors, 'all of which can be easily and certainly corrected', of Mr. Daniel's Introduction to the Facsimile of the Devonshire Quarto of 1597 (p. xvi); our second to his 'varying readings'. Here and there we may hesitate as to how a given reading should be classed. For instance, 'amaz'd' for 'aduerse' in i. iii. 82 ('Of thy aduerse pernicious enemy') looks like a variant. Taking the line by itself it even looks like a good variant, as 'aduerse' is rather an otiose epithet to apply to 'enemy'. But when we take the full sentence :

And let thy blowes doubly redoubled  
Fall like amazing thunder on the caske  
Of thy aduerse pernicious enemy

there seems at least a chance that the new reading 'amaz'd' may be merely a printer's error suggested by 'amazing' in the line above. The distinction, however, is generally easy to draw. On the other hand there are two variants which seem to stand clearly by themselves as (*a*) requiring some historical knowledge, and (*b*) being of a kind which any one who possessed this knowledge would have been almost sure to make if he had the chance. These are the substitution in i. ii. 1 ('Alas, the parte I had in Woodstockes blood') of 'Gloufters' for 'Woodstockes', and in v. vi. 8 ('The heads of Oxford, Salisbury, Blunt, and Kent') of 'Salisbury, Spencer', for 'Oxford, Salisbury'. The first of these changes avoids the confusion which might be caused by speaking in this single instance of Thomas of Woodstock as 'Woodstock',

whereas elsewhere in the play he is invariably called by his title as (Duke of) Gloucester. In the second case a positive error is corrected, as Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was not involved in the conspiracy in question, whereas 'Spencer', i. e. Thomas Despencer, was.

Mr. Daniel writes (p. xviii) of these two readings :

These clearly are instances of revision, and to be adopted : and as I see no reason for placing the other variations<sup>1</sup> of the folio text in any other position than that which is occupied by these I conclude that, unless otherwise discredited, all must be accepted, even though the object of the change may not be so apparent, or perhaps in our judgement so beneficial.

Elsewhere (p. xvii) he speaks of these changes as 'made at an early date', 'when the play was first produced, or at any rate during the process of its settling down into its position as an acting play', and as therefore being 'probably sanctioned, if not actually made, by the author himself'. He would, therefore, admit all the Folio variants into the text. The Cambridge editors, on the other hand, having an eye only to what Shakespeare wrote, as distinguished from what he may, or may not, have 'sanctioned', reject the greater number of them, including the two corrections just considered. There are, however, some twenty-four instances in which they have accepted readings first found in the Folio, and at these we must now look. Three of them are of the kind which we have treated as merely a matter of editorial practice. These are 'returnſt' for 'returnest' (I. iii. 254), 'that's' for 'that is' (II. ii. 129), and 'he's' for 'he is' (IV. i. 89). 'You owe' for the quite perverse 'y'owe', by which the First Quarto spoils the metre of I. iii. 180 ('Sweare by the duty that y'owe to God') is a real correction, though one which needs no private

<sup>1</sup> i. e. variations as opposed to printers' errors. A. W. P.

information to account for it. The substitution of 'fit' for 'set' in I. ii. 47 ('O set my husbands wronges on Herefords speare'), and 'pinnes' for 'pines' in III. iv. 26 ('My wretchednes vnto a row of pines') may be regarded at pleasure either as matters of spelling or as fairly important corrections. As already noted (p. 61), the words 'fit' and 'set' were liable to the same confusion as 'lie' and 'lay' are still, and the superiority of one over the other in this context is not striking. In the other case Pope was deceived by the reading 'pines' and emended the line into 'My wretchedness suits with a row of pines'; but it is probable that 'pines' was only a misspelling for 'pinnes' or 'pins' though a very unhappy one. In I. i. 152 ('Wrath kindled gentleman be ruled by me'), the correction 'gentlemen', and in II. ii. 16

For Sorrowes eyes glazed with blinding teares  
Diuides one thing entire to many obiects

the substitution of 'eye' for 'eyes' (as an alternative to substituting 'Diuide' for 'Diuides') were dictated by the context. In I. iv. 20 ('He is our Coofens Coofin') the Folio's change of 'Coofens' to 'Cofin', though accepted by the Cambridge editors, seems not beyond challenge.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aumerle, who had ridden a little way with the banished Hereford, ostensibly as a mark of sympathy, has just said that if the word 'Farewell', would have added years to Hereford's exile

He should have had a volume of farewels :  
But since it would not, he had none of me.

Now Richard, unless badly provoked, is always himself soft of speech, and it would seem quite in keeping with Shakespeare's presentation of him that he should treat Aumerle's outburst somewhat coldly. The Quarto makes him begin his reply :

He is our Coofens Coofin, but tis doubt,  
When time shall call him home from banishment,  
Whether our kinfman come to fee his friends.

Aumerle is reminded with a touch of formality that Hereford is his

The one reading of the eleven involving the change of only a single letter, which seems to me at once certain and at the same time hardly to be reckoned as obvious, is the substitution of ‘incaged’ for ‘inraged’ in II. i. 102. The passage reads in the First Quarto :

A thousand flatterers sit within thy Crowne,  
Whose compasse is no bigger than thy head,  
And yet inraged in so small a verge,  
The waste is no whit lesser than thy land.

It cannot be said that ‘incaged’ is an impossible correction for the printer’s reader to have evolved out of his inner consciousness and the context, but I do not personally feel justified in assuming that this was how it originated.

Passing from single letters to words we find the First Folio restoring an obviously needed ‘my’ in I. i. 118 (‘Now by [my] scepters awe I make a vowe’), and a hardly less obvious ‘then’ in I. iii. 172 (‘What is thy sentence [then] but speechlesse death?’), and ‘the’ in II. iii. 99 (‘Were I but now [the] Lord of such hot youth’). In III. iii. 13, by adding ‘with you’ in antithesis to ‘with him’ it achieved the restoration to sense and rhythm of three lines which the First Quarto had printed as :

The time hath bin, would you haue beeene so briefe with him.  
He would haue bin so briefe to shorten you,  
For taking so the head your whole heads length.

This in the Folio reads

The time hath beeene  
Would you haue beeene so briefe with him, he would  
Haue been so briefe with you, to shorten you,  
For taking so the Head, your whole heads length.

own cousin, and there is an ironical suggestion of regret that in spite of this he may not be recalled. For Richard to call him ‘our coufins’ and ‘our kinsman’ in the same breath seems redundant.

Here also it seems fairly arguable, though not certain, that the acumen required is beyond what we have a right to assume in the editor of the Folio, and obliges us to presume some external help.

Two other instances in which the Cambridge editors admit Folio additions are somewhat less convincing. In I. iv. 23 seq.,

Our selfe and Bushie

Obserued his courtship to the common people,

the half line is filled out in the Folio so as to read

Our selfe and Bushy : heere Bagot and Greene.

This the Quarto of 1634 emended to

Our selfe, and Bushy, Bagot here and Greene,

which (omitting the comma after 'selfe') the Cambridge editors accept. I confess this makes on me the same impression as the expansion by a certain Mr. Seymour of York's 'Tut, tut !' in II. iii. 86 into 'Tut, tut, boy : go to !' in order in the same way to eke out a line. I do not believe that Shakespeare wrote either the one or the other. In III. ii. 134 I am again recalcitrant. The First Quarto prints this passage :

Three Iudasses, each one thrise worse then Iudas,

Would they make peace ? terrible hel,

Make war vpon their spotted soules for this.

In the second line the words 'make peace ?' are a cry of rage which can only be adequately rendered by giving to each the time of a whole foot. The next two words are pronounced slowly, and after 'hel' there is a slight pause marked by the dramatic comma, and then the next line follows with a swift rush. Some one, however, as I think, whether actor, editor, or press-corrector, could only see that the middle line was short of two syllables, so supplied these from the opening words of the next,

and made good the loss by adding a pitifully weak word at the end, thus giving the Folio reading :

Would they make peace? terrible Hell make warre  
Vpon their spotted Soules for this Offence.

Despite the large H and S and O this is surely far weaker than the other, and I cannot believe that Shakespeare either wrote it or approved it.

As against these expansions we have in v. ii. 52 a curtailment. The full passage reads in the First Quarto :

*Yorke.* Well, beare you wel in this new spring of time,  
Left you be cropt before you come to prime.  
What newes from Oxford, do these iusts & triumphs hold?

*Aum.* For aught I know (my Lord) they do.

*Yorke.* you will be there I know.

*Aum.* If God preuent not, I purpose so.

*Yorke.* What feale is that that hangs without thy bosome?  
yea, lookst thou pale? let me see the writing.

It will be noted that York's speech begins with a rhymed couplet rounding off the previous colloquy. Then come a long line and three short ones in which the dramatic tension and with it the dramatic rhythm are completely relaxed, to be resumed at full pressure when next York speaks. Now the Folio cut down the long line to

What newes from Oxford? Hold those Iusts & Triumphs?  
but leaves the three short lines untouched. The Cambridge editors accept both the curtailment and the refusal to tinker further. Rowe and Pope between them, on the other hand, botched the three short lines into two of the regulation length :

*Aum.* For aught I know they do.

*York.* You will be there.

*Aum.* If God prevent me not, I purpose so.

And if the Folio treatment of the long line is accepted,

it is hard to see why Rowe and Pope should not be allowed their way.

We have still to struggle with eight cases of word-substitution. Four of these are obvious, viz. ‘comft’ for ‘comes’ in i. iii. 33 (‘Againts whom comes thou?’), ‘the’ for ‘a’ in ii. i. 177 (‘Accomplisht with a number of thy howers’), ‘too’ for ‘two’ in iii. iv. 34 (‘Cut off the heads of two fast growing spraies’), and ‘shall’ for ‘stll’ in v. iii. 106 (‘Our knees stll kneele till to the ground they grow’), though I am not sure that the slight absurdity of this last line as it stands in the Quarto must not be debited to Shakespeare himself. In v. i. 25 the Cambridge editors accept ‘ftricken’ instead of ‘throwne’ (‘Which our prophane houres heere haue throwne down’) presumably because strict metre requires a disyllable. Otherwise the change is on the same plane as a dozen or more others which they reject. In v. vi. 47 they accept ‘that’ for ‘what’ (‘Come mourne with me, for what I do lament’), as no doubt Shakespeare did when he was told it was more elegant! Two notable improvements will complete our tale. In iii. iii. 119 the First Quarto printed: ‘This fweares he, as he is princesse iust.’ The new Quarto of 1598 changed ‘princesse’ into ‘a prince’, and the Folio, by inserting ‘is’, finally restored the line as ‘This fweares he, as he is a Prince, is iuft’. Again, in i. iv. 53, where the Quarto has the stage direction *Enter Bushie with newes*, the Folio, after the direction *Enter Bushy*, makes the King continue his speech with the words ‘Bushy, what newes?’ I feel bound to acknowledge both these improvements as probably originating elsewhere than in Jaggard’s printing-house.

If we now consider the new readings in the First Folio as a whole, both those which the Cambridge editors

accept and those which they reject, as a result of this tedious survey we can divide them into classes, (i) obvious misprints ; (ii) readings which imply no judgement on what Shakespeare wrote, but are only concerned with the (elided or unelided) presentation of it ; (iii) corrections of patent errors in earlier editions ; (iv) a number of small changes which seldom affect the general sense of the passage in which they occur ; (v) a very few important readings, mostly clearly right, but which, whether right or wrong, we cannot assume to have been arrived at by the editor of the First Folio pondering on the text. Do the readings in these last two classes justify us in considering the text of the First Folio as representing a revision in any sense authoritative of the text printed in the First Quarto, and if so what is the authority on which that revision was based ?

We have so far concerned ourselves almost exclusively with the positive evidence bearing on the question. But there is an at least equally large body of negative evidence which must not be neglected. The principle of Economy forbids us to call in any authority vastly in excess of what can be shown to have been used. We must remember, of course, that the standard of accuracy and care in editing was very low. We must expect many things to have been overlooked which a modern editor would be severely blamed for overlooking ; but if at a moment when the Folio editor was obviously exercising care he can be shown not to have consulted an authority which would have solved his difficulty we must be permitted to doubt whether the authority was there for him to consult.

The Folio text of *Richard II* being set up from a copy of the Quarto of 1615, the fact already recorded that in over 120 instances it restores readings of the First Quarto

which had been perverted in 58 cases by errors introduced by B, in 15 by W, in 16 by C, and in 34 by D, proves that either a copy of the First Quarto (or of some other text with the same readings in these passages) must have been available for use in Jaggard's printing-house, where the Folio was set up, or else that the copy used of D must already have been corrected to this extent before it reached the printer. The negative evidence against a copy of the First Quarto having been thus available in Jaggard's house is strong. We have first the fact that while some 120 of its readings were restored, about 100 others were left in the state to which the subsequent Quartos had reduced them; and, secondly, we have a little handful of instances (i. i. 77; ii. ii. 3; v. iii. 63) where we find the Folio editor wrestling with the bad readings he found in D and botching them as best he could, in a way which forbids us to suppose that he had a copy of the First Quarto at his elbow all the time. i. i. 77 reads in the First Quarto 'What I haue spoke, or thou canst worse deuise'. B spoilt it by omitting 'worse'; W mended it by repeating 'what' before 'thou', and the Folio editor varied the botching by omitting this second 'what' and changing 'spoke' to 'spoken'. In ii. ii. 3, where the First and Second Quartos have the phrase 'life-harming heauines' the Folio reads 'selfe-harming', and this seems to have originated in a gallant attempt to improve on the absurd 'halfe-harming' of the three later Quartos. So again, in v. iii. 63, where the First and Second Quartos read 'held his current' and the Folio 'had his current', this very poor variant is clearly due to puzzlement caused by the three later Quartos spelling 'held' as 'hald'. It is difficult to believe that these readings would have found their way into the Folio if its editor had had the First Quarto before him.

If we try to get out of this difficulty by supposing that the superior text used in correcting D was not the First Quarto, but one in which the text, though better than D's, was already corrupted, we shall find that, except on the impossible supposition of a large number of bad readings having originated twice over independently, there is no moment at which such a text could have come into existence, having regard to the variety of bad readings originated by each of the later quartos which it would contain. We have also a slight piece of positive evidence that the text used in correcting D was that of the First Quarto, because along with the 120 good readings at least one of its bad readings was restored, the double genitive 'my brothers Edwards sonne' in II. i. 124.

We have thus to suppose a copy of D, the Quarto of 1615, brought into Jaggard's printing-house already corrected, though by no means adequately, from a copy of the First Quarto. But we have found reason to admit that the text of his copy of the First Quarto must itself have been already corrected in a handful of places from some other authority, and we are now back at our question: What can this authority have been?

Two further points of difference between the Quartos and the Folio of 1623 here come to our aid, both of them suggesting that the copy of the First Quarto used in correcting D was a playhouse copy which the Prompter had kept up to date in accordance with the changing practice of the theatre. The first of these, the drastic changes in the stage-directions, needs no labouring. The second, the omission from the First Folio of fifty lines taken from eight different places, which are duly printed in the Quartos, must be briefly examined. Mr. Daniel apparently regarded these omissions solely in the light of

a defect in the Folio<sup>1</sup> atoned for by its superior version of the ‘Deposition’ scene. But if we examine these *en masse* we cannot attribute them (save perhaps in the case of two single lines) to mere carelessness. Some of them are ordinary ‘cuts’ made to prevent a scene or a speech from dragging; others surmount textual difficulties by the rough and ready method of excision. Their roughness forbids us to believe that they are editorial; they are, in fact, plainly theatrical. I here quote the omitted lines with their contexts, enclosing the actual omissions in brackets:

## I. iii. 129–33.

And for our eies do hate the dire aspect  
Of ciuill wounds plowd vp with neighbours fword,  
[And for we thinke the Egle-winged pride  
Of skie-aspiring and ambitious thoughts,  
With riuall-hating enuy set on you  
To wake our peace, which in our Countries cradle  
Drawes the sweet infant breath of gentle sleepe]  
Which so rouzde vp with boistrouse vntunde drummes,  
With harsh refounding trumpets dreadfull bray,  
And grating shooke of wrathfull yron armes,  
Might from our quiet confines fright faire Peace,  
And make vs wade euen in our kinreds bloud :  
Therefore we banish you, &c.

This is surely a passage which Shakespeare can never have read over, or he would not have left the ‘Peace’ of line 137 to be frightened by the ‘peace’ of line 132. The omission of the five lines 129–33 leaves the sword which is to plow up civil wounds to be roused up by drums in rather an awkward manner, and it might have been better to sacrifice the following five lines as well. The

<sup>1</sup> His words are (Introduction, p. xviii) ‘as a set off against its [the Folio’s] fifty lines omissions we have its admittedly best version of the hundred and sixty-six lines of the “additions” which Q<sup>os</sup> 1 and 2 omit.’

obvious difficulty is surmounted, though in so clumsy a manner as to make it incredible that the omission was either made or approved by Shakespeare himself.

## i. iii. 239-42.

You vrgde me as a iudge, but I had rather,  
 You would haue bid me argue like a father :  
 [Oh had't beene a stranger, not my child,  
 To smooth his fault I shoulde haue beene more milde :  
 A partial flaunder fought I to auoide,  
 And in the sentence my owne life destroyed :]  
 Alas, I lookt when some of you shoulde say,  
 I was too strict to make mine owne away :  
 But you gaue leaue to my vnwilling tongue,  
 Against my will to do my selfe this wrong.

Can any one seriously contend that the passage does not gain dramatically by the omission of the bracketed lines, which add to its length much more than to its effect ?

## i. iii. 268-93.

*Gau.* The fullen passage of thy weary steps,  
 Esteeme as foyle wherein thou art to set,  
 The pretious Iewell of thy home returne.  
*Bul.* Nay rather euery tedious stride I make,  
 Will but remember me what a deale of world :  
 I wander from the Iewels that I loue.  
 Must I not serue a long apprentishood,  
 To forreine passages, and in the end,  
 Hauing my freedome, boast of nothing else,  
 But that I was a iourneyman to grieve.  
*Gau.* All places that the eie of heauen visits  
 Are to a wise man portes and happie hauens :  
 Teach thy necessity to reason thus,  
 There is no vertue like necessity,  
 Thinke not the King did banish thee,  
 But thou the King. Woe doth the heauier fit,  
 Where it perceives it is but faintly borne :  
 Go, say I sent thee foorth to purchase honour,  
 And not the King exilde thee ; or suppose,

Deuouring pestilence hangs in our aire,  
And thou art flying to a fresher clime :  
Looke what thy soule holds deare, imagine it  
To ly that way thou goest, not whence thou comst :  
Suppose the singeing birds musitions,  
The grasse whereon thou treadst, the presence strowd,  
The flowers, faire Ladies, and thy steps, no more  
Then a delightfull measure or a dance,  
For gnarling sorrow hath lesse power to bite,  
The man that mocks at it, and sets it light.]  
*Bul.* Oh who can hold a fier in his hand,  
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus, &c.

Had these twenty-six lines perished we should have been the poorer, as they are very good rhetoric ; but twenty-six lines of good rhetoric at the end of a very long scene may be much less good as drama, and whoever made the cut had a sound dramatic instinct. That the editor of the Folio should have made it on his own motion is in the highest degree unlikely.

## III. ii. 77.

*Greene.* Here comes the Duke of Yorke.

*Queene.* With signes of war about his aged necke,  
Oh ful of carefull busines are his lookes !

Vnkle, for Gods sake speake comfortable wordes.

*Yorke.* [Should I do so I should bely my thoughts,]  
Comfort's in heauen, and we are on the earth, &c.

The omission of the intervening line brings ‘ comfort’s in heauen ’ in more pointed antithesis to ‘ comfortable words ’.

## III. ii. 29-32.

*Carl.* Feare not my Lord, that power that made you king,  
Hath power to keepe you king in spight of all,  
[The meanes that heauens yeeld must be imbrac’t  
And not neglected. Else heauen would,  
And we will not, heauens offer, we refuse,  
The profered meanes of succors and redrefse.]

