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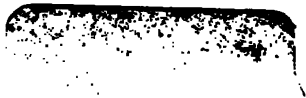
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RICHARD II

o

SHAKESPEARE'S

TRAGEDY OF
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KING RICHARD II

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION

BY

JAMES HUGH MOFFATT

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1908

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INTRODUCTION

THE TRAGEDY OF RICHARD II.

Shakespeare's Historical Plays. — In Shakespeare's time the theatre was almost the only means of popular education, which to-day is so freely offered to every one in newspapers and magazines. To the theatre the people flocked, hungry for stories, comic, tragic, and historic. From the defeat of the Armada to the accession of the Scottish king, James I., their chief interest was national, patriotic — love and pride for their country. To amuse, and sometimes to instruct, these patriots, the dramatists presented Chronicle plays, in which they graphically told the story of England's greatness as shown in the lives of her famous leaders.

Of the thirty-seven plays attributed to Shakespeare, ten are English Chronicle plays, and three others are founded on British legends. His Chronicle plays far excel in merit those of his contemporaries, except

Marlowe's *Edward II*. Historically they extend from King John (1199) to Henry VIII. (1547); they tell of the reigns or the important events of seven of the fourteen kings who ruled England in those centuries. They have well been called "The Decline and Fall of the House of the Plantagenets, with a prologue on King John and an epilogue on Henry VIII."¹ The faults of Richard II. began the struggle, which was held in check by the strong will of Henry IV., and almost forgotten in the glorious reign of Henry V.—Shakespeare's ideal king. But his son Henry VI. was too weak a saint to rule a nation of men, and hopelessly involved the crown in difficulties, which finally burned themselves out in the passions of Richard III. "The one dominant subject of the histories [is] how a man may fail, and how a man may succeed, in attaining a practical mastery of the world."² There is no evident attempt to give a continuous account of the historical events. Shakespeare selected only what would interest his audience. Some kings, such as Edward II., were omitted because other dramatists had written successful plays about them. In some, *Henry VI.* and *Henry VIII.*, Shakespeare wrote only part of the play.

¹ Warner's *English History in Shakespeare's Plays*, 1894, p. 7.

² Dowden's *Shakspeare — His Mind and Art*, 1880, p. 150.

Nor were they written in chronological order. The three plays on *Henry VI* were probably written first, between 1590 and 1592; then *Richard III.*, *Richard II.*, *King John*, *Henry IV.*, *Henry V.*, and lastly *Henry VIII.*

THE DATE OF RICHARD II.

Its Relation to Daniel's Civil Wars. — The exact date of the writing of *Richard II.* cannot be determined. It was first published in 1597, but it was probably written and acted several years earlier. The companies of actors that owned the plays tried to prevent their publication, out of fear of lessening their audiences. Certain passages in the play resemble very closely parts of a narrative poem called *Civil Wars* by Daniel, published in 1595. As Daniel has been convicted of plagiarism in other poems, the presumption is that he used Shakespeare's work. The striking similarities occur only in the second edition of Daniel's poem, in those very passages that had been rewritten and altered from the first edition. For instance, in the first edition, Daniel had given no reason why Bolingbroke accused Norfolk, nor do Holinshed and Froissart, from whose works both poets got their material. Yet in his second edition, Daniel assigns

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RICHARD II

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New York

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The fourth quarto was published in 1615 and in 1634 the fifth quarto; the first folio or collected edition of Shakespeare's plays appeared in 1623; the second folio in 1632. The best text is that of the first quarto, especially the Duke of Devonshire's copy, in which some of the compositor's mistakes were corrected during the printing. But the differences in the texts are few and unimportant.

OTHER PLAYS ON RICHARD II.

There are three or four other plays on Richard's reign.

(1) *The Life and Death of Jack Straw* (1593), dealing with the peasant insurrection of 1381 and the king's successful dispersion of the rebels.

(2) A play, now lost, seen by Dr. Simon Forman at the Globe Theatre on April 30, 1611. It showed how "Jack Straw was suddenly stabbed at Smithfield Bars by Walworth, the mayor of London, and so he and his whole army overthrown. . . . The Duke of Gloucester and others, crossing the king in his humors about the Duke of Ireland and Bushy, were glad to fly, and raise a host of men; and when Ireland came by night with three hundred men to surprise them, they, being warned thereof, kept the gates fast, and would

not suffer him to enter the castle; so he went back with a fly in his ear, and was afterwards slain in battle by the Earl of Arundel. When Gloucester and Arundel came to London with their army, the king went forth to meet them, and gave them fair words, promising them pardon, and that all should be well, if they would discharge their army; and after they had done so, having bid them all to a banquet, he betrayed them, and cut off their heads, because they had not the pardon under his hand and seal. The Duke of Lancaster privily contrived to set them all by the ears, and to make the nobility envy the king, and dislike the government; whereby he made his own son king, which was Henry Bolingbroke. Lancaster asked a wise man whether himself should ever be king; and being told that he should not, but his son should, he hanged the man for his labor, lest he should speak thereof to others." But this play did not include the deposition.

(3) *The Play of Deposing Richard II.*, performed on February 8, 1601, the eve of Essex's rebellion against Elizabeth. It was played at the request of the leaders in order to encourage the conspirators. Some editors think that this was Shakespeare's play, because it was played by Augustine Phillips, a member of the Lord

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In this play Gloucester is always referred to as "plain Gloucester," going about in humble clothes; although Holinshed, the common source of both the plays, gives no hint of this character of Gloucester. Yet Shakespeare calls him "plain well-meaning soul" (II. i. 128). Moreover Shakespeare corrects one mistake of this play, rightly stating that Mowbray, not Lapoole, was governor of Calais.

If Shakespeare knew this play, his audiences would know it also. When he came to write *Richard II.*, he chose only the closing events of Richard's dramatic reign as his theme, and there was no need of his explaining the murder of Gloucester or of showing the greed and cruelty of the favorites, facts which for a modern reader require more explanation than is given in *Richard II.* The excellent comedy of the older play was so well done, as lowly and delightful as that of Dogberry, that he probably was unwilling to attempt it in a play on the same subject; therefore *Richard II.*, unlike most of the historical plays, contains no comedy.

complete text from the manuscript in the British Museum (Eger-ton Mss. 1894) may be found with comments in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXXV.

THE STAGE HISTORY OF RICHARD II.

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Richard II. has never been popular on the stage. The leading character is a weak man, but not wickedly weak enough to be interesting, like Richard III. It lacks a hero, good or bad; it lacks action, and comedy, and an appealing female character,—four requirements of popularity. Bolingbroke, the man of action, could easily have been made the hero, but his character is slightly sketched, serving only as contrast to Richard, the man of sentiment. A modern audience is not interested in the political history of Richard's reign, which forms so large a part of the play, and which appealed to Shakespeare's contemporaries because they were going through similar crises. That it was popular in his time is attested by the five quarto editions, for only sixteen of Shakespeare's thirty-seven plays were published in quarto, and of these only three were published five times.

In the 17th Century. — The play since the reign of Elizabeth has had a peculiar history on the stage. In September, 1608, *Richard II.* and *Hamlet* were acted on board Captain Keeling's ship near Sierra Leone to entertain Captain Hawkins, on their voyage towards the Northwest in search of a passage to

Cathay.”¹ In 1681 Nahum Tate, whose poems and versions of the Psalms led to his appointment as poet-laureate in 1692, produced his version of Shakespeare’s play at the Theatre Royal. But even though Tate had called it *The Sicilian Usurper*, and had altered the *dramatis personæ* to Oswald, Alcidore, Cleon, etc., it was stopped after two performances, because it depicted a successful rebellion against a king. The chief alteration was in making York a comic rather than a serious part, in adding some low comedy scenes, and in modifying the unkingly acts of Richard. Tate asserted that “every scene is full of respect to Majesty, and the dignity of Courts, not one altered passage but what breathes loyalty.”²

In the 18th Century.—In 1718 Lewis Theobald’s version was produced at Rich’s Theatre in Lincoln’s Inn Fields for seven nights. In 1738 the play was again revived for the political purpose of worrying the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole. The audience quickly saw the allusion, that Walpole was restraining George II. from war with Spain, as

¹ See *Narrative of Voyage towards the Northwest in Search of a Passage to Cathay*, edited by Th. Rundall for the Hakluyt Society, 1849.

² See *Genest’s English Stage*, i. 293.

Bushy, Bagot, and the other favorites had kept Richard from French campaigns. In 1754 *Richard II.*, as altered by Francis Gentleman, was produced at Bath. In 1772 James Goodhall tried in vain to persuade Garrick to produce his perversion of Shakespeare's play, which he later published.

In the 19th Century.—In 1804 *Richard II.* was revived at York; the advertisement announced that the latter part of the play was laid at the neighboring castle of Pomfret (Pontefract). In 1812 Macready produced it successfully at Newcastle-on-Tyne, but failed three years later at Bath, where he gave only two performances and both to poor houses. He tried it once more, in London in 1850, but again was unsuccessful.

In March, 1815, Edmund Kean played it thirteen times in Drury Lane Theatre, London, using a garbled version by Wroughton; in which, for instance, after Richard is killed, the Queen enters and speaks some few lines taken from *King Lear*, then falls dead on his body, as Juliet on Romeo's body. "Mr. Kean made it a character of *passion*, that is, of feeling combined with energy; whereas it is a character of *pathos*, that is to say, of feeling combined with weakness."¹

¹ See William Hazlitt's review in *The Examiner*, March 19, 1815.

Charles Kean was more successful than his father; in 1857 he played it for eighty-five nights in London and for twenty-seven nights the following season. But he was a master of stage-craft, and took most of his costumes and scenes from the manuscript records in the British Museum. Between the second and third acts there was an elaborate pageant expressing in dumb show the entry of Richard and Bolingbroke into London, according to the account given later by York. The play bill contained the following announcement of this pageant:—

HISTORICAL EPISODE — LONDON

The Fronts of the Houses adorned with Tapestry and Hangings, as on Occasions of Public Rejoicing. A Vast Concourse of People occupying the Streets, in expectation of the arrival of Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, and the deposed and captive King, Richard the Second. The Incidental Amusements of the Crowd are taken from Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes of the English*, including the Dance of the Itinerant Fools. (The Dance Tune is supposed to be as Old as the Reign of Edward the Second.)

TRUMPET MARCH — ENTER PROCESSION

City Trumpeteers.

City Banner and Banner of St. Paul. Guards.

Lord Mayor's Banner. City Sword and Mace Bearer.

Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London. Aldermen.
 Banner of the Mercer's Company.
 Captain and Company of the Mercers (armed).
 Banner of the Grocers' Company.
 Captain and Company of the Grocers (armed).
 Banner of the Fishmongers' Company.
 Captain and Company of the Fishmongers (armed).
 Banner of the Goldsmiths' Company.
 Captain and Company of the Goldsmiths (armed).
 Banner of the Linen Armourers' Company.
 Captain and Company of the Linen Armourers (armed).
 Banner of the Saddlers' Company.
 Captain and Company of the Saddlers (armed).
 Banner of the Bakers' Company.
 Captain and Company of the Bakers (armed).
 Royal Banners. Noblemen in Civil Costume. Minstrels.
 Duke of Lancaster's Banner. Girls with Flowers.
 Knight in Armour Bolingbroke Knight in Armour.
 Knight in Armour on horseback. Knight in Armour.
 Knight in Armour Guards. Knight in Armour.
 Knight in Armour King Richard Knight in Armour.
 Knight in Armour on horseback. Knight in Armour.
 Knight in Armour Guards. Knight in Armour.
 Captain and Band of City Archers.

* * * * *

The Tragedy of Richard II. will be repeated every evening,
 preceded by the Farce of *Music Hath Charms*.

A somewhat similar version was produced in
 America by Junius Booth and later by Edwin Booth.

In 1897 Sir Henry Irving prepared a stage version of *Richard II.* and persuaded Mr. Edwin A. Abbey to paint the scenery and to design the costumes, all of which were based on historical records. Although he spent \$35,000 in this preparation, his ill health prevented him from presenting it.

In Germany *Richard II.* has been more popular than in England or America, for it has been produced in German theatres at least three times a year, and once eighteen times. In the twenty-five years from 1880 to 1905, German companies played it one hundred and ninety-two (192) times, while *Richard III.* was played six hundred and ninety six (696) times.

The Recent Productions.—In more recent years *Richard II.* has been produced by the Elizabethan Society and by the stock company of F. R. Benson, whose main purpose is to revive the popularity of Shakespeare's dramas among the smaller cities and towns of England. Once after a matinée in a small town, an old countryman said to the manager: "God bless you, sir, for showing us them 'istory plays; they have taught me 'ow we English became what we are and 'ow we can keep so."¹ *Richard II.* was the most successful of Mr. Benson's productions at the Lyceum Theatre, London, in the spring of 1900.

¹ See *Nineteenth Century*, lxi. 237.

In the fall of 1903 it was revived at His Majesty's Theatre, London, by Mr. Beerbohm Tree, who condensed it into three acts; the first act included the quarrel and banishment of Bolingbroke and Mowbray, the death of John of Gaunt, and Richard's confiscation of his property, and the expedition to Ireland; the second act included the landing of Bolingbroke, the flight of the nobles, Richard's return and surrender; the third act told of the deposition and the murder. It afforded "such a gorgeous series of pictures and pageants, such a brilliant recreation of the dress, armour, and pomp of Plantagenet times, as even Charles Kean's famous *Princess's* production cannot have approached in magnificence, let alone historical accuracy."

Recent Dramatic Criticisms.—The following criticisms on Mr. Tree's production show well the modern attitude to a stage production of *Richard II.* :—

"It is too poetical; it is smothered in poetry."—*Saturday Review*, Sept. 19, 1903.

"Since the appeal of *Richard II.* depends on beautiful emotional language rather than action, Mr. Tree is wise in giving what is rather poem than play, every help of colour, music, and spectacle. . . . The three acts are Richard's splendour, fall, and end. He omits the Duchesses' scenes so as to concentrate attention on the petulant and fickle king, who, indeed, when

once his sorrows begin, strikes quite a piquantly modern note. Here, thanks to the dramatist's youthful preference for a lyrical medium, is a royal poet who, with luxurious self-pity, analyses his every emotion and mints it in golden verse." — *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 19, 1903.

"From a spectacular point of view Mr. Tree's production is a splendid manifestation of fantasy and artistic execution. . . . It is eminently a play of rhetorical elaboration. The action is sluggish, and its straggling nature at times bewilders our sense of logic. It is not rash to say that some of the harangues in *Richard II.* are of monumental beauty; to read them is an entrancing joy. But on the stage, with its demands of action, the verbal magnificence overshoots the mark. . . . In spite of this cardinal objection, to which may be added the somewhat indefinite drawing of the King's character, *Richard II.* . . . created moments of boundless enthusiasm. The first part is terse, dramatic, stirring to a degree. History seems to arise from the past. Once again our admiration pays its toll to the gigantic mind who reincarnated history with the pen." — J. T. Grein's *Dramatic Critic*, v. 106.

THE SOURCE OF RICHARD II. — HOLINSHED

The historical material for this play Shakespeare took from the second edition (1587) of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, a very full compilation of the earlier historians. Shakespeare used it for all his histories, and also for *King Lear*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth*. Like the his-

torical novelist, Sir Walter Scott, he did not scruple to adapt history to his own purpose; his conscience, typical of his age, did not worry over minute historical accuracy. He felt no hesitancy about omitting or altering parts of Holinshed's story, especially the chronological order; for instance, many suggestions for Cade's rebellion in *2 Henry VI.* (IV. ii.) are taken from Holinshed's account of the peasant uprising against Richard II. in 1381. He also inserted imaginative episodes, such as the comic scenes in *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.* But in *Richard II.* Shakespeare followed Holinshed more closely than in the other histories; he added a few scenes of his own and adopted several suggestions from the history of Froissart.

Although Holinshed wrote well, as the following extracts show, yet the merit of the play is Shakespeare's—its poetry, construction, character study. The dull ore of Holinshed is refined into the gold of Shakespeare's poetry, or into the quicksilver of Richard's character.

Holinshed's account of the scenes and characters of this play is as follows:¹—

¹ From Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* 6 vols. 4to. London, 1807-1808. The spelling is modernized. Almost the same selections, but arranged differently, may be found in *W. G. Boswell-Stone's Shakspeare's Holinshed, 1896.*

[The king]¹ being now as it were careless, did not behave himself (as some have written) in such discreet order, as many wished : but rather (as in time of prosperity it often happeneth) he forgot himself, and began to rule by will more than by reason, threatening death to each one that obeyed not his inordinate desires. By means whereof, the lords of the realm began to fear their own estates, being in danger of his furious outrage, whom they took for a man destitute of sobriety and wisdom, and therefore could not like of him, that so abused his authority.

Hereupon there were sundry of the nobles, that lamented these mischiefs, and specially showed their griefs unto such, by whose naughty counsel they understood the king to be misled ; and this they did, to the end that they being about him, might either turn their copies, and give him better counsel ; or else he having knowledge what evil report went of him, might mend his manners misliked of his nobles. But all was in vain, for so it fell out, that in this parliament holden at Shrewsbury [Jan. 30, 1398], Henry, duke of Hereford, accused Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, of certain words which he should utter in talk had betwixt them, as they rode together lately before betwixt London and Brainford, sounding highly to the king's dishonor. And for further proof thereof, he presented a supplication to the king, wherein he appealed the duke of Norfolk in field of battle, for a traitor, false and disloyal to the king, and enemy unto the realm. This supplication was read before both the dukes, in presence of the king ; which done, the duke of Norfolk took upon him to answer it, declaring that whatsoever the duke of

¹[] indicate that the enclosed words of explanation and connection have been supplied by the editor.

Hereford had said against him other than well, he lied falsely like an untrue knight as he was. And when the king asked of the duke of Hereford what he said to it, he, taking his hood off his head, said: "My sovereign lord, even as the supplication which I took you importeth, right so I say for truth, that Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, is a traitor, false and disloyal to your royal majesty, your crown, and to all the states of your realm."

Then the duke of Norfolk being asked what he said to this, he answered: "Right dear lord, with your favor that I make answer unto your cousin here, I say (your reverence saved) that Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, like a false and disloyal traitor as he is, doth lie, in that he hath or shall say of me otherwise than well." "No more," said the king, "we have heard enough"; and herewith commanded the duke of Surrey, for that turn marshal of England, to arrest in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaster, father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of York, the duke of Aumerle, constable of England, and the duke of Surrey, marshal of the realm, undertook as pledges body for body for the duke of Hereford; but the duke of Norfolk was not suffered to put in pledges, and so under arrest was led unto Windsor Castle, and there guarded with keepers that were appointed to see him safely kept.

Act I. Scene I. Now after the dissolving of the parliament at Shrewsbury, there was a day appointed about six weeks after, for the king to come unto Windsor, to hear and to take some order betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed each other. There was a great scaffold erected within the castle of Windsor for the king to sit with the lords and prelates of his

realm; and so at the day appointed [April 29, 1398], he with the said lords and prelates being come thither and set in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant, and the duke of Norfolk defendant, were sent for to come and appear before the king, sitting there in his seat of justice. And then began Sir John Bushy to speak for the king, declaring to the lords how they should understand, that where the duke of Hereford had presented a supplication to the king, who was there set to minister justice to all men that would demand the same, as appertained to his royal majesty, he therefore would now hear what the parties could say one against another; and withal the king commanded the dukes of Aumerle and Surrey, the one being constable and the other marshal, to go unto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them on his behalf, to grow to some agreement; and, for his part, he would be ready to pardon all that had been said or done amiss betwixt them, touching any harm or dishonor to him or his realm; but they answered both assuredly, that it was not possible to have any peace or agreement made betwixt them.

When he heard what they had answered, he commanded that they should be brought forthwith before his presence, to hear what they would say. Herewith an herald in the king's name with loud voice commanded the dukes to come before the king, either of them to show his reason, or else to make peace together without more delay. When they were come before the king and lords, the king spake himself to them, willing them to agree, and make peace together: "for it is," said he, "the best way ye can take." The duke of Norfolk with due *reverence hereunto answered*, it could not be so brought to

pass, his honor saved. Then the king asked of the duke of Hereford, what it was that he demanded of the duke of Norfolk, "and what is the matter that ye cannot make peace together, and become friends?"

Then stood forth a knight, who, asking and obtaining license to speak for the duke of Hereford, said: "Right dear and sovereign lord, here is Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford and earl of Derby, who saith, and I for him likewise say, that Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, is a false and disloyal traitor to you and your royal majesty, and to your whole realm: and likewise the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, hath received eight thousand nobles to pay the soldiers that keep your town of Calais; which he hath not done as he ought: and furthermore the said duke of Norfolk hath been the occasion of all the treason that hath been contrived in your realm for the space of these eighteen years, and by his false suggestions and malicious counsel, he hath caused to die and to be murdered your right dear uncle, the duke of Gloucester, son to king Edward. Moreover, the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that he will prove this with his body against the body of the said duke of Norfolk within lists." The king herewith waxed angry, and asked the duke of Hereford, if these were his words; who answered: "Right dear lord, they are my words; and hereof I require right, and the battle against him."

There was a knight also that asked license to speak for the duke of Norfolk, and, obtaining it, began to answer thus: "Right dear sovereign lord, here is Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, who answereth and saith, and I for him, that all

which Henry of Lancaster hath said and declared (saving the reverence due to the king and his council) is a lie; and the said Henry of Lancaster hath falsely and wickedly lied as a false and disloyal knight, and both hath been, and is, a traitor against you, your crown, royal majesty, and realm. This will I prove and defend as becometh a loyal knight to do with my body against his: right dear lord, I beseech you therefore, and your council, that it may please you, in your royal discretion, to consider and mark, what Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, such a one as he is, hath said."

The king then demanded of the duke of Norfolk, if these were his words, and whether he had any more to say. The duke of Norfolk then answered for himself: "Right dear sir, true it is, that I have received so much gold to pay your people of the town of Calais; which I have done, and I do avouch that your town of Calais is as well kept at your commandment as ever it was at any time before, and that there never hath been by any of Calais any complaint made unto you of me. Right dear and my sovereign lord, for the voyage that I made into France, about your marriage, I never received either gold or silver of you, nor yet for the voyage that the duke of Aumerle and I made into Almane [Germany], where we spent great treasure. Marry, true it is, that once I laid an ambush to have slain the duke of Lancaster, that there sitteth; but nevertheless he hath pardoned me thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt us, for the which I yield him hearty thanks. This is that which I have to answer, and I am ready to defend myself against mine adversary; I beseech you therefore of right, and to have the battle against him in upright judgment."

After this, when the king had communed with his council a little, he commanded the two dukes to stand forth, that their answers might be heard. The king then caused them once again to be asked, if they would agree and make peace together, but they both flatly answered that they would not : and withal the duke of Hereford cast down his gage, and the duke of Norfolk took it up. The king perceiving this demeanor betwixt them, sware by Saint John Baptist, that he would never seek to make peace betwixt them again. And therefore sir John Bushy in name of the king and his council declared, that the king and his council had commanded and ordained, that they should have a day of battle appointed them at Coventry.

Here writers disagree about the day that was appointed : for some say, it was upon a Monday in August ; other upon Saint Lambert's day, being the seventeenth of September ; other on the eleventh of September : but true it is, that the king assigned them not only the day, but also appointed them lists and place for the combat, and thereupon great preparation was made, as to such a matter appertained.

I. i. 128-131. About the same time, or somewhat before, the king sent an ambassage to the French king, the archbishop of Dublin, the earl of Rutland, the earl marshal, the lord Beaumont, the lord Spenser, the lord Clifford named Lewes, and twenty knights with forty esquires. The cause of their going over, was to intreat of a marriage to be had betwixt him, and the lady Isabelle, daughter to the French king, she being as then not past eight years of age, which before had been promised unto the duke of Britaine's son : but in consideration of the great benefit that was likely to ensue by this communica-

tion and alliance with England, there was a mean found to undo that knot, though not presently. These English lords, at their coming to Paris, were joyfully received, and so courteously entertained, banqueted, feasted, and cherished, and that in most honorable sort, as nothing could be more: all their charges and expenses were borne by the French king, and when they should depart, they received for answer of their message, very comfortable words, and so with hope to have their matter sped, they returned. . . . The ambassadors . . . went thither again, and so after that the two kings by sending to and fro were grown to certain points and covenants of agreement, the earl marshal, by letters of procuracy, married the lady Isabelle, in name of king Richard, so that from thenceforth she was called queen of England. Amongst other covenants and articles of this marriage, there was a truce accorded, to endure betwixt the two realms of England and France, for term of thirty years.

I. i. 132-134. [Holinshed does not refer in the account of Bolingbroke and Mowbray's quarrel to the death of the duke of Gloucester, for he had told in detail the struggle of Gloucester with the king and his murder, in earlier paragraphs, as follows]: In this twentieth year of his reign king Richard receiving the sums of money (for the which the strong town of Brest was engaged to him) by evil counsel, as many thought, delivered it unto the duke of Britaine, by reason whereof no small spark of displeasure arose betwixt the king and the duke of Gloucester, which kindled up such a flame (as it was easy to do) finding matter enough to feed upon in both their breasts, that finally it could no longer be kept down, nor by any means quenched. . . . The duke said to the king: "Sir, your grace

ought to put your body in pain to win a stronghold or town by feats of war, yer [ere] you take upon you to sell or deliver any town or stronghold gotten with great adventure by the manhood and policy of your noble progenitors." To this the king with changed countenance answered and said: "Uncle, how say you that?" And the duke boldly without fear recited the same again, not changing one word in any better sort. . . .

The earl of St. Paul at his last coming into England to receive king Richard's oath for observing the truce, had conference with the king of diverse matters. The king by way of complaint, showed unto him how stiff the duke of Gloucester was in hindering all such matters as he would have go forward, not only seeking to have the peace broken betwixt the realms of England and France, but also procuring trouble at home, by stirring the people to rebellion. The earl of St. Paul hearing of this stout demeanor of the duke, told the king that it should be best to provide in time against such mischiefs as might ensue thereof, and that it was not to be suffered, that a subject should behave himself in such sort toward his prince. The king, marking his words, thought that he gave him good and faithful counsel, and thereupon determined to suppress both the duke and other of his accomplices, and took more diligent regard to the sayings and doings of the duke than before he had done. And as it cometh to pass that those, which suspect any evil, do ever deem the worst; so he took everything in evil part, insomuch that he complained of the duke unto his brethren the dukes of Lancaster and York, in that he should stand against him in all things and seek his destruction, the death of his counsellors, and overthrow of his realm.

The two dukes of Lancaster and York, to deliver the king's mind of suspicion, made answer, that they were not ignorant, how their brother of Gloucester, as a man sometime rash in words, would speak oftentimes more than he could or would bring to effect, and the same proceeded of a faithful heart, which he bare towards the king; for that it grieved him to understand, that the confines of the English dominions should in any wise be diminished: therefore his grace ought not to regard his words, sith [since] he should take no hurt thereby. These persuasions quieted the king for a time, till he was informed of the practise which the duke of Gloucester had contrived (as the fame went amongst diverse persons) to imprison the king. For then the duke of Lancaster and York, first reproving the duke of Gloucester for his too liberal talking, . . . and, perceiving that he set nothing by their words, were in doubt lest, if they should remain in the court still, he would upon a presumptuous mind, in trust to be borne out by them, attempt some outrageous enterprise. Wherefore they thought best to depart for a time into their countries, that by their absence he might the sooner learn to stay himself for doubt of further displeasure. But it came to pass, that their departing from the court was the casting away of the duke of Gloucester. For after that they were gone, there ceased not such as bare him evil will, to procure the king to despatch him out of the way.

[The duke of Gloucester formed a conspiracy to take king Richard and the dukes of Lancaster and York, and commit them to prison, and all the other lords of the king's council they determined should be drawn and hanged. When the plot was dis-

covered, the king rode unannounced to the duke's castle at Plashy, and asked him to ride with him a little way to confer on business. As soon as they left the courtyard, the duke was arrested.] Immediately upon his apprehension, the earl marshal conveyed him unto the Thames, and there being set aboard in a ship prepared of purpose, he was brought to Calais, where he was at length despatched out of life, either strangled or smothered with pillows (as some do write). For the king thinking it not good, that the duke of Gloucester should stand to his answer openly, because the people bare him so much good will, sent one of his justices called William Kikill, an Irishman born, over unto Calais, there to inquire of the duke of Gloucester, whether he had committed any such treasons as were alleged against him. . . . Justice Kikill hearing what he confessed upon his examination, wrote the same as he was commanded to do, and therewith speedily returned to the king, and as it hath been reported, he informed the king (whether truly or not, I have not to say) that the duke frankly confessed everything, wherewith he was charged. Whereupon the king sent unto Thomas Mowbray, earl marshal and of Nottingham, to make the duke secretly away. The earl prolonged time for the executing of the king's commandment, though the king would have had it done with all expedition, whereby the king conceived no small displeasure, and sware that it should cost the earl his life if he quickly obeyed not his commandment. The earl thus, as it seemed, in manner enforced, called out the duke at midnight, as if he should have taken ship to pass over into England, and there in the lodging called the Prince's Inn, he caused his servants to cast featherbeds upon him, and so smother him to death; or

otherwise to strangle him with towels (as some write). [Later when a nobleman told the duke of Norfolk that the people] “do say that you have murdered him,” [the duke] swore great oaths that it was untrue, and that he had saved his life contrary to the will of the king, and certain other lords, by the space of three weeks, and more; affirming withal, that he was never in all his lifetime more afraid of death, than he was at his coming home again from Calais at that time, to the king’s presence, by reason he had not put the duke to death. “And then” (said he) “the king appointed one of his own servants, and certain other that were servants to other lords, to go with him to see the said duke of Gloucester put to death”; swearing that, as he should answer afore God, it was never his mind that he should have died in that sort, but only for fear of the king and saving of his own life.

I. ii. [Holinshed does not state directly that the duchess of Gloucester appealed to Gaunt to avenge his brother’s death, but that was the common expectation, for at the first meeting of Parliament after Gloucester’s death, the lords were directed] to bring with them a sufficient number of armed men and archers in their best array; for it was not known how the dukes of Lancaster and York would take the death of their brother. . . . Surely the two dukes when they heard that their brother was so suddenly made away, they wist not what to say to the matter, and began both to be sorrowful for his death, and doubtful of their own states: for sith [since] they saw how the king (abused by the counsel of evil men) abstained not from such an heinous act, they thought he would afterwards attempt greater disorders from time to time. Therefore they assembled in all haste, grea

numbers of their servants, friends, and tenants, and, coming to London, were received into the city. For the Londoners were right sorry for the death of the duke of Gloucester, who had ever sought their favor; in so much that now they would have been contented to have joined with the dukes in seeking revenge of so noble a man's death. . . . The dukes and other fell in council, and many things were proponed. Some would that they should by force revenge the duke of Gloucester's death; other thought it meet that the earls marshal and Huntington, and certain others, as chief authors of all the mischief, should be pursued and punished for their demerits, having trained up the king in vice and evil customs, even from his youth. But the dukes (after their displeasure was somewhat assuaged) determined to cover the stings of their griefs for a time, and if the king would amend his manners, to forget also the injuries past.

I. iii. At the time appointed the king came to Coventry, where the two dukes were ready, according to the order prescribed therein, coming thither in great array, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their lineages. The king caused a sumptuous scaffold or theatre, and royal lists there to be erected and prepared. The Sunday before they should fight, after dinner, the duke of Hereford came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the town in a tower that belonged to sir William Bagot) to take his leave of him. The morrow after, being the day appointed for the combat, about the spring of the day, came the duke of Norfolk to the court to take leave likewise of the king. The duke of Hereford armed him in his tent, that was set up near to the lists;

and the duke of Norfolk put on his armor, betwixt the gate and the barrier of the town, in a beautiful house, having a fair perclois [screen] of wood towards the gate, that none might see what was done within the house.

The duke of Aumerle, that day being high constable of England, and the duke of Surrey, marshal, placed themselves betwixt them, well armed and appointed; and when they saw their time, they first entered into the lists with a great company of men apparellled in silk sendall, embroidered with silver, both richly and curiously, every man having a tipped staff to keep the field in order. About the hour of prime came to the barriers of the lists the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courser, barded with green and blue velvet embroidered sumptuously with swans and antelopes of goldsmiths' work, armed at all points. The constable and marshal came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was. He answered: "I am Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, which am come hither to do mine endeavor against Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, as a traitor untrue to God, the king, his realm, and me." Then incontinently he sware upon the holy evangelists, that his quarrel was true and just, and upon that point he required to enter the lists. Then he put up his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and putting down his visor, made a cross on his horse; and with spear in hand, entered into the lists, and descended from his horse, and set him down in a chair of green velvet, at the one end of the lists, and there reposed himself, abiding the coming of his adversary.

Soon after him, entered into the field with great triumph, king Richard, accompanied with all the peers of the realm. . . . The

king had there above ten thousand men in armor, least some fray or tumult might arise amongst his nobles, by quarrelling or partaking. When the king was set in his seat, (which was richly hanged and adorned,) a king-at-arms made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, and of the high constable and marshal, to enterprise or attempt to approach or touch any part of the lists upon pain of death, except such as were appointed to order or marshal the field. The proclamation ended, another herald cried : " Behold here Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, appellant, which is entered into the lists royal to do his devoir [duty] against Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, defendant, upon pain to be found false and recreant ! "

The duke of Norfolk hovered on horseback at the entry of the lists, his horse being barded with crimson velvet, embroidered richly with lions of silver and mulberry trees ; and when he had made his oath before the constable and marshal that his quarrel was just and true, he entered the field manfully, saying aloud : " God aid him that hath the right ! " and then he departed from his horse, and sate him down in his chair, which was of crimson velvet, curtained about with white and red damask. The lord marshal viewed their spears, to see that they were of equal length, and delivered the one spear himself to the duke of Hereford, and sent the other unto the duke of Norfolk by a knight. Then the herald proclaimed that the traverses and chairs of the champions should be removed, commanding them on the king's behalf to mount on horseback, and address themselves to the battle and combat.

The duke of Hereford was quickly horsed, and closed his

beaver, and cast his spear into the rest, and when the trumpet sounded set forward courageously towards his enemy six or seven paces. The duke of Norfolk was not fully set forward, when the king ~~cast down his warder,~~ and the heralds cried, "Ho, ho!" Then the king caused their spears to be taken from them, and commanded them to repair again to their chairs, where they remained two long hours, while the king and his council deliberately consulted what order was best to be had in so weighty a cause. Finally, after they had devised, and fully determined what should be done therein, the heralds cried silence; and sir John Bushy, the king's secretary, read the sentence and determination of the king and his council, in a long roll, the effect whereof was, that Henry, duke of Hereford, should within fifteen days depart out of the realm, and not to return before the term of ten years were expired, except by the king he should be repealed again, and this upon pain of death; and that Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, because he had sown sedition in the realm by his words, should likewise avoid the realm, and never to return again into England, nor approach the borders or confines thereof upon pain of death; and that the king would stay the profits of his lands, till he had levied thereof such sums of money as the duke had taken up of the king's treasurer for the wages of the garrison of Calais, which were still unpaid.

When these judgments were once read, the king called before him both the parties, and made them to swear that the one should never come in place where the other was, willingly; nor keep any company together in any foreign region; which oath they both received humbly, and so went their ways. The duke

of Norfolk departed sorrowfully out of the realm into Almane [Germany], and at the last came to Venice, where he for thought and melancholy deceased; for he was in hope (as writers record) that he should have been borne out in the matter by the king, which when it fell out otherwise, it grieved him not a little. The duke of Hereford took his leave of the king at Eltham, who there released four years of his banishment: so he took his journey over into Calais, and from thence went into France, where he remained.

I. iv. A wonder it was to see what number of people ran after him [Henry] in every town and street where he came, before he took the sea, lamenting and bewailing his departure, as who would say, that when he departed, the only shield, defence, and comfort of the commonwealth was vaded [faded] and gone. . . .

In this meantime the king being advertised that the wild Irish daily wasted and destroyed the towns and villages within the English pale, and had slain many of the soldiers which lay there in garrison for defence of that country, determined to make eftsoons a voyage thither, and prepared all things necessary for his passage now against the spring. . . .

The common brute [rumor] ran, that the king had set to farm the realm of England unto sir William Scroope, earl of Wiltshire and then treasurer of England, to sir John Bushy, sir John Bagot, and sir Henry Greene, knights. . . .

But yet to content the king's mind, many blank charters were devised, and brought into the city, which many of the substantial and wealthy citizens were fain to seal, to their great charge, as in the end appeared. And the like charters were

sent abroad into all shires within the realm, whereby great grudge and murmurings arose among the people: for when they were so sealed, the king's officers wrote in the same what liked them, as well for charging the parties with payment of money, as otherwise. . . .

At his going into Ireland, [Richard exacted] from the clergy many notable sums of money, beside plate and jewels, without law or custom, contrary to his oath taken at his coronation.

II. i. 160-162, 201-208. In this meantime [Feb. 3, 1399], the duke of Lancaster departed out of this life at the bishop of Ely's place in Holborn. . . . The death of this duke gave occasion of increasing more hatred in the people of this realm toward the king, for he seized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and also received all the rents and revenues of his lands which ought to have descended unto the duke of Hereford by lawful inheritance; in revoking his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by virtue whereof he might make his attorneys general to sue livery for him, of any manner of inheritances or possessions that might from thenceforth fall unto him; and that his homage might be respited, with making reasonable fine: whereby it was evident, that the king meant his utter undoing.

This hard dealing was much misliked of all the nobility, and cried out against of the meaner sort; but namely the duke of York was therewith sore moved, who, before this time, had borne things with so patient a mind as he could, though the same touched him very near, as the death of his brother the duke of Gloucester, the banishment of his nephew the said duke of Hereford, and other more injuries in great numbers, which,

for the slippery youth of the king, he passed over for the time, and did forget as well as he might. But now perceiving that neither law, justice, nor equity could take place, where the king's wilful will was bent upon any wrongful purpose, . . . he thought it the part of a wise man to get him in time to a resting place. . . . Hereupon he with the duke of Aumerle his son went to his house at Langley.

II. i. 167-168. At his [Bolingbroke's] coming into France, king Charles [VI], hearing the cause of his banishment (which he esteemed to be very light), received him gently, and him honorably entertained, in so much that he had by favor obtained in marriage the only daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the French king, if king Richard had not been a let in that matter; who, being thereof certified, sent the earl of Salisbury with all speed into France; both to surmise, by untrue suggestion, heinous offences against him, and also to require the French king that in no wise he would suffer his cousin to be matched in marriage with him that was so manifest an offender. This was a pestilent kind of proceeding against that nobleman then being in a foreign country, having been so honorably received as he was at his entrance into France, and upon view and good liking of his behavior there, so forward in marriage with a lady of noble lineage. So sharp, so severe, and so heinous an accusation, brought to a strange king from a natural prince, against his subject, after punishment inflicted (for he was banished) was enough to have made the French king his fatal foe, and upon suspicion of assaying the like treachery against him, to have thrown him out of the limits of his land.

II. i. 222, 223. A little before his [Richard's] setting forth, he

caused a justs to be holden at Windsor of forty knights and forty esquires, against all comers, and they to be apparelled in green, with a white falcon, and the queen to be there well accompanied with ladies and damsels. When these justs were finished, the king departed toward Bristol, from thence to pass into Ireland, leaving the queen with her train still at Windsor: he appointed for his lieutenant general in his absence his uncle the duke of York: and so in the month of April, as diverse authors write, he set forward from Windsor, and finally took shipping at Milford, and from thence, with two hundred ships, and a puissant power of men of arms and archers, he sailed into Ireland.

II. i. 241-248. Many other things were done in this parliament [1398] to the displeasure of no small number of people; namely, for that diverse rightful heirs were disherited of their lands and livings, by authority of the same parliament: with which wrongful doings the people were much offended, so that the king and those that were about him, and chief in council, came into great infamy and slander. Indeed the king after he had despatched the duke of Gloucester, and the other noblemen, was not a little glad, for that he knew them still ready to dis-appoint him in all his purposes. . . .

There was a new and strange subsidy or task granted to be levied for the king's use, and towards the charges of this army that went over into France with the earl of Buckingham; to wit, of every priest secular or regular, six shillings eight pence, and as much of every nun, and of every man and woman married or not married, being 16 years of age (beggars certainly *known* only excepted), four pence for every one. Great grudging and many a bitter curse followed about the levying of this

money, and much mischief rose thereof, as after it appeared. . . .

Moreover, this year, [1399] he caused seventeen shires of the realm, by way of putting them to their fines, to pay no small sums of money, for redeeming their offences, that they had aided the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, when they rose in armor against him. The nobles, gentlemen, and commons of those shires were enforced also to receive a new oath to assure the king of their fidelity in time to come; and withal certain prelates and other honorable personages were sent into the same shires to persuade men to this payment, and to see things ordered at the pleasure of the prince: and surely the fines which the nobles, and other the meaner estates of those shires were constrained to pay, were not small, but exceeding great, to the offence of many. . . .

Many of the king's liege people were through spite, envy, and malice, accused, apprehended, and put in prison, and after brought before the constable and marshal of England, in the court of chivalry, and might not otherwise be delivered, except they could justify themselves by combat and fighting in lists against their accusers hand to hand, although the accusers for the most part were lusty, young and valiant, where the parties accused were perchance old, impotent, maimed and sickly. Whereupon not only the great destruction of the realm in general, but also of every singular person in particular, was to be feared and looked for.

[Shakespeare here applies to Richard II. what Holinshed said of Edward IV., who in 1473 because] he wanted money, and could not well charge his commons with a new subsidy,

for that he had received the last year great sums of money granted to him by parliament, he devised this shift, — to call afore him a great number of the wealthiest sort of people in his realm; and to them declaring his need, and the requisite causes thereof, he demanded of every of them some portion of money, which they sticked not to give. And therefore the king, willing to show that this their liberality was very acceptable to him, he called this grant of money, “A benevolence”; notwithstanding that many with grudge gave great sums toward that new found aid, which of them might be called, “A malevolence.”

II. i. 277–300. Now whilst he was thus occupied in devising how to reduce them into subjection, and taking orders for the good stay and quiet government of the country, diverse of the nobility, as well prelates as other, and likewise many of the magistrates and rulers of the cities, towns, and communalty, here in England, perceiving daily how the realm drew to utter ruin, not like to be recovered to the former state of wealth whilst king Richard lived and reigned, (as they took it,) devised with great deliberation, and considerate advice, to send and signify by letters unto duke Henry, whom they now called (as he was in deed) duke of Lancaster and Hereford, requiring him with all convenient speed to convey himself into England, promising him all their aid, power, and assistance, if he, expelling king Richard, as a man not meet for the office he bare, would take upon him the sceptre, rule, and diadem of his native land and region.

He, therefore, being thus called upon by messengers and letters from his friends, and chiefly through the earnest persua-

sion of Thomas Arundel, late archbishop of Canterbury, who had been removed from his see, and banished the realm by king Richard's means, got him down to Britaine, together with the said archbishop; where he was joyfully received of the duke and duchess, and found such friendship at the duke's hands, that there were certain ships rigged, and made ready for him, at a place in base [lower] Britaine called le Port Blanc, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine; and, when all his provision was made ready, he took the sea, together with the said archbishop of Canterbury, and his nephew Thomas Arundel, son and heir to the late earl of Arundel. . . . There were also with him, Reginald lord Cobham, sir Thomas Erpingham, and sir Thomas Ramston, knights, John Norbury, Robert Waterton, and Francis Coint, esquires: few else were there, for (as some write) he had not past fifteen lances, as they termed them in those days, that is to say, men of arms, furnished and appointed as the use then was. Yet other write, that the duke of Britaine delivered unto him three thousand men of war, to attend him, and that he had eight ships well furnished for the war, where Froissart yet speaketh but of three. Moreover, where Froissart and also the chronicles of Britaine avouch, that he should land at Plymouth, by our English writers it seemeth otherwise: for it appeareth by their assured report, that he, approaching to the shore, did not straight take land, but lay hovering aloof, and showed himself now in this place, and now in that, to see what countenance was made by the people, whether they meant enviously to resist him, or friendly to receive him.

II. ii. When the lord governor, Edmund duke of York, was advertised, that the duke of Lancaster kept still the sea, and

was ready to arrive, (but where he meant first to set foot on land, there was not any that understood the certainty,) he sent for the lord chancellor, Edmund Stafford, bishop of Excester, and for the lord treasurer, William Scroope, earl of Wiltshire, and other of the king's privy council, as John Bushy, William Bagot, Henry Greene, and John Russell, knights: of these he required to know what they thought good to be done in this matter, concerning the duke of Lancaster, being on the seas. Their advice was, to depart from London unto St. Albans, and there to gather an army to resist the duke in his landing; but, to how small purpose their counsel served, the conclusion thereof plainly declared, for the most part that were called, when they came thither, boldly protested, that they would not fight against the duke of Lancaster, whom they knew to be evil dealt withal. . . .

II. ii. 49-51. The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted alongst the shore a certain time, and had got some intelligence how the people's minds were affected towards him, landed about the beginning of July in Yorkshire, at a place sometime called Ravenspur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington; and with him not past threescore persons, as some write: but he was so joyfully received of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means (by their help) forthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first that came to him were the lords of Lincolnshire, and other countries adjoining; as the lords Willoughby, Ross, Darcy, and Beaumont.

II. ii. 58-61. Sir Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, lord steward of the king's house, either being so commanded by the

king, or else upon displeasure (as some write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the earl of Northumberland, traitor, brake his white staff, (which is the representing sign and token of his office,) and without delay went to duke Henry. When the king's servants of the household saw this (for it was done before them all) they dispersed themselves, some into one country, and some into another.

II. ii. 86. [When Richard was at Dublin,] the duke of Aumerle, with an hundred sail, arrived, of whose coming the king was right joyful; and, although he had used no small negligence in that he came no sooner according to order before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a gentle nature) courteously accepted his excuse. Whether he was in fault or not, I have not to say; but verily he was greatly suspected, that he dealt not well in tarrying so long after his time assigned.

II. ii. 95. The same year [Oct. 3, 1399] deceased the duchess of Gloucester, through sorrow (as was thought) which she conceived for the loss of her son and heir the lord Humphrey, who being sent for forth of Ireland . . . was taken with the pestilence, and died by the way.

II. ii. 123. It fortun'd at the same time in which the duke of Hereford or Lancaster (whether ye list to call him) arrived thus in England, the seas were so troubled by tempests, and the winds blew so contrary for any passage to come over forth of England to the king, remaining still in Ireland, that, for the space of six weeks, he received no advertisements from thence: yet at length, when the seas became calm, and the wind once turned any thing favorable, there came over a ship; whereby the king understood the manner of the duke's arrival, and all

his proceedings till that day in which the ship departed from the coast of England : whereupon he meant forthwith to have returned over into England, to make resistance against the duke ; but through persuasion of the Duke of Aumerle (as was thought) he stayed, till he might have all his ships, and other provision, fully ready for his passage.

II. ii. 125-147. The lord treasurer, Bushy, Bagot, and Greene, perceiving that the commons would cleave unto, and take part with, the duke, slipped away ; leaving the lord governor of the realm and the lord chancellor, to make what shift they could for themselves. Bagot got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ireland ; the other fled to the castle of Bristol, in hope there to be in safety.

II. iii. At his [Bolingbroke's] coming unto Doncaster, the earl of Northumberland, and his son, Sir Henry Percy, warden of the marches against Scotland, with the earl of Westmoreland, came unto him ; where he sware unto those lords, that he would demand no more, but the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father, and in right of his wife. Moreover, he undertook to cause the payment of taxes and tallages to be laid down and to bring the king to good government, and to remove from him the Cheshire men, which were envied of many ; for that the king esteemed of them more than of any other ; happily, because they were more faithful to him than other, ready in all respects to obey his commandments and pleasure. From Doncaster, having now got a mighty army about him, he marched forth with all speed through the countries, coming by Evesham unto Berkeley : within the space of three days, all the king's castles in those parts were surrendered unto him.

The duke of York, whom king Richard had left as governor of the realm in his absence, hearing that his nephew the duke of Lancaster was thus arrived, and had gathered an army, he also assembled a puissant power of arms and archers (as before ye have heard ;) but all was in vain, for there was not a man that willingly would thrust out one arrow against the duke of Lancaster, or his partakers, or in any wise offend him or his friends. The duke of York, therefore, passing forth towards Wales to meet the king, at his coming forth of Ireland, was received into the castle of Berkeley, and there remained, till the coming thither of the duke of Lancaster, whom (when he perceived that he was not able to resist, on the Sunday [July 27] after the feast of Saint James, which, as that year came about, fell upon the Friday) he came forth into the church that stood without the castle, and there communed with the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of York were the bishop of Norwich, the lord Berkeley, the lord Seymour, and other ; with the duke of Lancaster were these : Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury (that had been banished), the abbot of Leicester, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Thomas Arundel, son to Richard, late earl of Arundel, the baron of Greistoke, the lords Willoughby and Ross, with diverse other lords, knights, and other people, which daily came to him from every part of the realm : those that came not were spoiled of all they had, so as they were never able to recover themselves again, for their goods, being then taken away, were never restored. And thus, what for love, and what for fear of loss, they came flocking unto him from every part.

II. iii. 129-130. Before the duke's [Bolingbroke's] departure,

he [Richard] under his broad seal licensed him to make attorneys to prosecute and defend his causes : the said king, after his departure, would suffer none attorney to appear for him, but did with his at his pleasure

II. iv. In the meantime, he sent the earl of Salisbury over into England, to gather a power together, by help of the king's friends in Wales, and Cheshire, with all speed possible, that they might be ready to assist him against the duke, upon his arrival, for he meant himself to follow the earl, within six days after. The earl, passing over into Wales, landed at Conway, and sent forth letters to the king's friends, both in Wales and Cheshire, to leave their people, and come with all speed to assist the king, whose request, with great desire, and very willing minds, they fulfilled, hoping to have found the king himself at Conway ; insomuch that, within four days space, there were to the number of forty thousand men assembled, ready to march with the king against his enemies, if he had been there himself in person.

But, when they missed the king, there was a brute [rumor] spread amongst them, that the king was surely dead ; which wrought such an impression and evil disposition, in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that, for any persuasion which the earl of Salisbury might use, they would not go forth with him, till they saw the king : only they were contented to stay fourteen days to see if he should come or not ; but, when he came not within that term, they would no longer abide, but scaled [scattered] and departed away ; whereas if the king had come before their breaking up, no doubt but they would have put the duke of Hereford in adventure of a field : so that the

king's lingering of time, before his coming-over, gave opportunity to the duke to bring things to pass as he could have wished, and took from the king all occasion to recover afterwards any forces sufficient to resist him.

II. iv. 8. In this year in a manner throughout all the realm of England, old bay trees withered, and, afterwards, contrary to all men's thinking, grew green again ; a strange sight and supposed to import some unknown event.

III. i. The foresaid dukes [Lancaster, Northumberland, York], with their power, went towards Bristol, where (at their coming) they showed themselves before the town and castle, being an huge multitude of people. There were enclosed within the castle, the lord William Scroope, earl of Wiltshire and treasurer of England, sir Henry Greene, and sir John Bushy, knights, who prepared to make resistance ; but, when it would not prevail, they were taken and brought forth bound as prisoners into the camp, before the duke of Lancaster. On the morrow next ensuing, they were arraigned before the constable and marshal, and found guilty of treason, for misgoverning the king and realm ; and forthwith had their heads smit off.