*Aum.* He meanes my Lo: that we are too remisse,  
Whilst Bullingbrooke through our security,  
Growes strong and great in substance and in power.

This is an unfortunate omission, as by the removal of the four lines Aumerle is left without any foundation for the meaning which he attributes to the Bishop's speech. But until Pope inserted 'if' between 'Elfe' and 'heauen' the meaning was very obscure, and the lines seem to have been impatiently struck out because of this. If this was done by the actor it suggests that the omission of 'if' (or such other word as would have mended the sense) may have been a slip in Shakespeare's own draft, otherwise the line should have been mendable from the actor's 'part'.

## iii. ii. 49.

So when this thiefe, this traitor Bullingbrooke,  
Who all this while hath reueld in the night,  
[Whilst we were wandring with the Antipodes,]  
Shall see vs rising in our throne the eaſt.

Possibly the reference to the King's absence in Ireland as a wandering in the Antipodes was found misleading; possibly the omission, being only of a single line, was accidental.

Fitzwaters and Percy have thrown down their gages in challenge to Aumerle :

## iv. i. 52-9.

[*Another L.* I taske the earth to the like (forfworne Aumerle)  
And fپurree thee on with full as many lies  
As it may be hollowed in thy treacherous eare  
From finne to finne : there is my honors pawne  
Ingage it to the triall if thou dareſt.

*Aum.* Who ſets me elſe ? by heauen Ile throwe at all,  
I haue a thouſand ſpirites in one breast  
To anſwer twenty thouſand ſuch as you.]  
*Sur.* My lord Fitzwater, I do remember well  
The very time (Aumerle) and you did talke, &c.

The phrase ‘I taske the earth to the like’ has provoked a shower of emendations; but probably the only reason for this omission was that the scene is a long one and it was thought that three challenges were enough—as indeed they are.

## v. iii. 97.

*Aum.* Vnto my mothers prayers I bend my knee.

*Yorke.* Against them both my true ioynts bended be,  
[Ill maist thou thrive if thou graunt any grace.]

*Du.* Pleades he in earnest? looke vpon his face.  
His eies do drop no teares, &c.

This line, like iii. ii. 49, may well have been omitted by accident,<sup>1</sup> but the other six omissions, amounting to forty-eight lines, are all in accordance with dramatic exigencies, and along with the remodelling of the stage directions offer excellent evidence that the copy of the First Quarto by which that of 1615 was corrected was a playhouse copy from which the Prompter had scored out the lines omitted from the acting version, and inserted stage directions in accordance, probably, with the resources of the Company when the play was revived in 1608. Is it unreasonable to suppose that while doing this the Prompter did also a little more and brought the text of his copy of the First Quarto here and there into agreement with the lines as spoken by the actors, who would have been confused if they had been prompted with any other word than that which they were accustomed to use, whether this was wrong or right? In a few cases, as we have seen, the word or words substituted for the reading of the Quarto were certainly right and seem

<sup>1</sup> With these two probably accidental omissions from the Folio we may mention that of the two words ‘My Lo.’, i. e. ‘My Lord,’ which in modern editions form line iv. i. 326, though the First Quarto runs them into the next line. This omission, however, originated in W.

to need some super-editorial authority for their restitution, and this seems amply provided by our supposition. In a far larger number of lines,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, the substitution of one word for another of nearly equivalent meaning suggests imperfect memory or perhaps the actor's taste.

We are now, perhaps, in a position to set down the hypothesis, as to what happened from the moment when Shakespeare handed over his copy to the Players, which seems to raise the fewest difficulties and to obey most consistently the law of economy.

When a new play was accepted by a company of players it is evident that copies must have been made of the different parts, so that each actor could learn his own and know enough of those of the other actors to bring in his speeches at the right time.

A clean copy may have been made at the same time for the use of the Prompter, or (as appears to have been the case with the anonymous *Second Mayden's Tragedy* of 1611, and Massinger's *Believe as you list* of 1631) the author's own manuscript may have been taken for this purpose. To copy a play of this length would have occupied a scrivener some three or four days, and although the cost would not have been great, probably about five shillings, it is by no means certain that the Company incurred it, as with a single complete text and the actors' 'parts' they would be fairly secured against accident. Even if this cost were incurred, it seems probable, when we transport ourselves back to 1597 and forget the price which a single scene of a play in Shakespeare's autograph would be likely to fetch at the present time, that the clean copy made by

<sup>1</sup> Some deduction, however, must be made to allow for the probability that some of these substitutions were made by the compositor from trying to carry too many words in his head.

the scrivener would have been considered better worth keeping than the author's draft, and that thus, whether there was one complete copy or two, it was probably the one in Shakespeare's handwriting which (with the 'Deposition scene' cut out) reached the printer. Save the shock it may cause to our feelings to contemplate such an outrage, there is nothing, as far as I can see, that makes this improbable. It has been rather elaborately demonstrated that the number of errors which Valentine Sims introduced into the Second Quarto is so great that even if he had had an absolutely perfect manuscript to print from there is no reason to suppose that the First Quarto would have been any less incorrect than it is. On the other hand the fact that more than once we find a suggestion that Sims was obliged to help a compositor by dictating the text to him (see pp. 35 sq., 59) suggests that the manuscript was probably not written in a specially clerkly hand. Finally, we really want to get rid of Shakespeare's autograph at the earliest possible moment, because if it remained in existence for any length of time so many people must be seriously blamed for not having made better use of it. There is indeed no subsequent occasion on which it can be brought into play, without a moral impossibility arising that it should only have been used to tinker one or two passages when there was a mistake on every page waiting to be corrected.

To these considerations there is one which is worth mentioning, though I put it forward with some diffidence, namely, that the very unequal and inconsistent punctuation which we find in the First Quarto is much more likely to have taken its origin from that of the author himself than from any which we can suppose a professional copyist to have been guilty of. The impression which a very close study of the play has made on me

(I mention it for what it is worth) is that Shakespeare wrote it at top speed, the words often coming to him as fast as he could set them down, and that some passages he could hardly have troubled himself to read over.<sup>1</sup> Such a flow of ideas and words is not favourable to careful punctuation, and I believe that, in the manuscript which he handed over to the players, all but the most carefully written speeches were hardly punctuated at all. On the other hand, as we have seen (see p. 69), some at least of these set speeches are fully punctuated, and with a dramatic punctuation such as cannot reasonably be attributed to any one but the author. A professional copyist might have reproduced faithfully all the punctuation he found and added none of his own, but it is simpler to divide the responsibility for that found in the First Quarto between Shakespeare and the printer, without dragging in a third party. I am conscious, however, that to argue from anything so defaced with errors as the Quarto's punctuation is not without risk.

As soon as the First Quarto was printed its greater handiness and legibility would give it great advantage over any written text for the purposes of a prompt-copy, and if any written text then existed at the theatre there is every probability that it was destroyed. Some ten years later, when the play was revived and the 'Deposition' scene restored to the acting version, presumably by Shakespeare's wish, the text of this could have been obtained, if no copy of it had been specially preserved, from the original actors' 'parts'.<sup>2</sup> With this addition

<sup>1</sup> The worst instance of this is the confusing double reference to Peace in i. iii. 132 and 137, which seems to have led to five lines being cut out in despair of mending it.

<sup>2</sup> This supposes that the 'Deposition' scene was acted when the play was first staged, and cut out in or before 1597.

the First Quarto may have continued in use as a prompt-copy right down to the time when the printing of the First Folio was undertaken. While being used as a prompt-copy, passages which for any reason were omitted in representation would naturally be scored out; hence the omission from the Folio text of forty-eight lines (besides two single lines which appear to have dropped out accidentally) duly printed by the First Quarto. While being used in this way it would furthermore be natural that the copy of the First Quarto should here and there be brought into agreement with any variation from its text which an actor systematically introduced; hence the few certain corrections of the First Quarto which appear in the Folio text, and the larger number of instances in which one word is substituted for another of nearly equivalent meaning.

Whether because a Folio would be inconveniently large to use as a prompt-copy, or for any other reason, it is probable, as we have seen, that the corrected First Quarto was not sent to the printer, but only placed at the disposal of whoever was intrusted with the task of preparing the historical section of the First Folio for the press. Possibly he even had to go to the theatre to consult it. In any case it is certain that the process of correcting a copy of the Quarto of 1615 by the aid of the corrected First Quarto was very hastily and inadequately performed, and that this imperfectly corrected Quarto of 1615 was the sole authority by which Jaggard's press-corrector had to work, so that if he found anything in it which he thought wrong he had to botch as best he could. Moreover, although now and again we find him obviously taking pains in this way, we cannot regard him as very good at his proper job, as he passed a discreditable number of new mistakes introduced by his own compositors. For

these reasons we have no doubt that the text which an editor of *Richard II* ought to follow is not that of the First Folio, but that of the Quarto of 1597.

As regards how the text of the Quarto of 1597 should be modified when reproduced in a modern edition we have already given reasons for our contention that no variant should be accepted from any of the later Quartos, unless by a quite rigorous standard its correctness can be called self-evident. On the whole it is safest to apply the same test to the variants first found in the Folio of 1623, despite the possibility suggested in this introduction that any given variant may be a restoration of an original reading preserved in an actor's 'part' and transferred thence to the prompt-copy and so to the copy of the Quarto of 1615 in which corrections were made, and from this to the new text. In lines where both the Quarto and the Folio have possible readings it is simpler to believe that the reading of the Folio is due to a single substitution of a wrong for a right word, than that this substitution took place in 1597 and was corrected in the roundabout way indicated. In other words it seems safer to use the theory of a corrected prompt-copy rather as a means of explaining how the new readings which we are bound in any case to accept found their way into the First Folio than as a reason for accepting more variants from this source.

The theory here maintained as to the relations of the Quarto and the Folio texts of *Richard II* has points in common both with that of the Cambridge editors and with the view expressed by Mr. P. A. Daniel in his introduction to the Facsimile of the Devonshire copy of the Quarto of 1597. At the same time it differs substantially from both.

It agrees with the Cambridge editors in taking the text of the First Quarto as reproducing most accurately the

words Shakespeare wrote, and only regrets that they should have fallen below their own creed by borrowing six or seven unauthoritative readings from the Second Quarto and a few more from the Folio. It differs from the Cambridge editors, not only as to these readings, but also in regarding the First Quarto, not that of 1615, as the one taken by the Players as a prompt-copy, the Quarto of 1615 being hastily corrected by this.

It agrees with Mr. Daniel in his criticism of the Cambridge editors on this point, but differs strongly from his preference for the Folio text, and still more from the reasons on which that preference is based. These (see the quotations from his introduction on p. 82) seem to be trebly wrong (i) in the undue importance, as 'instances of revision', attached to the correction in the Folio of two historical errors which any man, woman or child with the necessary information could have set right; (ii) in his refusal to admit any difference between these historical emendations and others in regard to which the decision, 'right' or 'wrong', is entirely a matter of Shakespeare's art; and (iii) in the rather wilful indifference as to the text Shakespeare first handed to the players, on the ground of our supposed possession of a later text rendered superior by its inclusion of variants which Shakespeare is credited with having introduced, or at least approved. Happy in his belief that the Folio text was thus authoritatively revised, Mr. Daniel apparently did not think it worth while to make any definite pronouncement or even to give much consideration as to whether the text Shakespeare originally handed to the players is or is not that of the First Quarto; or rather, at the moment when he should have considered this point he allowed himself to be hypnotized by the words 'stolne and surreptitious', which have been the undoing of so many Shakespeare editors.

In the theory here put forward the two historical corrections are disregarded as of no evidential value, but in view of the presence in the First Folio of three or four literary corrections which seem to demand a skill greater than can fairly be attributed to its editors the suggestion is offered that these may have been found already made in the copy of the First Quarto used as a prompt-copy. While it is thus admitted that the Folio may at haphazard contain some good readings, it seems impossible to accept its text as in any way edited or revised by Shakespeare himself, or under his supervision or authority, because, while it presents many of the characteristics of an edited text, the editing seems to represent the views and practice of the printing-house, possibly of the theatre, in 1623, rather than of Shakespeare himself. Such cuts as we find in i. iii. 129-33 and iii. ii. 29-32 (see pp. 91 and 93) could not have been made by the author. Moreover, as compared with the First Quarto, there is a greatly increased heaviness in the punctuation and a multiplication of emphasis capitals which we can hardly attribute to the writer of Hamlet's advice to the players, ' Speak the speech I pray you as I pronounc'd it to you, trippingly on the tongue, but if you mouth it as many of our Players do, I had as lieve the towne cryer spoke my lines.' The First Folio, as already admitted, has a style of its own and a right to that style with which it is no part of my present business to quarrel. But that the text of the First Quarto more accurately represents what Shakespeare originally wrote, may even indeed have been set up from his autograph manuscript, and that the play itself never subsequently received any revision whatever from Shakespeare himself, seem to me among the most certain of propositions.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

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B 3 <sup>b</sup> I. iii. 111-48.	E 4 <sup>b</sup> III. ii. 18-55.
B 4 <sup>a</sup> I. iii. 149-86.	F 1 <sup>a</sup> III. ii. 56-91.
B 4 <sup>b</sup> I. iii. 187-224.	F 1 <sup>b</sup> III. ii. 92-129.
C 1 <sup>a</sup> I. iii. 225-62.	F 2 <sup>a</sup> III. ii. 130-67.
C 1 <sup>b</sup> I. iii. 263-300.	F 2 <sup>b</sup> III. ii. 168-204.
C 2 <sup>a</sup> I. iii. 301-9. iv. 1-27.	F 3 <sup>a</sup> III. ii. 205-18. iii. 1-22.
C 2 <sup>b</sup> I. iv. 28-65.	F 3 <sup>b</sup> III. iii. 23-61.
C 3 <sup>a</sup> II. i. 1-36.	F 4 <sup>a</sup> III. iii. 62-98.
C 3 <sup>b</sup> II. i. 37-72.	F 4 <sup>b</sup> III. iii. 99-136.
C 4 <sup>a</sup> II. i. 73-110.	G 1 <sup>a</sup> III. iii. 137-74.
C 4 <sup>b</sup> II. i. 111-46.	*G 1 <sup>b</sup> III. iii. 175-209. iv. 1.
D 1 <sup>a</sup> II. i. 147-83.	G 2 <sup>a</sup> III. iv. 2-37.
D 1 <sup>b</sup> II. i. 184-221.	G 2 <sup>b</sup> III. iv. 38-73.

\* Up to this point the Quarto of 1608 follows W page for page, but in view of the 'Additions' which necessitated adding an extra sheet in any case, it here abandons the extreme compression practised by W.

G 3 <sup>a</sup> III. iv. 74-107.	iv. i. 1-4	H 4 <sup>b</sup> v. ii. 106-17.	iii. 1-27.
G 3 <sup>b</sup> IV. i. 5-42.		I 1 <sup>a</sup> v. iii. 28-65.	
G 4 <sup>a</sup> IV. i. 43-80.		I 1 <sup>b</sup> v. iii. 66-102.	
G 4 <sup>b</sup> IV. i. 81-118.		I 2 <sup>a</sup> v. iii. 103-38.	
H 1 <sup>a</sup> IV. i. 119-53; 319 sqq.		I 2 <sup>b</sup> v. iii. 139-46.	iv. 1-11.
H 1 <sup>b</sup> IV. i. 321-34.	v. i. 1-25.		v. 1-18.
H 2 <sup>a</sup> v. i. 26-63.		I 3 <sup>a</sup> v. v. 19-57.	
H 2 <sup>b</sup> v. i. 64-101.		I 3 <sup>b</sup> v. v. 58-95.	
H 3 <sup>a</sup> v. i. 102.	ii. 1-36.	I 4 <sup>a</sup> v. v. 96-118.	vi. 1-16.
H 3 <sup>b</sup> v. ii. 37-71.		I 4 <sup>b</sup> v. vi. 17-52.	
H 4 <sup>a</sup> v. ii. 72-105.			

# THE Tragedie of King Ri- chard, the second.

As it hath beene publikely acted by the Right Ho-  
nourable the Lord Chamberlaine his  
seruants.

*By William Shakespeare.*



L O N D O N

Printed by Valentine Simmes, for Andrew Wise, and  
are to be sold at his shop in Paules churchyard, at  
the signe of the Angel.

1598.





## Enter King Richard, John of Gant, with other Nobles and *Attendants.*

*King Richard.*



John of Gaunt time honored Lancaster,  
Hast thou according to thy othe and bande  
Brought hither Henry Herford thy bold son,  
Here to make good the boistrous late appeale  
Which then our leiture would not let vs heare  
**Against the Duke of Norfolke, Thomas Mowbray?**

*Gaunt.* I haue my Leige.

*King.* Tell me more over, hast thou sounded him  
If he appeale the Duke on ancient malice,  
Or worthily as a good subiect shoulde  
On some knowne ground of treacherie in him?

*Gaunt.* As neare as I could sift him on that argument,  
On some apparent danger seene in him,  
Aimde at your Highnesse, no inuete, ate malice.

*King.* Then call them to our presence face to face,  
And frowning brow to brow our selues will heare,  
The accuser and the accused freely speake:  
His stomackt are they both, and full of ire,  
In rage, deafe as the sea, hastie as fire.

*Enter Bullingbrooke and Mowbray.*

*Bulling.* Many yeares of happy daies besell  
My gratiouse Soueraigne, my most louing Liege;

*The Tragedie of*

Mowb. Each day still better others happiness,  
Vntill the heauens enuying earths good happe,  
Adde in immortall title to your Crowne.

King. We thanke you both, yet one but flatters vs,  
As well appeareth by the cause you come,  
Namely to appeale each other of high treason:  
Cousin of Hereford what dost thou obiect  
Against the Duke of Norfolke Thomas Mowbray.

Bul. First, heauen be the record to my speech,  
In the deuotion of a subiects loue,  
Tendering the precious safetie of my Prince,  
And free from other misbegotten hate,  
Come I appellant to this princely presence.  
Now Thomas Mowbray do I turne to thee,  
And marke my greeting well: for what I speake  
My body shall make good ypon this earth,  
Or my diuine soule answer it in heauen:  
Thou art a traitour and a miscreant;  
Too good to be so, and too bad to liue,  
Since the more faire and cristall is the skie,  
The vglyer seeme the cloudes that in it flie.  
Once more, the more to aggrauate the note,  
With a foule traitours name stiffe I thy throat,  
And wish (so please my Soueraigne,)ere I moue,  
What my tong speakes, my right dawne sword may prove.

Mow. Let not my coldie words here accuse my zeale,  
Tis not the triall of a womans war,  
The bitter clamour of two eager tongues,  
Can arbitrate this cause betwixt vs twaine:  
The bloudis hotte heat must be coold for this,  
Yet can I not of such tanie patience boast,  
As to be husht and naught at all to say.  
First the faire reverence of your highnesse curbes me,  
From giving reines and spurs to my free speech,  
Which else would post vntill it had returnd,  
These tearmes of treason doubled downe his throat:  
Setting aside his high blouds royaltie,  
And let him be no kinsman to my Leige,

I do desie him, and spit at him,  
Call him a flaundrous coward and a villaine;  
Which to maintaine, I would allow him ods,  
And meete him, were I tide to runne afoote,  
Euen to the frozen ridges of the Alpes,  
Or any other ground inhabitable,  
Where euer English man durst set his foore.  
Meane time let this defend my loyaltie,  
By all my hopes most falsly doth he lie.

*Bn.* Pale trembling coward, there I throw my gage,  
Disclaiming heere the kinred of a King,  
And lay aside my high blouds royaltie,  
Which feare, not reuerence makes thee to except?  
If guiltie dread haue left thee so much strength,  
As to take vp mine honours pawne, then stowpes  
By that, and all the rites of Knighthood else,  
Will I make good against thee arme to arme,  
What I haue spoke, or what thou canst devise.

*Mow.* I take it vp, and by that sword I sweare,  
Which gently laide my Knighthood on my shoulder,  
Ile answer thee in any faire degree:  
Or chualrous designe of knightly triall,  
And when I mount, aliue may I not light,  
If I be traitour or vniustly fight.

*King.* What doth our Cousin lay to Mowbraies charge?  
It must be great that can inherite vs,  
So much as of a thought of ill in him.

*Bn.* Looke what I said, my life shall prooue it true,  
That Mowbray hath receiude eight thousand nobles,  
In name of lendings for your highnesse souldiours,  
The which he hath detainde for lewd imployments,  
Like a false traitour and iniurious villaine.  
Besides I say, and will in battaile prooue,  
Or here, or else where to the furthest Verge  
That euer was surueyed by English eie,  
That all the treasons for these eightene yeares,  
Complotted and contriued in this land:  
Fetcht from false Mowbray their first head and spring:

*The Tragedie of*

Further I say, and further will maintaine  
Vpon his bad life to make all this good,  
That he did plotte the Duke of Gloucesters death,  
Suggest his soone beleeuing aduersaries,  
And consequently like a traitour coward,  
Sluc'te out his innocent soule through stremes of bloud,  
Which bloud, like sacrificing Abels cries,  
Euen from the tonguel fle Cauernts of the earth,  
To me for iustice and rough chastisement :  
Add by the glorious worth of my discent,  
This arme shall do'it, or this life be spent.

*King.* How high a pitch his resolution soares,  
Thomas of Norfolke what saist thou to this?

*Mowbr.* Oh let my soueraigne turne away his face,  
And bid his eares a little while be deafe,  
Till I haue tolde this slander of his bloud,  
How God and good men hate so foule a her.

*King.* Mowbray impartiall are our eies and eares,  
Were he my brother, nay; my kingdomes heire,  
As he is but my fathers brothers sonne,  
Now by scepters awe I make a vow,  
Such neighbour neerenes to our sacred bloud  
Should nothing priuiledge him, nor partialize  
The vnsyding firmencle of my vpright soule,  
He is our subiect Mowbray, so art thou,  
Free speech and fearelesse I to thee allow.

*Mowbr.* Then Bullingbrooke as low as to thy heart,  
Through the false passage of thy throat thou liest,  
Three parts of that receipt I had for Callice,  
Disburst I to his highnecle Souldours,  
The other part referu'de I by consent,  
For that my soueraigne hege was in my debt,  
Vpon remainder of a deare account,  
Since last I went to France to fetch his Queen:  
Now Swallow downe that lie. For Gloucesters death,  
I slew him not, but to mine owne disgrace  
Neglected my sworne dutie in that case:  
For you my noble Lord of Lancaster,

*King Richard the second.*

The honourable father to my foe,  
Once did I lay an ambush for your life,  
A trespass that doth vexe my greeued soules  
Ah but ere I last receiu'de the sacrament,  
I did confess it, and exactly begd  
Your graces pardon, and I hope I had it.  
This is my fault, as for the rest appeald  
It issues from the rancour of a villaine,  
A recreant and nost degenerate traitour,  
Which in my selfe I boldly will defend,  
And enterchangeably hurle downe the gage,  
Vpon this ouerweening traitours foote,  
To prooue my selfe a loyall Gentleman,  
Euen in the best bloud chamberd in his bosome,  
In haste whereof most hartily I pray  
Your highnesse to asigne our triall day.

*King.* Wrath kindled gentleman, be ruled by me,  
Lets purge this choler without letting bloud,  
This we prescribe, though no Phisition,  
Deepe malice makes too deepe incision,  
Forget, forgiue, conclude, and be agreed,  
Our Doctors say, this is no month to bleed:  
Good Vnkle, let this end where it begunne,  
Weele calme the Duke of Norfolke, you your sonne.

*Gaunt.* To be a make-peace shall become my age,  
Throw downe (my sonne) the Duke of Norfolkes gage.

*King.* And Norfolke throw downe his.

*Gaunt.* When Harry, when obedience bids,  
Obedience bid I should not bid againe.

*King.* Norfolke throw downe we bid, there is no boote.

*Mow.* My selfe I throw (dread soueraigne) at thy foote,  
My life thou shalt commaund, but not my shame,  
The one my dutie owes, but my faire name  
Despight of death that liues vpon my graue,  
To dark honours vse thou shalt not haue:  
I am disgraste, impeacht, and baffuld heere,  
Pierst to the soule with Slaunders venomid speare,  
The which no balme can cure, but his heart bloud

Which

*The Tragedie of*

Which breathde this poysone.

*King.* Rage must be withstood,

Giue me his gage, Lions make Leopards tame.

*Mowb.* Yea, but not change his spots, take but my shame,  
And I resigne my gage my deare deare Lord.

The purest treasure mortall times affoord,

Is spotlesse reputacion, that away,

Men are but guilded loame, or painted clay:

A jewell in a tenne times bard vp chest,

Is a bolde spirit in a loyall breast.

Mine honour is my life, both grow in one,

Take honour from me, and my life is done.

Then (deare my Liege) mine honour let me try,

In that I lieue, and for that will I dy.

*King.* Coosin throw vp your gage, do you beginne.

*Bul.* O God defend my soule from such deepe sinne,

Shall I see me Crest-fallen in my fathers sight?

Or with pale begger-face impeach my hight,

Before this out-darde dastard? Ere my tongue

Shall wound my honour with such feeble wrong,

Or found so base a parlee, my teeth shall teare,

The slauish motiue of recanting feare,

And spit it bleeding in his high disgrace,

Where shame doth harbour, euen in Mowbraies face.

*King.* We were not borne to sue, but to commaund,

Which since we cannot do to make you friends,

Be readie as your life shall answer it,

At Couentry vpon Saint Lambards day:

There shall your swords and launces arbitrate

The swelling difference of your settled hate,

Since we cannot atone you, you shall see

Iustice designe the Victors chualtrie.

Lord Marshall, commaund our Officers at Armes,

Be readie to direc<sup>t</sup> these honie allarmes.

*Euis*

*Enter John of Gaunt, with the Ducheſſe of Glouſter.*

*Gaunt.* Alas the part I had in Woodstocks bloud,

Doth more sollicite me then your exclaims,

*King Richard the second.*

To stirre against the butchers of his life.  
But since correction lieth in those hands,  
Which made the fault that we cannot correct,  
Put we our quarrell to the will of heauen,  
Who when they see the houres ripe on earth,  
Will raine hot vengance on offenders heads.

*Duchesse* Findes brotherhood in thee no sharper spurre?  
Hath loue in thy olde bloud no liuing fire?  
Edwards seuen sonnes, whercof thy selfe art one,  
Were as seuen viols of his sacred bloud,  
Or seuen faire branches springing from one roote:  
Some of those seuen are dried by natures course,  
Some of those branches by the destinies cut:  
But *Thomas* my deere Lord, my life my Gloucester,  
One violl full of Edwards sacred bloud,  
One flourishing branch of his most roiall roote  
Is crackt, and all the precious liquor spilt;  
Is hackt downe, and his summer leaves all faded  
By eniuies hand, and murders bloudie axe.  
Ah *Gaunt*, his bloud was thine, that bed, that wombe,  
That mettall, that selfe mould, that fashioned thee  
Made him a man: and though thou liuest and breathest,  
Yet art thou slaine in him, thou dost consent  
In some large measure to thy fathers death,  
In that thou seest thy wretched brother die,  
Who was the modell of thy fathers life,  
Call it not patience, *Gaunt*, it is dispaire,  
In suffering thus thy brother to be slaughtred,  
Thou shewest the naked pathway to thy life,  
Teaching stern Murder how to butcher thee:  
That which in meane men we intitle Patience.  
Is pale colde Cowardice in noble breasts.  
What shall I say? to safegard thy owne life,  
The best way is to venge my Gloucesters death.

*Gaunt* Gods is the quarrell, for Gods substitute,  
His deputie annoyncted in his sight;  
Hath causd his death, the which if wrongfully,  
Let heauen reuenge, for I may never lift

*The Tragedie of*

An angrie arme against his minister.

Duch. Where then alas may I complaine my selfe?

Gaunt. To God the widdowes Champion and defence.

Duch. Why then I will farewell olde Gaunt,

Thou goest to Couentry, there to beholde

Our Coosin Herford and fell Mowbray fight.

O set my husbands wrongs on Herfords speare,

That it may enter butcher Mowbraies breast.

Or if misfortune misse the first carriere,

Be Mowbraies sinnes so heauie in his bosome,

That they may breake his foming coursers backe,

And throw the rider headlong in the lists,

A caitiue recreant to my Coosin Herford.

Farewell olde Gaunt, thy sometimes brothers wife,

With her companion grieve must end her life.

Gaunt. Sister farewell, I must to Couentre:

As much good stay with thee, as go with me.

Duch. Yet one word more, grieve boundeth where it falles.

Not with the empie hollownesse, but weightes

I take my leauue before I haue begunne,

For sorrow ends not when it seemeth done;

Commend me to my brother Edmund Yorke,

Lo this is all: nay yet depart not so,

Though this be all, do not so quickly goe.

I shall remember more: Bid him, ah what?

With all good speede at Plashie visit me.

Alacke and what shall good olde Yorke there see;

But empie lodgings and vnfurnisht walles,

Vnpeopled offices, vntrodden stones,

And what heare there for welcome but my grones?

Therefore commend me, let him not come there,

To seeke out sorrow that dwels euerie where,

Desolate, desolate will I hence and die:

The last leauue of thee takes my weeping eye.

*Exeunt.*

*Enter the Lord Marshall and the Duke Aumerle.*

Mar. My Lord Aumerle, is Harry Herford armde?

Aum. Yea at all pointes, and longs to enter in.

*Mar.*

*King Richard the second.*

*Mar.* The Duke of Norfolke sprightlyfully and bold,  
Staies but the summons of the appellants trumpet.

*Aum.* Why then the Champions are prepar'd and stay  
For nothing but his Maiesties approach.

*The trumpets sound,* and the King enters with his nobles : when  
they are set, enter the Duke of Norfolke in armes defendant.

*King.* Marshall demaund of yonder Champion,  
The cause of his ariuall here in armes,  
Aske him his name, and orderly proceede  
To swearre him in the iustice of his cause.

*Mar.* In Gods name and the Kings, say who thou art,  
And why thou commest thus knightly clad in armes?  
Against what man thou comst, and what's thy quarrell,  
Speake truely on thy knighthood, and thy oth,  
As so defend thee heauen and thy valour.

*Mow.* My name is Thomas Mowbray, D. of Norsolke,  
Who hither come ingaged by my oath,  
(Which God defend a Knight should violate)  
Both to defend my loyaltie and truth,  
To God, my King, and my succeding issue,  
Against the Duke of Herford that appeales mee,  
And by the grace of God, and this mine arme,  
To prooue him in defending of my selfe,  
A traitour to my God, my King, and me:  
And as I truly fight defend me heauen.

*The Trumpets sound, enter Duke of Herford*  
*appellant in armour.*

*King.* Marshall aske yonder Knight in armes,  
Both who he is, and why he commeth hither  
Thus plated in habilements of war,  
And formally according to our law,  
Depose him in the iustice of his cause.

*Mar.* What is thy name, and wherefore comst thou hither?  
Before King Richard in his royll lists?  
Against whome comes thou? and what's thy quarrell?  
Speake like a true knight, so defend thee heauen.

*The Tragedie of*

Bul. Harry of Herford, Lancaster, and Daubie  
Am I, who readie here do stand in Armes,  
To prooue by Gods grace, and my bodies valour  
In lists, on Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolke,  
That he is a traitour foule and dangerous,  
To God of heauen, King Richard, and to me:  
And as I truely fight, defend me heauen.

Mar. On paine of death no person be so bolde  
Or daring, hardie, as to touch the lists,  
Except the Martiall and such officers  
Appointed to direct these faire designes.

Bul. Lord Martiall, let me kisse my Soueraignes hand,  
And bow my knee before his Maiestie,  
For Mowbray and my selfe are like two men,  
That vow a long and wearie pilgrimage.  
Then let vs take a ceremonious leaue,  
And louing farewell of our severall friends.

Mar. The appellant in all dutie greetes your highnesse,  
And craues to kisse your hand and take his leaue.

King. We will descend and folde him in our armes.  
Coofn of Herford, as thy cause is right,  
So be thy fortune in this roiall fight:  
Farewell my bloud, which if to day thou shread,  
Lament we may, but not reuenge thee dead.

Bul. O let no noble eie prophane a teare  
For me, if I be gorde with Mowbrayes speares  
As confident as is the falcons flight:  
Against a bird, do I with Mowbray fight.  
My louing Lord I take my leaue of you:  
Of you (my noble coofin) Lord Aumarle,  
Not sicke although I haue to do with death,  
But lustie, yong, and cheerely drawing breath.  
Loe, as at English feasts so I regret  
The daintiest last, to make the end most sweete.  
Oh thou the earthly Author of my bloud,  
Whose youthfull spirit in me regenerateth,  
Doth with a two-folde vigour lift me vp,  
To reach a victorie aboue my head,

*King Richard the second.*

Add prooef vnto mine armour with thy prayers,  
And with thy blessings steele my launces point,  
That it may enter Mowbrayes waxen coate,  
And furbish new the name of Iohn a Gaunt,  
Euen in the lustie hauiour of his sonne.

*Gaunt.* God in thy good cause make thee prosperous.  
Be swift like lightning in the execution,  
And let thy blowes doubly redoubled,  
Fall like amazing thunder on the caske  
Of thy aduerte pernicious enemie,  
Rowse vp thy youtfull blood, be valiant and liue.

*Bul.* Mine innocence and Saint George to thriue.

*Mow.* How euer God or fortune cast my lotte,  
There lies or dies true to King Richards throne,  
A loyall iust and vpright Gentleman:  
Neuer did captiue with a freer heart  
Cast of his chaines of bondage, and embrase,  
His golden vncontroled enfranchisement,  
More then my dauncing soule doth celebrate  
This feast of battle with mine aduersarie.

Most mightie Liege, and my companion Peeres,  
Take from my mouth the wish of happie yeares,  
As gentle and as iocund as to iest  
Go I to fight, truth hath a quiet breft.

*King.* Farewell(my Lord) securely I espie,  
Vertue with valour couched in thine eie,  
Order the triall Martiall, and beginne.

*Mart.* Harry of Herforde, Lancaster, and Darby,  
Receive thy launce, and God defend thy right.

*Bul.* Strong as a tower in hope I cry, Amen.

*Mart.* Go bear this launce to Thomas D. of Norfolke.

*Herald.* Harry of Herford, Lancaster, and Darby,  
Stands heere, for God, his soueraigne, and himselfe,  
On paine to be found false and recreant,  
To proue the Duke of Norfolke Thomas Mowbray,  
A traitour to his God, his King, and him,  
And dares him to set forwards to the fight,

*Herald.* He standeth Thomas Mowbray D. of Norfolke,

The Tragedie of

On paine to be found false and recreant;  
Both to defend himselfe, and to approue  
Henry of Herford, Lancaster, and Darby,  
To God, his soueraigne, and to him disloyall,  
Courageously, and with a free desire,  
Attending but the signall to beginne.

*Mart.* Sound trumpets, and set forth Combatants:  
Stay, the King hath throwne his warden downe.

*King.* Let them lay by their helmets, and their speares;  
And both retурne backe to their chaires againe:  
Withdraw with ys, and let the trumpets sound,  
While we retурne these Dukes what we decree:  
Draw neere and list.  
What with our counsell we haue done,  
For that our kingdomes earth should not be soild  
With that deere bloud which it hath fostered:  
And for our cies do hate the dire aspect  
Of ciuill woundis plowd vp with neigbours sword:  
And for we thinke the Eagle-winged pride  
Of skie-aspiring and ambitious thoughts  
With riuall-hating envy set on you,  
To wake our peace, which in our countries cradle  
Drawes the sweete infant breath of gentle sleepe,  
Which so rouzd vp with boisterous vntunde drummes,  
With harsh resounding trumpets dreadfull bray,  
And grating shock of wrathfull yron armes,  
Might from our quiet confines fright faire Peace,  
And make ys wade even in our kinredes bloud.  
Therefore we banish you our territories:  
You Cousin Herford vpon paine of life,  
Till twice five summers haue enricht our field  
Shall not regrete our faire dominions,  
But tread the stranger paths of banishment.

*Bul.* Your will be done; this must my comfort be,  
That Sunne that warmes you heere, shall shine on me,  
And those his golden beames vnto you heere lent  
Shall point on me, and guild my banishment.

*King.* Norfolke, for thee remaines a heauier doome,

Which

*King Richard the second.*

Which I with some ynwillingnes pronounce,  
The slie slow houres shall not determinate  
The datelesse limite of thy deere exile:  
The hopelesse word of neuer to returne,  
Breathe I against thee, vpon paine of life.

*Mowb.* A heauie sentencie, my most soueraigne Liege,  
And all vnlookt for from your Highnes mouth.

A deerer merit, not so deepe a malme;  
As to be cast forth in the common ayre,  
Hauē I deserued at your Highnesse hands:  
The language I haue learnd these fortie yeare,  
My natuie English now I must forgo,  
And now my tongues vse is to me no more  
Than an vnstringed violl or a harpe,  
Or like a cunning instrument casde vp,  
Or being open, put into his hands  
That knowes no touch to tune the harmony.  
Within my mouth you haue ingayld my tongue,  
Doubly portcullisht with my teeth and lippes,  
And dull vnfeeling barren ignorance  
Is made my iayler to attend on me:  
I am tooq olde to fawne vpon a nurse,  
Too farre in yeeres to be a pupill now,  
What is thy sentencie but speechlesse death,  
Which robbes my tongue from breathing natuie breath?

*King.* It bootes thee not to be compassionate,  
After our sentencie playning comes too late,

*Mow.* Then thus I turne me from my countries light,  
To dwell in solemne shades of endlesse night.

*King.* Returne againe and take an oth with thee,  
Lay on our royll sword your banisht hands.  
Swearē by the dutie that y' owe to God  
(Our part therein we banishe with your selues,)·  
To keeps the oath that we administer:  
You neuer shall, so helpe you truthe and God.  
Embrace each others loue in banishment,  
Nor neuer looke vpon each others face,  
Nor neuer write, regrete, nor reconcile.

This

*The Tragedie of*

This louing tempest of your home-bred hate,  
Nor never by aduis'd purpose meete,  
To plotte, contrarie, or complot any ill,  
Gainst vs, our state, our subiects, or our land.

*Bul.* I sweare.

*Mow.* and I, to keepe all this.

*Bul.* Norfolke, so fare as to mine enemie,  
By this tyme, had the King permitted vs,  
One of our soules had wandred in the ayre,  
Banisht this fraile sepulchre of our flesh,  
As now our flesh is banisht from this land.  
Confesse thy treasons ere thou fly the realme,  
Since thou hast far to go, beare not along  
The cloging burthen of a guiltie soule.

*Mow.* No Bullinbrooke, if euer I were traiteur,  
My name be blotted from the booke of life,  
And I from heauen banisht as from hence:  
But what thou art, God, thou, and I, do know,  
And all too soone (I feare) the King shall rew:  
Farewell (my Leige) now no way can I stray,  
Sane back to England all the world's my way.

*King.* Uncle, euen in the glasses of thine eies,  
I see thy grieved heart: thy sad aspect  
Hath from the number of his banisht yeeres  
Pluckt foure away, six frozen winters spent,  
Returne with welcome home from banishment.

*Bul.* How long a time lies in one little word?  
Foure lagging winters, and foure wanton springs,  
End in a word, such is the breath of Kings.

*Gauant.* I thanke my Liege, that in regard of me,  
He shortens foure yeares of my sonnes exile,  
But little vantage shall I reape thereby:  
For ere the six yeares that he hath to spend  
Can change their moones, and bring their times about,  
My oyle-dried lampe, and time bewasted light  
Shall be extinct with age and endlesse nights:  
My inch of taper will be burnt and done,  
And blindfolde Death not let me see my sonne.

*King.*

*King Richard the second.*

*King.* Why Vnkle, thou hast many yeeres to live.

*Gaunt.* But not a minute (King) that thou canst giue.