III. i. 43. [Glendower's rebellion did not occur until a full year later.] In the king's [Henry IV.'s] absence, whilst he was forth of the realm, in Scotland, against his enemies, the Welshmen took occasion to rebel under the conduct of their captain Owen Glendower ; doing what mischief they could devise unto their English neighbors. This Owen Glendower was son to an esquire of Wales, named Griffith Vichan : he dwelled in the parish of Conway, within the county of Merioneth in North Wales, in a place called Glindourwie, which is as much to say

in English, as "The valley by the side of the water of Dee"; by occasion whereof he was surnamed Glindour Dew.

He was first set to study the laws of the realm, and became an utter barrister, or an apprentice of the law, (as they term him,) and served king Richard at Flint Castle, when he was taken by Henry duke of Lancaster; though other have written that he served this king Henry IV., before he came to attain the crown, in room of an esquire; and after, by reason of variance that rose betwixt him and the lord Reginald Grey of Ruthin, about the lands which he claimed to be his by right of inheritance, when he saw that he might not prevail, finding no such favor in his suit as he looked for, he first made war against the said lord Grey, wasting his lands and possessions with fire and sword, cruelly killing his servants and tenants. The king, advertised of such rebellious exploits enterprised by the said Owen, and his unruly complices, determined to chastise them, as disturbers of his peace, and so with an army entered into Wales; but the Welshmen with their captain withdrew into the mountains of Snowdon, so to escape the revenge, which the king meant towards them. The king therefore did much hurt in the countries with fire and sword; slaying diverse that with weapon in hand came forth to resist him, and so with a great booty of beasts and cattle he returned.

III. ii. At length, about eighteen days after that the king had sent from him the earl of Salisbury, he took the sea, together with the dukes of Aumerle, Excester, Surrey, and diverse others of the nobility, with the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Carlisle. They landed near the castle of Barclowlie in Wales, about the feast of Saint James the Apostle, and stayed awhile

in the same castle, being advertised of the great forces which the duke of Lancaster had got together against him ; wherewith he was marvellously amazed, knowing certainly that those, which were thus in arms with the duke of Lancaster against him, would rather die than give place, as well for the hatred as fear which they had conceived at him. Nevertheless he, departing from Barclowlie, hasted with all speed towards Conway, where he understood the earl of Salisbury to be still remaining.

He therefore taking with him such Cheshire men as he had with him at that present (in whom all his trust was reposed) he doubted not to revenge himself of his adversaries, and so at the first he passed with a good courage ; but when he understood, as he went thus forward, that all the castles, even from the borders of Scotland unto Bristol, were delivered unto the duke of Lancaster ; and that likewise the nobles and commons, as well of the south parts, as the north, were fully bent to take part with the same duke against him ; and further, hearing how his trusty counsellors had lost their heads at Bristol, he became so greatly discomforted, that sorrowfully lamenting his miserable state, he utterly despaired of his own safety, and calling his army together, which was not small, licensed every man to depart to his home.

The soldiers, being well bent to fight in his defence, besought him to be of good cheer, promising with an oath to stand with him against the duke, and all his partakers unto death ; but this could not encourage him at all, so that, in the night next ensuing, he stole from his army, and, with the dukes of Excester and Surrey, the bishop of Carlisle and sir Stephen Scroope, and about half a score others, he got him to the castle of Con-

way, where he found the earl of Salisbury ; determining there to hold himself, till he might see the world at some better stay ; for what counsel to take to remedy the mischief thus pressing upon him he wist not.

III. iii. In this mean time, king Richard, being in the castle of Conway sore discomfited, and fearing lest he could not remain there long in safety, . . . sent the duke of Excester to talk with the duke of Lancaster. . . . There came to him [Lancaster] about the same time, or somewhat before, the dukes of Aumerle and Surrey, the lord Lovell, and sir John Stanley, beseeching him to receive him into his favor. . . . The duke, with the advice of his council, sent the earl of Northumberland unto the king, accompanied with four hundred lances, and a thousand archers, who, coming to the castle of Flint, had it delivered unto him ; and from thence he hasted forth towards Conway. But before he approached near the place, he left his power behind him, hid closely in two ambushes, behind a craggy mountain, beside the highway that leadeth from Flint to Conway. This done, taking not past four or five with him, he passed forth, till he came before the town, and then sending an herald to the king, requested a safe conduct from the king, that he might come and talk with him ; which the king granted, and so the earl of Northumberland, passing the water, entered the castle, and coming to the king, declared to him, that, if it might please his grace to undertake, that there should be a parliament assembled, in the which justice might be had against such as were enemies to the commonwealth, and had procured the destruction of the duke of Gloucester, and other noblemen, and herewith pardon

the duke of Hereford of all things wherein he had offended him, the duke would be ready to come to him on his knees, to crave of him forgiveness, and, as an humble subject, to obey him in all dutiful services.

The king taking advice upon these offers, and other made by the earl of Northumberland on the behalf of the duke of Hereford, upon the earl's oath, for assurance that the same should be performed in each condition, agreed to go with the earl to meet the duke ; and hereupon taking their horses, they rode forth, but the earl rode before, as it were, to prepare dinner for the king at Rutland, but coming to the place where he had left his people, he stayed there with them. The king keeping on his way, had not ridden past four miles, when he came to the place where the ambushes were lodged, and being entered within danger of them, before he was aware, showed himself to be sore abashed. But now there was no remedy : for the earl being there with his men, would not suffer him to return, as he gladly would have done if he might ; but being enclosed with the sea on the one side, and the rocks on the other, having his adversaries so near at hand before him, he could not shift away by any means, for if he should have fled back, they might easily have overtaken him, yer [ere] he could have got out of their danger. And thus of force he was then constrained to go with the earl, who brought him to Rutland, where they dined, and from thence they rode unto Flint to bed. The king had very few about him of his friends, except only the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle, the lord Stephen Scroope, sir Nicholas Fereby, a son also of the countess of Salisbury, and Ienico Dartois a Gascoigne that still ware the cognisance or device of his

master king Richard, that is to say, a white hart, and would not put it from him, neither for persuasions nor threats; by reason whereof, when the duke of Hereford understood it, he caused him to be committed to prison within the castle of Chester. This man was the last (as saileth mine author) which ware that devise, and showed well therby his constant heart toward his master, for which it was thought he should have lost his life, but yet he was pardoned, and at length reconciled to the duke's favor, after he was king.

King Richard being thus come unto the castle of Flint, on the Monday, the eighteenth of August, and the duke of Hereford being still advertised from hour to hour by posts, how the earl of Northumberland sped, the morrow following being Tuesday, and the nineteenth of August, he came thither, and mustered his army before the king's presence; which undoubtedly made a passing fair show, being very well ordered by the lord Henry Percy, that was appointed general, or rather (as we may call him) master of the camp, under the duke, of the whole army. There were come already to the castle, before the approaching of the main army, the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Aumerle, the earl of Worcester, and diverse other. The archbishop entered first, and then followed the other, coming into the first ward.

The king that was walking aloft on the braies [ramparts] of the walls, to behold the coming of the duke a far off, might see, that the archbishop and other were come, and (as he took it) to talk with him: whereupon he forthwith came down unto them, and beholding that they did their due reverence to him on their knees, he took them up, and drawing the archbishop

aside from the residue, talked with him a good while, and as it was reported, the archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured, not to have any hurt, as touching his person ; but he prophesied not as a prelate, but as a Pilate. . . . After that the archbishop had now here at Flint communed with the king, he departed, and taking his horse again, rode back to meet the duke, who began at that present to approach the castle, and compassed it round about, even down to the sea, with his people ranged in good and seemly order at the foot of the mountains: and then the earl of Northumberland, passing forth of the castle to the duke, talked with him a while in sight of the king, being again got up to the walls, to take better view of the army, being now advanced within two bow shots of the castle, to the small rejoicing (ye may be sure) of the sorrowfull king. The earl of Northumberland, returning to the castle, appointed the king to be set to dinner (for he was fasting till then) and after he had dined, the duke came down to the castle himself, and entered the same all armed, his bassenet only excepted ; and being within the first gate, he stayed there, till the king came forth of the inner part of the castle unto him.

The king, accompanied with the bishop of Carlisle, the earl of Salisbury, and sir Stephen Scroope, knight, (who bare the sword before him,) and a few other, came forth into the utter [outer] ward, and sate down in a place prepared for him. Forthwith, as the duke got sight of the king, he showed a reverend duty as became him, in bowing his knee, and, coming forward, did so likewise the second and third time, till the king took him by the hand, and lift him up, saying : “ Dear cousin,

ye are welcome." The duke, humbly thanking him, said : " My sovereign lord and king, the cause of my coming at this present, is (your honor saved) to have again restitution of my person, my lands and heritage, through your favorable license." The king hereunto answered : " Dear cousin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that ye may enjoy all that is yours, without exception."

Meeting thus together, they came forth of the castle, and the king there called for wine, and, after they had drunk, they mounted on horseback, and rode . . . to London ; neither was the king permitted all this while to change his apparel, but rode still through all these towns simply clothed in one suit of raiment, and yet he was in his time exceeding sumptuous in apparel, in so much as he had one coat, which he caused to be made for him of gold and stone, valued at 300,000 marks: and so he was brought the next day to Westminster. . . . The next day after his coming to London, the king from Westminster was had to the Tower, and there committed to safe custody.

IV. i. 1-90. The solemnity of the coronation being ended, the morrow after being Tuesday, the parliament began again, and the next day [Oct. 16, 1399 . . . there was much ado] about them that were thought to be guilty of the duke of Gloucester's death, and of the condemning of the other lords that were adjudged traitors in the aforesaid late parliament holden in the said one and twentieth year of king Richard's reign. Sir John Bagot knight then prisoner in the Tower, disclosed many secrets, unto the which he was privy ; and being brought on a day to the bar, a bill was read in English which he had made, containing certain evil

practices of king Richard ; and further what great affection the same king bare to the duke of Aumerle, insomuch that he heard him say, that, if he should renounce the government of the kingdom, he wished to leave it to the said duke, as to the most able man (for wisdom and manhood) of all other : for though he could like better of the duke of Hereford, yet he said that he knew if he were once king, he would prove an extreme enemy and cruel tyrant to the church.

There was no man in the realm to whom king Richard was so much beholden, as to the duke of Aumerle : for he was the man that, to fulfil his mind, had set him in hand with all that was done against the said duke, and the other lords. . . . There was also contained in the said bill [statement], that Bagot had heard the duke of Aumerle say, that he had rather than twenty thousand pounds that the duke of Hereford were dead ; not for any fear he had of him, but for the trouble and mischief that he was like to procure within the realm.

After that the bill had been read and heard, the duke of Aumerle rose up and said, that as touching the points contained in the bill concerning him, they were utterly false and untrue ; which he would prove with his body, in what manner soever it should be thought requisite. . . .

On the Saturday next ensuing [Oct. 18] sir William Bagot . . . was examined of certain points, and sent again to prison. The lord Fitzwater herewith rose up, and said to the king, that where the duke of Aumerle excuseth himself of the duke of Gloucester's death, " I say " (quoth he) " that he was the very cause of his death " ; and so he appealed him of treason, offering by throwing down his hood as a gage to prove it with his

body. There were twenty other lords also that threw down their hoods, as pledges to prove the like matter against the duke of Aumerle. The duke of Aumerle threw down his hood to try it against the lord Fitzwater, as against him that charged him falsely, in that he had charged him with, by that his appellation. These gages were delivered to the constable and marshal of England, and the parties put under arrest.

The duke of Surrey stood up also against the lord Fitzwater, avouching that where he had said that the appellants were the causers of the duke of Gloucester's death, it was false, for that they were constrained to sue the same appeal, in like manner as the said lord Fitzwater was compelled to give judgment against the duke of Gloucester, and the earl of Arundel; so that the success of the appeal was done by constraint, and if he said contrary he lied: and therewith he threw down his hood. The lord Fitzwater answered hereunto, that he was not present in parliament house, when judgment was given against them, all the lords bare witness thereof. Moreover, where it was alleged that the duke of Aumerle should send two of his servants to Calais, to murder the duke of Gloucester, the said duke of Aumerle said that if the duke of Norfolk affirm it, he would prove it falsely, and that he would prove with his body; throwing down another hood which he had borrowed. The same was likewise delivered to the constable and marshal of England, and the king licensed the duke of Norfolk to return, that he might arraign his appeal.

IV. i. 86-102. This year [Sept. 22, 1399] Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, died in exile at Venice; whose death might have been worthily bewailed of all the realm, if he had been consenting to the death of the duke of Gloucester.

IV. i. 107-112. [When Richard was in the Tower], diverse of the king's servants, which by license had access to his person, comforted him (being with sorrow almost consumed, and in manner half dead) in the best wise they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and save his life.

And first, they advised him willingly to suffer himself to be deposed, and to resign his right of his own accord, so that the duke of Lancaster might without murder or battle obtain the sceptre and diadem, after which (they well perceived) he gaped: by mean whereof they thought he might be in perfect assurance of his life long to continue. Whether this their persuasion proceeded by the suborning of the duke of Lancaster and his favorers, or of a sincere affection which they bare to the king, as supposing it most sure in such an extremity, it is uncertain; but yet the effect followed not, howsoever their meaning was: notwithstanding, the king, being now in the hands of his enemies, and utterly despairing of all comfort, was easily persuaded to renounce his crown and princely pre-eminence, so that, in hope of life only, he agreed to all things that were of him demanded. And so (as it should seem by the copy of an instrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarily was deposed from his royal crown and kingly dignity; the Monday being the nine and twentieth day of September, and feast of Saint Michael the archangel, in the year of our Lord 1399, and in the three and twentieth year of his reign.

Upon the same afternoon the king looking for the coming of the duke of Lancaster, at the last the said duke, with the archbishop of Canterbury . . . entered the foresaid chamber,

bringing with them the lords Ross, Aburgeny, and Willoughby, with diverse other. . . . “Where after due obeysance done by them unto the king, he familiarly and with a glad countenance (as to them and us appeared) talked with the said archbishop and duke a good season; and that communication finished, the king with glad countenance in presence of us and the above rehearsed, said openly that he was ready to renounce and resign all his kingly majesty in manner and form as he before had promised. . . . And although he had and might sufficiently have declared his renouncement by the reading of another mean person; yet for the more surety of the matter, and for that the said resignation should have his full force and strength, himself therefore read the scroll of resignation. . . . Now forthwith in our presences and others, he subscribed the same, and after delivered it unto the archbishop of Canterbury, saying that if it were in his power, or at his assignment, he would that the duke of Lancaster there present should be his successor and king after him. And in token hereof, he took a ring of gold from his finger, being his signet, and put it upon the said duke’s finger, desiring and requiring the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Hereford, to show and make report unto the lords of the parliament of his voluntary resignation, and also of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his cousin the duke of Lancaster, to have him his successor and their king after him.”

Upon the last day of September, all the lords spiritual and temporal, with the Commons of the said parliament [of September 30, 1399], assembled at Westminster, where, in the presence of them, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of

Hereford, according to the king's request, showed unto them the voluntary renouncing of the king, with the favor also which he bare to his cousin of Lancaster to have him his successor. And moreover showed them the schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with king Richard's own hand; which they caused to be read first in Latin, as it was written, and after in English. This done, the question was first asked of the lords, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: the which when it was of them granted and confirmed, the like question was asked of the commons, and of them in like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that, notwithstanding the foresaid renouncing, so by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were necessary, in avoiding of all suspicions and surmises of evil disposed persons, to have in writing and registered the manifold crimes and defaults before done by king Richard, to the end that they might first be openly declared to the people, and after to remain of record amongst other of the king's records forever.

There were appointed by the authority of all the estates there in parliament assembled, the bishop at St. Asaph, the abbot of Glastonbury, the earl of Gloucester, the lord Berkeley, William Thirning justice, and Thomas Erpingham, with Thomas Gray, knights, that they should give and pronounce the open sentence of the deposing of king Richard [which they did as follows]: "We understanding and considering the manifold crimes, hurts, and harms done by Richard king of England, and misgovernance of the same by a long time, to the great decay of the said land, and utter ruin of the same shortly to have been, had not the special grace of our God thereunto put the

sooner remedy : and also furthermore adverting, that the said king Richard by acknowledging his own insufficiency, hath of his own mere voluntee [Evolution] and free will, renounced and given over the rule and governance of this land, with all rights and honors unto the same belonging, and utterly for his merits hath judged himself not unworthily to be deposed of all kingly majesty and estate royal. We the premisses well considering by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name, and authority to us (as above is said) committed, pronounce, decerne [decree], and declare the same king Richard, before this to have been, and to be unprofitable, unable, insufficient, and unworthy of the rule and governance of the foresaid realms and lordships, and of all rights and other the appurtenances to the same belonging. And for the same causes we deprive him of all kingly dignity and worship, and of any kingly worship in himself. And we depose him by our sentence definitive, forbidding expressly to all archbishops, and bishops, and all other prelates, dukes, marquesses, earls, barons and knights, and all other men of the foresaid kingdom and lordships, subjects, and lieges whatsoever they be, that none of them from this day forward, to the aforesaid Richard as king and lord of the foresaid realms and lordships, be neither obedient nor attendant."

Immediately as the sentence was in this wise passed, and that by reason thereof the realm stood void without head or governor for the time, the duke of Lancaster, rising from the place where before he sate, and standing where all those in the house might behold him, in reverend manner made a sign of the cross on his forehead, and likewise on his breast, and, after

silence by an officer commanded, said unto the people, there being present, these words following :

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**THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LAYETH CHALLENGE
OR CLAIM TO THE CROWN**

“In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. I, Henry of Lancaster, claim the realm of England and the crown, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood coming from that good lord king Henry the Third ; and through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the help of my kin, and of my friends, to recover the same, which was in point to be undone for default of good governance and due justice.”

After these words thus by him uttered, he returned and sate him down in the place where before he had sitten. Then the lords having heard and well perceived this claim thus made by this noble man, each of them asked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pausing or stay made, the archbishop of Canterbury, having notice of the minds of the lords, stood up and asked the commons if they would assent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claim of the duke made, to be rightful and necessary for the wealth of the realm and them all: whereto the commons with one voice cried, “Yea, yea, yea !” After which answer, the said archbishop, going to the duke, and kneeling down before him on his knee, addressed to him all his purpose in few words. The which when he had ended, he rose, and, taking the duke by the right hand, led him unto the king’s seat, (the archbishop of York assisting him,) and with great reverence set him therein, after that the

duke had first upon his knees made his prayer in devout manner unto Almighty God.

After the archbishop had ended, wishing that it might come to pass, and the people answered, Amen ; the king standing on his feet, said unto the lords and commons there present: "I thank you my lords both spiritual and temporal, and all the states of this land, and do you to wit, that it is not my will that any man think, that I by the way of conquest would disherit any man of his heritage, franchises [franchises], or other rights, that him ought to have of right, nor to put him out of that which he now enjoyeth, and hath had before time by custom or good law of this realm, except such private persons as have been against the good purpose, and the common profit of the realm."

On the morrow following, being Wednesday the first of October, the [Commissioners] repaired to the Tower of London, and there signified unto king Richard the admission of king Henry. And the aforesaid justice William Thirning, in name of the other, and for all the states of the land, renounced unto the said Richard late king, all homage and fealty unto him before time due, in manner and form as appertained. Which renunciation to the deposed king, was a redoubling of his grief, in so much as thereby it came to his mind, how in former times he was acknowledged and taken for their liege lord and sovereign, who now (whether in contempt or in malice, God knoweth) to his face forswore him to be their king.

Thus was king Richard deprived of all kingly honor and princely dignity, by reason he was so given to follow evil *counsel*, and used such inconvenient ways and means, through

insolent misgovernance, and youthful outrage, though otherwise a right noble and worthy prince. He reigned two and twenty years, three months and eight days. He delivered to king Henry now that he was thus deposed, all the goods that he had, to the sum of three hundred thousand pounds in coin, besides plate and jewels, as a pledge and satisfaction of the injuries by him committed and done, in hope to be in more surety of life for the delivery thereof: but whatsoever was promised, he was deceived therein. For shortly after his resignation, he was conveyed to the castle of Leeds in Kent, and from thence to Pomfret [see V. i. 51-54], where he departed out of this miserable life (as after you shall hear). He was seemly of shape and favor, and of nature good enough, if the wickedness and naughty demeanor of such as were about him had not altered it.

His chance verily was greatly infortunate, which fell into such calamity, that he took it for the best way he could devise to renounce his kingdom, for the which mortal men are accustomed to hazard all they have to attain thereunto. But such misfortune (or the like) oftentimes falleth unto those princes, which when they are aloft, cast no doubt for perils that may follow. He was prodigal, ambitious, and much given to the pleasure of the body. He kept the greatest port, and maintained the most plentiful house that ever any king in England did either before his time or since. For there resorted daily to his court above ten thousand persons that had meat and drink there allowed them. In his kitchen there were three hundred servitors, and every other office was furnished after the like rate. Of ladies, chamberers, and launderers, there were above three hundred at the least. And in gorgeous and costly apparel

they exceeded all measure, not one of them that kept within the bounds of his degree. Yeomen and grooms were clothed in silks, with cloth of grain and scarlet, over sumptuous ye may be sure for their estates. And this vanity was not only used in the court in those days, but also other people abroad in the towns and countries, had their garments cut far otherwise than had been accustomed before his days, with embroideries, rich furs, and goldsmiths' work, and every day there was devising of new fashions, to the great hindrance and decay of the commonwealth.

Moreover, such were preferred to bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical livings, as neither could teach nor preach, nor knew anything of the scripture of God, but only to call for their tithes and duties; so that they were most unworthy the name of bishops, being lewd and most vain persons disguised in bishop's apparel. Furthermore, there reigned abundantly the filthy sin of lechery and fornication, with abominable adultery, specially in the king, but most chiefly in the prelacy, whereby the whole realm by such their evil example, was so infected, that the wrath of God was daily provoked to vengeance for the sins of the prince and his people. . . .

But if I may boldly say what I think: he was a prince the most unthankfully used of his subjects, of any of whom ye shall lightly read. For although (thorough the frailty of youth) he demeaned himself more dissolutely than seemed convenient for his royal estate, and made choice of such councillors as were not favored of the people, whereby he was the less favored himself: yet in no king's days were the commons in greater wealth, if they could have perceived their happy state: neither in any

other time were the nobles and gentlemen more cherished, nor churchmen less wronged. But such was their ingratitude towards their bountiful and loving sovereign, that those whom he had chiefly advanced, were readiest to control him ; for that they might not rule all things at their will, and remove from him such as they misliked, and place in their rooms whom they thought good, and that rather by strong hand, than by gentle and courteous means, which stirred such malice betwixt him and them, till at length it could not be assuaged without peril of destruction to them both.

IV. i. 117-135. On Wednesday [Oct. 22, 1399] following, request was made by the commons, that sith [since] king Richard had resigned, and was lawfully deposed from his royal dignity, he might have judgment decreed against him, so as the realm were not troubled by him, and that the causes of his deposing might be published through the realm for satisfying of the people : which demand was granted. Whereupon the bishop of Carlisle, a man both learned, wise, and stout of stomach, boldly showed forth his opinion concerning that demand ; affirming that there was none amongst them worthy or meet to give judgment upon so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their sovereign and liege lord, by the space of two and twenty years and more : “ And I assure you ” (said he) “ there is not so rank a traitor, nor so errant a thief, nor yet so cruel a murtherer apprehended or detained in prison for his offence, but he shall be brought before the justice to hear his judgment ; and will ye proceed to the judgment of an anointed king, hearing neither his answer nor excuse ? I say, that the duke of Lancaster, whom ye call king, [see l. 134] hath more

trespassed to king Richard and his realm, than king Richard hath done either to him, or us: . . .”

As soon as the bishop had ended this tale, he was attached by the earl marshal, and committed to ward in the abbey of Saint Albans.

[In the first parliament of Henry IV.] to avoid all titles, claims, and ambiguities, there was an act made for the uniting of the crown unto king Henry the Fourth, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, his four sons, Henry, Thomas, John, and Humphrey, being named, as to whom the right should descend successively by way of entail, in case where heirs failed to any of them.

By force of this act king Henry thought himself firmly set on a sure foundation, not needing to fear any storm of adverse fortune. But yet shortly after he was put in danger to have been set besides the seat, by a conspiracy begun in the abbot of Westminster's house, which had it not been hindered, it is doubtful whether the new king should have enjoyed his royalty, or the old king (now a prisoner) restored to his principality.

V. ii. 7-17. As for the duke [Henry], he was received with all the joy and pomp that might be of the Londoners, and was lodged in the bishop's palace, by [St.] Paul's church. It was a wonder to see what great concourse of people, and what number of horses, came to him on the way as he thus passed the countries, till his coming to London, where (upon his approach to the city) the mayor rode forth to receive him, and a great number of other citizens. Also the clergy met him with procession; and such joy appeared in the countenances of the people, uttering the same also with words, as the like [had] not

lightly been seen. For in every town and village where he passed, children rejoiced, women clapped their hands, and men cried out for joy. But to speak of the great numbers of people that flocked together in the fields and streets of London at his coming, I here omit; neither will I speak of the presents, welcomings, lauds, and gratifications made to him by the city and the communalty.

V. ii. 5-6, 27-30. [Holinshed does not mention how the Londoners received Richard, but the next day when he was removed to the Tower,] many evil disposed persons, assembling themselves together in great numbers, intended to have met with him, and to have taken him from such as had the conveying of him, that they might have slain him. But the mayor and aldermen gathered to them the worshipfull commoners and grave citizens, by whose policy, and not without much ado, the other were revoked from their evil purpose: . . .

V. ii. 41-43. It was finally enacted, [Nov. 3, 1399] that such as were appellants in the last parliament against the duke of Gloucester and other, should in this wise following be ordered. The dukes of Aumerle, Surrey, and Excester, there present, were judged to lose their names of dukes, together with the honors, titles, and dignities thereunto belonging.

V. ii. 56-iii. 144. But now to speak of the conspiracy, which was contrived by the abbot of Westminster as chief instrument thereof. Ye shall understand, that this abbot (as it is reported) upon a time heard king Henry say, when he was but earl of Derby, and young of years, that princes had too little, and religious men too much. He therefore doubting now, lest if the king continued long in the estate, he would remove

the great beam that then grieved his eyes, and pricked his conscience, became an instrument to search out the minds of the nobility, and to bring them to an assembly and council, where they might consult and commune together, how to bring that to effect, which they earnestly wished and desired ; that was, the destruction of king Henry, and the restoring of king Richard. For there were diverse lords that showed themselves outwardly to favor king Henry, where they secretly wished and sought his confusion. The abbot, after he had felt the minds of sundry of them, called to his house, on a day in the term time, [17 Dec. 1399] all such lords and other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned to king Richard, so envious to the prosperity of king Henry ; whose names were : John Holland, earl of Huntington, late duke of Excester ; Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, late duke of Surrey ; Edward, earl of Rutland, late Duke of Aumerle, son to the duke of York ; John Montacute, earl of Salisbury ; Hugh Lord Spenser, late earl of Gloucester ; Thomas the bishop of Carlisle ; Sir Thomas Blunt ; and Magdalen, a priest, one of king Richard's chapel, a man as like him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of body, as unlike in birth, dignity, and conditions.

The abbot highly feasted these lords, his special friends, and, when they had well-dined, they withdrew into a secret chamber, where they sat down in council, and, after much talk and conference had about the bringing of their purpose to pass concerning the destruction of king Henry, at length by the advice of the earl of Huntington it was devised, that they should take upon them a solemn justs to be enterprised between him and twenty on his part, and the earl of Salisbury and twenty with

him, at Oxford ; to the which triumph king Henry should be desired, and, when he should be most busily marking the martial pastime, he suddenly should be slain and destroyed, and so by that means king Richard, who as yet lived, might be restored to liberty, and have his former estate and dignity. It was further appointed, who should assemble the people ; the number and persons which should accomplish and put in execution their devised enterprize. Hereupon was an indenture sextipartite made, sealed with their seals, and signed with their hands, in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole endeavor for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit. Moreover, they sware on the holy evangelists to be true and secret each to other, even to the hour and point of death.

When all things were thus appointed, the earl of Huntington came to the king unto Windsor, earnestly requiring him, that he would vouchsafe to be at Oxenford on the day appointed of their justs ; both to behold the same, and to be the discoverer and indifferent judge (if any ambiguity should arise) of their courageous acts and doings. The king, being thus instantly required of his brother in law, and nothing less imagining than that which was pretended, gently granted to fulfil his request. Which thing obtained, all the lords of the conspiracy departed home to their houses, as they noised it, to set armorers on work about the trimming of their armor against the justs, and to prepare all other furniture and things ready, as to such an high and solemn triumph appertained. The earl of Huntington came to his house and raised men on every side, and prepared horse and harness for his compassed purpose ;

and, when he had all things ready, departed towards Oxenford, and at his coming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for their purpose, except the earl of Rutland, by whose folly their practised conspiracy was brought to light and disclosed to king Henry. For this earl of Rutland, departing before from Westminster to see his father the duke of York, as he sat at dinner, had his counterpane [counterpart] of the indenture of the confederacy in his bosom.

The father, espying it, would needs see what it was; and, though the same humbly denied to show it, the father, being more earnest to see it, by force took it out of his bosom; and perceiving the contents thereof, in a great rage caused his horses to be saddled out of hand, and spitefully reproving his son of treason, for whom he was become surety and mainpernour for his good abearing in open parliament, he incontinently mounted on horseback to ride towards Windsor to the king, to declare unto him the malicious intent of his complices. The earl of Rutland, seeing in what danger he stood, took his horse, and rode another way to Windsor in post, so that he got thither before his father, and, when he was alighted at the castle gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saying that he must needs deliver the keys to the king. When he came before the king's presence, he kneeled down on his knees, beseeching him of mercy and forgiveness, and, declaring the whole matter unto him in order as every thing had passed, obtained pardon. Therewith came his father, and, being let in, delivered the indenture, which he had taken from his son, unto the king, who thereby perceiving his son's words to be true, changed his purpose for his going to Oxenford.

V. iv. and v. [Holinshed mentions three accounts of the death of Richard II., from which Shakespeare took the most dramatic.] Immediately after [the conspiracy], king Henry, to rid himself of any such like danger to be attempted against him thereafter, caused king Richard to die of a violent death, that no man should afterward feign himself to represent his person, though some have said, he was not privy to that wicked offence. The common fame is, that he was every day served at the table with costly meat, like a king, to the intent that no creature should suspect anything done contrary to the order taken in the parliament; and when the meat was set before him, he was forbidden once to touch it; yea, he was not permitted so much as to smell to it, and so he died of forced famine.

But Thomas Walsingham is so far from imputing his death to compulsory famine, that he referreth it altogether to voluntary pining of himself. For when he heard that the complots and attempts of such his favorers, as sought his restitution, and their own advancement, annihilated, and the chief agents shamefully executed, he took such a conceit at these misfortunes (for so Thomas Walsingham termed them) and was so beaten out of heart, that wilfully he starved himself, and so died in Pomfret castle on St. Valentine's day. . . . Although the Scots unruly write, that he escaped out of prison, and led a virtuous and a solitary life in Scotland, and there died, and is buried (as they hold) in the Black Friars' at Sterling. . . .

One writer, which seemeth to have great knowledge of king Richard's doings, saith, that king Henry, sitting on a day at his table, sore sighing, said: "Have I no faithful friend which will deliver me of him, whose life will be my death, and whose

death will be the preservation of my life?" This saying was much noted of them which were present, and especially of one called sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinently departed from the court, with eight strong persons in his company, and came to Pomfret, commanding the esquire, that was accustomed to sew and take the assay [serve and remove the dishes and taste the food in them] before king Richard, to do so no more, saying: "Let him eat now, for he shall not long eat." King Richard sat down to dinner, and was served without courtesy or assay; whereupon, much marvelling at the sudden change, he demanded of the esquire why he did not his duty: "Sir" (said he), "I am otherwise commanded by sir Piers of Exton, which is newly come from king Henry." When king Richard heard that word, he took the carving knife in his hand, and strake the esquire on the head, saying "The devil take Henry of Lancaster and thee together." And with that word, sir Piers entered the chamber, well armed, with eight tall men likewise armed, every of them having a bill in his hand.

King Richard perceiving this, put the table from him, and stepping to the foremost man, wrung the bill out of his hands, and so valiantly defended himself, that he slew four of those that thus came to assail him. Sir Piers being half dismayed herewith, leapt into the chair where king Richard was wont to sit, while the other four persons fought with him, and chased him about the chamber. And in conclusion, as king Richard traversed his ground, from one side of the chamber to another, and coming by the chair, where sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a pole-axe which sir Piers gave him upon the head, and therewith rid him out of life, without giving him

respite once to call to God for mercy of his passed offences. It is said, that sir Piers of Exton, after he had thus slain him, wept right bitterly, as one stricken with the prick of a guilty conscience, for murdering him, whom he had so long time obeyed as king.

V. vi. The conspirators being at Oxenford, perceived by the lack of the earl of Rutland, that their enterprize was revealed to the king, and thereupon determined now openly with spear and shield to bring that to pass which before they covertly attempted, and so they adorned Magdalen, a man most resembling king Richard, in royal and princely vesture, and named him to be king Richard, affirming that by favor of his keepers he was escaped out of prison, and so they came forwards in order of war, to the intent to destroy king Henry. Whilst the confederators with their new published idol, accompanied with a strong army of men, took the direct way towards Windsor, king Henry admonished thereof, with a few horsemen in the night came to the Tower of London about twelve of the clock, where in the morning he caused the mayor of the city to apparel in armor the best and most courageous persons of the city, which brought to him three thousand archers, and three thousand bill-men, besides them that were appointed to keep and defend the city.

The conspirators coming to Windsor, entered the castle, and understanding that the king was gone from thence to London, determined with all speed to make towards the city: but changing that determination as they were on their way, they turned to Colebroke, and there stayed. King Henry issuing out of London with twenty thousand men, came straight to Hunslow

Heath, and there pitched his camp to abide the coming of his enemies: but when they were advertised of the king's puissance, amazed with fear, and forthinking their begun enterprise, as men distrusting their own company, departed from thence to Berkhamstead, and so to Cirecester, and there the lords took their lodging. The earl of Kent, and the earl of Salisbury in one inn, and the earl of Huntington and lord Spenser in another, and all the host lay in the fields, whereupon in the night season, the bailiff of the town with fourscore archers set on the house, where the earl of Kent and the other lay, which house was manfully assaulted and strongly defended a great space. The earl of Huntington being in another inn with the lord Spenser, set fire on diverse houses in the town, thinking that the assailants would leave the assault and rescue their goods, which thing they nothing regarded. The host lying without, hearing noise, and seeing this fire in the town, thought verily that king Henry had been come thither with his puissance, and thereupon fled without measure, every man making shift to save himself, and so that which the lords devised for their help, wrought their destruction; for if the army that lay without the town had not mistaken the matter, when they saw the houses on fire, they might easily have succored their chieftains in the town, that were assailed but with a few of the townsmen, in comparison of the great multitude that lay abroad in the fields. . . .

The earl of Huntington and his company seeing the force of the townsmen to increase, fled out on the backside, intending to repair to the army which they found dispersed and gone. Then the earl seeing no hope of comfort, fled into *Essex*. The other lords which were left fighting in the town of Cirecester,

were wounded to death and taken, and their heads stricken off and sent to London.

The lord Hugh Spenser, otherwise called earl of Gloucester, as he would have fled into Wales, was taken and carried to Bristol, where (according to the earnest desires of the commons) he was beheaded. Magdalen fleeing into Scotland, was taken by the way, and brought to the Tower. Many other that were privy to this conspiracy, were taken, and put to death, some at Oxford, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cilie knight, and Thomas Wintercell esquire; but sir Leonard Brokas, and sir John Shellie knights, John Magdalen, and William Ferbie chaplains, were drawn, hanged, and beheaded at London. There were nineteen in all executed in one place and other, and the heads of the chief conspirators were set on poles over London Bridge, to the terror of others. Shortly after, the abbot of Westminster, in whose house the conspiracy was begun (as is said) going between his monastery and mansion, for thought fell into a sudden palsy, and shortly after, without speech, ended his life. The bishop of Carlisle was impeached, and condemned of the same conspiracy; but the king of his merciful clemency, pardoned him of that offence, although he died shortly after, more through fear than force of sickness, as some have written.

V. vi. 30-52. After he [Richard] was thus dead, his body was embalmed, and seared, and covered with lead, all save the face, to the intent that all men might see him, and perceive that he was departed this life: for as the corpse was conveyed from Pomfret to London, in all the towns and places where those that had the conveyance of it did stay with it all night, they

caused dirge to be sung in the evening, and mass of requiem in the morning; and as well after the one service as the other, his face discovered, was showed to all that courted to behold it.

Thus was the corpse first brought to the Tower, and after through the city, to the cathedral church of St. Paul bare faced, where it lay three days together, that all men might behold it. There was a solemn obsequy done for him, both at Paul's, and after at Westminster, at which time, both at dirge overnight, and in the morning at the mass of requiem, the king and the citizens of London were present. When the same was ended, the corpse was commanded to be had unto Langley, there to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers. The bishop of Chester, the abbots of St. Albans and Waltham, celebrated the exequies for the burial, none of the nobles nor any of the commons (to accompt for) being present: neither was there any to bid them to dinner after they had laid him in the ground, and finished the funeral service. He was after by king Henry removed to Westminster, and there honorably entombed with Queen Anne, his wife.¹

SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF HOLINSLED

Omissions. — A careful comparison of these sources with the play shows that Shakespeare omitted, altered, and added to the story as he thought fit. The most important omissions in the play are as follows: (1) There is no account of the death of the Duke of Glouce-

¹ For Shakespeare's indebtedness to Froissart, see notes on IV. i. 181-189, and V. v. 78.

ter. His murder is the initiating cause of the whole plot, which briefly is the struggle between Richard the murderer and Bolingbroke the avenger. Although Holinshed told the story of the murder in detail, Shakespeare seems to think it unnecessary to explain it. Probably his audience was already familiar with it in the other plays on Richard II. (see p. xxi). (2) The causes of the quarrel between Bolingbroke and Norfolk (I. i. and iii.) are not made clear; but in this respect Shakespeare has bettered Holinshed, whose account is even more vague. (3) According to Holinshed, Bolingbroke returned from banishment with two purposes: to claim his estate as Gaunt's heir, and to effect a national reform. Shakespeare omitted any reference to his national purpose (II. iii. 148), because he did not wish to make Bolingbroke the hero; the interest is kept centred in Richard and his personal aims, and as a contrast to Richard, Bolingbroke is held in the background, with only a secondary interest. (4) The story of Northumberland's trickery in deceiving and capturing Richard between Conway and Flint Castle is also omitted; it would have lessened the dramatic interest of Bolingbroke's professions of loyalty and of Richard's voluntary surrender to his rival (III. iii.).

Changes in Time and Place. — There are many changes in time and place and incident, but none of importance. The necessity of the drama requires condensation of historical episodes; the events of two years are crowded into these five short acts. Compression is the reason for most of the following changes :—

I. iii. 122. The interval between the king's throwing down his warder and the sentence of banishment is shortened from two hours to a few minutes, in order to end the episode while the interest of the audience is intense.

123. The sentence of banishment is spoken by the king, not read by his secretary, in order to enhance the dramatic situation.

209-211. Bolingbroke receives the remission of four years from his banishment and says farewell to the king at Coventry on the day of the tournament, and not at Eltham some weeks later.

I. iv. 54-56. The illness of Gaunt is announced before Bolingbroke has left England (I. iv. 1-4).

II. i. 21. Shakespeare represents Richard's courtiers as following the fashions of Italy, as the Elizabethans did.

167-168. At Gaunt's death after a day or two of *illness*, York refers to Richard's prevention of Boling-

broke's marriage during his banishment, and before the scene closes, Northumberland reports that Bolingbroke has sailed for England (II. i. 278-298).

290. To strengthen the plot, the landing of Bolingbroke is delayed until Richard departs for Ireland, and not until Bolingbroke ascertains how the people would receive him.

II. ii. 97. The death of the Duchess of Gloucester is antedated in order to embarrass York.

135-136. Wiltshire is said to be in Bristol Castle, although he was with the other favorites at Windsor, and fled to Bristol with Green.

III. i. 41-43. Glendower's rebellion is placed a year earlier than it actually happened (Oct., 1400), possibly to show Bolingbroke's ability to meet more than one crisis at a time.

III. iii. Northumberland's first interview with Richard is changed from Conway to Flint Castle, which Northumberland had captured.

7 ff. York is mentioned as being with Bolingbroke, although he had been left at Bristol.

131-132. Aumerle tries to comfort Richard, when, as a matter of fact, he had already deserted Richard for Bolingbroke.

IV. i. Episodes from three meetings of parliament

and an interview in the Tower are crowded out of chronological order into the one session of parliament in Westminster, on Sept. 30.

1-90. Bagot's testimony and Aumerle's challenges were given in Henry's first parliament on Oct. 16.

91-100. The news of Norfolk's death in Venice on Sept. 22 could hardly have reached London by the time of this meeting, Sept. 30.

114-149. Carlisle's protest against Richard's deposition was made, according to Holinshed, on Oct. 22. But the earliest known authority for it says it was made on Oct. 1.¹

151. Carlisle is committed to Westminster, as he actually was, and not to St. Albans, as Holinshed says.

162 ff. Richard resigned the crown on Sept. 29 in the Tower, to a committee of parliament in the presence of York, Bolingbroke, and others, and was not present at this meeting of parliament on Sept. 30.

316. Richard's committal to the Tower is retarded from Aug. 31 or Sept. 2 to this scene, Sept. 30.

319. Henry appointed "Wednesday next" [Oct. 1]

¹ See *Chronique de la Traison et de la Mort de Richard Deux*, edited by B. Williams for the English Historical Society. Quoted by Boswell-Stone in *Shakspeare's Holinshed*, p. 115.

for his coronation, although according to Holinshed he announced that it would be held on Monday, Oct. 13, as it was.

V. i. Richard says good-by to Queen Isabel in a street leading to the Tower; but he really never saw her after he left Windsor for Ireland. "When in the Tower, Richard commanded that the Queen might be sent for, to speak to him; but Bolingbroke, who was present, pleaded the Council's authority as an excuse for disobedience."¹

54. The Queen is ordered from Richard to go to France; but Bolingbroke did not let her go to her home in France until June, 1401.

V. ii. The Duchess tells Aumerle to take York's horse; but York had already left before Aumerle started on his own horse.

V. vi. The suppression of the revolt is retarded. The leaders had been executed before Richard's death.

Changes in Characters. — Closely allied with these changes are the changes in the ages and the relations of the characters. Queen Isabel is represented as a mature woman, although she was only twelve years old. Aumerle is represented as the son of Joan Hol-

¹ See *Chronique de la Traison*, 66. 217, quoted by Boswell-Stone, p. 120.

land, who was Duchess of York at the time of this play. But Aumerle was really the son of York's first wife Isabella, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile; she died in 1394. Nor was Aumerle the only son of the Duke of York (V. ii. 90); another son was Richard, the Earl of Cambridge of *Henry V.* Henry IV. refers to his "unthrifty son," Henry Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V.) as if he were a young man (V. iii. 1), although he was only twelve years old.

The most significant changes that demand an explanation are in the characters of Norfolk and of Gaunt, both of which are here pictured contrary to history. Shakespeare gives no hint in this play of Norfolk's unpopularity, which we hear of in *2 Henry IV.*, IV. i. 134; the people hated him so much for his cruelty that had he not been banished, he would never have left the lists at Coventry alive. There is nothing so criminal in the charges against Norfolk, nor is his defence so weak, as to justify the extreme penalty of exile. His true character was purposely concealed in order to make Richard's sentence of banishment seem all the more arbitrary—an act characteristic of a wanton king.

Gaunt is here an ideal patriot, a representative of

the true chivalry of England, made glorious by Edward the Black Prince. His patriotism is unselfish; as a statesman he consents to the banishment of his son Bolingbroke, even though he felt that separation from his son would hasten and embitter his death. His last words, full of death-bed prophecy, warn the king that his thoughtless ways are bringing ruin to his beloved country. Such a character of noble patriotism emphasizes by contrast Richard's selfishness and reveals the glory of the England that was, but unfortunately through Richard's weakness is no more. History testifies that Gloucester, Gaunt's brother, whose murder led to Richard's downfall, was such a character, and so he was pictured in the earlier play. But Gaunt was a selfish tyrant, despised and hated by commons, nobles, and king.

Additions.—Much of this play (some of the best and some of the worst of it) cannot be found in Holinshed or other historians. Many incidents and scenes are of Shakespeare's creative imagination. No other source has been discovered for:—

I. ii. the appeal of the Duchess of Gloucester to Gaunt.

I. iv. 24. Bolingbroke's "courtship of the common people."

II. i. 1-138. the particulars of the death of Gaunt, including the patriotic eulogy of England.

III. iv. the conversation of the gardener and his servant, and its pathetic effect on the Queen.

IV. i. the dramatic surrender of the crown before parliament and the breaking of the mirror in the deposition scene.

V. iii. the appeal of the Duchess of York to Henry in behalf of her son Aumerle.

CRITICAL APPRECIATIONS

The Play as a Whole. — Although the play of *Richard II.* has not been successful on the modern stage, no one of Shakespeare's historical plays may be read with more appreciation. Unlike the melodramatic *Richard III.* and the spectacular *Henry V.*, it may be read more than once, each time with increased pleasure. Coleridge has well called it "the most admirable of all Shakspeare's purely historical plays." Although Shakespeare follows the chronicle very closely, he is able to construct a simple plot, with almost no episodes to distract the attention from the development of the main action, which is the contrast between Richard, the man of fancies and Bolingbroke, the man of action. "Like a musical composition [it

possesses] a certain concentration of all its parts, a simple continuity, an evenness in execution, which are rare in the great dramatist. Every scene, every speech, is a step in the decline of Richard and in the rise of Henry.

Richard's Character.—The failure of Richard is caused by the lack of harmony between his character and his circumstances. Shakespeare suggests certain wrongs or crimes, such as the murder of Gloucester, the farming of the revenue, the evils of favoritism, and the seizure of Gaunt's estate, but he does not trace out in detail and emphasize their influence on Richard's career; they are rather evidences of his character. No one of them nor the combination of them all is made the justification for Henry's usurpation. Henry himself realized this, as he confessed:

“God knows, my son,
By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways
I met this crown.”

2 *Henry IV.*, IV. v. 184-186.

His son, Henry V., was even more plain spoken:—

“Not to-day, O Lord,
O, not to-day, think not upon the fault
My father made in compassing the crown !

¹ See Pater's *Appreciations*, 1906, p. 210.

I Richard's body have interred new,
 And on it have bestow'd more contrite tears
 Than from it issued forced drops of blood.
 Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
 Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold up
 Toward heaven, to pardon blood ; and I have built
 Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
 Sing still for Richard's soul."

Henry V., IV. i. 309-319.

There is nothing villanous in Richard's delaying in Ireland, yet the delay of a day causes the Welsh to disband, and Richard lands without an adequate force to meet Bolingbroke. There is nothing criminal in his stopping the combat between Bolingbroke and Norfolk, but such acts caused his deposition:—

"When the king did throw his warder down—
 His own life hung upon the staff he threw,—
 Then threw he down himself and all their lives
 That by indictment and by dint of sword
 Have since miscarried under Bolingbroke."

Henry IV., IV. i. 125-129.

Unlike Richard III., Richard II. is not damned by his crimes, but by his inaction. He fails and falls, not so much because he does wrong, but rather because he does not do right. His character is too weak for the circumstances of his royal position. Seemingly with-

out determination, he always follows the line of least resistance. Raised to the throne at the death of his grandfather, he plays the part of king from childhood, but he is never conscientiously conscious of its responsibilities. He thinks too much of its privileges, too little of its duties. Flattering favorites always surround him, ready to relieve him of any unpleasant task, of which there were many during his reign; for instance, Wyclif spread dissension in the church, and John Ball roused the peasants to some idea of their rights. Richard never faces his duty fairly; he has an exalted idea of the divine right of kings; he is God's deputy on earth. Untaught in childhood to discipline his desires, he is intemperate, delighting to revel in luxury and ease. His imagination has been fed at the expense of his will. He is a day-dreamer, a sentimentalist; a poet, peculiarly affected by the artistic possibility of life, but lacking the common sense of realization. "Instead of comprehending things as they are, and achieving heroic deeds, he satiates his heart with the grace, the tenderness, the beauty, or the pathos of situations. Life is to Richard a show, a succession of images; and to put himself into accord with the æsthetic requirements of his position is Richard's first necessity. He is equal to

playing any part gracefully which he is called upon by circumstances to enact. But when he has exhausted the ~~esthetic satisfaction~~ ^{esthetic satisfaction} to be derived from the situations of his life, he is left with nothing further to do. He is an amateur in living; not an artist."¹

Bolingbroke. — In contrast to this self-centred weakling, the plot continually presents Bolingbroke the practical man of affairs. He does what he thinks necessary without wasting energy in fancying what might have been. When he is banished, he does not complain of the injustice of the sentence, but he sadly leaves the land he loves, not forgetting to be courteously grateful to those good men and women that sympathized with him. He stays away until Richard's unjust seizure of his inheritance gives him an opportunity to claim justice in person. Unlike Richard, he is able to plan without talking. He does not come back with the expressed purpose of overthrowing King Richard, but as a subject returning to claim his estate as Gaunt's heir. Richard, whose nature compels him to say whatever his imagination suggests, realizes how matters will end, and sadly foretells his own deposition.

The contrast between the two men is most strongly

¹ See Dowden's *Shakspeare — His Mind and Art*, 1880, p. 173.

drawn at their landing and during the deposition scene. When Bolingbroke lands from his banishment in a foreign country, his first question is intensely practical: "How far is it, my lord, to Berkeley now?" On his way thither, he entertains his companions with "his fair discourse" so well, that the distance is made to seem short. But Richard on returning from a few weeks' campaign in Ireland, bursts forth into a rhapsody, beautiful as lyric poetry, but discouraging to his friends, who realize what he has forgotten — the crisis facing them. They treat him as a little child, who forgets his sorrow in singing a pathetic song. Later when Richard, in his poetical hysteria, weeps as he hands the crown to his successor, Bolingbroke is unmoved by this sentimentalism; he quietly reminds Richard: "I thought you had been willing to resign." He restrains Northumberland from his brutal demand that Richard read over the list of his crimes. He seldom speaks, but when he does, his remark is brief and calm. He is placed at the beginning of the fourth act in exactly the same position as Richard in the first act, as judge of a challenge. Instead of vainly commanding the challengers to be reconciled, he lets the quarrel take its natural course, but controls the situation by delaying to appoint a day for the combat. He even goes so far as to pardon and

recall his old enemy Norfolk. He has achieved his desire and rests content, without glorying in it before the eyes of the world.

The Final Position of these Characters. — Yet with all his moderation, justice, and common sense, the strong Henry does not win our admiration so easily as the weak Richard in his sorrow arouses our pity. Shakespeare has led us step by step to acknowledge the justice of Richard's deposition, even though the kingdom was his by inheritance; we have also been convinced of Henry's right to the crown because of his ability and high national ideals. But Shakespeare is not content with this impression; there is a reaction. We are not allowed to forget that with all his responsibilities, "a king is but a man"; there is something good in the worst of them and something bad in the best of them. Our sympathy is held in check until our judgment has convicted Richard; then, like Gaunt who lamented unto death the banishment of his son Bolingbroke which he voted for in council, we feel sorry for the "sweet" Richard, who pities himself so much. The pathos of his chance meeting with his wife in the London street and the groom's story of "roan Barbary" show us his lovable side, which endeared him to his intimates. The weakness of his

life is forgotten in the bravery of his death. Similarly our admiration for Henry is made to wane. Though he could win a crown, he had not gained the love and confidence of his son; though he sought to avenge the death of Gloucester, he became a murderer himself.