Shorten my daies thou canst with sullen sorrow,  
And plucke nights from me, but not lend a morrow.

Thou canst helpe time to furrow me with age,  
But stoppe no wrinkle in his pilgrimage:

Thy word is currant with him, for my death,  
But dead, thy kingdome cannot buy my breath.

*King.* Thy sonne is banisht with good aduise,

Whereto thy tongue, a party, verdict gane,

Why at our justice seemst thou then to lowre?

*Gaunt.* Things sweete to taste, proue in digestion sowe.

You vrge me as a iudge, but I had rather,

You would haue bid me argue like a father.

Oh had't beene a stranger, not my child,

To smooth his fault I would haue beene more milde:

A partiall flaunder sought I to avoyde,

And in the sentence my owne life destroyde.

Alas, I lookt when some of you should say,

I was too strikt to make mine owne away:

But you gaue leaue to my vnwilling tongue,

Against my will to do my selfe this wrong.

*King.* Coosin farewell, and Vnckel bid him so,

Sixe yeeres we banish him and he shall go.

*An.* Coosin farewell, what presence must not know,  
From where you do remaine, let paper shew.

*Mar.* My Lord, no leaue take I, for I will ride,

As far as land will let me by your side.

*Gaunt.* Oh to what purpose doest thou hoard thy words,  
That thou returnest no greeting to thy friends?

*Bull.* I haue too few to take my leaue of you,

When the tongues office should be prodigall,

To breathe the abundant dolour of the heart.

*Gaunt.* Thy griefe is but thy absence for a time.

*Bul.* Ioy absent, griefe is present for that time.

*Gauns.* What is sixe winters? they are quickly gone.

*Bul.* To men in ioy, but griefe makes one houre ten.

*Gaunt.* Call it a trauaile that thou takist for pleasure.

*The Tragedie of*

*Bul.* My heart will sigh when I miscall it so,  
Which findes it an enforced pilgrimage.

*Gaunt.* The sullen passage of thy wearie steps,  
Esteeme a soyle wherein thou art to set,  
The precious jewell of thy home returne.

*Bul.* Nay rather euerie tedious stride I make,  
Will but remember me what a deale of world  
I wander from the jewels that I loue.  
Must I not serue a long apprenticeship  
To forren passages, and in the end,  
Hauing my freedome, boast of nothing else,  
But that I was a iourneyman to griefe?

*Gaunt.* All places that the eie of heauen visits,  
Are to a wise man ports and happy haucens.  
Teach thy necessitie to reason thus,  
There is no vertue like necessitie.  
Thinke not the King did banisla thee,  
But thou the King. Woe doth the heauier sit,  
Where it perceiues it is but faintly borne:  
Go, say I sent thee forth to purchase honour,  
And if the King exilde thee; or suppose  
Deuouring pestilence hangs in our aire,  
And thou art flying to a fresher clime:  
Looke what thy soule holds deere, imagine it  
To ly that way thou goest, not whence thou comst.  
Suppose the singing birds musitions,  
The grasse whereon thou treadst, the presence strowde,  
The flowres, faire Ladies, and thy steps, no more  
Then a delightfull measure or a dance,  
For gnarling sorrow hath lesse power to bite  
The man that mocks at it, and sets it light.

*Bul.* Oh who can hold a fire in his hand,  
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?  
Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite,  
By bare imagination of a feast?  
Or wallow naked in December snow,  
By thinking on fantastick summers heat?  
Oh no, the apprehension of the good

*King Richard the second.*

Gives but the greater feeling to the worse:  
Fell sorrowes tooth doth never ranckle more  
Then when it bites, but lancheth not the soare,

*Gaunt.* Come come my sonne, he bring thee on thy way.  
Had I thy youth and cause, I would not stay.

*Bul.* Then Englands ground farewell, sweete soile adiew,  
My mother and my nurse that beares me yet.  
Where ere I wander, boast of this I can,  
Though banisht, yet a true borne Englishman.

*Exeunt.*

*Enter the King with Bushie, &c. at one doore, and the  
Lord Aumarle at the other.*

*King.* We did obserue Coosin Aumarle,  
How farre brought you high Hereford on his way?

*Aum.* I brought high Herford, if you call him so,  
But to the next high way, and there I left him.

*King.* And say, what storie of parting teares were shed?

*Aum.* Faith none for me, except the Northeast winde,  
Which then blew bitterly against our face,  
Awakt the sleepie shewme, and so by chance  
Did grace our hollow parting with a teare.

*King.* What said your cousin when you parted with him?

*Aum.* Farewell, & for my heart disdained that my tongue  
Should so prophane the word that taught me craft,  
To counterfaite oppression of such griefe,  
That words seemd buried in my sorrowes graue:  
Marry would the word Farewell haue lengthned houres,  
And added yeeres to his short banishment,  
He should haue had a volume offarewels:  
But since it would not, he had none of me.

*King.* He is our Coosens Cousin, but tis doubt,  
When time shall call him home from banishment,  
Whether our kinsman comes to see his friends.  
Our selfe and Bushie,  
Obserued his courtship to the common people,  
How he did seeme to due into their hearts,  
With humble and familiar curtefie,  
With reuerence he did throw away on flaues,

*The Tragedie of*

Wooing poore craftsmen with the craft of smiles,  
And patient vnderbearing of his fortune,  
As twere to banish their affects with him,  
Off goes his bonnet to an oysterwench,  
A brace of draymen bid God speede him well,  
And had the tribute of his supple knee,  
With thanks my countrey men, my louing friends,  
As were our England in reuersion his,  
And he our subiects next degree in hope.

*Creene.* Well, he is gone, and with him go these thoughts.  
Now for the rebels which stand out in Ireland,  
Expedient mariage must be made my liege,  
Ere further leasure yeeld them further meanes  
For their aduantage, and your highnesse losse.

*King.* We will our selfe in person to this war,  
And for our coffers, with too great a court  
And liberall larges are growne somewhat light,  
We are inforst to farme our royll Realme,  
The revenue wher eof shall furnish vs.  
For our affaires in hand if that come short,  
Our substitutes at home shall haue blanke charters,  
Whereto, when they shall know what men are rich,  
They shall subscribe them for large summes of gold,  
And send them after to supply our wants,  
For we will make for Ireland presently.

*Enter Bushie with newes.*

*Bush.* Old Iohn of Gaunt is grieuous sicke, my Lord,  
Sodainely taken, and hath sent post haste,  
To intreate your Maiestie to visit him.

*King.* Where lies he?

*Bush.* At Ely house!

*King.* Now put it (God) into the Phisitions mind,  
To helpe him to his graue immediatly:  
The lining of his coffers shall make coates,  
To decke our Souldiours for these Irish wars.  
Come Gentlemen, lets all go visit him,  
Pray God we may make hast and come too late,

Amen.

*Exeunt.*

*Enter*

*Enter John of Gaunt sick, with the Duke of Yorke, &c.*

*Gaunt.* Will the King come that I may breathe my last,  
In holsome counsell to his vnstaied youth?

*Yorke.* Vex not your selfe, nor striue not with your breath,  
For all in vain comes counsell to his eare.

*Gaunt.* Oh, but they say, the tongues of dying men  
Inforce attention like deepe harmony:  
Where words are scarce, they are seldom spent in vain,  
For they breathe truth that breathe their words in paine.  
He that no more must say, is listened more  
Then they whom youth and ease hath taught to glose.  
More are mens ends markt then their liues before:  
The setting Sunne, and musike at the glose,  
As the last taste of sweetes is sweetest last,  
Writ in remembrance, more then things long past.  
Though Richard my liues counsell would not heare,  
My deaths sad tale may yet vndeafe his eare.

*Yorke.* No, it is stopt with other flattering sounds,  
As praises of his state: then there are found  
Lasciuious Meeters, to whose venom sound  
The open eare of youth doth alwaies listen.  
Report of fashions in proude Italie,  
Whose manners still our tardie apish nation  
Limps after in base imitation.  
Where doth the world thrust foorth a vanitie,  
So it be new, there's no respect how vile,  
That is not quickly buzzed into his eares?  
Then all too late comes counsell to be heard,  
Where will doth mutinie with wits regard.  
Direct not him whose way himselfe will choose,  
Tis breath thou lackst, and that breath wilt thou loose.

*Gaunt.* Me thinks I am a prophet new inspirde,  
And thus expiring do foretell of him,  
His rash fierce blaze of riot cannot last:  
For violent fires soone burne out themselves,  
Small shoires last long, but sodaine stormes are short:  
He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes.

*The Tragedie of*

With eager feeding foode doth choke the feeder,  
Light vanitie, infatiate cormorant.  
Consuming meanes soone prayes vpon it selfe:  
This royall throne of Kings, this Sceptred Ile.  
This earth of Maiestie, this seate of Mars,  
This other Eden, deomy Paradice,  
This foretresse built by nature for her selfe,  
Against infection and the hand of War,  
This happie breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in the siluer sea,  
Which serues it in the office of a wall,  
Or as moate defensio[n]e to a house,  
Against the enuie of lesse happier lands:  
This blessed plotte, this earth, this realme, this England,  
This nurse, this teeming wombe of royall Kings,  
Feard by their breed, and famous by their birth,  
Renowned in their deedes as far from home,  
For christian seruice and true chivalrie,  
As is the sepulchre in stubborne Lewry,  
Of the worlds ransome, blessed Maries sonne:  
This land of such deere soules; this deare deare land,  
Deare for her reputation through the world,  
Is now leasde out, I die pronouncing it,  
Like to a tenement or pelting farme.  
England bound in with the triumphant sea,  
Whose rockie shoare beateth backe the eniuious siege  
Of waterie Neptune, is now bound in with shame,  
With inke blottes, and rotten parchment bonds.  
That England that was wont to conquerre others,  
Hath made a shamefull conquest of it selfe:  
Ah would the scandall vanish with my life,  
How happy then were my ensuing death?  
*Torke.* The King is come, deale mildly with his youth,  
For yong hot colts being rag'd, do rage the more.

*Enter the King and Queene, &c.*

*Queene.* How fares our noble Vnkle Lancaster?  
*King.* What comfort man? how ist with aged Gaunt?

*Gaunt*

*King Richard the second.*

*Gaunt.* O how that name besits my composition,  
Old Gaunt indeede, and gaunt in being old,  
Within me grieve hath kept a tedious fast.  
And who abstaines from meate that is not gaunt?  
For sleeping England long time haue I watcht,  
Watching breedes leanenesse, leanenesse is all gaunt:  
The pleasure that some fathers feede vpon,  
Is my strict fast, I meane my childrens lookes,  
And therein fasting hast thou made me gaunt.  
Gaunt am I for the graue, gaunt as a graue,  
Whose hollow wombe inherites nought but bones.

*King.* Can sick men play so nicely with their names?

*Gaunt.* No, miserie makes sport to mocke it selfe,  
Since thou dost seeke to kill my name in me,  
O mocke my name(great King)to flatter thee.

*King.* Should dying men flatter those that liue?

*Gaunt.* No,no, men liuing flatter those that die.

*King* Thou now a dying sayst thou flatterest me.

*Gaunt.* Oh no, thou diest though I the sicker be.

*King.* I am in health,I breathe,I see thee ill.

*Gaunt.* Now he that made me,knowes I see thee ill,  
Ill in my selfe to see, and in thee, seeing ill,  
Thy death-bed is no lesser then the land,  
VVherein thou liest in reputation sicke,  
And thou too carelesse pacient as thou art,  
Commitst thy annoynted body to the cure  
Of those Phisitions that first wounded thee:  
A thousand flatterers sit within thy Crowne,  
VWhose compasse is no bigger then thy head,  
And yet enraged in so small a verge,  
The waste is no whit lesser then thy land:  
Oh had thy Grandfire with a Prophets eye,  
Seene how his sonnes sonne should destroy his sonnes,  
From forth they reach he would haue laide thy shame,  
Depositing thee before thou wert possest,  
VWhich art possest now to depose thy selfe.  
Why Coosin wert thou regent of the world,  
It were a shame to let this land by leale:

*The Tragedie of*

But for thy world enioying but this land,  
Is it not more then shame to shame it so?  
Landlord of England art thou now not, not King,  
Thy state of law is bondslauke to the law,  
And thou.

*King.* Ah lunaticke leane-witted foole,  
Presuming on an agues priuiledge,  
Darfst with thy frozen admonition  
Make pale our cheeke, chasing the royll bloud  
With furie from his natvie residence.  
Now by my seates right royll maiestie  
Wert thou not brother to great Edwards sonne,  
This tongue that runnes so roundly in thy head,  
Should runne thy head from thy vnreuerent shoulders.

*Gaunt.* Oh spare me not my brother Edwards sonne,  
For that I was his father Edwards sonne.  
That blood alreadie, like the Pelican,  
Hast thou tapt and drunkenly carowst:  
My brother Glocester, plaine well meaning soule,  
Whom faire befall in heauen mongst happy soules,  
May be a president and witnes good:  
That thou respectst not spilling Edwards bloud.  
Ioine with the present sicknes that I haue,  
And thy vnkindnes be like crooked age,  
To crop at once a too long withered flower.  
Liue in thy shame, but die not shame with thee:  
These words hereafter, thy tormentors be,  
Conuay me to my bed, then to my graue,  
Loue they to liue that loue and honour haue.

*Exit.*

*King.* And let them die that age and sullennes haue,  
For both hast thou, and both become the graue.

*Yorke.* I do beseech your Maiestie impute his words  
To wayward sicklines and age in him:  
Heloues you on my life, and holdes you deere,  
As Harry Duke of Herford, were he here.

*King.* Right, you say true, as Herfords loue, so his,  
As theirs, so mine, and be as it is.

*North.*

*King Richard the second.*

*North.* My Liege, olde Gaunt commends him to your Ma-  
King. What sayes he? (ieftie.

*North.* Nay nothing, all is said:

His tongue is now a stringlesse instrument,  
Words, life, and all, olde Lancaster hath spent.

*Yorke.* Be Yorke the next that must be bankrout so,  
Though death be poore, it ends a mortall wo.

*King.* The ripest fruit first falleth, and so doth he,  
His time is spent, our pilgrimage must be;  
So much for that. Now for our Irish wars:

We must supplant those rough rugheaded kernies,  
Which liue like venome, where no venome else,  
But onely they haue priuiledge to liue.

And for these great affaires do aske some charge,  
Towards our assistance we do seaze to vs,  
The plate, coine, reuenues, and moueables.

Whereof our Vnkle Gaunt did stand possest.

*Yorke.* How long shall I be patient? ah how long.  
Shall tender dutie make me suffer wrong?  
Not Glocesters death, nor Herefords banishment,  
Nor Gaunts rebukes, nor Englands priuate wrongs,  
Nor the preuention of poore Bullingbrooke.  
About his mariage, nor my owne disgrace,  
Haue euer made me sower my patient cheeke,  
Or bende one wrinkle on my soueraignes face:  
I am the last of the noble Edwards sonnes,  
Of whom thy father Prince of Wales was first.  
In warre was neuer Lion ragde more fierce,  
In peace was neuer gentle lambe more milde  
Then was that yong and princely gentleman:  
His face thou hast, for euen so lookt he,  
Accomplisht with a number of thy houres;  
But when he frowned, it was against the French,  
And not against his friends: his noble hand  
Did win what he did spend, and spent not that  
Which his triumphant fathers hand had wonnes:  
His hands were guiltie of no kinred blood,  
But bloody with the enemies of his kinne.

D

Oh

*The Tragedie of*

Oh Richard! Yorke is too farre gone with griefe,  
Or else he never would compare betweene.

*King.* Why Vnkle, what's the matter?

*Yorke.* Oh my liege, pardon me if you please,  
If not, I pleasd, not to be pardoned, am content with all:  
Seeke you to seize and gripe into your hands,  
The roialties and rights of banisht Hereford?  
Is not Gaunt dead? and doth not Herford lue?  
Was not Gaunt iust? and is not Harry true?  
Did not the one deserue to haue an heyre?  
Is not his heyre a well deserving sonne?  
Take Herefords rights away, and take from time  
His charters and his customearie rights;  
Let not to morrow then ensue to day:  
Be not thy selfe; For how art thou a King,  
But by faire sequence and succession?  
New afore God, God forbid I say true,  
If you doe wrongfully seize Hersfords right,  
Call in the Letters patents that he hath  
By his attournies generall to sue  
His liuery, and deny his offered homage.  
You plucke a thousand dangers on your head,  
You lose a thousand well disposed hearts,  
And pricke my tender patience to those thoughts,  
Which honour and allegiance cannot thinke.

*King.* Thinke what you will, we seize into our hands,  
His plate, his goods, his money and his land.

*Yorke.* Ile not be by the while, my liege farewell,  
What will ensue hereof, there's none can tell:  
But by bad courses may be understood,  
That their euents can never fall out good.     *Exit.*

*King.* Go Bushie, to the Earle of Wilshire straight,  
Bid him repayre to vs to Ely house,  
To see this busynesse: to morrow next  
We will for Ireland, and tis time I trow;  
And we create in absence of our selfe,  
Our Vnkle Yorke, Lord Gouernour of England;  
For he is iust, and alwayes loued vs well:

*King Richard the second.*

Come on our Queene, to morrow must we part,  
Be merry, for our time of stay is short.

*Exeunt King and Queene. Manet North.*

*North.* Well Lords, the Duke of Lancaster is dead.

*Rosse.* And living too, for now his sonne is Duke.

*Willoughb.* Barely in title, not in reuenewes.

*North.* Richly in both, if iustice had her right.

*Rosse.* My heart is great, but it must breake with silence,  
Er't be disburdened with a liberall tongue.

*North.* Nay speake thy mind, & let him ne're speake more  
That speakes thy words againe to doe thee harme.

*Willoughb.* Tend'st that thou wouldest speake to the D. of Her-

If it be so, out with it boldly man, (ford:

Quicke is mine care to heare of good towards him.

*Rosse.* No good at all that I can doe for him:

Unlesse you call it good to pittie him,

Bereft and gelded of his patrimony.

*North.* Now afore God tis shame, such wrongs are borne,  
In him a royll Prince, and many mo  
Of noble blood in this declining land;  
The king is not himselfe, but basely led  
By flatterers, and what they will informe,  
Merely in hate against any of vs all,  
That will the King seuerely prosecute,  
Against vs, our liues, our children, and our heires.

*Rosse.* The commons hath he pild with grieuous taxes,  
And quite lost their hearts. The Nobles hath he fin'd  
For ancient quarrels, and quite lost their hearts.

*Willoughb.* And dayly new exactions are deuylde,  
As blanckes, bencvolences, and I wot not what,  
But what a Gods name doth become of this?

*Willoughb.* Wars hath not wasted it, for warr'd he hath not,  
But basely yeelded vpon compromise,  
That which his noble Auncestors atchiude with blowes:  
More hath he spent in peace then they in wars.

*Rosse.* The Earle of Wiltshire hath the Realme in farme.

*Willoughb.* The King's growne bankrupt like a broken man.

*The Tragedy of*

*North.* Reproach and dissolution hangeth ouer him.

*Rosse.* He hath not money for these Irish wars,  
His burthenous taxations notwithstanding,  
But by the robbing of the banisht Duke.

*North.* His noble kinman most degenerate King:  
But Lords, we heare this fearefull tempest sing,  
Yet seeke no shelter to auoyde the storne.  
We see the winde sit sore vpon our sailes,  
And yet we strike not, but surely perish.

*Rosse.* We see the verie wracke that we must suffer,  
And vnauoyded is the danger now,  
For suffering so the causes of our wracke.

*North.* Not so, eu'en through the hollow eies of death,  
I espie life peering, but I dare not say,  
How neare the tidings of our comfort is.

*Will.* Nay let vs share thy thoughts as thou dost ours.

*Rosse.* Be confident to speake Northumberland,  
We three are but thy selfe; and speaking so,  
Thy words are but as thoughts, therefore be bold.