The Minor Characters. — The other characters are all made subordinate to the contrast of Richard and Bolingbroke. Only a few of them are drawn fully enough to arouse our interest. Northumberland is, like Bolingbroke, a man of action, but his nature is far more coarse and selfish. He is shrewder than Bolingbroke; his eye never wavers from his selfish purpose. He stirs up the nobles to aid Bolingbroke; and even while he is planning to place him on the throne, he bluntly insists that the duke has returned only as Gaunt's heir. He lacks the qualities of a gentleman that Bolingbroke always shows. He insultingly omits the title of "king" in speaking of Richard, and neglects to kneel in his presence. Without any pity for the king while he is being deposed, he vainly tries to make Richard read over before the parliament the schedule of his wrongs.

Old John of Gaunt lives only long enough to give voice to the noble patriotism that was swelling in every true English breast, and to warn King Richard

that his personal safety was involved in the national danger. A similar patriot, the Bishop of Carlisle, appears twice, once as a manly comforter of his king, again as his courageous champion.

The Duke of York must be regarded as an old man trying to escape unpleasant duties, and currying favor with those in power, in order to end his days in comfort; a good man, yet without moral strength. His loyalty to the throne is made the excuse for deserting the falling king and, under the veil of neutrality, for joining the successful rebel. He suffers greatly in comparison with his brother Gaunt, especially where he raves against his son as a traitor; he exhibits no trace of fatherly grief, such as moved Gaunt in his farewell to Bolingbroke. His son Aumerle has far more strength of character, but he loved his life almost as much, for instead of joining with his fellow-conspirators whom his carelessness had betrayed, he hurries to beg Henry's mercy.

The character of the Queen is a reflection of Richard's, in her impotency to grapple with necessity. She adds also to our pity of Richard by revealing his personal charm. The other characters do not need separate comment. Throughout the play the characters that warrant special study are those of Bolingbroke, and of Richard himself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

To enjoy and to appreciate Shakespeare's *Richard II.*, a schoolboy or a general reader needs nothing more than is in this little book. But if a student wishes to know more about some question arising from the play, or to carry out some suggestion of the Introduction or Notes, he will find the details of Shakespeare's life and work in Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare*. Walter Raleigh's *William Shakespeare*, in the English Men of Letters Series, is more a criticism than a biography. For general criticism Edward Dowden's *Shakspeare—His Mind and Art* is excellent, especially in pointing out Shakespeare's gradual development. B. E. Warner's *English History in Shakespeare's Plays* is a popular summary of the Histories, with a few comments. For the meaning of words, the best book is A. Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*, in two volumes. Bartlett's *Concordance to Shakespeare* is also very helpful, for in it are grouped together under each word all the sentences in which the word is used.

But, after all, the best book on Shakespeare is his

complete works. Old Dr. Samuel Johnson well said: "Let him that is yet unacquainted with the powers of Shakespeare, and who desires to feel the greatest pleasure that the drama can give, read every play, from the first scene to the last, with utter negligence of all his commentators. When his fancy is once on the wing, let it not stoop at correction or explanation. When his attention is strongly engaged, let it disdain alike to turn aside to the name of Theobald and of Pope. Let him read on through brightness and obscurity, through integrity and corruption; let him preserve his comprehension of the dialogue and his interest in the fable. And when the pleasures of novelty have ceased, let him attempt exactness and read the commentators."

THE PRESENT EDITION

THE text of this edition is practically that of the *Temple Edition*, with a few changes based on the first quarto. Fortunately there are not many variant readings in the texts of the early editions, and only the most important of these are mentioned in the Notes; such matters are only for the special student, not for the general student or reader, for whom this edition is prepared.

Shakespeare wrote to amuse his audience, and his plays should be read in the same spirit, — for pleasure. *Richard II.* should be enjoyed; this edition attempts to make one of Shakespeare's most readable plays more enjoyable and attractive to the general reader. The print is large, the annotations not intrusive, and the text is complete, without expurgations.

First read the play itself; if some words or phrases are not clear, look them up in the Notes; and then, if interested in the play as a work of art, or its history, or the lives of the characters, or the sources of the play, read the Introduction. Both Introduction and Notes are subordinate to the play; their only

purpose is to make clear the ambiguities of the text and to follow out the natural queries that the play suggests to an interested reader. No account is given of Shakespeare's life, because the student has become familiar with it in other plays; for *Richard II.* is almost never the first of Shakespeare's plays to be read. The very complete quotations from Holinshed offer excellent material for a detailed study of Shakespeare's use of sources. In the Notes, the Editor has attempted to be definite, without being dogmatic, and to avoid the common fault of Notes, — the explanation of the obvious.

The Editor gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to earlier editors, especially to Dr. C. H. Herford, Dr. W. J. Rolfe, and Mr. A. W. Verity, whose comments are frequently quoted. He desires also to express his gratitude to his colleague, Dr. J. L. Haney, whose bibliographical suggestions and valuable criticisms have lightened his labors. The labors of editing have been made pleasant by the hope that this little book will help many readers to appreciate "the lamentable tale" of Richard II.

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**SHAKESPEARE'S
TRAGEDY OF KING RICHARD II**

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ°

KING RICHARD *the Second.*

JOHN OF GAUNT, *Duke of Lancaster,* } *uncles to the King.*
EDMUND OF LANGLEY, *Duke of York,* }

HENRY, *surnamed BOLINGBROKE, Duke of Hereford, son to John
of Gaunt; afterwards KING HENRY IV.*

DUKE OF AUMERLE, *son to the Duke of York.*

THOMAS MOWBRAY, *Duke of Norfolk.*

DUKE OF SURREY.

EARL OF SALISBURY.

LORD BERKLEY.°

BUSHY, }
BAGOT, } *servants to King Richard.*
GREEN, }

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

HENRY PERCY, *surnamed HOTSPUR, his son.*

LORD ROSS.

LORD WILLOUGHBY.

LORD FITZWATER.

Bishop of Carlisle.

Abbot of Westminster.

Lord Marshal.

SIR STEPHEN SCROOP.

SIR PIERCE *of Exton.*

Captain of a band of Welshmen.

QUEEN *to King Richard.*

DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER.

DUCHESS OF YORK.

Lady attending on the Queen.

Lords, Heralds, Officers, Soldiers, two Gardeners, Keeper,
Messenger, Groom, and other Attendants.

SCENE : *England and Wales.*

T H E
Tragedie of King Ri-
chard the se-
cond.

*As it hath beene publicly acted
by the right Honourable the
Lorde Chamberlaine his Ser-
uants.*



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THE TRAGEDY° OF KING
RICHARD II



ACT I

SCENE I. *Windsor Castle°*

Enter KING RICHARD, JOHN OF GAUNT, *with other*
Nobles *and* Attendants

K. Rich.° Old John of Gaunt, time-honour'd Lan-
caster,°

Hast thou, according to thy oath and band,°
Brought hither Henry Hereford° thy bold son,
Here to make good the boisterous late appeal,°
Which then our leisure° would not let us hear, 5
Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray°?

Gaunt. I have, my liege.

K. Rich. Tell me, moreover, hast thou sounded him,
If he appeal the duke on° ancient malice,
Or worthily, as a good subject should, 10
On some known ground of treachery in him?

Gaunt. As near as I could sift° him on that argume
On some apparent° danger seen in him
Aim'd at your highness, no inveterate malice.

K. Rich. Then call them to our presence; face
face,
And frowning brow to brow, ourselves° will hear
The accuser and the accused freely speak:
High-stomach'd° are they both, and full of ire,
In rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire.

Enter BOLINGBROKE and MOWBRAY

Boling. Many years° of happy days befall
My gracious sovereign, my most loving liege!

Mow. Each day still better other's° happiness;
Until the heavens, envying° earth's good hap,
Add an immortal title to your crown!

K. Rich. We thank you both: yet one but flatt
us,
As well appeareth by the cause you come°;
Namely, to appeal each other of high treason.
Cousin of Hereford, what dost thou object°
Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?
Boling. First, heaven be the record to my speech!
In the devotion of a subject's love,
Tendering° the precious safety of my prince,

And free from other misbegotten hate,
Come I appellant° to this princely presence.
Now, Thomas Mowbray, do I turn to thee, 35
And mark my greeting well; for what I speak
My body shall make good upon this earth,
Or my divine° soul answer it in heaven.
Thou art a traitor and a miscreant,°
Too good to be so,° and too bad to live, 40
Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.
Once more, the more to aggravate the note,°
With a foul traitor's name stuff I thy throat°;
And wish, so please my sovereign, ere I move, 45
What my tongue speaks my right drawn° sword may
prove.

Mow. Let not my cold words here accuse my zeal:
'Tis not the trial of a woman's war,
The bitter clamour of two eager° tongues,
Can arbitrate° this cause betwixt us twain; 50
The blood is hot that must be cool'd for this:
Yet can I not of such tame patience boast
As to be hush'd and nought at all to say:
First, the fair reverence of your highness curbs me
From giving reins and spurs to my free speech; 55
Which else would post° until it had return'd

These terms of treason doubled down his throat.
 Setting aside his high blood's royalty,
 And let him be no kinsman to my liege,
 I do defy him, and I spit at him; 60
 Call him a slanderous coward and a villain :
 Which to maintain I would allow him odds,
 And meet him, were I tied° to run afoot
 Even to the frozen ridges of the Alps,
 Or any other ground inhabitable,° 65
 Where ever Englishman durst set his foot.
 Mean time let this° defend my loyalty,
 By all my hopes, most falsely doth he lie.

Boling. Pale trembling coward, there I throw my
 gage,

Disclaiming here the kindred of the king; 70
 And lay aside my high blood's royalty,
 Which fear, not reverence, makes thee to except.°
 If guilty dread have left thee so much strength
 As to take up mine honour's pawn,° then stoop :
 By that and all the rites of knighthood else, 75
 Will I make good against thee, arm to arm,
 What I have spoke,° or thou canst worse devise.

Mow. I take it up; and by that sword° I swear,
 Which gently laid my knighthood on my shoulder,
I'll answer thee in any fair degree,° 80

Or chivalrous design of knightly trial :
And when I mount, alive may I not light,^o
If I be traitor or unjustly fight!

K. Rich. What doth our cousin lay to Mowbray's
charge?

It must be great that can inherit^o us 85
So much as of a thought of ill in him.

Boling. Look, what I speak, my life shall prove it
true;

That Mowbray hath received eight thousand nobles^o
In name of lendings^o for your highness' soldiers,
The which^o he hath detain'd for lewd^o employments, 90
Like a false traitor and injurious^o villain.

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^o 95
Complotted^o 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,^o 100
Suggest^o his soon-believing adversaries,
And consequently, like a traitor coward,
Sluiced out his innocent soul through streams of blood:

Which blood,° like sacrificing Abel's,° cries,
 Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth, 105
 To me° for justice and rough chastisement;
 And, by the glorious worth of my descent,
 This arm shall do it, or this life be spent.

K. Rich. How high a pitch° his resolution soars!
 Thomas of Norfolk, what say'st thou to this? 110

Mow. O, let my sovereign turn away his face,
 And bid his ears a little while be deaf,
 Till I have told this slander° of his blood,
 How God and good men hate so foul a liar.

K. Rich. Mowbray, impartial are our eyes and
 ears: 115

Were he my brother, nay, my kingdom's heir,°
 As he is but my father's brother's son,°
 Now, by my sceptre's awe,° I make a vow,
 Such neighbour° nearness to our sacred° blood
 Should nothing privilege him, nor partialize° 120
 The unstooping firmness of my upright soul°:
 He is our subject, Mowbray; so art thou:
 Free speech and fearless I to thee allow.

Mow. Then, Bolingbroke, as low as to thy heart,°
 Through the false passage of thy throat, thou liest. 125
Three parts of that receipt° I had for Calais
Disbursed I duly to his highness' soldiers;

The other part reserved I by consent,
For that° my sovereign liege was in my debt
Upon remainder of a dear account, 130
Since last I went to France to fetch his queen:
Now swallow down that lie. For Gloucester's death,
I slew him not; but to my own disgrace
Neglected my sworn duty° in that case.
For you, my noble Lord of Lancaster, 135
The honourable father to my foe,
Once did I lay an ambush for your life,
A trespass that doth vex my grieved soul;
But ere I last received the sacrament
I did confess it, and exactly° begg'd 140
Your grace's pardon, and I hope I had it.
This is my fault: as for the rest appeal'd,°
It issues from the rancour of a villain,
A recreant° and most degenerate traitor:
Which in myself° I boldly will defend; 145
And interchangeably hurl down my gage
Upon this overweening traitor's foot,
To prove myself a loyal gentleman
Even in the best blood chamber'd in his bosom.
In haste whereof,° most heartily I pray 150
Your highness to assign our trial day.

K. Rich. Wrath-kindled gentlemen, be ruled by me;

Let's purge this choler^o without letting blood :
This we prescribe, though no physician^o;
Deep malice makes too deep incision : 155
Forget, forgive; conclude^o and be agreed ;
Our doctors say this is no month to bleed.^o
Good uncle, let this end where it begun^o;
We'll calm the Duke of Norfolk, you your son.

Gaunt. To be a make-peace^o shall become my
age: 160

Throw down, my son, the Duke of Norfolk's gage.

K. Rich. And, Norfolk, throw down his.

Gaunt. When, Harry, when^o?
Obedience bids I should not bid again.

K. Rich. Norfolk, throw down, we bid ; there is no
boot.^o

Mow. Myself I throw, dread sovereign, at thy
foot. 165

My life thou shalt command, but not my shame :
The one my duty owes; but my fair name,
Despite of death that lives upon my grave,^o
To dark dishonour's use thou shalt not have.
I am disgraced, impeach'd and baffled^o here; 170
Pierced to the soul with slander's venom'd spear,
The which^o no balm can cure but his heart-blood
Which^o breathed this poison.

K. Rich. Rage must be withstood :
Give me his gage: lions make leopards° tame.

Mow. Yea, but not change his spots°: take but my
shame, 175

And I resign my gage. My dear dear lord,
The purest treasure mortal times afford
Is spotless reputation°: that away,°
Men are but gilded loam or painted clay.
A jewel in a ten-times-barr'd-up chest 180
Is a bold spirit in a loyal breast.
Mine honour is my life; both grow in one;
Take honour from me, and my life is done:
Then, dear my liege,° mine honour let me try;
In that I live and for that will I die. 185

K. Rich. Cousin, throw up° your gage; do you
begin.

Boling. O, God° defend my soul from such deep
sin!

Shall I seem crest-fallen in my father's sight?
Or with pale beggar-fear° impeach my height°
Before this out-dared° dastard? Ere my tongue 190
Shall wound my honour with such feeble wrong,°
Or sound so base a parole,° my teeth shall tear
The slavish motive° of recanting fear,
And spit it bleeding in his° high disgrace,

Where shame doth harbour, even in Mowbray's face. 195

[Exit GAUNT.°

K. Rich. We were not born to sue, but to command°;

Which since we cannot do to make you friends,

Be ready, as your lives shall answer it,

At Coventry, upon Saint Lambert's° day :

There shall your swords and lances arbitrate 200

The swelling difference of your settled hate :

Since we can not atone° you, we shall see°

Justice design° the victor's chivalry.

Lord marshal, command our officers at arms°

Be ready to direct these home alarms. 205

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *The Duke of Lancaster's palace*

Enter JOHN OF GAUNT *with the* DUCHESS OF
GLOUCESTER°

Gaunt. Alas, the part I had in Woodstock's blood°

Doth more solicit me than your exclaims,°

To stir against the butchers of his life!

But since correction lieth in those hands°

Which made the fault that we cannot correct, 5

Put we° our quarrel to the will of heaven ;

Who, when they see° the hours ripe on earth,

Will rain hot vengeance on offenders' heads.

Duch. Finds brotherhood in thee no sharper spur ?
Hath love in thy old blood no living fire ? 10
Edward's seven sons,° whereof thyself art one,
Were as seven vials of his sacred blood,
Or seven fair branches springing from one root :
Some of those seven are dried by nature's course,
Some of those branches by the Destinies° cut ; 15
But Thomas, my dear lord, my life, my Gloucester,
One vial full of Edward's sacred blood,
One flourishing branch of his most royal root,
Is crack'd, and all the precious liquor spilt,
Is hack'd down, and his summer leaves all faded,° 20
By envy's hand and murder's bloody axe.
Ah, Gaunt, his blood was thine ! that bed, that womb,
That metal,° that self-mould, that fashion'd thee
Made him a man ; and though thou livest and breathest,
Yet art thou slain in him : thou dost consent° 25
In some large measure to thy father's death,
In that thou seest thy wretched brother die,
Who was the model° of thy father's life.
Call it not patience, Gaunt ; it is despair :
In suffering thus thy brother to be slaughter'd, 30
Thou showest the naked pathway to thy life,
Teaching stern murder how to butcher thee :
That which in mean° men we intitle patience

Is pale cold cowardice in noble breasts.

What shall I say ? to safeguard thine own life, 35
The best way is to venge° my Gloucester's death.

Gaunt. God's is the quarrel ; for God's substitute,
His deputy° anointed in His sight,
Hath caused his death : the which if wrongfully,
Let heaven revenge ; for I may never lift 40
An angry arm against His minister.

Duch. Where then, alas, may I complain myself° ?

Gaunt. To God, the widow's champion and defence.°

Duch. Why, then, I will.° Farewell, old Gaunt.
Thou goest to Coventry, there to behold 45
Our cousin° Hereford and fell Mowbray fight :
O, sit° my husband's wrongs on Hereford's spear,
That it may enter butcher Mowbray's breast !
Or, if misfortune miss the first career,°
Be Mowbray's sins so heavy in his bosom, 50
That they make break his foaming courser's back,
And throw the rider headlong in the lists,
A caitiff recreant° to my cousin Hereford !
Farewell, old Gaunt : thy sometimes° brother's wife
With her companion grief must end her life. 55

Gaunt. Sister, farewell ; I must to Coventry :
As much good stay with thee as go with me !

Duch. Yet one word more: grief boundeth° where
it falls,
Not with the empty hollowness, but weight:
I take my leave before I have begun, 60
For sorrow ends not when it seemeth done.
Commend me° to thy brother, Edmund York.
Lo, this is all: — nay, yet depart not so;
Though this be all, do not so quickly go;
I shall remember more. Bid him — ah, what? — 65
With all good speed at Plashy° visit me.
Alack, and what shall good old York there see
But empty lodgings and unfurnish'd walls,°
Unpeopled offices,° untrodden stones?
And what hear there for welcome but my groans? 70
Therefore commend me; let him not come there,
To seek out sorrow that dwells every where.
Desolate, desolate, will I hence and die°:
The last leave of thee takes my weeping eye.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *The lists at Coventry*

Enter the LORD MARSHAL° and the DUKE OF AUMERLE

Mar. My Lord Aumerle,° is Harry Hereford arm'd?

Aum. Yea, at all points; and longs to enter in.

Mar. The Duke of Norfolk, sprightly and bold,^o
Stays but the summons of the appellants' trumpet.

Aum. Why, then, the champions are prepared, and
stay 5
For nothing but his majesty's approach.

*The trumpets sound, and the KING enters with his
nobles, GAUNT, BUSHY, BAGOT, GREEN, and others.
When they are set, enter MOWBRAY^o in arms, de-
fendant, with a Herald.*

K. Rich. Marshal, demand of yonder champion
The cause of his arrival here in arms :
Ask him his name, and orderly proceed
To swear him in the justice of his cause. 10

Mar. In God's name and the king's, say who thou
art,^o
And why thou comest thus knightly clad in arms ;
Against what man thou comest, and what thy quarrel :
Speak truly, on thy knighthood and thy oath ;
As so^o defend thee heaven and thy valour ! 15

Mow. My name is Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Nor-
folk ;
Who hither come engaged by my oath —
Which God defend^o a knight should violate ! —
Both to defend my loyalty and truth

To God, my king, and my succeeding issue,^o 20
Against the Duke of Hereford that appeals me;
And, by the grace of God and this mine arm,
To prove him, in defending of myself,^o
A traitor to my God, my king, and me:
And as I truly fight, defend me heaven^o! 25

*The trumpets sound. Enter BOLINGBROKE, appellant,
in armour, with a Herald.*

K. Rich. Marshal, ask yonder knight in arms,^o
Both who he is, and why he cometh hither
Thus plated^o in habiliments of war;
And formally, according to our law,
Depose^o him in the justice of his cause. 30

Mar. What is thy name? and wherefore comest
thou hither,
Before King Richard in his royal lists?
Against whom comest thou? and what's thy quarrel?
Speak like a true knight, so defend thee heaven!

Boling. Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby, 35
Am I; who ready here do stand in arms,
To prove, by God's grace and my body's valour,
In lists, on Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk,
That he is a traitor, foul and dangerous,
To God of heaven, King Richard and to me; 40
And as I truly fight, defend me heaven!

Mar. On pain of death, no person be so bold
 Or daring-hardy° as to touch the lists,
 Except the marshal and such officers
 Appointed to direct these fair designs.° 45

Boling. Lord marshal, let me kiss my sovereign's
 hand,
 And bow my knee before his majesty :
 For Mowbray and myself are like two men°
 That vow a long and weary pilgrimage ;
 Then let us take a ceremonious leave 50
 And loving farewell of our several friends.

Mar. The appellant in all duty greets your highness,
 And craves to kiss your hand and take his leave.

K. Rich. We will descend and fold him in our arms.
 Cousin of Hereford, as° thy cause is right, 55
 So be thy fortune in this royal fight !
 Farewell, my blood ; which if to-day thou shed,
 Lament we may, but not revenge thee dead.

Boling. O, let no noble eye profane a tear°
 For me, if I be gored with Mowbray's spear : 60
 As confident as is the falcon's flight
 Against a bird, do I with Mowbray fight.
 My loving lord, I take my leave of you ;
 Of you, my noble cousin, Lord Aumerle ;
Not sick, although I have to do with death, 65

But lusty, young, and cheerly^o drawing breath.
Lo, as at English feasts,^o so I regreet^o
The daintiest last, to make the end most sweet :
O thou, the earthly author of my blood,
Whose youthful spirit,^o in me regenerate,^o 70
Doth with a twofold vigour lift me up
To reach at victory above my head,
Add proof^o unto mine armour with thy prayers;
And with thy blessings steel my lance's point,
That it may enter Mowbray's waxen coat,^o 75
And furbish^o new the name of John a Gaunt,^o
Even^o in the lusty haviour^o of his son.

Gaunt. God in thy good cause make thee prosperous !
Be swift like lightning in the execution ;
And let thy blows, doubly redoubled,^o 80
Fall like amazing^o thunder on the casque
Of thy adverse^o pernicious enemy :
Rouse up thy youthful blood, be valiant and live.

Boling. Mine innocency and Saint George to thrive^o !

Mow. However God or fortune cast my lot, 85
There lives or dies, true to King Richard's throne,
A loyal, just and upright gentleman :
Never did captive with a freer heart
Cast off his chains of bondage, and embrace
His golden uncontroll'd enfranchisement,^o 90

More° than my dancing soul 'doth celebrate
 This feast of battle with mine adversary.
 Most mighty liege, and my companion peers,
 Take from my mouth the wish of happy years :
 As gentle and as jocund as to jest° 95
 Go I to fight: truth hath a quiet breast.

K. Rich. Farewell, my lord: securely° I espy
 Virtue with valour couched in thine eye.
 Order the trial, marshal, and begin.

Mar. Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby, 100
 Receive thy lance; and God defend the right!

Boling. Strong as a tower in hope, I cry amen.

Mar. Go bear this lance to Thomas, Duke of Nor-
 folk.

First Her. Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby,
 Stands here for God, his sovereign and himself, 105
 On pain to be found false and recreant,
 To prove the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray,
 A traitor to his God, his king and him;
 And dares him to set forward to the fight.

Sec. Her. Here standeth Thomas Mowbray, Duke of
 Norfolk, 110
 On pain to be found false and recreant,
 Both to defend himself and to approve°
 Henry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby,

To God, his sovereign and to him disloyal ;
 Courageously and with a free desire 115
 Attending° but the signal to begin.

Mar. Sound, trumpets; and set forward, combatants.

[*A charge sounded.*

Stay, the king hath thrown his warder° down.

K. Rich. Let° them lay by their helmets and their
 spears,

And both return back to their chairs again : 120

Withdraw with us° : and let the trumpets sound

While we return° these dukes what we decree.

[*A long flourish.*°

Draw near,°

and list what with our council we have done.

For that° our kingdom's earth should not be soil'd 125

With that dear blood which it hath fostered ;

And for our eyes do hate the dire aspect°

Of civil wounds plough'd up with neighbours' sword ;

And for we think the eagle-winged pride°

Of sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts, 130

Which rival-hating envy, set on you°

Have taken our peace,° which in our country's cradle

Was the sweet infant breath of gentle sleep ;

Which so roused up with boisterous untuned drums,

With harsh resounding trumpets' dreadful bray, 135

And grating shock of wrathful iron arms,
Might from our quiet confines fright fair peace,
And make us wade even in our kindred's blood ;
Therefore, we banish you our territories :
You, cousin Hereford, upon pain of life,° 140
Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields
Shall not regret° our fair dominions,
But tread the stranger paths of banishment.

Boling. Your will be done : this must my comfort
be,

That sun that warms you here shall shine on me ; 145
And those his golden beams to you here lent
Shall point on me and gild my banishment.

K. Rich. Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom,
Which I with some unwillingness pronounce :
The sly slow hours° shall not determinate° 150
The dateless limit of thy dear° exile ;
The hopeless word of " never to return "
Breathe I against thee, upon pain of life.

Mow. A heavy sentence, my most sovereign liege,
And all unlook'd for from your highness' mouth : 155
A dearer merit,° not so deep a maim
As to be cast forth in the common air,
Have I deserved at your highness' hands.
The language I have learn'd these forty years,°

My native English,^o now I must forgo : 160
And now my tongue's use is to me no more
Than an unstringed viol or a harp ;
Or like a cunning instrument cased up,
Or, being open, put into his hands
That knows no touch to tune the harmony : 165
Within my mouth you have engaol'd my tongue,
Doubly portcullis'd with my teeth and lips ;
And dull unfeeling barren ignorance
Is made my gaoler to attend on me.
I am too old to fawn upon a nurse, 170
Too far in years to be a pupil now :
What is thy sentence then but speechless death,
Which robs my tongue from breathing native breath ?
K. Rich. It boots thee not to be compassionate^o :
After our sentence plaining^o comes too late. 175
Mow. Then thus I turn me^o from my country's light,
To dwell in solemn shades of endless night.
K. Rich. Return again, and take an oath with thee.
Lay on our royal sword^o your banish'd hands ;
Swear by the duty that you owe to God — 180
Our part^o therein we banish with yourselves —
To keep the oath that we administer :
You never shall, so help you truth and God !
Embrace each other's love in banishment ;

Nor never° look upon each other's face; 185
 Nor never write, regret, nor reconcile
 This luring tempest of your home-bred hate;
 Nor never by advised purpose° meet
 To plot, contrive, or complot any ill
 'Gainst us, our state, our subjects, or our land. 190

Boling. I swear.

Mow. And I, to keep all this.

Boling. Norfolk, so far as to mine enemy°: —
 By this time, had the king permitted us,
 One of our souls° had wander'd in the air, 195
 Banish'd this frail sepulchre° of our flesh,
 As now our flesh is banish'd from this land:
 Confess thy treasons ere thou fly the realm;
 Since thou hast far to go, bear not along
 The clogging burthen of a guilty soul. 200

Mow. No, Bolingbroke: if ever I were traitor,°
 My name be blotted from the book of life,°
 And I from heaven banish'd as from hence!
 But what thou art, God, thou, and I do know;
 And all too soon, I fear, the king shall rue.° 205
 Farewell, my liege. Now no way can I stray;
 Save back to England, all the world's my way.° [*Exit.*]

K. Rich. Uncle, even in the glasses of thine eyes
 I see thy grieved heart: thy sad aspect

Hath from the number of his banish'd years . 210
Pluck'd four away. [*To BOLING.*] Six frozen winters
spent, www.libtool.com.cn

Return with welcome home from banishment.°

Boling. How long a time lies in one little word°!
Four lagging winters and four wanton springs
End in a word: such is the breath of kings.° 215

Gaunt. I thank my liege, that in regard of me
He shortens four years of my son's exile:
But little vantage shall I reap thereby;
For, ere the six years that he hath to spend
Can change their moons and bring their times about,
My oil-dried lamp and time-bewasted light 221
Shall be extinct° with age and endless night;
My inch of taper will be burnt and done,
And blindfold death° not let me see my son.

K. Rich. Why, uncle, thou hast many years to
live. 225

Gaunt. But not a minute, king, that thou canst give:
Shorten my days thou canst with sullen sorrow,
And pluck nights from me, but not lend a morrow;
Thou canst help time to furrow me with age,
But stop no wrinkle in his pilgrimage; 230
Thy word is current° with him for my death,
But dead, thy kingdom cannot buy my breath.

K. Rich. Thy son is banish'd upon good advice,
 Whereto thy tongue a party-verdict° gave:
 Why at our justice seem'st thou then to lour°? 235

Gaunt. Things sweet to taste prove in digestion
 sour. www.libtool.com.cn

You urged me as a judge; but I had rather
 You would have bid me argue like a father.
 O, had it been a stranger, not my child,°
 To smooth° his fault I should have been more mild:
 A partial slander° sought I to avoid, 241
 And in the sentence my own life destroy'd.
 Alas, I look'd when some of you should say,
 I was too strict to make° mine own away;
 But you gave leave to my unwilling tongue 245
 Against my will to do myself this wrong.

K. Rich. Cousin, farewell; and, uncle, bid him so:
 Six years we banish him, and he shall go.

[*Flourish.* *Exeunt*° KING RICHARD and train.

Aum. Cousin, farewell: what presence must not
 know°,
 From where you do remain let paper show. 250

Mar. My lord, no leave take I; for I will ride,
 As far as land will let me, by your side.

Gaunt. O, to what purpose dost thou hoard thy
 words,

That thou return'st no greeting to thy friends ?

Boling. I have too few to take my leave of you, 255
When the tongue's office should be prodigal
To breathe the abundant dolour of the heart.

Gaunt. Thy grief is but thy absence for a time.°

Boling. Joy absent, grief is present for that time.

Gaunt. What is six winters°? they are quickly
gone. 260

Boling. To men in joy; but grief makes one hour
ten.°

Gaunt. Call it a travel° that thou takest for
pleasure.

Boling. My heart will sigh when I miscall it so,
Which finds it an enforced pilgrimage.

Gaunt. The sullen passage of thy weary steps 265
Esteem as foil° wherein thou art to set
The precious jewel of thy home return.

Boling. Nay, rather, every tedious stride I make°
Will but remember° me what a deal° of world
I wander from the jewels that I love. 270

Must I not serve a long apprenticeship°
To foreign passages, and in the end,
Having my freedom, boast of nothing else
But that I was a journeyman to grief ?

Gaunt. All places that the eye of heaven° visits 275

Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.
 Teach thy necessity to reason thus ;
 There is no virtue like necessity.^o
 Think not the king did banish thee,^o
 But thou the king. Woe doth the heavier sit, 280
 Where it perceives it is but faintly borne.
 Go, say I sent thee forth to purchase^o honour
 And not the king exiled^o thee ; or suppose
 Devouring pestilence hangs in our air^o
 And thou art flying to a fresher clime : 285
 Look, what thy soul holds dear, imagine it
 To lie that way thou go'st, not whence thou comest :
 Suppose the singing birds musicians,
 The grass whereon thou tread'st the presence strew'd,^o
 The flowers fair ladies, and thy steps no more 290
 Than a delightful measure^o or a dance ;
 For gnarling^o sorrow hath less power to bite
 The man that mocks at it and sets it light.
Boling. O, who can hold a fire^o in his hand
 By thinking on the frosty Caucasus ? 295
 Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite
 By bare imagination of a feast ?
 Or wallow naked in December snow
 By thinking on fantastic^o summer's heat ?
 O, no ! the apprehension^o of the good 300

Gives but the greater feeling to the worse :
 Fell sorrow's tooth doth never rankle° more
 Than when he bites, but lanceth not° the sore.

Gaunt. Come, come, my son, I'll bring thee on thy
 way :

Had I thy youth and cause, I would not stay. 305

Boling. Then, England's ground, farewell ; sweet
 soil, adieu ;

My mother, and my nurse, that bears me yet !
 Where'er I wander, boast of this I can,
 Though banish'd, yet a trueborn Englishman.

[*Exeunt.* 

SCENE IV. *The Court*

*Enter the KING, with BAGOT and GREEN at one door ;
 and the DUKE OF AUMERLE at another*

K. Rich. We did observe.° Cousin Aumerle,
 How far brought you high Hereford on his way ?

Aum. I brought high Hereford,° if you call him so,
 But to the next highway, and there I left him.

K. Rich. And say, what store of parting tears° were
 shed? 5

Aum. Faith, none for me° ; except the north-east
 wind,

Which then blew bitterly against our faces,
 Awaked the sleeping rheum,° and so by chance
 Did grace our hollow parting with a tear.

K. Rich. What said our cousin when you parted
 with him? 10

Aum. "Farewell":

And, for° my heart disdained that my tongue
 Should so profane the word, that° taught me craft
 To counterfeit oppression of such grief,
 That words seem'd buried in my sorrow's grave. 15
 Marry,° would the word "farewell" have lengthen'd
 hours

And added years to his short banishment,
 He should have had a volume of farewells;
 But since it would not, he had none of me.

K. Rich. He is our cousin, cousin; but 'tis doubt,° 20
 When time shall call him home from banishment,
 Whether our kinsman come to see his friends.
 Ourself° and Bushy, Bagot here and Green°
 Observed his courtship to the common people°;
 How he did seem to dive into their hearts 25
 With humble and familiar courtesy,
 What reverence he did throw away on slaves,
 Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles
And patient underbearing° of his fortune,

As° 'twere to banish their affects° with him. 30
Off goes his bonnet° to an oyster-wench ;
A brace of draymen bid God speed him well
And had the tribute of his supple knee,°
With "Thanks, my countrymen, my loving friends" ;
As were our England in reversion° his, 35
And he our subjects' next degree in hope.

Green.° Well, he is gone ; and with him go these thoughts.

Now for the rebels which stand out° in Ireland,
Expedient manage° must be made, my liege,
Ere further leisure yield them further means 40
For their advantage and your highness' loss.

K. Rich. We will ourself in person to this war :
And, for our coffers, with too great a court
And liberal largess, are grown somewhat light,
We are inforced to farm° our royal realm ; 45
The revenue whereof shall furnish us
For our affairs in hand : if that come short,
Our substitutes at home shall have blank charters° ;
Whereeto, when they shall know what men are
rich,
They shall subscribe them for large sums of gold 50
And send them after to supply our wants ;
For we will make for Ireland presently°

Enter BUSHY

Bushy,° what news?

Bushy. Old John of Gaunt is grievous sick,° my
lord,

Suddenly taken; and hath sent post haste 55
To entreat your majesty to visit him.

K. Rich. Where lies he?

Bushy. At Ely House.°

K. Rich. Now put it, God, in the physician's mind
To help him to his grave immediately! 60

The lining° of his coffers shall make coats

To deck our soldiers for these Irish wars.

Come, gentlemen, let's all go visit him:

Pray God we may make haste, and come too late!

All. Amen. [Exeunt. 65

ACT II

SCENE I. *Ely House*

Enter JOHN OF GAUNT sick, with the DUKE OF YORK, etc.

Gaunt. Will the king come, that I may breathe my
last

In wholesome counsel to his unstead° youth?

York. Vex not yourself, nor strive not° with your
breath;

For all in vain comes counsel to his ear.

Gaunt. O, but they say the tongues of dying men 5
Enforce attention like deep harmony :

Where words are scarce, they are seldom spent in vain,
For they breathe truth that breathe their words in pain.
He that no more must say is listen'd more°

Than they whom youth and ease have taught to
glose°; 10

More are men's ends mark'd than their lives before:

The setting sun, and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,
Writ in remembrance more than things long past:
Though Richard my life's counsel would not hear, 15
My death's sad tale may yet undeaf° his ear.

York. No; it is stopp'd with other flattering
sounds,

As praises, of whose taste the wise are fond,
Lascivious metres, to whose venom° sound
The open ear of youth doth always listen; 20
Report of fashions in proud Italy,°

Whose manners still° our tardy apish nation
Limps after in base imitation.°

Where doth the world thrust forth a vanity —
So it be new,° there's no respect° how vile — 25

That is not quickly buzz'd° into his ears?
Then all too late comes counsel to be heard,

Where will doth mutiny with wit's regard.^o
 Direct not him whose way himself will choose :
 Tis breath thou lack'st, and that breath wilt thou
 lose. www.libtool.com.cn 30

Gaunt. Methinks^o I am a prophet new inspired^o
 And thus expiring do foretell of him :
 His rash fierce blaze of riot cannot last,^o
 For violent fires soon burn out themselves ;
 Small showers last long, but sudden storms are short ;
 He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes ; 36
 With eager feeding food doth choke the feeder :
 Light vanity, insatiate cormorant,
 Consuming means, soon preys upon itself.
 This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,^o 40
 This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
 This other Eden, demi-paradise ;
 This fortress built by Nature for herself
 Against infection^o and the hand of war ;
 This happy breed of men, this little world,
 This precious stone set in the silver sea,
 Which serves it in the office of a wall,
 Or as a moat defensive to a house,
 Against the envy of less happier^o lands ;
 This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this
 land,^o

This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Fear'd by° their breed and famous by their birth,
Renowned for their deeds as far from home,
For Christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry° 55
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son ;
This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leased out, I die pronouncing it,
Like to a tenement or pelting° farm : 60
England, bound in with the triumphant sea,°
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds° :
That England, that was wont to conquer others, 65
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.
Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life,
How happy then were my ensuing° death !

Enter KING RICHARD *and* QUEEN, AUMERLE, BUSHY,
GREEN, BAGOT, ROSS, *and* WILLOUGHBY.

York. The king is come: deal mildly° with his
youth ;
For young hot colts being raged° do rage the more. 70
Queen.° How fares our noble uncle, Lancaster ?

K. Rich. What comfort, man? how is't with aged Gaunt°?

Gaunt. O, how that name befits my composition°!
Old Gaunt indeed, and gaunt in being old:
Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast; 75
And who abstains from meat that is not gaunt?
For sleeping England long time have I watch'd;
Watching breeds leanness, leanness is all gaunt:
The pleasure that some fathers feed upon,
Is my strict fast; I mean, my children's looks°; 80
And therein fasting, hast thou made me gaunt:
Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as a grave,
Whose hollow womb inherits° nought but bones.

K. Rich. Can sick men play so nicely° with their names?

Gaunt. No, misery makes sport to mock° itself: 85
Since thou dost seek to kill my name° in me,
I mock my name, great king, to flatter thee.

K. Rich. Should dying men flatter with those° that live?

Gaunt. No, no, men living flatter those that die.

K. Rich. Thou, now a-dying,° say'st thou flatterest me. 90

Gaunt. O, no! thou diest, though I the sicker be.

K. Rich. I am in health, I breathe, and see thee ill.

Gaunt. Now, He that made me knows I see thee
 ill;
 Ill in myself to see, and in thee seeing ill°.
 Thy° death-bed is no lesser than thy land, 95
 Wherein thou liest in reputation sick;
 And thou, too careless patient as thou art,
 Commit'st thy anointed body° to the cure
 Of those physicians that first wounded thee:
 A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown, 100
 Whose compass is no bigger than thy head;
 And yet, incaged in so small a verge,°
 The waste° is no whit lesser than thy land.
 O, had thy grandsire with a prophet's eye
 Seen how his son's son should destroy his sons, 105
 From forth thy reach he would have laid thy shame,
 Deposing thee before thou wert possess'd,°
 Which° art possess'd now to depose thyself.
 Why, cousin, wert thou regent of the world,
 It were a shame to let this land by lease; 110
 But, for thy world enjoying but this land,
 Is it not more than shame to shame it so?
 Landlord of England art thou now, not king°:
 Thy state of law is bonds slave to the law;
 And thou —
K. Rich. A lunatic lean-witted° fool, 115

Presuming on an ague's privilege,
Darest with thy frozen admonition
Make pale our cheek, chasing the royal blood
With fury from his° native residence.
Now, by my seat's right royal majesty, 120
Wert thou not brother to great Edward's son,
This tongue that runs so roundly° in thy head
Should run thy head from thy unreverent shoulders.

Gaunt. O, spare me not, my brother Edward's
son,
For that° I was his father Edward's son ; 125
That blood already, like the pelican,
Hast thou tapp'd out and drunkenly caroused :
My brother Gloucester, plain well-meaning soul,
Whom fair befall° in heaven 'mongst happy souls !
May be a precedent and witness good 130
That thou respect'st not spilling Edward's blood :
Join with the present sickness that I have ;
And thy unkindness be like crooked° age,
To crop at once a too long wither'd flower.
Live in thy shame, but die not shame with thee ! 135
These words hereafter thy tormentors be !
Convey me to my bed, then to my grave :
Love they to live° that love and honour have.

[*Exit, borne off by his Attendants.*

K. Rich. And let them die that age and sullens°
have;
For both hast thou, and both become the grave. 140

York. I do beseech your majesty, impute his words°
To wayward sickliness and age in him :
He loves you, on my life, and holds you dear
As Harry Duke of Hereford, were he here.

K. Rich. Right, you say true : as Hereford's love,°
so his ; 145
As theirs, so mine ; and all be as it is.

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND

North.° My liege, old Gaunt commends him to your
majesty.

K. Rich. What says he ?

North. Nay, nothing ; all is said° :
His tongue is now a stringless instrument° ;
Words, life and all, old Lancaster hath spent. 150

York. Be York the next that must be bankrupt so !
Though death be poor, it ends a mortal woe.

K. Rich. The ripest fruit first falls, and so doth he ;
His time is spent, our pilgrimage must be.
So much for that. Now for our Irish wars : 155
We must supplant those rough rug-headed kerns,°
Which live like venom where no venom else°

But only they have° privilege to live.
 And for these great affairs do ask some charge,°
 Towards our assistance we do seize to us 160
 The plate, coin, revenues and moveables,
 Whereof our uncle Gaunt did stand possess'd.

York. How long shall I be patient? ah, how long°
 Shall tender duty make me suffer wrong? 164
 Not Gloucester's death, nor Hereford's banishment,
 Not Gaunt's rebukes,° nor England's private wrongs,
 Nor the prevention of poor Bolingbroke
 About his marriage,° nor my own disgrace,
 Have ever made me sour my patient cheek,
 Or bend one wrinkle on my sovereign's face. 170
 I am the last of noble Edward's sons,
 Of whom thy father, Prince of Wales, was first:
 In war was never lion rag'd° more fierce,
 In peace was never gentle lamb more mild,
 Than was that young and princely gentleman. 175
 His face thou hast, for even so look'd he,
 Accomplish'd° with the number of thy hours;
 But when he frown'd, it was against the French
 And not against his friends; his noble hand
 Did win what he did spend, and spent not that 180
 Which his triumphant father's hand had won;
His hands were guilty of no kindred blood,

But bloody with the enemies of his kin.

O Richard! York is too far gone with grief,
Or else he never would compare between.° 185

K. Rich. Why, uncle, what's the matter?

York. O my liege,

Pardon me, if you please; if not, I, pleased
Not to be pardon'd, am content withal.

Seek you to seize and gripe into your hands
The royalties° and rights of banish'd Hereford? 190

Is not Gaunt dead, and doth not Hereford live?

Was not Gaunt just, and is not Harry true°?

Did not the one deserve to have an heir?

Is not his heir a well-deserving son?

Take Hereford's rights away, and take from time 195

His charters and his customary rights;

Let not to-morrow then ensue° to-day;

Be not thyself; for how art thou a king

But by fair sequence and succession°?

Now, afore God — God forbid I say true! — 200

If you do wrongfully seize Hereford's rights,°

Call in the letters-patents° that he hath

By his attorneys-general to sue

His livery, and deny his offer'd homage,

You pluck a thousand dangers on your head, 205

You lose a thousand well-disposed hearts,

And prick° my tender patience to those thoughts
Which honour and allegiance cannot think.

K. Rich. Think what you will, we seize into our
hands
His plate, his goods, his money and his lands. 210

York. I'll not be by the while: my liege, fare-
well:

What will ensue hereof, there's none can tell;
But by° bad courses may be understood
That their events can never fall out good. [*Exit.*

K. Rich. Go, Bushy, to the Earl of Wiltshire°
straight: 215

Bid him repair to us to Ely House
To see this business.° To-morrow next°
We will for Ireland; and 'tis time, I trow:
And we create, in absence of ourself,°
Our uncle York lord governor of England; 220
For he is just° and always loved us well.
Come on, our queen: to-morrow must we part;
Be merry, for our time of stay is short.

[*Flourish.* *Exeunt* KING, QUEEN, AUMERLE,
BUSHY, GREEN, and BAGOT.

North. Well, lords, the Duke of Lancaster is dead.°

Ross.° And living too; for now his son is duke. 225

Willo.° Barely in title, not in revenues.

North. Richly in both, if justice had her right.

Ross. My heart is great°; but it must break with
silence, www.libtool.com.cn

Ere't be disburden'd with a liberal tongue.

North. Nay, speak thy mind; and let him ne'er
speak more 230

That speaks thy words again to do thee harm!

Will. Tends that thou wouldst speak to the Duke
of Hereford?

If it be so, out with it boldly, man;

Quick is mine ear to hear of good towards him.

Ross. No good at all that I can do for him; 235
Unless you call it good to pity him,
Bereft and gelded° of his patrimony.

North. Now, afore God, 'tis shame such wrongs are
borne

In him° a royal prince and many moe°

Of noble blood in this declining land. 240

The king is not himself, but basely led

By flatterers; and what they will inform,°

Merely in hate, 'gainst any of us all,

That will the king severely prosecute

'Gainst us, our lives, our children, and our heirs. 245

Ross. The commons hath he pill'd° with grievous
taxes,

And quite lost their hearts: the nobles hath he fined
For ancient quarrels, and quite lost their hearts.°

Will. And daily new exactions are devised,
As blanks, benevolences,° and I wot not what: 250
But what, o' God's name, doth become of this?

North. Wars have not wasted it, for warr'd he hath
not,
But basely yielded upon compromise°
That which his noble° ancestors achieved with blows:
More hath he spent in peace than they in wars. 255

Ross. The Earl of Wiltshire hath the realm in farm.

Will. The king's grown bankrupt, like a broken°
man.

North. Reproach and dissolution hangeth° over him.

Ross. He hath not money for these Irish wars,
His burthenous taxations notwithstanding, 260
But by the robbing of the banish'd duke.

North. His noble kinsman: most degenerate king!
But, lords, we hear this fearful tempest sing,
Yet seek no shelter to avoid the storm;
We see the wind sit sore° upon our sails, 265
And yet we strike not,° but securely perish.

Ross. We see the very wreck that we must suffer;
And unavoided° is the danger now,
For suffering so the causes of our wreck.

North. Not so; even through the hollow eyes of death° 270

I spy life peering; but I dare not say
How near the tidings° of our comfort is.

Will. Nay, let us share thy thoughts, as thou dost ours. }

Ross. Be confident to speak, Northumberland:
We three are but thyself°; and, speaking so, 275
Thy words are but as thoughts°; therefore, be bold.

North. Then thus: I have from le Port Blanc, a bay
In Brittany, received intelligence
That Harry Duke of Hereford, Rainold Lord Cobham,°
[The son of Richard Earl of Arundel]° 280
That late broke from the Duke of Exeter,°
His brother, Archbishop late of Canterbury,°
Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir John Ramston,
Sir John Norbery, Sir Robert Waterton and Francis
Quint,°

All these well furnish'd by the Duke of Bretagne 285
With eight tall ships,° three thousand men of war,
Are making hither with all due expedience°
And shortly mean to touch our northern shore:
Perhaps they had ere this, but that they stay°
The first departing of the king for Ireland. 290
If then we shall shake off our slavish yoke,

Imp° out our drooping country's broken wing,
 Redeem from broking pawn° the blemish'd crown,
 Wipe off the dust that hides our sceptre's gilt,
 And make high majesty look like itself, 295
 Away with me in post to Ravenspurgh°;
 But if you faint, as fearing to do so,
 Stay and be secret, and myself will go.

Ross. To horse, to horse! urge doubts to them that
 fear. 299

Will. Hold° out my horse, and I will first be there.
 [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II. *Windsor Castle*

Enter QUEEN, BUSHY, and BAGOT.

Bushy. Madam, your majesty is too much sad°:
 You promised, when you parted with the king,
 To lay aside life-harming° heaviness,
 And entertain° a cheerful disposition.

Queen. To please the king I did; to please myself
 I cannot do it; yet I know no cause 6
 Why I should welcome such a guest as grief,
 Save bidding farewell to so sweet a guest
 As my sweet Richard°: yet again, methinks,
 Some unborn sorrow, ripe in fortune's womb, 10
 Is coming towards me, and my inward soul

With nothing trembles: at something it grieves,
More than with parting from my lord the king.

Bushy. Each substance of a grief hath twenty shadows,
Which shows^o like grief itself, but is not so; 15
For sorrow's eye, glazed with blinding tears,
Divides one thing entire to many objects;
Like perspectives,^o which, rightly gazed upon,
Show nothing but confusion, eyed awry,
Distinguish form^o: so your sweet majesty, 20
Looking awry upon your lord's departure,
Find^o shapes of grief, more than himself, to wail;
Which, look'd on as it is, is nought but shadows
Of what it is not. Then, thrice-gracious queen,
More than your lord's departure weep not: more's not
seen^o; 25

Or if it be, 'tis with false sorrow's eye,
Which for things true weeps things imaginary.

Queen. It may be so; but yet my inward soul
Persuades me it is otherwise: howe'er it be,
I cannot but be sad; so heavy sad,^o 30
As, though on thinking on no thought I think,
Makes me with heavy nothing faint and shrink.

Bushy. 'Tis nothing but conceit,^o my gracious lady.

Queen. 'Tis nothing less^o: conceit is still^o derived

From some forefather grief; mine is not so, 35
 For nothing hath begot my something grief;
 Or something hath the nothing that I grieve:
 'Tis in reversion that I do possess;
 But what it is, that is not yet known; what
 cannot name; 'tis nameless woe, I wot. 40

Enter GREEN

Green.° God save your majesty! and well met,
gentlemen:

hope the king is not yet shipp'd for Ireland.

Queen. Why hopest thou so? 'tis better hope he is;
for his designs crave haste, his haste good hope:
Then wherefore dost thou hope he is not shipp'd? 45

Green. That he, our hope, might have retired his
power,°

and driven into despair an enemy's hope,
Who strongly hath set footing in this land:

The banish'd Bolingbroke repeals himself,°
and with uplifted° arms is safe arrived 50

at Ravenspurgh.

Queen. Now God in heaven forbid!