*North.* Then thus, I haue from le Port Blan  
A bay in Brittanie receiude intelligence,  
That Harry Duke of Herforde, Rainold L. Cobham,  
That late broke from the Duke of Exeter  
His brother Archbisshop late of Canterbury,  
Sir Thomas Erpingham, sir John Ramston,  
Sir John Norbery, sir Robert Waterton, & Francis Coines,  
All these well furnished by the Duke of Britaine  
With eight tall ships, three thousand men of war,  
Are making hither with all due expedience,  
And shortly meane to touch our Northern shore:  
Perhaps they had ere this, but that they stay  
The first departing of the King for Ireland,  
If then we shall shake off our countries slauish yoke,  
Impe out our drowping countries broken wing,  
Redeeme from broken pawne the blemisht Crowne,  
Wipe off the dust that hides our see pters guilt,  
And make high Maiestie looke like it selfe,  
Away with me in post to Rauenspurgh:

But

*King Richard the second.*

But if you faint, as fearing to do so,  
Stay, and be secret; and my selfe will go.

*Rosse.* To horse, to horse, vrge doubts to them that feare.  
*Willc.* Hold out my horse, and I will first be there.

*Exeunt.*

*Enter the Queene, Bubbie, and Bagot.*

*Bubb.* Madam, your maestie is too much sadde,  
You promist when you parted with the king,  
To lay aside halfe-harming heauiness,  
And entertaine a cheerefull disposition.

*Queene.* To please the King I did, to please my selfe  
I cannot doo it, yet I know no cause  
Why I should welcome such a guest as Griefe,  
Saue bidding farewell to so sweete a guest,  
As my sweete Richard: yet againe me thinkes  
Some vnborne sorrow ripe in Fortunes wombe  
Is comming towards me and my inward soule,  
With nothing trembles, at some thing it grieues,  
More then with parting from my Lord the King.

*Bubb.* Each substance of a griefe hath twentie shadowes,  
Which shewes like griefe it selfe, but is not so:  
For Sorrowes eyes glazed with blinding teares,  
Diuides one thing entire to many obiects,  
Like perspectives, which rightly gazde vpon,  
Shew nothing but confusion, eyde awry,  
Distinguish forme: so your sweete maestie,  
Looking awry vpon your Lords departure,  
Find shapes of griefe more then himselfe to waile,  
Which lookt on as it is, is naught but shadowes  
Of what it is not, then thrice (gracious Queene)  
More then your Lords departure weep not, more is not seene,  
Or if it be, tis with false sorrowes eyes,  
Which for things true, weepes things imaginarie.

*Queene.* It may be so, but yet my inward soule  
Perswades me it is otherwise: how ere it be,  
I cannot but be sad: so heauie sad,  
As though on thinking on no thought I thinke,  
Makes me with heauie nothing faint and shrinke.

*The Tragedie of*

*Bushie* Tis nothing but concerte (my gratiouse Lady.)

*Queene* Tis nothing lesse, conceit is still deride

From some forefather Griefe, mine is not so,  
For nothing hath begot my something grieve,  
Or something hath the nothing that I grieve,  
Tis in reuision that I do possest,  
But what it is, that is not yet knowne, what  
I cannot name, tis namelesse wo I wot.

*Greene* God sauе your Maiestie, and well met Gentlemen,  
I hope the King is not yet shipt for Ireland.

*Queene* Why hopeſt thou ſo? tis better hope he is,  
For his deſignes craue hafe, his hafe good hope:  
Then wherefore doſt thou hope he is not shipt?

*Greene* That he our hope might haue retirede his power,  
And driuen into deſpaire an enemys hope,  
Who ſtrongly hath ſet footing in this land,  
The baniſht Bullingbrooke repealeſt himſelfe,  
And with vplifted armes is ſafe ariuide at Rauenspurgh.

*Queene* Now God in heauen forbid.

*Greene* Ah Madam tis too true, and that is worse:  
The Lord Northumberland, his yong ſonne H. Piercie,  
The Lords of Rosse, Beaumond, and Willoughby,  
With all their powerfull friends are fled to him.

*Bushie* Why haue you not proclaiunde Northumberland  
And the rest of the reuolted faction, traitours?

*Greene* We haue, whereupon the Earle of Worcester  
Hath broke his ſtaffe, refiugd his stewardſhip,  
And all the houſhold ſeruants fled with him to Bullingbrook

*Queene* So Greene, thou art the midwife of my wo,  
And Bullingbrooke, my ſorrowes diſmall heire,  
Now hath my ſoule brought forth her prodigie,  
And I a gasping new diluerd mother,  
Haue woe to woe, ſorrow to ſorrow ioynd.

*Bushie* Dispaire not Madam.

*Queene* Who ſhall hinder me?  
I will dispaire and be at enmity,  
With couſeninge Hope, he is a flatterer,  
A paraſite, a keeper backe of death,

*King Richard the second.*

Who gently would dissolute the bands of life,  
Which false Hope lingers in extremity.

*Greene* Heere comes the Duke of Yorke,

*Queene* With signes of war about his aged necke,  
Oh full of carefull businesse are his lookes,  
Uncle for Gods sake speake comfortable words.

*Yorke* Should I do so, I should bely my thoughts,  
Comfort's in heauen, and we are on the earth,  
Where nothing liues but crosses, care, and griefe.  
Your husband he is gone to saue far off,  
Whilst others come to make him loose at home:  
Heere am I left to vnderprop his land,  
Who weake with age cannot support my selfe.  
Now comes the sicke houre that his surfeit made,  
Now shall he trie his friends that flattered him.

*Seruingman* My Lord, your sonne was gone before I came.

*Yorke* He was, why so, go all which way it will:  
The nobles they are fled, the commons they are cold,  
And will (I feare) reuolt on Herefords side.  
Sirra, get thee to Plashie to my sister Gloucester,  
Bid her send me presently a thousand pound,  
Hold take my ring.

*Seruingman* My Lord, I had forgot to tell your Lordship,  
To day I came by and called there,  
But I shall grieue you to report the rest.

*Yorke* What i' st knaue?

*Seruingman* An houre before I came the Dutchesse died.  
*Yorke* God for his mercy! w hat a tyde of woes  
Comes rushing on this wofull land at once?  
I know not what to do: I woulde to God  
(So my vntruth had not prouokt him to it)  
The King had cut of my head with my brothers.  
What are there two posts dispacht for Ireland?  
How shall we do for money for these wars?  
Come sister, coofin I woulde say, pray pardon me,  
Go fellow, get thee home, prouide some Carts,  
And bring away the armour that is there.  
Gentlemen, will you go muster men?

*The Tragedie of*

If I know how or which way to order these affaires,  
Thus disorderly thrust into my hands;  
Neuer beleue me : both are my kinsemens;  
T' one is my Soueraigne, whom both my oath  
And dutie bids defend : t' other againe  
Is my kinseman, whom the King hath wrong'd,  
Whom conscience and my kindred bids to right.  
Well, somewhat we must doe: come Cossin,  
Ile dispose of you: Gentlemen, goe muster vp your men,  
And meeke me presently at Barkly:  
I should to plashie too, but time will not permit:  
All is vncuen, and every thing is left at fise and seuen.

*Exeunt Duke, & Queene, manent. Bush, & Greene.*

*Bush.* The wind sits faire for newes to goe for Ireland,  
But none returns. For vs to leuie power  
Proportionable to the enemie, is all ypossible.

*Greene.* Besides our neerenesse to the King in loue,  
Is neere the hate of those loue not the King.

*Bag.* And that is the wartering Commons, for their loue  
Lies in their purses, and who so empties them,  
By so much fills their hearts with deadly hate.

*Bush.* Wherin the King stands generally condemned.

*Bag.* If judgement lie in them, then so doe wee,  
Because we euer haue beeene neere the King.

*Greene.* Well, I will for refuge straight to Brist. Castle,  
The Earle of Wiltshire is already there.

*Bush.* Thither will I with you, for little office  
Will the hatefull Commons perorne for vs,  
Except like cutrs, to teare vs all in pieces;  
Will you goe along with vs?

*Bag.* No, I will to Ireland to his Majestie:  
Farewell, if hearts presages bee not vaine,  
We thre here part, that ne're shall meeke againe.

*Bush.* Thats as Yorke thrives to beat backe Bullingbrook.

*Greene.* Alas poore Duke, the taske he vndertakes,  
Is numbring sands, and drinking Oceans dry,  
Where one on his side fightes, thousands will flic,  
Farewell at once, for once, for all and euery.

*Bush.*

*King Richard the second.*

*Buss.* Well, we may meeke againe.

*Bag.* I feare me never.

*Enter Hereford: Northumberland.*

*Bull.* How farre is it my Lord to Barkly now?

*North.* Beleeue me noble Lord,

I am a stranger in Gloucestershire,  
These high wild hils and rough vnguen wayes,  
Drawes out our miles, and makes them wearisome,  
And yet your faire discourse hath beeene as sugar,  
Making the hard way sweete and delectable,  
But I bethinke me what a weary way,  
From Rauenspurgh to Cotshall will be found,  
In Rose and Willoughby wanting your company,  
Which I protest hath very much beguild  
The tediousnesse and processe of my travell:  
But theirs is sweetened with the hope to haue  
The present benefite that I possesse,  
And hope to ioy is little lesse in ioy,  
Then hope injoyed : by this the weary Lords  
Shall make their way seeme short, as mine hath done,  
By sight of what I haue, your noble companie.

*Bull.* Of much lesse value is my company,  
Then your good words. But who comes here?

*Enter Harry Persie.*

*North.* It is my sonne, yong Harry Persy,  
Sent from my brother Worcester whencefouuer:  
Harry, how fares your Vnkle? (of you,

*H. Per.* I had thought my Lord to haue learned his health

*North:* Why? is he not with the Queene?

*H. Per.* No my good Lord, he hath forsooke the Court  
Broken his staffe of office, and dispersit  
The houshold of the King.

*North.* What was his reason? he was not so resolute,  
When last we spake together.

*H. Per.* Because your Lordship was proclaimed traytor  
But he my Lord is gone to Rauenspurgh,  
To offer service to the Duke of Hereford,  
And sent me ouer by Barkly to discouer,

*The Tragedie of*

What power the duke of Yorke had leuied there,  
Then with directions to repaire to Rauenspurgh.

*North.* Haue you forgot the duke of Hereford, boy?

*H. Per.* No my good Lord, for that is not forgot  
Which ne're I did remember, to my knowledge  
I neuer in my life did looke on him.

*North.* Then learne to know him now, this is the Duke.

*H. Per.* My gratiouse Lord, I tender you my seruice,  
Such as it is, being tender, raw, and yong,  
Which elder dayes shall ripen and confirme  
To more approued scruiice and deserfe.

*Bull.* I thanke thee gentle *Percie*, and be sure,  
I count my selfe in nothing else so happy,  
As in a soule remembryng my good friends:  
And as my fortune ripens with thy loue,  
It shall be still thy true loues recompence,  
My heart this covenant makes, my hand thus seales it.

*North.* How farre is it to Barkley, and what slurre  
Keepes good old Yorke there with his men of warre?

*H. Per.* There stands the Castle by yon tuft of trees,  
Mann'd with three hundred men, as I haue heard:  
And in it are the Lordes of Yorke, Barkely, and Seymor,  
None else of name and noble estimate.

*Nor.* Here come the Lordes of Rose and Willoughby,  
Bloudy with spurring, fiery red with haste.

*Bull.* Welcome my Lords, I wot your loue pursues  
A banisht traitour: all my treasury  
Is yet but ynfelt thankes, which more enricht,  
Shall be your loue and labours recompence.

*Rose.* Your presence makes vs rich, most noble Lord.

*Will.* And farre surmounts our labour to attaine it.

*Bull.* Euermore thanke's the Exchequer of the poore,  
Whichtill my infant fortune comes to yeares,  
Stands for my bountie: but who comes heere?

*Nor.* It is my Lord of Barkley, a; I guesse.

*Barkley.* My Lord of Hereford, my message is to you.

*Bull.* My Lord, my answere is to Lancaster,  
And I am come to seeke that name in England,

And

*King Richard the second.*

**A**nd I must finde that title in your tongue,  
Before I make reply to aught you say.

*Bark.* Mistake me not my lord, tis not my meaning,  
To race one title of your honour out:  
To you my Lord I come, what Lord you will,  
From the most glorious of this land,  
The duke of *Yorke*, to know what prickes you on,  
To take aduantage of the absent time,  
And fright our natvie peace with selfe-borne armes?

*Bull.* I shall not neede transport my words by you,  
Heere comes his Grace in person: My noble vncle!

*Yorke* Shew me thy humble heart, and not thy knee,  
Whose duety is deceiuable and false.

*Bull.* My gratiouſ vncle!

*Yorke* Tut,tut,grace me no grace,nor vnde me no vncle,  
I am no traitors vncle, and that word Grace  
In an vngratiouſ mouth, is but prophane:  
Why haue those banisht and forbidden legs  
Darde once to touch a dufft of *Englands* ground?  
But more than why? why haue they darde to march  
So many miles vpon her peacefull bosome,  
Fritting her pale facde villages with warre,  
And ostentation of despited armes?  
Comſt thou becauſeſt annointed king is hence?  
Why foolish boy, the king is left behindc,  
And in my loyall bosome lies his power,  
Were I but now Lord of ſuch hote youth,  
As when braue *Gaunt* thy father, and my ſelfe,  
Rescued the blacke Princee that yong *Mars* of men,  
From forth the ranckes of many thousands French,  
O then how quicklye ſhould this arme of mine,  
Now prisoner to the palfey chauſte thee,  
And minister correction to thy fault!

*Bull.* My gratiouſ vncle, let me know my fault,  
On what condition stands it, and wherein?

*Yorke* Euen in condition of the worſt degree,  
In groſſe rebellion, and detefted treason:  
Thou art a banisht man, and heere art come,

*The Tragedie of*

Before the expiration of thy time,  
In brauing armes against my Soueraigne.

*Bull.* As I was banisht, I was banisht Hereford,  
But as I conie, I come for Lancaster,  
And noble Vnkle, I beseech your Grace,  
Looke on my wrongs with an indifferent eye:  
You are my father, or me thinks in you  
I see old Gaunt alue. Oh then father,  
Will you permit that I shall stand condemn'd  
A wandering vagabond, my rights and royalties  
Pluckt from my armes perforce, and giuen away  
To vpstart vnhirsts? wherefore was I borne?  
If that my Coosin King be King of England,  
It must be graunted I am Duke of Lancaster:  
You haue a sonne, Aumerle, my noble Coosin,  
Had you first died, and he beene thus trod downe,  
He should haue found his Vnkle Gaunt afa her,  
To rowze his wrongs, and chase them to the Bay.  
I am denied to sue my liuerie heere,  
And yet my letters patentes give me leauue.  
My fathers goods are all distain'd and sold,  
And these, and all, are all amisse employed.  
What would you haue me doe? I am a subiect,  
And I challenge law, Attornies are denide me,  
And therefore personally I lay my claime  
To my inheritance of free descent.

*North.* The noble Duke hath beene too much abuse.

*Roffe.* It stands your Grace vpon, to doe him right.

*Willough.* Bale men by his endowments are made great.

*Yorke.* My Lords of England, let me tell you this:  
I haue had feeling of my Coosins wrongs,  
And laboured all I could to doe him right;  
But in this kinde, to come in brauing armes,  
Be his owne earuer, and cutte out his way;  
To find out right with wrong; it may not be:  
And you that doe abette him in this kinde,  
Cherish rebellion, and aie rebels all.

*North.* The noble Duke hath sworne, his comming is

But

*King Richard the second.*

But for his owne, and for the right of that,  
We all haue strongly swortie to give him ayde:  
And let him ne're see ioy that breakes that oath.

*Torke* Well, well, I see the issue of these armes,  
I cannot mend it, I must needes confessse,  
Because my power is weake and all ill left:  
But if I could, by him that gaue me life,  
I would attache you all, and make you stoope  
Vnto the soueraigne mercy of the King.  
But since I cannot, be it knowne to you,  
I doe remaine as newter; so fare you well,  
Vnlesse you please to enter in the Castle,  
And there repose you for this night.

*Bul.* An offer vncle that we will accept,  
But we must winne your Grace to goe with vs  
To Bristow Castle, which they say is held  
By Busby, Bagot, and their complices,  
The caterpillers of the common-wealthe,  
Which I haue sworne to weede and plucke away.

*Torke* It may be I will goe with you, but yet Ile pawse,  
For I am loath to breake our Countries lawes:  
Nor friends, nor foes, to me welcome you are,  
Things past redresse, are now with me past care.

*Enter Earle of Salisbury, and a Welch Captaine.*

*Welch* My Lord of Salisbury, we haue staide tenne dayes,  
And hardly kept our countrymen together,  
And yet we haire no tidings from the King,  
Therefore we will disperse our selues, farewell.

*Salis.* Stay yet another day, thou trusty Welchman,  
The King reposeth all his confidence in thee.

*Welch* Tis thought the King is dead, wee will not stay,  
The Bay trees in our Countrey all are witherd,  
And Meteors frigh特 the fixed starres of heauen,  
The pale facde Moone lookes bloudy on the earth,  
And leane look't prophets whisper fearefull change,  
Rich men looke sadde, and ruffians daunce and leape,  
The one in feare to loose what they enioy,

*The Tragedie of*

The other to enjoy by rage and war.  
These signes fore-run the death of Kings.  
Farewell, our Countrymen are gone and fled,  
As well assured Richard their King is dead.

*Sal.* Ah Richard ! with eyes of heauy mind,  
I see thy glory like a shooting star,  
Fall to the base earth from the firmament,  
Thy sunne sets, weeping in the lowly West,  
Witnessing stormes to come, woe, and vnrest:  
Thy friendes are fled to waite vpon thy foes,  
And crossely to thy good all fortune goes.

*Enter Duke of Hereford, Yorke, Northumberland,  
Bushie and Greene prisoners.*

*Bull.* Bring forth these men.  
Bushie and Greene, I will not vexe your soules,  
Since presently your soules must part your bodies,  
With too much vrging your pernicious liues,  
For t were no charity; yet to wash your blood  
From off my hands, here in the view of men,  
I will vnfold some causes of your death,  
You haue mis-led a Prince, a royll King,  
A happy Gentleman in blood and lineaments,  
By you vnhappied and disfigured cleane,  
You haue in manner with your sinfull houres,  
Made a divorce betwixt his Queene and him,  
Broke the possession of a royll bed,  
And staynde the beatie of a fayre Queenes cheekees,  
With teares drawne from her eyes with your soule wrongs,  
My selfe a Prince by fortune of my birth,  
Neere to the King in blood, and neere in loue,  
Till they did make him mis-interpret me,  
Haue stoopt my necke vnder your injuries,  
And sigh'd my English breaths in fooren clouds,  
Eating the bitter bread of banishment,  
While you haue fedde vpon my segnories,  
Disparted my parks, and felld my forrest woods,  
From mine owne windowes torné my houshold coate,  
Rac't out my impreese, leaving me no signe,

*King Richard the second.*

Sauke mens opinions, and my liuing blood,  
To shew the world I am a Gentleman.  
This and much more, much more then twice all this  
Condemns you to the death : see them deliuering ouer  
To execution and the hand of death.

*Bushie* More welcome is the stroke of death to me,  
Then Bullingbrooke to England, Lords farewell.

*Greene* My comfort is, that heauen will take our soules,  
And plague iniustice with the paines of hell.

*Bull.* My Lord Northumberland see them dispatcht:  
Vnkle, you say, the Queene is at your house,  
For Gods sake fairely let her be intreated;  
Tell her, I send to her my kinde commends;  
Take speciall care my greetings be deliuering.

*Yorke* A gentleman of mine I haue dispatcht,  
With letters of your loue to her at large.

*Bull.* Thanks (gentle Vnkle:) come Lords, away,  
To fight with Glendor and his complices,  
A while to worke, and after, holiday.

*Exeunt.*

*Enter the King, Aumerle, Carleil, &c.*

*King* Barkloughly Castle call you this at hand?  
*Aum.* Yea my Lord, how brook's your Grace the ayre;  
After your late tossing on the breaking Seas?