Green. Ah madam, 'tis too true: and that is worse,°
The Lord Northumberland, his son young Henry
Percy,

The Lords of Ross, Beaumont, and Willoughby,
With all their powerful friends, are fled to him. 55

Bushy. Why have you not proclaim'd Northum-
berland

And all the rest revolted° faction traitors ?

Green. We have : whereupon the Earl of Worcester°
Hath broke° his staff, resign'd his stewardship,
And all the household servants fled with him 60
To Bolingbroke.

Queen. So, Green, thou art the midwife to my woe,
And Bolingbroke my sorrow's dismal heir° :
Now hath my soul brought forth her prodigy,
And I, a gasping new-deliver'd mother, 65
Have woe to woe, sorrow to sorrow join'd.

Bushy. Despair not, madam.

Queen. Who shall hinder me ?
I will despair, and be at enmity
With cozening° hope : he is a flatterer,
A parasite, a keeper back of death, 70
Who gently would dissolve° the bands of life,
Which false hope lingers° in extremity.

Enter YORK

Green. Here comes the Duke of York.

Queen. With signs of war° about his aged neck ;

O, full of careful^o business are his looks! 75

Uncle, for God's sake, speak comfortable words.

York. Should I do so, I should belie my thoughts:
 Comfort's in heaven; and we are on the earth,
 Where nothing lives but crosses,^o cares and grief.
 Your husband, he^o is gone to save far off, 80
 Whilst others come to make him lose at home:
 Here am I left to underprop his land,
 Who, weak with age, cannot support myself:
 Now comes the sick hour that his surfeit made;
 Now shall he try his friends that flatter'd him. 85

Enter a Servant

Serv. My lord, your son was gone^o before I came.

York. He was? Why, so! go all which way it will!
 The nobles they are fled, the commons they are cold,
 And will, I fear, revolt on Hereford's side.
 Sirrah, get thee to Plashy, to my sister Gloucester; 90
 Bid her send me presently a thousand pound^o:
 Hold, take my ring.

Serv. My lord, I had forgot to tell your lordship,
 To-day, as I came by, I called there;
 But I shall grieve you to report^o the rest. 95

York. What is 't, knave^o?

Serv. An hour before I came, the duchess died.^o

York. God° for his mercy! what a tide of woes
Comes rushing on this woeful land at once!
I know not what to do: I would to God, 100
So my untruth° had not provoked him to it,
The king had cut off my head with my brother's.°
What, are there no posts dispatch'd for Ireland?
How shall we do for money for these wars?
Come, sister,—cousin,° I would say,—pray, pardon
me. 105
Go, fellow, get thee home, provide some carts
And bring away the armour that is there.

[*Exit* Servant.]

Gentlemen, will you go muster men?
If I know how or which way to order these affairs
Thus thrust disorderly° into my hands, 110
Never believe me. Both are my kinsmen:
The one is my sovereign, whom both my oath
And duty bids° defend; the other again
Is my kinsman, whom the king hath wrong'd,
Whom conscience and my kindred bids to right. 115
Well, somewhat we must do. Come, cousin, I'll
Dispose of you.
Gentlemen, go, muster up your men,
And meet me presently at Berkeley.°
I should to Plashy too; 120

But time will not permit: all is uneven,
And everything is left at six and seven.°

Excunt YORK and QUEEN.

Bushy. The wind sits fair for news to go to Ireland,
But none returns. For us to levy power
Proportionable to the enemy 125
Is all impossible.°

Green. Besides, our nearness to the king in love
Is near the hate of those love not° the king.

Bagot.° And that's the wavering commons: for their
love
Lies in their purses, and whose empties them 130
By so much fills their hearts with deadly hate.

Bushy. Wherein the king stands generally con-
demn'd.

Bagot. If judgement lie in them, then so do we,°
Because we ever have been near the king.

Green. Well, I will for refuge straight to Bristol
castle: 135

The Earl of Wiltshire is already there.

Bushy. Thither will I with you; for little office
The hateful° commons will perform for us,
Except like curs to tear us all to pieces.
Will you go along with us? 140

Bagot. No; I will to Ireland to his majesty.

Farewell: if heart's presages° be not vain,
 We three here part that ne'er shall meet again.

Bushy. That's as York thrives to beat back Boling-
 broke.

Green. Alas, poor duke! the task he undertakes 145
 Is numbering sands and drinking oceans dry°:
 Where one on his side fights, thousands will fly.
 Farewell at once, for once, for all, and ever.

Bushy. Well, we may meet again. 149

Bagot. I fear me, never. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III. *Wilds in Gloucestershire*

*Enter BOLINGBROKE and NORTHUMBERLAND, with
 Forces*

Boling. How far is it, my lord, to Berkeley now?

North. Believe me, noble lord,
 I am a stranger here in Gloucestershire:
 These high wild hills and rough uneven ways
 Draws° out our miles, and makes them wearisome; 5
 And yet your fair discourse hath been as sugar,
 Making the hard way sweet and delectable.
 But I bethink me what a weary way
 From Ravenspurgh to Cotswold° will be found
 In Ross and Willoughby, wanting your company, 10
 Which, I protest, hath very much beguiled

The tediousness and process° of my travel :
But theirs is sweetened with the hope to have
The present benefit which I possess ;
And hope to joy° is little less in joy 15
Than hope enjoy'd : by this the weary lords
Shall make their way seem short, as mine hath done
By sight of what I have, your noble company.

Boling. Of much less value is my company
Than your good words. But who comes here ? 20

Enter HENRY PERCY

North. It is my son, young Harry Percy,
Sent from my brother Worcester, whencesoever.
Harry, how fares your uncle ?

Percy.° I had thought, my lord, to have learn'd° his
health of you.

North. Why, is he not with the queen ? 25

Percy. No, my good lord ; he hath forsook the court,
Broken his staff of office and dispersed
The household of the king.

North. What was his reason ?
He was not so resolved when last we spake together.

Percy. Because your lordship was proclaimed traitor.
But he, my lord, is gone to Ravenspurgh, 31
To offer service to the Duke of Hereford,

And sent me over by Berkeley, to discover
What power the Duke of York had levied there;
Then with directions to repair to Ravenspurgh. 35

North. Have you forgot the Duke of Hereford,
boy?

Percy. No, my good lord, for that is not forgot
Which ne'er I did remember: to my knowledge,
I never in my life did look on him.

North. Then learn to know him now; this is the
duke. 40

Percy. My gracious lord, I tender^o you my service,
Such as it is, being tender, raw and young;
Which elder days shall ripen and confirm
To more approved service and desert.

Boling. I thank thee, gentle Percy^o; and be sure 45
I count myself in nothing else so happy
As in a soul remembering my good friends;
And, as my fortune ripens with thy love,
It shall be still thy true love's recompense:
My heart this covenant makes, my hand thus seals
it. 50

North. How far is it to Berkeley? and what stir
Keeps good old York there with his men of war?

Percy. There stands the castle, by yon tuft of trees,
Mann'd with three hundred men, as I have heard;

And in it are the Lords of York, Berkeley, and
 Seymour^o; 55
 None else of name and noble estimate.

Enter ROSS and WILLOUGHBY

North. Here come the Lords of Ross and Wil-
 loughby,
 Bloody with spurring, fiery-red with haste.

Boling. Welcome, my lords. I wot your love
 pursues

A banish'd traitor: all my treasury 60
 Is yet but unfelt^o thanks, which more enrich'd
 Shall be your love and labour's recompense.

Ross. Your presence makes us rich, most noble
 lord.

Willo. And far surmounts our labour to attain it.

Boling. Evermore thanks, the exchequer of the
 poor; 65

Which, till my infant fortune comes to years,
 Stands for my bounty. But who comes here?

Enter BERKELEY

North. It is my Lord of Berkeley, as I guess.

Berk. My Lord of Hereford, my message is to you.

Boling. My lord, my answer is — to Lancaster^o; 70
 And I am come to seek that name in England;

And I must find that title in your tongue,
Before I make reply to aught you say.

Berk. Mistake me not, my lord; 'tis not my mean-
ing

To raze one title° of your honour out: 75
To you, my lord, I come, what lord you will,
From the most gracious regent of this land,
The Duke of York, to know what pricks you on
To take advantage of the absent time°
And fright our native peace with self-born arms.° 80

Enter YORK° attended

Boling. I shall not need transport my words by you
Here comes his grace in person.

My noble uncle! [*Kneels.*

York. Show me thy humble heart, and not thy
knee,

Whose duty is deceivable° and false.

Boling. My gracious uncle! 85

York. Tut, tut!

Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle°:

I am no traitor's uncle; and that word "grace"

In an ungracious mouth is but profane.

Why have those banish'd and forbidden legs 90

Dared once to touch a dust° of England's ground?

But then more "why?" why have they dared to
march

So many miles upon her peaceful bosom,
Frighting her pale-faced villages with war
And ostentation of despised° arms? 95

Comest thou because the anointed king is hence?

Why, foolish boy, the king is left behind,
And in my loyal bosom lies his power.

Were I but now the lord of such hot youth
As when brave Gaunt, thy father, and myself 100

Rescued° the Black Prince, that young Mars of men,
From forth the ranks of many thousand French,

O, then how quickly should° this arm of mine,

Now prisoner to the palsy,° chastise thee

And minister correction to thy fault! 105

Boling. My gracious uncle, let me know my fault:
On what condition stands° it and wherein?

York. Even in condition of the worst degree,
In gross rebellion and detested° treason:
Thou art a banish'd man, and here art come 110

Before the expiration of thy time,
In braving arms° against thy sovereign.

Boling. As I was banish'd, I was banish'd Hereford;
But as I come, I come for Lancaster.°

And, noble uncle, I beseech your grace 115

Look on my wrongs with an indifferent° eye :
You are my father, for methinks in you
I see old Gaunt alive ; O, then, my father,
Will you permit that I shall stand condemn'd
A wandering vagabond ; my rights and royalties 120
Pluck'd from my arms perforce and given away
To upstart unthrifths° ? Wherefore was I born ?
If that° my cousin king be King of England,
It must be granted I am Duke of Lancaster.
You have a son, Aumerle, my noble cousin ; 125
Had you first died, and he been thus trod down,
He should have found his uncle Gaunt a father,
To rouse° his wrongs and chase them to the bay.
I am denied to sue my livery here,
And yet my letters-patents give me leave : 130
My father's goods are all distrain'd° and sold ;
And these and all are all amiss employ'd.
What would you have me do ? I am a subject,
And I challenge° law : attorneys are denied me ;
And therefore personally I lay my claim 135
To my inheritance of free° descent.

North. The noble duke hath been too much abused.

Ross. It stands your grace upon° to do him right.

Willo. Base men by his endowments are made
great.

York. My lords of England, let me tell you this : 140
I have had feeling of my cousin's wrongs
And labour'd all I could to do him right ;
But in this kind° to come, in braving arms,
Be his own carver and cut out his way,
To find out right with wrong, it may not be ; 145
And you that do abet him in this kind
Cherish rebellion and are rebels all.

North. The noble duke hath sworn his coming is
But for his own ; and for the right of that
We all have strongly sworn to give him aid ; 150
And let him ne'er see joy that breaks that oath !

York. Well, well, I see the issue of these arms :
I cannot mend it, I must needs confess,
Because my power is weak and all ill left° :
But if I could, by Him that gave me life, 155
I would attach° you all and make you stoop
Unto the sovereign mercy of the king ;
But since I cannot, be it known to you
I do remain as neuter.° So, fare you well ;
Unless you please to enter in the castle 160
And there repose you for this night.

Boling. An offer, uncle, that we will accept :
But we must win your grace to go with us
To Bristol castle, which they say is held

By Bushy, Bagot° and their complices,° 165
The caterpillars° of the commonwealth,
Which I have sworn to weed and pluck away.

York. It may be I will go with you: but yet I'll
pause;

For I am loath to break our country's laws.
Nor friends nor foes, to me welcome you are: 170
Things past redress are now with me past care.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *A camp in Wales*

Enter SALISBURY and a WELSH CAPTAIN

Cap. My Lord of Salisbury,° we have stay'd ten
days,

And hardly kept our countrymen together,
And yet we hear no tidings from the king;
Therefore we will disperse ourselves: farewell.

Sal. Stay yet another day, thou trusty Welshman: 5
The king reposeth all his confidence in thee.

Cap. 'Tis thought the king is dead; we will not stay.
The bay-trees in our country are all wither'd,°
And meteors fright the fixed stars of heaven;
The pale-faced moon looks bloody on the earth, 10
And lean-look'd° prophets whisper fearful change;
Rich men look sad and ruffians dance and leap,

The one in fear to lose what they enjoy,
 The other to enjoy by rage and war:
 These signs foreerun the death or fall of kings.° 15
 Farewell: our countrymen are gone and fled,
 As well assured Richard their king is dead. [Exit.

Sal. Ah, Richard, with the eyes of heavy mind
 I see thy glory like a shooting star
 Fall to the base earth from the firmament. 20
 Thy sun sets weeping in the lowly west,
 Witnessing° storms to come, woe and unrest:
 Thy friends are fled to wait upon thy foes,
 And crossly° to thy good all fortune goes. [Exit.

ACT III

SCENE I. *Bristol. Before the castle*

Enter BOLINGBROKE, YORK, NORTHUMBERLAND, ROSS,
 PERCY, WILLOUGHBY, *with* BUSHY and GREEN,
prisoners

Boling. Bring forth these men.
 Bushy and Green, I will not vex your souls —
 Since presently your souls must part° your bodies —
 With too much urging° your pernicious lives,
 For 'twere no charity; yet, to wash your blood 5
From off my hands, here in the view of men

I will unfold some causes of your deaths.
You have misled a prince, a royal king,
A happy gentleman in blood and lineaments,^o
By you unhappied^o and disfigured clean^o: 10
You have in manner^o with your sinful hours
Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him,
Broke^o the possession of a royal bed
And stain'd the beauty of a fair queen's cheeks
With tears drawn from her eyes by your foul wrongs.
Myself, a prince by fortune of my birth, 16
Near to the king in blood, and near in love
Till you did make him misinterpret me,
Have stoop'd my neck under your injuries,
And sigh'd my English breath in foreign clouds,^o 20
Eating the bitter bread of banishment;
Whilst you have fed upon my signories,^o
Dispark'd^o my parks and fell'd my forest woods,
From my own windows torn my household coat,^o
Razed out my imprese,^o leaving me no sign, 25
Save men's opinions and my living blood,
To show the world I am a gentleman.
This and much more, much more than twice all this,
Condemns you to the death.^o See them deliver'd
over
To execution and the hand of death. 30

Bushy. More welcome is the stroke of death to me
Than Bolingbroke to England. Lords, farewell.

Green. My comfort is that heaven will take our souls
And plague injustice with the pains of hell.

Boling. My Lord Northumberland, see them dis-
patch'd. 35

[*Exeunt* NORTHUMBERLAND and others, with the
prisoners.]

Uncle, you say the queen is at your house ;
For God's sake, fairly let her be entreated° :
Tell her I send to her my kind commends° ;
Take special care my greetings be deliver'd.

York. A gentleman of mine I have dispatch'd 40
With letters of your love to her at large.°

Boling. Thanks, gentle uncle. Come, lords, away,
To fight with Glendower° and his complices :
Awhile to work, and after° holiday. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II. *The coast of Wales A castle in view*

Drums: flourish and colours. Enter KING RICHARD,
the BISHOP OF CARLISLE, AUMERLE, and Soldiers

K. Rich. Barkloughly° castle call they this at hand?

Aum. Yea, my lord. How brooks your grace° the
air,

After your late tossing on the breaking seas?

K. Rich. Needs must I like it well: I weep for joy^o
To stand upon my kingdom once again. 5
Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,
Though rebels wound thee with their horses' hoofs:
As a long-parted mother^o with her child
Plays fondly with her tears and smiles in meeting,
So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth, 10
And do thee favours with my royal hands.
Feed not thy sovereign's foe, my gentle earth,
Nor with thy sweets comfort his^o ravenous sense;
But let thy spiders, that suck up thy venom,
And heavy-gaited toads lie in their way, 15
Doing annoyance^o to the treacherous feet
Which with usurping steps do trample thee.
Yield stinging nettles to mine enemies;
And when they from thy bosom pluck a flower,
Guard it, I pray thee, with a lurking adder, 20
Whose double tongue^o may with a mortal^o touch
Throw death upon thy sovereign's enemies.
Mock not my senseless conjuration,^o lords:
This earth shall have a feeling and these stones
Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king^o 25
Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms.

Car.^o Fear not, my lord: that Power that made you
king

Hath power to keep you king in spite of all.
The means that heaven yields must be embraced,^o
And not neglected; else, if heaven would, 30
And we will not, heaven's offer we refuse,
The proffer'd means of succour and redress.

Aum. He means, my lord, that we are too remiss;
Whilst Bolingbroke, through our security,^o
Grows strong and great in substance and in power. 35

K. Rich. Discomfortable^o cousin! know'st thou not
That when the searching eye of heaven is hid,
Behind the globe, that^o lights the lower world,
Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen
In murders and in outrage, boldly^o here; 40
But when from under this terrestrial ball^o
He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines
And darts his light through every guilty hole,
Then murders, treasons and detested sins,
The cloak of night being pluck'd from off their backs,
Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves? 46
So when this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke,
Who all this while hath revell'd in the night,
Whilst we were wandering with the antipodes,^o
Shall see us rising in our throne, the east, 50
His treasons will sit blushing in his face,
Not able to endure the sight of day,

But self-affrighted tremble at his sin.
Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm^o off from an anointed king ; 55
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord :
For every man that Bolingbroke hath press'd^o
To lift shrewd^o steel against our golden crown,
God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay 60
A glorious angel : then, if angels fight,
Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards the
right.

Enter SALISBURY

Welcome, my lord : how far off lies your power ?
Sal. Nor near^o nor farther off, my gracious lord,
Than this weak arm : discomfort guides my tongue 65
And bids me speak of nothing but despair.
One day too late, I fear me, noble lord,
Hath clouded all thy happy days on earth :
O, call back yesterday, bid time return,
And thou shalt have twelve thousand^o fighting men !
To-day, to-day, unhappy day, too late, 71
O'erthrows thy joys, friends, fortune and thy state :
For all the Welshmen, hearing thou wert dead,
Are gone to Bolingbroke, dispersed and fled.

Aum. Comfort, my liege : why looks your grace so pale ? 75

K. Rich. But now° the blood of twenty thousand men

Did triumph in my face, and they are fled ;
 And, till so much blood thither come again,
 Have I not reason to look pale and dead ?
 All souls that will be safe, fly from my side, 80
 For time hath set a blot upon my pride.

Aum. Comfort, my liege ; remember who you are.

K. Rich. I had forgot myself : am I not king ?
 Awake, thou coward° majesty ! thou sleepest.
 Is not the king's name twenty° thousand names ? 85
 Arm, arm, my name ! a puny subject strikes
 At thy great glory. Look not to the ground,
 Ye favourites of a king : are we not high ?
 High be our thoughts : I know my uncle York
 Hath power enough to serve our turn. But who
 comes here ? 90

Enter SCROOP°

Scroop. More health and happiness betide my liege
 Than can my care-tuned tongue deliver° him !

K. Rich. Mine ear is open and my heart prepared :
The worst is worldly loss thou caust unfold.°

Say, is my kingdom lost? why, 'twas my care; 95
And what loss is it to be rid of care?
Strives Bolingbroke to be as great as we?
Greater he shall not be; if he serve God,
We'll serve Him too and be his fellow so:
Revolt our subjects? that we cannot mend; 100
They break their faith to God as well as us:
Cry woe, destruction, ruin and decay;
The worst is death, and death will have his day.

Scroop. Glad am I that your highness is so arm'd
To bear the tidings of calamity. 105
Like an unseasonable stormy day,
Which makes the silver rivers drown their shores,
As if the world were all dissolved to tears,
So high above his limits swells the rage
Of Bolingbroke, covering your fearful° land 110
With hard bright steel and hearts harder than steel.
White-beards° have arm'd their thin and hairless scalps
Against thy majesty; boys, with women's voices,
Strive to speak big° and clap their female° joints
In stiff unwieldy arms against thy crown: 115
Thy very beadsmen° learn to bend their bows
Of double-fatal° yew against thy state;
Yea, distaff-women manage rusty bills°
Against thy seat: both young and old rebel,

And all goes worse than I have power to tell. 120

K. Rich. Too well, too well thou tell'st a tale so ill.
Where is the Earl of Wiltshire? where is Bagot°?
What is become of Bushy? where is Green?

That they have let the dangerous enemy
Measure our confines with such peaceful steps? 125

If we prevail, their heads shall pay for it:
I warrant they have made peace with Bolingbroke.

Scoop. Peace° have they made with him, indeed,
my lord.

K. Rich. O villains, vipers, damn'd without redemption!

Dogs, easily won to fawn on any man! 130
Snakes,° in my heart-blood warm'd, that sting my
heart!

Three Judases, each one thrice worse than Judas!
Would they make peace? terrible hell make war
Upon their spotted° souls for this offence!

Scoop. Sweet love, I see, changing his property,°
Turns to the sourest and most deadly hate: 136
Again uncurse their souls; their peace is made
With heads, and not with hands: those whom you
curse

*Have felt the worst of death's destroying wound,
And lie full low, grav'd° in the hollow ground.* 140

Aum. Is Bushy, Green and the Earl of Wiltshire dead?

Scroop. Ay, all of them at Bristol lost their heads.

Aum. Where is the duke my father with his power°?

K. Rich. No matter where; of comfort no man speak:

Let's talk of graves, of worms and epitaphs; 145

Make dust our paper and with rainy eyes

Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.

Let's choose executors° and talk of wills:

And yet not so, for what can we bequeath

Save our deposed bodies to the ground? 150

Our lands, our lives and all are Bolingbroke's,

And nothing can we call our own but death,

And that small model° of the barren earth

Which serves as paste and cover to our bones.

For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground 155

And tell sad stories° of the death of kings:

How some have been deposed; some slain in war;

Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed°;

Some poison'd by their wives; some sleeping kill'd;

All murder'd: for within the hollow crown 160

That rounds° the mortal temples of a king

Keeps Death his court, and there the antic° sits,

Scoffing his state° and grinning at his pomp,

Allowing him a breath,° a little scene,
 To monarchize, be fear'd and kill with looks, 165
 Infusing him with self and vain conceit,°
 As if this flesh which walls about our life
 Were brass impregnable, and humour'd thus°
 Comes at the last and with a little pin
 Bores through his castle wall, and farewell king! 170
 Cover your heads and mock not flesh and blood°
 With solemn reverence: throw away respect,
 Tradition,° form and ceremonious duty,
 For you have but mistook° me all this while:
 I live with bread like you, feel want,° 175
 Taste grief, need friends: subjected° thus,
 How can you say to me, I am a king?

Car. My lord, wise men ne'er sit and wail their woes,°

But presently° prevent the ways to wail.
 To fear the foe, since fear oppresseth strength, 180
 Gives in your weakness strength unto your foe,
 And so your follies fight against yourself.
 Fear, and be slain; no worse can come to fight°;
 And fight and die is death destroying death;
 Where° fearing dying pays death servile breath. 185

Aum. My father hath a power; inquire of him,
And learn to make a body of a limb.

K. Rich. Thou chidest me well : proud Bolingbroke,
I come
To change blows with thee for our day of doom.

This ague fit of fear is over-blown ; 190
An easy task it is to win our own.

Say, Scroop, where lies our uncle with his power ?
Speak sweetly, man, although thy looks be sour.

Scroop. Men judge by the complexion of the sky
The state and inclination of the day : 195

So may you by my dull and heavy eye,
My tongue hath but a heavier tale to say.

I play the torturer, by small and small°
To lengthen out the worst that must be spoken :
Your uncle York is join'd with Bolingbroke, 200
And all your northern castles yielded up,
And all your southern gentlemen in arms
Upon his party.°

K. Rich. Thou hast said enough.
Beshrew thee,° cousin, which didst lead me forth°

[*To AUMERLE.*

Of that sweet way I was in to despair ! 205

What say you now ? what comfort have we now ?

By heaven, I'll hate him everlastingly

That bids me be of comfort any more.

Go to Flint castle° : there I'll pine away ;

A king, woe's slave, shall kingly woe obey. 210
 That power I have, discharge°; and let them go
 To ear° the land that hath some hope to grow,
 For I have none: let no man speak again
 To alter this, for counsel is but vain.

Aum. My liege, one word.

K. Rich. He does me double wrong 215
 That wounds me with the flatteries of his tongue.
 Discharge my followers: let them hence away,
 From Richard's night to Bolingbroke's fair day.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *Wales. Before Flint castle°*

*Enter, with drum and colours, BOLINGBROKE, YORK,
 NORTHUMBERLAND, Attendants, and Forces*

Boling. So that by this intelligence we learn
 The Welshmen are dispersed; and Salisbury
 Is gone to meet the king, who lately landed
 With some few private friends upon this coast.

North. The news is very fair and good, my lord: 5
 Richard not far from hence hath hid his head.

York. It would beseem the Lord Northumberland
 To say "King Richard": alack the heavy day
 When such a sacred king should hide his head.

North. Your grace mistakes; only to be brief^o 10
Left I his title out.

York. The time hath been,
Would you have been so brief with him, he would
Have been so brief with you, to shorten^o you,
For taking so the head,^o your whole head's length.

Boling. Mistake not, uncle, further than you
should. 15

York. Take not, good cousin, further than you
should,
Lest you mistake^o the heavens are o'er our heads.

Boling. I know it, uncle, and oppose not myself
Against their will. But who comes here?

Enter PERCY

Welcome, Harry: what, will not this castle yield? 20

Percy. The castle royally is mann'd, my lord,
Against thy entrance.

Boling. Royally!
Why, it contains no king?

Percy. Yes, my good lord,
It doth contain a king; King Richard lies^o 25
Within the limits of yon lime and stone:
And with him are the Lord Aumerle, Lord Salisbury,
Sir Stephen Scroop, besides a clergyman
Of holy reverence; who, I cannot learn.

North. O, belike° it is the Bishop of Carlisle. 30

Boling. Noble lords,

Go to the rude ribs° of that ancient castle;
Through brazen trumpet send the breath of parley
Into his ruin'd ears,° and thus deliver:

Henry Bolingbroke 35

On both his knees doth kiss King Richard's hand

And sends allegiance and true faith of heart

To his most royal person; hither come

Even° at his feet to lay my arms and power,

Provided that my banishment repeal'd 40

And lands restored again be freely granted:

If not, I'll use the advantage of my power

And lay the summer's dust with showers of blood

Rain'd from the wounds of slaughter'd Englishmen:

The which,° how far off from the mind of Boling-

broke 45

It is, such crimson tempest should bedrench

The fresh green lap of fair King Richard's° land,

My stooping duty tenderly shall show.

Go, signify as much, while here we march

Upon the grassy carpet of this plain. 50

Let's march without the noise of threatening drum,

That from this castle's tatter'd° battlements

Our fair appointments may be well perused.°

Methinks King Richard and myself should meet
With no less terror than the elements 55
Of fire and water, when their thundering shock
At meeting tears the cloudy cheeks° of heaven.
Be he the fire, I'll be the yielding water :
The rage be his, whilst on the earth I rain
My waters ; on the earth, and not on him. 60
March on, and mark King Richard how he looks.°

Parle without, and answer within. Then a flourish.

*Enter on the walls,° KING RICHARD, the BISHOP OF
CARLISLE, AUMERLE, SCROOP, and SALISBURY*

See, see, King Richard doth himself appear,°
As doth the blushing discontented sun
From out the fiery portal of the east,
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent 65
To dim his glory and to stain the track
Of his bright passage to the occident.

York. Yet looks he like a king : behold, his eye,
As bright as is the eagle's, lightens forth°
Controlling majesty : alack, alack, for woe, 70
That any harm should stain so fair a show !

K. Rich. We are amazed ; and thus long have we
stood
To watch the fearful° bending of thy knee, [To NORTH.

Because we thought ourself thy lawful king :
 And if we be, how dare thy joints forget 75
 To pay their awful duty to our presence ?
 If we be not, show us the hand of God
 That hath dismiss'd us from our stewardship ;
 For well we know, no hand of blood and bone
 Can gripe the sacred handle of our sceptre, 80
 Unless he do profane,° steal, or usurp.
 And though you think that all, as you have done,
 Have torn their souls° by turning them from us,
 And we are barren and bereft of friends ;
 Yet know, my master, God omnipotent, 85
 Is mustering in his clouds on our behalf
 Armies of pestilence ; and they shall strike
 Your children° yet unborn and unbegot,
 That lift your vassal hands against my head,
 And threat the glory of my precious crown. 90
 Tell Bolingbroke — for yond methinks he stands —
 That every stride he makes upon my land
 Is dangerous treason : he is come to open
 The purple testament° of bleeding war ;
 •But ere the crown he looks for live in peace, 95
 Ten thousand bloody crowns of mothers' sons
 Shall ill become the flower of England's face,°
Change the complexion of her maid-pale peace

To scarlet indignation, and bedew
Her pastures' grass with faithful English blood. 100

North. The king of heaven forbid our lord the king
Should so with civil and uncivil° arms
Be rush'd upon! Thy thrice noble cousin
Harry Bolingbroke doth humbly kiss thy hand;
And by the honourable tomb° he swears, 105
That stands upon your royal grandsire's bones,
And by the royalties of both your bloods,
Currents that spring from one most gracious head,
And by the buried hand° of warlike Gaunt,
And by the worth and honour of himself, 110
Comprising all that may be sworn or said,
His coming hither hath no further scope
Than for his lineal royalties,° and to beg
Enfranchisement° immediate on his knees:
Which on thy royal party° granted once, 115
His glittering arms he will commend° to rust,
His barbed° steeds to stables, and his heart
To faithful service of your majesty.
This swears he, as he is a prince, is just;
And, as I am a gentleman, I credit him. 120

K. Rich. Northumberland, say thus the king re-
turns°:
His noble cousin is right welcome hither;

And all the number of his fair demands
 Shall be accomplish'd without contradiction :
 With all the gracious utterance thou hast, 125
 Speak to his gentle hearing kind commends.
 We do debase ourselves, cousin, do we not,

[To AUMERLE.

To look so poorly and to speak so fair?
 Shall we call back Northumberland, and send
 Defiance to the traitor, and so die? 130

Aum. No, good my lord; let's fight with gentle
 words,

Till time lend friends and friends their helpful swords.

K. Rich. O God, O God! that e'er this tongue of
 mine,

That laid the sentence of dread banishment
 On yon proud man, should take it off again 135
 With words of sooth! O that I were as great
 As is my grief, or lesser than my name!
 Or that I could forget what I have been,
 Or not remember what I must be now!
 Swell'st thou, proud heart? I'll give thee scope to
 beat, 140

Since foes have scope to beat both thee and me.

Aum. Northumberland comes back from Boling-
 broke.

K. Rich. What must the king do now? must he submit?

The king shall do it: must he be deposed?

The king shall be contented: must he lose 145

The name of king? o' God's name, let it go:

I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,^o

My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,

My gay apparel^o for an almsman's gown,

My figured goblets for a dish of wood, 150

My sceptre for a palmer's^o walking-staff,

My subjects for a pair of carved saints,

And my large kingdom for a little grave,

A little little grave, an obscure^o grave;

Or I'll be buried in the king's highway, 155

Some way of common trade,^o where subjects' feet

May hourly trample on their sovereign's head;

For on my heart they tread now whilst I live;

And buried once, why not upon my head?

Aumerle, thou weep'st, my tender-hearted cousin! 160

We'll make foul weather with despised tears;

Our sighs and they shall lodge^o the summer corn,

And make a dearth in this revolting land.

Or shall we play the wantons with our woes,

And make some pretty match with shedding tears? 165

As thus to drop them still upon one place,

Till they have fretted° us a pair of graves
 Within the earth; and, therein laid,— there lies°
 Two kinsmen digg'd their graves with weeping eyes.
 Would not this ill do well? Well, well, I see 170
 I talk but idly, and you laugh at me.

Most mighty prince, my Lord Northumberland,
 What says King Bolingbroke? will his majesty
 Give Richard leave to live till Richard die?

You make a leg,° and Bolingbroke says ay. 175

North. My lord, in the base court° he doth attend
 To speak with you; may it please you to come down.

K. Rich. Down, down I come; like glistening
 Phæton,°

Wanting the manage° of unruly jades.

In the base court? Base court, where kings grow
 base, 180

To come at traitors' calls and do them grace.

In the base court? Come down? Down, court!
 down, king!

For night-owls shriek where mounting larks should
 sing. [*Exeunt from above.*]

Boling. What says his majesty?

North. Sorrow and grief of heart
 Makes him speak fondly,° like a frantic man: 185
Yet he is come.

Enter KING RICHARD and his Attendants below

Boling. Stand all apart,
And show fair duty to his majesty. [*He kneels down.*
My gracious lord, —

K. Rich. Fair cousin, you debase your princely
knee 190

To make the base earth proud with kissing it:
Me rather had° my heart might feel your love
Than my displeas'd eye see your courtesy.
Up, cousin, up; your heart is up, I know,
Thus high° at least, although your knee be low. 195

Boling. My gracious lord, I come but for mine own.

K. Rich. Your own is yours, and I am yours, and all.

Boling. So far be mine, my most redoubt'd lord,
As my true service shall deserve your love.

K. Rich. Well you deserve: they well deserve to
have, 200

That know the strong'st and surest way to get.
Uncle, give me your hands: nay, dry your eyes;
Tears show their love, but want their remedies.°
Cousin, I am too young to be your father,°
Though you are old enough to be my heir. 205
What you will have, I'll give, and willing too;
For do we must what force will have us do.
Set on towards London, cousin, is it so?

Boling. Yea, my good lord.

K. Rich. Then I must not say no

[*Flourish. Exeunt*

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SCENE IV. *Langley. The Duke of York's garden*

Enter the QUEEN and two Ladies

Queen. What sport shall we devise here in this garden,

To drive away the heavy thought of care?

Lady. Madam, we'll play at bowls.

Queen. 'Twill make me think the world is full of rubs,^o

And that my fortune runs against the bias.^o

Lady. Madam, we'll dance.

Queen. My legs can keep no measure^o in delight,
When my poor heart no measure keeps in grief:
Therefore, no dancing, girl; some other sport.

Lady. Madam, we'll tell tales. 1

Queen. Of sorrow or of joy^o?

Lady. Of either, madam.

Queen. Of neither, girl:

For if of joy, being altogether wanting,
It doth remember^o me the more of sorrow;
Or if of grief, being altogether had,^o 1

It adds more sorrow to my want of joy :
For what I have I need not to repeat ;
And what I want it boots not to complain.°

Lady. Madam, I'll sing.

Queen. 'Tis well that thou hast cause ;
But thou shouldst please me better, wouldst thou
weep. 20

Lady. I could weep, madam, would it do you good.

Queen. And I could sing,° would weeping do me
good,
And never borrow any tear of thee.

Enter a Gardener, and two Servants

But stay, here come the gardeners :
Let's step into the shadow of these trees. 25
My wretchedness unto a row of pins,°
They'll talk of state ; for every one doth so
Against° a change ; woe is forerun with woe.°

[*QUEEN and Ladies retire.*

Gard. Go, bind thou up yon dangling apricocks,°
Which, like unruly children, make their sire 30
Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight :
Give some supportance° to the bending twigs.
Go thou, and like an executioner,
Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,

That look too lofty° in our commonwealth: 35
 All must be even in our government.
 You thus employ'd, I will go root away
 The noisome° weeds, which without profit suck
 The soil's fertility from wholesome flowers.

Serv. Why should we in the compass of a pale° 40
 Keep law and form and due proportion,
 Showing, as in a model,° our firm estate,
 When our sea-walled garden, the whole land,
 Is full of weeds; her fairest flowers choked up,
 Her fruit-trees all unpruned, her hedges ruin'd, 45
 Her knots° disorder'd, and her wholesome herbs
 Swarming with caterpillars?

Gard. Hold thy peace:
 He that hath suffer'd this disorder'd spring
 Hath now himself met with the fall of leaf°:
 The weeds which his broad-spreading leaves did
 shelter, 50
 That seem'd in eating him to hold him up,
 Are pluck'd up root and all by Bolingbroke;
 I mean the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushy, Green.

Serv. What, are they dead?

Gard. They are; and Bolingbroke
 Hath seized the wasteful king. O, what pity is it 55
 That he had not so trimm'd and dress'd his land

As we this garden! We at time of year°
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees,
Lest, being over-proud in sap and blood,
With too much riches it confound° itself: 60
Had he done so to great and growing men,
They might have lived to bear and he to taste
Their fruits of duty: superfluous branches
We lop away, that bearing boughs may live:
Had he done so, himself had borne the crown, 65
Which waste of idle hours hath quite thrown down.

Serv. What, think you then the king shall be deposed?

Gard. Depress'd he is already, and deposed
'Tis doubt° he will be: letters came last night
To a dear friend of the good Duke of York's, 70
That tell black tidings.

Queen. O, I am press'd to death° through want of
speaking! [Coming forward.
Thou, old Adam's likeness, set to dress this garden,
How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this unpleas-
ing news?

What Eve, what serpent, hath suggested° thee 75
To make a second fall of cursed man?
Why dost thou say King Richard is deposed?
Darest thou, thou little better thing than earth,

Divine° his downfal? Say, where, when, and how,
 Camest thou by this ill tidings°? speak, thou wretch. 80

Gard. Pardon me, madam: little joy have I
 To breathe this news; yet what I say is true.
 King Richard, he is in the mighty hold°
 Of Bolingbroke: their fortunes both are weigh'd:
 In your lord's scale is nothing but himself, 85
 And some few vanities that make him light°;
 But in the balance of great Bolingbroke,
 Besides himself, are all the English peers,
 And with that odds° he weighs King Richard down. .
 Post you to London, and you will find it so; 90
 I speak no more than every one doth know.

Queen. Nimble mischance, that art so light of
 foot,
 Doth not thy embassage belong to me,
 And am I last that knows it? O, thou think'st
 To serve me last, that I may longest keep 95
 Thy sorrow in my breast. Come, ladies, go,
 To meet at London London's king in woe.
 What, was I born to this, that my sad look
 Should grace the triumph° of great Bolingbroke?
 Gardener, for telling me these news° of woe, 100
 Pray God the plants thou graft'st may never grow.

[*Exeunt* QUEEN and Ladies.

Gard. Poor queen! so that thy state might be no worse,
 I would my skill were subject to thy curse.
 Here did she fall° a tear; here in this place
 I'll set a bank of rue,° sour herb of grace: 105
 Rue, even for ruth,° here shortly shall be seen,
 In the remembrance of a weeping queen.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT IV

SCENE I. *Westminster Hall*°

Enter as to the Parliament, BOLINGBROKE, AUMERLE, NORTHUMBERLAND, PERCY, FITZWATER, SURREY, the BISHOP OF CARLISLE, the ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER, and another Lord, Herald, Officers, and BAGOT

Boling. Call forth Bagot.

Now, Bagot, freely speak thy mind;
 What thou dost know of noble Gloucester's death°;
 Who wrought° it with the king, and who performed
 The bloody office of his timeless° end. 5

Bagot. Then set before my face the Lord Aumerle.

Boling. Cousin, stand forth, and look upon that man.

Bagot. My Lord Aumerle, I know your daring tongue
 Scorns to unsay what once it hath deliver'd.

In that dead time° when Gloucester's death was plotted,
 I heard you say, "Is not my arm of length, 11
 That reacheth ~~from the restful~~ English court
 As far as Calais, to mine uncle's head?"
 Amongst much other talk, that very time,
 I heard you say that you had rather refuse 15
 The offer of an hundred thousand crowns°
 Than Bolingbroke's return to England°;
 Adding withal, how blest this land would be
 In this your cousin's death.

Aum. Princes and noble lords,
 What answer shall I make to this base man? 20
 Shall I so much dishonour my fair stars,°
 On equal terms to give him chastisement?
 Either I must, or have mine honour soil'd
 With the attainder° of his slanderous lips.
 There is my gage, the manual seal of death,° 25
 That marks thee out for hell: I say, thou liest,
 And will maintain what thou hast said is false
 In thy heart-blood, thou being all too base
 To stain the temper° of my knightly sword.

Boling. Bagot, forbear; thou shalt not take it up. 30

Aum. Excepting one, I would he were the best
 In all this presence that hath moved me so.

Fitz.° If that thy valour stand on sympathy,°

There is my gage, Aumerle, in gage to thine :
By that fair sun which shows me where thou stand'st, 35
I heard thee say, and vauntingly thou spakest it,
That thou wert cause of noble Gloucester's death.
If thou deny'st it twenty times, thou liest ;
And I will turn thy falsehood to thy heart,
Where it was forged, with my rapier's° point. 40

Aum. Thou darest not, coward, live to see that
day.

Fitz. Now, by my soul, I would it were this hour.

Aum. Fitzwater, thou art damn'd to hell for this.

Percy. Aumerle, thou liest ; his honour is as true
In this appeal as thou art all unjust ; 45
And that thou art so, there I throw my gage,
To prove it on thee to the extremest point
Of mortal breathing : seize it, if thou darest.

Aum. An if° I do not, may my hands rot off,
And never brandish more revengeful steel 50
Over the glittering helmet of my foe !

Another Lord. I task the earth° to the like, forsworn
Aumerle ;
And spur thee on with full as many lies°
As may be holloa'd in thy treacherous ear
From sun to sun° : there is my honour's pawn ; 55
Engage it° to the trial, if thou darest.

Aum. Who sets° me else? by heaven, I'll throw° at
all:

I have a thousand spirits in one breast,
To answer twenty thousand such as you.

Surrey. My Lord Fitzwater, I do remember well 60
The very time Aumerle and you did talk.

Fitz. 'Tis very true: you were in presence° then;
And you can witness with me this is true.

Surrey. As false, by heaven, as heaven itself is true.

Fitz. Surrey, thou liest.

Surrey. Dishonourable boy°! 65
That lie shall lie so heavy on my sword,
That it shall render vengeance and revenge,°
Till thou the lie-giver and that lie do lie
In earth as quiet as thy father's skull:
In proof whereof, there is my honour's pawn; 70
Engage it to the trial, if thou darest.

Fitz. How fondly° dost thou spur a forward horse!
If I dare eat, or drink, or breathe, or live,
I dare meet Surrey in a wilderness,°
And spit upon him, whilst I say he lies, 75
And lies, and lies: there is my bond of faith,°
To tie thee to my strong correction.
As I intend to thrive in this new world,°
Aumerle is guilty of my true appeal:

Besides, I heard the banish'd Norfolk say, 80
That thou, Aumerle, didst send two of thy men
To execute the noble duke at Calais.

Aum. Some honest Christian trust me with a gage,
That Norfolk lies: here do I throw down this,^o
If he may be repeal'd,^o to try his honour. 85


Boling. These differences shall all rest under gage
Till Norfolk be repeal'd: repeal'd he shall be,
And, though mine enemy, restored again
To all his lands and signories: when he's return'd,
Against Aumerle we will enforce his trial. 90

Car. That honourable day shall ne'er be seen.
Many a time hath banish'd Norfolk fought
For Jesu Christ^o in glorious Christian field,
Streaming^o the ensign of the Christian cross
Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens; 95
And toil'd^o with works of war, retired himself^o
To Italy; and there at Venice gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth,
And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,
Under whose colours he had fought so long. 100

Boling. Why, bishop, is Norfolk dead?

Car. As surely as I live, my lord.

Boling. Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul to the
bosom


 Of good old Abraham°! Lords appellants,
 Your differences shall all rest under gage 105
 Till we assign you to your days of trial.°

Enter YORK, attended

York. Great Duke of Lancaster, I come to thee
 From plume-pluck'd Richard; who with willing soul
 Adopts thee heir, and his high sceptre yields
 To the possession of thy royal hand: 110
 Ascend his throne, descending now from him;
 And long live Henry, fourth° of that name!

Boling. In God's name, I'll ascend the regal throne.

Car. Marry, God forbid!
 Worst in this royal presence may I speak,° 115
 Yet best beseeming me to speak the truth.
 Would God that any in this noble presence
 Were enough noble to be upright judge
 Of noble Richard! then true noblesse° would
 Learn° him forbearance from so foul a wrong. 120
 What subject can give sentence on his king?
 And who sits here that is not Richard's subject?
 Thieves are not judged° but they are by to hear,
 Although apparent° guilt be seen in them;
 And shall the figure of God's majesty, 125
His captain, steward, deputy elect,

Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
Be judged by subject and inferior breath,
And he himself not present? O, forfend° it, God,
That in a Christian climate° souls refined 130
Should show so heinous, black, obscene° a deed!
I speak to subjects, and a subject speaks,
Stirr'd up by God, thus boldly for his king.
My Lord of Hereford here, whom you call king,
Is a foul traitor to proud Hereford's king: 135
And if you crown him, let me prophesy;
The blood of English shall manure the ground,
And future ages groan for this foul act°;
Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,
And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars 140
Shall kin with kin and kind with kind° confound;
Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny
Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
The field of Golgotha° and dead men's skulls.
O, if you raise this house against this house,° 145
It will the woefullest division prove
That ever fell upon this cursed earth.
Prevent it,° resist it, let it not be so,
Lest child, child's children, cry against you "woe!"
North. Well have you argued, sir; and, for your
pains, 150

Of capital treason we arrest you here.
 My Lord of Westminster,° be it your charge
 To keep him safely till his day of trial.
 May it please you, lords, to grant the commons' suit°?

Boling. Fetch hither Richard, that in common
 view 155

He may surrender; so we shall proceed
 Without suspicion.

York. I will be his conduct.° [Exit.

Boling. Lords, you that here are under our arrest,
 Procure your sureties for your days of answer.
 Little are we beholding° to your love, 160
 And little look'd for at your helping hands.

*Re-enter YORK, with RICHARD, and Officers bearing
 the regalia*

K. Rich. Alack, why am I sent for to a king,°
 Before I have shook° off the regal thoughts
 Wherewith I reign'd? I hardly yet have learn'd
 To insinuate, flatter, bow, and bend my limbs: 165
 Give sorrow leave° awhile to tutor me
 To this submission. Yet I well remember
 The favours° of these men: were they not mine?
 Did they not sometime° cry "all hail°!" to me?
So Judas° did to Christ: but he, in twelve, 170

Found truth in all but one; I, in twelve thousand,
none.^o

God save the king! Will no man say amen?

Am I both priest and clerk^o? well then, amen.

God save the king! although I be not he;

And yet, amen, if heaven do think him me. 175

To do what service am I sent for hither?

York. To do that office of thine own good will
Which tired majesty did make thee offer,
The resignation of thy state and crown
To Henry Bolingbroke. 180

K. Rich. Give me the crown. Here, cousin, seize
the crown^o;

Here cousin;

On this side my hand, and on that side yours.

Now is this golden crown like a deep well

That owes^o two buckets, filling one another, 185

The emptier ever dancing in the air,

The other down, unseen and full of water:

That bucket down and full of tears am I,

Drinking my griefs, whilst you mount up on high.

Boling. I thought you had been willing to resign. 190

K. Rich. My crown I am; but still my griefs are
mine:

You may my glories and my state depose,

But not my griefs; still am I king of those.

Boling. Part of your cares you give me with your crown
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K. Rich. Your cares set up do not pluck my cares
 down. 195

My care° is loss of care, by old care done;
 Your care is gain of care, by new care won:
 The cares I give, I have, though given away;
 They tend° the crown, yet still with me they stay.

Boling. Are you contented to resign the crown? 200

K. Rich. Ay, no; no, ay°; for I must nothing be;
 Therefore no no, for I resign to thee.
 Now mark me, how I will undo myself:
 I give this heavy weight from off my head
 And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand, 205
 The pride of kingly sway from out my heart;
 With mine own tears I wash away my balm,^o
 With mine own hands I give away my crown,
 With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,
 With mine own breath release all duty's rites°: 210
 All pomp and majesty I do forswear;
 My manors,^o rents, revenues I forgo;
 My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny:
 God pardon all oaths that are broke to me!
God keep all vows unbroke that swear° to thee! 215

Make me, that nothing have, with nothing grieved,
And thou° with all pleased, that hast all achieved!
Long mayst thou live in Richard's seat to sit,
And soon lie Richard in an earthy pit!
God save King Harry, unking'd Richard says, 220
And send him many years of sunshine° days!
What more remains?

North. No more, but that you read
These accusations and these grievous crimes,
Committed by your person and your followers
Against the state and profit° of this land; 225
That, by confessing them, the souls of men
May deem that you are worthily deposed.

K. Rich. Must I do so? and must I ravel out°
My weaved-up folly? Gentle Northumberland,
If thy offences were upon record,° 230
Would it not shame thee in so fair a troop
To read a lecture of them°? If thou wouldst,°
There shouldst thou find one heinous article,
Containing the deposing of a king
And cracking the strong warrant of an oath, 235
Mark'd with a blot, damn'd in the book of heaven°:
Nay, all of you that stand and look upon,°
Whilst that° my wretchedness doth bait° myself,
Though some of you with Pilate wash your hands,°

Showing an outward pity; yet you Pilates 240
 Have here deliver'd° me to my sour cross,
 And water cannot wash away your sin.

North. My lord, dispatch; read o'er these articles.

K. Rich. Mine eyes are full of tears, I cannot see:
 And yet salt water blinds them not so much 245
 But they can see a sort° of traitors here.
 Nay, if I turn mine eyes upon myself,
 I find myself a traitor with the rest;
 For I have given here my soul's consent
 To undeck the pompous° body of a king; 250
 Made glory base and sovereignty a slave,
 Proud majesty a subject, state a peasant.

North. My lord, —

K. Rich. No lord of thine, thou haught° insulting
 man,
 Nor no° man's lord; I have no name, no title, 255
 No, not that name was given to me at the font°;
 But 't is usurp'd: alack the heavy day,
 That I have worn so many winters out,
 And know not now what name to call myself!
 O that I were a mockery king° of snow, 260
 Standing before the sun of Bolingbroke,
 To melt myself away in water-drops!
Good king, great king, and yet not greatly good,

An if^o my word be sterling yet in England,
Let it command a mirror hither straight, 265
That it may show me what a face I have,
Since it is bankrupt of his^o majesty.

Boling. Go some of you and fetch a looking-glass.

[*Exit an Attendant.*]

North. Read o'er this paper while^o the glass doth
come.

K. Rich. Fiend, thou torment'st me ere I come to
hell! 270

Boling. Urge it no more, my Lord Northumber-
land.^o

North. The commons will not then be satisfied.

K. Rich. They shall be satisfied: I'll read enough,
When I do see the very book indeed
Where all my sins are writ, and that's myself. 275

Re-enter Attendant, with a glass

Give me the glass, and therein will I read.
No deeper wrinkles yet? hath sorrow struck
So many blows upon this face of mine,
And made no deeper wounds? O flattering glass,
Like to my followers in prosperity, 280
Thou dost beguile^o me! Was this face the face
That every day under his household roof

Did keep ten thousand men°? was this the face
That, like the sun, did make beholders wink?
Was this the face that faced so many follies, 285
And was at last out-faced by Bolingbroke?
A brittle glory shineth in this face:
As brittle as the glory is the face;

[*Dashes the glass against the ground.*

For there it is, crack'd in a hundred shivers.
Mark, silent king, the moral of this sport, 290
How soon my sorrow hath destroy'd my face.

Boling. The shadow° of your sorrow hath destroy'd
The shadow of your face.

K. Rich. Say that again.
The shadow of my sorrow! ha! let's see:
'T is very true, my grief lies all within; 295
And these external manners of laments
Are merely shadows to the unseen grief,
That swells with silence in the tortured soul;
There lies the substance: and I thank thee, king,
For thy great bounty, that not only givest 300
Me cause to wail, but teachest me the way
How to lament the cause. I'll beg one boon,
And then be gone and trouble you no more.
Shall I obtain it?

Boling. Name it, fair cousin.

K. Rich. "Fair cousin"? I am greater than a
king: 305

For when I was a king, my flatterers
Were then but subjects; being now a subject,
I have a king here to my flatterer.^o
Being so great, I have no need to beg.

Boling. Yet ask. 310

K. Rich. And shall I have?

Boling. You shall.

K. Rich. Then give me leave to go.

Boling. Whither?

K. Rich. Whither you will, so I were from your
sights.^o 315

Boling. Go, some of you convey him to the Tower.

K. Rich. O, good! convey? conveyers^o are you all,
That rise thus nimbly by a true king's fall.

[*Exeunt* KING RICHARD, some Lords, and a Guard.]

Boling. On Wednesday next we solemnly set down^o
Our coronation: lords, prepare yourselves. 320

[*Exeunt all except the* BISHOP OF CARLISLE, *the*
ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER, *and* AUMERLE.]

Abbot. A woeful pageant have we here beheld.

Car. The woe's to come; the children yet unborn
Shall feel this day as sharp to them as thorn.

Aum. You holy clergymen, is there no plot^o
To rid the realm of this pernicious blot? 325

Abbot. My lord,
 Before I freely speak my mind herein,
 You shall not only take the sacrament^o
 To bury my intents, but also to effect
 Whatever I shall happen to devise. 330
 I see your brows are full of discontent,
 Your hearts of sorrow and your eyes of tears:
 Come home with me to supper; and I'll lay
 A plot shall show^o us all a merry day. [*Exeunt.*

ACT V

SCENE I. *London. A street leading to the Tower*

Enter QUEEN and Ladies

Queen. This way the king will come; this is the way
 To Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower,^o
 To whose flint^o bosom my condemned lord
 Is doom'd a prisoner by proud Bolingbroke:
 Here let us rest, if this rebellious earth 5
 Have any resting for her true king's queen.

Enter RICHARD and Guard

But soft, but see, or rather do not see,
My fair rose^o wither: yet look up, behold,
That you in pity may dissolve to dew,

And wash him fresh again with true-love tears. 10
Ah, thou, the model° where old Troy did stand,
Thou map° of honour, thou King Richard's tomb,
And not King Richard; thou most beauteous inn,°
Why should hard-favour'd° grief be lodged in thee,
When triumph is become an alehouse guest? 15

K. Rich. Join not with grief, fair woman, do not so,
To make my end too sudden: learn, good soul,
To think our former state a happy dream;
From which awaked, the truth of what we are
Shows us but this: I am sworn brother,° sweet, 20
To grim Necessity, and he and I
Will keep a league till death. Hie thee to France
And cloister thee° in some religious house:
Our holy lives must win a new world's crown,
Which our profane hours here have stricken down. 25

Queen. What, is my Richard both in shape and
mind
Transform'd° and weaken'd? hath Bolingbroke de-
posed
Thine intellect? hath he been in thy heart°;
The lion dying° thrusteth forth his paw,
And wounds the earth, if nothing else, with rage 30
To be° o'erpower'd; and wilt thou, pupil-like,
Take thy correction mildly, kiss the rod,

And fawn on rage with base humility,
Which art a lion and a king of beasts ?

K. Rich. A king of beasts, indeed; if aught but
beasts, 35

I had been still a happy king of men.

Good sometime° queen, prepare thee hence for France:
Think I am dead, and that even here thou takest,
As from my death-bed, thy last living leave.

In winter's tedious nights sit by the fire 40
With good old folks, and let them tell thee tales
Of woeful ages long ago betid°;

And ere thou bid good night, to quit their griefs,°
Tell thou the lamentable tale° of me,

And send the hearers weeping to their beds: 45

For why,° the senseless brands will sympathize
The heavy accent of thy moving tongue,
And in compassion weep the fire° out;

And some will mourn in ashes, some coal-black,
For the deposing of a rightful king. 50

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND and Others

North. My lord, the mind of Bolingbroke is changed;
You must to Pomfret,° not unto the Tower.
And, madam, there is order ta'en° for you;
With all swift speed you must away to France.

K. Rich. Northumberland, thou ladder where-
withal° 55

The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne,
The time shall not be many hours of age
More than it is, ere foul sin gathering head°
Shall break into corruption: thou shalt think,
Though he divide the realm, and give thee half, 60
It is too little, helping him to all°;
And he shall think that thou, which know'st the way
To plant unrightful kings, wilt know again,
Being ne'er so little urged, another way
To pluck him headlong from the usurped throne. 65
The love of wicked men converts° to fear;
That fear to hate, and hate turns one or both
To worthy° danger and deserved death.

North. My guilt be on my head, and there an end.°
Take leave and part; for you must part forthwith. 70

K. Rich. Doubly divorced! Bad men, you violate
A twofold marriage; 'twixt my crown and me,
And then betwixt me and my married wife.
Let me unkiss° the oath 'twixt thee and me;
And yet not so, for with a kiss 'twas made. 75
Part us, Northumberland; I towards the north,
Where shivering cold and sickness pines° the clime;
My wife to France; from whence, set forth in pomp,

She came adorned hither like sweet May,
Sent back like Hallowmas^o or short'st of day. . . 80

Queen. And must we be divided? must we part?

K. Rich. Ay, hand from hand, my love, and heart
from heart.

Queen. Banish us both and send the king with me.

North. That were some love but little policy.

Queen. Then whither he goes, thither let me go. 85

K. Rich. So two, together weeping, make one
woe.

Weep thou for me in France, I for thee here;
Better far off than near, be ne'er the near.^o

Go, count thy way with sighs; I mine with groans.

Queen. So longest way shall have the longest
moans. 90

K. Rich. Twice for one step I'll groan, the way
being short,

And piece the way out with a heavy heart.

Come, come, in wooing sorrow let's be brief,

Since, wedding it, there is such length in grief:

One kiss shall stop our mouths, and dumbly part; 95

Thus give I mine, and thus take I thy heart.

Queen. Give me mine own again; 't were no good
part

To take on me to keep and kill thy heart.

So, now I have mine own again, be gone,
That I may strive to kill it with a groan. 100

K. Rich. We make woe wanton with this fond^o
delay :

Once more, adieu ; the rest let sorrow say. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II. *The Duke of York's palace*

Enter YORK and his DUCHESS

Duch. My lord, you told me you would tell the rest,
When weeping made you break the story off
Of our two cousins coming into London.

York. Where did I leave^o ?

Duch. At that sad stop, my lord,
Where rude misgovern'd hands from windows' tops 5
Threw dust and rubbish on King Richard's head.

York. Then, as I said, the duke, great Bolingbroke,
Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed,
Which his aspiring rider seem'd to know,
With slow but stately pace kept on his course, 10
Whilst all tongues cried "God save thee, Bolingbroke!"
You would have thought the very windows spake,
So many greedy looks of young and old
Through casements darted their desiring eyes
Upon his visage, and that all the walls 15
With painted imagery^o had said at once

“Jesu° preserve thee! welcome, Bolingbroke!”
 Whilst he, from the one side to the other turning,
 Bareheaded, lower than his proud steed’s neck,
 Bespake them thus; “I thank you, countrymen”: 20
 And thus still doing, thus he pass’d along.

Duch. Alack, poor Richard! where rode he the
 whilst?

York. As in a theatre, the eyes of men,
 After a well-graced actor leaves the stage,
 Are idly° bent on him that enters next, 25
 Thinking his prattle to be tedious;
 Even so, or with much more contempt, men’s eyes
 Did scowl on gentle Richard; no man cried “God
 save him!”

No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home:
 But dust was thrown upon his sacred head; 30
 Which with such gentle sorrow he shook off,
 His face still combating with tears and smiles,
 The badges of his grief and patience,
 That had not God, for some strong purpose, steel’d
 The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted, 35
 And barbarism itself have pitied him.
 But heaven hath a hand in these events,
 To whose high will we bound our calm contents.
 To Bolingbroke are we sworn subjects now,

Whose state and honour I for aye allow.°

Duch. Here comes my son Aumerle.

York. Aumerle that was°;
 But that is lost for being Richard's friend,
 And, madam, you must call him Rutland now:
 I am in parliament pledge for his truth°
 And lasting fealty to the new made king.

Enter AUMERLE

Duch. Welcome, my son: who are the violets° now
 That strew the green lap of the new come spring?

Aum. Madam, I know not, nor I greatly care not°:
 God knows I had as lief be none as one.

York. Well, bear you well in this new spring of
 time, 40

Lest you be cropp'd before you come to prime.

What news from Oxford? hold those justs and tri-
 umphs°?

Aum. For aught I know, my lord, they do.

York. You will be there, I know.

Aum. If God prevent not, I purpose so. 55

York. What seal° is that, that hangs without thy
 bosom?

Yea, look'st thou pale? let me see the writing.

Aum. My lord, 't is nothing.

40
 Cut to
 scene 1

York. No matter, then, who see it:
I will be satisfied; let me see the writing.

Aum. I do beseech your grace to pardon me: 60
It is a matter of small consequence,
Which for some reasons I would not have seen.

York. Which for some reasons, sir, I mean to see.
I fear, I fear,—

Duch. What should you fear?
'T is nothing but some band,^o that he is enter'd into 65
For gay apparel 'gainst the triumph day.

York. Bound to himself! what doth he with a
bond
That he is bound to? Wife, thou art a fool.
Boy, let me see the writing.

Aum. I do beseech you, pardon me; I may not
show it. 70

York. I will be satisfied; let me see it, I say.

[*He plucks it out of his bosom and reads it.*
Treason! foul treason! Villain! traitor! slave!

Duch. What is the matter, my lord?

York. Ho! who is within there?

Enter a Servant

Saddle my horse.

God for his mercy, what treachery is here! 75

Duch. Why, what is it, my lord?

York. Give me my boots, I say; saddle my horse.

[Exit Servant.]
Now, by mine honour, by my life, by my troth,
I will appeach° the villain.

Duch. What is the matter?

York. Peace, foolish woman. 80

Duch. I will not peace.° What is the matter, Aumerle?

Aum. Good mother, be content; it is no more
Than my poor life must answer.

Duch. Thy life answer!

York. Bring me my boots: I will unto the king.°

Re-enter Servant with boots

Duch. Strike him, Aumerle. Poor boy, thou art
amazed.° 85

Hence, villain! never more come in my sight.

York. Give me my boots, I say.

Duch. Why, York, what wilt thou do?
Wilt thou not hide the trespass of thine own?
Have we more sons°? or are we like to have? 90
Is not my teeming date° drunk up with time?
And wilt thou pluck my fair son from mine age,
And rob me of a happy mother's name?
Is he not like thee? is he not thine own?

York. Thou fond° mad woman, 95
 Wilt thou conceal this dark conspiracy?
 A dozen of them° here have ta'en the sacrament,
 And interchangeably° set down their hands,
 To kill the king at Oxford.

Duch. He shall be none°;
 We'll keep him here: then what is that to him? 100

York. Away, fond woman! were he twenty times
 my son,
 I would appeach him.

Duch. Hadst thou groan'd° for him
 As I have done, thou wouldst be more pitiful.
 But now I know thy mind; thou dost suspect
 That I have been disloyal to thy bed, 105
 And that he is a bastard, not thy son:
 Sweet York, sweet husband, be not of that mind:
 He is as like thee as a man may be,
 Not like to me, or any of my kin, 109
 And yet I love him.

York. Make way, unruly woman! [*Exit.*

Duch. After, Aumerle! mount thee upon his horse;
 Spur post,° and get before him to the king,
 And beg thy pardon ere he do accuse thee.
 I'll not be long behind; though I be old,
 I doubt not but to ride as fast as York; 115

And never will I rise up from the ground
 Till Bolingbroke have pardon'd thee. Away, be gone!
 [Exeunt.]

SCENE III. *Windsor Castle*

Enter BOLINGBROKE, PERCY, and other Lords

Boling. Can no man tell me of my unthrifty son°?
 'Tis full three months since I did see him last:
 If any plague hang over us, 'tis he.
 I would to God, my lords, he might be found:
 Inquire at London, 'mongst the taverns there, 5
 For there, they say, he daily doth frequent,
 With unrestrained loose companions,
 Even such, they say, as stand in narrow lanes,
 And beat our watch, and rob our passengers°;
 Which° he, young wanton and effeminate boy, 10
 Takes on the point of honour to support
 So dissolute a crew.

Percy. My lord, some two days since I saw the
 prince,
 And told him of those triumphs held° at Oxford.

Boling. And what said the gallant? 15

Percy. His answer was, he would unto the stews,°
 And from the common'st creature pluck a glove,

And wear it as a favour; and with that
He would unhorse the lustiest challenger.

Boling. As dissolute as desperate; yet through
both° 20

I see some sparks of better hope, which elder years
May happily° bring forth. But who comes here?

Enter AUMERLE

Aum. Where is the king?

Boling. What means our cousin, that he stares and
looks

So wildly? 25

Aum. God save your grace! I do beseech your
majesty,

To have some conference with your grace alone.

Boling. Withdraw yourselves, and leave us here
alone.

[*Exeunt PERCY and Lords.*

What is the matter with our cousin now?

Aum. For ever may my knees grow to the earth, 30
My tongue cleave to my roof within my mouth,
Unless a pardon ere I rise or speak.

Boling. Intended or committed was this fault?
If on the first,° how heinous e'er it be,
To win thy after-love I pardon thee. 35

Aum. Then give me leave that I may turn the key,^o
That no man enter till my tale be done.

Boling. Have thy desire.

York. [*Within*] My liege, beware; look to thyself;
Thou hast a traitor in thy presence there. 40

Boling. Villain, I'll make thee safe. [*Drawing.*

Aum. Stay thy revengeful hand; thou hast no cause
to fear.

York. [*Within*] Open the door, secure,^o foolhardy
king:
Shall I for love speak treason^o to thy face?
Open the door, or I will break it open. 45

Enter YORK

Boling. What is the matter, uncle? speak;
Recover breath; tell us how near is danger,
That we may arm us^o to encounter it.

York. Peruse this writing here, and thou shalt know
The treason that my haste forbids me show. 50

Aum. Remember, as thou read'st, thy promise pass'd:
I do repent me^o; read not my name there;
My heart is not confederate with my hand.

York. It was, villain, ere^o thy hand did set it down.
I tore it from the traitor's bosom, king; 55
Fear, and not love, begets his penitence:

Forget to pity him,° lest thy pity prove
A serpent° that will sting thee to the heart.

Boling. O heinous, strong and bold conspiracy!
O loyal father of a treacherous son! 60
Thou sheer,° immaculate and silver fountain,
From whence this stream through muddy passages
Hath held his current and defiled himself!
Thy overflow of good converts° to bad,
And thy abundant goodness shall excuse 65
This deadly blot in thy digressing° son.

York. So shall my virtue be his vice's bawd;
And he shall spend mine honour with his shame,
As thriftless sons their scraping fathers' gold.
Mine honour lives when his dishonour dies, 70
Or my shamed life in his dishonour lies:
Thou kill'st me in his life; giving him breath,
The traitor lives, the true man's put to death.

Duch. [*Within*] What ho, my liege! for God's sake,
let me in.

Boling. What shrill-voiced suppliant makes this
eager cry? 75

Duch. A woman, and thy aunt,° great king; 'tis I.
Speak with me, pity me, open the door:
A beggar begs that never begg'd before.

Boling. Our scene is alter'd from a serious thing,

And now changed to "The Beggar and the King." 80
My dangerous cousin, let your mother in :
I know she is come to pray for your foul sin.

York. If thou do pardon, whosoever pray,
More sins for this forgiveness prosper may.
This fester'd joint cut off, the rest rest sound; 85
This let alone will all the rest confound.°

Enter DUCHESS

Duch. O king, believe not this hard-hearted man !
Love loving not itself none other can.°

York. Thou frantic woman, what dost thou make°
here?

Shall thy old dugs once more a traitor rear? 90

Duch. Sweet York, be patient. Hear me, gentle liege.
[*Kneels.*

Boling. Rise up, good aunt.

Duch. Not yet, I thee beseech :
For ever will I walk upon my knees,
And never see day that the happy sees,°
Till thou give joy ; until thou bid me joy, 95
By pardoning Rutland, my transgressing boy.

Aum. Unto my mother's prayers I bend my knee.
[*Kneels.*

York. Against them both my true joints bended be.
[*Kneels*

Ill mayst thou thrive, if thou grant any grace!

Duch. Pleads he in earnest? look upon his face; 100
 His eyes do drop no tears, his prayers are in jest;
 His words come from his mouth, ours from our breast:
 He prays but faintly and would be^d denied;
 We pray with heart and soul and all beside:
 His weary joints would gladly rise, I know; 105
 Our knees shall kneel till to the ground they grow:
 His prayers are full of false hypocrisy;
 Ours of true zeal and deep integrity.
 Our prayers do out-pray his; then let them have
 That mercy which true prayer ought to have. 110

Boling. Good aunt, stand up.

Duch. Nay, do not say, "stand up";
 Say "pardon" first, and afterwards "stand up."
 An if I were thy nurse, thy tongue to teach,
 "Pardon" should be the first word of thy speech.
 I never long'd to hear a word till now; 115
 Say "pardon," king; let pity teach thee how:
 The word is short, but not so short as sweet;
 No word like "pardon" for kings' mouths so meet.

York. Speak it in French, king; say, "pardonne
 moi."°

Duch. Dost thou teach pardon pardon to destroy? 120
 Ah, my sour husband, my hard-hearted lord,

That set'st the word itself against the word°!
Speak "pardon" as 't is current in our land;
The chopping French° we do not understand.
Thine eye begins to speak, set thy tongue there: 125
Or in thy piteous heart plant thou thine ear;
That hearing how our plaints and prayers do pierce,
Pity may move thee "pardon" to rehearse.°

Boling. Good aunt, stand up.

Duch. I do not sue to stand;
Pardon is all the suit I have in hand. 130

Boling. I pardon him, as God shall pardon me.

Duch. O happy vantage° of a kneeling knee!
Yet am I sick for fear: speak it again;
Twice saying "pardon" doth not pardon twain,
But makes one pardon strong.

Boling. With all my heart 135
I pardon him.

Duch. A god on earth thou art.

Boling. But for our trusty brother-in-law,° and the
abbot,
With all the rest of that consorted° crew,
Destruction straight shall dog them at the heels.°
Good uncle, help to order several powers° 140
To Oxford, or where'er these traitors are:
They shall not live within this world, I swear,

But I will have them, if I once know where.
 Uncle, farewell: and, cousin too,° adieu:
 Your mother well hath pray'd, and prove you true.° 1.

Duch. Come, my old son: I pray God make thee new
 [Exeun

SCENE IV

The same

Enter EXTON *and* Servant

Exton.° Didst thou not mark the king,° what word
 he spake,
 "Have I no friend will° rid me of this living fear?"
 Was it not so?

Ser. These were his very words.

Exton. "Have I no friend?" quoth he: he spake i
 twice,
 And urged° it twice together, did he not?

Ser. He did.

Exton. And speaking it, he wistly° look'd on me;
 As who° should say, "I would thou wert the man
 That would divorce this terror from my heart";
 Meaning the king at Pomfret. Come, let's go: 1
 I am the king's friend, and will rid° his foe.

[Exeun

SCENE V. *Pomfret Castle*

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Enter KING RICHARD

K. Rich. I have been studying° how I may compare
This prison where I live unto the world :
And for because° the world is populous,
And here is not a creature but myself,
I cannot do it; yet I'll hammer it out. 5
My brain I'll prove the female to my soul,
My soul 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, 10
For no thought is contented. The better sort,
As thoughts of things divine, are intermix'd
With scruples,° and do set the word itself
Against the word :
As thus, "Come, little ones,°" and then again, 15
"It is as hard to come as for a camel
To thread the postern° of a small needle's eye."
Thoughts tending to ambition, they° do plot
Unlikely wonders; how these vain weak nails
May tear a passage through the flinty ribs 20
Of this hard world, my ragged° prison walls,

And, for they cannot, die in their own pride.
Thoughts tending to content flatter themselves
That they are not the first of fortune's slaves,
Nor shall not° be the last; like silly beggars
Who sitting in the stocks refuge their shame,°
That many have and others must sit there;
And in this thought they find a kind of ease,
Bearing their own misfortunes on the back
Of such as have before endured the like.
Thus play I in one person° many people,
And none contented: sometimes am I king;
Then treasons make me wish myself a beggar,
And so I am: then crushing penury
Persuades me I was better when a king;
Then am I king'd again: and by and by
Think that I am unking'd by Bolingbroke,
And straight am nothing: but whate'er I be,
Nor I nor any man that but man is
With nothing shall be pleased, till he be eased
With being nothing. Music do I hear? [Mus:
Ha, ha! keep time: how sour sweet music is,
When time is broke and no proportion kept!
So is it in the music of men's lives.
And here have I the daintiness of ear
To check° time broke in a disorder'd string;

But for the concord of my state and time
Had not an ear to hear my true time broke.
I wasted time, and now doth time waste me;
For now hath time made me his numbering clock°: 50
My thoughts are minutes; and with sighs they jar°
Their watches on unto mine eyes, the outward watch,
Whereto my finger, like a dial's point,
Is pointing still, in cleansing them from tears.
Now sir, the sound that tells what hour it is 55
Are° clamorous groans, which strike upon my heart,
Which is the bell: so sighs and tears and groans
Show minutes, times, and hours: but my time
Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy,
While I stand fooling here, his Jack o' the clock.° 60
This music mads° me; let it sound no more;
For though it have help° madmen to their wits,
In me it seems it will make wise men mad.
Yet blessing on his heart that gives it me!
For 'tis a sign of love; and love to Richard 65
Is a strange brooch° in this all-hating world.

Enter a Groom of the Stable

Groom. Hail, royal prince!

K. Rich. Thanks, noble° peer;
The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear.
What art thou? and how comest thou hither,

Where no man never° comes, but that sad dog 70
That brings me food to make misfortune live?

Groom. I was a poor groom of thy stable, king,
When thou wert king; who, travelling towards York,
With much ado at length have gotten leave
To look upon my sometimes° royal master's face. 75
O, how it yearn'd° my heart when I beheld
In London streets, that coronation-day,

When Bolingbroke rode on roan Barbary,°
That horse that thou so often hast bestrid,
That horse that I so carefully have dress'd! 80

K. Rich. Rode he on Barbary? Tell me, gentle
friend,
How went he under him?

Groom. So proudly as if he disdain'd the ground.

K. Rich. So proud that Bolingbroke was on his
back!

That jade° hath eat bread from my royal hand; 85
This hand hath made him proud with clapping him.
Would he not stumble? would he not fall down,
Since pride must have a fall, and break the neck
Of that proud man that did usurp his back?

Forgiveness, horse! why do I rail on thee, 90
Since thou, created to be awed by man,
Wast born to bear? I was not made a horse;

And yet I bear a burthen like an ass,
Spurr'd, gall'd, and tired by jauncing° Bolingbroke.

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Enter Keeper, with a dish

Keep. Fellow, give place ; here is no longer stay.° 95

K. Rich. If thou love me, 'tis time thou wert away.

Groom. What my tongue dares not, that my heart
shall say. [*Exit.*

Keep. My lord, will 't please you to fall to ?

K. Rich. Taste of it first,° as thou art wont to do.

Keep. My lord, I dare not : Sir Pierce of Exton,° 100
who lately came from the king, commands the con-
trary.

K. Rich. The devil take Henry of Lancaster and
thee !

Patience is stale, and I am weary of it.

[*Beats the Keeper.*

Keep. Help, help, help ! 105

Enter EXTON and Servant, armed

K. Rich. How now ! what means death in this rude
assault ?

Villain, thy own hand yields thy death's instrument.

[*Snatching an axe from a servant and killing him.*

Go thou, and fill another room in hell.

[*He kills another. Then EXTON strikes him down.*

That hand shall burn in never-quenching fire
 That staggers° thus my person. Exton, thy fierce
 hand www.libtool.com.cn 110
 Hath with the king's blood stain'd the king's own land.
 Mount, mount, my soul! thy seat is up on high;
 Whilst my gross flesh sinks downward, here to die.

[Dies.

Exton. As full of valour as of royal blood:
 Both have I spill'd; O would the deed were good°! 115
 For now the devil, that told me I did well,
 Says that this deed is chronicled in hell.
 This dead king to the living king I'll bear:
 Take hence the rest, and give them burial here.

[Exeunt.

SCENE VI

Windsor Castle

Flourish. Enter BOLINGBROKE, YORK, with other
 Lords, and Attendants

Boling. Kind uncle York, the latest news we hear
 Is that the rebels have consumed with fire
 Our town of Cicester° in Gloucestershire;
 But whether they be ta'en or slain we hear not.

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND

Welcome, my lord: what is the news?

North. First, to thy sacred state wish I all happiness.
 The next news is, I have to London sent
 The heads of Oxford,° Salisbury, Blunt, and Kent :
 The manner of their taking may appear
 At large discoursed in this paper here. 10

Boling. We thank thee, gentle Percy, for thy pains ;
 And to thy worth will add right worthy gains.

Enter FITZWATER

Fitz. My lord, I have from Oxford sent to London
 The heads of Brocas and Sir Bennet Seely,
 Two of the dangerous consorted traitors 15
 That sought at Oxford thy dire overthrow.

Boling. Thy pains, Fitzwater, shall not be forgot ;
 Right noble is thy merit, well I wot.

Enter PERCY and the BISHOP OF CARLISLE

Percy. The grand conspirator, Abbot of West-
 minster,
 With clog of conscience and sour melancholy 20
 Hath yielded up his body to the grave° ;
 But here is Carlisle living, to abide
 Thy kingly doom and sentence of his pride.

Boling. Carlisle,° this is your doom :
 Choose out some secret place, some reverend room,° 25
 More than thou hast, and with it joy° thy life ;

So as thou livest in peace, die free from strife :
For though mine enemy thou hast ever been,
High sparks of honour in thee have I seen.

Enter EXTON, *with persons bearing a coffin*

Exton. Great king, within this coffin I present 30
Thy buried fear : herein all breathless lies
The mightiest of thy greatest enemies,
Richard of Bordeaux, by me hither brought.

Boling. Exton, I thank thee not ; for thou hast
wrought

A deed of slander,° with thy fatal hand, 35
Upon my head and all this famous land.

Exton. From your own mouth, my lord, did I this
deed.

Boling. They love not poison that do poison need,
Nor do I thee : though I did wish him dead,
I hate the murderer, love him murdered. 40

The guilt of conscience take thou for thy labour,
But neither my good word nor princely favour :
With Cain° go wander thorough° shades of night,
And never show thy head by day nor light.

Lords, I protest, my soul is full of woe, 45
That blood should sprinkle me to make me grow :

Come, mourn with me for that° I do lament,

And put on sullen black incontinent° :
I'll make a voyage to the Holy Land,°
To wash this blood off from my guilty hand : 50
March sadly after ; grace my mournings here ;
In weeping after this untimely bier.° [Exeunt.

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NOTES

THE TRAGEDY: so-called in the first four quartos. But in the folios it is called **THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD II.** and is classed among the Histories, even though the action of the play covers only the last two years of his reign.

ACT I. SCENE I

The opening scene of a play of Shakespeare generally suggests the theme of the play. In some plays it merely explains the circumstances of the action, much like the prologue or chorus in the classical dramas. In other plays it starts the dramatic action, but offers no explanation of the situation. Most frequently however it both begins and explains the action. In this play the action begins at once, and the situation is gradually made clear by the remarks of the various speakers. The keynote or theme is the contrast and struggle between a dreamer and a doer, between Richard with his active imagination and weak will, and Bolingbroke with his clear brain and firm will. Richard commands but does not force them to obey.

Windsor: Many editors place this opening scene in London. But as the quartos and folios do not show where each scene is laid, it is wiser to follow Shakespeare's authority, Holinshed, who says this occurred at Windsor.

King Richard: the son of Edward the Black Prince was born at Bordeaux in 1367 and was therefore thirty years old when the play opens. Upon the death of his father in 1376 he was made Prince of Wales and on the death of his grandfather Edward III., he became king in 1377. For the first twelve years of his reign, the government was in the hands of commissioners appointed by Parliament, chief of whom were his uncles Lancaster, York, and Gloucester. Richard took an active part in the suppression of the Peasants' Rebellion of 1381. The following year he married Anne, the sister of the King of Bohemia. In 1385 he invaded Scotland, burning Melrose and Dryburgh Abbey and St. Giles Cathedral. In 1389 he dismissed his council and assumed active control of the government, appointing his favorites to the important offices. Queen Anne died in 1394; Richard's grief was so intense that he destroyed Sheen Palace where she died. But two years later he married Isabel of France. By means of a "packed" Parliament, he got rid of most of the nobles that opposed him, and ruled as a despot. The rest of his life is fully told in the play.

Richard patronized the poets Gower and Chaucer, and the historian Froissart. "He almost rebuilt Westminster Hall . . . [and] left a large sum to complete the reconstruction of the nave of the abbey church, which he had begun. His interments of Bishops Waltham and Waldby there began the practice which has made it a national *mausoleum*. . . . According to the Monk of Evesham *Richard was of the common height; but his bones, when*

examined in 1871, were found to be those of a man nearly six feet high. His yellow hair, thick and curling, fell in broad masses on either side of his face, which was round and somewhat feminine; his complexion was white, but frequently flushed. The double-pointed beard often worn at the time was represented in his case by two small tufts on the chin. His moustaches, which were small and sprang from the corners of the mouth, accentuated the weary and drawn look which begins to appear on his face as early as 1391, and is so striking in the effigy on his tomb. His skull was much distorted behind, and indicated less than average capacity."— *Dictionary of National Biography*.

1. **time-honour'd Lancaster:** (*lang'kas-tér*) John the fourth son of Edward III. was born in 1340 at Ghent, whence his name of Gaunt. He was a trusted lieutenant of Edward the Black Prince and fought in many campaigns in Scotland, France, and Spain, where he claimed the kingship of Castile by his second wife Constance. His failure as the successor of the Black Prince in the foreign campaigns made him unpopular, and his support of Wycliffe increased his unpopularity with the upper classes. He also patronized Chaucer, who wrote the *Book of the Duchess*, an elegy on Blanche, Gaunt's first wife. Gaunt's entire life was spent in political broils. See *Intro.*, p. xciv.

2. **band:** 'bond.' *Band* and *bond* were at first merely phonetic variants, but are now largely differentiated in use, *bond* being used in the figurative sense for a moral or legal restraint or union. See the play on the two words in *Comedy of Errors*, IV. ii. 49: "Tell me, was he arrested on a band?"

“Not on a *band*, but on a stronger thing; A chain, a chain!” Sometimes as in V. ii. 65, *band* in the quarto edition is changed to *bond* in the folio.

Some weeks before in a Parliament at Shrewsbury, Henry Duke of Hereford had impeached Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, saying that Norfolk had said the king intended to destroy both Hereford and his father Gaunt; and that, when Hereford mentioned the pardon that the king had just granted him for early political troubles, Norfolk had replied that the king was not to be believed on his oath. Pending the combat Norfolk was imprisoned at London, but the Duke of Lancaster became surety for the appearance of his son Henry.

3. Henry Hereford: was the son of Gaunt by his first wife Blanche. He was born in 1367 at Bolingbroke, whence his surname of Bolingbroke (*bol'ing-brük*). In 1377 he was made Earl of Derby and three years later married Mary Bohun the heiress of Hereford. When Henry was made duke in 1397, he took the title of Hereford (*her'-ford*) from his wife's estate. Although only of Richard's age, he took an active part in opposing the favorites of the king. In 1390 he went on a crusade with three hundred followers, but he only got as far as Lithuania; two years later he made a short visit to Jerusalem. After his accession he marched against Scotland and then suppressed Glendower's rebellion in Wales. He signally defeated the strongest rebels at Shrewsbury, where Harry Hotspur was killed. But he seemed unable to retain the support of his people, and *revolts* broke out all over the kingdom. Continual worry

and severe campaigns undermined his health. It is said that he suffered from leprosy; he died of heart trouble in 1413 in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey. Shakespeare has given in detail the story of his unhappy reign in *1 and 2 Henry IV*. From 1406 until his death the government was practically out of his hands, being controlled by his council appointed, often against his wishes, by Parliament.

He "was of 'a mean stature,' but 'well proportioned and compact.' He was strong and handsome, proud of his good looks, with regular teeth which lasted till death, and wearing a thick matted beard of a deep russet colour. All through his life he was brave, active, orthodox, devout, and pure. Though a keen partisan from early youth, he remained long amenable to the influence of more experienced advisers. He seems to have been naturally merciful and trustful of his friends, but hot-tempered. Bitter experience taught him to be reserved, suspicious, and upon occasion cruel. His courtiers resented his clemency, and urged him to bad acts. His conscience does not seem to have been quite easy in his later years, and perhaps stimulated the curious interest he showed in discussing doubtful points of casuistry, which Capgrave notes as his most distinguishing characteristic. He had a retentive memory, was able to follow a Latin sermon, and delighted in the conversation of men of letters. He more than doubled Chaucer's pension, patronized Gower, and invited Christine de Pisan to England because he was so pleased with her poetry. Scholars who had enjoyed his bounty spoke strongly to Capgrave

of his knowledge and ability. He kept to the end his power of saying sharp things. His activity in affairs of state is seen by his answering petitions himself, and by the endorsements in his own hand on state papers."— *D. N. B.*

4. appeal: 'impeachment.' An obsolete use of the word for a "criminal charge or accusation, made by one who undertook under penalty to prove it." See also IV. i. 45. The verb in I. i. 9 and I. i. 27 has the same sense.

5. leisure: 'want of leisure.' For a similar figure, see *As You Like It*, III. ii. (Corin): "he that hath learned no wit by nature nor art may complain of good breeding." For *our*, see note on I. i. 16.

6. Thomas Mowbray: (*Mō'brā*) helped Richard in his expedition to Ireland in 1394, and assisted in negotiating Richard's marriage with Isabel in 1396. As captain of Calais he received custody of Richard's uncle Gloucester, whom he probably murdered at Richard's suggestion. From 1384 until his banishment, he was Earl Marshal of England. He was made Duke of Norfolk in 1397. When he was banished, the king "licensed the duke to take with him a suite of forty persons, 1000*l.* in money, with jewels, plate, and harness, and issued a general request to all princes and nations to allow him safe-conduct."— *D. N. B.* He died in Venice on September 22, 1399, while preparing to visit Palestine. "It is not possible to pronounce a final verdict upon Mowbray's character while we have to suspend our judgment as to the part he had played in the mysterious death of the Duke of Gloucester. But at best *he was no better than the rest of the little knot of selfish,*

ambitious nobles, mostly of the blood royal, into which the older baronage had now shrunk, and whose quarrels already preluded their extinction at each other's hands in the Wars of the Roses." — *D. N. B.*

9. on: 'because of.' A frequent use in Shakespeare. See *1 Henry IV.*, III. iii. 134: "A thing to thank God *on*." Also *Henry VIII.*, II. iv. 171: "My conscience received a scruple and prick *on* certain speeches."

12. sift: 'to examine minutely' or 'question carefully.' See *Hamlet*, II. ii. 58, where the king says: "Well, we shall *sift* him," to find out the cause of Hamlet's distemper.

argument: 'subject.' In this sense it is now obsolete. It is here pronounced *arg'ment*, so that the line is not an Alexandrine.

13. apparent: 'clearly appearing, manifest to the understanding.' See *1 Henry IV.*, II. iv. 292: "this open and *apparent* shame."

16. ourselves: a king always uses the "royal plural," the plural form of the first person pronoun in speaking of himself; but see note on I. iv. 23.

18. High-stomach'd: 'of great pride.' See *Henry VIII.*, IV. ii. 34: "He was a man Of an unbounded *stomach*, ever ranking Himself with princes."

19. deaf as the sea: see the *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 71-72: "You may as well go stand upon the beach And bid the main flood bate his usual height."

20. Many years: In order to fill out the metre of this line Pope suggested "May many years"; Collier, "Full many." Abbott (*Shakespearian Grammar*, § 480) thinks *years may*

be read as a dissyllable *ye-ars*. But "no change is necessary; the emphatic monosyllabic foot at the beginning of the speech is not very remarkable, and may easily be paralleled." — *Temple Edition*.

22. still better other's: 'always surpass the other's.' Shakespeare frequently omits articles for metrical reasons. See *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 230: "he put it by thrice, every time gentler than other."

23. envying: accented on the second syllable. Compare *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i. 18: "Is it for him you do *envy* me so?"

26. the cause you come: 'the cause on which you come.' Shakespeare frequently omits prepositions after verbs of motion, and relatives, "especially where the antecedent clause is emphatic and evidently incomplete." — Abbott's *Grammar*, § 244. See l. 50 and *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 389: "that he do record a gift, Here in the court, of all (*that*) he dies possess'd" (*of*).

28. object: 'oppose by way of accusation'; used intransitively and in a stronger sense than now. See *1 Henry VI.*, II. iv. 116: "This blot that they *object* against your house."

32. Tendering: 'holding dear,' from the verb *to tender*, to regard or treat with kindness. It is frequently used in Shakespeare. See *Henry V.*, II. ii. 175: "But we our kingdom's safety must so *tender*;" and *Richard III.*, II. iv. 72: "and so betide to me As well I *tender* you and all of yours!"

34. appellat: the quarto and Middle English reading for *appealant*, impeacher, accuser. See note on I. i. 4.

38. **divine**: 'immortal soul.'

39. **miscreant**: 'a vile wretch.'

40. **Too good to be so**: because of his high birth. "Mowbray was of the blood royal through his mother, who was daughter of Margaret, the elder daughter of the second surviving son of Edward I., Thomas Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshal (1300-1338)." — *D. N. B.*

43. **to aggravate the note**: 'to make the reproach or stigma worse.' See *Rape of Lucrece*, 208: "my posterity, sham'd with the *note*, Shall curse my bones."

44. **stuff I thy throat**: Compare the modern phrase of making a man "swallow an insult." See I. i. 132.

46. **my right drawn sword**: 'drawn in a right or just cause.' (Johnson.)

49. **eager**: 'bitter.' See *3 Henry VI.*, II. vi. 68: "vex him with *eager* words."

50. **Can arbitrate**: 'that can arbitrate.' "The relative is frequently omitted, especially where the antecedent clause is emphatic and evidently incomplete." — Abbott's *Grammar*, § 244.

56. **would post**: 'go with speed, hasten.' See III. iv. 90: "Post you to London."

63. **tied**: 'obliged.' See *Taming of the Shrew*, I. i. 217: "I am *tied* to be obedient."

65. **inhabitable**: 'not habitable.' This is the only time it occurs in Shakespeare. See *Maundeville*, 17. 78: "Beyond Mauritayne . . . is a great country, but it is *inhabitable* by cause of the outrageous heat of the sone." Also Jonson's *Cataline*, V. i. 54: "And poured on some in-

habitable place." Also Heywood's *General History of Women*, 1624: "Where all the country was scorched by the heat of the sun, and the place almost *inhabitable* for the multitude of the serpents."

67. let this: 'let this protest.'

72. except: 'protest' or 'object to.' So Portia says, *Julius Cæsar*, II. i. 281: "Is it *excepted* I should know no secrets That appertain to you?"

74. pawn: 'pledge,' the glove that he has thrown down. See IV. i. 55, 70.

77. have spoke: 'have spoken.' This short form of the past participle was in common use from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. See *broke* in II. ii. 59 and in III. i. 13.

78. by that sword: When a man was raised to knighthood, he knelt before the king, who touched him on the shoulder with a sword, and said: "Arise, sir ——." See note on I. iii. 179.

80-81. 'In any fair way prescribed by the code of chivalry and laws of tournament.'

82. light: 'alight, dismount.'

85. inherit: 'cause us to inherit.' Shakespeare uses many such "causative" verbs.

88. nobles: gold coins, each worth 6s. 8d. or \$1.50. They were first minted by Edward III., and afterward by Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward IV. See the play on the word in V. v. 67.

89. lendings: 'money advanced to soldiers when the regular pay cannot be given out.' Shakespeare was the *first to use it in this sense.*

90. The which: *The which* is generally used instead of *which* "either where the antecedent, or some word like the antecedent, is repeated, or else where such a repetition could be made if desired. In almost all cases there are two or more possible antecedents from which selection must be made."—Abbott's *Grammar*, § 270. Here the relative might refer to *nobles*, *lendings*, or *soldiers*. See I. ii. 39.

lewd: 'base,' 'wicked,' but not necessarily dissolute. See *Richard III.*, I. iii. 61: "you must not trouble him with *lewd* complaints."

91. injurious: 'insulting.' See *Coriolanus*, III. iii. 69: "Call me their traitor! Thou *injurious* tribune!"

95. eighteen years: since 1381, the Peasants' Revolt under Wat Tylor.

96. Complotted: emphatic for *plotted*, as in I. iii. 189: "To plot, contrive, or *complot* any ill."

100. the Duke of Gloucester's death: Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham and Duke of Gloucester (*Glos'ter*), the seventh and youngest son of Edward III., was born at Woodstock in 1355. In 1374 he married Eleanor Bohun, whose sister Mary married Bolingbroke in 1380. In 1376 he became Constable of England. He was as popular as Gaunt was unpopular. He was created Duke of Gloucester in 1385. Later he threatened Richard with deposition, if he did not dismiss his evil favorites. For this and for his opposition to Richard's marriage to Isabel and the French alliance, he was put to death in 1397 at Calais. For the account of his struggles against the evils of favorit-

ism, see *Introd.*, p. xxxviii; for his arrest, imprisonment, and murder, see *Introd.*, p. xli.

101. Suggest: 'secretly inform,' 'prompt,' or 'urge.' See *Coriolanus*, II. i. 261: "We must *suggest* the people in what hatred He still hath held them."

104. Which blood: "*Which* . . . frequently accompanies the repeated antecedent, where definiteness is desired, or where care must be taken to select the right antecedent." — Abbott's *Grammar*, § 269.

Abel's: See *Genesis*, iv. 10: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

106. To me: If Richard would not avenge the murder of Gloucester, Bolingbroke felt this to be his duty as the next nearest relative of Gloucester, for he was not only his nephew but also his brother-in-law.

109. pitch: an "accusative of extent of space," or a cognate object, which may adverbially follow an intransitive verb. Here it is used figuratively for the height to which a falcon soars. See *1 Henry VI.*, II. iv. 11: "Between two hawks, which flies the higher *pitch*." For other references in this play to falconry, see I. iii. 61-62; I. iii. 129; II. i. 292.

113. slander: 'this disgracer of his race.' Here the abstract word *slander* is used for the concrete *slanderer*. See *Richard III.*, I. iii. 231: "Thou *slander* of thy heavy mother's womb."

116. my kingdom's heir: Gaunt and Bolingbroke had already planned to seize the throne either by cunning or *by force*. These words are very suggestive to the audience for they know from later history that Bolingbroke did

succeed Richard. They well might say: "He spoke wiser than he knew."

117. my father's brother's son: The double possessive makes the depreciatory tone more emphatic. Compare *Hamlet*, III. iv. 15; "You are the queen, your husband's brother's wife;" and *Julius Cæsar*, III. i. 155: "Cæsar's death's hour."

118. my sceptre's awe: 'the awe inspired by my sceptre.'

119. neighbour nearness: Shakespeare frequently uses one part of speech as another. Here the noun *neighbour* is used as an adjective. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 94: "I stole into a *neighbour* thicket by."

sacred: Richard is continually thinking of his divine right as king; see I. ii. 12, and note on I. ii. 38.

120. partialize: 'make partial.' This is the only time it is used in Shakespeare and he seems to be the first to use it in this sense. This "rare and pedantic word" is "in keeping with the somewhat unreal magniloquence of this speech." (Herford.)

121. Such a stilted verse with balanced adjectives and nouns is characteristic of Shakespeare's early style. See *Intro.*, p. xiii.

124-125. as low as to thy heart . . . thou liest: An emphatic exaggeration of the ordinary phrase, "thou liest in thy throat."

126. receipt: 'money received.' In *Coriolanus*, I. i. 116, it is used for the food received by the stomach: "the nutritious parts That envied his *receipt*."

129. For that: 'because' or 'because of.' *That* is fre-

quently used with conjunctions to strengthen them. See *Titus Andronicus*, III. i. 40: "they are better than the tribunes *For that* they will not intercept my tale."

130. remainder of a dear account: 'the balance of a heavy debt;' *dear* is used for what is extreme of its kind. See *Romeo and Juliet*, I. v. 120: "O *dear* account! my life is my foe's debt."

Norfolk went to France with Aumerle (then earl of Rutland) in 1395 to arrange the marriage between Richard and Isabel, the eight-year-old daughter of King Charles VI. The expenses were indeed "dear," amounting to \$60,000.

134. Neglected my sworn duty: This may have two meanings: he may have neglected his sworn duty as a knight and officer in not protecting his noble prisoner Gloucester from murder; or in delaying his king's order to murder him.

This speech of Norfolk probably worried Richard, because if Norfolk was not guilty of Gloucester's murder, the blame would fall on Richard himself. Perhaps this anxiety led Richard to attempt to end this quarrel. In ll. 152-159, he bids them "kiss and make up," seemingly forgetting that their countercharges in an age of chivalry could be settled only by blood. This act prepares us for his weakness in throwing down his warder in the tournament.

140. exactly begg'd: 'begged in set terms or explicitly.' See *Tempest*, I. ii. 499: "but then *exactly* do All points of my command."

142. appeal'd: 'charged.' See note on I. i. 4.

144. recreant: an adjective here, meaning 'faithless or

cowardly.' See I. iii. 106, and *2 Henry IV.*, V. iii. 96: "puff i' thy teeth, most recreant coward base."

145. in myself: 'in my own person' or 'by myself.'

150. In haste whereof: 'To hasten which.'

153. this choler: 'the bile.' It is used also for anger, because a bilious man is apt to be ill-tempered. Both meanings are suggested here. See the play on the two meanings in *Hamlet*, III. ii. 315-319.

154. physician: pronounced with four syllables, like *incision*. See also I. iii. 142: *dominions*; II. i. 23: *imitation*; II. i. 199: *succession*.

156. conclude: 'come to terms, agree together.' See *Coriolanus*, III. i. 145: "where gentry, title, wisdom, Cannot conclude but by the yea and no Of general ignorance."

157. no month to bleed: "It was customary for our fathers to be bled periodically, in spring and in autumn." According to old almanacs the time of this scene, April, was a good "month to bleed."

158. begun: "In poetry especially there is a strong tendency to confound the past tense and the past participle." Shakespeare never hesitates to use *begun* for *began* when the rhyme requires it, eight times in all, but except for the rhyme he does not use it.

160. a make-peace: 'a peacemaker.' This is an emphatic compound of the imperative and its object. Similar words are *turnkey*, *curfew*, and the name of *Shakespeare*.

shall: 'will' or 'must needs be.' *Shall* was used by the Elizabethan authors with all three persons to denote inevitable futurity without reference to the volition or desire

of the speaker. "The modern English restriction of *shall* to the first person, and of *will* to the second and third is of recent date."—Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 357.

162. when: an exclamation of impatience at his son's hesitation. In *Julius Cæsar*, II. i. 5, when his servant does not answer his first call, Brutus exclaims: "*When, Lucius, when?*"

164. there is no boot: 'there is no help for it,' or 'you will gain no advantage by refusing.' Compare *1 Henry VI.*, IV. vi. 52: "Then talk no more of flight, it is *no boot*."

168. The natural order, here altered for metrical reasons, is "my fair name that lives upon my grave despite of death." For a similar transposition, see III. ii. 38.

170. baffled: 'utterly disgraced.' It originally meant "a punishment of infamy, inflicted on recreant knights, one part of which was hanging them up by the heels. See *1 Henry IV.*, I. ii. 113: "An I do not, call me villain and *baffle* me." The present weaker meaning of *frustrate* is not used by Shakespeare.

172. the which: see note on I. i. 90.

173. Which: 'who;' 'the heart-blood of him who.' The antecedent is implied in *his*. *Who* and *which* were used interchangeably by Shakespeare for both persons and things. Compare "Our Father *which* art in heaven."

174. lions make leopards: *lions* refers of course to the lions in the royal arms of England. See *1 Henry VI.*, I. v. 28: "*either* renew the fight Or tear the lions out of England's *coat*." A golden lion, not a leopard, is the Norfolk crest.

175. his spots: A careful grammarian would approve of Pope's alteration *their spots*, but a careful Bible reader would know that Jeremiah's phrase: "Can the leopard [change] his spots?" is running through Mowbray's memory. (*Jeremiah*, xiii. 23.)

178. spotless reputation: Remember Iago's remark, *Othello*, III. iii. 155, "Good name in man and woman, dear my lord, Is the immediate jewel of their souls."

that away: Every schoolboy ought to recognize this as a nominative absolute. This construction was more often used by Shakespeare than by modern writers.

These three lines (177-179) are quoted in *England's Parnassus*, *loam* being changed to *trunks*. See note on II. i. 40.

184. dear my liege: "The possessive adjectives, when unemphatic, are sometimes transposed, being really combined with nouns (like the French *monsieur, milord*)." — Abbott's *Grammar*, § 13. Compare *Julius Cæsar*, II. i. 255: "Dear my lord;" *Hamlet*, I. iii. 46: "good my brother;" *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v. 200: "sweet my mother."

186. throw up your gage: This is the reading of the quartos, but the folios have *throw down*. *Throw up* is used in the sense of *relinquish* or *give up*. *Throw down* is used elsewhere in this play, but always in a defiant sense, which is evidently not intended here. — **your gage:** means the one *you* are holding; it was really Norfolk's, which Bolingbroke had picked up in accepting Norfolk's challenge.

187. God defend: In the folios this read *Heaven defend*. The change was made to comply with an act of Parliament,

3 James I., chap. 21: "To restrain the abuses of Players." "If at any time . . . any person . . . do . . . in any stage-play . . . jestingly or profanely speak, or use the holy name of God, or of Jesus Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of the Trinity, . . . which are not to be spoken, but with fear and reverence, . . . he shall forfeit for every such offence by him . . . committed, ten pounds." One-half of the fine went to the king; the other to the prosecutor. Similar changes were made in the following passages: I. ii. 37, 43; iii. 18, 37, 78, 85, 101, 180, 183, 204; iv. 59, 64; II. i. 238; ii. 41, 76, 98, 100; III. i. 37; ii. 60, 155; iv. 101; IV. i. 114, 133; V. ii. 75; iii. 4, 74, 131, 146.

189. beggar-fear: 'fear such as a beggar has.' The third and fourth folios have *beggar'd fear*.

impeach my height: 'detract from my dignity.' The original meaning of *impeach* was to *hinder*; then it acquired the meaning of *accuse* or *call into question*. Here possibly both meanings are suggested; 'prevent my standing erect as a true man,' and 'call in question my high character and descent.' According to Murray's Dictionary, Shakespeare was the first to use *impeach* in the sense of *challenge* or *call in question*, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 214: "You do *impeach* your modesty too much, To leave the city and commit yourself Into the hands of one that loves you not."

190. out-dared: 'dared down or cowed,' 'defied.' The prefix *out-* has two meanings in Early English: (1) to excel in daring; (2) to overcome by daring.