*King* Needes must I like it well, I weepe for ioy,  
To stand vpon my kingdome once againe.  
Deare earth, I doe salute thee with my hand,  
Though rebels wound thee with their horses hoofes;  
As a long parted mother with her child,  
Playes fondly with her teares, and smiles in meeting;  
So weeping, smiling, greece I thee my earth,  
And do thee fauour with my royll hands;  
Feede not thy soueraignes foe, my gentle earth,  
Nor with thy sweetes comfort his rauenous fence,  
But let thy spiders, that sucke vp thy venome,  
And heauy gated toads lie in their way,  
Doing annoyance to the trecherous feete,  
Which with surpising steps doe trample thee.

*Yeelde*

*The Tragedie of*

Yeelde stinging nettles to mine enemies:  
And when they from thy bosome plucke a flower,  
Garde it I pray thee wих a lurking Adder,  
Whose double tongue may with a mortall touch,  
Throw death vpon thy Soueraignes enemies;  
Mocke not my sensesse coniuration Lords:  
This earth shall haue a feeling, and these stones  
Proue armed souldiers ere her native King  
Shall falter vnder foule rebellious armes.

*Carl.* Feare not my Lord, that powre that made you king,  
Hath powre to keepe you king in spite of all,  
The meanes that heauens yeeld must be imbrac't,  
And not neglected. Else heauen woud,  
And we would not; heauens offer, we refuse  
The proffred meanes of succours and redresse.

*Aum.* He meanes, my Lord, that we are too remisse,  
Whilst *Bullingbrooke*, through our security,  
Growes strong and great in substance and in power.

*King* Discomfortable coofin, knowst thou not,  
That when the searching eie of heauen is hid  
Behinde the globe that lights the lower world,  
Then theues and robbers range abroade vnseene,  
In murthers, and in outrage bloudy heere.  
But when from vnder his terrestriall ball,  
He fires the prowde tops of the easterne pines,  
And darteres his light through every guilty hole:  
Then murthers, treasons, and detested sinnes,  
The cloake of night being pluckt from off their backes,  
Stand bare and naked trembling at themselues?  
So when this thiefe, this traitour *Bullingbrooke*,  
Who all this while hath reueld in the night  
Whilst we were wandring with the Antipodes,  
Shall see vs rising in our throane the East,  
His treasons will sit blushing in his face,  
Not able to endure the sight of day,  
But selfe affrighted, trevpbled at his sinnes,  
Not all the water in the rough iude: Sea,  
Can wash the bosome off from an annoyncted King.

*The*

*King Richard the second.*

The breath of worldly men cannot depose  
The deputy elected by the Lord,  
For every man that *Bullingbrooke* hath prest,  
To lift shrewd steele against our golden crowne,  
God for his *R:ng* hath in heauenly pay,  
A glorious Angel: then if Angels fight,  
Weake men must fall, for heauen still guardes the right.

*Enter Salisb.*

*King.* Welcome my Lo: how farre off lies your power?

*Salisb.* Nor neere nor farther off, my gratiouse Lo:  
Than this weake arme; discomfort guides my tongue,  
And bids me speake of nothing but Delpaire,  
One day too late, I feare, my noble Lo:  
Hath clouded all thy happy dayes on earth,  
O call backe yesterday, bid Time returne,  
And thou shalt haue twelue thousand fighting men:  
To day, to day, vnhappy day, too late,  
Ouerthrowes thy ioyes, friends, fortune and thy state:  
For all the Welchmen hearing thou wert dead,  
Are gone to *Bullingbrooke*, disperst, and fled.

*Aum.* Comfort, my liege, why lookest your Grace so pale?

*King.* But now the bloud of twenty thousand men  
Did triumph in my face, and they are fled:  
And till so much bloud thither come againe,  
Haue I not reason to looke pale and dead?  
All soules that will be safe, flic from my side,  
For Time hath set a blot vpon my pride.

*Aum.* Comfort, my Liege, remember who you are.

*King.* I had forgot my selfe, Am I not King?  
Awake thou coward, Maiestie thou sleepest,  
Is not the Kings name twentie thousand names?  
Arme, arme, my name a puny subiect strikes  
At thy great glory, looke not to the ground,  
Yee fauourites of a King, are we not high?  
High be our thoughts, I know my uncle *Yorke*  
Hath power enough to serue our turne: but who comes heere?

*Enter Scroope.*

*Scroope.* More health and happiness betide my Liege,

F

Then

*The Tragedie of*

Then can my care tunde tongue deliver him.

*King.* Mine eare is open, and my heart prepard,

The worst is worldly losse thou canst ynfold.

Say, is my kingdome lost? why twas my care,

And what losse is it to be rid of care?

Strives Bullingbrooke to be as great as we?

Greater he shall not be if he serue God,

Weele serue him too, and be his fellow so.

Reuolt our subiects? that we cannot mend,

They breake their faith to God as wel as vs:

Cry wo, destruction, ruine, and decay,

The worst is death, and death will haue his day.

*Scroo.* Glad am I, that your highnesse is so arinde,

To beare the tidings of calamitie,

Like an vnseasonable stormie day,

Which make the siluer Riuers drowne their shores.

As if the world were all dissolute to teates,

So high above his limits swels the rage

Of Bullingbrooke, couering your fearefull land

With hard bright steele, and hearts harder then steele:

White beards haue arm'd their thynae and hairelesle scalps

Against thy Maiestie: and boyes with womens voyces

Strive to speake bigge, and clap their female ioynts.

In stiffe vnwildie armes: against thy Crowne,

Thy very beadsmen learne to bend their browes,

Of double fatale wo against thy state.

Yea distaffe women mannage rustie billes:

Against thy seate both yong and old rebell,

And all goes worse then I haue power to tell.

*King.* Too well, too well thou tell'st a tale so ill.

Where is the Earle of Wiltshire? where is Bagot?

What is become of Bushie? where is Greene?

That they haue let the dangerous enemie

Measure our confines with such peacefull steps.

If we preuaile, their heads shall pay for it:

I warrant they haue made peace with Bullingbrooke.

*Scroo.* Peace haue they made with him indeede my Lord.

*King.* Oh viliaines, vipers, damned without redemption,

Dogs.

*King Richard the second.*

Dogs easilly wonne to fawne on any man.  
Snakes in my heart bloud warmd,that sting my heart;  
Three Iudas, each one thrice worse then Iudas,  
Would they make peace? terrible hell  
Make warre vpon their spotted soules for this.

*Scro.* Sweete loue's (I see) changing his property  
Turnes to the sowrest and most deadly hate.  
Againe vncurse their soules,their peace is made.  
With head, and not with hands, those whom you curse  
Hau'e felt the worst of deaths destroying wound,  
And lie full low grau'd in the hollow ground.

*Aum.* Is Bushie, Greene, and the Earle of Wiltshire dead?

*Scro.* Yea, all of them at Bristow lost their heads.

*Aum.* Where is the Duke my father with his power?

*King* No matter where, of comfort no man speake.  
Lets talke of graues, of wormes, and Epitaphs,  
Make dust our paper, and with rainie eyes  
Write sorrow on the bosome of the earth.

Lets choose executors and talke of wils:  
And yet not so, for what can we bequeath,  
Save our deposed bodies to the ground?  
Our lands, our liues, and all are Bullingbrookes,  
And nothing can we call our owne, but death,  
And that small modell of the barren earth,  
Which serues as paste and couer to our bones.

For Gods sake let vs sit vpon the ground,  
And tell sad stories of the death of Kings,  
How some haue bene deposde, some slaine in war,  
Some haunted by the ghosts they haue deposed,  
Some poysoned by their wiues, some sleeping kild,  
All murthered: for within the hollow Crowne  
That rounds the mortall temples of a King,  
Keeps death his court, and there the antique sits,  
Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pompe,  
Allowing him a breath, little leane,  
To Monarchise, be feard, and kill with looke,  
Infusing him with selfe and vaine conceit,  
As if this flesh which walles about our life,

*The Tragedie of*

Werc brasse impregnable : and humord thus,  
Comes at the last, and with a little' pin,  
Bores through his castle walles, and farewell king.  
Couer your heades, and mocke not flesh and bloud,  
With solemne reuerence throw away respect,  
Tradition, forme, and ceremonious dutie,  
For you haue but mistooke me all this while,  
I liue with bread like you, feele want,  
Taste griefe, neede friends: subiected thus,  
How can you say to mee I am a King?

*Carl.* My Lord, wisemen ne're sit and waile their woes,  
But presently preuent the wates to waile,  
To feare the foe, since feare oppresleth strength,  
Gives in your weakenesse strength vnto your foe,  
And so your follies fight against your selfe:  
Feare, and be slaine, no worse can come to fight:  
And fight and die, is death destroying death,  
Where fearing dying, payes death seruile breath.

*Aum.* My father hath a power, inquire of him,  
And learne to make a bodie of a limine.

*Ki.* Thou chidst me wel, proud *Bullingbrooke*, I come  
To change blowes with thee for our day of doome:  
This agew fit of feare is ouerblowne,  
An easie taske it is to winne our owne.  
Say *Scroope*, where lies our vncle with his power?  
Speake sweetely man; although thy lookes be sower.

*Scroope* Men iudge by the complexion of the Skie,  
The state and inclination of the day,  
So may you by my dull and heauie eie:  
My tongue hath but a heauier tale to say,  
I play the torturer by small and small;  
To lengthen out the worst that must be spoken,  
Your vncle *Yorke* is ioyn'd with *Bullingbrooke*,  
And all your northerne Castles yeelded vp,  
And all your Southerne Gentlemen in armes  
Vpon his partie.

*King* Thou hast said enough:  
Besrew thee coosin which didst leade me foorth

*King Richard the second.*

Of that sweete way I was in to dispaire.  
What say you now? what comfort haue we now?  
By heauen Ile hate him euerlastingly,  
That bids me be of comfort any more,  
Go to Flint Castle, there Ile pine away,  
A King woes flau shall kingly wo obey:  
That power I haue, discharge, and let them go  
To eare the land that hath some hope to grow:  
For I haue none, let no man speake againe  
To alter this, for counsell is but vaine.

*Aum.* My Liege one word.

*King* He does me double wrong,  
That wounds me with the flatteries of his tonges:  
Discharge my followers, let them hence away,  
From Richards night, to Bullingbrookes faire day.

*Enter Bul. Yorke, North.*

*Bul.* So that by this intelligence we learne,  
The Welchmen are dispearst, and Salisbury  
Is gone to meeete the King, who lately landed  
With some few priuate friends vpon this coast.

*North.* The newes is very faire and good my Lord,  
Richard not far from hence hath hid his head.

*Yorke* It would beseeme the Lord Northumberland  
To say King Richard; alacke the heauie day,  
When such a sacred King should hide his head.

*North.* Your Grace mistakes: onely to be briefe  
Left I his title out.

*Yorke* The time hath bin, would you haue bin so briefe with  
He would haue bene so briefe to shorten you, (him,  
For taking so the head, your whole heads length.

*Bul.* Mistake not (Vnkle) further then you should.

*Yorke* Take not (good Coofin) further then you should,  
Least you mistake the heauens are ouer your heads,

*Bul.* I know it Vnkle, and oppose not my selfe  
Against their will. But who comes heere? *Enter Percie.*

Welcome Harry: what will not this Castle yeeld?

*H. Percie* The Castle is royally maned my Lord.  
Against thy entrance.

The Tragedie of

Bull. Royally, why it containes no King.

H. Per. Yes(my good Lord)

It doth containe a King, King Richard lies  
Within the limits of yon lime and stome,  
And with him the Lord Aumerle, Lord Salisburie,  
Sir Steephen Scroope, besides a Clergie man  
Of holy reuerence, who I cannot learne.

North. Oh belike it is the Bishop of Carleil.

Bull. Noble Lords,

Go to the rude ribbes of that ancient Castle,  
Through brasen trumpet send the breath of parlee  
Into his ruinde eares, and thus deliuere.

H. Bull. on both his knees, doth kisse king Richards hand,  
And sends alleageance and tue faith of heart

To his royll person: hither come

Euen at his feete, to lay my arines and power:

Prouided, that my banishment repeald,

And lands restored againe be freely graunted,

If not, Ile vse the aduantage of my power,

And lay the summers dust with showres of blood,

Rainde from the woundes of slaughtered Englishmen:

The which, how far off from the mind of Bullingbrooke

It is, such crimson tempest should be drench

The fresh greene lap of faire king Richards land,

My stooping dutie tenderly shall shew,

Go signifie as much, while here we march

Vpon the grassie carpet of this plaine;

Lets march without the noyse of threatening drumme,

That from this Castles tattered battlements,

Our fayre appointments may be well perusde.

Me thinkes king Richard and my selfe should meeete

With no lesse terror then the Elements.

Of fire and water, when their thundring smoke,

At meeting teares the cloudy cheekes of heauen.

Be he the fire, Ile be the yecidng water,

The rage be his, whilst on the earth I raigne

My water's on the earth, and not on him,

March on, and marke king Richard how he lookes.

*King Richard the second.*

*The trumpets sound, Richard appeareth on the walls.*

*Bul.* See see, king Richard doth himselfe appeare,  
As doth the blushing discontented Sunne,  
From out the fiery portall of the East,  
When he perceives the eniuious clowdes are bent  
To dimme his glorie, and to staine the tracke  
Of his bright passage to the Occident.

*Torke* Yet lookes he like a king, behold his eye,  
As bright as is the Eagles, lightens forth  
Controlling Maiestie; alacke alacke for woe,  
That any harme should staine so faire a shew.

*King* We are amazd, and thus long haue we stood,  
To watch the fearefull bending of thy knee,  
Because we thought our selfe thy lawfull king:  
And if we be, how dare thy ioynts forget  
To pay their awefull dutie to our presence?  
If we be not, shew vs the hand of God  
That hath dismissit vs from our stewardship;  
For well we know, no hand of blood and bone  
Can gripe the sacred handle of our Scepter,  
Vnlesse he doe prophane, steale, or vsurpe:  
And though you thinke that all as you haue done,  
Haue torne their soules, by turning them from vs,  
And we are barren and bereft of friends:  
Yet know, my maister God omnipotent,  
Is mustering in his clowdes on our behalfe,  
Armies of pestilence, and they shall strike  
Your children yet vnborne, and vnbegot,  
That lft your vassaille hands against my head,  
And threat the glory of my precious Crowne.  
Tell Bullingbrooke, for you me thinkes he stands,  
That euery stride he makes vpon my land,  
Is dangerous treason: he is come to open  
The purple testament of bleeding war:  
But ere the crowne he lookes for, hue in peace,  
Ten thousand bloody crownes of mothers sonnes,  
Shall ill become the flower of Englands face,  
Change the complexion of her maid-pale peace,

*The Tragedie of*

To scarlet indignation, and bedew  
Her pastors graffe with faithfull English bloud.

*North.* The King of heauen forbid: our Lord the King,  
Should so with ciuill and vnciuill armes  
Be rusht vpon. Thy thrise noble coosin.  
Harry Bullingbrooke doth humbly kisse thy hand,  
And by the honourable tombe he sweares,  
That stands vpon your royll gransires bones,  
And by the royalties of both your blouds.  
Currents that spring from one most gratiouse head,  
And by the buried hand of warlike Gaunt,  
And by the worth and honor of himselfe,  
Comprising all that may be sworne or saide,  
His comming hither hath no further scope,  
Then for his lineall royalties, and to begge  
Infranchisement immediate on his knees,  
Which on thy royll partie granted once,  
His glittering armes he will commend to rust,  
His barbed steeds to stables, and his heart  
To faithfull seruice of your Maiestie.  
This sweares he, as he is a Prince iust,  
And as I am a Gentleman I credit him.

*King.* Northumberland, say thus: the King returnes,  
His noble coosin is right welcome hither,  
And all the number of his faire demaundes  
Shall be accomplisht without contradiction,  
With all the gracious vtterance thou hast.  
Speake to his gentle hearing kinde commands.

*King.* We do debase our selues Coosin, do we not?  
To looke so poorely, and to speake so faire?  
Shall we call backe Northumberland, and send  
Defiance to the traitour, and so die?

*Aum.* No good my Lord, lets fight with gentle words,  
Till time lend friends, and friends their helpfull swords,

*King.* Oh God, oh God that ere this tongue of mine,  
That laid the sentence of dread banishment  
On yon proud man should take it off againe,  
With words of sooth! Oh that I were as great,

*King Richard the second.*

As is my griefe, or leſſer then my name!  
Or that I could forget what I haue beeſe!  
Or not remember what I muſt be now!  
Swellſt thou (prowde heart) Ile giue thee ſcope to beate,  
Since foes haue ſcope to beate both thee and me.

*Aum.* Northumberland comes backe from Bullingbrook.

*King* What muſt the King doe now? muſt he ſubmiſe?  
The King ſhall doe it: muſt he be depoſte?  
The King ſhall be contented: muſt he loſe  
The name of a King? a Gods name let it goe:  
Ile giue my jewells for a ſet of Beadess:  
My gorgeous Pallace for a hermitage:  
My gay apparell for an almes-mans gowne:  
My figurede goblets for a diſh of wood:  
My Scepter for a Palmers walking ſtaffe:  
My ſubiects for a payre of carued Saints,  
And my large kingdome for a little graue,  
A little little graue, an obſcure graue,  
Or ile be buried in the kings hie way,  
Some way of common trade, where ſubiects feete  
May hourelly trample on their Soueraignes headz  
For on my heart they treade now whilſt I liue:  
And buried once, why not vpon my head?  
Aumerle, thou weepſt (my tender-hearted cooſin)  
Weele make foule weather with diſpiled teares;  
Our sighs and they ſhall lodge the Summer corne,  
And make a dearth in this reuolting land:  
Or ſhall we play the wantons with our woes,  
And make ſome pretty match with ſheading teares,  
And thus to drop them ſtill vpon one place,  
Till they haue fretted vs a payre of graues  
Within the earth: and thererin laydes; there lies  
Two kinfemen digd their graues with weeping eyes?  
Would not this ill doe well? well well I ſee,  
I talke but idly, and you laugh at me.  
Most mighty Prince, my Lord Northumberland,  
Whatſaies king Bullingbrooke, will his Maieſtie  
Giue Richard leauē to liue till Richard die.

*The Tragedie of*

You make a leg, and Bullingbrooke saies I.

*North.* My Lord, in the base court he doth attend,  
To speake with you, may it please you to come downe.

*King.* Downe, downe I come, like glistening Phaeton,  
Wanting the manage of vnrulie Jades.

In the base court, base court where Kings growe base,  
To come at traitors calls, and do them grace.

In the base court come downe: downe court, downe King,  
For night-owles shreeke where mounting larkes should sing.

*Bull.* What saies his maestie?

*North.* Sorrow and grieve of hart,  
Makes him speake fondly like a frantike man:  
Yet he is come.

*Bull.* Stand all apart,  
And shew faire duety to his Maestie: (be kneeltes downe.)  
My gracious Lord.

*King.* Faire coosen, you debase your princely knee,  
To make the base earth proud with kissing it:  
Me rather had my hart might feele your loue,  
Then my vnpleased eie see your curtesie:  
Vp coosen vp, your hart is vp I knowe,  
Thus high at least, although your knee be lowe.

*Bull.* My gracious Lord, I come but for mine owne.

*King.* Your owne is yours, and I am yours and all.

*Bull.* So far be mine, my most redoubted Lord,  
As my true seruice shall deserue your loue.

*King.* Well you deserue: they well deserue to haue,  
That know the strong'ſt and sureſt way to get:  
Vnkle giue me your handes, nay drie your eies,  
Teares shew their loue, but want their remedies.  
Coosen, I am too young to be your Father,  
Though you are old enough to be heyre,  
What you will haue, ile giue, and willing to:  
For doe we must, what force will haue vs doe:  
Set on towards London, Coosen is it so?

*Bull.* Yea my good Lord:

*King.* Then I must not say no.

*Quee.* What sport shall we devise here in this garden,

Enter the  
*Queene with  
her assen-  
dants.*

To

*King Richard the Second.*

To drive away the heauie thought of care ?