191. such feeble wrong: 'the wrong of such feebleness.' "As the English adjective has no inflexion, it was formerly

apt to form a looser connexion with its substantive than in other languages, and, instead of expressing a quality or degree pertaining to the latter, to be employed to limit the extent and sphere of it." — Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*, p. 1415. See I. iii. 90, 241; II. iii. 79; III. ii. 23; IV. i. 128; V. i. 39, and possibly I. i. 24: "an immortal title" may mean 'a title of immortality.'

Abbott says (*Grammar*, § 529) that the metaphor, **Ere my tongue . . . such feeble wrong**, is objectionable because it combines truth with falsehood. "The tongue, though it cannot 'wound,' can touch. It would have been better that 'honour's' enemy should be intangible, that thereby the proportion and the perfection of the falsehood might be sustained. Honour can be wounded intangibly by *slander's venom'd spear*, I. i. 171; but, in a metaphor, not so well by the tangible tongue."

192. parle: 'a conference between enemies tending to restore peace' or 'the trumpet summons to such a conference.' See Stage Direction, III. iii. 62.

193. motive: has two meanings in Shakespeare; (1) the impulse, and (2) the instrument or agent, here the tongue.

194. his: may refer to Mowbray or to *tongue*, for *his* was often used where we now use *its*.

195. Exit Gaunt: This stage direction was inserted first in the folios. Gaunt left before the others, because he was to appear at the opening of the next scene without them and in a different place.

196-205. Richard's loftiness of sentiment and weakness of action move the reader to scorn. He is powerless before

strong-willed men. This minor failure here prepares us for the greater but similar climax of Act IV.

199. Saint Lambert's day: September 17. On that day in the year 708 or 709, Lambert Bishop of Maestricht in Netherlands was killed, while returning from morning prayers. When he was attacked, his companions attempted to defend him, but he restrained them, saying: "It is time that I go to live with Jesus." Falling on his knees, he extended his arms to form a cross. Praying thus, he was struck down with a javelin.

202. atone: 'reconcile.' Shakespeare is the first to use the word in this sense of *reconcile*, both transitively and intransitively. See *Othello*, IV. i. 244: "I would do much To *atone* them;" and *Coriolanus*, IV. vi. 72: "He and Aufidius can no more *atone* Than violentest contrariety."

we shall see: This is the reading of the first quarto; the other editions have *you shall see*.

203. design: 'indicate' or 'point out' which combatant shall be victorious. Shakespeare was the first to use it in this sense.

204. The metre of this line has bothered editors very much. Abbott suggests that *marshal* be read as a monosyllable, *marsh'l*; while others treat it as a trisyllable *mar-e-shal*, thus making the line a regular Alexandrine (six feet). But "Shakespeare probably wrote *marshal*, not *lord marshal*, thus producing a regular verse. This is confirmed by the fact that nowhere else in Shakespeare does a king address a *marshal* by the title *lord*." (Herford.)

As Mowbray himself was Marshal, the Duke of Surrey was

appointed Deputy Marshal for this occasion. See note on I. iii. 1.

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SCENE II

Shakespeare invented this scene from his own dramatic imagination, for there is no hint of it in any historical records, except that Holinshed states Gaunt was convinced that Richard was at least partly to blame for the murder of Gloucester. Shakespeare probably realized that (1) a scene was needed to fill in the time between Scene i. (April) and Scene iii. (September); (2) the blame for Gloucester's death must be placed definitely on Richard in order to intensify the struggle between Richard the murderer and Bolingbroke the avenger. The scene also "supplies contrast, — the stately and ceremonious passions of chivalry (Scenes i. and iii.) being interrupted by this picture of a woman's intimate and heart-felt grief." (Herford.)

Duchess of Gloucester: Eleanor Bohun, daughter of Humphrey Earl of Hereford. Her sister married Bolingbroke. See note on II. ii. 97.

1. the part I had in Woodstock's blood: 'my blood-relationship to Woodstock (my brother).' In the folios *Woodstock's* is changed to *Gloucester's*. Possibly the editors of the folios knew that their readers would not remember enough history to know that the Duke of Gloucester was Thomas of Woodstock.

2. exclaims: 'exclamations' or 'outeries of distress.' Shakespeare frequently shortened words; see III. i. 38: *commends* for commendations; also *accuse* for 'accusatio α '

in *2 Henry VI.*, III. i. 160, and *prepare* for 'preparations' in *3 Henry VI.*, IV. i. 131.

4-6. The king, who committed the crime, is the only one that can punish the criminal. Gaunt's language is purposely vague; he tries to avoid accusing his king of the murder, yet he wants to acknowledge it to Gloucester's widow.

6. **Put we:** 'let us put.' The first person imperative. See *Henry V.*, IV. viii. 118: "Come, go we in procession to the village."

7. **they see:** Some editors change this to *it sees*, but Shakespeare frequently uses *heaven* as plural. See *Hamlet*, III. iv. 173: "But Heaven hath pleas'd it so. . . . That I must be their scourge and minister."

hours: is here a dissyllable, as often in Shakespeare.

11. **Edward's seven sons:** (1) Edward the Black Prince, 1330-1376; (2) William of Hatfield, 1336-1344; (3) Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, 1338-1368; (4) John of Gaunt, 1340-1399; (5) Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, 1341-1402; (6) William of Windsor, died in childhood; (7) Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, 1355-1397.

15. **Destinies:** the three Fates: Clotho, who with the distaff span the thread of each man's life; Lachesis, who measured off each thread; and Atropos, who cut the thread with her shears. *Destinies* is here pronounced as a dissyllable. "*I* in the middle of a trisyllable, if unaccented, is frequently dropped." — Abbott's *Grammar*, § 467.

20. **faded:** The folios have *vaded*, which is merely a weakened form of the same word. — **summer** indicates that

he was in the prime of life. Gloucester was forty-two years old when murdered.

23. metal: In the folios this is changed to *mettle*. In Shakespeare's time no difference was observed in these words. Now *metal* is reserved for the literal sense, and *mettle* for the metaphorical.

self-mould: 'selfsame mould.' *Self* in Old English meant *same*, and here it retains this meaning. See *Titus Andronicus*, IV. ii. 123: "sensibly fed Of that *self*-blood that first gave life to you."

25. consent: in Shakespeare's time implied not only acquiescence, but approval. See *1 Henry VI.*, I. v. 34: "You all *consented* unto Salisbury's death, For none would strike a stroke in his revenge."

28. model: 'a person that is the likeness or image of another'; Shakespeare is the first to use it in this sense. See note on III. ii. 153; and III. iv. 42; and V. i. 11.

33. mean: 'humble,' of the middle or lower classes of society.

36. venge: frequently used in Shakespeare for 'avenge.'

38. His deputy anointed: 'anointed with the holy oil of consecration at his coronation.' Richard is not the only one to be conscious of the "divine appointment" or sanctity of the sovereign. Gaunt here gives it as the only reason why he did not avenge his brother's murder. York (II. iii. 96) and Carlisle (IV. i. 121-131) refer to it. Such remarks "make us feel the atmosphere of awe of a king, as God's steward and deputy on earth, in which Richard grew up." (*Verity*.) See also II. i. 98; III. ii. 55; IV. i. 207.

42. complain myself: In Old English the reflexive pronoun was often used with verbs that are now intransitive. See IV. i. 96: "retired *himself*;" V. iii. 28: "withdraw *yourselves*;" V. iii. 52: "I do repent *me*."

43. the widow's champion and defence: This phrase is taken from the Prayer Book, which was based on the Great Bible of 1539. See *Psalm* lxxviii. 5: "He is a father of the fatherless, and defendeth the cause of the widows;" and *Psalm* cxlvi. 9: "he defendeth the fatherless and widow."

44. The pause in sense after *will* is equivalent metrically to a foot. Abbott makes it a complete line by reading *will* and *fare* as dissyllables.

46. cousin: Hereford was both the nephew and the brother-in-law of the Duchess. But in Shakespeare's time *cousin* was a term of indefinite relationship, being used for nephew, niece, uncle, brother-in-law, grandchild, as well as in its modern meaning. In some instances it was merely a title given by princes to other princes and distinguished noblemen.

47. sit: imperative; see ll. 50 and 57.

49. career: 'charge in the combat.'

53. A caitiff recreant: 'a false and cowardly captive.' *Caitiff* here retains some of the meaning of the word from which it is derived, Latin *captivus*. Scott quotes ll. 50-53 as the motto for chap. xliii. of *Ivanhoe*, which narrates the tournament between Bois-Guilbert and Wilfred.

54. sometimes: is often used by Shakespeare for *sometime*, meaning former or formerly. See Henry VIII., II. iv. 181: "the dowager, *Sometimes* our brother's wife."

58. boundeth: 'like a tennis ball.'

62. Commend me to: This was the common Elizabethan formula for our modern 'Remember me to' or 'Give my regards to.' See III. i. 38.

66. Plashy: near Dunmow in Essex, the official residence of Gloucester as High Constable. "The ruins of the Norman Keep are still to be seen." In the anonymous play on Richard II. (see *Introd.*, p. xxi), it is described as follows:—

"This house of Plashy, brother,
Stands in a sweet and pleasant air, in faith;
'Tis near the Thames, and circled round with trees,
That in the summer serve for pleasant fans
To cool ye, and in winter strongly break
The stormy winds, that else would nip ye too."

68. unfurnish'd walls: 'bare walls.' The stone walls of the castles were hung with tapestry, which was taken down when the family was away.

69. Unpeopled offices: 'deserted pantries, kitchen, and servants' quarters.' See *Timon of Athens*, II. ii. 168: "When all our *offices* have been oppress'd, With riotous feeders."

73. will I hence and die: 'will I go hence.' Adverbs of place are often used instead of verbs of motion. The Duchess died the following year, from grief, not for her husband but for her son, who died of fever or was drowned on his way back from Ireland. See note on II. ii. 97. Notice that a word repeated "in a verse often receives two accents, the *first time*, and one accent the second, when it is less

emphatic the second time than the first." — Abbott's *Grammar*, § 475. This line should be scanned: —

Dés-o-/late, dés/'late, will/I hénce/and dte.

SCENE III

This occurred on St. Lambert's Day (September 17, 1398). It shows well Shakespeare's appreciation of the magnificence of chivalry.

the Lord Marshal: deputy Earl Marshal, Thomas Holland, 1374–1400, Duke of Surrey. Holland was instrumental in executing the Earl of Arundel, a fellow-conspirator of Gloucester, and his mother's brother. From the confiscation of the estates of the conspirators, he received Warwick Castle. He was made Duke of Surrey in 1397, and on January 31, 1398, he was appointed Marshal of England during the King's pleasure, in order that he might officiate at this tournament (see note on I. i. 204). After Mowbray's banishment, Surrey was granted the office of Marshal for life. Later he was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland. When Richard returned from Ireland, Surrey attempted to bring about a reconciliation between Richard and Bolingbroke. When tried, as one of Richard's supporters, before Parliament on October 29, 1399, he pleaded his youth and the necessity for obedience to his sovereign. He was deprived of his dukedom and gave up the confiscated estates he had received. Later he was beheaded at Cirencester in the conspiracy of Act V.

Aumerle: Lord High Constable on this day.

Edward, Duke of Aumerle (ð-mer'l') (1373?–1415) was the

eldest child of the Duke of York. He was knighted by Richard II. at his coronation and in 1390 was created Earl of Rutland (see V. ii. 41, 42, and note). From 1391 to 1398, despite his youth, he was Admiral of the Northern Fleet and in 1392 he became Constable of the Tower of London. "There was no man in the world whom Richard loved better." He was one of the chief nobles sent to France to negotiate Richard's marriage with Isabel. After his uncle Gloucester's arrest in 1397, he was given Gloucester's office of Constable of England, and was made Duke of Aumerle or Albemarle. Shakespeare, following Holinshed's story, has given a wrong account of Aumerle; for Aumerle deserted Richard soon after he landed from Ireland, and there is great doubt whether he was one of the conspirators of Act V. There is no mention at all of his complicity in any English authority written near the time, and that in some later fifteenth-century chronicles may be derived from the untrustworthy and prejudiced French account, *Chronique de la Traïson et Mort du Roy Richart*. Although at first Henry deprived him of his Constablership and of his title of Duke, these were soon restored to him, with the addition of important administrative offices. On his father's death in 1402 he became Duke of York. A year later he was imprisoned on suspicion of disloyalty in Wales, but he was soon pardoned. At the battle of Agincourt in 1415, he led the right wing, and was one of the few Englishmen to be killed; see *Henry V.*, IV. iii. 129 and IV. vi.

3. sprightly and bold: Very often when two adverbs

ending in *-ly* are united by *and*, the *-ly* will be omitted from one. See *Julius Cæsar*, II. i. 224: "Look fresh and merrily;" and *Othello*, III. iv. 79: "Why do you speak so startlingly and rash?"

6. enter Mowbray: According to the rules of tournaments, the challenger Bolingbroke should enter first, as he does in Holinshed's account. The change was probably made because it adds to the dramatic interest to have Bolingbroke denounce Mowbray again in the presence of the audience.

11. say who thou art: Note the formalities of the tournament. This question was oftentimes necessary, because the visor of the helmet concealed the knight's face. Even in an open challenge it was required to give one's name, lest a knight should unknowingly fight against a man of inferior rank.

15. As so: 'As you speak truly, may heaven defend thee.' Abbott suggests (§ 110) that we substitute *And* for *As*, but the meaning is stronger as it stands.

18. God defend: 'God forbid.' In Early English, *defend* meant (1) to guard, as now, and (2) when its subject is God or heaven, to forbid. Both meanings are found in its Latin root, *defendere*.

20. my succeeding issue: The folios have *his succeeding issue*. But *my* is preferable, because Mowbray's issue would be attainted, *i.e.*, would forfeit their privileges as nobles, if he was convicted of treason. Moreover Richard had no children.

23. in defending of myself: The modern phrase would be *in defending myself*. In Shakespeare's time *of* naturally

followed a verbal noun, even in cases where we would call the verbal a participle.

There are now three classes of words in *-ing* formed from verbs: (1) participles, having the force of adjectives, because they modify nouns or pronouns, and of verbs because they take the same construction as the finite form of the verb; (2) gerunds, having the force of nouns, because they are used as subjects of verbs and objects of verbs and prepositions, and of verbs, because they take the same construction as the finite form of the verb; (3) verbal nouns, used only as nouns, preceded by the definitive article and followed by the object of the verbal idea in a prepositional phrase. For instance, (1) defending himself, he gradually retreated; (2) defending himself proved to be difficult; (3) in the defending of himself, he found no time to retreat. In Shakespeare's time, and later, these three forms were much confused.

25. This line sums up the principle of Trial by Combat: 'Providence will give the victory to the man that is in the right.'

26. This line is irregular in metre, having only four accents, probably because of the long pause or break before it.

knight in arms: Milton was so much impressed with this phrase, that he used it in his sonnet, beginning: "Captain, or colonel, or knight in arms" (Nov. 1642). For other evidences of Milton's indebtedness to this play, see notes on I. iii. 151, 207, 213; iv. 33; II. i. 40-55. He has well expressed his opinion of Shakespeare in a sonnet:—

"What needs my Shakespeare, for his honoured bones,
The labour of an age in pilèd stones?"

Or that his hallowed relics should be hid
 Under a star-y-pointing pyramid?
 Dear son of Memory, great heir of Fame,
 What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name? .
 Thou, in our wonder and astonishment,
 Hast built thyself a livelong monument.
 For whilst, to the shame of slow-endeavouring art,
 Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart
 Hath, from the leaves of thy unvalued book,
 Those Delphic lines with deep impression took;
 Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
 Dost make us marble, with too much conceiving;
 And, so sepulchred, in such pomp dost lie,
 That kings for such a tomb would wish to die."

28. plated: 'clothed in plate armor,' not in chain or twisted mail. Compare *King Lear*, IV. vi. 169: "*Plate* sins with gold, And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks."

30. Depose: 'put him under oath,' or 'take his deposition.'

43. daring-hardy: In the early editions the hyphen was omitted, being first supplied by Theobald. Very often two adjectives were placed together as a sort of compound, in which the first had the force of an adverb. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 107: "sudden-bold;" *As You Like It*, II. vii. 31: "deep-contemplative;" & *Henry IV.*, Prol. 37: "He lies crafty-sick."

45. designs: 'trials,' as in I. i. 81.

48-51. "An example of that kind of *irony*, familiar in *Greek tragedy*, in which the speaker innocently uses words which foreshadow an impending destiny. Bolingbroke

unconsciously foretells his own and Mowbray's exile." (Herford.)

55. as: 'so far as.' Richard knows Bolingbroke is in reality attacking him through Mowbray as Gloucester's murderer. Note the ambiguity of his wish.

59. profane a tear: 'let no noble eye profane itself by wasting a tear on me.'

66. cheerly: 'cheerily.' Shakespeare uses the short form ten times, but never *cheerily*, which did not come into use until after his death.

67. English feasts: "The custom of ending a great dinner with confectionary of elaborate structure was general throughout England in Shakespeare's time, and still exists in college halls. . . . Compare Bacon (*Life and Letters*, ed. Spedding, vol. iii., p. 215, note): 'Let not this Parliament end, like a Dutch feast, in salt meats; but like an English feast, in sweet meats.'" (*Clarendon Press Series*.) At the coronation feast of Katherine of Valois, Henry V.'s queen, they had "a devise in sugar, painted and gilded, described as 'a pelican sitting on her nest with her birds, and an image of St. Katherine holding a book and disputing with doctors.'" (Davey's *Pageant of London*, i. 277.) Compare the American custom of moulding ices and ice cream into fantastic shapes for dessert.

regreet: 'greet' or 'salute.' Shakespeare was the first to use it in this sense. The force of *re-* seems lost, although in l. 142 it probably means 're-salute.' As a noun, meaning 'greeting,' it is used in *King John*, III. i. 241: "shall these hands . . . Unyoke this seizure and this kind *regreet*?"

70. spirit: a monosyllable, as it often is. In verse, “*r* frequently softens or destroys a following vowel.”—Abbott’s *Grammar*, § 463.

regenerate: ‘regenerated.’ “Some verbs ending in *-te*, *-t*, and *-d*, on account of their already resembling participles in their terminations, do not add *-ed* in the participle.”—Abbott’s *Grammar*, § 342.

73. proof: ‘the resisting power of armor.’ Compare *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 123: “Put armour on thine ears and on thine eyes, Whose *proof*, nor yells of mothers, maids, nor babes . . . Shall pierce a jot.”

75. waxen coat: ‘a coat as penetrable as wax.’

76. furbish: ‘rub to brightness.’ “One of the few words, now only in colloquial use, which Shakespeare could use for high poetry.” (Verity.) This was changed to *furnish* in the folios, but “either word will do, as to *furnish* in the time of Shakespeare signified to dress.” (Steevens.) Compare *As You Like It*, III. ii. 258: “He was *furnish’d* like a hunter;” and *Macbeth*, I. ii. 32: “With *furbish’d* arms and new supplies of men.”

John a Gaunt: ‘John of Gaunt.’ *a* is very frequently used in Shakespeare for *o*, *of*, *on*, and *in*, which may be contracted to *a* by rapid pronunciation. Compare *Hamlet*, II. ii. 595: “John-*a*-dreams.”

77. Even: is used to introduce an emphatic explanation of “a bold or figurative thought just expressed.” (Herd.) Compare *As You Like It*, II. vii. 57: “The wise man’s folly is anatomiz’d *Even* by the squandering glances of the fool.”

haviour: 'behaviour.' The shorter form is the older, although the two words were used apparently in the same sense by Shakespeare.

80. redoubled: is here pronounced for metrical reasons *redoub-e-led*, as if it had four syllables. But in *1 Henry IV.*, III. ii. 144, the metre does not require this extra syllable: "My shames *redoubled!* For the time will come." Such an added syllable may occur both with *l* and *r*. See also *Eng-e-land*, IV. i. 17.

81. amazing: 'confusing, dismaying.' See V. ii. 85, and *Hamlet*, II. ii. 591: "Confound the ignorant, and *amaze* indeed The very faculties of eyes and ears."

82. adverse: here pronounced *adverse*, because it is followed by an unaccented syllable. See also *All's Well That Ends Well*, V. i. 26: "Though time seem so *adverse* and means unfit." The folios have *amaz'd*.

84. to thrive: 'help me to succeed.' Notice "the desire of brevity which characterised the authors of the age. . . . The Elizabethan authors objected to scarcely any ellipsis, provided the deficiency could be easily supplied from the context." — Abbott's *Grammar*, § 382.

All the early editions have *innocence*, but as this does not fit the metre, Capell suggested *innocency*, a word that Shakespeare frequently uses in other plays.

Saint George was the patron saint of England. See *Henry V.*, III. i. 34: "England and *Saint George!*"

90. uncontroll'd enfranchisement: "enfranchisement which consists in being uncontrolled." (Herford.) See note on I. i. 191.

91. *More* is here superfluous because of *freer*, l. 88. Its use here is similar to a double comparative, a construction that Shakespeare often uses. Professor Lounsbury says:

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“Double comparison came into being in the last part of the thirteenth century. In its case the usage was distinctly due to the desire of imparting to speech not perspicuity but force. The particular shape it took came from the coalescence in our tongue of the native and Romance elements. The original Anglo-Saxon terminations for expressing degrees of comparison are represented in Modern English by *-er* and by *-est*. On the other hand, the French indicated these then, as it does now, by *plus* and *le plus*. Upon this model *more* and *most* were introduced for the same purpose into our speech. When the Romance element became a constituent part of the language, the foreign adjectives receiving the right of citizenship could not in the great majority of cases receive the native endings for comparison without rendering them particularly difficult to pronounce. Hence the two methods came to be treated with equal respect, and whenever possible were used indifferently. This has continued to our day. . . . Difficulty of utterance is the all-sufficient reason for preferring *more* and *most* to *-er* and *-est* in the comparison of adjectives; and that in any given case is a matter to be decided by the individual judgment.

“These two methods of comparison were flourishing side by side in the fourteenth century. Then the practice began of employing both with the same adjective in order to impart additional energy. . . . Apparently no one disapproved of it in his [Shakespeare’s] day; certainly no one seems to have censured it, at least not in print.” — *The Coming and Going of Expletives*. *Harper’s Magazine*, Dec., 1907, p. 102.

95. as to jest: 'as if I were going to jest.' In Shakespeare's time, to *jest* was to take part in any mock ceremony or merrymaking, such as a masque or play.

97. securely: 'confidently.'

112. approve: 'prove.' Shakespeare uses it as frequently in this sense as in the sense of *to be pleased with*. See *1 Henry VI.*, V. v. 69: "Her peerless feature, joined with her birth, *Approves* her fit for none but for a king."

116. Attending: 'awaiting.' See *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 145: "He *attendeth* here hard by, To know your answer."

118. warder: 'a truncheon or staff carried by the king as presiding over the combat.' See *Introd.*, p. xlvi. The metre of this line is regular, if we read *Stay* as two syllables, *sta-ay*, as may be done after a marked pause. Compare II. i. 148: "Nay;" and III. ii. 2: "Yea."

119. Let: spoken to the Marshal.

121. Withdraw with us: spoken to his council, the nobles that attended him.

122. While: 'until.' See IV. i. 269: "Read o'er this paper *while* the glass doth come." "*While* can only, we think, be properly used for *till*, when it follows a verb expressing a continuous action, an action which lasts over the interval of time designated. *While* is commonly used for *till* in the northern counties of England, but without the limitation which we have mentioned as characterizing the usage of Shakespeare." (*Clarendon Press Series*.) Schmidt quotes three instances of this use from *Euphues' Golden Legacy*: "and stood there *while* the next morning."

we return: 'answer' or 'announce to.' See III. iii. 121: "say thus the king returns."

A long flourish: This represents the two hours spent in deliberation. See *Introd.*, p. xlvi.

123. Draw near: This is Theobald's arrangement of the irregular lines of the early editions, in which the first line ended with *list*. It is very natural and impressive to pause after *Draw near*, as if to give them time to approach.

125. For that: 'because.' See note on I. i. 129.

127. aspect: accented on the second syllable, as frequently in Shakespeare. See l. 209.

129-133. These five lines are in all the early quartos, but were omitted in the folios, "doubtless merely for the purpose of shortening the speech. By the omission the speech was rendered unintelligible: for the words *Which so roused up*, etc., are immediately connected with *gentle sleep*, in the preceding line, and do not afford any meaning when connected with *civil wounds* (l. 128)." (Malone.)

131. set on you: 'set you on' or 'incite.'

132. our peace: From 1389 until 1397 England was at peace both at home and abroad. "The young King," says Green, "promised to be among the noblest and wisest rulers that England had seen."

140. pain of life: This is the reading of the first four quartos; the later editions have *pain of death*. The king repeats this phrase in l. 153. Holinshed uses *pain of death* in both cases; see *Introd.*, p. xlvi.

142. greet: 'greet.' See note on I. iii. 67.

150. sly slow hours: Some editors prefer the reading of

the second folio, *fly-slow*. But *hours* may pass *slowly*, evading our notice, like a *sly* person. Pope followed the second folio in his edition, but eight years later in his *Essay on Man*, he himself wrote: "All *sly slow* things, with circumspective eyes" (IV. 226). Chapman has almost the same phrase in his translation of *Odyssey*, II. 164-165: "and those sly hours That still surprise at length dames' craftiest powers."

determinate **The dateless limit:** 'determine or set a limit or ending.' This is the only time Shakespeare uses *determinate* as a verb; he probably remembered it in the anonymous *Richard II.* (see Introd., p. xxi), V. i. "This day shall here *determinate* all wrongs." In Shakespeare, *dateless* means 'endless' or 'eternal.' See Sonnet xxx. 6: "death's *dateless* night." The one word *determinate* is enough, the other words merely repeat and confuse the idea.

151. thy dear exile: 'thy heart-grieving exile.' Anything that affects us deeply may in Shakespeare be called *dear*, whether it is love or hate, joy or sorrow. Compare *Henry V.*, II. ii. 181: "true repentance Of all your *dear* offences." Note that *exile*, like *aspect*, l. 127, is frequently accented on the last syllable.

Verity calls attention to "the alliteration *d . . . d . . . d*, which drives the sentence home, as if the king were writing it out and underlining the number of the years of exile. Milton uses the same alliteration to emphasize something terrible, e.g., in the picture of diseases and their effects *Paradise Lost*, xi. 489-493: —

“‘Dire was the tossing, deep the groans; Despair
Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but *delayed* to strike.’”

See note on I.iii.26: www.ibtool.com.cn

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

159. these forty years: Mowbray was not more than thirty-three years old, but *forty* was often used for an indefinite number, where no exact reckoning was needed. Perhaps this use may be traced to the Bible, where *forty* is an important number. The wanderings of the Israelites lasted *forty* years; before the flood, it rained *forty* days; Jesus was *forty* days in the wilderness, etc.

160. my native English: At first thought it seems odd *that a nobleman* of Mowbray’s rank in Richard’s time, or

even in Shakespeare's time, could not speak French as well as English, especially as he had often gone on foreign embassies. But Green says:—

“The close of the great movement towards national unity which had been going on ever since the Conquest was shown in the middle of the fourteenth century by the disuse, even amongst the nobler classes, of the French tongue. In spite of the efforts of the grammar schools and of the strength of fashion English won its way throughout the reign of Edward the Third to its final triumph in that of his grandson. It was ordered to be used in courts of law in 1362 ‘because the French tongue is much unknown,’ and in the following year it was employed by the Chancellor in opening Parliament. Bishops began to preach in English, and the English tracts of Wyclif made it once more a literary tongue. We see the general advance in two passages from writers of Edward’s and Richard’s reigns. ‘Children in school,’ says Higden, a writer of the first period, ‘against the usage and manner of all other nations be compelled for to leave their own language and for to construe their lessons and their things in French, and so they have since the Normans first came into England. Also gentlemen children be taught for to speak French from the time that they be rocked in their cradle, and know how to speak and play with a child’s toy; and uplandish (or country) men will liken themselves to gentlemen, and strive with great busyness to speak French for to be more told of.’ ‘This manner,’ adds John of Trevisa, Higden’s translator in Richard’s time, ‘was much used before the first murrain (the Black Death of 1349), and is since somewhat changed. For John Cornwal, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar school and construing of French into English; and Richard Pencrych learned this manner of teaching of him, as other men

did of Pencrych. So that now, the year of our Lord 1385 at the second King Richard after the Conquest nine, in all grammar schools of England children leaveth French, and strueth and learneth in English. Also gentlemen have much left for to teach their children French.” — *History of English People*, 1879, I. 502.

Eighteen years later (1415) even the king of England Henry V., could not speak enough French to woo Katharine the daughter of the French king, and she could barely speak enough English to accept him; see *Henry V.*, V. ii.

174. compassionate: ‘full of pity for yourself.’ Richard is very quick to notice Mowbray’s self-pity, for self-pity was one of Richard’s chief characteristics.

175. plaining: ‘complaining.’

176. turn me: ‘turn myself.’ See note on I. ii. 42.

179. our royal sword: The guard of the sword was at right angles to the handle and thus formed a cross. Therefore swearing on a sword was equivalent to swearing on a cross. See *Hamlet*, I. v. 154: “Swear by my *sword*.”

181. Our part: Richard relieves them from allegiance to him during their banishment. The law of nations never settled the question whether banishment by a sovereign destroys allegiance to him.

185. Nor never: In the folios, the double negative lines 185, 186, and 188, are changed to the simple negative *Nor ever*. Similar changes are made in line 302, and

70. But Shakespeare used many double negatives, for the purpose of emphasis, like double comparatives and superlatives. As Schmidt says (p. 1420): “To join two nega-

properly called so and even three, where one would not only have been sufficient, but more logical, was so general a custom with all writers of Shakespeare's time, that it could not escape the notice of grammarians. . . . Much that would blemish the language of a logician, may well become a dramatic poet or an orator."

188. advised purpose: Note the repetition that is characteristic of legal phrases, and appropriate here in their oaths. Compare *plot, contrive, or complot*, l. 189.

193. mine enemy: In the first four quartos and the first folio, *far* is *fare*. This is probably a misprint for *far*, which appears in the fourth folio. The line may be read in three ways: (1) *So fare, as to mine enemy;* 'so live, as I would wish mine enemy to live;' (2) '*So far as* I may be permitted to speak *to mine enemy;*' (3) '*So far* I have spoken to you *as to mine enemy*, but now I speak without hostility.' The last seems the best.

195. our souls: The Elizabethans thought of the *soul* as confined in the body and escaping from it at death. See *1 Henry VI.*, IV. vii. 21: "Two Talbots, winged through the lither sky . . . shall 'scape mortality;" *Henry V.*, IV. vi. 16: "My soul shall keep thine company to heaven; Tarry, sweet soul, for mine, then fly abreast;" and *Romeo and Juliet*, III. i. 131: "Mercutio's soul, Is but a little way above our heads, Staying for thine to keep him company."

196. sepulchre: here accented on the second syllable; but see II. i. 55.

201. traitor: In Early English the indefinite article was more emphatic than it is now, often retaining its original

meaning of *one*. It was therefore omitted in many instances where we would now use it, especially, as here, before a noun used predicatively, where the noun stands for the class.

Notice the use of *were*, the past subjunctive, in a contrary-to-fact condition.

202. book of life: See *Revelation*, iii. 5: "and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life."

205. the king shall rue: A warning to the king of what Bolingbroke is purposing to do against him. Richard and Bolingbroke are bluffing each other, but each realizes the true motives of the other, in spite of their friendly talk.

Verity thinks that this warning frightened Richard so much that he at once hastened to propitiate Bolingbroke and his friends by shortening his banishment. But the vanity of his consciousness of power and his vacillating will are adequate motives for this act.

207. my way: Johnson says: "Perhaps Milton had this in mind when he wrote these lines (*Paradise Lost*, xii. 646-647): —

"The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

See note on I. iii. 26.

212. See *Introd.*, p. xlvii.

213-215. Notice the double alliteration of these lines: *l . . . l . . . l . . . l*; *w . . . w . . . w . . . w*. Verity says: "The alliteration *l . . . l* is a recognized poetic artifice to suggest length, though more often length of

space, as in Milton; compare *Comus*, 340: "thy long levelled rule of streaming light;" and *Paradise Lost*, vii. 480: "These as a line their long dimension drew." See note on I. iii. 26.

215. the breath of kings: Compare Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, 53-54: —

"Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made."

222. extinct: in its literal sense of 'extirguished.' Shakespeare does not use the longer form.

224. blindfold death: 'death that blinds me.'

231. current: 'Like good coins that are *current*, of full value, *thy word* will be accepted by *time* as warrant for my death.' Compare IV. i. 264: "if my word be *sterling* yet in England."

234. a party-verdict: Shakespeare had no direct authority in Holinshed for saying that Gaunt voted for his son's banishment, although he was a member of the council that deliberated with the king. See *Introd.*, p. xlvi. Compare his reluctant sacrifice of his son with the frantic way in which York demands the punishment of his son Aumerle, V. iii.

235. lour: 'frown.'

239-242. These lines were omitted from the folios and the fifth quarto.

240. smooth: 'lessen' or 'palliate.' See *3 Henry VI.*, III. i. 48: "Warwick tells his title, *smooths* the wrong."

241. a partial slander: 'a slander of partiality;' see note on I. i. 191.

244. to make: 'in making.' In Early English the infinitive was often used as a gerund. See *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 431: "I will not shame myself to give you this;" and *Richard III.*, II. ii. 34: "who shall hinder me to wail and weep?"

248. Exeunt: "We have here an illustration how the absence of scenery on the Elizabethan stage affected the structure of plays. In a modern play, surely, this scene would end with the king's exit. The interview between Gaunt and Bolingbroke would be thrown into a fresh scene. For characters to remain behind and wind up a scene seems unnatural; it risks an anticlimax. But in the Elizabethan theatre, as there was no curtain to fall and practically no scenery to mark a change of scene, the tendency was to extend a scene instead of starting a fresh one: as if the playwright thought that certain characters might as well stay behind as go off and return. Compare *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I. i. 127, where strictly it is an awkward, artificial device to make Lysander and Hermia remain for an interview (which Egeus would naturally wish to prevent), while the Duke and all the other characters, including Egeus, leave the stage. Compare again the end of the first scene in *King Lear*." (Verity.)

249-250. "Aumerle's curt and careless farewell is rendered in a harsh and ill-expressed couplet. At a later time Shakespeare becomes chary of making style dramatically expressive at the cost of the verse. He makes his blunt men use prose. Compare Casca in *Julius Caesar*." (Herford.)

258-267. "This rapid line-for-line debate" appears only in Shakespeare's early plays. See II. i. 88-92, and *Richard III.*, IV. iv. 343-367.

260. is six winters: In Early English and in Shakespeare, plural subjects often take a singular predicate, especially (1) when the verb precedes the subject and is introduced by *here* or *there*; (2) when the subject of the sentence is determined by a numeral, as here, which retains the quality of a collective noun; (3) when the subject is separated from the predicate by phrases. See III. iii. 168, and compare Sheridan's *Rivals*: "By my valour, Sir Lucius, forty yards is a good distance." But see *Draws*, II. iii. 5.

261. Compare this thought with Rosalind's account of the varying speed of Time, in *As You Like It*, III. ii. 327-350.

262. a travel: 'a journey.' In early editions *travel* and *travail* are used interchangeably. See II. iii. 12: "The tediousness and process of my *travel*." But this is the only instance in Shakespeare, where it is preceded by the indefinite article.

266. foil: 'gold leaf put behind a transparent gem to set it off.' *Foil* was frequently used figuratively for anything serving to give lustre to another thing. See *Richard III.*, V. iii. 250: "A base foul stone, made precious by the *foil* Of England's chair, where he is falsely set."

268-293. These twenty-six lines are not in the folios.

269. remember: used transitively for 'remind,' as in French *se rappeler*. Compare III. iv. 14: "It doth *remember* me the more of sorrow."

a deal of world: 'a great part of the world.' The phrase was colloquial in Shakespeare's time, as it is now.

271. apprenticeship: Bolingbroke compares himself to an *apprentice*, who after serving his time, usually seven years, in foreign services, returns a *journeyman* or full fledged workman entitled to a full day's wages, but without prospect of employment.

275. the eye of heaven: 'the sun,' a favorite metaphor. See III. ii. 37, and *King John*, IV. ii. 15: "with taper light To seek the beauteous *eye of heaven* to garnish."

278. like necessity. Compare *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV. i. 62: "To make a virtue of necessity, And live, as we do, in this wilderness." This old proverb appears in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, 3041: "Thanne is it wisdom as it thinketh me To maken vertu of necessitie."

This whole passage may have been inspired by Lyly's *Euphues*, where Euphues urges Botonio to bear his exile patiently: —

"Nature hath given to man a country no more than she hath a house, or lands, or livings. Socrates would neither call himself an Athenian, neither a Grecian, but a citizen of the world. Plato would never accompt him banished that had the sunne, fire, ayre, water, and earth that he had before; where he felt the winter's blast and the summer's blaze; where the same sunne and the same moone shined, whereby he noted that every place was a country to a wise man, and all parts a palace to a quiet mind."

279. One of the very rare instances of a line of four accents only, without a pause in the middle of the line. Corio-

lanus (III. iii. 120) makes a similar reply when he is banished: "You common cry of curs! . . . I banish you."

282. purchase: 'acquire.' "The modern sense of acquiring by payment is a specialization of the original sense, and is the less common sense in Shakespeare." (Herford.) Compare *As You Like It*, III. ii. 360: "Your accent is something finer than you could *purchase* in so removed a dwelling."

283. exiled: accented on the second syllable, as it often is in Shakespeare. See note on I. iii. 82, 127, 151.

284. hangs in our air: Compare *King Lear*, III. iv. 69-70: "Now, all the plagues that in the pendulous *air Hang* fated o'er men's faults, light on thy daughters!"

289. the presence strew'd: the *presence* chamber or royal audience room was as late as Queen Elizabeth's time *strewed* or covered with rushes as carpeting. See *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV. i. 48: "Is supper ready, the house trimm'd, rushes *strew'd*, cobwebs swept?" "Sweet-smelling herbs were sometimes mixed with these rushes, which ordinarily were allowed to remain several days, or even weeks, and often became very dirty and unsavoury. It was thought to be a piece of unnecessary luxury, on the part of Wolsey, when he wisely caused the rushes of Hampton Court to be changed every day." (Rolfe.)

291. measure: a stately dance, like a minuet. Compare *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. i. 80: "mannerly modest, as a *measure*, full of state and ancientry."

292. gnarling: 'snarling' or 'growling.' Shakespeare was the first to use it in this sense. See *2 Henry VI.*, III. i.

192: "And wolves are *gnarling* who shall *gnaw* thee first."

294. **fire**: pronounced as two syllables, as often, like "fear, dear, hour, your, four, and other monosyllables ending in *r* or *re*, preceded by a long vowel or diphthong." — Abbott's *Grammar*, § 480.

299. **fantastic**: 'imaginary.'

300. **apprehension**: 'anticipation.' Compare *Measure for Measure*, III. i. 78: "The sense of death is most in *apprehension*."

302. **rancle**: 'poison.'

303. **lanceth not**: 'trieth not by lancing to cure.'

SCENE IV .

"This is a striking conclusion of a first act, letting the reader into the secret; having before impressed us with the dignified and kingly manners of Richard, yet by well managed anticipations leading us on to the full gratification of pleasure in our own penetration. In this scene a new light is thrown on Richard's character. Until now he has appeared in all the beauty of royalty; but here, as soon as he is left to himself, the inherent weakness of his character is immediately shown. It is a weakness, however, of a peculiar kind, not arising from want of personal courage, or any specific defect of faculty, but rather an intellectual feminineness, which feels a necessity of ever leaning on the breast of others, and of reclining on those who are all the while known to be inferiors. To this must be attributed as its consequences all Richard's vices, his tendency to con-

cealment, and his cunning, the whole operation of which is directed to the getting rid of present difficulties. Richard is not meant to be a debauchee, but we see in him that sophistry which is common to man, by which we can deceive our own hearts, and at one and the same time apologize for, and yet commit, the error. Shakspeare has represented this character in a very peculiar manner. He has not made him amiable with counterbalancing faults; but has openly and broadly drawn those faults without reserve, relying on Richard's disproportionate sufferings and gradually emergent good qualities for our sympathy; and this was possible, because his faults are not positive vices, but spring entirely from defect of character." — Coleridge's *Lectures on Shakspeare*, London, 1884, p. 261.

In this short scene Richard is seen at his worst. He reveals his dislike and fear of Bolingbroke and his purposes, his utter contempt for the rights of his subjects, and his heartless indifference to the illness of his uncle Gaunt, which is strongly contrasted with the pathetic parting of Gaunt and his son at the close of scene iii.

The time of the scene is February, 1399, five months later than scene iii.

1. We did observe: probably said to Bagot and Green, in talking over what they three had seen of Bolingbroke's behavior at his departure (l. 24).

3. high Hereford: Note the ironical play of words in *high . . . highway*. Aumerle would not have dared to speak so bitterly, if he had not known that Richard hated Bolingbroke.

5. store of parting tears were: Notice that the singular subject *store* has a plural verb *were*, because (1) it is a collective noun, in which not the group but the separate parts are emphasized, and (2) it is followed by a dependent genitive plural, which immediately precedes and therefore attracts the verb to the plural. Compare *King John*, III. i. 294: "then know The peril of our curses light on thee."

6. none for me: 'none for my part,' or 'so far as I am concerned.'

8. rheum: 'tears.'

12. for: 'because.' See I. 43.

13. that: The antecedent of *that* is the clause *my heart . . . profane the word*.

16. Marry: A variation of the name of the Virgin Mary originally used as an oath or an ejaculatory invocation, but in Shakespeare's time nothing more than a mere interjection. It is here treated as a monosyllable, the *-y* being dropped after *r*.

20. doubt: 'doubtful.' See III. iv. 69: "'Tis *doubt* he will be." Substantives are frequently used by Shakespeare for adjectives. See note on I. i. 119.

22. his friends: The king and his other relatives, who ought to have been *his friends*, though they were not. Richard hints that he will not let Bolingbroke return home even after six years. Bolingbroke's increasing popularity makes Richard more afraid of him.

23. Ourself: In formal speech, a king uses the first person plural pronoun, but this "royal" plural does not extend to *-self*; *ourselves* is the correct form. But the king, like other

human beings, sometimes becomes a little confused in his dignity and his pronouns; see I. i. 16 and III. iii. 127.

Bagot here and Green: These words are not in the quartos, but they may have been supplied for the folio from an acting copy of one of the quartos.

24-36. Years later when Bolingbroke had become King Henry IV., he told his son how he had gained popularity by being more dignified in public than Richard. See *1 Henry IV.*, III. ii. 39-58: —

“Had I so lavish of my presence been,
So common-hackney'd in the eyes of men,
So stale and cheap to vulgar company, —
Opinion, that did help me to the crown,
Had still kept loyal to possession
And left me in reputeless banishment,
A fellow of no mark nor likelihood.
By being seldom seen, I could not stir
But, like a comet, I was wonder'd at;
That men would tell their children, ‘This is he’;
Others would say, ‘Where, which is Bolingbroke?’
And then I stole all courtesy from heaven,
And dress'd myself in such humility
That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts,
Loud shouts and salutations from their mouths,
Even in the presence of the crownèd king.
Thus did I keep my person fresh and new;
My presence, like a robe pontifical,
Ne'er seen but wonder'd at: and so my state,
Seldom but sumptuous, show'd like a feast
And won by rareness such solemnity.”

Notice the contemptuous terms in which Richard speaks of his subjects: *common people* (l. 24); *slaves* (l. 27); *craftsmen* (l. 28); *oyster-wench* (l. 31); *a brace of draymen* (l. 32). Possibly he would have been a better king, if like Henry V. he had knocked about the streets and taverns with Falstaff and learned the value of an ordinary man.

29. underbearing: 'endurance.'

30. As: 'as if.' See l. 35.

their affects: 'the affections of the craftsmen.'

31. bonnet: 'cap' or 'brimless hat.'

33. the tribute of his supple knee: 'a courtesy, such as is made in a minuet.' It is seldom seen now except among ladies of the old school, but in Shakespeare's time it was common among men. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 66: "I would take Desire prisoner, and ransom him to any French courtier for a new devis'd courtesy."

Milton remembered this phrase, in *Paradise Lost*, v. 782: "Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile." See note on I. iii. 26.

35. reversion: 'right of future possession' as king. Shakespeare uses so many legal phrases correctly that scholarly lawyers have argued he must have studied law or been a lawyer's clerk. Possibly he did this when not "holding horses in front of the theatres." See II. i. 202.

This remark is another instance of "dramatic irony" (see note on I. i. 116). The audience know that this supposition, which Richard meant to be ridiculous, has actually *been fulfilled*.

37. Green: Sir Henry Green, a favorite of Richard, who was beheaded by Bolingbroke in 1399 (III. i. 1-34).

38. stand out: 'are in arms against us.' See *King John*, V. ii. 71: "his spirit is come in, That so *stood out* against the Holy Church."

39. Expedient manage: 'speedy preparation and careful administration.' See *King John*, I. i. 37: "Which now the *manage* of two kingdoms must With fearful bloody issue arbitrate."

45. to farm: 'to let on lease the right of collecting taxes.' The king assigned to his four favorites, Bagot, Bushy, Green, and Scroop, the revenues of the land in return for a fixed monthly sum. They of course exacted as much as they could from the people.

48. blank charters: The deputies received from the king *blank* forms authorizing them to demand the sum of —— from ——. When they found a man was rich, they *subscribed* (l. 50) or wrote his name down in this blank, for whatever sum they thought they could force him to pay. See *Introd.*, p. xlvii.

52. presently: 'at once' or 'immediately,' its usual meaning in Shakespeare. In a few instances only it is used in the modern sense of 'shortly' or 'soon.'

53. Bushy: Sir John Bushy (*būsh'i*), one of Richard's favorites, who had been speaker of the House of Commons in 1394. He was beheaded with Green in August, 1399.

54. grievous sick: 'grievously or painfully sick.' Here an adjective is used for an adverb. See note on I. i. 119.

58. Ely House: The palace of the Bishop of Ely, in Hol-

born, London. Richard III. refers to it (III. iv. 33): "When I was last in Holborn, I saw good strawberries in your garden there."

61. lining: not merely the covering of the inner surface, but also the contents of *his coffers*.

ACT II. SCENE I

The first part of this scene (ll. 1-138) is not found in Holinshed, but is the product of Shakespeare's inventive imagination, inspired by patriotism.

2. unstaïd: 'thoughtless.'

3. York: Edmund de Langley (1341-1402), first Duke of York, was made a Knight of the Garter in 1360 and Earl of Cambridge in 1362. He fought in Spain with Gaunt and in France with the Black Prince. In 1372 he married Isabel of Castile, the second daughter of Pedro the Cruel; later, in 1395, he married a second time, Joan, daughter of Thomas Holland, second Earl of Kent, and sister of the Duke of Surrey (see note on I. iii. 1). On Richard's accession he became one of the king's Council and in 1385 he was created Duke of York. "In the troubles of his nephew's reign, Edmund, who cared little for state affairs, only played a small part." He was content to follow the lead of Gaunt or of Gloucester. Yet he was three times appointed Regent during the King's absence, in 1394 in Ireland, in 1396 in France, and in 1399 in Ireland. "*Edmund was the least remarkable of his father's sons.* He was

an easy-going man of pleasure, who had no care to be 'lord of great worldly riches.'" — *D. N. B.*

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"When all the lords to counsell and parlyament
Went, he wolde to hunte and also to hawekyng."

nor strive not: 'nor strive.' Another double negative; see note on I. iii. 185.

9. listen'd: 'listened to.' In Early English *listen* was very often used with a direct object; Shakespeare uses this construction five times. See *Julius Cæsar*, IV. i. 41: "And now, Octavius, *Listen* great things."

Notice the quatrain form of these lines (9–12), which is a mark of Shakespeare's early style. Other quatrains are III. ii. 76–79, 194–197.

10. glose: 'flatter' or 'speakly idly.'

12. the close: "was used as a special term for the harmonious chords which habitually end a piece of music." (Herford.) Compare *Henry V.*, I. ii. 183: "Congreeing in a full and natural *close*, Like music."

16. undeaf: 'the sad story of my death may yet open his ear.' *Undeaf* is a bold instance of the Elizabethan principle that any noun or adjective could be converted into a verb, generally active. See Abbott's *Grammar*, § 290, and III. i. 10: "unhappied."

18. The meaning of this line is very difficult to determine from the early editions. The first quarto has: *of whose taste the wise are found*; the second: *state* for *taste*; the other quartos and the folios have: *of his state: then there are*

found. Collier's suggestion of *fond* for *found* has been generally accepted as satisfactory.

19. venom sound: 'pernicious sound.' Another noun used as an adjective, see I. iv. 20.

21. proud Italy: Shakespeare is applying to Richard's age the criticism that Elizabethan England deserved. "In Richard's reign, especially the latter part, the dominant influence was French, owing to his marriage. Displaced for a time by the Italian, this French influence became all-powerful again under Charles I." (Verity.) Shakespeare often makes fun of the fads of his time. In *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 80, Portia says of her English suitor: "How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere."

22. still: 'constantly.' Shakespeare uses *still* more often in this sense than in the ordinary sense of 'to this time.'

23. imitation: pronounced as four syllables; see note on I. i. 154. This destroys the rhyme with *nation*, l. 22.

25. So it be new: "So is used with the future and the subjunctive to denote 'provided that.'" — Abbott's *Grammar*, § 133.

respect: 'attention' paid to *how vile* it is.

26. buzz'd: 'whispered.' See *3 Henry VI.*, V. vi. 86: "I will *buzz* abroad such prophecies." Sometimes it has its modern meaning of 'hummed.'

28. "Where the will rebels against what the understanding sees to be right." (*Clarendon Press Series.*)

regard: 'estimation' or 'opinion.'

31. Methinks: 'it seems to me.'

inspired: Notice the play upon the sound and the meaning of *inspired* and *expiring* (l. 32), and see note on ll. 73-84.

33. This idea of passion soon exhausting itself appears often in Shakespeare. See *Romeo and Juliet*, II. vi. 9: "These violent delights have violent ends;" and *Hamlet*, III. ii. 207: "The violence of either grief or joy Their own enactures with themselves destroy."

40-55. This splendid patriotic passage is quoted in a collection of English poems called *England's Parnassus*, published in 1600. It is there attributed by mistake to *M. Dr.* (Michael Drayton), whose *England's Historical Epistles* had been published two years before. See note on I. i. 178. Line 50 was omitted and *infection* (l. 44) was changed to *infestation*.

This eulogy may have been suggested by George Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, a masque written in honor of the Queen and presented before her Majesty by the children of her chapel. In the quarto edition of 1584, we read:—

"The place Elyzium hight, and of the place
Her name that governs there Eliza is;
A kingdom that may well compare with mine;
An ancient seat of kings, a second Troy,
Y-compass'd round with a commodious sea;
Her people are y-clepèd Angeli,
Or, if I miss, a letter is the most."— V. i. 67-73.

See also Milton's *Comus*, 18-28.

44. infection: 'all pollution both physical and moral.'

England was in a measure protected from many of the plagues of the Continent by the Channel, although down to 1665 many Englishmen died of the plague. See Defoe's *Journal of the Plague*. A similar sentiment is found in Daniel's *Civil Wars* (1595), IV. 90: "Neptune keepe out from thy embraced Ile This foule contagion of iniquitie."

49. envy: 'malice,' a stronger meaning than the modern.

less happier: formed by analogy from the double comparative *more happier*. See note on I. iii. 91.

50. Notice how the monosyllables of this line add to its dignity of sound, which is further emphasized by the extra syllable — *this Eng-land*, a climax of sound as well as of sense.

52. Fear'd by: 'feared because of.' Here *by* does not introduce the agent, but the cause. See *Richard III.*, II. ii. 124: "Lest, *by* a multitude, The new-heal'd wound of malice should break out."

55. stubborn Jewry: Shakespeare always uses *Jewry* for the country of the Jews, Judea, and here calls it *stubborn* because it rejected Christ. For the variable accent of *sepulchre*, see note on I. iii. 196.

Bolingbroke had been to Jerusalem once, and often thought of it. See V. vi. 49–50 and *2 Henry IV.*, IV. v. 210.

60. tenement or pelting farm: a *tenement* is a house or other property held by a tenant or vassal; here it is used as a contemptuous legal term for England farmed out. See note on I. iv. 36 and 45.

pelting: 'paltry.' Shakespeare does not use it in the modern sense of "hard hitting," although he uses the verb *pelt* for "throwing hard."

61. triumphant sea: This idea of England protected by the Channel has always appealed to national poets. See Wordsworth's *Sonnet, Near Dover, 1802*: "the barrier flood;" and Tennyson's *Dedication to the Queen* (1851): "compass'd by the inviolate sea."

64. A contemptuous reference to the blank charters and the leases; see note on I. iv. 45. Herford points out that Shakespeare very frequently uses in this play imagery drawn from *blots* and *stains*. See I. iii. 202: "My name be *blotted* from the book of life;" III. i. 13: "*stain'd* the beauty of a fair queen's cheeks With tears;" III. iii. 66: "to *stain* the track Of his bright passage;" III. iii. 71: "That any harm should *stain* so fair a show;" IV. i. 29: "all too base To *stain* the temper of my knightly sword;" IV. i. 236: "Mark'd with a *blot*;" IV. i. 325: "rid this realm of this pernicious *blot*;" V. iii. 66: "This deadly *blot* in thy digressing son;" V. v. 110: "the king's blood *stain'd* the king's own land."

68. ensuing: 'approaching.'

69. deal mildly: Such a remark is characteristic of the easy-going, though just, York. See *Intro.*, p. civ.

70. raged: 'enraged.' See I. 173: "In war was never lion *raged* more fierce." This passage is the only instance of this use of the word given in Murray's *New English Dictionary*.

71. Queen: Isabel, daughter of Charles VI. of France, was only ten years old. See note on I. i. 1.

72. aged Gaunt: The brusqueness of Richard's greeting is strongly contrasted with the courteous inquiry of the Queen and shows how Richard's feelings toward Gaunt had

changed since his gracious remarks to him: I. i. 158: "Good uncle;" I. iii. 208: "Uncle," when he lessened Bolingbroke's sentence; and I. iii. 225: "Why uncle, thou hast many years to live." This change is due to Gaunt's plain rebuke of Richard (I. iii. 226-232) and to the effect of Bolingbroke's banishment and growing popularity.

73-84. composition: 'constitution' or 'state of body.'

The play upon words in these lines has seemed to some critics incongruous with a death-bed. For this reason Pope put them in the margin as unworthy of Shakespeare.

"No doubt, something of Shakspeare's punning must be attributed to his age, in which direct and formal combats of wits were a favourite pastime of the courtly and accomplished. . . . [But] on a death-bed there is a feeling which may make all things appear but as puns and equivocations. And a passion there is that carries off its own excess by plays on words as naturally, and, therefore, as appropriately to drama, as by gesticulations, looks, or tones. This belongs to human nature as such, independently of associations and habits from any particular rank of life or mode of employment. . . . Indeed it is profoundly true that there is a natural, an almost irresistible, tendency in the mind, when immersed in one strong feeling, to connect that feeling with every sight and object around it; especially if there be opposition, and the words addressed to it are in any way repugnant to the feeling itself."—Coleridge's *Lectures and Notes on Shakspeare's Plays*, 1884, p. 262.

Shakespeare himself explains this in l. 85: "misery makes sport to mock itself." Richard himself puns with his *groom in prison*, V. v. 67. Antonio makes a similar pathetic

jest, *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 281: "if the Jew do cut but deep enough, I'll pay it instantly with all my heart." John Huss, the Bohemian martyr, punned on his name while he was being burnt at the stake. "It is thus that you silence the *goose* (huss = a goose), but a hundred years hence there will rise a *swan*, whose singing you shall not be able to silence." This prophecy was fulfilled in Martin Luther. Southey mentioned (in Robinson's *Diary*, June 30, 1833) a pious man of the name of Hern, who, leaving a numerous family unprovided for, said in his last moments: "God, that won't suffer a *sparrow* to fall to the ground unheeded, will take care of the *Herns*."

80. my children's looks: Gaunt speaks as if Richard had banished all his children, but this is not true. By his first wife he had besides Bolingbroke, a daughter Elizabeth, who married the Duke of Exeter (see note on V. iii. 137). In 1397 Parliament legitimized the children he had by his mistress Catherine Swynford: John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset; Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester; Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset; and one daughter, Joan.

83. inherits: 'possesses.' Compare *Coriolanus*, II. i. 215: "I have lived To see *inherited* my very wishes."

84. nicely: 'fantastically,' paying too exact attention to little things.

85. to mock: 'by mocking.' See note on I. iii. 244.

86. to kill my name: by banishing my son and leaving me without an heir.

88. flatter with those: *with* is omitted from all the early

editions except the first quarto. But see *Twelfth Night*, I. v. 322: "Desire him not to *flatter with his lord*."

90. a-dying: *a-* is a corruption of different prepositions, *on, in, of*, slurred in pronunciation. Its chief use is with verbal nouns, (1) ~~used absolutely, as here~~; (2) with verbs of motion, see *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. v. 46: "goes *a-birding*;" (3) and with a passive sense, see *Macbeth*, III. iv. 34: "The feast is sold That is not often vouch'd, while 'tis *a-making*." See also the phrase *John a Gaunt*, I. iii. 76.

94. seeing ill: another play upon words. 'I, physically ill, see thee morally ill.' Notice that this line is an Alexandrine, of six feet; although Abbott scans it: "*Ill in | myself | to see | and in thee | seeing ill*," making the fourth foot an illustration of the rule that there may be more than two syllables in a foot if only one is accented, and slurring the second syllable of *seeing* in the last foot.

95. Thy: is emphatic, to contrast Richard's death-bed with Gaunt's. Notice the double comparative *lesser*, see note on I. iii. 91.

98. thy anointed body: The body of a king was anointed with sacred oil at his coronation. See note on I. ii. 38, and III. ii. 54-56. Shakespeare refers to this very frequently: *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 184: "The *anointed* sovereign;" *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 358: "*anointed* kings;" *King John*, III. i. 136: "you *anointed* deputies of heaven," etc.

102. verge: 'the compass of the king's court,' which *extended* for twelve miles round. See note on I. iv. 36.

103. waste: like *verge*, this is a legal term, meaning the

'injury done by a tenant to the property,' which is therefore less valuable to the owner or heir. See note on I. iv. 36.

107-108. Note the play upon *possess'd*, meaning (1) 'put in possession of' (the throne), and (2) 'seized with a mad impulse.'

108. Which: in Shakespeare is used interchangeably with *that* and *who*, as here.

113. now, not king: Theobald's suggestion for the *now not, not king* of the early quartos.

Because Richard had leased and farmed out England, he was therefore only its *landlord*, and subject to the ordinary laws of landlords.

115. lean-witted: When Richard becomes angry, he unconsciously makes another word-play on his uncle's name, Gaunt. See note on II. i. 73-84.

119. his: 'its.' *His* is frequently used as a neuter as well as a masculine in Shakespeare. *Its* was just coming into use, but not nearly so frequent as *his*.

Richard was very handsome, and proud of his looks. Hotspur called him (*1 Henry IV.*, I. iii. 175): "Richard that lovely rose;" but York's remark, if it is true (II. i. 176): "His (Edward the Black Prince's) face thou hast," shows that his beauty was masculine, not feminine, as we would infer from his character. Notice here his sensitive consciousness that Gaunt's words have made him pale. He pales again (III. ii. 75), when he hears that his Welsh army has dispersed. When he is deposed (IV. i. 265), he is very anxious to see how he looks. See also *Introd.* p. xxxix, l. 4.

121. great Edward's son: Edward the Black Prince, the son of Edward III.

122. roundly: 'without ceremony.' See *As You Like It*, V. iii. 11: "Shall we clap into 't *roundly*, without hawking or spitting or saying we are hoarse." Notice the word-play on *runs*.

125. For that: 'because.' See note on I. i. 129.

126. like the pelican: In Shakespeare's time and later, it was thought that the *pelican* fed its young with blood from its own breast. Compare *Hamlet*, IV. v. 146: "And, like the kind life-rend'ring *pelican*, Repast them with my blood."

"This belief probably arose from the way in which the pelican feeds its young. It ejects the fish from its large pouch by pressing its bill against its breast, and the scarlet tip of the bill against the white feathers of the breast has wrongly been thought a blood spot. Another explanation is given by the superintendent of the London Zoölogical Gardens, who thinks that the pelican has been confused with the flamingo, for he has seen the flamingo cough up a bloodlike fluid from its own throat to feed other birds." — Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Macmillan's Pocket Series, p. 456.

Gaunt here accuses Richard face to face of having already shed or tapped his grandfather's blood in the murder of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester.

129. Whom fair befall: 'May fair circumstances fall to Gloucester's lot in heaven.' The adjective *fair* is used as a noun; see note on I. i. 119.

133. crooked: 'bent with years and shaped like Time's *scythe*.'

138. Love they to live: 'Let them love to live.'

139. sullens: "blues," or "dumps." This is the only time Shakespeare uses it as a noun.

141. An Alexandrine, though Abbott tries to make it regular by making *majesty* two syllables and reading *maj-sty* 'mpute.

145. Richard takes advantage of the ambiguity of York's concluding line, taking *Harry* as nominative, subject of *loves* understood, while York meant it as objective, object of *he loves* understood. This shows that Richard realizes what Bolingbroke will attempt to do against him; yet he lets events run their course, instead of moulding them, as Bolingbroke does.

147. Northumberland: Henry Percy (1342-1408) was created Earl of Northumberland in 1377 at the suggestion of Lancaster, but in 1381 he quarrelled with Lancaster, who had negotiated a treaty with Scotland that restricted Northumberland. Later Northumberland openly criticised Richard, who, before sailing to Ireland, banished him. In return for his assistance, he was made Constable of England by Henry IV. After the battle of Shrewsbury, which culminated his revolt against Henry, he became reconciled to him, but he soon revolted again, and finally was beheaded. "Northumberland was magnificent in his daily life, gracious in manner, and given to courting popularity. Over a large part of northern England, where the feudal tie was stronger than in the south, he had almost kingly power; he kept great state, and was faithfully served by his knights and retainers. Prompt and fearless in war, he was the

hero and champion of the English of the northern marches in their almost ceaseless strife with the Scots. He probably desired good and vigorous government, and was not wholly insincere in his profession of anxiety for the public welfare. At the same time his actions were really the results of selfish motives, of ambition, jealousy of the rival house of Neville, anger, pride, or mortification. Though he was exceedingly crafty, his temper was violent, and his policy devoid of wisdom. Proud, passionate, unstable, and faithless, he was never to be relied on except when his own interests were to be served or his feelings gratified by his adherence to the cause he had adopted. His desertion of the popular cause in 1377 was shameful. For his desertion of Richard II. there were valid reasons; but his conduct towards his fallen master was base, and merely dictated by his wish to place the new king under overwhelming obligations, and reap a rich harvest from his gratitude." — *D. N. B.*

148. This line is irregular in metre, as often occurs when one line is divided between two speakers. The irregularity is noticed only by the eye, not by the ear.

149. This same metaphor was used in I. iii. 161–162.

156. rug-headed kerns: 'the light-armed soldiers of Ireland,' as "gallowglasses" were the heavy-armed. *Kerns* were the poorly armed peasants who fought with spears or knives; probably for protection they let their hair grow long, until it looked as rough and shaggy as a *rug*. See *2 Henry VI.*, III. i. 367: "Full often, like a shag-hair'd crafty kern."

157. no venom else: St. Patrick had driven all the other *venomous* creatures out of Ireland.

158. have: is plural because its subject *venom* has a plural meaning and because it is attracted to the number of the nearest substantive *they*.

159. for: 'because;' see note on I. i. 129.

ask some charge: 'require some outlay.'

163. York is finally forced by this wrong to his nephew to protest against Richard's actions. Gaunt, overlooking family troubles, had protested against Richard's ill-treatment of his kingdom.

166. Gaunt's rebukes: 'the way in which Richard had rebuked Gaunt,' see lines 115-123.

168. his marriage: Bolingbroke's first wife, Mary de Bohun, died in 1394. On his banishment he went to France, where he was well received by King Charles VI., and betrothed to his cousin, the only daughter of Duc de Berry. When Richard heard of this, he sent the Earl of Salisbury, who, by spreading malicious reports concerning Bolingbroke, prevented the marriage. See *Introd.*, p. xlix.

173. was never lion raged: The simplest interpretation for a modern reader is to supply the relative *that* before *raged*. But the student of the history of the language will recognize this as an instance of the common practice of putting two sentences together without any outward mark of connection (conjunction) or a sentence with one subject and two predicates. Compare *1 Henry IV.*, II. iv. 492: "There is a devil haunts thee." An outgrowth of this is the sentence in which the object of the first clause is the subject of the second clause; for instance, *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 175: "I have a mind presages." This con-

struction is not "peculiar to the Teutonic or Indo-European languages; it is founded on a common psychological principle, and we may safely say that it has sprung spontaneously into existence at several epochs and in different languages independent of and without connection with one another." — Kellner's *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, 109–111.

For the omission of the article before *lion* and *lamb* (l. 174), see note on I. iii. 201.

177. Accomplish'd: 'furnished' with thy years, of thy age. Richard was thirty-two years old.

185. compare between: In modern usage the phrase should be *compare with*. This is probably formed from *make comparison between*.

York weakly offers the excuse of grief to apologize for his bold language.

190. royalties: 'rights or privileges belonging to a member of the royal family.' See II. iii. 120: "my *rights* and *royalties* Pluck'd from my arms perforce." A similar use is in our modern phrase "the royalties of an author," his percentage of the profits of publishing his book.

192. true: 'loyal.' Bolingbroke accepted his sentence of banishment loyally.

197. ensue: 'follow.' In this rare transitive use it is used by Shakespeare only twice. Compare *Rape of Lucrece*, 502: "repentant tears *ensue* the deed."

199. succession: A strong argument; Richard is in the case of Bolingbroke repudiating the legal right of succession, which had made him king. For the pronunciation of *succession*, see note on I. i. 154.

201-204. Notice the "conceit" of opposites, *wrongfully* . . . *rights*, a sign of immaturity.

When John of Gaunt died, Richard granted Bolingbroke *letters-patent* or official permission to *sue his livery*, to claim his inheritance, by *attorneys-general* or power of attorney in his absence. Six weeks later Richard unjustly *called in* or revoked this privilege, and *denied* or refused his homage as the new Duke of Lancaster. By this Richard alienated many nobles, who refused to support a king that illegally revoked acknowledged rights. In alarm for themselves they invited Bolingbroke to return to claim his rights and property as Duke of Lancaster.

202. letters-patents: In modern English the plural of a compound noun is formed by making plural the most important word of the compound, as in *attorneys-general*, l. 203. But Shakespeare always uses *letters-patents*, as found in Holinshed, which retains the inflection of the adjective as in other legal phrases from Norman French. See II. iii. 130. For the use of legal terms, see note on I. iv. 36.

207. prick: 'spur' or 'incite.' See *Julius Cæsar*, II. i. 124: "What need we any spur but our own cause To *prick* us to redress."

213. by: 'with reference to.' This is a frequent meaning after verbs of speaking and thinking.

215. the Earl of Wiltshire: William le Scrope, a brother of Sir Stephen, became Chamberlain of the King's Household in 1393 and rose rapidly in Richard's favor, becoming Treasurer of England in 1397. He helped to negotiate the

marriage of Richard with Isabel of France. When Richard seized Gaunt's estates, he gave Wiltshire (*wilt'shir*) the castles of Pickering and Knaresborough; possibly this was one reason why Bolingbroke beheaded him so quickly at Bristol.

217. To see this business: 'to see to.' Notice that *business* has three syllables, *bus-i-ness*.

To-morrow next: 'to-morrow.' This is the only time Shakespeare uses this redundant expression.

Richard's actual departure was not until May, two months later.

219. ourself: the "royal" plural; see note on I. iv. 23.

221. just: a good summary of York's character, held by all his associates. The general esteem in which York was held, and his near relation to the king, led Richard to appoint him, in spite of his plain-spoken criticism (ll. 163-185).

224. A modern stage production of this play would require a new scene here, in order to permit Richard's seizure of Gaunt's estate (l. 209) to have its natural effect in bringing Bolingbroke back to England (l. 277). But both these actions, the cause and the effect, are given in this one scene. See note on I. iii. 248.

The preceding part of this scene has shown us the causes that are to result in the climax of the play, Richard's deposition; the rest of the scene shows the ways by which these causes are to produce this result. The original cause of Gaunt's and Bolingbroke's charge against Richard as *the murderer* of Gloucester is not mentioned; the nobles

support Bolingbroke, because Richard has broken Bolingbroke's legal rights as heir.

225. Ross: the seventh Lord Ross, who became Lord High Treasurer under Henry IV.

226. Willoughby: (*wil'q-bi*) one of the northern lords that joined Bolingbroke; he later married the widow of the Duke of York.

228. great: 'full of indignation,' which I hesitate to utter.

237. gelded: a strong term for "deprived."

239. In him: wrongs 'toward him.' — **moe:** 'more.'

242. what they will inform: a legal phrase for 'whatever accusation they may make.' See note on I. iv. 36.

The English always tried to excuse the faults of a king by laying the blame on his favorites or advisers.

246. pill'd: 'pillaged' or 'plundered.'

247-248. No satisfactory explanation has been made of the metre, or lack of metre, of these lines. Probably the man that copied or recopied Shakespeare's manuscript was sleepy at this point; certainly he was careless.

In 1399 Richard had fined the nobles for aiding the Lords Appellant, the reformers, in 1387.

250. blanks: 'promissory notes;' see note on I. iv. 48.

benevolences: 'forced loans.' "Benevolences were first exacted by Edward IV., in 1473, though their prototype of *forced loans* had been levied by Henry III., Edward II., and Richard II.; they were supposed to be 'free gifts,' but were really more or less compulsory. They were raised by Henry VII. . . . chiefly by the aid of Archbishop Morton, the inventor of the dilemma of *Morton's Fork*, i.e., if a man

lived sumptuously, he was told his wealth was apparent if sparingly, that his economy must have enabled him to lay by great store of riches; in either case his gift must be large." (Feilden, quoted Verity.)

The use of the word in this sense for Richard's time is another of Shakespeare's anachronisms.

wot: 'know.' *Wot* is the Middle English form of the third person, singular, present tense, of the Anglo-Saxon verb *witan*, to know, which survives in the set phrase *to wit* meaning "namely."

253. Richard had not only made peace with France, but had given up Brest and Cherbourg.

254. noble: omitted in the folio editions, probably to make the line regular in metre. But the editors of the folio overlooked the other fifty Alexandrines in this play see, for instance, line 258.

257. broken: a frequent synonym in Shakespeare for 'bankrupt.'

258. hangeth: the verb is singular in spite of the two subjects, either because they are taken together as one idea, "disgraceful ruin," or because in Old English a verb often takes the number of the nearest subject. In Middle English *hangeth* was used also as plural, but that use was obsolete in Shakespeare's time. He uses it only twice. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 4: "Ripe as the pomewater, who now *hangeth* like a jewel in the ear of *caelo*."

265. sit sore: 'press heavily.'

266. strike: 'furl our sails.'

securely: 'careless of danger.'

268. unavoyded: 'unavoidable' or 'inevitable.' Shakespeare uses it in this sense four times, but he never uses "unavoidable." In Early English the participle in *-ed* could mean not only "what has been done," but also "what may be done," especially after a negative prefix. A participle in *-ed* was equivalent to an adjective in *-able*. See *Richard III.*, IV. iv. 217: "All *unavoyded* is the doom of destiny." See also *detested*, II. iii. 109.

270. "When Death is personified by Shakespeare it is always in the form of the skeleton, — the grim mediæval fancy, stamped afresh upon the imagination of modern Europe by the famous engravings of the Dance of Death." (Herford.)

272. tidings . . . is: *tidings* sometimes took a singular verb, as *news* does, but generally Shakespeare uses a plural. See III. iv. 80.

275. but thyself: 'we three have the same purposes, acting as if one.'

276. as thoughts: This sentence may be understood in two senses: (1) 'speaking to us is no more than thinking by yourself;' or (2) 'your words will not bring you more harm than your thoughts.'

279. Lord Cobham: (*kob'am*) had been banished in 1398 to Jersey for his support of Gloucester.

280. This line was inserted by Malone, because (1) Lord Cobham was not the brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury (l. 282); (2) not Lord Cobham, but Thomas, the son of Richard, Earl of Arundel, escaped from the Duke of Exeter; (3) Thomas is the only nobleman in Holinshed's list that

Shakespeare omits; (4) there is no apparent reason why the dramatist should have omitted this one man. The line was probably overlooked by the overworked transcriber.

Thomas, on the execution of his father for aiding Gloucester, was put in the custody of the Duke of Exeter, but he escaped to Utrecht, where he joined his uncle, Archbishop Arundel, and together they went to Bolingbroke, to whom Thomas is said to have brought an invitation from the citizens of London to return. Soon after Bolingbroke's coronation he was knighted and restored to his father's estates. He took revenge on his former custodian, the Duke of Exeter, by executing him after the conspiracy of Act V. and bearing his head on a pole to London to Henry. He fought bravely through Henry's Welsh campaigns. The day after the accession of Henry V., he was appointed Treasurer. He accompanied Henry to Harfleur, where he got camp fever and returned home to die.

281-284. the Duke of Exeter: was the half-brother of Richard, for his widowed mother became the wife of Edward the Black Prince. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of John of Gaunt, and thus became the brother-in-law of Bolingbroke (see V. iii. 137). He was made Richard's Chamberlain and assisted him in overthrowing Gloucester and Arundel, for which he was created Duke of Exeter, but Henry's first parliament made him give up his dukeship. He was captured and beheaded during the conspiracy of Act V.

Archbishop of Canterbury: Thomas Arundel (1353-1414) *rose rapidly* in the church; he became Bishop of Ely in

1373, Archbishop of York in 1388, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1396. He was the English clergyman that married Richard and Isabella. When Gloucester and Arundel formed their conspiracy, it was the Archbishop that administered the sacrament to them on their oath. But in 1397 he was banished for his political activity eleven years before. He returned with Bolingbroke, witnessed Richard's deposition, and preached Henry's coronation sermon.

Sir Thomas Erpingham: (1357-1428) had accompanied Bolingbroke on his crusade in 1390 and was one of the few knights that accompanied him on his banishment. In 1400 he was appointed Chamberlain. At the battle of Agincourt, he had command of the English archers. See *Henry V.*, IV. i.

The other knights mentioned are not of historical importance.

284. "Strings of names are commonly allowed by Shakespeare, with fine instinct, to partially interrupt or impair the regular verse-rhythm. Such catalogues are essentially prosaic, and accord best with an openly prosaic form of speech." (Herford.)

286. tall: 'large and well-equipped.' This adjective was often used with ships; see *Merchant of Venice*, III. i. 6: "many a *tall* ship."

According to Holinshed (see *Introd.*, p. liii), there were conflicting reports about the number of men that Bolingbroke brought, one that he had only fifteen "lances," the other as given here. Though the historian Holinshed could not decide which was right, the dramatist would of course take only the most favorable account.

287. expedience: 'expedition' or 'expedient haste.'

289. stay: 'stay for' or 'wait for.' Holinshed states what the dramatist purposely omits, that Bolingbroke did not land until he learned how the people would receive him. See *Intro.*, p. liv.

292. Imp: 'strengthen a falcon's wing by putting or grafting a fresh feather in place of a broken one.' Massinger in *Renegado*, V. viii., says: "strive to *imp* New feathers to the broken wings of Time."

293. broking pawn: from 'the pawnbrokers,' the men who held the realm in farm. See note on I. iv. 45.

296. Ravenspurgh: "was an important port at the mouth of the Humber, sheltered from the sea by the point now known as Spurn Head. In 1346 it suffered so much from the inroads of the sea that the merchants residing there removed to Hull. The high tides of 1357 and subsequent years swept away nearly all that remained of the town, and but few vestiges of the ancient port could have been left at the time of Bolingbroke's landing. In 1471, Edward IV. also landed here, after his brief exile in Holland. In the town of Hedon, a few miles distant, there still stands a beautiful old cross, which is believed to have been erected at Ravenspurgh in memory of the landing of Bolingbroke. To prevent its destruction by the sea, it was first removed to Kilnsea, and again in 1818 to Burton Constable, whence it was in 1832 taken to Hedon." (Rolfe.)

300. Hold out my horse: 'if my horse hold out.'

SCENE II

This scene shows the utter weakness of Richard's government, depending in his absence on his well-meaning but impotent uncle, and his flattering favorites, whom the people hate. Bushy, Bagot, and Green, preparing to flee, bid farewell to each other forever, while good old York hopelessly begins his task of "numbering sands and drinking oceans dry." Despite the testimony to Richard's lovable disposition that can be gleaned from the Queen's remarks and mood, the whole scene is pathetic, depressing.

1. **too much sad:** Grief over Richard's absence probably causes her mood, but the dramatist makes "coming events cast their shadows before"; for her conversation with Bushy is of Shakespeare's invention. Compare Antonio's mood in the opening scene of the *Merchant of Venice*. Unfortunately, nervous people of to-day apply this principle only to gloomy events, and even then they do not have Shakespeare's excuse of a dramatic purpose.

Coleridge says: —

"Mark in this scene Shakspeare's gentleness in touching the tender superstitions, the *terrae incognitae* of presentiments, in the human mind: and how sharp a line of distinction he commonly draws between these obscure forecastings of general experience in each individual, and the vulgar errors of mere tradition. Indeed, it may be taken once for all as the truth, that Shakspeare, in the absolute universality of his genius, always reverences whatever arises out of our moral nature; he never profanes his muse with a contemptuous reasoning away of the genuine and

general, however unaccountable, feelings of mankind." — *Lectures and Notes on Shakspeare's Plays*, p. 264.

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3. **life-harming**: low spirits often lead to sickness. In the third and fourth quartos this was changed to *life-harming*, and in the folios to *self-harming*.

4. **entertain**: 'maintain' or 'show.'

9. **my sweet Richard**: These remarks of the Queen are intended to excite in the reader or the hearer some pity for Richard, and this feeling gradually increases until his death.

15. **shows**: 'show.' "The relative frequently takes the singular verb, though the antecedent be plural." — *Abbott's Grammar*, § 247.

18. **perspectives**: 'pictures or figures constructed so as to produce some fantastic effect;' e.g., appearing distorted or confused except from one particular point of view, or presenting totally different aspects from different points. Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire* mentions "the pictures of Henry the great of France and his queen, both upon the same indented board, which if beheld directly [*rightly* or from directly in front], you only perceive a confused piece of work; but if obliquely, on one side you see the king's and on the other the queen's picture." This same principle is used in modern advertising signs, made by putting thin pieces of board at right angles to the main or base board. Looked at from the left, it shows what is painted on the left sides of the slats, "Heinz's"; in front, what is painted on the base board, "Fairy"; from the right, what is painted on the right sides of the slats, "Soup."

20. Distinguish form: 'show distinct forms.'

22. Find: plural, because of the "royal plural," *your most majesty* (l. 20).

25. An Alexandrine.

30-32. 'My heavy sadness, for though I am not thinking about any definite thing, I still am thinking, makes me faint.'

33. conceit: 'fancy, imagination.' Shakespeare does not use *conceit* in the modern sense of "self-importance."

34-40. 'Tis nothing less: an old phrase for 'it is anything but' conceit. — still: 'always.'

The nervous mood of the Queen is expressed in ambiguous play on words or quibbling. The meaning seems to be: "fancied grief is always caused by some sorrow; but mine is not, at least nothing that I know has caused it, though it is very real. Perhaps some actual sorrow that is coming in reversion to me as heir, has caused this indefinite grief of mine." Compare Portia's speech when Bassanio was about to choose the casket, *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 26-33.

46. retired his power: 'withdrawn his forces.' *Retired* is seldom used transitively.

49. repeals himself: 'recalls himself from exile.' See IV. i. 87: "These differences shall all rest under gage Till Norfolk be repeal'd."

50. uplifted arms: 'arms raised in his defence.'

52. that is worse: 'what is worse.' See note on I. i. 50.

57. all the rest revolted faction: This is the reading of the first quarto; *rest* is used like an adjective, equivalent to 'other.' A similar use of 'remainder' is in *As You Like It*,

II. vii. 39: "as dry as the *remainder* biscuit." The other quartos and folios have *and the rest of the*.

58. the Earl of Worcester: Thomas Percy, the Earl Worcester (*wis'ter*), was the younger brother of the Earl Northumberland and the first cousin of Blanche, the first wife of Gaunt and the mother of Bolingbroke. He held many important positions in the navy, and was sent on the most important embassies, for "he was always trusted, and the kings of France and Spain accepted his word as better than a bond. Yet he played the traitor both to Richard and Henry. Family affection may account for his first act of treason; but the second is not to be explained so simply. He joined with his nephew Hotspur against Henry, was captured at Shrewsbury, and beheaded two days later (see *1 Henry IV.*). His conscience may have hurt him "for his share in Richard's fall. Worcester may also have felt that his family was too powerful to be tolerated permanently by the new king." — *D. N. B.*

Notice that Shakespeare makes his servants (l. 60) fight with him to Bolingbroke, whereas Holinshed says they "dispersed." See *Introd.*, p. lv.

59. Hath broke his staff: 'hath broken his white staff' which was the sign of his office. See note on I. i. 77.

63-64. The same metaphor as in l. 10. — **heir:** 'child.' — **prodigy:** 'monstrosity' or 'monstrous birth.'

69. cozening: 'cheating, deceiving.'

71. dissolve: in its literal sense of 'loosen' or 'break apart.'

72. lingers: 'causes to linger.' See note on I. i. 85.

74. **signs of war:** 'armor.'

75. **careful:** 'full of care, anxious.' Compare *Richard III.*, I. iii. 83: "By Him that raised me to this *careful* height."

79. **crosses:** 'hindrances' or 'adversities.'

80. **Your husband, he:** This repetition of the subject by a personal pronoun is common in excited conversation and vivid popular poetry. Compare I. 88: "The nobles they . . . the commons they." In each case the speaker is so intensely moved by his thoughts that he first calls attention to the subject vividly as the thing of chief importance, like the title of a book, then he pauses, and finally makes the statement about the subject, which his pause and his emotion cause him to repeat. Compare *1 Henry IV.*, III. ii. 60: "The skipping king, he ambled up and down."

Richard had gone to *save* his distant possessions *far off* in Ireland.

86. **gone:** Aumerle accompanied Richard to Ireland. See *Introd.*, p. lv.

87. **Why so:** 'so let it be.' *So* in Shakespeare frequently expresses acquiescence.

90. **Sirrah:** a name used in addressing inferior persons. The difference between *sirrah* and *sir* is well shown in the early play on Richard II. (see *Introd.*, p. xxi), where, in speaking of a man suddenly raised to high office and nobility, his humble companion says (I. ii. 73): "What shall I call him? He's monstrously translated suddenly. At first, when we were schoolfellows, then I called him *sirra*; but since he became my master, I paired away the *a* and served him with the *Sir*."

91. **presently a thousand pound:** 'immediately a thousand pounds' (about \$5000). See note on I. iv. 52. Numeral adjectives expressing quantity are often followed by singular nouns, as in colloquial speech to-day, although here *pound* may be the Old English plural. Shakespeare uses the idiomatic singular *pound* more often than the regular plural. See *Hamlet*, III. ii. 297: "I'll take the ghost's word for a *thousand pound*."

95. **to report:** 'by reporting.' See note on I. iii. 244.

96. **knave:** 'lad;' a familiar word for a servant, but without any ill meaning.

97. The Duchess died not at Plashy, but at Barking, on October 3, 1399, some time after the historical time of this scene. See *Introd.*, p. lv, and note on I. ii. 73.

98. **God:** 'I pray God.'

The metre of York's speech is very irregular, probably purposely so in order to show his agitation. He is confused about his duty.

101. **So my untruth:** 'provided no disloyalty in me.'

102. **my brother's:** Gloucester's.

105. **sister, — cousin:** How natural that the old man grieving for his sister-in-law's death and mourning her husband's murder, should call his niece or *cousin* (see note on I. ii. 46) by the name of *sister*.

110. **thrust disorderly:** The early editions have the unmetrical phrase *disorderly thrust*, which was transposed by Steevens to smooth the line.

113-115. **bids:** Another instance of a singular verb following two subjects. See note on II. i. 258.

119. Berkeley: Berkeley (*bèrk'li*) Castle, on the Severn, north of Bristol, may still be seen. Edward II. was murdered there in 1327.

122. at six and seven: The modern colloquial phrase is 'at sixes and sevens,' meaning both "odd and even." Bacon, in *Considerations touching a War with Spain*, uses the phrase to make a pun on the name of Pope Sixtus the Fifth: "a fierce thundering friar, that would set all *at six and seven*; or at six and five, if you allude to his name."

126. impossible: 'impossible.' The prefix *un-* was often used by Shakespeare where we now use *in-* or *im-*, such as *unperfect*, *unactive*, *unproper*, *unpartial*, *uncurable*. See also *unreverent*, II. i. 123.

128. those love not: 'those that love not.' See note on II. i. 173.

129. Bagot: Sir William Bagot (*bag'ot*) had been Sheriff of Leicester. He escaped into Ireland and later became reconciled to Bolingbroke.

133. 'If they are to be judges, then we are condemned.'

138. hateful: 'full of hate, hating.' Some adjectives in *-ful* and *-less* had at this time both an active and a passive meaning: 'hating' or 'hated.'

142. presages: is usually accented on the first syllable by Shakespeare, but not so here.

146. drinking oceans dry: Was Shakespeare thinking of his friend Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (1588?), Act V., "As sooner shall they *drink the ocean dry* Than conquer Malta or endanger us"?

SCENE III

The confidence of this scene is strongly contrasted to the confusion of the preceding scene. Bolingbroke advances expecting success. The attachment of Northumberland and Percy to Bolingbroke contains no hint of their revolt against him, in *1 Henry IV.*

5. Draws: The verb is singular, although both subjects are plural; but they form only one idea. See note on II. i. 258.

9. Cotswold: (*kots'wōld*) the hilly district in Gloucestershire, a famous hunting ground, to the south of Stratford.

12. tediousness and process: 'tedious process or course.'

15. to joy: 'to enjoy;' it is used intransitively, as in V. iii. 95.

22. whencesoever: 'from wherever' he may be.

These lines are metrically irregular, as often occurs in formal statements, at the beginning of a speech, and with proper names.

24. Percy: Sir Henry Percy (1364-1403). "The sleepless activity which he showed in repressing the restless hostility of the Scottish borderers won him among them the name of Hotspur. . . . The boast of the Percys that they had placed Bolingbroke on the throne was not without foundation, and neither Hotspur's nor his father's services went unrewarded." Besides being given lucrative administrative positions, he was put in charge of Wales and the Glendower rebellion. Henry IV. alienated the Percys by refusing to ransom Hotspur's brother-in-law from the Welsh and by *seizing the prisoners that Hotspur had captured in a battle*

against the Scotch. The story of his conspiracy and his death at Shrewsbury is the plot of *1 Henry IV.* "A doughty fighter rather than a skilful soldier, he was instinct with stormy energy, passionate and 'intolerant of the shadow of a slight.'" — *D. N. B.*

to have learn'd: After verbs of *hoping, intending,* or verbs signifying that something ought to have been done but was not, the perfect infinitive was often used. "The same idiom is found in Latin poetry after verbs of wishing and intending." — *Abbott's Grammar*, § 360.

41. tender: 'offer.'

45. gentle Percy: Hotspur remembered this speech when he rebelled against Henry. See *1 Henry IV.*, I. iii. 251-255.

"Why, what a candy deal of courtesy
This fawning greyhound then did proffer me!
Look, 'when his infant fortune came to age,'
And 'gentle Harry Percy,' and 'kind cousin';
O, the devil take such cozeners!"

55. Berkeley: "Thomas, fifth Baron Berkeley, was summoned to Parliament for the first time on the 16th July, 1381, for the last on 3rd Sept., 1417." — *Clarendon Press Edition.*

Seymour: Richard de St. Maur, the fifth Baron Seymour (*sē'mōr*) (1355-1401).

61. unfelt: 'intangible, not perceived.' The antecedent of *which* is *treasury*.

70. to Lancaster: Bolingbroke insists at once that he be recognized and addressed as *Lancaster*, as heir of Gaunt, and not by his own title of Duke of Hereford.

75. **raze one title:** Probably *title* is here purposely used where *title* might be expected.

79. **the absent time:** 'the time of Richard's absence.' For the construction, see note on I. i. 191.

80. **self-born arms:** 'arms borne or carried for yourself or by your own authority,' not the king's. In Shakespeare there was no difference between *born* and *borne*; hence this may mean "homesprung" or "native."

81. **Enter York:** According to Holinshed, they met in the church outside Berkeley Castle on Sunday, July 27, 1399.

84. **deceivable:** 'deceptive, treacherous.'

87. **uncle me no uncle:** a colloquial idiom. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v. 153: "Thank me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds." Such an expression is quite appropriate here, where York is nervously attempting to treat Bolingbroke as a mere youth.

"York's whole speech is a curious mixture of two contradictory conceptions of the situation, between which he helplessly fluctuates: the one, that Bolingbroke is the 'foolish boy' whom he, armed with the power of the 'anointed king,' is taking to task; the other, that Bolingbroke is the irresistible invader at whose mercy he lives. Thus in the same breath he can use the language of bluster and of appeal, and protest against the terrifying array of an army which, from his pedestal of supreme authority, he at the same time loftily disparages." (Herford.)

91. **a dust:** 'a particle of dust.'

92. **more "why?":** 'more questions to ask.'

95. **despised:** 'contemptible' or 'despicable.'

101. **Rescued:** No historical authority for this incident

has been found. Perhaps Shakespeare was thinking of Nestor's similar reminiscences in *Iliad*, VII.; Hall's translation of the *Iliad* had appeared in 1581.

103. should: for this idea of futurity, we now use *would*. Compare l. 127.

104. palsy: a contraction of "paralysis," but it is here used for general muscular weakness. Notice that *chastise* is here accented on the first syllable; see *presages*, II. ii. 142.

107. On what condition stands it?: 'on what does it depend, wherein does it consist?'

109. detested: 'detestable.' See note on II. i. 268.

112. braving: 'defiant,' or 'daring to bear arms.' See l. 143.

114. for Lancaster: 'in the character of Lancaster.'

116. indifferent: 'impartial.'

122. upstart unthrifths: 'baseborn spendthrifts or good-for-nothings.'

123. If that: merely a strong *if*. See note on I. i. 129.

128. rouse his wrongs: 'attack his wrongdoers.' The metaphor is from stag-hunting.

131. distrain'd: a legal term for 'forcing a person by the seizure and detention of personal property to perform some obligation'; or 'to seize and punish an offender for the nonperformance of an obligation.' See note on I. iv. 36.

134. challenge law: 'demand justice by the law.'

136. free: 'direct, unimpeachable.' Bolingbroke was probably contrasting himself with his bastard brothers; see note on II. i. 80.

138. It stands your grace upon: 'It is incumbent upon your grace, it is your duty.'

143. in this kind: 'in this manner.'

154. ill left: 'left by the king with an insufficient force.'

156. attach: 'arrest;' a legal term. See note on I. iv. 36.

159. neuter: 'neutral.'

165. Bagot: As a matter of fact Bagot escaped to Ireland, not Bristol, but neither Bolingbroke nor Shakespeare cares to be particular about such an unimportant character. complices: 'accomplices.'

166. caterpillars: frequently used by Elizabethans for the pests or parasites that sapped the strength of the commonwealth; see III. iv. 47. The same term is used for the favorites in the early play on Richard II.; see *Introd.*, p. *xxi*.

SCENE IV

Richard loitered in Ireland, and his delay, coupled with the natural portents, made his army in England disperse and thus caused his overthrow.

1. Salisbury: John de Montacute (1350-1400) accompanied Bolingbroke on his crusade in 1390. Later he supported Wycliffe and destroyed the images in his own chapel. In 1397 he succeeded his uncle as Earl of Salisbury (*sálz'bu-ri*), and later was sent to France to prevent Bolingbroke's marriage. He was beheaded at Cirencester and his head put on London Bridge.

8-14. Nature, whom Richard trusted for help (III. ii. 12-26), seems to prove fatal to him.

The withering of the bay trees is mentioned only in the second edition of Holinshed; see *Introd.*, pp. xxx and lv. Evelyn, in *Sylva*, says:—

“It has of old been observed that the bay [tree] is ominous of some funest [fatal] accident, if that be so accounted which Suetonius [in *Galba*] affirms to have happened before the death of the monster Nero, when these trees generally withered to the very roots in a very mild winter; and much later, that in the year 1629, when at Padua, preceding a great pestilence, almost all the bay trees about that famous university grew sick and perished.”

11. lean-look'd: ‘with a lean look.’

15. Compare the disturbances that preceded the death of Julius Cæsar (II. ii.; and *Hamlet*, I. i. 113); also the birth of Glendower (*1 Henry IV.*, III. i. 13); the birth of Gloucester (*3 Henry VI.*, V. vi. 44); and the remarks of the Earl of Gloucester (*King Lear*, I. ii. 112). The same idea occurs in Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I. 594-599:—

“As when the sun, new risen,
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beams, or from behind a cloud,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.”

See note on I. iii. 26.

22. Witnessing: ‘betokening.’

24. crossly: ‘adversely.’

Thus ends this act of woful forebodings; first the gloomy prophecy of Gaunt, then the depression of the Queen, the hopelessness of York, and finally this lament of Salisbury.

ACT III

The fall of Richard, which the preceding acts have prepared us for, is here accomplished. In Scene i. he loses his favorites, whom Bolingbroke, already acting like a king, condemns. Scene ii. reveals Richard in his true character, powerful in imagination, powerless in action. Scene iii. boldly contrasts Bolingbroke the man of action with Richard the man of fancy. Scene iv. makes us realize, from the lips of workmen, from whom truth always comes most forcibly, that Richard merited his fall.

SCENE I

3. part: 'part from, quit.'

4. urging: 'mentioning, emphasizing as reasons.'

9. A happy gentleman in: 'a gentleman happy in.' The Elizabethans frequently separated an adjective from its adverbial modifiers. See III. ii. 8; and *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 65: "bid These *unknown* friends to us, welcome."

10. unhappied: 'made unhappy.' It was coined from the preceding adjective, and fortunately it is not used elsewhere by Shakespeare. Compare *undeaf*, II. i. 16.

clean: 'completely.'

11-15. in manner: 'in a manner.'

There is no historical authority for Bolingbroke's state-

ment, because the favorites had not compelled Richard to go to Ireland. But his championing the Queen adds to his heroic position in this play.

13. **Broke:** 'broken' or 'interrupted'; see note on I. i. 77.

20. **breath in foreign clouds:** Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 139: "With tears augmenting the fresh morning's dew, Adding to clouds more clouds with his deep sighs."

22. **signories:** 'estates.'

23. **Dispark'd:** a legal term for 'breaking down the enclosures of a park and throwing it open as a common.' See note on I. iv. 36.

24. **my household coat:** 'my coat-of-arms on the stained or painted glass windows.'

25. **imprese:** 'motto and device.'

29. **to the death:** Compare our modern phrase *die the death*.

37. **entreated:** 'treated, entertained.'

38. **commends:** 'regards.' See note on I. ii. 62.

41. **at large:** 'fully expressing your love.'

43. **Glendower:** Glendower (*glen'dör*) was at this time a minstrel attending on Richard in Flint Castle. Possibly Shakespeare means us to think that the Welsh captain (II. iv.) is Glendower. Little is known of Glendower's life. He was educated at Westminster and called to the bar. In 1385 he served under Richard II. in his Scottish campaign. The story of his revolt against Henry IV. is pictured in *1 Henry IV*. It was a national struggle on the part of the Welsh to shake off Saxon tyranny. In 1400 Henry himself spent a month in Wales attempting to suppress it,

but Glendower carefully avoided a battle. In the spring of 1402 he captured Sir Edmund Mortimer, Hotspur's brother-in-law; and later Mortimer became reconciled and married Glendower's daughter. The Percys expected Glendower's assistance at Shrewsbury, but he was detained. He reached the summit of his power in 1404, but he managed to escape capture for ten years or more.

44. after: 'afterwards.'

SCENE II

Notice how Richard alternates between confidence and despair.

1. **Barkloughly:** (*bark-lō'li*) probably Harlech. "The name is due to a mere scribal or printer's blunder in Holinshed, standing for Hertlowle or Hertlow, the last an Anglicised form of the old Welsh 'Harddlech.'" (Herford.)

2. **brooks your grace?:** 'does your majesty like?' To *brook* generally meant to *endure* or *tolerate*, but here it retains its early sense of to *enjoy*. Since the time of Henry VIII. the proper phrase of address to a king has been "your majesty."

4 ff. This sentimental speech discloses Richard's utter weakness. To be sure, he loved England; but Bolingbroke loved the *men* of England.

8. **a long-parted mother with:** 'a mother long parted from her child.' See note on III. i. 9.

13-15. **his . . . their:** At first he was thinking only of *Bolingbroke*; but he later includes all his enemies.

16. annoyance: 'injury, harm.' It had in Old English a much stronger meaning than its present one. Compare *Macbeth*, V. i. 84: "Remove from her the means of all *annoyance*."

21. double tongue: 'forked tongue.' — **mortal:** 'deadly.'

23. my senseless conjuration: 'my foolish appeal,' or 'my appeal to things without sense, with perception.' Compare *Julius Cæsar*, I. i. 40: "you stones, you worse than *senseless* things."

25. her native king: 'her king by right' or 'her natural king.' Richard was England's legitimate king, although he was not *native*-born, being born at Bordeaux.

This same idea appears in Antony's speech, *Julius Cæsar*, III. ii. 234: "move The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny."

27. Carlisle: Thomas Merke was educated at Oxford, and, obtaining Richard's favor, was appointed Bishop of Carlisle (*kär-lil'*) in 1399. There is reason to doubt whether he ever lived in his diocese, for he was sent on embassies and kept near the court. When Richard made his will before going to Ireland, he appointed Carlisle one of the executors. After his arrest in 1399, he was pardoned and later appointed by Henry IV. to a country vicarage. Holinshed says he was "both learned, wise, and stout of stomach." See *Introd.*, p. lxxvii, and note on IV. i. 115.

29-32. These lines were omitted in the folios. Carlisle politely hints that Heaven helps those that help themselves; Aumerle speaks more bluntly.

34. security: 'carelessness produced by overconfidence.' See II. i. 266.

36. Discomfortable: 'discouraging, one who destroys comfort and happiness.'

Richard is one of those rare persons that are carried away by the reality of their imaginations; to them fancies are real, actual life is visionary. Richard speaks and looks as if his presence would drive back the rebels; but when the brilliance of the thought is clouded by the news of the desertion of his forces, he drops it at once. He is truly a "make-believe" king. A similar character may be found in Barrie's *Sentimental Tommy*.

38. that: the eye of heaven, 'the sun.' — **the lower world:** 'the antipodes.'

40. boldly: Collier suggested this in place of *bloudly, bloody, bloodie, bloody* of the early editions. It is contrasted to *trembling*, l. 46.

41. this terrestrial ball: Compare Addison's hymn, "The Spacious firmament on high," 17-18:

"What though in solemn silence all
Move round the dark *terrestrial ball*."

Shakespeare had the Ptolemaic idea that the sun and stars revolve round the earth.

49. antipodes: 'the people living on the opposite side of the earth.' This early meaning is now obsolete.

55. balm: 'oil of consecration used in the ceremony of coronation.' Notice the "dramatic irony" of the situation. While Richard is most confidently declaring a king cannot be deposed, the audience knows that his deposition has already been definitely planned.

58. **press'd**: 'impressed, enlisted by force.'
59. **shrewd**: 'sharp.' Compare *Hamlet*, I. iv. 1: "The air bites *shrewdly*."
64. **near**: 'nearer.' In Old English *near* was the comparative form.
70. **twelve thousand**: Holinshed says forty thousand. See *Intro.*, p. lviii.
76. **But now**: 'just now, a moment ago.'
84. **coward**: In the folios, this is softened to *sluggard*.
85. **twenty**: In the folios, *forty*. Compare *Richard III.*, V. iii. 12: —

"Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength,
Which they upon the adverse faction want."

91. **Scroop**: Sir Stephen Scrope (*skrōp*), a famous fighter, was the elder brother of the Earl of Wiltshire. He was one of the few that remained faithful to Richard II. after his arrest. But under Henry IV., he became deputy-lieutenant of Ireland, where he died of the plague in 1408.

92. **deliver**: 'announce to.'

94. 'The worst that thou canst unfold is worldly loss.'

110. **fearful**: 'full of fear, alarmed.'

112. **white-beards**: 'old men with *white beards*, whose *scalps* have *thin* (little) or no *hair*.' Although grammatically *thin* modifies *scalps*, in sense it modifies *hair*.

114. **to speak big**: 'like a grown man.' Compare Portia's remarks about acting a man's part, *Merchant of Venice*, III. iv. 60.

female: 'weak or delicate, like a woman's.'

116. beadsmen: 'pensioners, who tell over their *beads*, or pray, for their benefactors.'

117. double-fatal: 'doubly fatal,' because its leaves are poisonous, and its wood is used for bows, weapons of death.

118. manage rusty bills: 'women will leave their spinning-wheels and wield *rusty* weapons, part spear and part axe, the usual arm of the English foot-soldier.' A *bill* was much like a modern brush hook.

122. where is Bagot: Either the text is corrupt here, or Richard or Shakespeare is very careless. Bagot fled (II. ii. 141) to Ireland to Richard, and probably reached him before Richard returned, for Richard speaks (l. 132) only of *three Judases*, and Aumerle (l. 141) does not mention Bagot. See note on II. iii. 165. Theobald suggested *he got* for *Bagot*.

128. Peace: Compare a similar play on *peace* in *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 179: "they were well at *peace* when I did leave them."

131. Snakes: a common metaphor for ungrateful traitors. Compare V. iii. 58: "A *serpent* that will sting thee to the heart;" and *2 Henry VI.*, III. i. 343: "you but warm the starved snake, Who, cherish'd in your breasts, will sting your hearts."

134. spotted: 'polluted, guilty.' See *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I. i. 110: "this *spotted* and inconstant man." This meaning is familiar in the word "spotless."

135. his property: 'its distinctive quality.' *His* appears more often in Shakespeare as the possessive of the neuter pronoun than *its*, which was just coming into use.

140. grav'd: 'entombed' or 'buried.'