*Lady* Madam weeke play at bowles.

*Queene* Twill make me thinke the world is full of rubs,  
And that my fortune runs against the bias.

*Lady* Madam weeke daunce.

*Queene* My legs can keepe no measure in delight,  
When my poore heart no measure keepes in griefe :  
Therefore no dauncing girle, some other sport,

*Lady* Madam weeke tel tales,

*Quee.* Of sorrow or of griefe ?

*Lady* Of either Madame.

*Quee.* Of neither girle,

For if of ioy, being altogither wanting,  
It doth remember me the more of sorrow :  
Or if of griefe, being altogither had,  
It addes more sorrow to my want of ioy :  
For what I haue I neede not to repeate,  
And what I want it bootes not to complaine.

*Lady* Madam ile sing.

*Quee.* Tis well that thou hast cause,  
But thou shouldest please me better wouldest thou weepe.

*Lady* I could weepe Madame, would it do you good.

*Quee.* And I could sing would weeping do me good ?  
And never borrow any teare of thee,  
But stay, here commeth the gardiners,  
Lets step into the shadow of these trees,      *Enter Gardiners.*  
My wretchednesse vnto a row of pines.

They will talke of state, for euerie one doth so,  
Against a change woe is fore-runne with woe.

*Gard.* Go bind thou vp yon dangling Apricocks,  
Which like vnrule children make their fire  
Stoope with oppression of their prodigall weight :  
Giue some supportance to the bending twigs,  
Go thou, and like an executioner  
Cut off the heads of two fast growing sprayes,  
That looke too loftie in our common-wealth :  
All must be eu'en in our governement.  
You thus imployd, I will go roote away.

*The Tragedie of*

The noysome weedes that without profit sucke  
The soiles fertilitie from wholesome flowers.

*Man.* Why should we in the compasse of a pale,  
Keape law and forme, and due proportion,  
Shewing in a model our firme estate,  
When our sea-walled garden, the whole land  
Is full of weedes, her fairest flowers choakt vp,  
Her fruit trees all vnpruind, her hedges ruind,  
Her knots disordered, and her holesome heales  
Swarming with caterpillers.

*Gard.* Hold thy peace,  
He that hath suffered this disordered spring,  
Hath now himselfe mett with the fall of leafe:  
The weedes that his broade spreading leaues did shelter,  
That seemde in eating him, to hold him vp,  
Are puld vp, roote and ali, by Bullingbrooke:  
I meane the Earle of Wiltshire, Bushie, Greene.

*Man.* What are they dead?

*Gard.* They are,  
And Bullingbrooke hath seizd the wastefull King.  
Oh what pitie it is, that he had not so trimde  
And drest his land; as we this garden, at time of ycere  
Do wound the barke, the skinne of our fuite trees,  
Lest being ouer-prowd with sap and blood,  
With too much riches it confoundit selfe.  
Had he done so, to great and growing men,  
They might haue lude to beare, and he to taste  
Their fruoutes of dutie: superfluous branches  
We lop away, that bearing boughes may liue:  
Had he done so, himselfe had borne the Crowne,  
Which waste of idle houres hath quite throwne downe.

*Man.* What, thinke you the king shall be deposid?

*Gard.* Deprest he is already, and depoide  
Tis doubt he will be. Letters came last night  
To a deare friend of the Duke of Yorks,  
That tell blacke tidings.

*Queen.* Oh! I am prest to death through want of speakeing  
Thou old Adams likenesse set to dresse this garden,

How

*King Richard the second.*

How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this vnplesing newes?  
What Eve? what serpent hath suggested thee,  
To make a second fall of cursed man?  
Why dost thou say King Richard is deposde?  
Darst thou thou little better thing then earth  
Divine his downefall? Say, where, when and how  
Camst thou by thi ill tidings? speake thou wretch.

*Gard.* Pardon me Madam, little ioy haue I  
To breathe these newes, yet what I say is true:  
King Richard, he is in the mighty hold  
Of Bullingbrooke: their fortunes both are weyde.  
In your Lo. scale is nothing but himselfe,  
And soime few vanities that make him light:  
But in the ballance of great Bullingbrooke,  
Besides himselfe, are all the English Peeres,  
And with that oddes he weighes King Richard downe.  
Post you to London, and you will finde it so,  
I speake no more then euerie one doth know.

*Queene* Nimble Mischance, that art so light offoote,  
Doth not thy embassage belong to me,  
And am I last that knowes it? Oh thou thinkest  
To serue me last, that I may longest keepe  
Thy sorrow in my brest: come Ladies, go  
To meeete at London Londons King in wo.  
What, was I borne to this, that my sad looke,  
Should grace the triumph of great Bullingbrooke?  
Gardner for telling me these newes of woe,  
Pray God the plants thou graftest may never grow.      *Exit.*

*Gard.* Poore Queene, so that thy state might be no worse,  
I would my skill were subiect to thy curse:  
Heere did she drop a teare, heere in this place  
He set a banke of Rew sowe hearbe of grace,  
Rew even for ruth heere shortly shall be seene,  
In remembrance of a weeping Queene.

*Exeunt.*

*Enter Bagot.*

*Bull.* Callforth Bagot,  
Now Bagot, freely speake thy minde,  
What thou dost know of noble Gloucesters death,  
Who wrought it with the King, and who performide

The

*The Tragedie of*

The bloudie office of his timelesse end.

*Bagot.* Then set before my face the Lord Aumerle.

*Bull.* Coofin, stand forth, and looke vpon that man.

*Bagot.* My Lord Aumerle, I know your daring tongue  
Scornes to vsay what once it hath deliuered:

In that dead time when Glocesters death was plotted,

I heard you say, is not my arme of length,

That reacheth from the restfull English court

As far as Callice to mine Vnckles head?

Amongst much other talke, that verie time

I heard you say, that you had rather refuse

The offer of an hundred thousand Crownes,

Then Bullingbrookes returne to England, adding withall,

How blest this land would be in this your Coosins death.

*Aum.* Princes and noble Lords,

What answer shall I make to this base man?

Shall I so much dishonour my faire stars,

On equall termes to giue him chalsticement?

Either I must, or haue mine honour soild

With the attainerd of his flaundrous lips:

There is my gage, the manuell seal of death,

That markes thee out for hell: thou liest,

And will maintaine what thou hast said is false,

In thy heart bloud, though being all too base

To staine the temper of my knightly sword.

*Bull.* Bagot, forbear, thou shalt not take it vp.

*Aum.* Excepting one, I would he were the best

In all this presence that hath mood me so.

*Fitz.* If that thy valure stand on sympathie,

There is my gage Aumerle, in gage to thine;

By that faire sunne that shewes me where thou standest,

I heard thee say, and wantingly thou spakst it,

That thou wert cause of noble Glocesters death:

If thou deniest it twentie times, thou liest,

And I will turne thy falsehood to thy heart,

Where it was forged with my rapiers point.

*Aum.* Thou darfst not (coward)lieue I to see the day.

*Fitz.* Now by my soule, I would it were this houre.

*Anno.*

*King Richard the second.*

*Aum.* Fitzwaters, thou art damnd to hell for this.

*L. Per.* Aumerle, thou liest, his honour is as true,  
In this appeale, as thou art all vniust,  
And that thou art so, there I throw my gage,  
To proue it on thee to the extreameſt poyn̄t  
Of mortall breathing, ſeize it if thou darſt.

*Aum.* And if I do not, may my hands rot off,  
And neuer brandiſh more reuengefull Steele  
Ouer the glittering helmet of my foe.

*Another L.* I take the earth to the like (forſworne Aumerle,)  
And ſpur thee on with full as many lies,  
As it may be hollowed in thy trecherous eare  
From finne to finne: there is my honors pawne,  
Ingage it to the tryall if thou darſt.

*Aum.* Who ſets me else by heauen Ille throw at all.  
I haue a thouſand ſpirits in one breast,  
To anſwer twentie thouſand ſuch as you.

*Sur.* My Lord Fitzwater, I do remember well  
The verie time Aumerle and you did talke.

*Fitz.* Tis very true, your were in preſence then,  
And you can witneſſe with me this is true.

*Sur.* As false by heauen, as heauen it ſelue is true.

*Fitz.* Surrie thou liest.

*Sur.* Dishonourable boy, that ly ſhall ſo heauie on my ſword  
That it ſhall render vengance and reuenge,  
Till thou the lie-giuere, and that lie do lie.  
In earth as quiet as thy fathers ſcull.  
In prooſe whereof there is mine honours pawne,  
Ingage it to the tryall if thou darſt.

*Fitz.* How fondly doſt thou ſpur a forward horſe,  
If I dare eat, or drinke, or breathe, or liue,  
I dare meeke Surry in a wildernesſe,  
And ſpit vpon him whilſt I ſay he lies,  
And lies, and lies: there is my bond of faith,  
To tie thee to my ſtrong correction:  
As I intend to thriue in this new world,  
Aumerle is guilty of my true appeale,  
Besides, I heard the banished Norfolk eſay,

That

*The Tragedie of*

That thou *Aumerle* diddest send two of thy men,  
To execute the noble Duke of *Calice*.

*Aum.* Some honest christian trust me with a gage;  
That No: ffolke lies, heere doe I throwe downe this,  
If he may be repeald to trie his honour.

*Bull.* These differences shall all rest vnder gage;  
Till Norffolke be repeald, repeald he shall be,  
And though mine enemy, restor'd againe  
To all his lands and signories; when he is return'd,  
Against *Aumerle* we will inforce his triall.

*Carl.* That honorable day shall never be seenes  
Many a time hath banisht Norffolke foughht,  
For Iesu Christ in glorious christian field,  
Streaming the ensigne of the christian Crosse,  
Against blacke Pagans, Turkes and Saracens,  
And toild with workes of warre, retir'd himselfe  
To *Italy*, and there at *Venice* gauie.  
His body to a pleasant countries earth,  
And his pure soule vnto his captaine Christ,  
Vnder whose colours he had foughht so long.

*Bull.* Why Bishop, is Norffolke dead?

*Carl.* As sure as I liue, my Lord.

*Bul.* Sweete peace, conduct his sweete soule to the bosome  
Of good olde *Abraham*: Lords Appellants,  
Your differences shall all rest vnder gage,  
Till we assigne you to your dayes of triall.      *Enter Yorke.*

*Yorke* Great Duke of Lancaster I come to thee,  
From plume-pluckt *Richard*, who with willing soule  
Adopts thee heire, and his high Scepter yecldes,  
To the possession of thy roiall hand:  
Ascend his throne, descending now from him,  
And long liue *Henry* fourth of that name.

*Bull.* In Gods name, he ascend the regall throne.

*Carl.* May God forbid.

Worste in this roiall presence I may speake:  
Yet best beseeeming me to speake the truthe:  
Would God any in this noble presence,  
Were enough noble to be vpright ludge

*King Richard the second.*

Of noble Richard : Then true noblenesse would  
Learne him forbearance from so foule a wrong.  
What subiect can give sentence on his King?  
And who sits not here that is not Richards subiect?  
Theeues are not iudged, but they are by to heare,  
Although apparant guilt be scene in them:  
And shall the figure of Gods Maiestie,  
His Captaine, steward, deputy, elect,  
Annoynted, crowned, planted many yeeres,  
Beiudg'd by subiect and inferior breath,  
And he himselfe not present? Oh forfend it God,  
That in a Christian Climate soules refiade  
Should shew so hainous blacke obscene a deed.  
I speake to subiects, and a subiect speaks,  
Stird vp by God thus boldly for his King.  
My Lord of Hereford here whom you call King,  
Is a foule traitour to proud Herefords King,  
And if you crowne him, let me prophesie,  
The blood of English shall manure the ground,  
And future ages groane for his foule act,  
Peace shall goe sleepe with Turkes and infidels,  
And in this seate of peace, tumultuous wars  
Shall kin with kin, and kinde with kinde confound :  
Disorder, horror, feare and mutiny,  
Shall here inhabit, and this land be cald,  
The field of Golgotha and dead mens skuls.  
Oh if you rayse this house against his house,  
It will the wofullest diuision proue,  
That euer fell vpon this cursed earth :  
Preuent it, resist it, and let it not be so,  
Lest child, childs children crie against you woe.

*North.* Well haue you argued sir, and for your paynes,  
Of Capital treason, we arrest you here:  
My Lord of Westminster, be it your charge,  
To keepe him safely till his day of triall.

*Bul.* Let it be so, and loe on wednesday next,  
We solemnly proclaim our Coronation,  
Lords be ready all.

*Exeunt.*  
*Abbes.*

The Tragedie of

Manet West.  
Carleil,Au-  
merle.

Abbot A wofull Pageant haue we heere beheld.

Carl. The woe's to come, the children yet vnborne  
Shall feele this day as sharpe to them as thorne.

Aum. You holy Clergy men, is there no plot,  
To rid the realme of this pernicious blot?

Abbot Before I freely speake my minde hecrein,  
You shall not onely take the Sacrament,  
To bury mine intents, but also to effect,  
What euer I shall happen to devise:  
I see your browes are full of discontent,  
Your heart of sorrow, and your eyes of teares:  
Come home with me to supper, Ile lay a plot,  
Shall shew vs all a merry day. *Exeunt.*

Enter Queene  
with her at-  
tendants.

Queene This way the King will come, this is the way  
To Julius Cæsar's ill erected tower,  
To whose flint bosome my condemned Lord  
Is doomde a prisoner by prowde Bullingbrooke.  
Heere let vs rest, if this rebellious earth  
Haue any resting for her true Kings Queene. *enter Rich.*  
But soft, but see, or rather, doe not see,  
My faire Rose wither: yet looke vp, behold,  
That you in pitty may dissolute to deaw,  
And wash him fresh againe with true loue teares.  
Ah thou the modell where olde Troy did stand!  
Thou mappe of Honour, thou king Richards toombe,  
And not king Richard: thou most beauteous Inne,  
Why should hard fauourd griefe be lodged in thee,  
When triu mph is become an Alchouse guest?

Rich. Ioyne not with griefe, faire woman, do not so,  
To make my end too sudden, learne good soule,  
To thinke our former state a happy dreame,  
From which awak, the trueth of what we are  
Shews vs but this: I am sworne(brother sweete)  
To grim Necesitie, and he and I  
Will keepe a league till death. Hie thee to France,  
And cloister thee in somereligious house:  
Our holy liues must winne a new worlds crowne,  
Which our prophane houres heere haue thrown downe.

Queene

*King Richard the second.*

*Queene* What is my Richard both in shape and mind  
Transformd and weakened? hath Bullingbrooke  
Deposde thine intellect? hath he beene in thy heart?  
The Lyon dying thrusteth forth his pawe,  
And wounds the earth, if nothing else, with rage,  
To be o're-powerd, and wilt thou Popill-like  
Take thy correction, mildely kisse the rod,  
And fawne on Rage with base humilitie,  
Which art a Lion and a king of beasts.

*King* A king of beasts indeede, if aught but beast,  
I had beeene still a happy king of men.

Good(sometime *Queene*) prepare thee hence for *France*,  
Thinke I am dead, and that euen heere thou takest  
As from my death-bed my last living leauue.

In winters tedious nights sitte by the fire  
With good olde folkes, and let them tell thee tales,  
Of woefull ages long agoe betide,  
And ere thou bid good night, to quite their griefe,  
Tell thou the lamentable tale of me,  
And send the hearers weeping to their bds:  
For why, the senslesse brandes will sympathy  
The heauy accent of thy mouing tongue,  
And in compassion weepe the fire out,  
And some will mourne in ashes, some cole blacke,  
For the depositing of a rightfull king.

*Enter Northumb.*

*North.* My Lord, the mind of *Bullingbrooke* is changde,  
You must to *Pomfret*, not vnto the *Tower*:  
And Madam, there is order tane for you,  
With all swift speede you must away to *France*.

*King Northumberland*, thou ladder wherewithall  
The mounting *Bullingbrooke* ascendes my throne,  
The time shall not be many houres of age  
More then it is, ere soule sinne gathering head  
Shall breake into corruption, thou shalt thinke,  
Though he diuide the Realme, and giue thee halfe,  
It is too little, helping him to all:  
He shall thinke, that thou which knowst the way  
To plant vnrightfull kings, wilt know againe,

*The Tragedie of*

Being nere so little vrgd another way,  
To plucke him headlong from the usurped throne.  
The loue of wicked men conuerts to feare,  
That feare to hate, and hate turns one or both  
To worthy danger and deserued death.

*North.* My guilt be on my head, and there an end:  
Take leauue and part, for you must part forthwith.

*King* Doubly diuorc't, (badde men) you violate  
A twofold mariage, betwixt my Crowne and me,  
And then betwixt me and my maried wife.  
Let me vnkisse the oath betwixt thee and me :  
And yet not so, for with a kisse t'was made,  
Part vs Northumberland, I towards the North,  
Where shivering cold and sicknesse pines the clime:  
My wife to France, from whence set foorth in pompe,  
She came adorned hither like sweete May,  
Sent backe like Hollowmas, or shortis of day.

*Queene* And must we be diuided? must we part?

*King* I, hand from hand (my loue) and heart from heart.

*Queene* Banish vs both, and send the King with me.

*King* That were some loue, but little policie.

*Queene* Then whither he goes, thither let me goe.

*King* So two togither weeping make one woe,

Weepe for me in France, I for thee here,

Better farre off then neere be nere the neere:

Goe count thy way with sighes, I mine with groanes.

*Queene* So longest way shall haue the longest moanes,

*King* Twise for one step Ile groane, the way being short,  
And piece the way out with a heauie heart.

Come, come, in wooing sorrow lets be briefe,

Since wedding it, there is such length in griefe:

One kisse shall stoppe our mouthies, and doubly part,  
Thus giue I mine, and thus take I thy heart:

*Queene* Giue me mine owne againe, twere no good part,  
To take on me to keepe, and kill thy heart:  
So now I haue mine owne againe, be gone,  
That I may striue to kill it with a greane,

*King* We make woe wanton with this fond delay,

Once

*King Richard the second.*

Once more adew, the rest let sorrow say.

*exeunt.*

Du. My Lord, you told me you would tell therest,  
When weeping made you breake the story  
Of our two Coofins comung into London.

Enter Duke  
of Yorke and  
the Dutchesse

Yorke. Where did I leue?

Du. At that sad stop my Lord,  
Where rude misgouernd handes from windowes tops,  
Threw dust and rubbish on King Richards head.

Yorke Then (as I sayd) the Duke great Bullingbrooke,  
Mounted vpon a hote and fierie steede,  
Which his aspiring rider seemde to know,  
With slow, but stately pace kept on his course,  
While all tongues cri'd, God save the Bullingbrooke,  
You would haue thought the verie windowes spake:  
So many greedie lookes of yong and old,  
Through casements darted their desiring eyes  
Vpon his visage, and that all the wals,  
With painted imagery had sayd at once,  
Iesu preserue the welcome Bullingbrooke,  
Whilst he from the one side to the other turning  
Bare-headed, lower then his proud steeds necke  
Bespake them thus, I thanke you countrymen:  
And thus still doing, thus he past along.

Du. Alacke poore Richard, where rides he the whilst?

Yorke As in a Theater the eyes of men,  
After a wel graced Actor leaues the stage,  
Are idly bent on him that enters next,  
Thinking his prattle to be tedious:  
Euen so, or with much more contempt mens eyes  
Did scoule on gentle Richard, no man cried, God save him,  
No ioyfull tongue gaue him his welcome home,  
But dust was throwne vpon his sacred head,  
Whiche with such gentle sorrow he shooke off,  
His face still combating with teares and smiles,  
The badges of his griefe and patience,  
That had not God for some strong purpose steeled  
The hearts of men, they must perforce haue melted,  
And Barbarisme it selfe haue pittied him:

*The Tragedie of*

But heaven hath a hand in these events,  
To whose hee will wee bound our calme contents,  
To Bullingbrooke are we sworne subiects now,  
Whose state and honour I for ay allow.

*Du.* Here comes my sonne Aumerle.

*Yorke* Aumerle that was,  
But that is lost, for being Richards friend :  
And Madam, you must call him Rutland now :  
I am in parliament pledge for his truth  
And lasting fealtie to the newe made King.

*Du.* Welcome my sonne, who are the violets now  
That strew the greene lappe of the new come spring.

*Aum.* Madam I know not, nor I greatly care not,  
God knowes I had as lief be none as one.

*Yorke* Well, bear you well in this new spring of time,  
Least you be cropt before you come to prime.  
What newes from Oxford, do these iusts and triumphs hold ?

*Aum.* For aught I know (my Lord) they do.

*Yorke* You will be there I know.

*Aum.* If God preuent not I purpose so.

*Yorke* What seale is that that hangs without thy bosome ?  
Yea, lookst thou pale ? let me see the writing.

*Aum.* My Lord, tis nothing.

*Yorke* No matter then who see it,  
I will be satisfied, let me see the writing.

*Aum.* I do beseech your grace to pardon me,  
It is a smatter of small consequence,

Which for some reasons I would not haue seene.

*Yorke* Which for some reasons, sir I meane to see.  
I feare, I feare.

*Du.* What shoulde you feare ?  
Tis nothing but some band that he is entred into  
For gay apparrell against the triumph.

*Yorke* Bound to himselfe, what doth hee with a bond  
That he is bound to. Wife, thou art a foole,  
Boy, let me see the writing.

*Aum.* I do beseech you pardon me, I may not shew it.

*Yorke* I will be satisfied, let me see it I say :

*Yorke*

*King Richard the second.*

*Yorke* Treason, soule treason, villaine, traitor, slauce.

*Du.* What is the matter my Lord?

*Yorke* Ho, who is within there? saddle my horse,  
God for his mercy! what treachery is here?

*Du.* Why, what is it my Lord?

*Yorke* Giue me my bootes I say, saddle my horse,  
Now by mine honour, my life, n.y troth,  
I will appeach the villaine.

*Du.* What is the matter?

*Yorke* Peace foolish woman.

*Du.* I will not peace, what is the matter Aumerle?

*Aum.* Good mother be content, it is no more  
Then my poore life must answeare.

*Du.* Thy life answeare?

*Yorke* Bring me my bootes, I will vnto the King.

*Du.* Strike him Aumerle, poore boy thou art amazd,  
Hence villaine, never more come in my sight.

His man en-  
ters with  
his bootes.

*Yorke* Giue me my bootes I say.

*Du.* Why Yorke what wilt thou do?

Wilt not thou hide the trespassse of thine owne?  
Haue we more sonnes? or are we like to haue?  
Is not my teeming date drunke vp with time?  
And wilt thou plucke my faire sonne from mine age?  
And robbe mee of a happie mothers name,  
Is he not like thee? is he not thine owne?

*Yorke* Thou fond mad woman,  
Wilt thou conceale this darke conspiracie?  
A doozon of them here haue tane the sacrament,  
And interchangeably set downe their hands,  
To kill the King at Oxford.

*Du.* He shall be none, weeke keepe him here,  
Then what is that to him?

*Yorke* Away fond woman, were he twentie times my sonne;  
I would appeach him.

*Du.* Hadst thou groand for him as I haue done,  
Thou wouldest be more pitifull:  
But now I know thy minde, thou dost suspect  
That I haue beene disloyall to thy bed,

And

He plucks it  
out of his  
bosome and  
reades it.

*The Tragedie of*

And that he is a bastard, not thy sonne :  
Sweete Yorke, sweete husband be not of that minde,  
He is as like thee as a man may be,  
Not like me or any of my kinne,  
And yet I loue him.

*Yorke* Make way vnruely woman.      *Exit.*

*Du.* After Aumerle : mount thee vpon his horse,  
Spur,post, and get before him to the King,  
And beg thy pardon, ere he do accuse thee,  
Ile not be long behind, though I be old,  
I doubt not but to ride as falt as Yorke,  
And neuer will I rise vp from the ground,  
Till Bullingbrooke haue pardoned thee, away, be gone.

*King H.* Can no man tell me of my vnthrifte sonne ?  
Enter the king  
with his nobles

Tis full three moneths since I did see him last ;

If any plague hang ouer vs tis hee,  
I would to God my Lords, he might be found :  
Inquire at London, mongst the Tauernes there,  
For there they say, he daily doth frequent,  
With vnrestrained loose companions,  
Euen such (they say) as stand in narrow lanes,  
And beate our watch, and robbe our passengers,  
Which he yong wanton and effeminate boy,  
Takes on the point of honor to support so dissolute a crew.

*H. Percy* My Lord, some two daies since I saw the Prince,  
And told him of those triumphs held at Oxford.

*King* And what said the gallant ?

*Percie* His answere was, he woulde to the stewes,  
And from the commonest creature plucke a gloue,  
And weare it as a fauour, and with that  
He woulde vnhorse the lustiest Challenger.

*King H.* As dissolute as desperate, yet through both  
I see some sparkles of better hope, which elder yeares  
May happily bring forth. But who comes here ?

Enter Au-      *Aum.* Where is the King ?      (so wildly.  
merle amazed      *King H.* What meanes our coofin that he stares and lookes

*Aum.* God sauе your grace, I do beseech your maiestie,  
To haue some conference with your grace alone.

*King*

*King Richard the second.*

*King* Withdrawe your selues, and leue vs heere alone:  
What is the matter with our coosin now?

*Aum.* For euer may my knees growe to the earth,  
My tongue cleave to my rooſe within my mouth,  
Vnlesſe a pardon ere I rise or speake.

*King* Intended, or committed, was this fault?  
If on the first, how heynous ere it be,  
To winne thy after loue, I pardon thee.

*Aum.* Then give me leauē that I may turne the key,  
That no man enter till my tale be done.

*King* Haue thy desire.

*Torke* My liege beware, looke to thy ſelſe,  
Thou haſt a traitor in thy preſence there.

*King* Villaine, Ile make thee ſafe.

*Au.* Stay thy reuengefull hand, thou haſt no cauſe to feare. The Duke of

*Torke* Open the doore, ſecure foole, hardy King.  
Shall I for loue ſpeakē treaſon to thy face?  
Open the doore, or I wil breake it open.

Yorke knocks  
at the doore,  
and cryeth.

*King* What is the matter vncle, ſpeakē, recover breath,  
Tel vs, how neere is danger,  
That we may arme vs to encounter it?

*Torke* Perufe this writing here, and thou ſhalt know,  
The treaſon that my haſte forbids me ſhew.

*Aum.* Remember as thou read'ſt, thy promeſe paſt,  
I doe repente me, reade not my name there,  
My heart is not confederate with my hand.

*Torke* It was(villaine)ere thy hand did ſet it downe:  
I tore it from the traitors boſome (King)  
Feare, and not loue, begets his penitence:  
Forget to pity him, leſt thy pity proue  
A ſerpent, that wil ſting thee to the heart.

*King* O heynous, ſtrong, and bolde conſpiracy!  
O loyall father of a treacherous ſonne!  
Thou ſheere immaclate and ſiluer Fountaine,  
From whence this ſtreame through muddy paſſages  
Hath haid his current, and deſilde himſelfe:  
Thy ouerflow of good conuerts to bad,  
And thy abounding goodnes ſhall excuse

*The Tragedie of*

This deadly blot in thy digressing sonne.

*Yor.* So shall my vertue, be his vices baude,  
And he shall spend mine honour, with his shame,  
As thrifiles sonnes, their scraping Fathers gold :  
Mine honour lies when his dishonour dies,  
Or my shande life in his dishonour lies :  
Thou kilst me in his life giuing him breath,  
The traitor lives, the true man's put to death.

*Du.* What ho, my Liege, for Gods sake let me in.

*King H.* What shrill voic'd suppliant makes this eger crye ?

*Du.* A woman, and thy aunt (great king) tis I,  
Speake with me, pitie me, open the doore,  
A beggar begs that never begd before.

*King* Our scene is altered from a serious thing,  
And now changde to the Beggar and the King :  
My dangerous cousin, let your mother in,  
I know she is come to pray for your foale sinne.

*Yorke* If thou do pardon wholoever pray,  
More sinnes for this forgiuenes prosper may :  
This festred ioynt cut off, the rest rest sound,  
This let alone will all the rest confound.

*Du.* Oh king, beleue not this hard-hearted man :  
Loue louing not it selfe, none other can.

*Yorke* Thou frantike woman, what dost thou make here ?  
Shall thy old dugs once more a traitor rearre ?

*Du.* Sweete Yorke be patient, heare me gentle Liege.

*King H.* Rise vp good aunt.

*Du.* Not yet I thee beseech.

For euer will I walke vpon my knees,  
And never see day that the happy sees,  
Till thou giue ioy, vntill thou bid me ioy,  
By pardoning Rutland my transgressing boy.

*Aum.* Vnto my mothers prayers I bend my knee.

*Yorke* Against them both my true ioynts bend; d be,  
Ill mayst thou ihiue if thou graunt any grace.

*Du.* Pleades he in earnest alooke vpon his face.  
His eies do drop no teares, his prayers are in iest,  
His words do come from his mouth, ours from our breast,

*King Richard the second.*

He prayes but faintly, and would be denide,  
We pray with heart and soule, and all beside:  
His weary ioynts would gladly rise I know,  
Our knees still kneele till to the ground they grow:  
His prayers are full of false hypocrisie,  
Ours of true zeale and deepe integritie:  
Our prayers do out-pray his, then let them haue  
That mercy which true prayer ought to haue.

*King* Good Aunt stand vp.

*Du.* Nay, do not say, stand vp;  
Say pardon first, and afterwards stand vp,  
And if I were thy nurse thy tongue to teach,  
Pardon should be the first word of thy speech:  
I neuer longd to heare a word till now,  
Say pardon king, let pitie teach thee how:  
The word is short, but not so short as sweete,  
No word like pardon for kings mouthes so meete.

*Yorke* Speake it in French, King say, *Pardonne moy.*

*Du.* Dost thou teach pardon? pardon to destroy:  
Ah my sowre husband, my hard hearted Lord!  
That sets the word it selfe against the word;  
Speake pardon as tis currant in our land,  
The chopping French we do not vnderstand:  
Thine eie begins to speake, set thy tongue there,  
Or in thy piteous heart, plant thou thine care,  
That hearing how our plaints and prayers doe pierce,  
Pitie may moue thee pardon to rehearse.

*King H.* Good aunt stand vp.

*Du.* I doe not sue to stand.

Pardon is all the fute I haue in hand.

*King* I pardon him as God shall pardon me.

*Du.* O happy vantage of a kneeing knee.  
Yet am I sick for feare, speake it againe,  
Twice saying pardon, doth not pardon twaine,  
But makes one pardon strong.

*King H.* I pardon him with all my heart,

*Du.* A god on earth thou art.

*King H.* But for our trusty brother in law and the Abbor,

*The Tragedie of*

With all the rest of that consoled crew,  
Destruction strait shall dog them at the heeles.  
Good vncle, help to order scuerall powers  
To Oxford, or where ere these traitours are,  
They shall not hue within this world I sweare,  
But I will haue them, if I once know where.  
Vnkle farewell, and coosin adue,  
Your mother well hath prayed, and proue you true.

*Du.* Come my olde sonne, I pray God make thee new.

*Exton* Didst thou not marke the K. what words he spake?  
Haue I no friend wil rid me of this liuing feare?  
Was it not so?

*Man.* These were his very wordes.

*Exton* Haue I no friend quoth he? he spake it twice,  
And vrgde it twice together, did he not?

*Man.* He did.

*Exton* And speaking it, he wistly lookt on me,  
As who should say, I would thou wert the man,  
That would diuorce this terror from my heart,  
Meaning the King at Pomfret. Come, lets go,  
I am the Kings friend, and will rid his foe.

*Rich.* I haue beeene studying how to compare  
This prison where I liue, vnto the world:  
And for because the world is populous,  
And heere is not a creature but my selfe,  
I cannot doe it: yet Ile hammer it out:  
My braine Ile proue the female to my soule,  
My soule the father, and these two beget  
A generation of still-breeding thoughts:  
And these same thoughts people this little world,  
In humours like the people of this world:  
For no thought is contented: the better sort,  
As thoughts of things divine are intermixt  
With scruples, and do set the word it selfe  
Against thy word, as thus: Come little ones, and then againe,  
It is as hard to come as for a Carmell  
To thred the small posterne of a small needles ey:  
Thoughts tending to ambition they doe plot

*King Richard the second.*

Vnlikely wonders : how these vaine weake nayles  
May teare a passage thorow the flinty aibs  
Of this hard world, my ragged prison walles:  
And for they cannot die in their owne pride,  
Thoughts tending to content , flatter themselues,  
That they are not the firt of fortunes slaves,  
Nor shall not be the last, like seely beggars;  
Who sitting in the stockes, refuge their shame,  
That many haue, and others must sit there.  
And in this thought they finde a kinde of easse,  
Bearing their owne misfortunes on the backe  
Of such as haue before indurde the like.  
Thus play I in one prison many people,  
And none contented ; sometimes am I a King,  
Then treasons make me wish my selfe a beggar,  
And so I am:then crushing penurie  
Perswades me I was better when a King,  
Then am I a king againe, and by and by,  
Thinke that I am vnkingde by Bullingbrooke,  
And strait am nothing. But what ere I be,  
Nor I, nor any man, that but man is,  
With nothing shall be please, till he be easde,  
With being nothing. Musick do I heare, *the musick plaiers.*  
Ha ha, keepe time, how sowre sweete musick is,  
When time is broke, and no proportion kept;  
So is it in the musick of mens liues :  
And here haue I the daintiness of care  
To checke time broke in disordered string:  
But for the concord of my state and time,  
Had not an eare to heare my true time broke,  
I wasted time, and now doth time waste me:  
For now hath time made his numbring clockes;  
My thoughts are minutes, and with sighes they iarde,  
Their watches on vnto mine eyes the outward watch  
Whereto my finger like a dialles poynt.  
Is pointing still, in cleansing them from teares.  
Now sir, the sound that tells what houre it is,  
Are clamorous groanes, which strike vpon my heart,  
Which is the bell; so sighes, and teares, and groanes,

*The Tragedie of*

Shew minutes, times, and houres : but my time  
Runnes postng on in Bullingbrookes prud' ioy,  
While I stand fooling heere his iacke of the clocke:  
This musick maddes me, let it sound no more,  
For though it haue holpe mad men to their witts,  
In me it seemes it will make wise men mads:  
Yet blessing on his heart that gives it me,  
For tis a signe of loue : and loue to Richard,  
Is a strange brooch in this al-hating world.

*Enter a Groome  
of the stable.*

*Groome.* Haile royall Prince.

*Rich.* Thanks noble peate:  
The cheapeit of vs isten groats too deare,  
What art thou, and how comest thou hither,  
Where no man never comes but that sad dog,  
That brings me food to make misfortune hue?

*Groome.* I was a poore groome of thy stalle King,  
When thou wert King : who trauelling towards Yorke,  
With much adoe (at length) haue gotten leave,  
To looke vpon my sometimes royall masters face:  
Oh how it ernd my heart, when I beheld  
In London streetes that Coronation day,  
When Bullingbrooke rode on Roane Barbarie,  
That horse, that thou so often hast bestride,  
That horse, that I so carefully haue drest.

*Rich.* Rode he on Barbarie , tell me gentle friend,  
How went he vnder him?

*Groome.* So prudly, as if he disdaine the ground.

*Rich.* So prud that Bullingbrooke was on his backe:  
That Iade hath eate bread from my royall hand;  
This hand hath made him prud with clapping him:  
Would he not stumble? would he not fall downe?  
Since pride must haue a fall, and breake the necke  
Of that prud man, that did usurpe his backe:  
Forgiuenes horse, why doe I rayle on thee?  
Since thou created to be awde by man,  
Wast borne to beare, I was not made a horse,  
And yet I beare a burthen like an asse,  
Spurrd, galld, and tyrde by iouncing Bullingbrooke.

*Keeper* Fellow giue place; here is no longer stay.

*Rich.*

*King Richard the second.*

*Rich.* If thou lose me, tis time thou wert away.

*Groome* What my tongue dares not, that my heart shal say. *Enter one to Richard with meat.*

*Keeper* My Lord, wilt please you to fall to?

*Rich.* Taste of it first, as thou art wont to do.

*Keeper* My Lord I dare not, sir Pierce of Exton,

Who lately came from the King, commands the contrary.

*Rich.* The diuell take Henry of Lancaster, and thee,

Patience is stale, and I am weary of it.

*Exit groome.*

*Keeper* Helpe, helpe, helpe,

*Rich.* How now, what meanes Death in this rude assaule?

Villaine thy owne hand yeelds thy deaths instrument,

*The murderers rush in.*

Goe thou and fill another roome in hell.

*Rich.* That hand shall burne in never-quenching fire,  
That staggers thus my person: Exton, thy fierce hand  
Hath with the kings blood staind the kings owne land,  
Mount, mount my soule, thy seate is vp on hie,  
Whilst my grosse flesh sinkes downward here to die.

*Here Exton  
breaks him down.*

*Exton* As full of valure, as of royall blood:  
Both haue I spilid, Oh would the deed were good!  
For now the diuell that told me I did well,  
Saiest that this deed is chronicled in hell:  
This dead king to the liuing king ile beare,  
Take hence the rest, and give them buriall here.

*King* Kind ynnkle Yorke, the latest newes we heare,  
Is, that the rebels haue consumed with fire  
Our towne of Ciceter in Gloucestershire:  
But whether they be tane or slaine, we heare not;  
Welcome my Lord, what is the newes?

*Enter Bulling-  
brooke with the  
Duke of Yorke.*

*North.* First to thy sacred state wish I all happinesse,  
The next newes is, I haue to London sent,  
The heads of Oxford, Salisburie, and Kent:  
The manner of their taking may appeare  
At large discoursed in this paper here.

*Enter Nor-  
thumberland.*

*King* We thanke thee gentle Percie for thy paynes,  
And to thy worth will adde right worthie gaines.

*Fitz.* My Lord, I haue from Oxford sent to London,  
The heads of Broccas, and sir Benet Seely,  
Two of the dangerous consorted traitours,  
That sought at Oxford thy dire ouerthrow,

*Enter Lorde  
Fitzpayers.*

*King.*

*The Tragedie of*

*King* Thy paines Fitz: shall not be forgot,  
Right noble is thy merit well I wot.

Enter Henry  
Percie.

*Percie* The grand conspirator Abbot of Westminster,  
With clogge of conscience and sowe melancholie,  
Hath yeelded vp his body to the graue:  
But here is *Carteis* liuing, to abide  
Thy kingly doome, and sentence of his pride.

*King* *Carteis*, this is your doome,  
Chuse out some secret place, some reverend roome  
More then thou hast, and with it ioy thy life,  
So as thou liest in peace, die free from strife:  
For though mine enemy thou hast ever beene,  
High sparkes of honour in thee haue I seene.

Enter Exton  
with the cof-  
fin.

*Exton* Great King, within this coffin I present  
Thy buried feare: hecnein all breathlesse lies  
The mightiest of thy greatest enemies,  
*Richard of Burdesaux*, by me hither brought.

*King* *Exton*, I thanke thee not, for thou hast wrought  
A deede of slaughter with thy fatal hand,  
Upon my head, and all this famous land.

*Exton* From your owne mouth, my Lo: did I this deede.

*King* They loue not poison that do poison neede,  
Nor doe I thee, though I did wish him dead,  
I hate the murtherer, loue him murthered:  
The guilt of conscience take thou for thy labour,  
But neither my good word, nor princely fauour:  
With *Caine* goe wander through the shade of night,  
And never shew thy head by day nor light.  
Lords, I protest my soule is full of woe,  
That bloud should sprinkle me to make me growe:  
Come mourne with me, for what I doe lament,  
And put on fullē blacke incontinent:  
Ile make a voyage to the Holy land,  
To wash this bloud off from my guilty hand.  
March sadly after, grace my mournings heere,  
In weeping after this vntimely Beere.

*F I N T S.*