143. power: 'forces.' See I. 186 and II. ii. 46.

148. executors: Before going to Ireland, Richard had made his will, appointing the Earl of Wiltshire and the Bishop of Carlisle as executors.

153. model: 'mould, the roof of earth above the grave, like the top of a pie.' For other meanings, see notes on I. ii. 28, III, iv. 42, and V. i. 11.

156. sad stories: such as appeared in Lydgate's *Falls of Princes* (from Boccaccio) and in *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1559), which contained the *sad story* of Richard II.

158. the ghosts they have deposed: 'the ghosts of those that they have deposed.' Possibly Shakespeare was thinking of the ghosts that appeared to Richard III. (V. iii. 118 ff.) before the battle of Bosworth.

161. rounds: 'surrounds, encircles.'

162. antic: 'a buffoon, or grotesque figure.' This passage was probably suggested by the seventh illustration in *Imagines Mortis* or *The Dance of Death* (supposedly by Holbein), in which a king is counselling with his courtiers, while a skeleton, rising from behind his head, seems to be removing his crown.

163. Scoffing his state: 'mocking his kingly power.'

164. a breath: 'a moment.' Compare *Macbeth*, V. v. 24: "Life's but a walking shadow; a poor player That struts and frets his hour upon the stage And then is heard no more."

166. self and vain conceit: 'selfish and vain conceit,' or 'a vain self-conceit.'

168. humour'd thus Comes: 'after the king has been *humour'd* in thinking his body *impregnable*, Death comes.'

171. **flesh and blood:** 'a mere man of *flesh and blood* like yourselves.'

173. **Tradition:** 'honored customs.'

174. **mistook:** 'mistaken.' For other old forms of participles, see *spoke* (I. i. 77); *broke* (III. i. 13).

175-176. These lines are metrically irregular, possibly because some phrase has been omitted, or because of the intense feeling.

176. **subjected:** 'exposed to the sufferings of a *subject*, in contrast to those of a *king*' (l. 177).

178. **ne'er sit and wail their woes:** The folios have *ne'er wail their present woes*.

179. **presently:** 'at once, immediately.' See I. iv. 52; II. ii. 91; III. i. 3.

183. **to fight:** 'to one fighting.'

185. **where:** 'whereas fearing to die.' Compare *Julius Caesar*, II. ii. 32-33:—

"Cowards die many times before their death;
The valiant never taste of death but once."

198. **by small and small:** 'bit by bit, little by little.'

203. **party:** 'side.' The folios have *faction*.

204. **Beshrew:** a mild imprecation or curse. For *which* instead of *who*, see note on I. i. 173.

forth of: 'out of;' see Holinshed's phrase, *Introd.*, p. lxvi.

Finding it too difficult to play the *heroic* king, Richard instantly decides to play the *pathetic* king.

209. **Flint castle:** Its ruins may still be seen in North *Wales*, about twelve miles from Chester.

211. discharge: 'dismiss the soldiers I have.'

212. To ear: 'to till the land that promises a good harvest.'

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SCENE III

Richard's surrender in this scene is the actual climax of the play. Bolingbroke pretends he is merely seeking recognition as Duke of Lancaster, but Richard frankly acknowledges him to be more, his heir, his possessor, because of his strength. The conflict is one of character, not of arms. In fact there is no battle in the play, and only one fight, that of Richard with Exton (V. v.).

Flint castle: had, according to Holinshed (see Introd., p. lxii), surrendered to Northumberland, who had then brought Richard from Conway. Shakespeare knew however that the dramatic interest would be greater if the surrender was made when all the principals were present.

10. This line seems metrically irregular, but the pause after *mistakes* is equivalent to an unaccented syllable.

13. so brief . . . to shorten you: 'so unceremonious as to shorten you.'

14. taking so the head: 'omitting the king's title,' or perhaps, 'taking such a leading part.'

17. mistake: 'fail to realize that.'

25. lies: 'lodges.'

30. belike: 'probably,' or 'I suppose.'

32. ribs: 'walls.' Compare *King John*, II. i. 384: "The fainty *ribs* of this contemptuous city."

34. his ruin'd ears: 'its shattered windows.'

thus deliver: 'deliver this message.'

39. Even: "without reserve."

45. The which: 'which;' see note on I. i. 90.

47. Notice that the careful Bolingbroke, unlike Northumberland, never omits Richard's title.

52. tatter'd: 'ragged' or 'broken.' The first quarto has *tottered*, which may be taken in the sense of "tottering," but *tattered* was frequently spelled with an *o*. See Marlowe's *Edward II.*, II. iii. 21: "This *totter'd* ensign."

53. perused: 'carefully examined.'

57. the cloudy cheeks: Compare *Coriolanus*, V. iii. 151: "To tear with thunder the wide *cheeks* o' the air."

61. mark King Richard how he looks: 'notice how King Richard looks.' Very often, where in modern constructions the object of the verb is a relative clause, Shakespeare introduces before the clause another object (the same as the subject of the clause), so as to make the dependent clause a mere explanation of the object. See *King Lear*, I. i. 272: "I know you what you are."

on the walls: These words might suggest elaborate scenery to one unfamiliar with the Elizabethan stage; "at the back of the stage was a balcony which served for many purposes — it was inner room, upper room, window, balcony, battlements [as here], hillside, Mount Olympus, any place, in fact, which was supposed to be separated from and above the scene of the main action." — Dowden's *Primer*, p. 9.

62-67. Although in all the early editions these lines are part of Bolingbroke's speech, modern editors think them inconsistent with Bolingbroke's manner and his opinion of *Richard*, for they are too full of poetry and flattery. Pos-

sibly they were uttered by York. Richard himself had used the same simile in speaking of himself, III. ii. 36-53.

69. lightens forth: 'reveals the royal power of controlling his subjects.'

73. fearful: 'full of fear;' see III. ii. 110.

76. awful: in its solemn sense of 'full of awe' or 'reverential.'

80. gripe: 'grip.'

81. profane: 'commit sacrilege.'

83. torn their souls: 'harmed their souls.'

88. Your children . . . that: 'the children of you that.'

94. the purple testament: 'the blood-stained will of war, with all its legacies.'

97. 'shall disfigure the blossoming surface of the land.'

102. civil and uncivil: 'domestic and violent.'

105. the honourable tomb: of Edward III., in Westminster Abbey. This is the earliest mention in literature of any of the tombs of Westminster Abbey.

109. the buried hand: "The *hand* is finely singled out as that which wielded the sword, and thus symbolized Gaunt's warlike prowess." (Herford.) Gaunt was buried in St. Paul's.

113. lineal royalties: 'hereditary rights.' See note on II. i. 190.

114. Enfranchisement: 'restoration to his rights as a free subject.' Compare *Julius Caesar*, III. i. 57: "To beg *enfranchisement* for Publius Cimber [an exile]."

115. party: 'part.'

116. commend: 'assign.'

117. **barbed:** 'armored.' A *barb* was a covering for the breast and the flanks of a war-horse.

121. **returns:** 'returns answer.' See I. iii. 122.

136. **words of sooth:** 'words of pleasing concession.'

147. **a set of beads:** 'a rosary.'

149. **my gay apparel:** "Richard's mania for dress knew no bounds. He had a good figure, which he displayed in tight-fitting, skinlike garments, and wore shoes . . . a good half yard too long. . . . In due time their length became so exaggerated that it was found necessary to link the toe to the knee of the wearer by a chain, so that he might be able to walk with safety. . . . Never was costume in London so gay or so extravagant as during this unhappy reign. The tailors had to employ special 'cutters' skilled in the art of cutting the fantastic edges of the coats, short and long, which were in fashion. At one time sleeves were worn long, touching the ground, — Chaucer complains of them, — at another they were so tight that a man could scarcely bend his elbows. The king once paid 30,000 marks (nearly \$100,000) for a cloak embroidered in a pattern of ostrich feathers and covered with precious stones. Loose flowing coats and cloaks that swept the earth, blazing with armorial bearings, richly gilt, were also in vogue. . . . Richard and his queen encouraged extravagance of every sort. This king's household was the largest and most magnificent in Europe, though his Exchequer was the lowest." — Davey's *The Pageant of London*, I. 213–214.

151. **a palmer's:** A *palmer* was 'one who bore a palm-branch in memory of having been to the Holy Land.'

154. **obscure**: accented on the first syllable; this seems to be the only case in this play in which Shakespeare has shifted the accent forward.

156. **common trade**: 'common passage or traffic.' *Trade* is from the past participle of *tread* and means a 'trodden path.'

162. **lodge**: 'lay flat' or 'beat down.' See *Macbeth*, IV. i. 55: "Though bladed corn be *lodged* and trees blown down." The grain of lodged corn does not mature.

167. **fretted**: 'worn out for us.'

168-169. **there lies Two kinsmen**: the verb is singular even though the subject that follows is plural; see note on I. iii. 260. This couplet marks the imaginary epitaph. After *kinsmen* the relative *that* must be supplied.

175. **make a leg**: 'make a bow or curtsey.'

176. **the base court**: 'the court just inside the castle walls.' It was often lower than the inner court, and was surrounded by the stables and "offices" (I. ii. 69).

178. **Phæton**: (*fā'e-thon*) the son of the Sun-god, who persuaded his father to let him drive the chariot of the Sun one day. But he could not manage the horses and came so near the earth that he almost set it on fire. Jupiter hurled him from the chariot by a thunderbolt.

179. **wanting the manage of**: 'lacking the power to control.' — **jades**: 'nags.'

185. **Makes him speak fondly**: *Makes* is singular, because the two subjects *sorrow* and *grief* form one idea; see note on II. i. 258. — **fondly**: 'foolishly.' See IV. i. 72.

192. **Me rather had; 'I had rather.'** This is a combina-

tion of two constructions for expressing preference: (1) the personal, *I had rather*; (2) the impersonal, *we were liefer or rather*. A similar impersonal construction is seen in *me-thinks*, II. i. 31.

195. Thus high: touching his head, his crown.

203. want their remedies: 'lack the means of curing that which causes them.'

204. Richard and Bolingbroke were both thirty-three years old.

SCENE IV

Coleridge says this scene shows "the skill and judgment of our poet in giving reality and individual life, by the introduction of accidents [non-essentials] in his historic plays, and thereby making them dramas, and not histories. How beautiful an islet of repose — a melancholy repose, indeed — is this scene with the Gardener and his Servant." — *Lectures and Notes on Shakspere*, p. 267. It is a pause for reflection, between great events. Although the scene does not add to the dramatic action, it shows how widespread is the popular judgment of Richard, and it intensifies the pathetic sorrow of the Queen.

4. rubs: 'impediments or obstacles that diverted the ball from its true course.'

5. bias: 'the slanting course of the ball,' caused by its construction; one side was heavier than the other.

7-8. measure: a play on the two meanings of *measure*: 'proportion' and 'dance.' See note on I. iii. 291.

The Queen is full of figures of speech. Perhaps to please her master, the young wife imitated Richard.

11. **joy:** This is Rowe's suggestion for *grief*, which appears in all the early editions, but which is inconsistent with the remarks that follow. www.libtool.com.cn

14. **remember:** 'remind.' See note on I. iii. 269.

15. **being altogether had:** 'occupying my whole mind.'

18. **to complain:** 'to complain of' or 'to bewail.' For *boots*, see note on I. i. 164.

22. **I could sing:** 'If my sorrows were such that weeping would help them, I'd feel like singing for joy.'

26. 'I wager my misery against a few pins.' In those days *pins* were expensive; witness the phrase "pin-money."

28. **Against:** 'in anticipation of.'

woe: 'one woe announces the coming of another.'

with: 'by.'

29. **apricocks:** an early spelling of 'apricots.'

32. **supportance:** 'support.' Compare *Twelfth Night*, III. iv. 329: "for the *supportance* of his vow."

35. **look too lofty:** 'aspire too high' or 'appear too important.'

38. **noisome:** 'noxious.' Compare *Psalms* xci. 3: "Surely he shall deliver thee . . . from the *noisome* pestilence."

40. **pale:** 'inclosure.'

42. **model:** 'copy' or 'sketch.' See also notes on I. ii. 28, III. ii. 153, and V. i. 11.

46. **knots:** 'flower-beds of fanciful design.' See *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 249: "thy curious-knotted garden."

49. **the fall of leaf:** A very natural figure for a gardener to use about the king's fall. Compare *Macbeth*, V. iii. 22: "My way of life Is fallen into the sear, the yellow leaf."

57. at time of year: 'at the proper season.' *The* is omitted before *time*, because the noun is sufficiently defined by the phrase of year.

60. confound: 'harm,' or 'destroy.'

69. 'Tis doubt: 'it is feared.'

72. press'd to death: A prisoner who refused to defend himself on trial was *pressed to death* by heavy weights on his chest. This law "remained in force up to 1792, and was repealed only in 1837."

75. suggested: 'tempted, incited.' See note on I. i. 101.

78. thou little better thing than earth: 'thou thing little better than earth.' See note on III. i. 9.

79. Divine: 'prophesy.'

80. this ill tidings: See note on II. i. 272 for the number of *tidings*.

83. hold: 'grasp' or 'custody.' For the use of the redundant pronoun *he*, see note on II. ii. 80.

86. make him light: Compare *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 91: "Making them lightest that wear most of it [purchased beauty]."

89. odds: Like *tidings* and *news*, *odds* is used both as a singular and a plural.

99. the triumph: "The Roman usages in victory and defeat, — the vanquished slaying themselves or being paraded in the victor's triumph, — fascinated Shakespeare's imagination, and he often makes allusions to them which the historic speakers would not have understood. The queen here recalls the Roman triumph. Macbeth recalls the resource of the Roman vanquished (V. viii. 1): —

“‘Why should I play the Roman fool, and die
On mine own sword? whiles I see lives, the gashes
Do better upon them.’

So Horatio, snatching the poisoned cup (to avoid the ignominy, not of defeat, but of surviving his friend): ‘I’m more an antique Roman than a Dane: Here’s yet some liquor left,’ *Hamlet*, V. ii. 352.” (Herford.)

100. these news: See *tidings*, l. 80, and *odds*, l. 89; and note on II. i. 272.

104. fall: ‘let fall.’ Compare *Julius Cæsar*, IV. ii. 26: “They *fall* their crests.” For other intransitive verbs used transitively, see I. iii. 269; II. ii. 46; III. iv. 14.

105. rue: was also called *herb of grace*, because it was popularly supposed that the name of the plant came from *rue*, to repent. See *Hamlet*, IV. v. 181: “there’s *rue* for you; and here’s some for me: we may call it *herb of grace* o’ Sundays.”

106. ruth: ‘pity.’

ACT IV. SCENE I

The one scene of this act contains three episodes: (1) the arraignment of Aumerle, which the dramatist evidently meant to contrast with the arraignment of Bolingbroke in Act I, in order to show how differently Richard and Henry meet such a crisis; (2) the protest of the Bishop of Carlisle, dramatic yet futile, reminding us of Gaunt’s dying protest; (3) the deposition of Richard. This last is of Shakespeare’s invention, for Richard was in the Tower and did not attend

the meeting of Parliament. The first two episodes are historical, but Shakespeare has taken them out of their chronological order; Richard was deposed by the meeting of Parliament on September 30, but it was not until the next meeting of Parliament on October 14 that Aumerle was accused and Carlisle arrested.

Westminster Hall: was built by William Rufus, but it was repaired by Richard II., who "raised the walls, altered the windows, and added the carved timber roof, which is to this day a marvel of construction." The first meeting of Parliament in the new building was for the purpose of deposing Richard, its builder.

3. Gloucester's death: This, the starting-point of the whole play, is again brought forth, in justification for Richard's overthrow, and to furnish a contrast between Richard's and Henry's methods of action.

4. wrought it with: 'persuaded the king to have it done.'

5. timeless: 'untimely.' Compare *Richard III.*, I. ii. 117: "the *timeless* deaths Of these Plantagenets."

10. that dead time: 'that dark and dreary or deadly time.'

12. restful: 'peaceful.'

16. an hundred thousand crowns: A more striking phrase than Holinshed's "twenty thousand pounds" (see *Introd.*, p. lxvii). A *crown* was five shillings, about \$1.25.

17. England: here pronounced as three syllables, *Eng-e-land*. See note on I. iii. 80.

21. my fair stars: 'my fair birth.' The position of the *stars at the time of birth* was supposed to influence the life

of the child, and from the horoscope astrologers pretended to predict the child's career. See Scott's *Guy Mannering*, chapter IV.; and *Richard III.*, III. vii. 172: "The right and fortune of his happy stars."

24. attainer: 'disgrace.'

25. the manual seal of death: 'the death warrant signed with the seal.'

29. stain the temper: 'spoil the polish.' The better the temper, the brighter the polish. See *1 Henry IV.*, V. ii. 94: "A sword, whose *temper* I intend to *stain* With the best blood that I can meet withal."

33. Fitzwater: Walter, the fifth baron, who died in 1407.

If that: 'if.' See note on I. i. 129.

stand on sympathy: 'depend on the feeling that your adversary is your equal in birth and station.'

40. rapier's: Another of Shakespeare's anachronisms. The *rapier* was not known in Richard's time and only came into use in England in the latter years of the sixteenth century. But Shakespeare armed even a Roman with one: *Titus Andronicus*, II. i. 54.

49. An if: The modern spelling of the phrase *And if*, which is stronger than *if*.

52. task the earth: 'lay on the earth the task of bearing another gage like yours.' This speech is omitted in the folios.

53. lies: 'charges of lying.'

55. From sun to sun: 'from one day to the next.' This is Capell's happy emendation of *From sinne to sinne*, which is the reading of the early editions.

56. Engage it: 'Accept the challenge.'

57. sets me: 'sets himself against me.'

I'll throw: 'I'll gamble with them all for life.'

62. in presence: 'in attendance at the court.'

65. boy: used contemptuously. Fitzwater was thirty-one years old, six years older than Surrey.

67. vengeance and revenge: The idea is repeated by a synonym to make it more emphatic.

72. fondly: 'foolishly.' See note on III. iii. 185.

74. in a wilderness: where they could fight to death, without help or interruption. Compare Mowbray's remark, I. i. 63-66.

76. my bond of faith: 'my pledge.' Perhaps he points to his gage or throws down another.

78. this new world: 'the new era under the new king' Henry IV.

84. this: 'a borrowed hood' or 'gage.' See *Introd.*, p. lxviii.

85. repeal'd: 'recalled from banishment.' See note on II. ii. 49.

93. Jesu Christ: "This form of the name *Jesus* is used in the oblique cases, or with the optative mood, or in exclamations. The only exception in Shakespeare to this usage is in *Henry VI.*, V. vi. 75: 'O, Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth.' It constantly occurs in the Prayer Book." (*Clarendon Press Series.*)

This praise of Norfolk, Bolingbroke's enemy, is aptly uttered by Carlisle, and thus we are prepared for his bold *protest*. As a matter of fact, Norfolk had died in Venice

only a few days before this scene; the news could hardly have reached London by this time.

Shakespeare is indebted, not to Holinshed, but to Stowe's *Annals* for the hint of Norfolk's crusades.

94. Streaming: another intransitive verb used transitively. See note on I. iii. 269; II. ii. 46; III. iv. 14, 104.

96. toil'd: 'wearied.'

retired himself: 'withdrew.' See note on I. ii. 42.

104. Abraham: see *Luke*, xvi. 22: "the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom." Compare *Richard III.*, IV. iii. 38: "The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom."

106. This is the last we hear of the accusation of Aumerle for Gloucester's death. Such incompleteness of plot is an evidence of the immature Shakespeare.

112. The metre of this line may be completed or made regular by reading *Henry* as a trisyllable, *Hen-e-ry*, or *fourth* as a dissyllable, *four-eth*.

115-116: 'Though I may speak with the least right in this royal presence, yet it is best befitting me as representative of the church to speak the truth.'

This speech of Carlisle was not delivered, according to Holinshed, until three weeks after the time of this scene. The latter part of it (ll. 136-149), the prophecy, was of Shakespeare's invention, not even suggested by his authorities.

119. noblesse: 'nobility.' This is the reading of the first quarto; the others have *nobleness*.

120. Learn: 'teach.' Compare *Tempest*, I. ii. 365: "The red plague rid you For *learning* me your language!"

123. not judged: 'not condemned' unless they are present. www.libtool.com.cn

124. apparent: 'manifest.' See I. i. 13.

129. forbend: 'forbid.'

130. climate: 'land.'

131. obscene: 'foul.'

138: The deposition of Richard led to the Wars of the Roses, which lasted from 1455 to 1485.

141. kin . . . kind: 'blood-relatives and fellow-citizens.' Shakespeare uses these words in almost the same sense; *Hamlet*, I. ii. 55: "A little more than *kin*, and less than *kind*."

144. Golgotha: (*gol'gō-thā*) "the place of a skull," where Jesus was crucified. See *Matthew*, xxvii. 33.

145. this house: Compare *Matthew*, xii. 25: "every city or *house* divided *against* itself shall not stand."

148. it: The first *it* must be slurred in scanning this line, or omitted entirely, as in Pope's edition.

152. My Lord of Westminster: William of Colchester, Abbot from 1386 to 1420. See note on V. vi. 21.

This passage shows that Shakespeare must have consulted some other authority than Holinshed, for it is historically true that Carlisle was first put in the Tower and then into the custody of the *Abbot of Westminster*. Holinshed however says that he was committed into the custody of the Abbot of St. Albans.

154-318. These lines, containing the pathetic deposition

of Richard, were not printed in the first two quartos, but appeared in the third quarto, 1608. See *Intro.*, p. xvii.

157. conduct: 'conductor, escort.'

160. beholding: 'beholden' or 'indebted.' See *Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 106: "Shylock, shall we be *beholding* to you?"

162. "Richard's opening words strike the keynote of the whole passage which follows, one of the most subtly imagined scenes in all Shakespeare. Throughout, he plays the part of one who can neither insist on his royal dignity nor resign it, who by his own consent no longer reigns, but has not yet 'shook off' his 'regal thoughts.' Richard is still possessed and dazzled by the idea of the kingship he has foregone; and his winsome fantastic figure thus stands out in delicate relief from the crowd of sturdy practical Englishmen around him, who respect ideas only when embodied in facts. The acceptance of Bolingbroke by England was in reality a triumph of the sense of practical needs over the abstract theory of kingship." (Herford.)

163. shook: an old past participle used in place of *shaken*, which Shakespeare uses also. See note on III. i. 13.

166. Give sorrow leave: Mark Antony made a similar request; *Julius Cæsar*, III. ii. 110: "Bear with me; My heart is in the coffin there with Cæsar, And I must pause till it come back to me."

168. favours: 'features.'

169. sometime: 'once.'

all hail!: from the *Bishop's Bible* (1508), which was used in the churches.

170. **Judas:** see *Matthew*, xxvi. 49. This seems to have been a favorite reference of Richard; see III. ii. 132. Notice also his reference to Pilate, 239-240. Doubtless he thought of himself as somewhat like Christ, for he was God's anointed, his deputy elected. Compare also III. ii. 60-62.

171. "An incurable Alexandrine;" no slurring of pronunciation can reduce these twelve syllables to the regular ten.

173. **clerk:** The *clerk* of a church led the congregation in the responses and said, "Amen."

181-189. Shakespeare took the hint of the actual transfer of the crown from Froissart's account: —

"On a day the duke of Lancaster, accompanied with lords, dukes, prelates, earls, barons and knights, and of the notablest men of London and of other good towns, rode to the Tower and there alighted. Then king Richard was brought into the hall, apparelled like a king in his robes of state, his sceptre in his hand and his crown on his head. Then he stood up alone, not holden nor stayed by no man, and said aloud: 'I have been king of England, duke of Aquitaine and lord of Ireland about twenty-two years, which seignory, royalty, sceptre, crown and heritage I clearly resign to my cousin Henry of Lancaster; and I desire him here in this same open presence, in entering of the same possession, to take this sceptre.' And so delivered it to the duke, who took it. Then king Richard took the crown from his head with both his hands and set it before him, and said: 'Fair cousin, Henry duke of Lancaster, I give and deliver you this crown, wherewith I was crowned king of England, and therewith all the right thereto depending.' The duke of Lancaster took it, and the archbishop of Canterbury took it out of the duke's hands. *This resignation thus done, the duke of Lancaster called a notary and demanded to have letters and witness of all the prelates and*

lords there being present. Then Richard of Bordeaux returned again into the chamber from whence he came. Then the duke of Lancaster and all other leapt on their horses, and the crown and sceptre were put in a coffer and conveyed to the abbey of Westminster, and there kept in the treasury." (xiv. 222, 223, quoted by Boswell-Stone.)

185. owes: 'owns.' Shakespeare uses *owes* also in its modern sense. See *King John*, II. i. 248: "Be pleased then To pay that duty which you truly *owe* To him that *owes* it." This same simile of the well and the bucket appears in Marston's *The Malcontent*, which was acted in 1601: "I'll give you a simile: did you e'er see a well with two buckets, whilst one comes up full to be emptied, another goes down empty to be filled? Such is the state of all humanity" (III. i. 274).

196-197. care: 'My sorrow is loss of anxiety.' Notice the play on the two meanings of *care*, sorrow and anxiety.

199. tend: 'attend.' See *Macbeth*, I. v. 42: "Come, you spirits That *tend* on mortal thoughts."

201. ay: in the early editions was printed *I*; hence the pun. The second *no* in l. 202 is a noun. The two lines mean: 'Yes, no; no — yes; for I am nothing; therefore there is no *no*, for I resign to thee.'

207. balm: 'oil of consecration.' See note on III. ii. 55.

210. duty's rites: 'ceremonies that subjects were in duty bound to render their sovereign.' The folios have *duteous oaths*.

212. manors: 'estates.'

revenues: is here accented on the second syllable, as it still is in Parliamentary etiquette.

215. that swear: 'of those that swear.'

217. thou: grammatically this should be *thee* in the same construction as *me*, l. 216.

221. sunshine: used by Shakespeare only twice as an adjective. See *3 Henry VI.*, II. i. 187: "a *sunshine* day." Marlowe used it in *Edward II.*, V. i. 26-27: "But what are kings, when regiment is gone, But perfect shadows in a *sunshine* day."

The four lines 218-221 were put in the margin by Pope, as unworthy of Shakespeare and probably spurious.

225. the state and profit: 'the orderly government and welfare.'

228. ravel out: 'unravel.'

230. record: is here accented on the last syllable, but on the first in I. i. 30.

232. read a lecture of them: 'read them aloud for public profit, as the *Lesson* is read in the church service.'

wouldst . . . shouldst: In modern usage, these words would be interchanged. Shakespeare seems not to have had a consistent rule for their use.

236. the book of heaven: See *Exodus*, xxxii. 33: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my *book*."

237. look upon: 'look thereon;'
upon is here an adverb as *up* in *look up*.

238. Whilst that: 'whilst.' See note on I. i. 129.

bait: 'attack as a dog attacks a bear tied to a stake.'
Bear-baiting was a favorite amusement of the Elizabethans.

239. wash your hands: See *Matthew*, xxvii. 24: "When

Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and *washed his hands* before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person."

241. deliver'd: the very word used in the four Gospels about Christ. — **sour:** bitter.

246. a sort: 'a set;' it was always used contemptuously, like our modern phrase, "a lot." Compare *Richard III.*, V. iii. 316: "A *sort* of vagabonds, rascals, and runaways."

250. pompous: 'magnificent.' It is used by Shakespeare always in its original good sense, without the modern touch of ridicule.

254. haughty: 'haughty.' See *3 Henry VI.*, II. i. 169. "the *haught* Northumberland."

Compare the abdication of Edward II. in Marlowe's play, V. i. 112: —

"*Winchester.* My lord —

Edward. Call me not lord; away — out of my sight."

255. Nor no: another instance of the double negative. See note on I. iii. 185.

256. name was given: 'name that was given.' See note on II. i. 173, for the omission of the relative. This is an allusion to the story spread by Bolingbroke's party that Richard was not the son of the Black Prince, but of a priest of Bordeaux, after whom he was named *Jehan*.

260. a mockery king: 'a mock king.' This is another instance of a noun used as an adjective; compare *sunshine*, l. 221, and note on I. i. 119.

264. An if: 'if.' See note on IV. i. 49.

sterling: of current value, a metaphor from coinage; see note on I. iii. 231.

267. his: 'its.' See note on I. i. 194.

269. while: 'until;' while the glass is being brought. See note on I. iii. 122.

271. Bolingbroke had no personal rancor against Richard; he was seeking power, not revenge.

281. beguile: 'deceive.'

In the following questions, Shakespeare was probably thinking of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, V. iv., who, upon seeing a vision of Helen of Troy, says: "Was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?" Shakespeare used the same figure in *Troilus and Cressida*, II. ii. 82: "she is a pearl, Whose price hath launched above a thousand ships."

283. ten thousand men: See *Introd.*, p. lxxv.

292-293. 'The gloomy act of your sorrow in breaking the mirror hath destroyed the reflection of your face in the mirror.'

308. to my flatterer: 'as my flatterer.' Compare *Henry VI.*, III. i. 31: "To crave the French king's sister To wife for Edward;" and *Matthew*, iii. 9: "We have Abraham to our father."

315. sights: Pope changed this to the modern *sight*. But the Elizabethans frequently used the plural for an attribute common to many. See *contents*, V. ii. 38, and *King Lear*, IV. vi. 35: "O you mighty gods! This world I do renounce, and in your *sights* Shake patiently my great affliction off."

317. Conveyers: a euphemism for 'thieves.' See *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. iii. 30: "*Nym*. . . to steal at a minute's rest. *Pistol*. 'Convey,' the wise it call 'steal!' foh! A fico for the phrase!"

319-320. The first two quartos, which omitted ll. 154-318, read:—

"Let it be so: and lo! on Wednesday next
We solemnly proclaim our coronation;
Lords, be ready all."

Henry's coronation really took place on Monday, October 13. See *Introd.*, p. xciii.

324. Is there no plot: This prepares us for the conspiracy in the next act.

328. take the sacrament: 'take a solemn oath according to the rites of the church.'

334. plot shall show: 'plot that shall show.' See note on II. i. 173.

ACT V

This last act arouses our pity for Richard; we sympathize with him in the tender parting with his queen, in his brutal treatment at the hands of the London populace, and the courage of his death makes us forget many of his shortcomings. It contains also the conspiracy of Aumerle, which shows us Henry's practical power in handling a crisis, and the troubles that are coming upon him.

SCENE I

The pathos of this scene justifies Shakespeare's alteration of the Queen's age. As a matter of fact the Queen never saw Richard, after parting from him at Windsor (II. ii. 1-4).

"It is characteristic of the essentially political inspiration of Shakespeare's Histories that he only introduces love, as here, to enhance the pathos of the political catastrophe. A generation later we should have had a love story interwoven with the feats of arms." (Herford.)

2. Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower: Tradition says that the Tower of London was begun by Cæsar, "which since succeeding ages have re-edified." In *Richard III.*, III. i. 74, Shakespeare asserts it is not a matter of tradition, but of "record." The records he referred to, unfortunately, cannot be found.

ill-erected: erected for evil purposes.

3. flint: The Tower was built of *flint* rock, but the Queen is using *flint* in its figurative sense of "cruel."

8. My fair rose: For Richard's *fair* appearance, see note on II. i. 119.

11. model: 'plan of the ruins.' Richard, like Troy, is destroyed and the ruins only suggest the former greatness. For other meanings of *model*, see notes on I. ii. 28, III. ii. 153, and III. iv. 42.

12. map: 'outline' or 'picture.' The Queen is very nervous; one metaphor follows another rapidly: *model*, *map*, *tomb*, *inn*.

13. inn: An *inn* was a first-class hotel for the entertain-

ment of gentlemanly travellers, while an *alehouse* was for common people. Richard is the *inn*; Bolingbroke the *alehouse*. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher's *Lovers' Progress* (1647), V. iii.: "'Tis my wonder, If such misshapen guests as lust and murder At any price should ever find a lodging In such a *beauteous inn*."

14. hard-favour'd: 'ill-looking,' or 'hard-featured'; see note on IV. i. 168.

20. sworn brother: In times of chivalry, warriors would bind themselves to share each other's fortunes — *fratres conjurati*. See *Much Ado About Nothing*, I. i. 73: "He hath every month a new *sworn brother*."

23. cloister thee: 'shut thyself up in *some religious house* (convent).'

27. Transform'd: in shape and *weaken'd* in mind.

28. hath he been in thy heart?: 'hath he taken thy courage as well as thy crown?'

29. The lion dying: For a similar illustration, see Marlowe's *Edward II.*, V. i. 11-14, where Edward is speaking of himself: —

"But when this imperial lion's flesh is gor'd,
He rends and tears it with his wrathful paw,
And, highly scorning that the lowly earth
Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air."

31. To be o'erpower'd: 'At being overpowered.' See note on I. iii. 244.

37. sometime: 'former.' The adverb is used as an adjective.

41-42. **tales . . . betid:** 'tales of woe that happened ages long ago.'

43. **to quit their griefs:** 'to offset or requite their tales of grief.'

44. **tale:** In the folios this was changed to *fall*.

46. **For why:** 'because.' — **brands:** 'logs.' — **sympathize:** used intransitively for "sympathize with."

48. **fire:** pronounced as two syllables. See note on I. iii. 294.

52. **Pomfret:** (*pom'fret*) The old spelling of Pontefract in Yorkshire. The ruins of the castle may yet be seen, twenty-two miles from York. It was built in 1080 by Ilbert de Lacy, a follower of William the Conqueror. In 1483, Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan were executed there by the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. Rivers said, *Richard III.*, III. iii. 9: —

"O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!
Within the guilty closure of thy walls
Richard the Second here was hack'd to death;
And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,
We give thee up, our guiltless blood to drink."

It was dismantled by order of Parliament in 1649.

53. **order ta'en:** 'arrangements made.'

55-68. Another instance of "dramatic irony." The audience and the readers know that this prophecy has been fulfilled. This foretells and prepares us for the succeeding play *1 Henry IV*.

58. **gathering head:** like a boil or ulcer.

61. **helping him to all:** 'because thou hast helped him to all.'

66. **converts:** 'changes.'

68. **worthy:** 'merited.'

69. **and there an end:** a familiar colloquial phrase for "and that's the end of it." See *Macbeth*, III. iv. 78: "The time has been, That, when the brains were out, the man would die, *And there an end.*"

74. **unkiss:** A kiss was formerly an important part of the marriage ceremony.

77. **pinés:** 'causes the clime to pine.' See note on I. i. 85. The verb is singular because *cold* and *sickness* form one idea; see note on II. i. 258.

80. **Hallowmas:** All Saints' Day, November 1. Shakespeare does not mean that it was the *short'st* day, for that is now December 21; he is using both terms as similes. But in his time, when the old Julian calendar had not been displaced by the Gregorian calendar, *Hallowmas* was ten days nearer the *shortest* day of the year than it now is.

88. **the near:** 'the nearer'; see note on III. ii. 64. The meaning is: "Better to be far apart than near, if we cannot meet."

101. **fond:** 'foolish.' See note on III. iii. 185.

SCENE II

This contains two important variations from the historical facts: (1) the Duchess of York was only the step-mother of Aumerle; Shakespeare probably knew this and deliberately made the change, in order to strengthen her appeal to Henry.

He may not have known that she was young and the niece of Richard II., as well as the sister of the Duke of Surrey. After York's death, she married Lord Willoughby; (2) Henry entered London, not on the same day, but on the day before Richard was committed to the Tower. But the dramatic situation — the visible contrast of the two kings — certainly justifies the omission of the intervening day.

4. **leave:** 'leave off.'

16. **painted imagery:** The fronts of the houses were hung with tapestry, as we decorate ours with flags and bunting on festal occasions. Compare Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Canto VII. x.: "flowers . . . The richer seem'd than any tapestry, That princes' bow'rs adorn with *painted imagery*."

17. **Jesu:** 'Jesus.' See note on IV. i. 93.

23 ff. Shakespeare was writing from his own experience, for he acted only minor parts, such as the Ghost in *Hamlet* and Adam, the old servant, in *As You Like It*.

Dryden says: "The painting of this description is so lively, and the words so moving, that I have scarce read anything comparable to it in any other language."

25. **idly:** 'indifferently.'

38. 'To whose high will we submit and resign our desires.' For the plural *contents*, see note on IV. i. 315.

40. **allow:** 'acknowledge.'

41. **Aumerle that was:** Henry's first Parliament deprived Aumerle of his dukedom; he took his earlier title of Earl of Rutland.

44-45. This prepares us for York's later suspicion of *Aumerle* and his action in accusing him to Henry.

46. the violets: 'the new favorites of the new court.'

48. nor . . . not: Another double negative; see note on I. iii. 185. www.libtool.com.cn

52. triumphs: 'are those tournaments to be held?'
See Introd., p. lxxx.

56. seal: The seal was not on the document, but hanging from it by a strip of parchment. Holinshed does not mention the seal.

65. band: 'bond'; see note on I. i. 2.

Like a true mother, the Duchess sincerely tries to excuse her son, but her suggestion shows a woeful lack of business sense. The merchant, to whom she suggested Aumerle was indebted, would of course have kept such a bond, as Shylock did in the *Merchant of Venice*.

79. appeach: 'impeach.'

81. I will not peace: 'I will not be silent.' This noun was so often used as a command for silence that the Duchess is pardonable for making a verb of it. Compare York's coining of such verbs in II. iii. 87: "Grace me no graces, nor uncle me no uncle."

84. I will unto the king: The verb of motion is often omitted when the preposition or adverb indicating direction is expressed. See note on I. ii. 73.

85. Amazed: mad.

90. more sons: York had at least one other son, Richard, the Earl of Cambridge of *Henry V*. The Duchess was three times married after York's death.

91. teeming date: 'period of child-bearing.'

95. fond: 'foolish'; as in l. 101, and before.

97. A dozen of them: Holinshed mentions only nine conspirators, six of whom signed the bond. See *Introd.*, p. lxxx.

98. interchangeably: 'in mutual agreement.' Probably a copy was made for each conspirator, and each copy was signed by all of them.

99. be none: 'not be one of them.'

102. groan'd: in childbirth.

112. Spur post: 'ride post haste.'

SCENE III

1. my unthrifty son: Prince Hal (afterwards Henry V.) was in reality only twelve years old, but the dramatist makes him older in order to contrast Henry's and York's treatment of their sons. Henry is lamenting the riotous career of his son, which is fully set forth in the plays of *Henry IV.*, when he is interrupted by York calling for punishment on his wayward son. Henry's grief as a father undoubtedly influences his decision.

This reference is also a connecting link between this play and those of *Henry IV.*

6. frequent: This is the only time this verb is used intransitively in Shakespeare.

9. watch: 'watchmen.' — **passengers:** 'passers-by.'

10. Which: 'this conduct.' *Which* is the object of *support*, but by the time Bolingbroke got to the verb, he forgot that he had already given its object, so he adds *another, a crew*, as we often do in conversation.

14. held: 'to be held.'

16. would unto the stews: 'would go unto houses of ill-fame.' For the omission of the verb of motion, see note on V. ii. 84.

20. both: 'his dissolute and his desperate character.' This passage indicates that Shakespeare had already conceived the change of character from the Prince Hal of *Henry IV.* to the glorious king, *Henry V.*

22. happily: Shakespeare uses this spelling for both "happily" and "haply." Perhaps both ideas are included here.

34. If on the first: 'if intended only.'

36. Holinshed says Aumerle locked the outer gates of the castle when he entered. But Shakespeare makes it more dramatic.

43. secure: 'too confident;' see note on II. i. 266.

44. speak treason: 'Shall my loyalty compel me to speak treasonously in your presence, by calling you *foolhardy*?'

48. us: 'ourselves.' Personal pronouns are frequently used by Shakespeare as reflexives. See also note on I. i. 16.

52. repent me: 'repent.' See note on I. iii. 269.

54. villain, ere: Read as two syllables, *vill'n, ere.*

57. Forget to pity: 'Forget thy promise to pity.'

58. A serpent: See note on III. ii. 131.

61. sheer: 'pure.'

64. converts: 'changes,' as in V. i. 66.

66. digressing: 'transgressing.'

76. thy aunt: by marriage, as the wife of the Duke of York.

80. Bolingbroke appreciates the farcical situation, calling it "*The Beggar and the Maid*." Shakespeare refers several times to the ballad of King Cophetua who loved the beggar-maid Penelophon. The ballad may be read in Percy's *Reliques* or in Tennyson's *Beggar Maid*.

86. **confound**: 'destroy.' See note on III. iv. 60.

88. 'If York does not love his own son, he cannot love you his king.'

89. **make**: 'do.' Compare *As You Like It*, I. i. 31: "Now, sir! what *make* you here?"

94. **that the happy sees**: 'such as a happy man sees.'

101. An Alexandrine.

103. **would be**: 'would like to be.'

119. **pardonne moi**: 'excuse me.' This harmonizes with the semi-farcical tone of the scene. Dowden says: "This execrable line would never have been admitted by the mature Shakespeare."

122. **the word**: This same phrase is used by Richard in V. v. 13.

124. **The chopping French**: 'French that chops or changes one meaning for another.' It may also refer to the jerky sound of French.

128. **rehearse**: 'recite, say aloud.' Notice that it tries to rhyme with *pierce*.

132. **happy vantage**: A military term for 'a superiority of position.'

137. **brother-in-law**: John, Earl of Huntingdon, who had married Henry's sister. In Henry's first Parliament he had *been* deprived of his title of Duke of Exeter.

138. consorted: 'confederated.'

139. dog them at the heels: Compare *Richard III.*, IV. i. 40: "Death and *destruction dog thee at the heels.*"

140. order several powers: 'marshal separate bodies of troops.'

144. too: is not found in any edition before 1634.

145. prove you true: Aumerle did prove true. He succeeded his father as Duke of York and was killed while leading the vanguard at Agincourt; see *Henry V.*, IV. vi. 3-32.

SCENE IV

1. Exton: Sir Pierce of Exton (*eks'tɒn*) was probably a relative of Sir Nicholas Exton, who was Sheriff of London in 1385 and Lord Mayor in 1386 and 1387.

the king: For this redundant object, see note on III. iii. 61.

2. no friend will: 'no friend that will;' see note on II. i. 173. Holinshed says Exton overheard these words while waiting on the king at his table.

5. urged: 'mentioned' or 'laid stress upon.' See note on III. i. 4.

7. wistly: 'attentively' or 'wistfully.'

8. As who: 'As one who.' Compare *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 50: "He doth nothing but frown, *as who* should say, 'If you will not have me, choose.'"

11. rid: 'make away with.' Compare *Tempest*, I. ii. 364: "The red plague *rid* you."

SCENE V

This scene further increases our pity for Richard. His opening monologue is full of fantastical appreciation of his state; his talk with the groom shows his lovable disposition; and at last his personal courage flashes forth. His death is more kingly than his life.

1. **studying:** Richard spends his time in prison in amusing himself by building up fancies, not by reflection on his wasted kingship or on his future.

3. **for because:** an emphatic *because*. Indeed either word may stand alone in this sense, as *for* does in l. 22. Compare the phrase *an if*. See note on IV. i. 49.

8. **still-breeding:** 'constantly breeding.'

9. **this little world:** himself. In Shakespeare's time, man was regarded as a "microcosm" or epitome of the universe, which was called "macrocosm." This was one of the fundamental principles of astrology. See *King Lear*, III. i. 10: "Strives in *his little world* of man."

10. **humours:** 'disposition.' A man's body was supposed to be made up of four *humours* (choler, phlegm, melancholy, blood) corresponding to the four elements of the universe (fire, water, earth, air); a man's disposition depended on the way in which these were mixed in him. From this meaning, the word gradually acquired the sense of any marked peculiarity.

13. **scruples:** 'doubts.' Thinking on divine thoughts reveals the inconsistencies of Holy Scripture.

15. "Come, little ones:" This passage from *Matthew*,

xix. 14 is seemingly inconsistent with the next (ll. 16-17) from *Matthew*, xix. 24. Neither passage is quoted verbatim.

17. **thread the postern:** 'go through the small gate or opening.' *Needle* is one syllable here.

18. **they:** redundant; see note on II. ii. 80.

21. **ragged:** 'rugged.' Compare *3 Henry VI.*, V. iv. 27: "a *ragged* fatal rock."

25. **Nor shall not:** Another double negative; see note on I. iii. 185.

silly: 'simple.'

26. **refuge their shame:** 'find comfort in their shamed condition in the thought that many have sat.'

31. **play I in one person:** This is the reading of the first quarto; the other early editions have: *play I in one prison*. Shakespeare often compares life to his own profession; see *As You Like It*, II. vii. 139: "All the world's a stage," etc.; and *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 78: "A stage where every man must play a part," etc.

46. **check:** 'detect and rebuke.' See *2 Henry IV.*, I. ii. 220: "I have *checked* him for it."

50 ff. **his numbering clock:** 'his clock by which he counts minutes and hours.' "There are three ways in which a clock notices the progress of time; viz., by the libration of the pendulum, the index on the dial, and the striking of the hour. To these the king, in his comparison, severally alludes; his sighs corresponding to the jarring of the pendulum, which, at the same time that it watches or numbers the seconds, marks also their progress in the minutes on the dial or outward watch, to which the king compares his eyes,

and their want of figures is supplied by a succession of tears, or, to use an expression of Milton [*Il Penseroso* 130], *minute drops*: his fingers, by as regularly wiping these away, performs the office of the dial-point; his clamorous groans are the sounds that tell the hour." (Henley, quoted by Rolfe.)

51. jar: 'tick.'

56. Are: Although the subject *sound* is singular, the verb is attracted to the plural of *groans*, which immediately follows it.

60. Jack o' the clock: an automatic metal figure of a little man, which in old clocks struck the bell every quarter hour. Such figures may still be seen on public clocks, such as in Strasburg Cathedral and York Minster. Compare our modern "cuckoo" clocks.

61. music mads: 'maddens.' See *Twelfth Night*, I. v. 140: "one draught [of wine] makes him a fool: the second mads him." Holinshed makes no reference to Richard's love for music, but, judging from his plays, Shakespeare himself was a lover of music.

Possibly this passage was suggested by Marlowe's *Edward II.*, I. i. 52-55, where Gaveston says: "I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits, Musicians, that with touching of a string May draw the pliant king which way I please. Music and poetry is his delight."

62. help: an old past participle of help. For the idea, compare *I Samuel*, xvi. 23: "And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed,

and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him." See also *King Lear*, IV. vii.

66. brooch: 'an ornament or buckle for the hat.'

67. noble: Even in this bitter moment of self-mockery, Richard, like Gaunt, can play with words. Two gold coins were called a *royal* and a *noble*; a *royal* being worth 10s. and a *noble* 6s. 8d. The difference in value was therefore 3s. 4d. or 40d., which equalled ten *groats*. Prince Hal makes a similar pun in *1 Henry IV.*, II. iv. 317-321. The pun historically owes its origin to Queen Elizabeth, who, when a preacher in a sermon before her first spoke of her as a *royal* queen and a little later as a *noble* queen, exclaimed: "What! am I ten groats worse than I was?"

70. no man never: Another double negative; see note on I. iii. 185.

75. sometimes: 'former.' See note on I. ii. 54.

76. yearn'd: 'grieved.' See *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. v. 45: "it would *yearn* your heart to see it."

78. Barbary: (*bār'ba-ri*) in the northwest of Africa was famous for its horses.

There is no historical foundation for this pathetic story of the horse, but Shakespeare may have got the hint from Froissart: —

"King Richard had a grayhound called Mathe, who always waited upon the king, and would know no man else. For, whensoever the king did ride, he that kept the grayhound did let him loose, and he would straight run to the king and fawn upon him, and leap with his fore feet upon the king's shoulders. And as the king and the earl of Derby talked together in the

court of Flint castle, the grayhound, who was wont to leap upon the king, left the king, and came to the earl of Derby, duke of Lancaster, and made to him the same friendly countenance and cheer as he was wont to do the king. The duke, who knew not the grayhound, demanded of the king what the grayhound would do. 'Cousin,' quoth the king, 'it is a great good token to you, and an evil sign to me.' 'Sir, how know you that?' quoth the duke. 'I know it well,' quoth the king: 'The grayhound maketh you cheer this day as king of England (as ye shall be, and I shall be deposed): the grayhound hath this knowledge naturally, therefore take him to you; he will follow you and forsake me.' The duke understood well those words, and cherished the grayhound, who would never after follow king Richard, but followed the duke of Lancaster." (Quoted by Boswell-Stone.)

85. That jade: 'that vicious or worthless horse.' Compare Goldsmith's *Good-natured Man*, I. i.: "Philosophy is a good horse in the stable, but an arrant *jade* on a journey." eat: eaten.

94. jauncing: 'fretting;' it is a term of horsemanship: to *jaunce* a horse was to fret him in order to make him prance.

95. here is no longer stay: 'You cannot stay here any longer.'

The rest of this scene follows Holinshed's account very closely, see *Introd.*, p. lxxxiv. Shakespeare took no note of the rumor mentioned by Holinshed that Richard starved to death.

99. Taste of it first: All food for the royal table was *tasted* in the presence of the king by certain special officers called "*tasters*," before it was served to the king.

100-102. In the early editions, this speech was printed as two lines of verse. Consequently *Richard II.* and *King John* are said to be the only plays of Shakespeare in which no prose is used.

110. staggers: 'causes my person to stagger.' See note on I. i. 85.

115. "Shakespeare habitually softens the brutality of murder and brings it in some sort into the sphere of poetry, either by giving a certain refinement and beauty to the character of the murderer (as in *Macbeth*, where the 'murderers' are men 'weary with disasters, tugg'd with fortune,' III. i. 112; cf. Scene iii.), or by making them repent after the deed (as in *Richard III.*, I. iv. 278-286, the second murderer of Clarence; IV. iii. 1-20, Tyrrel's description of the murderers of the princes); and here." (Herford.)

SCENE VI

This scene shows Henry's triumphs: over the conspirators, over the Abbot of Westminster and the Bishop of Carlisle, and over Richard. The man of action is supreme. Yet even he is worried, and the play closes with his determination to seek repentance in a journey to Jerusalem.

3. Cicester: (*sis'e-tèr*) the current local pronunciation of Cirencester.

8. Oxford: This is the reading of the quartos, but in the folios it was changed to *Spencer*, who was definitely mentioned by Holinshed. No reference can be found at all to a conspirator named Oxford.

21. the grave: Shakespeare took this directly from Holinshed, but Dean Stanley, in his *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, says that this Abbot was William of Colchester, abbot from 1386 to 1420, and that he lived twenty years after the time when Shakespeare, following Holinshed, reports him to have died because of his treason.

24. Carlisle: This pardon of Carlisle shows that Henry was merciful, not revengeful. See note on IV. i. 271.

25. reverend room: 'sacred spot.'

26. joy: 'enjoy.' See note on II. iii. 15.

35. of slander: 'that will cause slander.'

43. Cain: see *Genesis*, iv. 12, 14.

thorough: a later form of *through*. See Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, lxiv.: "*Thorough* the fog it came."

47. for that: 'for that which.' See note on I. i. 26.

48. sullen black incontinent: 'gloomy black immediately.'

49. the Holy Land: He announced this purpose again at the beginning of *1 Henry IV.*, but the rebellion of the Percys and of Glendower prevented him. He had been to the Holy Land in 1390, and he died in the "Jerusalem Chamber" of Westminster Abbey.

52. Richard's body lay for three days in St. Paul's where all men could see it. Then it was buried at Langley, but it was removed by Henry V. to Westminster.

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